

MAURITIUS TIMES

• "We will not learn how to live together in peace by killing each other's children." — Jimmy Carter, USA, born 1924

Interview: Me Antoine Domingue

"Je trouve cela inconstitutionnel que la FCC puisse faire la leçon au judiciaire... sous peine de sanctions pénales"



• **'Le fléau de la drogue est grandement responsable de la recrudescence de la criminalité'**

'Je ne pense pas que la légalisation ou la dépénalisation des drogues dites douces soit la panacée'

• **Pensions: 'La solution passe par le ciblage au niveau des individus et aussi des ménages...'**

P 8

Editorial



P 2

The Rs 25 Billion Black Hole

Breakfast with Bwana



P - irregularwarfare.org

Anil Madan

P 5

Drones Are Changing Warfare

Qs & As



Democracy or Party Dictate? The Rigid Paradox of the Local Government Act 2011

'Both the Supreme Court and the legislature view anti-defection laws -- which penalize "floor-crossing" -- as necessary to safeguard the democratic process and protect the electorate's intent

LEX P3

Sports

World Cup 2026: A Milestone of Global Diversity

With hotel bookings lagging and ICE raids dominating the news, the premier sporting event confronts a landscape of hyper-immigration control and pricing extremes



Pic - YouTube

P17

Diplomacy



Pic - Today Africa Weekly

Vijay Makhan

P7

Africa at 63: The Courage to Say No!

The Rs 25 Billion Black Hole

External Audits, Regulatory Blindness, and the Myth of Micro-management

The recent parliamentary session delivered a devastating blow to any lingering illusions regarding the institutional integrity of the Mauritian banking sector. In a formal response to Parliamentary Question B/716, the Prime Minister detailed a staggering Rs 25 billion black hole that has systematically eroded the balance sheets of four major local financial institutions over the decade spanning 2014 to 2024.

The arithmetic of this financial devastation is as precise as it is horrifying:

- Silver Bank Ltd: Rs 8.1 billion in non-performing loans (NPLs) out of a total loan portfolio of Rs 8.3 billion — meaning an unbelievable 97.5% of its lending was toxic.

- SBM Bank (Mauritius) Ltd: A massive, cumulative write-off of Rs 14.34 billion in bad loans.

- Development Bank of Mauritius Ltd: Rs 400 million classified as non-performing, heavily concentrated in five failing or liquidated companies.

- MauBank Holdings Ltd: A structural deficit of Rs 2.95 billion in negative equity driven by uninterrupted losses since 2015.

Faced with this systemic wreckage, a vital question must be asked: Where were the gatekeepers? A financial scandal of this magnitude does not occur overnight. It stems from a combination of two distinct institutional challenges: shortcomings in the oversight of external commercial audits and gaps in the central bank's regulatory supervision.

When Rs 25 billion vanishes through siphoned funds, impaired credit, and toxic write-offs, it represents an indictment of the external auditors who repeatedly signed off on these balance sheets, and a failure of the Bank of Mauritius (BoM) Supervision Department.

The Illusion of the Clean Audit

Every commercial bank is required by law to undergo rigorous annual external audits by licenced independent accounting firms. The fundamental purpose of an external audit is to provide reasonable assurance that a financial statement reflects a true and fair view of the institution's financial health. In the case of these four distressed banks, the external audit process clearly failed to flag systemic risks before they evolved into full-blown crises.

How does a bank like Silver Bank accumulate an NPL ratio of over 97% without triggering immediate alarm bells in successive audit reports? The answer lies in the structural compliance-driven nature of modern auditing, which frequently prioritizes formal box-ticking over deep forensic scepticism. External auditors routinely rely on management's self-serving valuations of collateral and optimistic loan-recovery projections. When a bank rolls over bad debt — a practice colloquially known as "evergreening" — it masks the rot by pretending a non-performing asset is still viable.

For years, the public and depositors were treated to clean audit opinions that masked structural insolvency. Auditors failed to aggressively challenge the concentration risk of loans handed out to politically exposed per-



sons or opaque shell corporate structures under the former regime. By treating asset valuation as a passive data-entry exercise rather than aggressively stress-testing the validity of the credit, external audit firms effectively provided a veneer of legitimacy to catastrophic corporate governance. They verified the math but ignored the underlying fraud.

The Bank of Mauritius' Supervision

The Prime Minister's breakdown of the BoM's Supervision Department between 2014 and 2024 reveals an institutional structure characterized by frequent vacancies and a lack of leadership continuity.

This timeline illustrates that for significant stretches of a critical decade, the very department tasked with supervising 18 banks, 6 non-bank deposit-taking institutions, and dozens of foreign exchange dealers was operating without permanent, long-term leadership, ultimately weakening the consistency of regulatory oversight. It rotated through temporary foreign secondments and collective committee management by Assistant Directors. While these internal officers may have been technically competent, a department operating under temporary or acting arrangements rarely possesses the institutional weight or political independence required to confront powerful, politically connected commercial bank boards.

This leadership vacuum directly explains why risk-based onsite examinations and offsite supervisions failed to halt the bleeding. The central bank maintained the statutory authority to intervene, yet regulatory oversight during the previous regime was insufficient to halt the significant erosion of assets across state-linked and private financial institutions.

The "Micro-management" Fallacy

In the wake of these parliamentary revelations, the Governor of the Bank of Mauritius, Priscilla Muthooru Thakoor — who assumed office in late 2025 — defended the central bank by stating that while the BoM supervises commercial entities, the banks themselves bear ultimate responsibility for their lending decisions. "We do not do micro-management," she insisted. While it is legally correct that a regulator should avoid involving itself in day-to-day credit decisions, this reality must not obscure the primary function of supervision. Commercial banks maintain the sole authority to assess credit risk through their

internal committees, but the regulator's core role is to ensure those committees operate under robust risk-management frameworks, maintain adequate capital buffers, and accurately classify non-performing assets rather than concealing them.

Under the Bank of Mauritius Act, the central bank is legally mandated to ensure the stability and soundness of the financial system. When a bank's loan portfolio becomes 97% non-performing, or when a state bank writes off Rs 14 billion in toxic assets, detecting and halting such trends is not micro-management; it is the core function of prudential oversight. This represents a fundamental responsibility and statutory duty that the Bank of Mauritius' previous leadership failed to discharge as required by law.

The Bank of Mauritius is explicitly empowered to conduct rigorous, risk-based onsite examinations, review internal governance and credit risk models, and assess internal controls. Furthermore, it holds the authority to issue binding directives, mandate immediate provisioning for bad debts, and remove non-compliant board members. Ultimately, the central bank's role is to act as an independent, vigilant watchdog. When financial anomalies are detected or risk indicators escalate, the regulator has a statutory duty to intervene decisively.

Restoring Institutional Sovereignty

The Prime Minister's announcement that the government will review the Bank of Mauritius Act and the Banking Act to align them with international best practices is a necessary first step. The decision to enlist professionals from the Reserve Bank of India to investigate past supervisory shortcomings acknowledges that the rot ran deep and requires external, objective diagnostics.

However, legislative amendments alone will not suffice. The true test of Mauritian financial sector reform will lie in rebuilding the absolute independence of the regulatory framework. The Supervision Department must be structurally insulated from both political interference and the commercial banking lobby. Concurrently, the financial regulator must hold external audit firms legally accountable for failing to report blatant asset inflation and fraudulent evergreening practices.

Mauritius cannot afford to treat the loss of Rs 25 billion as an unavoidable cost of doing business under a previous regime.

Mauritius Times

Founder/Editor: Beekrumsing Ramlallah
Aug 1954-Sept 2000

Editor: M. Ramlallah

*This paper has been produced with
the assistance of*

**K.Ramlallah, Sultana Kurmally
& Kersley Ramsamy**

28 Jawaharlal Street (formerly Wellington Street),
Port Louis - Tel: 5-29 29301 / Tel/Fax: 212 1313

mtimes@intnet.mu; www.mauritiustimes.com;

facebook.com/mauritius.times

Democracy or Party Dictate?

The Rigid Paradox of the Local Government Act 2011

‘Both the Supreme Court and the legislature view anti-defection laws — which penalize “floor-crossing” — as necessary to safeguard the democratic process and protect the electorate’s intent’

Gabriella Batour, the former Mayor of Beau-Bassin–Rose-Hill, lost both her mayoral chair and her council seat overnight following the MMM decision to revoke her party membership. This dramatic removal underscores the absolute rigidity of the Local Government Act 2011 — a framework that effectively deems a councillor resigned if they sever ties with, or are expelled from, their sponsoring party. While proponents argue these anti-defection provisions protect the democratic will by ensuring stability and preventing opportunistic “floor-crossing,” critics contend they have effectively outsourced democratic sovereignty to unelected party machines. Lex explores the deep constitutional, legal, and ethical questions surrounding local representation in Mauritius, examining whether the current legislative framework still serves local democracy or if it has simply reduced elected councillors to hostages of party leadership.

LEX

* The case of Gabriella Batour — the former Mayor of Beau-Bassin–Rose-Hill who lost both her mayoral chair and her council seat following the MMM’s decision to revoke her party membership — illustrates the absolute rigidity of the Local Government Act 2011 regarding political alignment. Does this rigid framework still serve local democracy, or has it simply turned elected councillors into hostages of party leadership?

The rigid framework of the Local Government Act 2011 fundamentally subverts local democracy, effectively turning elected councillors and mayors into hostages of central party leadership. By legally revoking a representative’s mandate simply because they have fallen out of favour with a political party, the law prioritizes party allegiance over the will of the electorate. This summary revocation of a mayor’s mandate underscores a persistent and contentious debate surrounding the autonomy of local governance in Mauritius.

* One could argue that, for a councillor who leaves their party because of a genuine ideological divergence or a matter of profound principle, the current Local Government Act is both punitive and unfair, as it effectively gives party leadership absolute control over a councillor’s freedom of conscience. What is your take on that?

Under the Local Government Act, a councillor is deemed to have resigned their seat if they leave their political group, or if the party leadership formally notifies the Ministry that the councillor no longer forms part of that group.

This mechanism highlights the ongoing challenge of balancing collective party governance with the individual freedom of conscience for local representatives. Ultimately, it sparks a fierce debate over whether statutory law should protect strict party discipline or safeguard a representative’s independent conscience.

* Does the current mechanism inadvertently reward party authoritarianism, since it makes no legal distinction between a councillor who opportunistically “crosses the floor” for personal gain and one who is arbitrarily expelled for refusing to follow a party line that has abandoned its principles?

The mechanism for revoking municipal councillors in Mauritius allows political parties to summarily expel dissenting members without establishing whether they crossed the floor for personal gain or acted out of principled disagreement. Because the legislation makes no distinction between



Pic - lexpress.mu

“Unlike local councillors, whose tenure is directly tied to their party’s internal mechanics, Members of Parliament hold an independent, national mandate. Subjecting an MP to summary removal simply for falling out with their party leadership would severely weaken the separation of powers. Such a mechanism would make it virtually impossible for parliamentarians to vote according to their conscience or the direct interests of their constituents, effectively subordinating them to the dictates of party whips...”

opportunistic defection and ethical resistance, it effectively grants party leaders unilateral control over an elected official’s mandate.

Councillors who refuse to adhere to central directives — even when those mandates compromise the very principles they were elected to uphold — face immediate expulsion and the automatic loss of their seats. This structural flaw suppresses internal debate and enforces unquestioning loyalty to the party line.

* When a political party can instantly undo a local election result by a simple administrative decree, who really holds the democratic mandate: the voters who chose the candidate to represent them, or the party machine that granted them the ticket?

Logically, the democratic mandate belongs exclusively to the voters who cast their ballots for the candidate. Stripping an elected councillor of their seat by a simple party decree

— without returning to the electorate to seek their verdict — is fundamentally undemocratic and unfair. It allows a private party apparatus to overrule the public will, subverting the very essence of representative democracy.

* In our legal hierarchy, the Constitution is supreme, and any ordinary law inconsistent with it is void. By granting private political entities the statutory power to alter the composition of an elected public body overnight, has the legislature effectively outsourced democratic sovereignty to unelected party politburos?

The Central Government retains the statutory power to dissolve municipal or village councils before the expiration of their mandates. While this authority theoretically enables the central administration to trigger fresh local elections, the broader structural configuration raises a profound constitutional dilemma. The core question remains a subject of ongoing debate: does this legislative framework inadvertently allow unelected party politburos to override democratic sovereignty and veto the explicit will of the electorate?

* Can it be argued that a statutory provision allowing a political party to summarily remove an elected representative — without judicial oversight or due process — violates the foundational democratic structure guaranteed under Section 1 of the Constitution, which declares Mauritius to be a “democratic State”?

Section 1 of the Constitution establishes Mauritius as a sovereign democratic State, a provision interpreted by the Supreme Court as safeguarding entrenched democratic tenets such as the rule of law and the protection of the electoral mandate. A statutory framework that empowers a private political entity to summarily revoke an elected official’s seat effectively invalidates the choice of the electorate. By stripping representatives of their democratic legitimacy without judicial oversight, this practice deeply compromises the principles of representative governance.

* Since Section 13 of the Constitution of Mauritius guarantees the fundamental right to freedom of association, can an ordinary statute like the Local Government Act legally penalize a citizen by stripping them of an elected public office simply for exercising their right to break ties with, or be expelled from, a political party?

Although an ordinary statute cannot override the Constitution, the Mauritian Constitution itself under Section 13 permits restrictions on the right of association if those restrictions are “reasonably justifiable in a democratic society.”

Both the Supreme Court of Mauritius and legislative actions have determined that anti-defection laws — which penalize “floor-crossing” or severing ties with the sponsoring party — are necessary to protect the democratic process and the electorate’s intent. Because voters cast their ballots for a candidate based on the political party ticket, allowing representatives to retain their seats while breaking from that party is considered a subversion of the democratic mandate.

* Section 38 of the Local Government Act effectively ensures that political floor-crossing at the local authority level immediately shifts power back to the party or alliance chosen by the electorate. Can a legal provision truly be considered democratic, however, if it leaves absolutely no room for a councillor to act as a trustee of their constituents’ interests rather than a mere agent of their party?

Such a law can be considered democratic, but it fundamentally redefines democracy as “party-based representation” rather than “individual representation”.

☞ Cont. on page 4

Democracy or Party Dictate? The Rigid Paradox of the Local Government Act 2011

Cont. from page 3

The question highlights the fundamental tension in modern representative democracy: should a representative serve their party's platform or the evolving, on-the-ground interests of their constituents?

While anti-defection rules preserve structural stability and accountability to the electorate, they do so at the cost of the individual councillor's political independence. Because there is no simple consensus on which democratic theory is superior, the legitimacy of a provision like Section 38 depends entirely on what a society values more: absolute party discipline or the independent conscience of its elected representatives.

*** Proponents of the Act argue that municipal electors vote strictly for the party banner and its collective platform, not the individual. But if that premise holds true, shouldn't the law mandate a fresh local by-election to let the voters decide, rather than allowing the party to automatically substitute the seat with their next-in-line choice?**

As a rule, a candidate stands a far greater chance of being elected under a party banner. Yet, the presence of independent candidates in municipal elections underscores that alternative paths exist. Ultimately, whether a representative is elected under a party ticket or independently, it is the explicit will of the electorate that must prevail — not the strategic dictates of a party machine.

*** Section 18 of the Local Government Act assumes that council seats belong to the party, not the individual. But doesn't this exact same logic apply to Members of Parliament, who also owe their seats to their party tickets?**

Unlike local councillors, whose tenure is directly tied to their party's internal mechanics, Members of Parliament hold an independent, national mandate. Subjecting an MP to summary removal simply for falling out with their party leadership would severely weaken the separation of powers. Such a mechanism would make it virtually impossible for parliamentarians to vote according to their conscience or the direct interests of their constituents, effectively subordinating them to the dictates of party whips.

*** Following that logic, could a municipal councillor in Mauritius successfully argue that they face unfair discrimination under Section 16 of the**

Constitution compared to their national counterparts, given that an MP can freely cross the floor or sit as an independent without automatically losing their seat in the National Assembly.

Section 16 of the Constitution strictly protects individuals from discrimination based on specific grounds — namely race, caste, place of origin, political opinions, colour, or sex.

Crucially, it does not confer a general right to equal treatment across different tiers of government or distinct political offices. Jurisprudence establishes that Members of Parliament (MPs) and municipal councillors constitute fundamentally different classes of officeholders governed by separate statutory frameworks. While MPs are national lawmakers operating directly under the constitutional architecture, municipal councillors are local representatives tasked with managing municipal affairs. Consequently, the law permits distinct rules to apply to these differing institutional roles.

LEX



DIRECTOR - REAL ESTATE & HOSPITALITY

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BOARD (EDB)

The Economic Development Board (EDB) is the Government of Mauritius' apex institution responsible for:

- Investment promotion, export promotion, and business facilitation;
- Positioning Mauritius as an international financial centre and business hub;
- Supporting structural reforms that improve the business environment.

POSITION OVERVIEW

The Director - Real Estate & Hospitality provides strategic leadership and direction for the Real Estate & Hospitality Cluster, driving investment promotion, facilitating high-value property developments, and positioning Mauritius as a premier destination for real estate investment in line with national economic objectives.

QUALIFICATIONS & EXPERIENCE

- Master's degree in related field & at least 12 years' experience including 8 years at management level.
- Proven experience in real estate development, investment promotion, or related sectors.
- Strong understanding of international property markets and investment trends.
- Experience in stakeholder engagement at senior levels.

MODE OF APPLICATION

Interested candidates are invited:

- 👉 To view the requirements and responsibilities for the above-mentioned positions by accessing the following link: <https://www.edbmauritius.org/vacancy>
- 👉 To submit their applications by **03 June 2026**, at latest. Applications received after the closing date will not be considered.

Only the best qualified candidates will be convened for interview.

EDB reserves the right not to make any appointment following this advertisement.

15 MAY 2026

Ground Floor, 7 Exchange Square, Wall Street, Ebene, 72201, Republic of Mauritius | Tel: +230 203 3800 | www.edbmauritius.org



“Jurisprudence establishes that Members of Parliament (MPs) and municipal councillors constitute fundamentally different classes of officeholders governed by separate statutory frameworks. While MPs are national lawmakers operating directly under the constitutional architecture, municipal councillors are local representatives tasked with managing municipal affairs. Consequently, the law permits distinct rules to apply to these differing institutional roles...”



Anil Madan

Drones Are Changing Warfare

Increasingly autonomous drones are redefining warfare, replacing expensive, legacy artillery with precise mass achieved through scalable, low-cost precision attacks

The other day, I read that Ukraine can produce up to 10 million drones a year whereas the US can just about manage 100,000. All of Europe combined does not have any more robust production capacity.

Cheap drones — increasingly autonomous or remotely guided — are shifting warfare away from expensive, cumbersome, and touted 'exquisite' artillery toward a model of precise mass, achieved by launching large numbers of low-cost, precision-guided weapons and sensors in scalable, systematic attacks.

Among the world's trio of great powers, the United States and Russia no longer have an edge in inventing this useful military technology. China, on the other hand, probably has a distinct advantage because it controls critical chunks of the supply chains necessary for access to components and rare earth minerals.

This shift erodes traditional advantages in airpower, strains defense-industrial bases, and forces militaries to rethink doctrine, procurement, and air defense.

Key features of this new era:

- **Low cost, long range:** Systems like Iran's Shahed 136 and Russia's Geran 2 can reach hundreds to over a thousand miles for tens of thousands of dollars per unit, versus hundreds of thousands or millions for traditional missiles. For example, the Iranian Shahed 136 drone is said to have an estimated range of 940-1240 miles, a payload of 110-330 pounds, and a cost around \$35,000.

- **Mass and saturation:** Iran and Russia routinely launch swarms — hundreds or even over a thousand drones in a week — to overwhelm air defenses. Iran can produce around 10,000 Shahed type drones per month and launched more than 1,000 in the first week of the current Gulf conflict.

- **Economics of attrition:** Shooting down a \$35,000 drone with a \$3-4 million interceptor is strategically and fiscally unsustainable. Operation Rough Rider against the Houthis cost nearly a billion dollars largely because expensive Patriot missiles were used against cheap drones.

- **Rapid innovation cycles:** Ukraine, in particular, has created a feedback loop where frontline experience, startups, and government labs iterate designs in weeks, not years. A product could move from prototype to frontline deployment within weeks. Ukraine's intense experience allows it to withdraw underperforming drones from the field in short order.

- **Doctrinal change:** Drones have evolved from niche tools to being central to strike, air defense, logistics, and even naval warfare (e.g., Ukrainian maritime drones pushing Russia's navy from the western Black Sea).

Implications for the Iran conflict

Iran has embraced drones as a way to offset US and Israeli technological superiority. Tehran unleashed a



“Cheap drones — increasingly autonomous or remotely guided — are shifting warfare away from expensive, cumbersome, and touted 'exquisite' artillery toward a model of precise mass, achieved by launching large numbers of low-cost, precision-guided weapons and sensors in scalable, systematic attacks. Among the world's trio of great powers, the United States and Russia no longer have an edge in inventing this useful military technology. China, on the other hand, probably has a distinct advantage...” Pic - Karve International

wave of Shahed drones striking targets in Bahrain, Kuwait, the UAE, Saudi Arabia, and, of course, Israel. Iran even struck the US embassy in Saudi Arabia, and critical petrochemical plant infrastructure across the Gulf nations, making drones a critical element of the Iranian strategy for retaliation.

US Central Command head Brad Cooper testified to the Senate Committee on Armed Services that Centcom played a role in regional air defense that helped intercept “more than 6,000 one-way attack drones and over 1,500 ballistic missiles aimed at US forces, Israel, and Arab partners,” during the recent Iran conflict.

The implications of drones in warfare are obvious and profound:

- **Regional vulnerability:** Gulf states' critical infrastructure — energy facilities, ports, airports, hotels — are now within reach of cheap, long-range drones, making strategic depth less meaningful.

- **Cost imposition on defenders:** US and allied forces are burning through expensive interceptors and high-end air defense systems to stop cheap drones, risking both budgetary strain and inventory depletion. Given its production capability, Iran could flood the area with thousands of drones per day. This would cause the United States and its partners to not only spend immense sums of money and put them at risk of running out of air defenses. For example, the US has already fired about 400 Tomahawks in the Iran conflict — roughly 10 percent of its inventory — at a cost of \$800 million.

The same money could have produced 23,000 LUCAS drones (the US variant of the Shahed).

- **Arms race in cheap drones:** Ukraine's success with drones is legendary. But Iran has built its own arsenal and also supplied Russia. In a curious twist, both Russia and the US have emulated Iranian technology for drone manufacture.

Strategically, the Gulf War is becoming a live laboratory for drone-on-drone and drone-versus-missile dynamics, with both sides experimenting with saturation attacks, layered defenses, and cost-imposition strategies.

Implications for the war in Ukraine

1. Ukraine as the world's drone warfare incubator

In addition to being the leader in offensive use of drones, Ukraine is also the leader in drone interception, layered air defense, electronic warfare, and unmanned systems, after four years of conflict with Russia.

- **Scale of use:** By early 2025, Ukrainian soldiers were using drones in “80 to 85 percent of all frontline strikes.”

- **Cost and volume:** First person view (FPV) drones costing \$500-\$2,000 are used to hit tens of thousands of targets each month.

- **Range and reach:** Some Ukrainian drones can strike Russian bases and oil refineries up to 1,800 miles away.

- **Diverse domains:** Ukraine excels in: (i) interceptor drones, (ii) maritime drones that have effectively ended Russia's naval dominance of the western Black Sea, and (iii) unmanned ground vehicles transforming logistics and casualty evacuation.

This has turned Ukraine into a “defense tech cluster in combat,” where soldiers, startups, and government agencies form a single ecosystem with extremely rapid feedback loops.

2. Russia's drone saturation and attrition warfare

Russia, drawing heavily on Iranian designs, has embraced drone saturation: By March 2024, Russia was launching 130 Shahed type drones a week, and six months later more than 1,100 per week. Some estimates are that Russian strikes on Ukrainian infrastructure now average around 143 attack drones per day at peak periods.

The implications are twofold. First, air defense systems face severe overload; even with interception rates around 80 percent, the sheer volume of attacks ensures that thousands of munitions still find their targets.

Drones Are Changing Warfare

Cont. from page 5

This operational strain directly creates economic pressure, forcing Ukraine and its partners into the same lopsided cost-exchange dilemma seen in the Gulf — where expensive interceptors are spent against cheap drones — ultimately pushing them to develop more affordable counter-drone solutions

3. Ukraine as Europe's "untapped arsenal"

With its technological advantage and scaled production, Ukraine holds \$25–40 billion in defense related production capacity that is underused for lack of capital. Ukraine could be viewed as Europe's untapped arsenal, capable of producing up to ten million drones per year.

The implications for Europe are profound. Opportunities for industrial partnership with Ukrainian drones co-produced in Germany, France, Italy and the UK, would allow Europe and its NATO component to rapidly scale unmanned systems without starting from scratch.

In turn, as President Trump pushes Europe to be more self-sufficient on defense and as US attention and resources are pulled toward the Indo-Pacific, Europe's ability to deter Russia will increasingly depend on strategic autonomy which can be achieved by integrating Ukrainian drone expertise and production into its own defense posture.

Implications for a potential Chinese invasion of Taiwan

Drones are already central to thinking about a Taiwan contingency, even if they have not yet been used at the scale seen in Ukraine or the Gulf.

China has the industrial base, electronics supply chain, and AI capabilities to field massive numbers of cheap, long-range drones and loitering munitions:

China could use swarms of drones to overwhelm, by saturation, Taiwanese and US/allied air defenses, clear paths for its missiles and aircraft. Attack drones could be used to target radars, airfields, and logistics hubs.

Maritime drones — akin to Ukraine's sea drones — could be used to harass or overwhelm Taiwanese and allied naval forces, mine sea lanes, or target amphibious staging areas.

Persistent drone surveillance would help China find and fix mobile targets on Taiwan and at sea, feeding data into long range missile and artillery systems.

The logic of precise mass — high volume, low cost, precision systems — appears to give China a decided edge. Given the vast distances in the Pacific Ocean and the limited range of drones,



“Opportunities for industrial partnership with Ukrainian drones co-produced in Germany, France, Italy and the UK, would allow Europe and its NATO component to rapidly scale unmanned systems without starting from scratch. In turn, as President Trump pushes Europe to be more self-sufficient on defense and as US attention and resources are pulled toward the Indo-Pacific, Europe's ability to deter Russia will increasingly depend on strategic autonomy which can be achieved by integrating Ukrainian drone expertise and production into its own defense posture...” Pic - youtube.com

sophisticated and expensive US systems will be overwhelmed by cheaper munitions, with catastrophic consequences.

The implications are profound:

The US cannot rely solely on F 35s, B 21s, Tomahawks, and other exquisite systems in a Taiwan fight; it needs large stocks of cheap drones and loitering munitions to absorb attrition and maintain pressure.

The US will require massive supplies of drones to sustain a long conflict in the Western Pacific.

Taiwan and the US will need layered, cost-effective counter drone defenses: interceptor drones, electronic warfare, directed energy weapons, and AI enabled detection and tracking.

A doctrinal change will be required. Just as Europe must integrate drones into doctrine and training, US and Taiwanese forces must treat drones as standard munitions and sensors, not boutique assets — baking them into every level of planning, from infantry squads to fleet operations.

Strategic stability and escalation

Drones complicate escalation dynamics in a Taiwan scenario:

- Lower threshold for use: Drones can be used for probing, harassment, and gray zone operations (e.g., around Taiwan's ADIZ or offshore islands) without the political cost of manned aircraft losses.

- Attribution and ambiguity: Covert or deniable drone attacks — like Ukraine's Operation Spiderweb, where drones were smuggled into Russia in trucks — could be mirrored in cyber physical operations against US or Japanese bases, raising questions about proportional response.

thetical Taiwan conflict, the same pattern emerges:

1. Power is shifting from quality alone to quality plus quantity. Cheap, precise, and increasingly autonomous drones allow states with smaller budgets — or those facing sanctions — to impose real costs on more advanced militaries.

2. Industrial capacity is now a front line. Who can build tens of thousands of drones (and counter drones) per month matters as much as who has the best fighter jet.

3. Defense economics are being rewritten. Firing multimillion dollar missiles at \$35,000 drones is “as unwise as it is unsustainable.” The side that solves the cost exchange problem — through cheap interceptors, electronic warfare, and mass produced drones — will have a major advantage.

4. Doctrine and institutions must catch up. Ukraine shows what happens when a military fully internalizes drones; NATO exercises show what happens when others have not. The same lesson applies to Gulf states and to any future coalition defending Taiwan.

Cheerz...
Bwana

The through line: from Iran to Ukraine to Taiwan

Across the Gulf, Ukraine, and a hypo-

Mauritius Times

Even if you are receiving a free copy of the paper from your contacts or WhatsApp/Email groups

YOUR SUPPORT MATTERS

As a reader-funded newspaper, the Mauritius Times relies on the support of those who are in a position to help. We know that you are fully conscious of the important role of an independent media, so even if you are receiving a free copy of the paper from your contacts or WhatsApp/Email groups, your support in the form of a subscription or patronage will allow us to pursue our mission and protect our editorial independence. That is why we would kindly request you to consider becoming a regular subscriber by sending us your contribution.

Our Annual Subs Rate amounts to Rs 1500.
Your support, however much you can contribute will be greatly appreciated.

Payment Options - Any one of the following

- By cheque drawn to the order of **The Prakash Ramlallah Foundation**. Kindly post the cheque to our postal address as above.
- Via MCB Juice to the following Phone No **5 782 9861**.
- Bank transfer, paid to **The Prakash Ramlallah Foundation**, to any one of the following bank accounts:

Bank	Account No	Swift Code	IBAN
MCB	000448214277	MCBLMUMU	MU71MCBL0901000448214277000MUR
SBM	50300000703075	STCBMUMU	MU17STCB1101000000703075000MUR
SBI	156000504401	INILMUMU	MU47INIL0801156000504401000MUR

Please send us your personal details - Name, Postal Address, Email and Telephone / Mobile number by email or WhatsApps for immediate processing of your subscription.

Another option is to subscribe by going to our Google Form by clicking on the link below:

SUBSCRIBE NOW

Please know that we are at your disposal for any clarification and assistance that you may require. You may please contact us on:

Tel - 5 2929 301 - 5 782 9861 - 212 1313 -- Email: mtimes@intnet.mu
28 Jawaharlal Street (formerly Wellington Street) -- Port Louis

Thank you so much.
Mauritius Times



Vijay Makhan

Africa at 63: The Courage to Say No!

The true measure of leadership will lie not in what is accepted, but in what is declined in defence of the continent's sovereignty, priorities, and long-term destiny

From the founding of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963 to today's African Union, Africa has moved from political awakening to a gradual assertion of agency. Sixty-three years on, the defining test is no longer unity in principle — but the discipline, and the courage, to say NO!

On **25 May 1963**, a generation of African leaders gathered in Addis Ababa to give institutional form to a simple but far-reaching idea: that the continent's destiny would be secured through unity. The creation of the Organisation of African Unity was not merely symbolic. It was a strategic act — anchored in decolonisation, but driven by a deeper conviction that sovereignty, to be meaningful, had to be exercised collectively.

Six decades on, under the banner of the African Union, that founding impulse endures — tested, adapted, and at times stretched by circumstance, but never extinguished.

From Political Solidarity to Economic Architecture

The early years of the OAU were shaped by the imperatives of decolonisation and the defence of sovereignty. Yet, even then, there was an emerging awareness that political independence, without economic transformation, would remain incomplete.

That awareness found structured expression in the **Abuja Treaty**, signed in 1991, which laid out a long-term pathway towards the **African Economic Community**. The approach was deliberate — integration would proceed step by step, anchored in the consolidation of **Regional Economic Communities** as the continent's building blocks.

Across Africa, organisations such as the Southern African Development Community, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, the Economic Community of West African States and the Economic Community of Central African States were conceived not as ends in themselves, but as instruments — incremental steps towards a broader continental framework.

This was never a short-term project. It was a generational undertaking, requiring patience, coherence and political will. It has to be conceded that not all the Communities perform at the same level.

The Moment of Awakening

At the turn of the millennium, Africa was still too often described through the prism of failure — portrayed in Western commentary as a continent trapped in a cycle of setbacks, a board of “snakes and ladders”, “the lost continent” where progress was repeatedly undone.

It was in that context that some of us sought to challenge that narrative.

I recall leading the OAU delegation to the **Seattle WTO Ministerial Conference of 1999**. What unfolded there was more than a

collapsed negotiation. It was a moment of realisation.

African countries, long accustomed to fragmented engagement, began to understand the strategic necessity of **speaking with one voice**. Positions were coordinated with greater intent. The foundations of what would later emerge as structured groupings were being laid.

It did not transform the system overnight. But it marked a shift in mindset — from participation to collective positioning.

That was, in many ways, Africa's quiet awakening.

From Vision to Instrumentation

If the OAU provided the political foundation, and the Abuja Treaty the strategic blueprint, the evolution into the African Union has increasingly focused on implementation.

The most tangible expression of this is the **African Continental Free Trade Area Agreement** — an effort to give practical effect to decades of integration thinking. It represents a recognition that vision, however compelling, must ultimately translate into operational frameworks.

Yet the journey remains uneven. Commitments are not always matched by execution. National priorities do not always align with continental ambition. And external pressures — economic, strategic, geopolitical — continue to test Africa's cohesion.

Guard the Vision or Lose It

As Africa marks 63 years of continental organisation, there is a truth that must be confronted without comfort: institutions do not collapse suddenly, they simply drift.

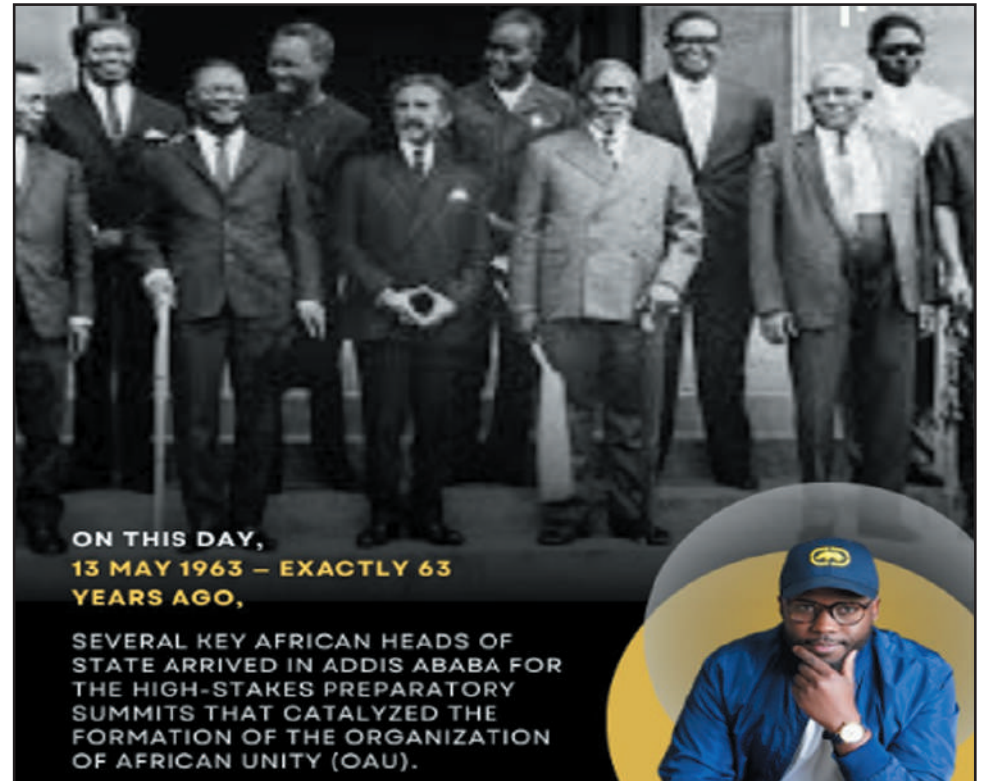
The founders of 1963 were guided by clarity. Unity was not an abstract ideal; it was an instrument of emancipation. That clarity is at risk when form overtakes substance, and when engagement is pursued without discernment.

Today, Africa is courted as never before. Partnerships are proposed, financing extended, cooperation offered — often generously packaged, frequently well-intentioned, but not always aligned with Africa's priorities.

Let us be clear — **not all assistance serves Africa's interests**.

During my tenure at the OAU/AU, in my capacity as a Deputy Secretary General and later as Commissioner, I recall advising a Council of Ministers that the time had come for Africa to recover a simple but essential faculty — the ability to **say no**.

Not as an act of defiance, but as an



ON THIS DAY,
13 MAY 1963 — EXACTLY 63
YEARS AGO,

SEVERAL KEY AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE ARRIVED IN ADDIS ABABA FOR THE HIGH-STAKES PREPARATORY SUMMITS THAT CATALYZED THE FORMATION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU).

“As Africa marks 63 years of continental organisation, there is a truth that must be confronted without comfort: institutions do not collapse suddenly, they simply drift. The founders of 1963 were guided by clarity. That clarity is at risk when form overtakes substance, and when engagement is pursued without discernment. Today, Africa is courted as never before. Partnerships are proposed, financing extended, cooperation offered — often generously packaged, frequently well-intentioned, but not always aligned with Africa's priorities...” — Pic -Instagram

expression of strategic maturity. That counsel has lost none of its relevance. If anything, it has become more urgent.

For what has followed, too often, is a pattern of unsolicited financing readily accepted, projects embraced without sufficient scrutiny, and over time, a burden of indebtedness that constrains policy space and undermines sovereignty.

Across the continent stand the visible consequences — grand conference complexes, impressive in scale but modest in utility. They signal presence of the provider, but they do not generate productivity. They impress, but they do not transform.

These are not neutral choices. They are strategic misallocations, financed at a cost that extends well beyond balance sheets.

The question that must now be asked, without evasion, is this: who sets Africa's priorities?

If Africa does not define them with clarity — and defend them with discipline — others will do so, incrementally but decisively.

To accept everything is not openness. It is exposure.

To engage without discrimination is not partnership. It is drift.

To accumulate debt for non-productive prestige is not development. It is deferred constraint.

Africa does not lack partners. What it

requires is strategic selectivity.

And above all, it must relearn the habit — long neglected, but now indispensable — of saying “no”: clearly, collectively, and without hesitation when its interests so demand.

From Awakening to Agency

Sixty-three years after Addis Ababa, the debate about whether Africa is awakening belongs to another era.

The question now is whether Africa can act with coherence and discipline: by deepening integration beyond rhetoric, by aligning national priorities with continental ambition, by engaging externally on clearly defined terms, and by exercising the restraint necessary to refuse what does not serve its long-term purpose.

Africa has not been navigating a game of chance. It has been constructing a system — patiently, unevenly, but with intent.

If the past was about awakening, and the present about asserting agency, then the future will be decided by something more exacting: the courage to refuse.

For in a world eager to engage Africa — often on terms not its own — the true measure of leadership will lie not in what is accepted, but in **what is declined in defence of the continent's sovereignty, priorities, and long-term destiny**.

Vijay Makhan

Cape Town, 20 May 2026

Me Antoine Domingue

“Je trouve cela inconstitutionnel que la FCC puisse faire la leçon au judiciaire... sous peine de sanctions pénales”

A l’heure où les équilibres constitutionnels et l’efficacité de nos institutions de contrôle sont au cœur des débats citoyens, la profession légale et la société civile observent avec une vigilance accrue les récentes directives de la *Financial Crimes Commission (FCC)*. Pour faire la lumière sur les risques d’empiètement sur l’indépendance judiciaire, ainsi que sur les grands chantiers de réformes institutionnelles et sociétales qui attendent le pays, nous avons sollicité l’opinion de Me Antoine Domingue, Senior Counsel. Avec la rigueur et la franchise qui caractérisent ses analyses juridiques, il livre au *Mauritius Times* un diagnostic sans concession sur l’État de droit, la refonte constitutionnelle à venir, la politique des drogues et l’impératif d’un ciblage social des pensions.



Mauritius Times: Les nouvelles directives de la *Financial Crimes Commission (FCC)* suscitent des inquiétudes au sein de la profession légale et de la société civile. En tant que juriste, estimez-vous que les pouvoirs accrus de cette institution constituent une menace pour l’équilibre constitutionnel entre les différents piliers de notre système démocratique, ou qu’ils représentent un risque d’ingérence politique dans l’administration de la justice?

Me Antoine Domingue: Ce ne sont pas des pouvoirs accrus, ce sont des dispositions légales de 2023 qui perdurent et que nous avons héritées de l’ancien régime. Ces dispositions n’ont pas été revues comme elles auraient dû l’être. Nous n’avons eu droit qu’à un toilettage effectué par le régime actuel au début de 2025 afin de restaurer les pouvoirs constitutionnels du DPP qui avaient été usurpés.

Dans sa mouture actuelle, le texte de loi fait obligation à la FCC de donner des directives à tous les organismes publics sans exception, y compris le judiciaire et les *service commissions* telles que la *Judicial and Legal Service Commission (JLSC)* dont l’indépendance et l’impartialité sont constitutionnellement garanties. Cela n’est pas le cas de la FCC, qui demeure peuplée de nommés politiques, et ces derniers ne présentent pas les mêmes garanties d’indépendance et d’inamovibilité.

Je trouve cela inconstitutionnel que la FCC puisse faire la leçon au judiciaire et à la JLSC sous peine de

Le texte de loi fait obligation à la FCC de donner des directives à tous les organismes publics sans exception, y compris le judiciaire et les *service commissions* telles que la *Judicial and Legal Service Commission (JLSC)* dont l’indépendance et l’impartialité sont constitutionnellement garanties. Cela n’est pas le cas de la FCC, qui demeure peuplée de nommés politiques, et ces derniers ne présentent pas les mêmes garanties d’indépendance et d’inamovibilité...

sanctions pénales, quand on sait que cette institution est chargée de la nomination des magistrats du siège, des *Law Officers* dont le DPP, du choix des juges et de la nomination de l’*Electoral Commissioner*, entre autres.

Le principe sacro-saint de la séparation des pouvoirs exige que la FCC ne puisse s’immiscer dans les affaires du judiciaire et de la JLSC, ainsi que d’autres commissions telles que la FSC, la DFSC et la LGSC.

*** Craignez-vous également que le cumul des fonctions d’enquête, de supervision et de quasi-judiciaire par la FCC ne pose un problème de fond? Dès lors, comment concilier l’impératif de prévention des crimes financiers avec le respect des libertés individuelles et des procédures?**

C’est la raison pour laquelle je pense que ces pouvoirs de supervision conférés par le texte de loi n’ont pas leur raison d’être et nuisent à l’indépendance et à la bonne marche de ces institutions.

La surintendance accordée à la FCC est complètement déplacée en ce qui concerne ces institutions qui opèrent au sommet de l’État; il est impensable que l’on puisse imaginer qu’elles puissent être assujetties à la FCC et se trouver dans l’obligation de se plier à ses recommandations sous peine de poursuites pénales.

Je vois mal le DPP agir contre ces institutions sous le diktat de la FCC.

*** Par ailleurs, le projet de créer une *Constitution Review Commission* est sur la table. Selon vous, s’agit-il d’une opportunité sincère de moderniser nos institutions et de consolider notre démocratie? Quelles seraient d’ailleurs les réformes constitutionnelles prioritaires que vous préconisez?**

C’est une opportunité, vu que la majorité qui nous gouverne dispose de plus de trois quarts des sièges au Parlement, ce qui lui permet de mettre en chantier les réformes structurelles qui sont nécessaires. En particulier en ce qui concerne l’extension des droits fondamentaux de nouvelle génération, le raffermissement de la démocratie régionale (visant l’impossibilité de renvoyer les élections municipales comme cela a été le cas), l’introduction d’une nouvelle Cour d’appel digne de ce nom, ainsi que les actions en justice d’intérêt public — *Public Interest Litigation* — avec les sauvegardes nécessaires

La surintendance accordée à la FCC est complètement déplacée en ce qui concerne ces institutions qui opèrent au sommet de l’État; il est impensable que l’on puisse imaginer qu’elles puissent être assujetties à la FCC et se trouver dans l’obligation de se plier à ses recommandations sous peine de poursuites pénales. Je vois mal le DPP agir contre ces institutions sous le diktat de la FCC...

à son bon fonctionnement. Il en va de même de la loi sur l’accès à l’information — *Freedom of Information Act*.

Ce sont les promesses électorales de l’Alliance du Changement et on s’attend à ce que ces promesses soient tenues et mises en œuvre au cours de la présente législature.

Vous n’êtes pas sans savoir que la réforme électorale ne fait pas partie des attributions de la commission Sik Yuen et qu’avec le départ de Bérenger du gouvernement, la réforme électorale est compromise. Je dois signaler que le *Best Loser System* est une des pierres angulaires de la Constitution et je ne conçois pas que l’on ait pu dissocier la réforme électorale de celle de la Constitution, car cela forme un ensemble indissociable.

*** Une révision constitutionnelle touche au pacte social fondateur de la nation. Une telle démarche ne devrait-elle pas émaner d’un consensus transpartisan ou d’une assemblée constituante indépendante, plutôt que d’une initiative purement gouvernementale?**

Les travaux d’une telle commission sont un préalable à des réformes de grande envergure. Je ne vois pas comment on peut convoquer des états généraux ou une assemblée constituante avant que le terrain ne soit balisé.

Depuis 1968, la Constitution a été amendée à plusieurs reprises (selon les dispositions de cette même Constitution), qui prescrit par quel moyen et avec quelle majorité elle peut être amendée.

☞ Suite en on page 9

'Le fléau de la drogue est grandement responsable de la recrudescence de la criminalité'

'Je ne pense pas que la légalisation ou la dépénalisation des drogues dites douces soit la panacée'

Avec le départ de Bérenger du gouvernement, la réforme électorale est compromise. Je dois signaler que le *Best Loser System* est une des pierres angulaires de la Constitution et je ne conçois pas que l'on ait pu dissocier la réforme électorale de celle de la Constitution, car cela forme un ensemble indissociable...

☞ Suite de la page 8

Et si elle doit l'être, ce doit être maintenant: il faut battre le fer tant qu'il est chaud et non pas après que la majorité requise s'est effritée.

*** Si vous deviez dresser un bilan objectif de la performance du gouvernement sur le plan de l'État de droit (*rule of law*), quels ont été, selon vous, les avancées et les plus grands manquements de cette administration au cours de ce mandat?**

Il y a eu des progrès mineurs: les pouvoirs du DPP ont été restaurés. On attend toujours la réforme de la Constitution afin de proscrire une fois pour toutes le renvoi des élections municipales.

À mon humble avis, il faut que la FCC soit remplacée par une nouvelle institution totalement indépendante de l'exécutif et dont l'indépendance et l'impartialité sont continuellement garanties. Cela tarde à venir. On attend toujours la *Freedom of Information Act*.

Tout cela aurait dû déjà être mis en œuvre, et il en va de même pour la durée des licences des radios privées, qui aurait dû être de plus d'une année. Et comme je vous l'ai déjà dit, la réforme électorale devient urgente. Il faut que les nouveaux électeurs puissent se faire enregistrer en ligne, même à la veille d'un scrutin qui devrait se dérouler par voie électronique comme cela se fait en Inde, sans souci majeur.

Un pays tel que le nôtre ne peut se permettre de brader des millions lors de l'organisation de chaque élection. Nous ne produisons ni encre ni papier; nous devrions donc introduire le vote électronique, mais en nous assurant de l'efficacité du processus afin d'éviter toute manipulation.

Ce sont ces voies qui doivent être explorées de toute urgence étant donné nos contraintes budgétaires.

*** Autre sujet de préoccupation majeure pour les Mauriciens: la recrudescence d'une criminalité qui choque profondément les esprits. Des meurtres avec préméditation aux accès de violence routière (*road rage*), en passant par des agressions gratuites pour de simples brouilles, le constat est alarmant...S'il est évidemment impossible de poster un policier à chaque coin de rue, et si bon nombre de ces délits sont intimement liés au fléau de la drogue, une question plus profonde se pose: ces dérives ne sont-elles pas le signe d'une société désormais bien éloignée de l'image de carte postale vendue aux touristes?**

Le fléau de la drogue est grandement responsable de la recrudescence de la criminalité, et il va de soi que l'on ne peut envisager de placer un policier dans chaque maison ou auprès de chaque individu. Je suis de ceux qui pensent que l'éducation est la clef du problème: à chaque fois que l'on ouvre la porte d'une école, on ferme la porte d'une prison.

Il s'agit d'un problème à dimension sociologique et ce n'est pas en réprimant à outrance ou en augmentant le nombre de policiers, et en construisant de nouvelles prisons que l'on fera reculer la criminalité rampante. Je vous signale au passage que le projet «*Safe City*», avec ses caméras de surveillance, n'a pas eu d'effet dissuasif mais a grandement aidé la police à appréhender de nombreux malfaiteurs en un temps record.

*** Face au constat que la politique purement répressive contre les drogues synthétiques montre ses limites, le cadre législatif actuel est souvent pointé du doigt. Faut-il revoir notre approche et basculer d'une logique pénale à une approche de santé publique pour les simples consommateurs, tout en durcissant la traque des parrains?**

Il me semble que c'est la seule voie qui nous reste à explorer. La répression n'a pas eu l'effet escompté, et on doit donc imaginer d'autres solutions. Je préconise donc un registre en ligne de tous les consommateurs afin de mieux les encadrer et de prévenir toute récidive.

*** Dans le débat sur la refonte de notre politique des drogues, la dépénalisation du gandia est souvent évoquée. Vous paraît-elle être une piste viable pour affaiblir les réseaux criminels et réduire la criminalité connexe?**

Je ne pense pas que la légalisation ou la dépénalisation des drogues dites douces soit la panacée, comme certains semblent le penser. Je pense tout au contraire que c'est le passage obligé vers des drogues plus dures, et donc que le remède pourrait être pire que le mal. Aussi, je ne crois pas que cela ait eu l'effet escompté dans d'autres juridictions. Au niveau mondial, les résultats d'une telle approche sont mixtes, mais jusqu'ici pas catastrophiques...

En ce qui me concerne, je ne pense pas que la légalisation ou la dépénalisation des drogues dites douces soit la panacée, comme certains semblent le penser. Je pense tout au contraire que c'est le passage obligé vers des drogues plus dures, et donc que le remède pourrait être pire que le mal.

Aussi, je ne crois pas que cela ait eu l'effet escompté dans d'autres juridictions. Au niveau mondial, les résultats d'une telle approche sont mixtes, mais jusqu'ici pas



catastrophiques. Si jamais on emprunte cette voie et que l'on se rend compte que cela mène à une prolifération encore plus prononcée de la drogue dans le pays, est-ce qu'on pourra faire marche arrière?

Je dois cependant ajouter, qu'au niveau mondial, ceux qui ont emprunté cette voie n'ont pas jusqu'ici fait machine arrière («*revert back*»). C'est donc une piste à être explorée par la *National Agency for Drug Control* (NADC), qui fut instituée en mai 2025 et qui peine toujours à trouver ses marques. A ce jour, le problème reste entier.

*** Nos prisons sont surpeuplées, en grande partie à cause des détentions provisoires prolongées et de l'incarcération des usagers de drogue. Pour désamorcer cette crise carcérale, faut-il réformer d'urgence la *Bail Act* ou la *Dangerous Drugs Act* (DDA), et quels leviers — comme les peines alternatives — le judiciaire devrait-il privilégier?**

Les enquêtes prennent trop de temps pour être diligentes, les poursuites tardent à venir et tout cela est contraire à l'article 10(1) de la Constitution qui exige un «*reasonable time requirement*».

☞ Suite en on page 10

Pensions: 'La solution passe par le ciblage au niveau des individus et aussi des ménages'

'Le gâteau qui est partageable ne devrait être partagé qu'entre ceux qui sont dans la dèche'



Suite de la page 9

Cela, on l'a déjà dit et redit à n'en plus finir, et on s'attend à ce que les enquêteurs de toutes les «*law enforcement agencies*» comprennent que l'on ne peut pas traîner les enquêtes en longueur sous prétexte de «*Mutual Legal Assistance*», comme c'est actuellement le cas.

*** Sur le plan économique, Maurice fait face à une dette publique élevée et à des défis structurels majeurs. Concernant le projet de réforme des retraites, quel regard portez-vous sur la constitutionnalité et l'équité sociale des mesures proposées? Risque-t-on de sacrifier la viabilité économique à long terme pour des gains politiques à court terme?**

Il y a une solution évidente: pas de gaspillage et un partage équitable du gâteau qui ne doit bénéficier qu'à ceux qui en ont vraiment besoin. La solution passe par le ciblage au niveau des individus et aussi des ménages.

Certains pensent que la femme d'un milliardaire devrait continuer à toucher la *Basic Retirement Pension* (pension de vieillesse), sinon cela équivaldrait à un «*domestic abuse*»; c'est un argument ridicule qui devrait être sommairement rejeté puisqu'une telle personne ne peut pas être enregistrée sur le «*Social Register of Mauritius*» (SRM), basé sur un revenu par foyer et non par individu.

Il en va de même pour les membres de la diaspora qui viennent hiberner à l'île Maurice pendant 6 mois avant l'âge de 65 ans afin de bénéficier de la pension non contributive. On doit immédiatement mettre un terme à de tels abus.

Les enquêtes prennent trop de temps pour être diligentées, les poursuites tardent à venir et tout cela est contraire à l'article 10(1) de la Constitution qui exige un «*reasonable time requirement*». Cela, on l'a déjà dit et redit à n'en plus finir, et on s'attend à ce que les enquêteurs de toutes les «*law enforcement agencies*» comprennent que l'on ne peut pas traîner les enquêtes en longueur...

Il me semble que le ciblage est inévitable. Le gâteau qui est partageable ne devrait être partagé qu'entre ceux qui sont dans la dèche. Cela me paraît une évidence et une vérité de La Palice. Comme dirait l'Anglais: "You must cut your coat according to your cloth."

La «*Basic Retirement Pension*» (BRP) dans sa for-

mule actuelle n'est pas soutenable à son niveau actuel, car elle concerne pas moins de Rs55,4 milliards par an sur un budget total de la Sécurité sociale s'élevant à Rs71,6 milliards.

Je tiens à faire ressortir que le comité d'experts présidé par l'actuaire Ashok Prayag devrait avoir soumis son rapport intérimaire hier car c'était la date butoir pour sa soumission au comité interministériel chargé de se pencher sur cette question brûlante.

Attendons de voir comment les décideurs politiques vont réagir aux recommandations qui leur seront soumises.

En ce qui me concerne, la BRP ne devrait être octroyée que sous la forme d'un «*subsistence allowance*» à ceux et celles qui en ont vraiment besoin.



STC
STATE TRADING CORPORATION

PROCUREMENT NOTICE

OPEN INTERNATIONAL BIDDING SUPPLY OF BASMATI RICE

Procurement Reference: STC/BR/2026/01

1. The State Trading Corporation (STC) is inviting bids from eligible bidders for the Supply of Basmati Rice for the period covering 01 August to 31 October 2026 as per requirements contained in the bidding document.
2. Bidding document may be downloaded, free of charge, from the STC's website on <https://www.stcmu.com>.
3. Bids must be submitted, in PDF format, through STC's dedicated email address tender@stcmu.com as per terms and conditions laid down in the bidding document at latest on **29 May 2026 up to 14:00 hrs (Mauritian Time)**.
4. Bids received after the submission deadline and/or submitted to an email address other than the mentioned dedicated email address above, shall not be considered.
5. Bids will be opened at the STC, Head Office, Ebène, on **29 May 2026 from 14:01 hrs** in the presence of bidders/representatives who may choose to attend.
6. Any request for clarification in respect of the bids shall be submitted on the email address query-food@stcmu.com as per dates laid in the bidding document.
7. The STC reserves the right to accept or reject any Bid, annul the Bidding process and reject all Bids at any time prior to award of the Contract, without thereby incurring any liability to any Bidder.

15 May 2026



Nandini Bhautoo

Moorthy Nagalingum: The Artist Who Painted the Soul of Mauritius

The passing of Moorthy Nagalingum marks not simply the departure of a painter, but the fading of an entire era in the cultural history of Mauritius. Great artists are often also great poets, because they possess the rare sensibility to see the world differently. Moorthy Nagalingum belonged to that lineage. He once said that he tried to reproduce emotions in his paintings. That perhaps remains the clearest key to understanding both the man and his work.

To generations of Mauritian artists and art lovers, he represented a quiet revolution. When he returned to Mauritius after studying at Visva-Bharati University, he brought with him not merely techniques, but a radically different vision of art itself. He had absorbed the philosophy of Santiniketan, where art was not confined to representation alone, but became an exploration of feeling, memory, silence, and inner movement. Critics, colleagues and artist friends who knew him for decades often spoke of how revolutionary his approach appeared in Mauritius at the time. His paintings no longer sought merely to reproduce the visible world. Instead, they existed at the liminal threshold of form and feeling, filtering reality through emotion, intuition, and distinct states of being.

And yet, for all his abstract sensitivity, Moorthy Nagalingum remained astonishingly capable of capturing the precision of lived reality.

Back in 2006, I stood before a painting of a milk-merchant on the walls of the Mahatma Gandhi Institute and found myself dumbstruck. In the precision of his brushstrokes, I recognized the profile of my Dada, the milk merchant of Camp Yolloff. It was not simply resemblance. It was memory itself rendered visible.

For years, I carried a question within me. When I finally met Moorthy Nagalingum in September last year, I asked him how he had come to paint my grandfather.



Nandini Bhautoo's Dada - Painting by Moorthy Nagalingum



Moorthy Nagalingum leaves behind far more than paintings. He leaves behind a way of seeing, a way of feeling. Pic - Défi

Had he posed for him? He smiled gently and explained that he had been a young adolescent then and had observed the milkman making his rounds through Port Louis with the huge pail of milk perched on his head. That precision of the brush strokes came entirely from memory. He transformed fleeting scenes of everyday life into part of the nation's emotional archive, sometimes through representation, more often through the curvature of space and colours, where often the emotions became the dominant reality.

Beyond this deeply personal anecdote lies something larger: the memory of Mauritius itself.

Today, art exhibitions proliferate across the island. Young artists find platforms, galleries, audiences and institutions willing to support them. But early post-independence Mauritius was a very different world. Art was not considered a viable path. Few understood what fine arts could mean in a society still emerging from the harshness of colonial legacies, economic uncertainty and social reconstruction. It required immense courage, vision and conviction first to study art abroad, then to return home and dedicate oneself to practising and teaching it.

Moorthy Nagalingum did precisely that.

As founder and long-time driving force behind the *School of Fine Arts* at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, he helped democratise artistic education in Mauritius. He created spaces where young Mauritians from all backgrounds could encounter art seriously, perhaps for the first time. He also founded the 'Salon de Mai', which became one of the country's most important artistic meeting grounds and a vital platform for emerging talent.

Many who worked alongside him remember not only his brilliance, but his discretion and humility. In a world increasingly obsessed with visibility and self-promotion, Mr Nagalingum chose withdrawal over spectacle. Even at the height of his recognition, he remained profoundly modest, often uncomfortable with praise. If one were to define him, it would be through simplicity, honesty, reserve, and a refusal to place himself above the work

itself.

Perhaps that is why, for many years, he seemed to recede quietly from the public spotlight, almost as though Mauritius itself had momentarily forgotten the magnitude of what he had given to its artistic consciousness.

What a poignant and fortunate coincidence, then, that the Government of Mauritius chose recently to honour him with the title of *Commander of the Order of the Star and Key of the Indian Ocean* back in March this year, on the occasion of the 58th Independence Day.

“Today, art exhibitions proliferate across the island. Young artists find platforms, galleries, audiences and institutions willing to support them. But early post-independence Mauritius was a very different world. Art was not considered a viable path. Few understood what fine arts could mean in a society still emerging from the harshness of colonial legacies, economic uncertainty and social reconstruction. It required immense courage, vision and conviction first to study art abroad, then to return home and dedicate oneself to practising and teaching it. Moorthy Nagalingum did precisely that...”

To him, the medal may not have mattered greatly. By all accounts, he measured achievement through sincerity of work rather than decorations or acclaim. But to the rest of us, that recognition matters deeply.

It means that Mauritius did not entirely fail him. It means that before his final departure, the nation paused long enough to acknowledge the man who had spent decades quietly shaping its artistic soul.

Moorthy Nagalingum leaves behind far more than paintings. He leaves behind a way of seeing, a way of feeling.



Finance the acquisition
of land, apartment, land
& house or property

NIC HOME LOAN

Get your quote

602 3000 | loanoperations@nicl.mu

Terms & Conditions apply

National Insurance Co. Ltd (IS15000024) is licensed by the Financial Services Commission.

A New Geopolitical Geometry: Beijing Takes the Driver's Seat

It has been a defining week for global diplomacy in Beijing. By hosting back-to-back visits from US President Donald Trump and Russian President Vladimir Putin, Chinese President Xi Jinping effectively signalled a profound structural shift in international politics. China is no longer just a player in the great-power game; it is positioning itself as its central node.

The contrast between the two visits highlights Beijing's rising confidence and its evolving relationship with Washington. Trump's state visit -- his first to Beijing since 2017 -- occurred against a backdrop of strained ties, a US military focus on the Middle East, and a transforming American foreign policy. Yet, Xi's dominant body language and distant posturing sent a clear message: Washington's ability to influence Beijing has severely diminished. Trump departed without a formal deal, a joint communiqué, or a breakthrough on Taiwan or Iran. More pointedly, Xi invoked the "Thucydides Trap," warning Trump that a containment strategy risks creating a major crisis.

Conversely, Putin's 25th official visit to



Putin and Xi shaking hands after signing deals at the Great Hall of the People on May 20. Pic - EPA

China yielded some 20 agreements spanning trade and technology. As Russia seeks an economic lifeline and diplomatic cover amid its grinding war with Ukraine, the strategic alignment has become

visibly unequal. Beijing is using this leverage to pressure the US. In a telling exchange at the Zhongnanhai leadership compound, Xi subtly reminded Trump of his deep rapport with Putin, signalling that

China's "no limits" partnership with Russia provides it with powerful strategic options. Beijing does not need Moscow to win in Ukraine; the mere capability to bolster Russia's war effort through economic and technological cooperation gives China unprecedented leverage that reaches deep into Europe.

However, Xi remains a pragmatic driver. Despite Moscow's eagerness to capitalize on Middle Eastern energy disruptions by pushing the Power of Siberia-2 gas pipeline, Beijing withheld a final signature, demonstrating that it dictates the terms.

Historically, Washington sat at the apex of the "great triangle," balancing relations between China and Russia. Today, that geometry has flipped. Both Trump and Putin felt compelled to travel to Beijing for stabilization and reassurance. By engaging both superpowers entirely on its own terms, China has proven that great-power politics no longer revolves around Washington. Increasingly, the road of global diplomacy runs directly through Beijing.

Across the Globe



How Trump is pushing Cuba to the brink. Pic - CNN

US ramps up Cuba pressure

The US indicted former Cuban President Raúl Castro, potentially setting the stage for military intervention in the island nation. The indictment alleges Castro was responsible for the 1996 shooting down of two civilian planes carrying aid to Cuba. Washington appears to be following the same playbook it used against Venezuela's former leadership — first building a legal case, then deploying military assets to the region. The USS Nimitz arrived in the Caribbean on Wednesday.

Meanwhile, conditions in Cuba remain dire amid prolonged power cuts that have left many, including hospital patients, struggling. Still, some remain hopeful. "Something good has to come out of all this," one Havana resident told The Wall Street Journal.

AI just at 'the beginning'

Recent breakthroughs in AI have left the world "at the foothills of the singularity," Demis Hassabis said. The Google DeepMind CEO told the company's annual developer conference that AI agents are already doing useful work, accelerating science, mathematics, and crucially, AI development itself. The "singularity," pro-

posed by futurist Ray Kurzweil, envisions AI becoming increasingly capable of accelerating its own research, eventually triggering an intelligence explosion. "This year, I really felt ... that it's the beginning," Hassabis said.

More immediate impacts are already emerging. Jamie Dimon told Bloomberg that JPMorgan Chase would hire "more AI people and fewer bankers" — and fewer employees overall — as part of a broader financial-sector shift toward automation.

Oil prices rise on Iran defiance

Oil prices jumped to around \$100 a barrel after Iran's president said his country would not be intimidated into surrender. Despite two Chinese tankers successfully passing through the Strait of Hormuz, crude prices climbed about 3% after Masoud Pezeshkian said it was a "delusion" to think Iran could be forced into submission.

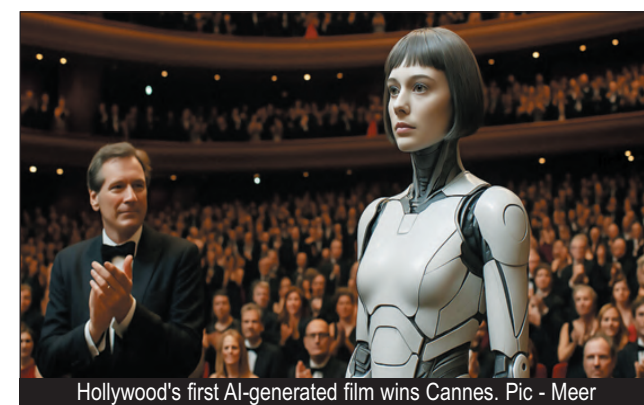
While the oil market has shown remarkable resilience in the face of the largest energy shock in history, Reuters' energy columnist argued that it is rapidly approaching a breaking point. Global supplies are tightening while countries worldwide are accelerating efforts to reduce fossil fuel dependence, whether through greener power grids or incentives for EV adoption. "Where things stand today is already sombre" for the oil market, Bloomberg's Javier Blas wrote.

US sends deportees to Sierra Leone

A plane carrying nine US deportees arrived in Sierra Leone on Wednesday, a move widely condemned by rights groups and experts. The West African nation joins several others on the continent that have agreed to receive third-country migrants deported from the US. Despite external criticism, Washington's immigration crackdown — which has reduced undocumented crossings at the southern border to their lowest level in years — remains broadly popular among Republican

voters. A recent poll showed that more than three-quarters want the next party candidate to maintain the same direction on immigration.

However, the policy could have significant economic consequences. One recent estimate suggests the crack-down may result in nearly \$500 billion in lost tax revenue over the next decade.



Hollywood's first AI-generated film wins Cannes. Pic - Meer

AI-generated movie at Cannes

A fully AI-generated film will debut at the Cannes Film Festival this week. *Hell Grind*, created by a San Francisco startup, follows four thieves journeying into hell. Of its \$500,000 budget, \$400,000 was reportedly spent on AI computing power.

Hollywood has long expressed concern about AI, with the major 2023 strikes driven partly by fears among writers and actors about being replaced. But attitudes now appear to be shifting.

Demi Moore told Cannes that "AI is here" and resisting it is "a battle that we will lose." One of *Hell Grind*'s creators argued that filmmaking skills remain essential, saying: "You still have to understand camera composition and shot changes."

Iran rebuilding military base, restarts drone production amid truce, US intel suggests

Iran has resumed part of its drone production during the six-week ceasefire that started in early April, two sources familiar with US intelligence assessments told CNN. Four sources told the media outlet that United States intelligence assessments suggest Iran's military recovery is progressing at a faster pace than initially expected.

Pakistan army chief Asim Munir is reportedly set to enter the ceasefire efforts, a development that comes after Iran said on Wednesday that it was reviewing a new US proposal aimed at ending the Middle East conflict, while President Donald Trump described the negotiations as being on the "borderline" between reaching an agreement and renewed military action as the conflict, under a temporary truce, neared the three-month mark, reports HT.

Iran war news - Key points

US-Iran war status: An April 8 ceasefire, brokered by Pakistan, brought an end to direct fighting between Iran, the United States and Israel, but verbal hostilities have continued to intensify. Trump has repeatedly warned of renewed military action, while Iranian officials have answered with increasingly sharp rhetoric and unabashed trolling through its social media handled.

Latest big updated on ceasefire by Trump: US President Donald Trump on Wednesday said talks with Iran were in final stages, adding that an agreement could emerge "very quickly" or "in a few days." He, however, stressed that Tehran must provide "100 per cent good answers." "We'll either have a deal or we're going to do some things that are a little bit nasty... but hopefully that won't happen," he said.

Iran's response to Trump: Iranian foreign ministry spokesman Esmail Baqaei said Tehran had "received the points of view of the American side" and was currently reviewing them, AFP reported. He reiterated Iran's demands, including the release of frozen assets and the lifting of the US blockade on Iranian ports.



Iran's Drone production back on track weeks after ceasefire. Pic - NewsX

Earlier, Tehran's chief negotiator Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf accused Washington of attempting to reignite the conflict after Trump threatened further strikes unless Iran accepted a deal. Ghalibaf warned of a "forceful response", while Iran's Revolutionary Guards declared that any renewed conflict would extend well beyond the Middle East.

Strait of Hormuz: Although the temporary ceasefire on April 9 stopped active combat, it has not led to the reopening of the Strait of Hormuz - the strategic waterway that normally handles about one-fifth of global oil and liquefied natural gas shipments.

The UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) on Wednesday warned that disruptions in the Strait of Hormuz could "trigger a severe global food price crisis" in the months ahead. The future of the Strait of Hormuz remains one of the major obstacles in negotiations, with growing fears that the global economy could face further strain as pre-war oil reserves diminish.

Pakistan Army chief set to visit Tehran: Pakistan's army chief Asim Munir is reportedly set to visit Iran on Thursday to join and boost the mediation efforts for a long-standing ceasefire between Iran and the US. Pakistan interior minister Mohsin Naqvi also travelled to Iran for the second time this week as mediation efforts continued amid stalled negotiations between Tehran and Washington, according to Iranian state media citing diplomatic sources in Islamabad.

US, UK ease Russia oil sanctions

Energy price spikes caused by the Iran war are forcing Western countries to let Russia back in from the cold. The US extended Russian oil waivers this week, and the UK on Tuesday softened sanctions on jet fuel refined in third countries using Russian oil, imports of which had been banned since the invasion of Ukraine.

The EU, meanwhile, may reopen formal communications with Moscow for the first time since the Ukraine war began, amid concerns that Washington is distracted from peace talks by its conflict with Iran. But the Kremlin may struggle to take advantage: Ukrainian drone attacks have damaged oil infrastructure capacity, and ports, pipelines, and refineries are already operating close to their limits, Reuters reported.



Donald Trump has announced US sanctions on oil companies Rosneft and Lukoil in response to Russia's ongoing war in Ukraine. Photograph: Sergei Karpukhin/Reuters

Across the Globe

FIFA World Cup is a win for diasporas

This year's FIFA World Cup will be a triumph for diasporas. Only one Curaçao player was born in Curaçao, while around 75% of Cape Verde's squad and roughly 85% of Haiti's were born overseas. The 2026 tournament could set a record for players representing countries in which they were not born, one analyst noted.

There are two main reasons. One, as seen with Morocco's 2022 team, is that diaspora players often feel a stronger connection to their ancestral homeland than to their country of birth. The other is simple competition: some nations have an abundance of talent, making it difficult to secure a place in the national squad — hence the joke in the 2001 film Mike Bassett: England Manager: "Let's hear it for the England B team!"



FIFA World Cup is a win for diasporas. Pic - The Atlantic

* * *

Asia, Africa squeezed further

The fallout from the Iran war deepened globally as countries struggled to contain the impact of rising fuel and commodity prices. Higher petrol costs have sparked deadly protests and strikes across Africa, with demonstrators in Comoros, Kenya, and Mozambique clashing with authorities in recent days. The continent is particularly vulnerable, given that it imports the vast majority of its fuel.

Indonesia — which has taken a significant fiscal hit from the war — imposed export restrictions on certain commodities as it seeks to boost government revenue. The war is also hitting rich countries: the UK Treasury is reportedly urging supermarkets to impose price caps on some groceries as the government attempts to tame inflation.

* * *

WHO fears Ebola 'scale and speed'

The head of the World Health Organization said he was "deeply concerned about the scale and speed" of the Ebola outbreak in the Democratic Republic of Congo, which is already grappling with a significant aid shortfall. Authorities in Kinshasa have reported at least 131 deaths and 500 suspected cases, though cases have also been confirmed in Kampala, the capital of neighbouring Uganda.

Response efforts in the DRC have been hindered by budget strains at the WHO — which the US left this year — as well as sudden Western aid cuts to Africa. A roiling conflict in eastern DRC is compounding the crisis: "This outbreak is hitting a country already stretched to breaking point," Oxfam said.

* * *

New projects seek to bypass Hormuz



A person works near an oil tanker docked at the Port of Fujairah in the United Arab Emirates on May 6. The UAE has accused Iran of attacking the port several times during the war. Amr Alfiky/Reuters

The Strait of Hormuz closure is driving renewed momentum behind deals and infrastructure projects aimed at bypassing the oil chokepoint. The Iran war is accelerating a push away from fossil fuels, but "the world still runs... on oil and gas," Semafor's energy editor wrote.

The UAE is racing to complete a pipeline aimed at doubling its oil export capacity outside Hormuz; Iran is working with Turkey to increase oil exports; India is deepening energy ties with the UAE, as is Japan with South Korea; and Russia and China are discussing a long-stalled pipeline this week. The moves come as Iran appears to seek permanent leverage over the waterway — not by closing it, but by regulating it, JPMorgan analysts wrote.

Compiled by K. Ramlallah



— my.t money lottery —
**RS 2 MILLIONS
À GAGNER!**



*In Ze
Pocket
with my.t*

Terms and conditions apply.

Payez avec my.t money et tentez de remporter un premier prix de Rs 2 millions, un deuxième prix de Rs 500,000 ou un troisième prix de Rs 300,000 et plein d'autres prix à gagner !

Jusqu'au 10 juillet 2026.

my.t money is a product of Cellplus Mobile Communications Ltd, holder of a Payment Service Provider licence from the Bank of Mauritius

Téléchargez
l'application



From Our Archives -- A Glimpse into 1961

7th Year No 336

MAURITIUS TIMES

Friday 10 February, 1961

• *The government must always be a step in advance of the popular movement.* — Count Arnim-Boytzenburg



Where is Mauritianisation?

In our issue of 13th January, we reviewed the declared policy of mauritianising the public service. We made it clear that even posts which can be filled by Mauritian officers are being given to overseas officers. Among some cases we mentioned, we pinpointed the posts of Senior Education Officers created last year.

When we wrote our article referred to above, we were not in possession of all the facts concerning these two posts of Senior Education Officers. But on Monday last *Action* mentioned that the two local officers competing for these posts are Messrs D. Burrenchobay and Lamy. The British officer who is looking forward to having one of these posts is Mr D. Hollingworth, who is an Education Officer, but who is junior to Messrs Burrenchobay and Lamy.

We gather that the appointments have not been made yet and therefore we think it is necessary to warn Government against the dangers inherent in the policy of discarding Mauritian officers for the benefit of British offi-

cers.

We wish to make it clear that we have nothing against Mr Hollingworth. We have had the pleasure of knowing him personally and working together with him. He is an able, energetic, and honest officer. We know also Mr Burrenchobay, who is not in any way inferior to Mr Hollingworth except that he is a Mauritian.

Unfortunately, we do not have the pleasure of knowing Mr Lamy, but according to information available to us, he is as capable as his two colleagues we have mentioned. We are against the appointment of Mr Hollingworth because we feel that these two posts should go to Mauritian officers: we want Government to keep its word: we want Government to follow the straight line and, in the circumstances obtaining in Mauritius, there is none but the straight line to be followed.

It is worthwhile observing that if Mr Hollingworth is appointed, the Government would directly play into the

hands of the Parti Mauricien and its allies who want, by hook or by crook, to prove that the Government is working against the people. If Mr Burrenchobay is appointed and Mr Lamy discarded, the Government will but strengthen the current of opinion that the Labour Party is bent upon favouring Hindus.

On the other hand, if Mr Lamy is appointed and Mr Burrenchobay discarded, the impression will be confirmed that merit, efficiency, and seniority are but empty catch-words uselessly bandied about by a hypocritical administration.

Therefore, there can never be any dream of appointing Mr Hollingworth: the two posts of Senior Education Officers must go to Mauritian officers whoever they may be.

We are well aware of the possibility that some may frown at us and accuse us of deliberately mixing administration with politics. But we hope that no one will dare do so, or else they will betray their glaring ignorance of both politics and administration, and they will thus expose their ignorance of local conditions.

It is high time we know that politics cannot be utterly divorced from administration: they do meet somewhere. Moreover, what is administratively good is not necessarily politically correct, and it is here that we have been erring so far; it is precisely at this very point that the Opposition is constantly beating. This is extremely serious and we would ask our Ministers to look seriously into this situation.

Finally, we must say that our faith in Mr Beejadhur is as strong as ever. He has shown his stamina, and when he took the Ministry over, he abundantly showed that he was not prepared to stand any nonsense on the part of any obstructionist whoever he happened to be.

As Minister of Education, Mr Beejadhur has already a claim to a brilliant place in our history. We wish him well, and if he is determined to keep to the straight line he himself has drawn, he will have our unreserved support. We know that, after all, Mr Beejadhur does not have a completely free hand in this matter. We would appeal to His Excellency the Governor and Mr T. D. Vickers to consider our views and the case we have made out. The situation is grave indeed.

About the Police

In August last year, two workers, supporters of the Mauritius Labour Party, were arrested at a meeting of the Parti Mauricien in Port Louis because it was alleged that they were causing trouble at the meeting. They were kept in jail for a whole night and subsequently they were taken to court where they were fined.

We do not dispute the verdict of the Magistrate. Although we could have questioned the action of the Police, we preferred not to. Let us say that probably the Police was right. But it appears that the Police is not keen to do its duty in the same way in all circumstances.

Let us consider a few facts — disturbing facts indeed.

At the Labour Party and Comité d'Action Musulman's meeting at Vacoas on 29th of January, a group of Parti Mauricien (PM) supporters, including a few VIPs, was present and kicked up quite a row. It was clear that they were bent upon disturbing

the meeting. The police did not touch them. The police kept mum and some officers were good enough to smile at the drunken hecklers.

Again, at the Labour Party meeting in Beau Bassin, a few PM hecklers came and tried to kick up a row; they could not be as vociferous as in Vacoas, but here too the Police was silent and smiling. We want to know why? And the sooner Mr Vickers, or Ministers in charge of the Police, look into this matter, the better.

Mr Vickers has a lot of experience in such matters, and he knows that if such fissiparous tendencies are not curbed, the situation will become explosive and the outcome will be difficult to foresee.

We want to know why the Police are so quick to lay hands on humble workers and why so hesitant with so-called cultured brigands. This too is a point which we would like Mr Vickers to study. It will not be difficult, and it won't take much time either.

Publish Your Notices
in
Mauritius Times Digital Editions

- Annual General Meeting (AGM)
- General Assembly
- Applications for Building and Land Use Permits
- Corporate - Company Notices

Send Your Notices + Proof of ID by Email
or WhatsApp No - 5 2929301

Payment: Bank Transfer or by Juice No. 5782 9861

Contact us: Tel: 212 1313 -- 5 2929301
Email: mtimes@intnet.mu



Chuka Onwumechili
Professor of Communications,
Howard University

World Cup 2026: A Milestone of Global Diversity

With hotel bookings lagging and ICE raids dominating the news, the premier sporting event confronts a landscape of hyper-immigration control and pricing extremes

The most culturally diverse men's football World Cup in history is taking place in the United States at a time when foreign nationals feel less and less welcome in the country.

The 2026 competition kicks off on 11 June with games in Canada, Mexico, and the US. The US will host by far the largest number of matches, including the championship game. The 2026 cup is also hosting the largest number of competing teams in history – 48.

Over its near century-long history, the competition has remained the premier sporting event, attracting the largest number of travellers. Some spend huge sums of personal savings to be at the matches to cheer on their country and favourite teams.

Held every four years, the International Federation of Association Football (Fifa) World Cup is a mega sporting event that serves as a large avenue for cultural meetings and exchanges.

The 2022 World Cup in Qatar attracted 1.4 million visitors to a country of slightly over 2 million people. The number of travellers for the 2026 World Cup is expected to drop to 1.2 million due in part to the activities of the United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency. Still, the number remains significant.

As a professor of intercultural communication, with decades of research connecting culture to communication, I have found the World Cup of particular interest. The number of global travellers to the World Cup brings with it cultural communication exchanges that cannot be overstated.

Intercultural communication involves contact between people with differing beliefs, values and norms. Cultural communication theorists define such exchanges over a short period as the earliest stages of acculturation, called the honeymoon stage.

It is an important stage of cultural encounter that helps advance social comfort and learning. It eases anxiety in a different cultural environment. These encounters go beyond the stadiums that will host games. They include encounters in neighbourhood stores, transport systems, bars and hotels, among others. Even for those watching remotely.

Matches on the field have the power to rise above the politics of the day and bring cultural unity.

Football and cultural exchange

Cultural encounters at previous World Cups have led to the spread of fan culture across the world. Think of the



Pic - Voye Global

spread of the stadium wave or use of the vuvuzela, a coloured plastic horn.

The wave involves sections of fans in a stadium standing up by turns. This provides a spectacle that is believed to have spread to most of the world after magnificent wave scenes at the 1986 World Cup in Mexico.

At the 2010 World Cup, a South African fan tradition of blowing the vuvuzela spread to the rest of the world. There were vigorous attempts to clamp down on it because it was so noisy. But a few fans have kept the tradition alive.

Cultural exchange remains a critical aspect of a World Cup. The 2026 event will be no different. While most media reports focus on the vivid exchanges like the wave and vuvuzela, there are others that happen at the interpersonal and small group levels. Those exchanges can be just as long lasting. They include friendships, cultural learning, and the countering of cultural loathing and stereotyping.

How will that work in the US?

The US is a strong location for such cultural exchange. The country has historically accepted the largest number of migrants in the world and the resulting interactions have led to indelible cultural impact over generations. There is, for instance, a large Asian population in the north-west parts of the country and a large Mexican population in the south.

Yet, in 2026, the US has created an unwelcome situation for potential travellers. ICE raids on suspected migrant populations have dominated the news for months. This has an impact on numbers.

Hotel bookings are far below expectation in 11 US host cities. One report claims there is a booking pace

“below expectations, trailing even a typical June or July without any major events”. Human Rights Watch has urged Fifa to pressure the US government to establish an “ICE Truce” during the competition.

An expensive trip

Fans hoping to attend the World Cup are also reportedly concerned about ticket and transport prices. Recently, Fifa's marketplace, which serves as a resale platform, advertised “four tickets to the final at a cost of \$2.3 million each”. While Fifa does not control pricing on its resale site, it takes 15% of the purchase fee from the buyer and 15% from the seller. This means Fifa would make US\$690,000 if just one of the tickets sold at that price. It's a staggering sum for a football match.

Fifa president Gianni Infantino defended the high cost of tickets by claiming it was the cost of doing business in the US market. Yet, such prices are nearly five times higher than the last World Cup in Qatar.

The New Jersey transport system eventually set train roundtrip transport at US\$105 after a public outcry after an initial plan to increase the fare to US\$150. The fare normally costs US\$18.

The high costs and hyper immigration control associated with attending the World Cup in the US are likely responsible for the dampened hotel bookings.

Global broadcasts

There are even concerns with global broadcasts of games. China and India, the two most populated countries in the World Cup, may not often reach the final stages, but they are avid viewers of the games. Neither has access as Fifa has yet to reach TV and digital coverage agreements with providers in those countries. At the 2022 World Cup, the two countries reportedly accounted for 22.6% of total global TV reach. China alone accounted for 49.8% of viewing hours on digital and social platforms. The dispute involves the huge sums Fifa is asking for broadcast rights.

There are cultural exchanges that the World Cup provides even for those who watch from home in different parts of the world. While not as powerful as cultural learning through in-person contacts, there are still opportunities to learn, depending on the focus of the media coverage.

The men's World Cup, which celebrates 100 years in 2030 and is co-hosted by an African country (Morocco), remains a key event in fostering cultural understanding and exchange. While the 2026 World Cup will do this, it has also brought to the fore the event's ability to create division.

Banking

From Juice to Apple Pay: The Accelerating Evolution of Cashless Mauritius

The landscape of retail banking in Mauritius is undergoing a structural shift, marked by a rapid departure from cash in favour of integrated digital solutions. As one of the leaders of this transition, the Mauritius Commercial Bank (MCB) has progressively expanded its payment ecosystem, aiming to enhance flexibility, security, and financial inclusion across retail, family, and corporate market segments.

The quantitative realities of this shift are striking. According to internal data from MCB, the ratio of cash transactions relative to digital payments among its retail customer base has plummeted over a five-year period. In 2021, cash accounted for 46% of retail customer transactions; by April 2026, that figure dropped to just 25%. This downward trajectory reflects an accelerating societal alignment with cashless commerce.

A Decade of Infrastructure Building

This digital transition is built upon a decade-long rollout of interconnected payment infrastructure. The foundation was laid in 2013 with the launch of the mobile application MCB Juice.

Rather than relying on isolated proprietary systems, MCB's strategy has



Stephanie Ng Tseung, Head of Payments at MCB, alongside Yared Endale, Head of Eastern Africa at Visa, and Shehryar Ali, Senior Vice President and Country Manager for East Africa & Indian Ocean Islands at Mastercard

focused on architectural interoperability. The bank successfully integrated the MAUCAS unified QR code system introduced by the Bank of Mauritius (BoM), enabling seamless, cross-platform mobile transactions. When layered with Near Field Communication (NFC) contactless card technology and mobile "Tap to Pay" features, these initiatives have systematically lowered transactional friction for consumers while allowing small and medium enterprises (SMEs) to adopt digital merchant solutions with minimal friction.

The Integration of Apple Pay

In a move to align local banking with international digital standards, MCB has officially integrated Apple Pay into its payment network. The solution is immediately avail-

able to MCB clients holding valid Visa or Mastercard payment cards, allowing contactless transactions via iPhone, Apple Watch, iPad, and Mac.

For brick-and-mortar merchants already equipped with contactless point-of-sale (POS) terminals, the adoption of Apple Pay requires no hardware modifications. For e-commerce operators utilizing MCB's digital payment gateways, the implementation provides a streamlined checkout pathway. By utilizing native biometric authentication — such as Face ID or Touch ID — online consumers can execute transactions without manually inputting sensitive primary account numbers (PANs). This frictionless checkout mechanism is statistically tied to higher cart

conversion rates for online businesses.

Global Partnerships for Local Inclusion

The rollout underscores a collaborative effort between domestic banking leadership and global payment networks to implement tokenized, highly secure transaction frameworks.

Stephanie Ng Tseung, Head of Payments at MCB, emphasized that modern payment architecture must focus on consumer choice, offering fluid and secure processing across diverse daily scenarios. Representatives from global networks also highlighted the developmental impact of the launch:

"This collaboration associates Mastercard's global innovation with the strength of MCB's local ecosystem to accelerate digital adoption and expand acceptance," noted Shehryar Ali, Senior Vice President and Country Manager for East Africa & Indian Ocean Islands at Mastercard.

Similarly, Yared Endale, Head of Eastern Africa at Visa, pointed out that the initiative delivers secure, tokenized digital payments that blend into daily routines, ultimately supporting a more resilient and inclusive financial ecosystem on the island.

By unifying localized digital tools like MCB Juice with globally standardized platforms like Apple Pay, MCB continues to reinforce its payment ecosystem. This balanced approach ensures that Mauritian consumers and commercial entities remain securely connected to the global evolution of digital commerce.

YOUR STARS

Sagittarius (Nov 22–Dec 21)

Adventure and optimism define the week ahead. Travel plans, learning opportunities, or exciting invitations may appear. Be mindful of deadlines and unfinished responsibilities. Relationships improve through open communication and shared experiences.

Lucky Numbers: 1, 7, 13, 20, 27, 32

Capricorn (Dec 22–Jan 19)

Hard work begins to show visible results. Financial stability strengthens gradually, making this a good period for practical investments and planning. Family discussions may require patience. Avoid overworking and prioritize proper rest.

Lucky Numbers: 5, 10, 16, 22, 31, 38

Aquarius (Jan 20–Feb 18)

Fresh ideas and innovation bring success in career or studies. Social connections become valuable and supportive. Unexpected news could change your plans positively. Stay focused on priorities and avoid distractions caused by minor conflicts.

Lucky Numbers: 3, 9, 15, 24, 30, 36

Pisces (Feb 19–Mar 20)

Intuition guides you toward wise decisions this week. Emotional clarity improves relationships and personal confidence. Creative projects receive positive attention. Financial matters remain steady, though careful budgeting is advised toward the weekend.

Lucky Numbers: 6, 11, 17, 25, 29, 37

Aries (Mar 21–Apr 19)

A productive week lies ahead as fresh opportunities emerge in work and personal projects. Your confidence attracts support from influential people. Avoid impulsive spending midweek. Relationships improve through honest conversations. Health remains stable if you balance activity with rest.

Lucky Numbers: 4, 9, 12, 18, 27, 35

Taurus (Apr 20–May 20)

Patience will bring rewarding results. Financial matters slowly improve and a delayed plan may finally move forward. Family responsibilities demand attention, but emotional support surrounds you. A good week for practical decisions and long-term planning.

Lucky Numbers: 2, 8, 14, 20, 31, 38

Gemini (May 21–Jun 20)

Communication becomes your greatest strength. New contacts and discussions may open unexpected doors. Students and professionals benefit from creative thinking. Avoid overcommitting to too many tasks. Romance brings excitement toward the weekend.

Lucky Numbers: 1, 7, 13, 19, 25, 40

Cancer (Jun 21–Jul 22)

Emotional balance will help you navigate changing situations. Career matters gain momentum after a slow phase. Someone from the past could reconnect unexpectedly. Financially, cautious choices are advised. Spend more time focusing on self-care and relaxation.

Lucky Numbers: 3, 10, 16, 22, 29, 36

Leo (Jul 23–Aug 22)

Recognition and appreciation are highlighted this week. Leadership qualities shine, especially in teamwork or public activities. Avoid unnecessary ego clashes with loved ones. Financial prospects remain encouraging. A short journey or social gathering may bring joy.

Lucky Numbers: 5, 11, 17, 24, 30, 39

Virgo (Aug 23–Sep 22)

Organization and discipline help you accomplish important goals. Work pressure may increase briefly, but your calm approach leads to success. Health improves with better routines. Relationships require more flexibility and understanding.

Lucky Numbers: 6, 12, 15, 21, 28, 34

Libra (Sep 23–Oct 22)

A balanced and positive week encourages growth in both career and personal life. Partnerships become stronger through cooperation and trust. Financial opportunities may arise unexpectedly. Creative pursuits and artistic interests flourish during the weekend.

Lucky Numbers: 4, 9, 18, 23, 32, 37

Scorpio (Oct 23–Nov 21)

Your determination helps you overcome challenges efficiently. Hidden opportunities may surface in professional matters. Avoid emotional reactions in sensitive discussions. Financial gains are possible through careful planning. A peaceful weekend restores your energy.

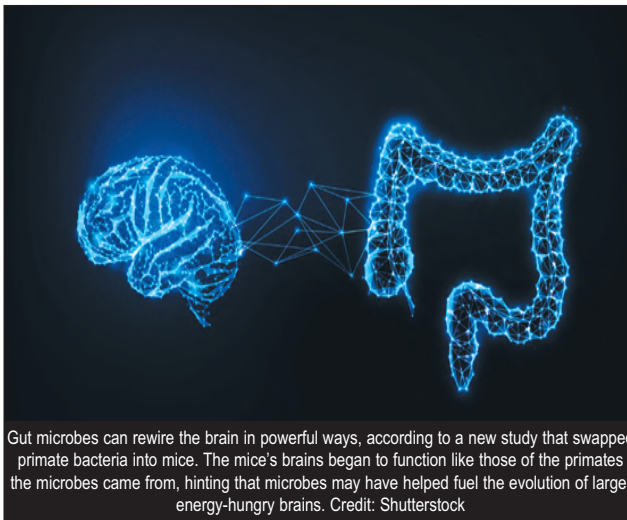
Lucky Numbers: 2, 8, 14, 26, 33, 36

The secret to human intelligence? It might be in our gut

Your gut microbes may have helped build the human brain -- and could still be shaping how it works today

For decades, scientists have puzzled over how the human brain evolved to become so exceptionally large and energy-intensive. Recent research from Northwestern University suggests that the answer may not lie solely in our DNA, but in our gut. A groundbreaking study led by Katie Amato, associate professor of biological anthropology, reveals that gut microbes may have been the silent architects of human intelligence and brain development.

The study utilized a "microbe swap" experiment, introducing gut bacteria from humans, squirrel monkeys (large-brained), and macaques (smaller-brained) into germ-free mice. Within eight weeks, the results were transformative. The mice didn't just change internally; their brain function began to mirror that of their microbial donors. Specifically, mice carrying microbes from large-brained primates exhibited heightened activity in genes



responsible for energy production and synaptic plasticity -- the brain's fundamental ability to learn and adapt.

"We were able to make the brains of mice look like the brains of the actual primates the microbes came from," Amato noted, highlighting a direct causal link between gut composition and brain gene expression.

Beyond evolution, the research offers a sobering look at mental health. Mice receiving "small-brain" microbes displayed gene patterns associated with neurodevelopmental conditions like ADHD, autism, and schizophrenia. This suggests that exposure to the "right" human microbes during early development is not just beneficial -- it may be a mechanical necessity for typical brain function. By viewing the brain through this evolutionary lens, Amato's work paves the way for new clinical approaches, suggesting that the path to cognitive health may very well begin in the digestive tract.



Why do you have to wear a helmet when you're skateboarding?

Aviation marker balls don't help with electricity flow or improve the efficiency of the power lines. But they do have a very important job.

Back when I was 13, I was an avid skateboarder – the kickflip was my go-to trick. And I didn't see why I needed to strap on a helmet before practicing my ollies.

But now, doing the work I do, I get it.

My research is centered on understanding how physical forces cause brain injury and how to best protect against it. So I spend a lot of time thinking about how the brain gets hurt and how to improve helmets. This includes work focusing on protecting members of the United States military in training and active combat zones.

So why is it so important to wear a helmet when skateboarding, and also riding your bike, and really any sport or activity where your head could get hurt?

Your very own supercomputer

Inside your head sits probably your most amazing organ – your brain. It allows you to do everything you love, such as tasting ice cream, watching movies, listening to music and, of course, skateboarding.

Your brain is the world's mightiest supercomputer. Everything it does requires billions of tiny brain cells, called neurons, working together in unison. These cells send messages to the rest of your body that regulate everything from body processes you're not even aware of – such as your heartbeat – to moving your muscles, to helping you think and talk.

Some researchers estimate that humans have about 86 billion neurons, although scientists are still working on finding the exact number. That's more than 10 times the number of all the people living on earth. And they're all crammed inside a space the size of a melon, working together tirelessly, day in



and day out.

Of course, your brain is not just made up of neurons. There are a lot of other cells supporting the neurons, including astrocytes and microglia, which are important helper cells to the neurons.

But as busy as your brain cells are, they are also incredibly soft and squishy. In fact, your brain has the consistency of jello. And like jello, it is very vulnerable, especially to physical forces, such as a fall or a sudden jolt.

The physical forces of a fall

Now, you might be thinking, doesn't my skull protect my brain? And, yes, it does offer some protection. But your skull is a layer of cortical bone only about .28 inches (7 millimeters) thick, making it a useful barrier that prevents dirt and other objects from getting into your brain, but it's too thin and too stiff to keep your brain safe in case of a fall while skateboarding.

Why is that? It helps to break down what happens when your unprotected head hits the pavement: Upon impact, your skull deforms, or changes shape, and often rotates. But your skull is not

capable of fully absorbing that impact. So the remaining energy is transferred through the hard bone of your skull and absorbed by your soft, squishy brain.

Imagine squeezing and wiggling a block of jello to change its shape. This is similar to what happens to your brain: Like the block of jello, when your skull deforms, your brain can be compressed and change shape. This can cause your neurons to stretch and move in ways they aren't designed to, causing damage.

This is why wearing a helmet is so important. If you look at your helmet, you will see that it has two parts – an outer shell that is usually hard and an inner shell liner, usually made from stiff foam. The shell is meant to protect your brain from penetrating objects. It also holds the liner, which is there to absorb most of the energy from an impact so it doesn't reach your brain.

Recovering from a brain injury

If you fall off your skateboard and you're not wearing knee and wrist pads, you might skin your knee or break your wrist. But unlike your skin and bones,

your brain doesn't tend to heal easily.

Without a helmet, much of the energy from your fall gets absorbed by your brain. Depending on the amount of energy that enters your brain, your brain cells can be injured. Even a mild traumatic brain injury, such as a concussion, can cause significant damage to the cells inside your brain. This could mean that you lose some of those brain cells or that they won't work properly anymore.

If too many of your brain cells are damaged or die, you may lose really important brain functions, such as walking, talking or seeing clearly. The brain cells you have now are largely the same ones you had when you were born. And once you lose them, there is no way to get them back.

When you lose brain cells, the remaining cells have to work extra hard to keep your brain function intact. While modern medicine has gotten really good at repairing most of the tissues and organs in your body, the brain is still a major challenge for researchers.

This is why researchers like me spend so much time trying to find ways to protect the brain from trauma: A protected brain doesn't need to be healed. In fact, according to one study of bicyclists, those who wear helmets are 65% to 88% less likely to get a brain injury.

So next time you step onto your skateboard, remember that you need your brain to do all the amazing things it does for you, and do what you can to protect it. Helmet on!

Christian Franck

Bjorn Borgen Professor of Mechanical Engineering and Director of the Center for Traumatic Brain Injury, University of Wisconsin-Madison



The Divine Design

A guy is having a conversation with God.

"Oh God, why did you make women so beautiful?" he asks.

"So you would like them," God replies.

"I see. And why did you make them so gentle?"

"So you would like them," God says again.

The man thinks for a while, then asks, "But God, why did you make them so stupid?"

God replies, "So they would like you."

The Fallen Woman

A priest is walking down the street when a young woman slips on the pavement in front of him. The priest helps her up, joking, "This is the first time I've rescued a fallen woman."

The woman replies, "And this is the first time I've been picked up by a clergyman."

The Vet's Diagnosis

A guy goes to a vet's office to collect his sick dog.

The vet carries the dog into the room and says, "I'm sorry, but I'm going to have to put the dog down."

The man bursts into tears. "Why? Is it that bad?"

"No," the vet replies. "He's just too heavy."

Holy Smoke

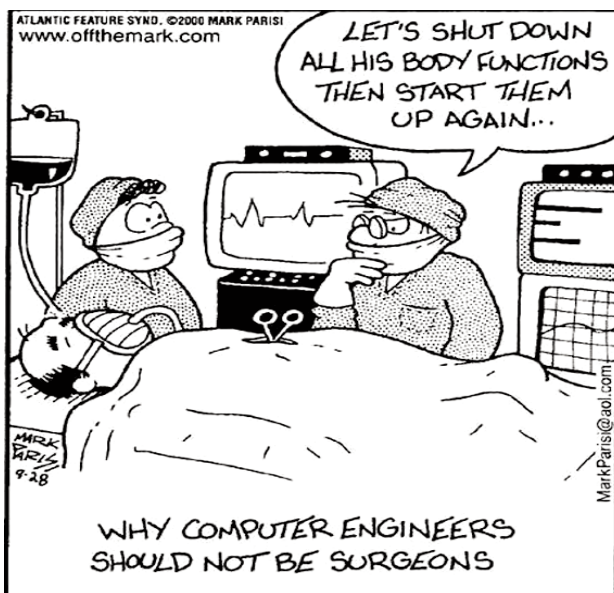
What did the vicar say when he was told that the church was on fire?

"Holy smoke!"

Two Wrongs Make a Right

An old couple is on a holiday excursion when the wife suddenly gasps in alarm.

"I just remembered I left the oven on! The house



Reprinted from The Funny Times / PO Box 18530 / Cleveland Heights, OH 44118
phone: (216) 371-8600 / e-mail: ft@funnytimes.com

will catch fire!"

"Don't worry," says the husband. "I just remembered I left the kitchen tap running."

The Wrong Number

A businessman calls home and asks the housekeeper if he can speak to his wife.

"Senor, I'm sorry to tell you this... but your wife is upstairs right now, making love with your best friend."

"What?! Listen carefully: go to my bedroom, open the closet, and get my gun. Kill them both. Do it!"

"Senor! I cannot do that!"

"Do you want me to call immigration?"

There is silence. Then, he hears two gunshots. The housekeeper picks up, breathless. "Senor, it is done. What should I do with the gun?"

"Throw it in the pool."

"The pool? Senor, we don't have a pool."

"...Wait. Is this 323-9728?"



The Persistent Duck

A duck walks into a bar and asks the bartender, "Got any grapes?"

The bartender replies, "This is a bar. We don't have grapes."

The duck returns the next day: "Got any grapes?"

The bartender snaps, "I told you yesterday -- we don't sell grapes! If you ask again, I'm going to nail your feet to the floor!"

The next day, the duck returns. "Got any nails?"

The bartender, puzzled, says, "No."

The duck grins. "Got any grapes?"

The Birthday Guess

On his birthday, an old man was walking around the nursing home, boasting, "Guess how old I am!"

A passerby guessed, "81? 82?"

"Nope! I'm 95!"

He approached an old lady sitting in the hall. "Guess how old I am!"

She smiled, unzipped his pants, felt around for a moment, and said, "I'd say you're exactly 95."



"That's amazing! How did you know?"

She winked. "I heard you telling that other guy."

The Accidental Car Thief

I once "stole" a car from a car thief.

One night, I heard my '95 Honda Civic trying to start. It wouldn't turn over because I'd installed a kill switch. I ran outside in my underwear and shouted, "Hey! What are you doing?!"

Two people jumped out and ran to another Honda parked nearby. My roommates rushed out in their pajamas -- one with a skateboard, one with a bat. We stood on the porch shouting. One thief yelled back, "No, this is my car! We're just trying to get away!"

I don't know what came over me, but I shouted, "No, that's MY car now! That's mine!"

They stared at us -- four guys in underwear with weapons -- and said, "Uh, okay man," before running off. When the police arrived, they confirmed the thieves' car was also stolen. The real owner got his car back, and I kept mine!

Welfare Office Surprise

A young man walked into the local welfare office, marched straight up to the counter and said, "Hi, I hate drawing welfare. I would really rather find a job."

The man behind the counter replied, "Your timing is amazing. We've just got a listing from a very wealthy man who wants a chauffeur/bodyguard for his nympho daughter. You'll have to drive around in a big black Mercedes, but suits, shirts, and ties are provided. Because of the long hours, meals will also be included. You'll also be required to escort the young lady on her overseas holidays. The salary package is \$200,000 a year."

The young man said, "You're bullshitting me, man!"

The man behind the counter said, "Well, you started it!"

The Accountant's Sleep Problem

An accountant is having a hard time sleeping and goes to see his doctor.

"Doctor, I just can't get to sleep at night."

"Have you tried counting sheep?"

"That's the problem -- I make a mistake and then spend three hours trying to find it."

True Stories**A Friendship Beyond Politics**

On January 12, 2017, just eight days before both men would leave office, Barack Obama summoned Joe Biden to the State Dining Room of the White House under the pretext of a routine meeting.

What awaited Biden was not a meeting, but a surprise gathering of senior members of the Obama administration, close aides, and family — along with the nation's highest civilian honour, the Presidential Medal of Freedom.



Obama had reportedly planned the moment in complete secrecy for weeks, carefully orchestrating every detail because he knew Biden would never have expected it. When Biden entered the room and realised what was happening, he was overcome with emotion.

As cameras rolled, Obama — known for his composure and emotional restraint — spoke movingly about the man who had stood beside him for eight years. He described Biden as a man of character, decency, and deep empathy, adding that his compassion was not political theatre but part of who he truly was. More than once, Obama referred to him as a brother.

Those gathered in the room had witnessed the two men navigate financial crises, legislative battles, personal tragedies, and the immense responsibilities of leading the world's most powerful nation. What unfolded that afternoon felt larger than a formal ceremony. It was the public expression of a genuine friendship forged through years of trust, loyalty, and shared service.

When Biden finally spoke, he called serving alongside Obama the greatest honour of his career before emotion once again overtook him, drawing affectionate laughter and applause from the audience.

The video of the ceremony has since been viewed millions of times around the world. For many, its enduring appeal lies not in politics, but in the rare and deeply human bond between two leaders whose friendship transcended public office.



We cultivate love when we allow our most vulnerable and powerful selves to be deeply seen and known, and when we honor the spiritual connection that grows from that offering with trust, respect, kindness and affection

— Brené Brown —

AZ QUOTES

Life's Stories**George Clooney: What money is really for**

On a Tuesday morning in September, George Clooney sent an identical text to fourteen of his closest friends: "Mark the date. Come to my house for dinner."

Most of these men were neither famous nor wealthy. They were the people who had supported an unknown, broke twenty-something in Los Angeles during the 1980s, letting him sleep on their couches when he had no credits and no money. One friend, a Texas airport bartender with a family and heavy debt, rode a bicycle to work because he could not afford a car. He flew to California simply because an old friend called.

When the fourteen men arrived at Clooney's Studio City home, they were led to a dining room where a black Tumi suitcase sat at each place setting. Before allowing them to open the bags, Clooney stood at the head of the table. Holding a world map, he pointed to the countries his career had taken him, acknowledging that none of his success had been earned alone.

At fifty-two, unmarried and with-



out heirs, Clooney had recently made an unexpected fortune from a percentage deal on the film Gravity, which grossed over \$700 million. He realized that if he died tomorrow, these fourteen men were the exact people he would leave everything to in his will. He decided not to wait.

"Open them," he said. Inside each suitcase was one million dollars in twenty-dollar bills. Clooney had secretly transported the fourteen million dollars from a downtown Los Angeles vault in an unmarked florist van and packed the cases himself.

Furthermore, he had already paid all the taxes; the million dollars was entirely net.

The room fell into stunned silence. Some of these men had spent years terrified of their mortgages or wondering how to fund their children's education. When Rande Gerber, who was already wealthy, tried to refuse, Clooney announced to the room, "If Rande doesn't take it, nobody gets it." Gerber accepted and later donated the money to charity. The Texas bartender paid off his house and funded his children's education, relieved of a massive financial weight.

The story remained a secret for four years until Gerber revealed it in 2017. Exactly one year after that dinner, Clooney married Amal Alamuddin. Today, he is a deeply happy family man, and "The Boys" remain his closest friends. The gesture answers a fundamental question: what is money actually for? It is for the people who believed in you before you gave them a reason to, given while they are still young enough to use it.

Things can be better**The Architecture of Wealth: Six Laws for Prosperity**

Building lasting wealth is a disciplined process governed by six fundamental laws of accumulation and preservation.

The first law dictates that a portion of all earnings, at least ten percent, must be kept as a seed for future growth.

The second law requires putting these savings to work, investing so they multiply through the power of compounding.

The third law is the avoidance of debt, recognizing that the poor pay interest while the rich earn it.

The fourth law warns against the lure of get-rich-quick schemes, advocating instead for solid, long-term business ventures.

The fifth law emphasizes that the greatest asset is the self; investing in knowledge and skills directly increases one's future earning power.

Finally, the sixth law focuses on the preservation of what has been built, using diversification and insurance to safeguard a growing fortune against unforeseen risks.

Together, these laws transform income into a fortress of financial independence.

The Equilibrium of the 4Ms: Mind, Mouth, Mood, and Money

Achieving total life control requires the disciplined management of four essential domains.

The Mind is fortified through daily reading, regular exercise, and the constant acquisition of new skills through mindfulness.

Controlling the Mouth involves viewing food as fuel, opting for balanced meals and plenty of water while avoiding the mental fog caused by processed ingredients.

Managing one's Mood is a proactive task, utilizing gratitude and the endorphins from exercise to maintain stability, supported by adequate rest and connections with

loved ones.

Finally, the domain of Money requires a clinical approach to budgeting, saving at least ten percent of income, and investing wisely to ensure capital works for the individual.

By tracking expenses and avoiding the shackles of debt, one creates the financial freedom necessary to support the other three pillars.

This holistic approach ensures that internal growth and external stability are perfectly aligned, creating a life of intentionality and enduring peace.

It's time to just be happy. Being angry, sad and overthinking isn't worth it anymore. Just let things flow. **Be positive.**



There's something really powerful that happens when you realize that you get to choose how you perceive your experiences.

JENNIFER PARTRIDGE

When Love Smothers: 8 Signs Your Relationship is Suffocating You

A strong, loving relationship is incredibly valuable -- offering a lifelong companion to walk beside you through thick and thin. Yet, even the most deeply affectionate partnerships can become suffocating over time. When couples spend too much time in close quarters without adequate personal boundaries, a relationship can transform from a sanctuary into a crushing burden, writes Finn Robinson in an article reviewed by Anna Phillips-Waller, Health Behaviour Change & Clinical Trials Expert.

Recognizing when a partnership is sucking the air from your lungs is crucial for both your personal well-being and the longevity of the bond. Here are eight signs that you desperately need some room to breathe.

1. Your entire life revolves around their existence

Instead of balancing personal pursuits with shared obligations, your entire schedule is dictated by your partner. Every daily choice must be negotiated around their needs, plans, and expectations, leaving you with little to no freedom to live on your own terms.

2. Their preferences always take precedence

From dietary choices and clothing styles to the movies you watch, you have tailored your life to suit their tastes. Pushing for your own preferences results in being dismissed or labelled "difficult," turning what should be a relaxing evening into an exhausting battle of wills.

3. You feel overwhelmed by emotional exhaustion

Being in your partner's presence feels physically and mentally heavy. You find yourself carrying the vast majority of the mental and emotional labor, making you



feel more like a parent than an equal partner, with no opportunity to replenish your energy.

4. You have to fight for small decisions

Tense debates over minor choices -- like what to cook for dinner or which towels to buy -- are major red flags. When a partner fights you on basic daily autonomy, or attempts to alienate you from your social net, it indicates a desire for control rather than collaboration.

"Over time, your partner may have become more of a sentinel than a soulmate."

5. You constantly have to explain yourself

You feel obligated to justify your actions, choices, and thoughts to their satisfaction. If your explanation falls

short, it is treated as an opportunity for them to lecture or correct you, turning daily interactions into a competition they must "win."

6. Privacy and alone time are non-existent

Whenever you try to focus on a deadline, read a book, or simply catch your breath in another room, your partner encroaches on your space. They seem to possess a sixth sense for when you have finally relaxed, immediately demanding your undivided attention.

7. You are constantly scrutinized

Under the guise of care, your partner monitors your every move, asks intrusive questions, or even goes through your phone and emails. You are treated as a possession whose inner world must be entirely transparent, rather than a sovereign human being.

8. You only feel like yourself when they are gone

The most telling sign of a suffocating dynamic is a physical one: you tense up when they enter the room and only truly relax when they leave the house. You find yourself looking forward to their absence just so you can listen to your favorite music, eat what you want, and feel authentic in your own skin.

Finding room to breathe - When a relationship becomes a crushing burden, gaining immediate perspective is essential. Taking proactive steps to secure solo time -- whether staying with a trusted friend or spending a weekend away -- can provide the vital breathing room needed to evaluate your feelings and decide how to move forward.

By Finn Robinson

Health & Life Hacks

10 Secrets to Brighter, Whiter Teeth

Maintaining a radiant smile is a combination of effective whitening and proactive prevention. As we age, tooth enamel thins, revealing the naturally yellowish dentin beneath. To combat this, DIY whitening kits and strips can be highly effective. These products typically use carbamide or hydrogen peroxide to lift deep stains and alter the tooth's natural shade, while whitening tooth-pastes utilize mild abrasives to polish away surface-level discoloration.

However, the best way to maintain a bright smile is to avoid "staining offenders." A simple rule of thumb is: if a food or drink can stain a white cotton T-shirt, it can stain your teeth. This includes coffee, red wine, blueberries, and dark sodas. Even certain medications and antibacterial mouthwashes containing chlorhexidine can lead to gray or brown tints. To



minimize damage, rinse your mouth with water or brush immediately after consuming pigmented foods.

Finally, daily maintenance is non-negotiable. Using an electric toothbrush can be more effective at removing plaque than manual brushing, and regular flossing prevents yellowing at the gum line. Remember, if you have dental work like crowns or veneers, bleach will not affect them, so consult your dentist to ensure a uniform look for your sparkling new smile.

Health & Life Hacks

Your Diet and Your Health: The Essential Connection

The adage "you are what you eat" remains the cornerstone of modern nutrition. Beyond simply providing fuel, the nutrients we consume are the raw materials that allow our brains to think and our muscles to move. A diet rich in vitamins and minerals ensures that the body's complex systems -- from cardiovascular function to bone density -- operate at their peak.

Research consistently shows that a diet high in saturated and trans fats can lead to heart disease and high blood pressure, whereas a variety of fruits, vegetables, and whole grains offers protective benefits. Even minor deficiencies can have significant health consequences. For instance, a lack of iron leads to chronic fatigue, while insufficient calcium



intake can result in osteoporosis, leaving bones brittle and prone to fracture.

To optimize your health, it is essential to follow established nutritional guidelines that emphasize variety. By choosing nutrient-dense foods over processed "junk" options, you do more than just prevent disease; you enhance your daily energy levels and mental clarity. Your body uses everything you put into it -- make sure you are giving it the tools to thrive.

Personal Growth

The Laws of Monumental Leadership

Extraordinary leadership is not defined by a title, but by a specific set of traits practiced with monomaniacal focus. Over decades of mentoring elite producers, I have

identified the laws that separate the industry disruptors from the average.

True leaders listen better than they speak and care deeply about growing their people. They understand that a fortified home base is the essential fuel for peak productivity.

They are "UnKillAble" -- when they get knocked down, they pivot quickly. They rise at dawn to gain a competitive advantage and prioritize deep recovery to

sustain domain-dominant performance.

Above all, they understand that integrity is everything; a twenty-year reputation can be lost in twenty seconds of poor judgment. Leadership is a mission, and until that mission becomes an obsession, your business will never grow into a movement.

Robin Sharma

Humanitarian & Leadership Missionary



Why Vinod Khanna left Bollywood

The story of Vinod Khanna's departure from the pinnacle of Bollywood stardom remains one of the most intriguing chapters in Indian cinematic history. At a time when he was a formidable rival to Amitabh Bachchan, Khanna traded the glamour of film sets for the orange robes of a sanyasi.

The Decision: Seeking the "Master of the Mind"

In 1982, Vinod Khanna shocked the industry by announcing his retirement. Despite his massive success, he felt a deep internal void. He described himself as "hyper" and "angry" during his peak years, noting that his thoughts were scattered and he was reacting too much to external triggers. He discovered that meditation provided a calm that fame and money could not, famously stating that to go deeper into his practice, he needed to be at the feet of his guru, Osho. Khanna acknowledged that his decision was inherently "selfish," but argued that spiritual transcendence is a journey one must ultimately travel alone.

Life in the Ashram: From Superstar to Gardener

Contrary to the image of a pampered star, Khanna's life in Osho's communes -- first in Pune and later in Rajneeshpuram, Oregon -- was one of extreme simplicity. His second wife, Kavita, revealed he lived in a room so tiny he had to sleep diagonally just to fit on the bed. Even Osho reportedly joked about the cramped quarters. Despite being a matinee idol, he spent his days working as a gardener in the ashram. During a transition period before moving to Oregon, Khanna balanced both worlds by completing signed films like *Qurbani* and *Hera Pheri* while spending his off-camera hours in deep meditation.

The Family's Perspective

The departure had a profound impact on his first family, but his second wife and his son have since offered a nuanced retrospective. Kavita Khanna noted his spiritual inclination started at age 17 with *Autobiography of a Yogi* and viewed his journey as an evolution toward becoming a "Buddha in the marketplace." Akshaye Khanna, though only five when it happened, later defended his father's right to be "self-centered," noting that living a lie only breeds resentment. Meanwhile, his friend Kabir Bedi recalled that Khanna would visit him in Los Angeles when he needed a break from the ashram, noting that Khanna's respect for Osho's philosophy remained deep despite external controversies.

The Return: "Buddha in the Marketplace"

After five years of spiritual immersion, Khanna returned to Mumbai in 1987. He proved his star power was intact with hits like *Insaaf*, *Suryaa*, and *Chandni*. In the final phase of his career, he transitioned seamlessly into the "statesman" of Bollywood, playing memorable patriarchal roles in blockbusters like *Dabangg* and *Dilwale*, embodying the very balance of spirit and society his wife Kavita described.

'More Than Football, It's a Life Lesson': Ranveer Singh's reaction to Arsenal's win

When Arsenal Football Club secured their historic triumph this season, the celebrations extended far beyond the terraces of North London, resonating deeply within the cultural landscape of Indian cinema. Ranveer Singh, a lifelong supporter of the club, took to social media to pen an exceptionally raw, emotionally charged reflection that fans and industry observers alike have noted reads as much like a personal manifesto as a tribute to his favourite team.

Writing on his Instagram Stories, Singh recounted the genesis of his loyalty, tracing it back to a formative moment in his youth:

"Arsenal is not a family I was born into. It is a family I chose. After being mesmerised seeing Arsene Wenger's 'Invincibles' play the beautiful game in its most exquisite form, I became a lifelong Arsenal fan. That was in 2001, I was 16. And I chose well. What style, what flair, what a dazzling club! Then, times changed. The tides of fortune kept ebbing, for what became a cruel age. But today, after 22 arduous years of struggle, hate, ridicule and despondency, pride and glory is restored at Arsenal football club. A redemption arc for



the ages."

The emotional weight of Singh's commentary — particularly his references to enduring "struggle, hate, ridicule and despondency" — struck a powerful chord online. Observers quickly drew parallels between the football club's twenty-two-year journey back to the pinnacle and Singh's own tumultuous, high-stakes trajectory within the highly competitive Hindi film industry.

The actor, currently riding a wave

of critical and commercial vindication following the powerful performance and strong box-office reception of his latest venture, *Dhurandhar*, has long been open about the psychological demands of professional reinvention, persistence, and weathering intense public scrutiny. For Singh, the sporting triumph offered a profound philosophical validation:

"It's more than football, it's a life lesson. Stay the course, keep believing in yourself, trust the process, maintain the purity in your intent and back it with unrelenting hard work, the reward will come. Loyalty and resilience matter most in hard times. What a magnificent triumph by Super Mik's young Gunners. An unforgettable chapter in sports history. Long live The Arsenal."

Ranveer Singh's upcoming slate includes a highly anticipated collaboration with acclaimed director Hansal Mehta for *Pralay* — a post-apocalyptic drama exploring untested genre territories — alongside heavily rumored, high-profile projects including an adaptation of Amish Tripathi's *The Immortals of Meluha* and a major venture backed by Aditya Chopra.

BollyBytes

Tabu, Ajay Devgn, and the joke that refuses to die

For years, Bollywood fans have repeated the playful claim that Tabu remains unmarried because of Ajay Devgn. The story comes largely from Tabu herself, who jokingly blamed Ajay in interviews for "scaring away" potential suitors when they were younger. According to her, Ajay and her cousin Sameer Arya used to keep a close watch on boys around her and act like overprotective guardians.

In one widely quoted interview, Tabu laughed that Ajay was responsible for her single status because he would "threaten and beat up" any boys who approached her. Ajay, in turn, treated the comment humorously and said he was still waiting for Tabu to thank him.

But beneath the humour lies something more interesting: the Indian media's long-standing obsession with explaining an unmarried woman's life through the men around her. Tabu has repeatedly said she is perfectly content with her life and has never projected marriage as a compulsory milestone. Yet headlines continue to frame her singlehood as a mystery requiring explanation.

What often gets overlooked is the



remarkable independence of Tabu's career and personality. One of the most respected actresses in Indian cinema, she has built a body of work defined by complexity, restraint, and intelligence — from *Maachis* and *Chandni Bar* to *Haider* and *Drishyam*. Her public image has never depended on conforming to conventional expectations.

At the same time, Tabu and Ajay share one of Bollywood's longest and warmest friendships. Having known each other since their youth, they have appeared together in several films and display an ease that naturally fuels public curiosity. The chemistry, however, has always seemed rooted more in affection, trust, and camaraderie than romance.

YouTube becomes more lucrative than Bollywood for some stars

Digital platforms are shifting the financial landscape for Indian entertainers. Stars like Farah Khan and Archana Puran Singh reportedly earn more from YouTube than from traditional film roles.

- **Archana Puran Singh:** Reportedly earns over **Rs 2,500,000** annually from her channel.

- **Bharti Singh:** Revealed that **40%** of her total income now stems from her YouTube channel, LOL.

- **Parmeet Sethi:** Noted that full-time content creation can pay **three times more** than combined film and television work.

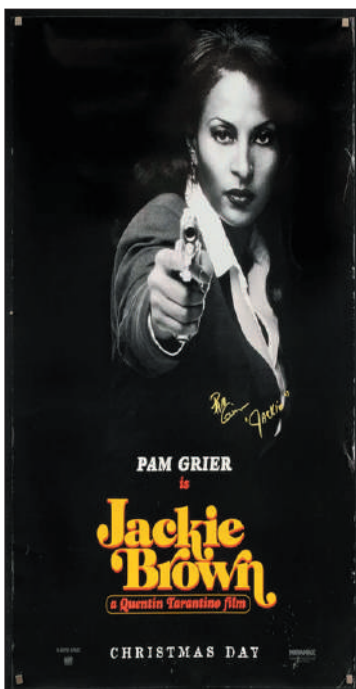
The platform generally retains 55% of ad revenue, leaving 45% for the creators.



Vendredi 22 Mai - 20.30



Samedi 23 Mai - 21.45



Dimanche 24 Mai - 20.45



Programme TV



SERIAL



vendredi 22 mai

MBC 1

05.23 Serial: Separe Par L'Amour
08.10 Tele: Un Amour Sauvage
09.00 Tele: La Desalmada
09.30 Film: Red 2
11.30 Tele: Happily Ever After
12.00 Le Journal
12.35 Tele: Helena
13.20 Tele: Your Love Is My Fortune
13.45 Tele: L'Amour Invincible
14.10 Tele: Valentina
15.00 Live: Samachar
15.30 Tele: Love Of My Life
17.30 Tele: Happily Ever After
18.00 Samachar
18.30 Serial: Shiv Shakti
19.00 Serial: 19 Minutes
19.30 Le Journal
20.30 Film: Julie Et Julia
22.28 Tele: Helena
23.12 Tele: Happily Ever After
23.35 Le Journal

MBC 2

09.35 Local: Music Tour 2025
12.00 Rodrig - Klip Seleksion
13.04 La Journee Sous Le Regard
13.11 Local: Memwar Dan Ros
14.30 Emotion En Avant Plan
15.16 Entrepreneuriat Au Feminin
16.01 Local: Koze Zom
16.31 Local: Prog Culinaire
17.00 Local: La Sosiete
17.26 Local: Saver Kiltirel
18.05 Tele: L'Amour Invincible
19.00 Zournal Kreol
19.25 Local: Sur Prise
19.45 Local: Evasion
20.00 Local: Sekirite Lor Larout
21.17 Local: MRIC
21.46 Local: La Sosiete
22.17 Emotion En Avant Plan
22.55 La Journee Sous Le Regard
23.21 Entrepreneuriat Au Feminin
23.34 Mon Jardin Ma Maison

MBC 3

06.00 Mag: Aastha TV
09.00 Aaj Ki Charcha
10.00 Na Umra Ki Seema Ho
11.32 Serial: Shiv Shakti
12.00 Film: Parivaar
15.00 Live: Samachar
15.20 Sayings Radha Krishna
16.08 Serial: Mithai
17.30 Serial: Shiv Shakti
18.00 Samachar
18.32 Local: Mati Ke Mol
18.57 Geet Gawai Ki Naya Peheloo
19.54 Local: Khel Khiladi
20.30 Serial: Tenali Rama
21.13 Serial: Crime Patrol
21.59 Serial: Mere Sai
22.47 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya
23.10 Mag: Books Beyond Borders
23.34 Local: Aaj Aur Kal Bollywood
00.42 Local: Mati Ke Mol
01.08 Geet Gawai Ki Naya Peheloo

Cine 12

06.00 Mag: Eye On SADC
06.30 Doc: China Farm
07.20 Mag: Tomorrow Today
08.29 Doc: Haiti
10.14 Doc: Can't Feel Nothing
11.27 Doc: Eco India
12.44 Mag: Tomorrow Today
13.56 Doc: Haiti
15.00 La Famille Blaireau Renard
15.12 Momolu et Ses Amis
15.38 D.Anime: Samsam
15.57 D.Anime: Jurassic World
16.24 D.Anime: Yetili
16.57 Serial: The Avatars
17.30 Mag: Eco India
18.00 Mag: Eye On SADC
18.30 Doc: China Farm
19.00 Student Support Prog...
19.28 Mag: Euromaxx
20.01 Tele: Un Amour Sauvage
20.50 Tele: Valentina

Bollywood TV

14.25 Serial: Radha Mohan
14.55 Serial: Tenali Rama
15.30 Film: Dil Ashna Hai
Cast: Shah Rukh Khan, Divya Bharati
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.31 Udne Ki Aasha
19.01 Udaariyaan
19.32 Dil Ko Tumse Pyaar Hua
20.01 Na Umra Ki Seema Ho
20.25 Shrimad Ramayan
20.55 Anupamaa
21.25 Pyaar Ka Pehla Adhyaya
21.57 Serial: Dhruv Tara
22.30 Wagle Ki Duniya
23.00 Serial: Aladdin
23.30 Film: Dil Ashna Hai
Cast: Shah Rukh Khan, Divya Bharati

samedi 23 mai

06.16 Tele: Un Amour Sauvage
06.50 Serial: The Lazarus Project
07.30 Serial: For Life
08.15 Serial: Nelle Tue Mani
09.10 Serial: Quantico
09.55 Serial: Elementary
10.35 Serial: L'Homme Qui Valait Trois Millions
11.32 Tele: Un Amour Sauvage
12.00 Le Journal
12.30 Film: Seref Meselesi
15.00 Live: Samachar
15.30 Film: Julie Et Julia
17.33 Doc: Not About Music
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.31 Dance Deewane Juniors
19.30 Le Journal
20.15 National Innovation...
20.45 Local: Deba Klima
21.45 Film: Jackie Brown
00.18 Local: Le Journal Televisé
00.53 Serial: For Life

06.00 Local: Mon Jardin Ma Maison
06.30 Local: Tous Egaux
06.45 Local: Point Culture
07.36 Local: Les Grandes Lignes
08.10 Local: Sur Prise
10.22 Local: Fun Friday With Jerry
12.30 Mon Jardin Ma Maison
13.04 Local: Les Grandes Lignes
13.31 Local: Sur Prise
14.00 Local: Sekirite Lor Larout
15.30 Local: Mangeons Veg
15.59 Local: Retrovizor
18.05 Tele: Wildflower
19.00 Zournal Kreol
19.30 Zero Stress Avek Miselaine
20.00 Local: Les Petits Genies
20.30 Music Tour 2026
21.30 Local: En Toute Intimite
22.00 Final Konkour Slam...
23.23 La Journee Sous Le Regard
23.27 Local: Tous Egaux
23.42 Local: Saver Kiltirel

05.00 Mag: Aastha TV
08.00 Mag: Arogya Yoga
08.30 Local: Abhyas Yog
09.00 Aaj Ki Charcha
10.30 Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2
12.00 Dikri Vahalno Dariyo
15.00 Samachar
15.20 Film: De Dana Dan
Cast: Akshay Kumar, Katrina Kaif and Suniel Shetty
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.32 Local: Puranya Pakwan
19.12 Local: Virasat
19.35 Local: Hunarbaaz
21.00 Film: Madaari
Cast: Irfan Khan, Jimmy Shergill
23.56 Local: Puranya Pakwan
00.22 Local: Gyan Vigyan Theme
00.40 Local: Virasat
01.04 Local: Hunarbaaz
02.26 Film: Madaari

06.00 D.Anime: Caillou
06.42 D.Anime: Agent 203
07.05 Charlotte Aux Fraises
08.35 D.Anime: Word Party
09.56 Serial: H2O: Just Add Water
11.35 Doc: China Farm
13.29 Doc: By Train Along The...
14.11 Doc: Notre Dame De Paris
15.00 La Famille Blaireau Renard
15.13 Momolu Et Ses Amis
15.38 D.Anime: Samsam
15.57 D.Anime: Jurassic World
16.57 Serial: The Avatars
18.00 Mag: In Good Shape
18.30 Doc: Asiatique
19.00 Mag: Business Africa
19.28 Mag: Afrimaxx
20.01 Tele: Un Amour Sauvage
20.45 Tele: Love Of My Life
22.20 Serial: Les Enquetes Du Juge
23.52 Doc: Delivered

08.00 Dil Ko Tumse Pyaar Hua
10.02 Na Umra Ki Seema Ho
12.08 Udaariyaan
14.02 Anupamaa
16.00 Shrimad Ramayan
18.00 Samachar
18.30 Film: Well Done Abba
With: Bomman Irani And Manisha Lamba



21.30 Beyhadh 2
22.00 Crime Patrol

dimanche 24 mai

06.16 Tele: Un Amour Sauvage
06.45 Film: Bowfinger
08.35 Serial: Elementary
09.20 Serial: Columbo
10.35 Serial: L'Homme Qui Valait Trois Millions
11.30 Tele: Un Amour Sauvage
12.35 Film: La Vague
14.15 Doc: China Farm
14.40 Doc: Let's Make It Tasty
15.00 Live: Samachar
15.30 Film: Bowfinger
17.07 Doc: Not About Music
17.51 Doc: Vegetarian Delights
18.00 Samachar
18.30 Serial: Laughter Chefs
19.30 Le Journal
20.14 Local: Chef On Faya
20.45 Film: Amour Et Amnesie
22.24 Serial: La Brea
23.06 Serial: Last Kingdom

08.05 Local: Metie
08.51 Local: Les Petits Genies
09.21 Rodrig: 26em Edision Fetival
10.28 Rodrigues: Nu Lakwizin
11.00 Local: Nu Rasinn
12.00 Local: Artizan
12.40 Entrepreneuriat Au Feminin
14.02 Parlons Sante Senior
14.30 En Direct Du College De St Mary's, Rose Hill Messe De La Pentecote
17.14 Local: Deba Klima
18.10 Tele: Wildflower
19.20 Zero Stress Avek Miselaine
19.42 Local: Tous Egaux
20.00 Local: Les Klips
21.00 Rythm Weds Harmony
23.00 Journal Kreol Rediffusion
23.20 La Journee Sous Le Regard
23.25 Local: Coin Jardin

06.00 Mag: Aastha TV
08.00 Local: Puranya Pakwan
08.26 Gyan Vigyan Theme
08.44 Local: Virasat
10.30 Mahabharat
12.00 Film: Ra.one
Cast: Shah Rukh Khan, Gauri Khan, Karim Morani
15.00 Samachar
15.21 Local: Puranya Pakwan
15.47 Local: Virasat
16.10 Local: Hunarbaaz
18.00 Samachar
18.32 Student Of The Year
19.11 Local: Grand Finale
20.11 Local: Ek Mulakat Talat Aziz Ke Saath
20.37 Tenali Rama
20.58 Crime Patrol
22.28 Sajjanwa Bairi Ho Gaile Hamar

06.00 D.Anime: Caillou
07.50 D.Anime: Dragons
08.50 D.Anime: Robin Des Bois
09.26 D.Anime: Momolu Et Ses Ami
09.48 Serial: Action Kidz
09.56 Serial: H2O: Just Add Water
11.18 A Mediterranean Journey
13.40 Doc: The Masters Of Rome
14.49 Doc: Japan Video Topics
15.12 Momolu Et Ses Amis
15.35 D.Anime: Samsam
15.57 D.Anime: Jurassic World
16.24 D.Anime: Yetili
16.32 D.Anime: Slugterra
17.00 Serial: The Avatars
17.30 Doc: Climate Ahoy
18.00 Mag: REV Special
19.30 Doc: Arts Unveiled
20.00 Tele: Un Amour Sauvage
21.45 Film: Knowing
Cast: Nicolas Cage, Chandler Canterbury

08.22 Dhruv Tara
10.05 Khudali Bhagya
12.10 Dance Deewane
14.00 Pyaar Ka Pehla Adhyaya
16.00 Wagle Ki Duniya
18.30 Film: Ungli
Cast: Sanjay Dutt, Emraan Hashmi, Kangana Ranaut



21.30 Beyhadh 2
22.00 Mahabharat
22.50 Dhruv Tara

lundi 25 mai

04.36 Tele: Mademoiselle
05.25 Tele: Separe Par L'Amour
07.04 Tele: All The Flowers
04.28 Tele: Un Amour Sauvage
07.52 Tele: Le Secret Des Roldan
08.18 Tele: La Desalmada
09.30 Film: Amour Et Amnesie
12.00 Le Journal
12.25 Tele: Helena
13.15 Tele: Your Love Is My Fortune
13.45 Tele: L'Amour Invincible
14.10 Tele: Valentina
15.00 Samachar
16.12 Serial: Les Enquetes Du Juge
17.29 Tele: Happily Ever After
18.00 Samachar
18.31 Serial: Shiv Shakti
19.07 Live: Grand Titre
19.30 Le Journal
20.14 Zero Stress Avek Miselaine
20.17 Nou Travay Nou Lavenir
21.25 Serial: Quantico

09.10 Local: Anou Kombat Ladrog
09.23 Local: Metie
11.00 Local: Les Klips
12.00 Local: Nu Rasinn
13.00 La Journee Sous Le Regard
13.57 Rodrig - Zenn Aktif
15.15 Local: Metie
15.30 Rodrig: Plat Du Chef
16.02 Local: Les Klips
16.54 La Journee Sous Le Regard
17.30 Local: Couleur Marine
18.05 Tele: L'Amour Invincible
18.30 Tele: Le Secret Des Roldan
19.00 Zournal Kreol
19.30 Rodrig: Feminin Pluriel
20.00 Local: Tous Egaux
21.30 MRIC - National Innovation
21.45 Morisien Konn Ou La Sante
22.15 Local: 19 Minutes
22.34 Local: Grand Titre
22.54 La Journee Sous Le Regard du Seigneur

05.00 Mag: Aastha TV
09.00 Aaj Ki Charcha
10.00 Local: Sajjanwa Bairi Ho Gaile Hamar
12.00 Film: Seeta Aur Geeta
Cast: Hema Malini, Sanjeev Kumar, Dharmendra
15.00 Samachar
15.48 Kundali Bhagya
16.30 Local: Aaj Ke Charcha
17.30 Shiv Shakti
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.31 Local: Ved Ki Shikshahein
18.57 Mayi Teri Chunariya Lehrayi
19.24 Excerpts From Shiv Abhishek
20.09 Local: Swasthalabh Topic
20.30 Dharm Yoddha Garud
21.00 Film: Shalimaar
Cast: Dharmendra, Zeenat Aman, Rex Harrison
23.28 Mere Sai
00.14 Wagle Ki Duniya

07.15 Mag: Arts Unveiled
07.41 Doc: La Chine Du Futur
09.21 Doc: Elementary Particles
10.04 Doc: The Helsinki Effect
11.52 Mag: Travel
12.54 Doc: Arts Unveiled
14.13 Doc: ORCA Interaction
15.00 D.Anime: La Famille Blaireau
15.11 D.Anime: Momolu Et Ses Ami
15.38 D.Anime: Samsam
16.00 D.Anime: Jurassic World
16.24 D.Anime: Slugterra
16.54 Serial: The Avatars
18.00 Doc: Eye On SADC
18.30 Mag: Choices
19.30 Mag: In Good Shape
20.01 Tele: Un Amour Sauvage
20.30 Live: News
20.53 Tele: Valentina
21.40 Film: Julie Et Julia
Cast: Meryl Streep, Amy Adams, Stanley Tucci

14.25 Radha Mohan
14.58 Dharm Yoddha Garud



15.30 Film: Deewana Mujh Sa Nahin
18.00 Samachar
18.31 Udne Ki Aasha
19.00 Udaariyaan
19.30 Dil Ko Tumse Pyaar Hua
20.05 Na Umra Ki Seema Ho
20.30 Shrimad Ramayan
21.00 Anupamaa



Mardi 26 Mai - 15.30



Mercredi 27 Mai - 21.40



Mercredi 27 Mai - 15.00



Programme TV



	MBC 1	MBC 2	MBC 3	MBC 5	Bollywood TV
mardi 26 mai	04.32 Tele: Mademoiselle 05.21 Tele: Separe Par L'Amour 07.00 Serial: Quantico 08.10 Tele: Un Amour Sauvage 09.00 Tele: La Desalmada 09.30 Film: Julie Et Julia 11.30 Tele: Happily ever After 12.00 Le Journal 12.25 Tele: Helena 13.15 Tele: Your Love Is My Fortune 13.42 Tele: L'Amour Invincible 14.10 Tele: Valentina 15.30 Film: Knowing 17.30 Tele: Happily Ever After 18.00 Samachar 18.31 Serial: Shiv Shakti 18.55 Kyunki Saas Bhi Kabhi Bahu Thi 19.30 Le Journal 20.50 Kreation Lokal Cinfiles 20.58 Film: Londraz Kann	09.37 Morisien Konn Ou La Sante 10.30 Local: Mangeons Veg 11.28 Local: Grand Titre 12.18 Rodrig: Mo Pei 13.47 Local: Feminin Pluriel 14.15 Local: Coin Jardin 15.49 Local: Mangeons Veg 16.48 La Journee Sous Le Regard 16.56 Local: Deba Klima 18.00 Tele: L'Amour Invincible 18.30 Tele: Le Secret Des Roldan 19.00 Zournal Kreol 19.30 Rodrig: Itinerer Rodrig 19.45 Local: Toc Toc Doc 20.00 Local: Metie 20.30 Local: Priorite Sante 21.03 Local: Belle Et Mysterieuse 22.54 La Journee Sous Le Regard 23.20 Local: Fee Main 23.37 Local: Music Tour 2026 00.26 Local: Parlons Sante Senior	08.28 Mayi Teri Chunariya Lehrayi 09.00 Aaj Ki Charcha 2025 10.00 Serial: Kundali Bhagya 11.31 Serial: Shiv Shakti 12.01 Film: Thodisi Bewafai Cast: Rajesh Khanna, Shabana Azmi 15.00 Live: Samachar 15.29 Sajjanwa Bairi Ho Gaile Hamar 15.48 Serial: Dharam Patni 16.30 Aaj Ki Charcha 17.10 Dharam Patni 17.30 Serial: Shiv Shakti 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Sayings Radha Krishna 18.31 Local: Mati Ke Mol 19.01 Local: Darshan 19.54 Local: Prakriti 20.30 Dharm Yoddha Garud 21.00 Film: Chupke Chupke	06.00 Mag: Eco Africa 06.29 Doc: Choices 06.56 Mag: The 77 Percent 07.20 Mag: In Good Shape 09.56 Doc: Three Women 11.26 Mag: Eco Africa 12.49 Mag: In Good Shape 14.00 Mag: Tomorrow Today 15.00 Serial: La Famille Blaireau... 15.11 D.Anime: Momolu Et Ses Ami 16.24 D.Anime: Slugterra 17.00 Serial: The Avatars 17.30 Mag: Eco Africa 18.00 Mag: REV 18.26 Doc: Asiatique 19.00 Student Support Programme 20.01 Tele: Un Amour Sauvage 20.53 Tele: Valentina 21.38 Mag: Initiative Africa 22.06 Doc: Great Barrier Reef 22.4 Doc: Euromaxx	14.25 Radha Mohan 14.55 Dharm Yoddha Garud 15.30 Film: Tanu Weds manu Starring: R. Madhavan, Kangana Ranaut, Jimmy Shergill, Deepak Dobriyal, Eijaz Khan, Swara Bhaskar. 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Udne Ki Aasha 19.03 Udaariyaan 19.33 Dil Ko Tumse Pyaar Hua 20.06 Na Umra Ki Seema Ho 20.29 Shrimad Ramayan 21.07 Anupama 21.29 Pyaar Ka Pehla Adhyaya 22.04 Dhruv Tara 22.34 Wagle Ki Duniya 23.04 Serial: Aladdin 23.20 Film: Tanu Weds manu Starring: R. Madhavan, Kangana Ranaut, Jimmy Shergill, Deepak Dobriyal...
mercredi 27 mai	06.13 Serial: Sépare Par L'Amour 08.10 Tele: Un Amour Sauvage 09.00 Tele: La Desalmada 09.30 Film: La Vague 11.30 Tele: Happily Ever After 12.00 Le Journal 12.25 Tele: Helena 13.15 Tele: Your Love Is My Fortune 13.45 Tele: L'Amour Invincible 14.10 Tele: Valentina 15.00 Live: Samachar 15.25 Film: Lonbraz Kann 17.30 Tele: Happily Ever After 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.31 Serial: Shiv Shakti 18.55 Live: Grand Titre 19.30 Journal & La Meteo 20.15 Zero Stress Avek Miselaine 20.20 Serial: New Amsterdam 21.05 Serial: La Brea 21.50 Tele: Helena 22.35 Tele: Happily Ever After	09.15 26em Edision Festival Kreol Rodrig Konser 10.30 Local: Saveurs Plus 11.30 Local: Les Petits Genies 12.01 Local: Ecriture Mauricienne 12.30 Rodrig: Itinerer Rodrig 13.00 La Journee Sous Le Regard 14.07 Local: Nu Rasinn 16.03 Local: Glwar Dantan 16.59 La Journee Sous Le Regard 17.03 Local: Music Tour 2026 18.00 Tele: L'Amour Invincible 18.30 Tele: Le Secret des Roldan 19.30 Rodrig Spor 20.00 Local: Saver Kiltirel 20.30 Local: Parlons Sante Senior 20.45 Local: National Innovation 21.15 Local: Agir Ensemble 21.46 Local: Les Klips 22.37 Local: Grand Titre 22.57 La Journee Sous Le Regard	08.00 Local: Mati Ke Mol 09.00 Aaj Ki Charcha 2025 10.00 Dharam Patni 11.31 Serial: Shiv Shakti 12.01 Film: Prem Tapasya Cast: Jeetendra, Rekha 15.00 Live: Samachar 15.47 Radha Mohan 16.30 Aaj Ki Charcha 17.10 Radha Mohan 17.30 Serial: Shiv Shakti 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Local: Yatra 18.58 Unlock The Hidden Potential 20.00 Local: Virasat 20.39 Dharm Yoddha Garud 21.01 Film: Ram Balram 23.22 Mere Sai 00.14 Wagle Ki Duniya 00.36 Mag: Eco India 00.55 Local: Yatra	06.50 Mag: Made In Germany 09.28 Doc: Back To The Bunker 11.22 Mag: REV: The Global Auto 12.43 Mag: Global US 13.39 Doc: Great Barrier Reef 14.25 Mag: Euromaxx 15.00 La Famille Blaireau Renard 15.25 D.Anime: Robin Des Bois 15.34 D.Anime: Samsam 16.01 D.Anime: Jurassic World 16.24 D.Anime: Slugterra 16.39 D.Anime: H2O Aquateam 16.57 Serial: The Avatars 17.30 Mag: Rev: The Global Auto 18.00 Mag: Afrimaxx 18.36 Mag: Travel 19.00 Student Support Programme 19.34 Doc: The Magic Of Colours 20.01 Tele: Un Amour Sauvage 20.50 Tele: Valentina 21.40 Film: Jackie Brown	14.25 Radha Mohan 14.55 Dharm Yoddha Garud 15.30 Film: Dil Ka Kya Kasoor Starring: Prithvi, Divya Bharati 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.31 Udne Ki Aasha 19.02 Udaariyaan 19.33 Dil Ko Tumse Pyaar Hua 20.00 Na Umra Ki Seema Ho 20.31 Shrimad Ramayan 21.00 Anupama 21.28 Pyaar Ka Pehla Abhyaya 22.00 Dhruv Tara 22.24 Wagle Ki Duniya 22.54 Aladdin 23.30 Film: Dil Ka Kya Kasoor Starring: Prithvi, Divya Bharati
jeudi 28 mai	05.27 Tele: Separe Par L'Amour 07.56 Tele: All The Flowers 09.10 Tele: La Desalmada 09.40 Serial: Columbo 11.30 Tele: Happily Ever After 12.00 Le Journal 12.25 Tele: Helena 13.15 Tele: Your Love Is My Fortune 13.42 Tele: L'Amour Invincible 14.10 Tele: Valentina, My Special... 15.30 Film: Amour Et Amnesie 17.15 Tele: Happily Ever After 18.31 Serial: Shiv Shakti 19.00 Kyunki Saas Bhi Kabhi Bahu 19.30 Le Journal 20.14 Zero Stress Avek Miselaine 20.15 MRIC - National Innovation... 20.50 Film: Phir Hera Pheri Cast: Akshay Kumar, Suniel Shetty, Paresh Rawal	10.19 Rodrig: Saver Kiltirel 10.44 Local: Les Klips 11.36 Local: Grand Titre 12.36 Local: En Toute Intimite 13.03 La Journee Sous Le Regard 14.11 Local: Agir Ensemble 15.13 Local: Son Ladan Mem 16.57 La Journee Sous Le Regard 18.00 Tele: L'Amour Invincible 18.30 Tele: Le Secret Des Roldan 19.00 Zournal Kreol 19.30 Local: Itinerer Moris 20.00 L'Heritage Des Mamans 20.37 Local: Paroles Agricoles 21.00 Local: Prog Culinaire 21.22 Melodies Maternelles 22.20 Local: Klip Seleksion 23.12 Zournal Kreol Rediffusion 23.32 La Journee Sous Le Regard.. 23.37 Local: Son Ladan Mem 23.53 Memwar Dan Ros	08.00 Mag: Aastha TV 10.00 Serial: Radha Mohan 11.30 Serial: Shiv Shakti 12.00 Film: Dhund Cast: Sanjay Khan, Zeenat Aman, Ashok Kumar 15.48 Na Umra Ki Seema Ho 16.30 Aaj Ki Charcha 16.10 Na Umra Ki Seema Ho 17.30 Serial: Shiv Shakti 18.00 Samachar 18.30 Local: Amrit Vani 18.43 Krishna Bhajanavali 20.00 Local: Hunarbaaz 20.30 Tenali Rama 21.00 Shiv Shakti 21.15 Shrimad Ramayan 21.36 Mere Sai 22.23 Wagle Ki Duniya 23.13 Aaj Aur Kal	06.25 Mag: Travel 08.17 Mag: Focus On Europe 11.08 Mag: Afrimaxx 11.58 Mag: Arts Unveiled 12.28 Doc: The Magic Of Colours 12.57 Mag: Close Up 13.25 Mag: Focus On Europe 13.50 Doc: Stolen Soul 15.00 La Famille Blaireau Renard 15.12 Momolu et Ses Amis 16.26 D.Anime: Slugterra 16.32 D.Anime: H2O Aquateam 16.55 Serial: The Avatars 18.00 Mag: Eco India 18.30 Mag: Asia 2050 19.00 Student Support Programme 19.30 Mag: Tomorrow Today 20.01 Tele: Un Amour Sauvage 20.30 Live: New 20.50 Tele: Valentina 21.38 Serial: L'Incroyable Hulk	14.25 Radha Mohan 15.00 Tenali Rama 15.30 Film: Cocktail Stars: Saif Ali Khan, Deepika Padukone, Diana Penty 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Udne Ki Aasha 19.00 Udaariyaan 19.30 Dil Ko Tumse Pyaar Hua 20.00 Na Umra Ki Seema Ho 20.30 Shrimad Ramayan 21.02 Anupama 21.34 Pyaar Ka Phela Adhyaya 22.01 Dhruv Tara 22.29 Wagle Ki Duniya 23.05 Aladdin 23.31 Film: Cocktail Stars: Saif Ali Khan, Deepika Padukone, Diana Penty



Jeudi 28 Mai - 15.30

Stars: Saif Ali Khan, Deepika Padukone, Diana Penty



Jeudi 28 Mai - 20.50

Stars: Akshay Kumar, Suniel Shetty, Paresh Rawal





Nita Chicooree-Mercier

Women's Voices

Democratic constitutions often make it irrelevant to vote for additional laws establishing quotas for women in parliament. Provisions already exist that open the door to everyone, irrespective of gender, to step into the realm of politics. This was recently demonstrated by three female candidates who drew significant media attention for their resounding success, making their way into the State Parliament by sheer force of will in the recent West Bengal regional elections in India.

They did not elbow their way into a crowd of zealots from main rival parties

ting the BJP, yet she ultimately defeated the TMC candidate by 12,000 votes. Rekha Patra was a victim of the Sandeshkhali gang rape by TMC men, a crime for which she had previously obtained no justice. Ratna Debnath is the mother of the young doctor who was brutally raped and murdered at RG Kar Hospital two years ago — a horrendous case that shocked the nation, where the criminal initially evaded justice thanks to close links with the ruling TMC party and subsequent cover-ups by the judiciary and police.

These three women did not use social networks to reach out to the people in their constituencies; they conducted door-



“Bearing the deep scars of the 1947 Partition, and long marked by the leftist politics of Communism led by Jyoti Basu, followed by TMC’s liberals and pseudo-secular politics, 2026 emerges as a real Liberation Day for Bengalis. This explains the vibrant celebrations of colour, music, and dance in the streets — an outbreak of pure joy after long years of suppression...” - Pic - TOI

due to their patronyms, nor did they rely on special favors for cosmetic ethnic politics handed down to them on a platter by party leadership. Instead, their rise occurred against the backdrop of brewing anger against the All India Trinamool Congress (AITC), commonly known as the TMC, led by outgoing Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee. The TMC’s rule was widely criticized as tyrannical, propped up by thugs, and marred by rampant discrimination against Bengalis, alongside allegations of appeasement and expanding vote banks through illegal immigrants from neighbouring regions.

The three women ran for the State Assembly under the banner of the BJP, the ruling party in Delhi. Kalita Maji, who worked as a maid in four different houses to earn a living, faced continuous harassment from TMC goons for suppor-

to-door canvassing, and their fight resonated deeply with the public. When Ratna Debnath knocked on doors and appeared in front of shops, folks hugged her and wept, while others fell at her feet, moved by the deep pain of a broken-hearted mother visibly etched on her face. She defeated the TMC candidate by 28,000 votes.

These three women are determined to engage with politics from the inside — from a parliament where issues impacting the lives of the state are debated, policy-making takes place, and laws are enacted. It is most remarkable that the cause they stand for outweighs the trappings of social class, family names, caste, and money. Reportedly, West Bengal had become rife with violence, institutional corruption, censorship, discrimination, and favouritism toward specific groups.

Once elected, the new BJP Chief Minister, Suvendu Adhikari, immediately set himself to the task of a complete clean-up: suspending three police officers in the RG Kar Hospital murder case, initiating a series of arrests and investigations, scrapping discriminatory policies, deporting illegal migrants, fencing porous borders, demolishing illegal constructions, and reopening the files of more than 300 BJP workers killed over the 15 years of TMC rule.

Bengal was historically known as the centre of the Indian Renaissance. Even after its eastern half was separated to create Bangladesh, West Bengal continued to shine as the intellectual capital of India, leading in arts, literature, poetry, and philosophy. It is the land of great public figures, including social reformer Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Vivekananda, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the mystic, poet, and guru Sri Aurobindo Ghosh, and contemporary writers like Amitav Ghosh and so many others.

Reportedly, outgoing CM Mamata Banerjee was being pressured by her advisor, based in Bangladesh, to separate West Bengal from India and merge it with Bangladesh to create a “Greater Bangladesh” in 2026, of which Banerjee would later become the Prime Minister. Allegedly, hotel rooms had even been booked to celebrate a victory marked by the targeted abuse of kidnapped Bengali girls, but the entire plan fizzled out. In recent years, Bengalis were forbidden from chanting *Vande Mataram*, *Jai Hind*, or anything related to their traditional civilisation and culture.

This anti-national posturing instilled fear and censorship, causing widespread, escalating anger. Bengal seemed set on a path of civilisational decline. The BJP worked relentlessly for the past three years to prevent these anti-national forces from staying in power. Bengalis flew back to Bengal in large numbers from Australia, Canada, and the US just to cast their votes and avert a civilisational disaster.

Bearing the deep scars of the 1947 Partition, and long marked by the leftist politics of Communism led by Jyoti Basu, followed by TMC’s liberals and pseudo-secular politics, 2026 emerges as a real Liberation Day for Bengalis. This explains the vibrant celebrations of colour, music, and dance in the streets — an outbreak of pure joy after long years of suppression.

West Bengal stands as an outstanding example of how unity can save a country from hostile forces, restoring stability and civilisational continuity. It also sends another potent message: women as heads of state are not inherently virtuous; they, too, can team up with thugs, wreak havoc, damage the social fabric, and connive with external hostile forces against national unity.

Tree of Knowledge



Claiming Our Feelings



The way to end passive-aggressive behaviour on your part or others' is with complete honesty and truth in any situation.

If you've ever found yourself repressing your anger and behaving in other ways to get your point across, you may be someone who is adept at engaging in passive-aggressive behaviour. Although this behaviour is recognized as a psychological disorder, it also describes the behaviour that many people use to cope with confrontational situations. Such behaviour has the outward appearance of being peaceful, yet it is really an attempt to express oneself in seemingly passive ways — usually without accepting responsibility for doing so. For example, someone who doesn't want to attend an event with a partner might engage in behaviour that causes them to be late or miss the event without ever admitting to their partner that they never wanted to go to the function at all. Procrastination, inefficiency, stubbornness, and sullenness are some of the many ways that anger can be expressed indirectly.

It is important not to judge ourselves when we engage in passive-aggressive behaviour. You may want to consider that you are not owning your feelings or your expression by indirectly expressing yourself. Perhaps you are judging your feelings and needs as wrong — which is why you are expressing yourself indirectly. You also may be worried that others will judge you for feeling the way that you do. Remember that anger and every other emotion are never good or bad. They can, however, become toxic if you don't express them in healthy and proactive ways. When we express ourselves directly, we are more likely to be heard by the other person. It also becomes easier for us to ask for and get what we want.

Once we learn to be honest with ourselves about our feelings, we can begin to directly express ourselves to others. By learning to express ourselves directly, we prevent misunderstandings, hurt feelings, and resentment from cropping up in our relationships. We also learn to communicate with others in healthy and productive ways. It is never too late to start working on ourselves and our behaviours — just take it one day at a time.