

MAURITIUS TIMES

• Supreme excellence consists of breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting. — Sun Tzu, The Art of War



Interview: Jocelyn Chan Low, Historien

Elections 2024: “Tout pronostic, y compris celui affirmant que la lutte sera serrée, est prématuré”

‘Le PMSD peut offrir au MSM cette caution créole qui lui fait défaut pour affronter les élections’

• ‘Retrait de Joe Biden: À Maurice, malheureusement, les leaders politiques s'accrochent souvent au pouvoir, même au-delà de leur date de péremption’

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Lifetime Pensions and Perks

In the wake of the Covid-19 restrictions which all countries had to face, many in the most democratic of abodes, discovered the perks, privileges and entitlements of their ruling class, including MPs, Ministers, Presidents and Vice-Presidents. A quick survey reveals that in India, for instance, the Constitution empowers MPs to determine their own salaries by enacting laws, which raises acutely the question of conflict of interest. Other democracies have also grappled with this issue. Some appoint an independent authority (e.g., Australia and the UK), some peg it to the salary scale of senior civil servants (e.g., France), and some index salaries to inflation (e.g., Canada). The United States decides the salaries of legislators through a law, but its Constitution specifies that the revision will be effective after the next election to the House of Representatives.

There is consensus that MPs and Ministers, many of whom spend a lot of time and energy in their constituency and higher functions, should receive a decent and attractive package during their terms of office although there is no perfect solution, and the best of intentions can be thwarted. For instance, it has been reported that some African Presidents have a paltry salary of say Rs 100,000 monthly with perks and allowances, increased from time to time, reaching several million monthly. Ministers in particular can be very creative with a variety of allowances, per-diems and regular round the world travel trips, first or business class, bargained or extracted from their political bosses and, unless hemmed in firmly, can be abusive of public funds.

We need no reminder of the posse of Ministerial travellers, accompanied by docile top-rung civil service cadres, flocking to Dubai Expo at our expense to the tune of some Rs 77m. We also recall the indecent furore of Ministers and MPs demanding five-star wining and dining in the National Assembly canteen towards which their contribution was a miserly couple of hundred rupees. In Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew's early idea of pegging ministerial salaries to a basket of salaries for private sector bosses with similar responsibilities backfired a few years ago. With the island-nation's rapid development and the establishment of global conglomerates' headquarters, this mechanism

shockingly sent ministerial salaries soaring to new heights.

While these matters are typically under the control of political leaders in normal circumstances, both the Covid-19 pandemic and recent events surrounding the Speakership tele-novela have highlighted the need to curb the excesses of our Cabinet Ministers and indeed of some higher and more "decorative" posts that our legislators have deemed appropriate when times and economic circumstances were different. It should be noted that public outrage has not centred solely on salaries themselves, but rather on the extensive benefits and perks provided over a lifetime to individuals who may not have significantly contributed to merit such lifelong hand-outs.

For instance, in the case of Adrien Duval's short tenure, even for a couple of months, as Speaker of the National Assembly, there is a perception that this appointment, despite its brevity, serves as a lucrative enticement, a sweetener, for the PMSD to align with the embattled and increasingly isolated MSM bandwagon. Social media, even in PMSD circles were bristling to the fact that Adrien Duval, having been nominated Deputy Speaker in 2015, may by virtue of this short-term appointment, qualify at age 35 for a lifetime pension from public purse of some Rs 250,000+ monthly, in addition to the usual gaggle of perks and benefits.

It is not targeting the person that matters, nor are we pushing for a populist agenda, and we recognise that "hua to hua" (what's done is done) but it seems clear that it is high time for Mauritius Inc to undertake a dispassionate but comprehensive independent review of the sumptuous lifetime perks, privileges and pensions that our ruling classes have allocated themselves. From the honorary functions of President, through the relatively useless post of Vice-President, to the Speakership and to Cabinet Ministers, lifetime perks, privileges and allowances have to be trimmed down.

It is imperative that both the current and future generations embrace the principle of service before self, echoing John F. Kennedy's famous words: "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country."

The Conversation



Gov. George Wallace, in a wheelchair, welcomes President Ronald Reagan to Alabama on Sept. 18, 1986. AP Photo/Charles Tasnadi

Can a brush with death change politicians?

It did for notorious Alabama segregationist George Wallace

Donald Trump's narrow escape from an assassin's bullet led me – a historian who has written about political polarization and the Civil Rights Movement – to think back to another norm-smashing populist who encountered death on the campaign trail: former Alabama governor and US presidential candidate George Wallace.

By 1972, Wallace's image was fixed in most Americans' minds as the face of the white South's violent response to the Civil Rights Movement. Wallace had skillfully deployed divisive, racially tinged attacks against liberals, government and protesters to become a serious contender for the presidency.

So, Wallace turned heads when he publicly apologized and pleaded for forgiveness for his segregationist past after a 1972 assassination attempt at a campaign rally in Maryland left him paralyzed.

Facing death and seeking redemption

It's impossible to look into Wallace's heart and understand what moved him. Yet three factors probably loomed large.

First, the brush with death. It upended Wallace's life and forced

him to end his 1972 bid for the presidency. It also left a pugnacious man who had been a boxer in his youth and was proud of his physical prowess bound to a wheelchair. He underwent frequent surgeries and lived in constant pain.

It's common for those who have faced death to reflect on their mortality and their life. Wallace was no exception.

Religion also may have played a role. While he was an earthy, profane man who didn't resist temptations of the flesh, Wallace couldn't escape the religious views that he had imbibed as a child and that permeated Southern culture. Faced with his own mortality, he thought about the fate of his soul and sought redemption by accepting Jesus, repenting and seeking forgiveness.

Less than a month after Wallace was shot, civil rights icon Shirley Chisholm visited him in his Maryland hospital room.

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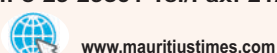
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Politique et alliances

Le PMSD, un cas d'école de comportement erratique

Aditya Narayan

Une semaine est une longue période en politique, dit-on.

Cet adage s'est vérifié dans le contexte local la semaine dernière avec la démission de l'ex-Speaker Soorojdev Phokeer et son remplacement rapide par Adrien Duval, le fils du leader du PMSD. Ces deux développements, qui chamboulent l'échiquier politique au gré d'un repositionnement du PMSD dans l'opposition, posent deux questions cruciales pour l'avenir de la démocratie parlementaire à Maurice, du moins dans le court terme:

1. La nomination d'Adrien Duval au poste de Speaker du Parlement est-elle légale et/ou morale?
2. Est-il normal qu'un parti, en l'occurrence le PMSD, change de camp politique du jour au lendemain en passant du statut de parti d'opposition au Parlement à celui d'un allié potentiel, voire de partenaire éventuel, du gouvernement en place?

Aspect légal

Les juristes et politologues débattent de la légalité de la nomination d'Adrien Duval en citant les articles 32 et 50 de la Constitution et les règles de procédure, notamment le «Standing Order» 7(1) (b), de l'Assemblée législative (voir les références dans le tableau ci-dessous).

- L'article 32(1) (a) prévoit que le Speaker peut être choisi parmi les membres de l'Assemblée législative ou autrement ("otherwise"), ce qui implique qu'un individu non élu peut être nommé à ce poste.
- Or, le «Standing Order» 7(1) (b) du Parlement prévoit qu'en cas de vacance au poste de Speaker, un autre Speaker soit choisi parmi les membres de l'Assemblée législative.

Est-ce que la Constitution a la primauté sur les règles du Parlement? Chacun y va de son couplet selon son bord politique ou son interprétation de la loi.

D'une part, les gens bien-pensants trouvent dans les textes de loi des raisons en faveur de la légalité de la nomination, et d'autre part, des observateurs à l'esprit critique trouvent des raisons pour arguer de l'illégalité de la nomination. Dans ce débat byzantin, le citoyen profane y perd son latin, surtout en l'absence d'une autorité indépendante qui puisse donner une interprétation juste, fondée sur une lecture objective de la situation.

Certes, les partis d'opposition qui contestent la nomination de d'Adrien Duval peuvent en appeler à la Cour suprême pour avoir un avis légal, mais le problème est le temps que le judiciaire prendra pour statuer sur la question.

Typiquement, le judiciaire prend des années pour juger une pétition électorale contestant l'élection d'un député ou une motion contestant la suspension d'un député par le Speaker. Entretemps, les plaignants doivent prendre leur mal en patience. Il est évident que si l'opposition officielle devait demander à la Cour suprême son opinion sur la nomination de Duval, le jugement ne serait pas livré avant les prochaines élections prévues après la dissolution du Parlement le 21 novembre 2024.

Aspect moral

Même si la nomination de Duval est légale, la question est de savoir si elle est morale compte tenu du fait qu'il est un individu non élu, de surcroît le fils du leader du PMSD, un parti qui dit être dans l'opposition mais négocie une alliance électorale avec le MSM, partenaire majoritaire du gouvernement.

L'aspect moral de la question a trait au nouveau positionnement du PMSD sur l'échiquier politique. Le PMSD a une position ambiguë dans la mesure où il veut rester sur les bancs de l'opposition au Parlement tout en négociant les termes d'une alliance avec le MSM. Est-ce une ambiguïté stratégique qui veut que le PMSD garde ses options ouvertes pendant qu'il négocie avec le MSM?

Peu importe les arguments du PMSD pour justifier la nomination d'Adrien Duval comme Speaker, en particulier la nécessité de remplacer l'ex-Speaker devenu encombrant par ses excès par un nouveau speaker qui pourra assainir la situation au Parlement, le public ne comprend pas pourquoi il fallait dénicher un «oiseau rare» dans les rangs du PMSD après sa cassure avec l'alliance de l'opposition parlementaire, à moins que ce ne soit une stratégie visant à jeter les jalons d'une future alliance électorale avec le MSM.

Le repositionnement du PMSD sur l'échiquier politique, après avoir passé cinq ans dans l'opposition comme un farouche adversaire du MSM, est un cas d'école de comportement erratique d'un parti politique, dont l'évolution change au gré des circonstances plutôt que d'être guidé par des principes immuables. Il est vrai que la fin des idéologies à Maurice a permis à tous les partis politiques de s'allier les uns aux autres dans le passé dans des



P - ION News

“Depuis sa démission du gouvernement MSM en 2017, en raison d'une divergence sur le projet de loi créant une commission de poursuite parallèle au DPP, le leader du PMSD avait assumé le rôle de leader de l'Opposition (avec une parenthèse pour Arvin Boolell, chef de file travailliste au Parlement) jusqu'à tout récemment. À travers ses questions parlementaires et ses interventions sur les projets de loi, il s'était bâti un capital de sympathie avec son réquisitoire implacable contre le gouvernement. Or, mécontent de l'offre de huit tickets aux prochaines élections au sein de l'alliance de l'opposition parlementaire, le PMSD a fait un virage à 180 degrés...”

alliances tactiques visant à remporter les élections. Mais cela justifie-t-il tous les retournements de vestes, les revirements, les reniements et les compromissions qui donnent l'impression que la recherche du pouvoir à tout prix est l'unique fin de la démarche politique?

Depuis sa démission du gouvernement MSM en 2017, en raison d'une divergence sur le projet de loi créant une commission de poursuite parallèle au DPP, le leader du PMSD avait assumé le rôle de leader de l'Opposition (avec une parenthèse pour Arvin Boolell, chef de file travailliste au Parlement) jusqu'à tout récemment. À travers ses questions parlementaires et ses interventions sur les projets de loi, il s'était bâti un capital de sympathie avec son réquisitoire implacable contre le gouvernement. Or, mécontent de l'offre de huit tickets aux prochaines élections au sein de l'alliance de l'opposition parlementaire, le PMSD a fait un virage à 180 degrés pour passer de l'opposition à un allié potentiel du MSM.

Lorsqu'il s'agit d'un député d'opposition qui change de parti pour devenir transfuge, on peut expliquer ce changement par l'intérêt personnel fondé sur la recherche de gains matériels (ex: un poste de ministre

dans le gouvernement). Mais lorsque tout un parti se repositionne sur l'échiquier pour rejoindre le camp adverse, c'est une démarche anormale que l'on ne trouve pas dans les démocraties parlementaires dignes de ce nom.

Quels en seraient les motifs sinon le pouvoirisme? Cette approche voudrait-elle qu'il faille être absolument dans le pouvoir pour promouvoir ses intérêts personnels, de parti, de clan ou de famille?

Un politologue américain, Aaron James, professeur de philosophie à l'Université de Californie, a avancé une théorie pour expliquer la démarche de ceux qui agissent de façon irrationnelle pour promouvoir leurs intérêts personnels. Dans son livre "Assholes: A Theory", il définit un tel individu comme suit :

"A person counts as an asshole when, and only when, he systematically allows himself to enjoy special advantages in interpersonal relations out of an entrenched sense of entitlement that immunizes him against the complaints of other people".

Cette théorie s'applique aux autocrates, kleptocrates et autres kakistocrates qui utilisent le pouvoir à des fins personnelles au lieu de s'occuper du bien commun.

• Suite en page 7

L'organisation des élections: Sous le sceau du MSM?

Par A. Bartleby

L'organisation des élections à Maurice est sous les feux des projecteurs depuis 2019. Jamais auparavant les élections n'avaient été aussi contestées qu'à la dernière élection, marquée par un nombre record de pétitions électorales déposées. Même si toutes ces pétitions ont été rejetées par les tribunaux, des soupçons persistent quant à des irrégularités qui auraient pu être commises. Mais celles-ci demeurent sans doute difficiles à prouver. Il est indéniable que la Commission électorale ainsi que la Commission de supervision électorale peuvent faire ce que la loi leur permet, mais il est également vrai que les hommes et les femmes qui siègent dans les conseils et qui gèrent le processus électoral comptent aussi.

Des questions ont récemment été soulevées par les politiciens de l'opposition et la presse concernant le choix des membres de la Electoral Supervisory Commission par le gouvernement et qui seraient du "serail MSM". La présence de nominés politiques à la fois à la Commission électorale et à la Commission de supervision électorale suscite des interrogations supplémentaires quant au processus électoral, ce qui soulève des préoccupations concernant l'impartialité et la transparence de cette instance.

Commission électorale de l'Inde: Le gagnant silencieux

En tout cas, si l'on cherche un modèle à suivre en matière d'organisation des élections, il faudrait suivre ce qui se passe en Inde. Peu importe quel parti remporte les élections dans le sous-continent, la véritable - et silencieuse - gagnante est en fait la Commission électorale de l'Inde (Electoral Commission of India).

Les élections indiennes de 2024 ont été les plus grandes de l'histoire mondiale: près d'un milliard de personnes étaient éligibles pour voter. Administrer une telle élection gigantesque s'est avéré être une tâche extrêmement difficile. C'est également un processus long, les élections s'étant déroulées en Inde du 19 avril au 1er juin 2024 en sept phases, afin d'élire les 543 membres du Lok Sabha.

Anirudh Joshi, dans Swarajya, affirme que s'il existait un trophée ou un concours pour désigner l'autorité électorale la plus compétente au monde, la Commission électorale de l'Inde (ECI) remporterait ce prix selon tous les critères imaginables: "La Commission Électorale de l'Inde représente l'étalon-or (gold standard) du mécanisme électoral sur cette planète."

La ECI, une autorité constitutionnelle qui mobilise diverses parties du gouvernement



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pour effectuer son travail - mais qui n'en fait pas partie et conserve farouchement son indépendance -, est dirigée par un "Chief Election Commissioner" (CEC) et comprend deux autres "Election Commissioners". Elle dispose en réalité d'un effectif très réduit d'environ 50 fonctionnaires, ainsi que leur personnel subalterne associé.

Environ un tiers de ces fonctionnaires proviennent des services civils, notamment l'IAS, l'IRS et d'autres services centraux. Le reste provient du propre cadre de la Commission.

En plus de l'établissement ci-dessus au Centre, chaque État dispose d'un "Chief Electoral Officer" (CEO) ainsi que de son personnel. Ce fonctionnaire est issu du gouvernement de l'État.

Il est important de comprendre que ces fonctionnaires (qu'ils soient au Centre ou dans l'État) travaillent pour la ECI sur un détachement (députation). Une fois la députation terminée, ils assument d'autres rôles dans le gouvernement. Mais tant qu'ils sont à la Commission, ils agissent selon les besoins de celle-ci et tirent leurs pouvoirs de celle-ci.

Et bien sûr, une fois que les élections sont déclarées dans un État ou dans tout le

pays, l'ensemble du gouvernement est, en un sens, à la disposition de la ECI. Elle peut mobiliser autant d'officiers qu'elle le juge nécessaire. (Par exemple, le "District Collector" devient le "District Electoral Officer").

Une organisation de classe mondiale

Qu'est-ce qui fait exactement de la ECI une organisation de classe mondiale et une norme d'or en matière de gestion électorale?

L'échelle — L'échelle à laquelle la ECI gère les élections est inimaginable pour la plupart des pays. Considérez quelques chiffres. Les élections générales de 2024 ont impliqué plus de 970 millions d'électeurs inscrits, plus d'un million de bureaux de vote, plus de 15 millions de membres du personnel électoral et 5,5 millions de machines à voter électroniques (EVM).

La prochaine démocratie la plus vaste par sa taille est celle des États-Unis, qui compte plus de 161 millions d'électeurs inscrits, un sixième seulement du nombre d'électeurs en Inde.

L'indépendance — La caractéristique déterminante de la ECI est l'indépendance dont elle jouit, en tant qu'organe constitu-

tionnel avec le "Chief Election Commissioner" ayant le statut de juge de la Cour suprême.

Le CEC ne peut être destitué que par une majorité des deux tiers de la Lok Sabha et du Rajya Sabha présente et votant en ce sens.

Comment cela diffère-t-il des autres autorités électorales dans le monde?

Contrastons cela avec d'autres pays de taille ou de population comparable. Les cinq pays les plus peuplés sont l'Inde, la Chine, les États-Unis, l'Indonésie et le Pakistan.

La Chine est un pays à parti unique et les élections au Pakistan seraient souvent truquées: les résultats ne sont jamais déclarés à temps avec des retards inexplicables à chaque élection pour l'annonce des résultats.

Les élections de 2020 aux États-Unis ont connu une situation intéressante où il a fallu plusieurs semaines avant que les résultats ne soient finalement acceptés partout, indiquant que Joe Biden avait remporté la victoire sur Donald Trump. Une grande partie de la population pense encore que les élections de 2020 étaient truquées contre Trump.

En Indonésie, lors des élections de 2019, la Cour constitutionnelle indonésienne a rejeté une plainte déposée par Prabowo Subianto, qui alléguait depuis des mois que l'élection était truquée contre lui. La violence a causé la mort de huit personnes. Des élections libres et équitables ont commencé à évoluer seulement après 1999, après la chute du règne militaire de 32 ans du président Suharto.

Lors des élections de 2019 en Indonésie, 894 responsables de l'organisation électorale ont été signalés comme décédés, tandis que 5 175 autres tombèrent malades. Les facteurs déclencheurs incluent une charge de travail assez lourde, la fatigue et les maladies comorbides.

Au Pakistan, les résultats sont inexplicablement en retard à chaque fois et on ne se souvient pas d'une seule élection où les résultats ont été acceptés par la population en général et par tous les partis. Les allégations de trucage par l'armée sont trop bien connues pour être répétées ici.

Kamala Harris: Entre racines indiennes et ambitions américaines

Joe Biden ne se présentera pas à l'élection présidentielle américaine de novembre. Après trois semaines de spéculation intense suivant sa performance décevante lors des débats et une série de conférences de presse et d'apparitions publiques parsemées de gaffes, le président américain a annoncé dimanche dernier qu'il se retirerait "dans l'intérêt supérieur de mon parti et du pays". Il a ensuite apporté son soutien à sa vice-présidente, Kamala Harris, pour le remplacer à la tête de la candidature démocrate.

Kamala Harris a grandi dans un foyer interreligieux

Si elle obtient la nomination, Kamala Harris deviendra la première femme afro-américaine à diriger le ticket d'un grand parti. Il est donc naturel que beaucoup de gens se remettent à jour sur elle et son parcours.

Une enfance multiculturelle a beaucoup inspiré Kamala Harris, y compris ses croyances religieuses.

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Kamala Harris : Entre racines indiennes et ambitions américaines

☞ Suite de la page 4

Harris a déclaré lors d'une interview avec Interfaith Youth Core que son « parcours de foi » a commencé quand elle était jeune. « Les dimanches, ma mère habillait ma sœur, Maya, et moi en tenue de dimanche et nous envoyait à l'église 23rd Avenue Church of God à Oakland, en Californie, où Maya et moi chantions dans la chorale des enfants, » a expliqué Harris à la publication. « C'est là que j'ai formé certains de mes premiers souvenirs des enseignements de la Bible. C'est là que j'ai appris que la 'foi' est un verbe et que nous devons la vivre, et la montrer, en action. »

Un foyer interreligieux

La mère de Harris était hindoue et son père était chrétien. Elle a grandi en assistant aux services dans une église baptiste noire et un temple hindou, a rapporté USA Today.

Kamala Harris a rencontré son mari Doug Emhoff lors d'un rendez-vous à l'aveugle en 2013, et le couple s'est marié un an plus tard. Elle est belle-mère des deux enfants d'Emhoff issus d'une relation précédente, Cole et Ella.

Selon « America Magazine », le couple a brisé un verre dans le cadre de la coutume juive traditionnelle lors de leur mariage. Harris a déclaré à Interfaith Youth Core qu'elle partage « des traditions et des célébrations juives » avec Emhoff à la maison. « De toutes ces traditions et enseignements, j'ai appris que la foi n'est pas seulement quelque chose que nous exprimons à l'église et lors de réflexions en prière, mais aussi dans la façon dont nous vivons nos vies, faisons notre travail et poursuivons nos vocations respectives, » a-t-elle dit.

Avant de devenir Vice-Présidente, Harris représentait la Californie au Sénat des États-Unis à partir de janvier 2017. Au cours de sa campagne de 2020, des rumeurs ont commencé à circuler selon lesquelles Harris aurait refusé de prêter serment au Sénat sur une Bible, mais c'est inexact. Elle a utilisé une Bible familiale pour l'occasion.

Racines indiennes

Lorsque Kamala Harris a prêté serment en tant que vice-présidente des États-Unis, les habitants du village ancestral de sa famille maternelle, dans le sud de l'Inde, ont suivi l'événement en direct, déclenchant des feux d'artifice, tenant des portraits d'elle et lui souhaitant une longue vie. Mais quatre ans plus tard, alors qu'elle aspire cette semaine à devenir la candidate démocrate à la présidence après que le président Joe Biden a mis fin à sa campagne, la réaction en Inde est plus modérée, rapporte Krutika Pathi de



Des femmes se rassemblent pour célébrer la victoire de Kamala Harris à Painganadu, près du village de Thulasendrapuram, où le grand-père maternel de Harris est né et a grandi, dans l'État du Tamil Nadu, au sud de l'Inde. P - VOA

l'Associated Press.

À New Delhi, certains résidents ont exprimé de la fierté, mais quelques-uns ne savaient pas qui elle était. Cette réaction peut partiellement refléter le fait que Harris — qui est également afro-américaine et qui met en avant son héritage jamaïcain plutôt qu'indien — n'affiche pas ouvertement ses racines indiennes.

« Kamala Harris ne met pas en avant ses racines indiennes, préférant souligner son héritage jamaïcain », a déclaré Michael Kugelman, directeur de l'Institut de l'Asie du Sud au Wilson Centre.

En tant que vice-présidente, elle a évoqué ses liens avec l'Inde à des moments clés, parfois avec légèreté, mais son portefeuille politique a surtout été axé sur des questions domestiques et n'a pas mis l'accent sur les relations avec l'Inde, a-t-il ajouté.

Lors de la visite d'État du Premier ministre indien Narendra Modi à Washington en juin de l'année dernière, Harris a parlé avec émotion de ses liens

avec le pays de naissance de sa défunte mère, Shyamala Gopalan. Elle a rendu hommage à son grand-père P.V. Gopalan, fonctionnaire civil, qui lui a enseigné ce que signifie la démocratie lorsqu'ils se promenaient main dans la main sur une plage dans son État natal du Tamil Nadu.

Ces leçons, a-t-elle dit, « ont d'abord suscité mon intérêt pour le service public... et m'ont guidée depuis ».

Elle a également évoqué l'influence de sa mère — et comment elle a découvert son « amour des bons idlis », provoquant des rires dans l'auditoire avec sa référence à ce plat de boulettes de riz cuites à la vapeur, un aliment de base du sud de l'Inde.

Aujourd'hui, peu de membres de sa famille élargie restent en Inde. Mis à part les voyages de son enfance, Harris n'a pas beaucoup visité l'Inde — et pas depuis qu'elle est devenue vice-présidente, une autre raison qui pourrait expliquer pourquoi sa candidature n'a pas encore eu un large écho dans le pays.

La diaspora aux États-Unis

Pourtant, si Harris devenait la candidate démocrate, ce serait une première pour une Américaine d'origine sud-asiatique — et un signe de la distance parcourue par la diaspora aux États-Unis, a souligné Kugelman.

Harris et une série d'autres personnalités politiques ayant des racines en Inde — de Nikki Haley et Vivek Ramaswamy à Usha Vance — sont devenues des noms familiers aux États-Unis, mettant en lumière l'Inde au-delà des clichés de Bollywood et de la cuisine indienne, a-t-il ajouté.

Mais l'impact d'une éventuelle présidence de Harris serait beaucoup plus grand pour la politique américaine et la communauté indo-américaine que pour les relations indo-américaines, estiment les experts.

« Lorsque les Indiens regardent Kamala Harris, ils voient une responsable américaine plus qu'une personne d'origine indienne », a déclaré Happymon Jacob, professeur d'études de diplomatie et de désarmement à l'université Jawaharlal Nehru.

Le fait qu'elle ait été vice-présidente n'a pas eu un impact substantiel sur les liens indo-américains, qui devraient se renforcer en raison des préoccupations communes concernant la Chine, quel que soit le vainqueur des élections de novembre, a-t-il ajouté.

« Je pense donc qu'il y a une prise de conscience en Inde que ces choses n'ont pas vraiment d'importance au bout du compte », a ajouté Jacob.

Même si une présidence de Harris est peu susceptible d'avoir un impact sur la politique envers l'Inde ou des implications géopolitiques, pour Shivaji Shinde, professeur de littérature hindi, ce serait quand même un moment historique et significatif pour la nation.

« Les États-Unis sont le pays le plus puissant du monde. S'ils choisissent une personne d'origine indienne comme présidente, ce sera un moment énorme pour l'Inde et tous les Indiens en seront immensément fiers », a déclaré Shinde à New Delhi mardi.

Venezuela: Un modèle pour "l'avenir de l'autoritarisme ailleurs dans le monde"

Le contrôle gouvernemental sur ce que les gens peuvent accéder: Comment la censure d'internet façonne les élections au Venezuela

A lors que le Venezuela se dirige vers des élections cruciales le 28 juillet, un nouveau rapport détaille la manière dont ce pays d'Amérique latine est devenu un laboratoire de répression numérique, renforçant le régime actuel et accélérant le recul démocratique dans la région, selon Joanna Robin du « Consortium international des journalistes d'investigation ». Après avoir pris le pouvoir en 2013, le président Nicolás Maduro a rapidement réprimé les manifestations par la

force et persécuté les dissidents, y compris les journalistes. Son gouvernement a également mis en place un vaste appareil de surveillance pour examiner et contrôler les discours en ligne, selon une étude du Digital Forensic Research Lab, spécialisé dans l'étude de la désinformation.

A. Bartleby

☞ Suite en page 16



Anil Madan

Lotus for Potus - An Assessment

No matter how much hate and bile Trump spews, my bet is that Americans are not ready to destroy the economic and political miracle that has made America what it is. We shall wait and see if America looks to the future or suffers a self-inflicted wound

As I have previously written, President Biden's days as the Democratic Party's presumptive nominee for POTUS (President of the United States) were numbered after his abysmal performance at the so-called "debate" with Donald Trump, the Republican Party's strutting peacock.

It was not unreasonable that Democrats, seeing their leader's clay feet crumbling before their eyes, would rapidly move into salvage mode and do what they could to urge Biden to assume lame-duck status. Trump's fortunate escape of a would-be assassin's bullet unsurprisingly led to an illusory surge of love for the Republicans' own wounded duck, but this was not new love, it came in the form of declarations from those who had already professed their adoration.

What was surprising was the celerity with which the Democrats embraced and adopted Kamala Harris as their presumptive nominee. As I write, it has been widely reported that Harris has secured commitments from enough delegates to ensure that she will be the Democratic nominee.

A number of friends have asked me how the presidential election is going to turn out. My response, depending on the day the question was posed, has been that the story of Biden's bowing out is only a day or two or three old. We just don't have enough information to know how things will play out as the presidential race resets, and as voters have a chance to reassess the situation. In short, predicting the outcome is most likely going to be nothing more than pure speculation or wishful thinking.

Compelling trends and forces across the American electorate

There are, however, some compelling trends and influences across the American electorate that allow us to project reasonably likely alternative scenarios. Not every scenario favours either Trump or Harris, but we can postulate, based on intriguing insights, how the two candidates could each succeed or fail.

Let me pause to say that Kamala is a Sanskrit word meaning lotus. Hence the caption of this piece. Kamala is also associated with the Hindu goddess Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth. Presidential campaigns in the US are cash intensive. Biden's campaign was well ahead of Trump's when it came to fund raising until the assassination attempt. Then Trump's campaign saw a massive influx of money and his campaign's coffers swelled well beyond Biden's.

But a funny thing happened on the way to the forum. Right after Biden's withdrawal, and even before Harris had secured enough delegates to lock up the nomination, money poured in. On the first day, Harris' campaign raised over \$80 million, by the next day, over \$100 million, and within 40 hours of Biden's announcement, the Democrats and Harris combined, reported raising a record \$250 million.

In the hours following Biden's announced withdrawal from the presidential race, there were murmurings from would-be contenders for the Democratic nomina-

tion, but these were quickly quelled when it became clear that the party's leaders were supported by a groundswell, so much so that Harris' ascension seemed more a coronation than a striving effort to conquer an elusive summit.

Presidential material

So, what is going on here? Surely, it is fair to say that as of January 2021 when Biden and Harris took the oath of office as President and Vice President, the prevailing perception of Harris was of a lightweight, a deer caught in the headlights, incapable, and ineffective, certainly not presidential material. This perception was enhanced by her performance when Biden assigned her the impossible task of dealing with the chaos at America's southern border. Whereas it was grossly unfair to even suggest that a Vice President, without Congressional funding and authority to enforce immigration laws could do anything meaningful about the border, the Biden administration in its zeal to appear engaged on a problem in desperate need of solving, left her hanging.

Following what seemed a catastrophic failure, Harris receded into the background and has seldom surfaced.

What is hidden from public view is neatly summed up in an endorsement by 350 national security leaders including most notably General Michael Hayden who served as director of the Central Intelligence Agency and Director of National Intelligence, and held appointed posts under Presidents Clinton, G.W. Bush, and Obama. Former Secretaries of Defense Chuck Hagel and Leon Panetta were also signatories. These security leaders wrote that Harris would, if elected, enter the office of President "with more significant national security experience than the four Presidents prior to President Biden." They also noted that she has met with more than 150 world leaders and travelled to 21 countries. They also wrote that in contrast to Harris, Trump is

“For far too long, Trump and his Republican faithful have abused women at the ballot box, in wage equality, in equal work conditions, in safety from sexual predators, in abortion access and in health care. The Supreme Court's decision that overruled federal protection for abortion, the passage of restrictive abortion laws in some 26 states, and the embrace by Trump, Vance and their MAGA cohorts of abortion restrictions that demean and devalue women, are going to come back to hurt...”



Pic - The Independent

a threat to national security.

That is some endorsement for a candidate the Republicans have tried to portray as incompetent. And keep in mind that most of the same security leaders consider Trump to be a threat to this country's security and woefully ill-equipped to deal with the geopolitical theater.

The major issue here is the contrast that Harris offers to Trump. Let us also not underestimate the time that Harris has spent at Biden's side over the past three and one-half years as the world has lurched from crisis to crisis.

The Republican Convention is not two weeks old. It offered a pageant of cognitive dissonance when Republican after Republican who had called Trump unfit for office, unhinged, and worse — his own VP pick J.D. Vance had called Trump an American Hitler and himself a "never Trumper" — bent to kiss the Trumpian ring. It was a sorry spectacle of hypocrisy, self-demeaning and infantile worship of a lesser human being. To be sure, Trump basks in the rapt obeisance of his MAGA followers and can use his influence to "primary" (lose a primary election and hence a shot at re-election) his detractors. This commands the sucking-up and self-debasement we have seen.

But will the American people stand for it? Dishonesty from politicians gets a free pass all too often. But when the security of the nation and our national security is at stake, most Americans will not give THAT a free ride.

Issues of race and gender

Then, there are the issues of race and gender. The MAGA ("Make America Great Again") Republicans have attacked Harris on both these fronts.

● Cont. on page 7

Lotus for Potus - An Assessment

● Cont. from page 6

There is grave danger in such attacks. In my view, the fact that Harris is a woman is likely to be far more significant than is her race.

The race question is likely to generate a big yawn from most of the American electorate. The only Americans who are motivated by racial prejudice are the bigots to whom Trump appeals. They include white supremacists and those with varyingly low levels of intelligence. The country came together when Barack Obama was running for President and demonstrated an elemental truth that we have known for a long time: the vast majority of Americans are decent, fair-minded people, who accept other Americans and do not brook invidious discrimination. We see this in American life day in and day out. The fact that so many Indians are CEOs of Fortune 500 companies, is just one example. Consider also that Kamala Harris is a combination of African American and Indian ancestry and J.D. Vance's wife is of Indian origin.

“I have made another point to my friends who ask if Harris can beat Trump. That, I say, is the wrong question. The correct question and the only one that matters is whether the American electorate will beat Trump. Will the people of the United States who so overwhelmingly rejected Trump and his craziness in 2020, somehow excuse what he did after that election, on January 6, and thereafter, and countenance his lies and threats to American Democracy, to world security, to the environment, and to decency itself?”

The sad part of this story is that many in the Trump camp have been attacking Usha Vance, asking how a “brown” was let into our midst and how a VP married to an Indian can fight for “white” Americans or Christians. Sad as this may be, I predict that such hatred and vile talk will spur a massive backlash in America.

Now let us talk about gender. For far too long, Trump and his Republican faithful have abused women at the ballot box, in wage equality, in equal work conditions, in safety from sexual predators, in abortion access and in health care. The Supreme Court's decision that overruled federal protection for abortion, the passage of restrictive abortion laws in some 26 states, and the embrace by Trump, Vance and their MAGA cohorts of abortion restrictions that demean and devalue women, are going to come back to hurt. In every state where the question has been left to voters, abortion access wins.

The Republicans are fighting a losing battle. Winning the Presidency, the House and the Senate, will become national rallying cries.

So, the answer is that all things being equal, the American electorate will defeat Trump. Republicans are about 27% of registered voters, Democrats 29%. Winning the presidency requires the votes of a sizable chunk of Independents. It is too much to expect that Independent means tolerance for indecency.

The other side of the coin

To put an exclamation point on this, consider this from an opinion piece by Jill Filipovic in *The Daily*



Beast: “There is, of course, some worried hand-wringing. Most of the worries boil down to ‘the last time we ran a woman, she lost.’ This is true — but it also treats one woman as a stand-in for *all* women and derives a sweeping lesson from a single race.

“It seems worth mentioning that a white man has lost in every single other election in American history, including two times to a Black man. Trump lost the popular vote to Clinton in 2016, and again to Joe Biden in 2020. We have not extrapolated out from that long history of losses that white men can't win. We shouldn't do the same based on the one election in which a woman was a major party's nominee.”

So, what is the other side of the coin? Is it possible that Harris will stumble and the nation will be less forgiving of a woman than it has been of Trump? Sure, it is.

Is it possible that the Democrats will simply fail to rally and that we are seeing early euphoria that will soon fade? Sure, it is. But remember that the frustration of the American people has been building for years. But just as Trump capitalized on the frustration of the American people in 2016, he failed to deliver on his promises other than to cut taxes, appoint right-wing Supreme Court justices, and gut environmental regulations. Are the American people so stupid as to buy false promises for the second time? I don't think so.

Project 2025 and white supremacy

Finally, there is Project 2025. Expect the Democrats to hammer home the dire threat that Trump poses to the very system of governance that this nation has built. That initiative incorporates the destruction of the federal government with white supremacy, Christian nationalism, suppression of human rights, abuse of immigrants and a national insularity that is repugnant to Americans when they learn what is planned.

No matter how much hate and bile Trump spews, my bet is that Americans are not ready to destroy the economic and political miracle that has made America what it is.

Yes, America can put Kamala Harris in the White House. And it can also return Trump to the presidency.

We shall wait and see if America looks to the future or suffers a self-inflicted wound on a journey back to the 14th Century.

Cheerz...
Bwana

Analyse

Politique et alliances

Le PMSD, un cas d'école de comportement erratique

● Suite de la page 3

Ils croient qu'ils ont un droit historique ou divin au pouvoir. Ils dénaturent la politique en lui ôtant tout sens de l'intérêt collectif pour promouvoir le tribalisme ou l'oligarchie familiale. Il convient de citer John Adams, le deuxième président américain, qui avait dit ceci:

“Government is instituted for the common good: for the protection, safety, prosperity and happiness of the people; and not for the profit, honour, or private interest of any one man, family or class of men”.

Aditya Narayan

Ce que prévoit la Constitution pour l'élection du Speaker et du Deputy Speaker

Constitution of Mauritius

32. Speaker and Deputy Speaker

- (1) (a) The Assembly shall, at its first sitting after any general election, on motion supported by the votes of a majority of all the members of the Assembly elect –
 - (i) from among its members or otherwise, a Speaker;
 - (ii) from among its members, a Deputy Speaker.
- (b) A motion under paragraph (a) shall not be the subject matter of a debate in the Assembly.
- (4) Where the office of the Speaker or the Deputy Speaker becomes vacant at any time, the Assembly, in the manner specified in subsection (1), shall, unless it is sooner dissolved, elect –
 - (a) from among its members or otherwise, a Speaker;
 - (b) from among its members, a Deputy Speaker

Article 50. Presiding in National Assembly

The Speaker or in his absence the Deputy Speaker or in their absence a member of the assembly (not being a minister) elected by the Assembly for the sitting, shall preside at any sitting of the Assembly.

Legislative Assembly Standing Orders:

7. (1) No business shall be transacted in the Assembly, other than the election of a Speaker, at any time when the Office of Speaker is vacant. Accordingly, the Assembly shall –
 - (a) at its first sitting after any general election; and
 - (b) if the Office of the Speaker becomes vacant at any time before the next dissolution of the Assembly, except in the circumstances mentioned at paragraph
- (4) of this Order, at its next sitting after the occurrence of the vacancy, elect from among its Members, other than Ministers and Parliamentary Private Secretaries, a Speaker of the Assembly.

* * *

Quelques définitions:

- **Autocrate:** Monarque ou Chef politique tyrannique qui détiennent le pouvoir absolu
- **Kleptocratie:** Un système politique ou un gouvernement où un ou plusieurs membres sont politiquement corrompus et sont guidés par leur propre gourmandise financière, et ce comportement inclut fréquemment des proches et des membres de leur famille
- **Kakistocrate:** Le terme «kakistocratie» est construit à partir de deux mots grecs: «kakistos» qui signifie «les pires» (il s'agit du superlatif de «kakos»: «mauvais») et «kratos» qui signifie «le pouvoir». La kakistocratie est donc la gouvernance par les médiocres, la direction par les incompetents. Le gouvernement par les personnes les plus médiocres.

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Dr R Neerunjun Gopee

Loneliness as a public health issue

'High rates of social isolation and loneliness around the world have serious consequences for health and well-being'

During a trip to Bali a few years ago, we went on an excursion in a forest, quite a large one, starting from a village adjoining it where we were putting up. On our return journey a couple of hours later, we saw a little hut deep in the woods where an elderly couple stayed.

Our guide told us that this is not an uncommon practice in the island – which is about four times the size of Mauritius – where an elderly person or a couple who felt they had completed their social responsibilities retired to forest to live in the midst of nature which provided them with their needs which were not many. Luckily there were no major threats from wild animals there. From time to time, they received the visit of children or passers-by but mostly they were on their own.

Because Hinduism prevails in Bali, perhaps this practice there should not surprise: in fact one of the tenets of Hindu culture is that in the four stages of life (student, family/social life, retirement, retreat), the last or fourth stage of life is to be spent in purely spiritual pursuit as a sanyasi. This refers to somebody who has actually retreated to the forest away from all and lives a life of contemplation on a quest for the Self. In modern times and societies, alas, forests have dwindled, urbanization has taken over and this quest is therefore to be pursued in different settings.

Later this reminded me of the 'experiment' conducted by the American author and philosopher Thoreau, who for some time in the 1840s went to live in the woods in Massachusetts, as a form of 'rejection of materialism'. His experience was captured in the book he wrote about this episode in his life, 'Walden Pond.'

An extract from a summary of the book informs us that Thoreau 'cultivates a modest bean-field, a job that tends to occupy his mornings. He reserves his afternoons and evenings for contemplation, reading, and walking about the countryside. Endorsing the values of austerity, simplicity, and solitude, Thoreau consistently emphasizes the minimalism of his lifestyle and the contentment to be derived from it. He repeatedly contrasts his own freedom with the imprisonment of others who devote their lives to material pursuits.'

The above describes people who *chose* to live alone - but were not lonely. This brings us to the important distinction between loneliness and solitude, which are respectively defined in an article titled 'Loneliness: Causes and Health Consequences' by Kendra Cherry, MSEd (December 05, 2023) in the online source 'Very well Mind' as follows:

- **Loneliness** is marked by feelings of isolation despite wanting social connections. It is often perceived as an involuntary separation, rejection, or abandonment by other people.
- **Solitude**, on the other hand, is voluntary. People who enjoy spending time by themselves continue to maintain positive social relationships that they can return to when they crave connection. They still spend time with others, but these interactions are balanced with periods of time alone.

However, increasingly nowadays, many people have to live alone by the sheer force of social circumstances,

a situation well captured in the definition of loneliness above.

In fact, loneliness has now become a major public health issue, even in a country as rich as the USA, where last year its Surgeon-General Dr Vivek Murthy came up with an 82-page report and made a call to action based on the findings of studies presented in the report, that linked loneliness to several serious medical conditions. Nearly 50% of the American population, according to that report, have feelings of loneliness.

Subsequently, it was the turn of the WHO to take up the matter, and according to a press release in November 2023, 'The World Health Organization (WHO) has announced a new Commission on Social Connection, to address loneliness as a pressing health threat, promote social connection as a priority and accelerate the scaling up of solutions in countries of all incomes.'

Co-chaired by US Surgeon General, Dr Vivek Murthy, and African Union Youth Envoy, Chido Mpemba, the Commission consists of 11 leading policy-makers, thought leaders and advocates. Running for three years, it will analyse the central role social connection plays in improving health for people of all ages and outline solutions to build social connections at scale. The Commission will consider how connection enhances the well-being of our communities and societies and helps foster economic progress, social development, and innovation.'

Further, 'contrary to the perception that isolation and loneliness primarily affect older people in high-income countries, they impact the health and well-being of all age groups across the world. One in four older people experience social isolation and the rates are broadly similar in all regions. Among adolescents, between 5–15% experience loneliness, according to research findings. However, these figures are likely to be underestimations...'

"High rates of social isolation and loneliness around the world have serious consequences for health and well-being. People without enough strong social connections are at higher risk of stroke, anxiety, dementia, depression, suicide and more," said WHO Director-General Dr Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus. "This WHO Commission will help establish social connection as a global health priority and share the most promising interventions.'

The well-known scientific publication *Nature* (*Nature* 628, 22-24 (2024)) has also published an article on the



Pic - Elder

Increasingly nowadays, many people have to live alone by the sheer force of social circumstances, a situation well captured in the definition of loneliness. In fact, loneliness has now become a major public health issue, even in a country as rich as the USA, where last year its Surgeon-General Dr Vivek Murthy came up with an 82-page report and made a call to action based on the findings of studies presented in the report, that linked loneliness to several serious medical conditions. Nearly 50% of the American population, according to that report, have feelings of loneliness...»

subject, 'Why loneliness is bad for your health' which highlights that 'a lack of social interaction is linked to a higher risk of cardiovascular disease, dementia and more. Researchers are unpicking how the brain mediates these effects.'

We are far from the days of the English romantic poet William Wordsworth, who extolled the virtues of 'recollections of tranquility' in the midst of the solitude of nature, captured in such unforgettable poems as 'Lines written a few miles above Tintern Abbey', 'The Daffodils', 'The Solitary Reaper.'

The forthcoming report from the WHO will no doubt be awaited impatiently by health professionals and social workers so as to gain a comprehensive view of the problems and the solutions that will be proposed. This doesn't prevent the rest of us from giving serious thought to the matter and explore how best we can help lonely people, or people who live alone and need help.

Such as the 100-year-old lady whom I had the pleasure of meeting several years ago during a function to honour the elders at La Sourdine, L'Escalier. She had lost her only son, lived alone and was so fit that she refused my help to climb the few steps to the dais. Every Saturday morning, a kindly soul came by to whom she handed money for buying some food items for her.

So perhaps we should not despair, and even such little acts of kindness can go a long way. A way to begin solving the problem, maybe...

Interview: Jocelyn Chan Low, Historien

Elections 2024: “Tout pronostic, y compris celui affirmant que la lutte sera serrée, est prématuré”

Mauritius Times: Xavier Duval semble avoir déjà choisi son camp politique pour les prochaines élections générales, qu’il décide de l’annoncer publiquement ou non. Il a critiqué sévèrement ses anciens alliés du PTr-MMM, les qualifiant de “voyous” et de “cholos” et il s’oppose à l’idée qu’ils forment le prochain gouvernement en raison de leur opposition à l’élection de son fils au poste de Speaker. Une alliance officielle avec Pravind Jugnauth semble imminente; tout dépendra du «timing». Quel est votre avis à ce propos?

Jocelyn Chan Low: Les critiques sévères de Xavier-Luc Duval contre les parlementaires de l’alliance PTr-MMM-ND ne sont guère surprenantes. Ce sont des adversaires politiques qui s’affronteront aux prochaines élections générales et les hostilités avaient débuté avant même le retrait du PMSD de la grande alliance de l’opposition parlementaire.

De plus, non seulement ces députés de l’opposition s’opposaient à l’installation de son fils comme Président de l’Assemblée, mais la manière dont ils le faisaient, en bafouant la dignité et la solennité du Parlement, était politiquement maladroite. S’ils étaient convaincus qu’il y avait maldonne d’un point de vue légal et aussi des «Standing Orders», il fallait porter l’affaire devant le judiciaire et, si manifestation il devait y avoir, cela aurait pu se faire par une marche citoyenne et non par une action ne respectant pas le décorum de l’Assemblée.

Il est certain qu’en ce moment de pré-campagne électorale, le but ultime devrait être de gagner les indécis. Or, l’on sait très bien que c’est la sobriété dans l’action et les paroles qui ramènent les indécis vers soi.

Quant à une éventuelle alliance du MSM avec le PMSD, c’est un scénario écrit d’avance. Avant même le retrait du PMSD de la grande alliance de l’opposition, il y avait des spéculations sur le sujet. Faut-il rappeler que le PMSD est un parti de pouvoir, comme l’atteste l’histoire récente. Certes, XLD a claqué la porte du gouvernement en 2016 pour défendre un principe démocratique. Mais tout leader politique cherche le meilleur moyen pour faire élire un maximum des candidats de son parti. Et, de ce fait, on voit mal le PMSD rallier l’op-

Xavier Duval semble avoir déjà fait son choix pour les prochaines élections générales, qu’il l’ait annoncé publiquement ou non. Il a adressé des critiques virulentes à l’égard de ses anciens alliés du PTr-MMM, les qualifiant de “voyous” et de “cholos”. Il a exprimé son opposition ferme à l’idée qu’ils forment le futur gouvernement en raison de leur désapprobation quant à l’élection de son fils au poste de Président de l’Assemblée. Tout cela semble dessiner les contours d’une alliance imminente avec Pravind Jugnauth. L’opinion de Jocelyn Chan Low sur cette dynamique politique révélatrice est attendue pour éclairer davantage cette situation pré-électorale tendue.



2019, et même après, il était pratiquement hors de question pour que le MMM s’allie au PTr du Dr Navin Ramgoolam. On comprend alors la stratégie du PMSD de réclamer quelques changements importants dans la gestion du pays pour justifier ultérieurement une association avec l’alliance au pouvoir.

En outre, il se pourrait que les négociations se poursuivent toujours... mais dans le secret le plus absolu. En effet, une alliance politique ne se négocie pas en public - sinon il y a le risque de répéter l’épisode ridicule des « ON/OFF » qui avait causé tant de tort à l’alliance PTr-MMM en 2014.

Il se pourrait aussi que les protagonistes attendent la dissolution du Parlement pour annoncer la nouvelle alliance. Les récalcitrants, s’il y en a, ne seront automatiquement plus députés et ne pourront disposer d’une base et d’un levier institutionnel pour exprimer leur mécontentement

« D’après les sondages, le PMSD ne représente pas plus de 2% des électeurs. Mais il ne faut pas se leurrer. Le poids symbolique du parti de Sir Gaëtan Duval, le ‘roi créole’ autoproclamé, dépasse de très loin ces inconditionnels («diehards»). Il y a des noms et des symboles qui résonnent toujours dans certaines sections de l’électorat. Le PMSD peut ainsi offrir au MSM cette caution créole qui lui fait défaut pour affronter les élections, notamment dans certaines circonscriptions urbaines... »

* Toutefois, la question qui devrait être posée concerne le poids électoral du PMSD de Xavier Duval et ce que sera son apport dans une éventuelle alliance avec le MSM. Vaut-il la chandelle de rétrograder Ganoo, Obegadoo et Collendavello pour favoriser Duval?

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Le PMSD peut ainsi offrir au MSM cette caution créole qui lui fait défaut pour affronter les élections, notamment dans certaines circonscriptions urbaines qu’Alan Ganoo, Ivan Collendavello et Steve Obegadoo, issus de la tradition politique militante, ne peuvent lui offrir.

☞ Suite en page 10

« Quant à une éventuelle alliance du MSM avec le PMSD, c’est un scénario écrit d’avance. Avant même le retrait du PMSD de la grande alliance de l’opposition, il y avait des spéculations sur le sujet. Faut-il rappeler que le PMSD est un parti de pouvoir, comme l’atteste l’histoire récente. Certes, XLD a claqué la porte du gouvernement en 2016 pour défendre un principe démocratique. Mais tout leader politique cherche le meilleur moyen pour faire élire un maximum des candidats de son parti... »

position extraparlamentaire.

La seule option possible pour le PMSD, c’est une alliance avec le MSM et ses alliés. La difficulté réside dans le fait qu’il a été le leader de l’opposition. Et, comme l’a appris Paul Bérenger à ses dépens en 2014, un tel “move” politique est extrêmement dangereux. En fait, les conséquences ont été si désastreuses pour le MMM que jusqu’à

'Le PMSD peut offrir au MSM cette caution créole qui lui fait défaut pour affronter les élections'

☞ Suite de la page 9

Mais, avec ce qui se passe actuellement, on peut se demander si l'accord avec le PMSD ne dépasse pas le cadre de la représentativité inclusive. En effet, comme nous l'avons dit dans un entretien ici même, le gouvernement se tient sur deux jambes, une très solide et qui a trait à un bilan social remarquable — le minimum vital, l'augmentation de la pension de vieillesse, les allocations aux femmes enceintes, logement sociaux, etc., — et une autre, quelque peu cabossée, avec les allégations de passe-droits, d'entorses à la démocratie, et de mauvaise gouvernance.

« Il semblerait que le PM a décidé d'utiliser la perspective d'une alliance avec le PMSD pour se débarrasser de certains gros boulets que traîne le régime en place et revoir certaines décisions impopulaires afin d'affronter les élections dans les meilleures conditions et le tout sans avoir l'air de se déjouer... Si c'est le cas, c'est une manœuvre très brillante et on comprend mieux la réaction de l'opposition et sa décision de semer le doute sur la légalité de la nomination d'Adrien Duval... »



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Si c'est le cas, c'est une manœuvre très brillante et on comprend mieux la réaction de l'opposition et sa décision de semer le doute sur la légalité de la nomination d'Adrien Duval en remplacement de Soorojdev Phokeer.

*** Si le PMSD est amené à rester dans l'opposition faute d'une alliance avec le MSM, cela entraînera probablement une dispersion accrue des votes, potentiellement avantageuse pour le MSM. Dans cette perspective, serait-il vraiment dans l'intérêt du MSM d'avoir le PMSD à ses côtés?**

Le PMSD est un atout important dans la stratégie du MSM de se maintenir au pouvoir pour les deux raisons évoquées précédemment.

En outre, même si le PMSD ne rejoint pas l'opposition extra parlementaire, la dispersion des votes de l'opposition sera une réalité, avec le «Reform Party», «Linion Moris», et «En avant Moris», etc., qui sont d'ailleurs plus implantés et plus actifs dans les régions urbaines que dans les régions rurales.

Ce sont dans ces circonscriptions que leur chef de file respectif seront candidats. Et avec le grand désenchantement des électeurs vis-à-vis des partis traditionnels - comme l'ont démontré divers sondages - ils pourraient bien obtenir un pourcentage de votes assez important...

*** Par ailleurs, les Mauriciens s'interrogent depuis un certain temps sur l'équilibre des forces politiques et**

sur le vainqueur potentiel des prochaines élections. Quelle est votre analyse à ce sujet?

Je dirais tout simplement que la réponse est une évidence («the answer is blowing in the wind»), mais qu'il faut sortir de son salon, de Facebook et du passé pour l'entendre. Effectivement, il y a un énorme décalage entre la perception véhiculée par la minorité d'activistes sur les réseaux sociaux et la réalité sur le terrain.

Cela est peut-être dû d'abord au fait que la grande majorité des utilisateurs des réseaux sociaux évitent les sujets politiques. Ensuite, les seniors, qui représentent plus de 25 % des électeurs, sont peu représentés. De plus, le brouillage est également le résultat de messages diffusés par de faux profils, des trolls et des personnes vivant à l'étranger. De ce fait, l'internet et les réseaux ne sont que des miroirs déformants.

Par contre, il y a aussi le fait que les lignes ont bougé depuis les dernières élections - les "hardcore" ayant davantage rétréci depuis et 68% de la population ne croient plus dans les leaders et les partis traditionnels. Ils sont davantage préoccupés par leur vie quotidienne, par le coût de la vie, leur environnement immédiat et leurs conditions de travail, etc.

De ce fait, pour une grande partie des électeurs, les promesses de changement ou d'amélioration conséquente de leur niveau de vie à venir ne sont que paroles et paroles et encore et uniquement des mots ! Mais l'intérêt pour la politique y est toujours et ils iront voter, même si, pour beaucoup, ce ne sera pas avec un grand enthousiasme pour un camp ou un autre.

Cependant, la campagne n'est pas encore officiellement enclenchée et tout pronostic, y compris celui affirmant

que la lutte sera serrée, est évidemment prématuré.

*** Pensez-vous que l'alignement du PMSD avec l'alliance dirigée par le MSM en 2024 pourrait reproduire les conditions de 2014 et mener au même résultat?**

Pour les résultats, évidemment on ne peut pas se prononcer, la campagne électorale n'ayant même pas débuté. Par contre, il y a une énorme différence entre le contexte de 2014 et celui d'aujourd'hui. Tout d'abord, c'est le MSM et ses alliés qui sont au pouvoir et c'est Dr Navin Ramgoolam qui est le challenger de Pravind Jugnauth.

En outre, le MMM de Paul Bérenger n'est au fond que le «junior partner» d'une alliance où le PTr est majoritaire et son leader candidat au poste suprême de Premier ministre.

*** Quelle analyse faites-vous de l'Opposition PTr-MMM-Nouveaux Démocrates en tant que challenger d'une alliance dirigée par le MSM? Et quels sont ses points forts et ses faiblesses potentielles dans cette configuration politique?**

L'alliance de l'opposition a été «very long in the making» parce que cela a pris du temps pour faire accepter aux dirigeants du MMM l'idée que Navin Ramgoolam soit présenté comme le challenger de Pravind Jugnauth. Il y avait des raisons à cela, notamment sa vulnérabilité aux attaques du MSM et le «credibility gap» qui s'est installé, à tort ou à raison, entre lui et une bonne partie de la population.

« La grande majorité des utilisateurs des réseaux sociaux évitent les sujets politiques. Ensuite, les seniors, qui représentent plus de 25 % des électeurs, sont peu représentés. De plus, le brouillage est également le résultat de messages diffusés par de faux profils, des trolls et des personnes vivant à l'étranger. De ce fait, l'internet et les réseaux ne sont que des miroirs déformants Duval... »

Ces éléments sont toujours en jeu et constituent la plus grande faiblesse de l'opposition. Mais il y a aussi le fait que ses leaders sont en fin de carrière mais veulent quand même incarner le renouveau. Or, comme le dit si bien le Prof Lumumba, "however good you are if you stay for too long, you spoil it" (aussi bon que vous le soyez, si vous restez trop longtemps, vous gâchez tout).

Bien sûr, il faudra attendre la liste des candidats et la composition du «front bench» pour savoir si le souhait des électeurs pour un renouveau de la classe politique, comme révélé dans les sondages, a été entendu, même partiellement. Mais, pour leur campagne, ils peuvent compter sur l'usure du pouvoir du gouvernement en place, sur les diverses allégations de mauvaise gouvernance à l'encontre du gouvernement, sur la prolifération de la drogue qu'il a été impossible de contenir, sur le mécontentement de la population par rapport à la hausse des prix et sur le coup de pouce de certains médias, qui leur sont acquis - comme le révèlent leurs choix des sujets et des éléments de langage utilisés.

☞ Suite en page 11

'L'élargissement de l'État-providence sera l'un de ses principaux atouts pour les prochaines élections générales'

☞ Suite de la page 10

*** Qu'en est-il de l'alliance gouvernementale? Quels défis l'opposition pourrait-elle rencontrer face à une telle alliance?**

Le gouvernement dispose de nombreux atouts, notamment un bilan remarquable en matière de mesures sociales telles que l'augmentation de la pension de vieillesse, du salaire minimum, des diverses allocations sociales, la construction de logements sociaux, l'éducation gratuite de la maternelle au tertiaire, ainsi que l'amélioration des infrastructures publiques à travers l'ouverture de grands chantiers, etc.

Ces mesures ont un impact direct sur des milliers de Mauriciens et semblent avoir contribué à assurer une fidélité sans faille, d'une part de la majorité des «senior citizens» ou des personnes âgées, qui représentent près de 20 % des électeurs, et d'autre part, d'un grand pourcentage des personnes en bas de l'échelle sociale.

Certes, il y a un élément de classe à prendre en considération : le déclassement de la classe moyenne qui date de plus de 20 ans et qui a été un des facteurs contribuant à la défaite de l'alliance PTR-MMM en 2014 n'a pas été stoppé. Cette petite et moyenne bourgeoisie reste très volatile et sa frustration sociale se fera sentir dans certaines circonscriptions. Mais le gouvernement a d'autres atouts, notamment le rapport du PRB pour les fonctionnaires et celui sur le réajustement salarial pour les travailleurs du privé. Et il ne faut pas oublier que c'est X. L. Duval qui a lancé en premier l'idée du paiement d'un 14ème mois.

De même, il dispose de la MBC comme outil de propagande et il doit disposer d'un énorme trésor de guerre qui sera sans nul doute utilisé dans le cadre des prochaines élections. Et finalement, il y a le fait que ces élections générales seront principalement un affrontement entre deux hommes: Pravind Jugnauth et le Dr Navin Ramgoolam.

Pravind Jugnauth, fin stratège, a multiplié ses sorties en tant que Premier ministre, améliorant du coup son image. Faut-il rappeler que tous les sondages jusqu'ici ont démontré que parmi tous les prétendants au poste de PM, c'est Pravind Jugnauth qui émerge comme le PM préféré des Mauriciens? L'opposition devrait en tirer les leçons qui s'imposent.

☞ **Le ciblage pour l'octroi de la pension de vieillesse a été une des causes de la défaite de l'alliance MMM-MSM aux élections de 2005. Rama Sithanen a aussi appris à ses dépens les conséquences de toucher au « Welfare State. Le gouvernement a bien retenu la leçon. L'élargissement de l'État-providence sera l'un de ses principaux atouts pour les prochaines élections générales... »**



☞ **L'alliance de l'opposition a été «very long in the making» parce que cela a pris du temps pour faire accepter aux dirigeants du MMM l'idée que Navin Ramgoolam soit présenté comme le challenger de Pravind Jugnauth. Cela en raison de sa vulnérabilité aux attaques du MSM et le « credibility gap » qui s'est installé, à tort ou à raison, entre lui et une bonne partie de la population. Ces éléments sont toujours en jeu et constituent la plus grande faiblesse de l'opposition... »**

*** Aux États-Unis, Joe Biden a finalement décidé de ne pas se présenter pour sa réélection, vraisemblablement en faveur de Kamala Harris. Pensez-vous que nos leaders politiques pourraient tirer une leçon de cette décision?**

Il y a effectivement des leçons à tirer.

Bien qu'il ne semble pas être un personnage hubristique, victime de la maladie du pouvoir, narcissique, arrogant, manipulateur et imbu de lui-même, Biden a quand même fait beaucoup de résistance avant de se retirer au moment où la pression est devenue trop forte et que la défaite devenait inéluctable.

L'autre leçon vient du comportement de la presse «mainstream» tellement inféodée au Parti démocrate qu'elle a dissimulé l'état de santé de Biden - oubliant que son premier devoir est d'informer le public, agissant non pas en tant que journaliste mais en tant qu'influenceur et propagandiste.

A Maurice, malheureusement, les leaders politiques s'accrochent, même au-delà de leur date de péremption et il n'existe aucun mécanisme pour les faire partir.

*** Ce qui est plus proche de nous en termes de système électoral, c'est celui en vigueur en Grande-Bretagne: le FPTP. Récemment, le Parti travailliste britannique a remporté 63 % des sièges avec seulement 34 % des voix nationales, tout comme le MSM a remporté 63 % des sièges en 2019 avec seulement 37 % des voix. Il est probable que d'autres surprises ne soient pas exclues, n'est-ce pas?**

Rama Sithanen l'a bien expliqué. Avec 40% des suffrages, le MSM peut facilement obtenir une large majorité de députés. Mais il faut aussi ajouter qu'à Maurice, les circonscriptions sont très inégales en termes de nombre d'électeurs.

La particularité des prochaines élections générales, c'est qu'elles interviennent à un moment où le décalage entre l'offre et la demande politique n'a jamais été aussi

élevé. Les sondages indiquent que près de 68% des électeurs ne croient plus dans les leaders politiques actuels. Il y a effectivement une forte possibilité que les partis extraparlamentaires, voire des candidats indépendants, arrivent à obtenir un pourcentage de votes beaucoup plus important que d'habitude.

Le vote gaspillé ('wasted vote'), c'est-à-dire les votes qui iront vers des candidats qui ne seront pas élus peut effectivement nous amener à une situation comme celle décrite auparavant. Malheureusement, la réforme constitutionnelle et électorale n'est pas pour demain.

*** Au-delà du système électoral, les analystes ont également attribué la défaite des Conservateurs au 'délabrement de l'État-providence' au Royaume-Uni, la sixième plus grande économie nationale au monde mesurée par le produit intérieur brut. Le "Welfare State" est toujours important pour la grande majorité des électeurs. Pensez-vous que les mêmes causes pourraient produire les mêmes effets à Maurice?**

Si la Banque Mondiale et le FMI ont fait de Maurice une exception en ce qu'il s'agit du maintien des provisions de l'État-providence au cours du Programme d'Ajustement Structurel («Structural Adjustment Programme») dans les années 80, c'est parce les responsables ont compris que toute atteinte à l'État-providence («Welfare State») aurait amené une cinglante défaite du gouvernement aux prochaines élections.

☞ **Le déclassement de la classe moyenne qui date de plus de 20 ans et qui a été un des facteurs contribuant à la défaite de l'alliance PTR-MMM en 2014 n'a pas été stoppé. Cette petite et moyenne bourgeoisie reste très volatile et sa frustration sociale se fera sentir dans certaines circonscriptions. Mais le gouvernement a d'autres atouts, notamment le rapport du PRB pour les fonctionnaires et celui sur le réajustement salarial pour les travailleurs du privé...»**



Par ailleurs, le ciblage pour l'octroi de la pension de vieillesse a été une des causes de la défaite de l'alliance MMM-MSM aux élections de 2005. Rama Sithanen a aussi appris à ses dépens les conséquences de toucher au «Welfare State»... Par contre les promesses d'élargissement du «Welfare State» à travers des mesures telles que le transport gratuit pour les étudiants et les personnes âgées ou la promesse d'une augmentation importante de la pension de vieillesse ont toujours rapporté de grands dividendes politiques. Le gouvernement a bien retenu la leçon. L'élargissement de l'État-providence sera l'un de ses principaux atouts pour les prochaines élections générales.

IMF warns financial risks linger amid 'soft landing'

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is warning of ongoing financial risks despite hopes for a "soft landing." In its latest semi-annual Global Financial Stability Report, the IMF cautions against market overexuberance, especially as investors anticipate central bankers achieving a smooth resolution to their long-standing battle with inflation.

Since the previous October report, market sentiment has turned notably optimistic, rebounding from earlier turmoil in the banking sector earlier in the year. While downside risks are diminishing, the IMF advises against complacency. It highlights concerns such as inflated valuations across various asset classes, geopolitical tensions, and mounting levels of debt. These factors could present challenges if central banks find themselves needing to maintain higher interest rates for an extended period to combat persistent inflation, according to Reuters.

The IMF specifically urges caution as inflation trends downward, cautioning against overly optimistic expectations regarding the speed of disinflation and subsequent monetary policy easing. This warning follows recent



stronger-than-expected inflation figures which have tempered hopes of imminent rate cuts by the Federal Reserve.

Despite some stabilization in the overall banking sector since the turbulence of 2023, the IMF notes the presence of a "tail of weak banks" globally that require careful monitoring. Approximately 19% of global banking assets are held by banks that have breached at least three out of five key risk metrics tracked by the IMF, with

many of these institutions located in the U.S. or China.

Moreover, the report identifies over 100 banks, representing about 3% of the banking system's assets, facing a "triple-whammy" of challenges, including high exposure to commercial real estate, significant unrealized losses relative to their capital reserves, and a large portion of uninsured deposits.

Regarding the commercial real estate sector, while the banking system appears resilient to expected stresses, specific institutions with substantial exposure may experience pressure. Commercial real estate prices have seen their sharpest decline in decades, although economic resilience has partially mitigated these effects so far.

The IMF also urges policymakers to enhance oversight of the private credit sector, where non-traditional lenders play an increasingly pivotal role. This sector, which has expanded rapidly, has yet to endure an economic downturn at its current scale. The IMF advocates for a more rigorous regulatory approach and improved data collection to better identify potential risks on a global scale.



A customer counts Indian 100 rupee currency notes after withdrawing money at a bank. Pic - AFP

India's foreign exchange reserves hit record high

India's foreign exchange reserves rose for a second straight week and hit a record high of \$666.85 billion as of July 12, data from the central bank showed on Friday.

The reserves rose by \$9.7 billion in the reporting week, the biggest jump in four months. Reserves had risen by \$5.16 billion in the prior week.

The Reserve Bank of India (RBI) intervenes in the foreign exchange market to curb excess volatility in the rupee.

Changes in foreign currency assets are caused by the RBI's intervention as well as the appreciation or depreciation of foreign assets held in the reserves.

Foreign exchange reserves also include India's reserve tranche position in the International Monetary Fund, reports Reuters.

In the week to which the latest foreign exchange data pertains, the rupee traded in a range of 83.43 to 83.5925 and logged marginal weekly losses.

The currency settled at a record closing low of 83.6625 on Friday, and logged its third consecutive weekly decline.

Wealth in Turkey grew the most in the world at 157% despite soaring inflation

Turkey came out miles ahead of the rest of the world in an annual global wealth ranking — in a result that may come as surprising, given the country's high levels of inflation.

"Türkiye stands out with a staggering growth of over 157% in wealth per adult between 2022 and 2023, leaving all other nations far behind," Swiss bank UBS wrote in its Global Wealth Report 2024, using the local spelling for the country's name.

The next-highest countries in terms of average wealth growth per adult were Russia and Qatar with nearly 20% and South Africa with just over 16%. In the U.S., average wealth per adult grew by nearly 2.5%.

Inflation in Turkey sits at nearly 72%, an eye-watering figure for the country's 85 million people, many of whom have seen a dramatic drop in their purchasing power over the last several years. In the last five years, the Turkish lira has lost nearly 83% of its value against the dollar, and the currency trades at 33 lira to the greenback as of 09:07 a.m. London time on Wednesday, reports CNBC.

But for Turks who own assets like homes, wealth has grown, as inflation pushes up the costs of those holdings.

The UBS report defines net worth or "wealth" as "the value of financial assets plus real assets (principally housing) owned by households, minus their debts." In a call with journalists, some of the report's authors broke down the relationship between inflation and wealth rises in Turkey.

"In certain ways, the high pace of inflation also helps explain why wealth has risen much much more in local currency terms, at least [more] than in other countries because it's worth keeping in mind that wealth is measured in nominal terms," Samuel Adams economist at UBS Global Wealth Management, told CNBC.

"If inflation is very high, what tends to happen is that if you have a real asset like housing, the house prices tend to rise in line with inflation, if not even faster," he said. "So those people with homeownership, or who have equities, which also tend to perform fairly well in those environments, they tend to see their wealth accumulate a bit faster."

Evaluating countries' average wealth growth between the years of 2008 and 2023, "the most dramatic evolution has taken place in Türkiye," UBS wrote, "where average



Golden Horn and Bosphorus at sunset, Istanbul, Turkey. Pic - Getty Images

wealth per adult in this period has shot up by 1708% in local currency."

UBS Global Wealth Management's Chief Economist Paul Donovan pointed out that being asset-rich does not necessarily mean being cash-rich — in Turkey, this could actually be the opposite. "In terms of living standards rather than wealth, it's also important to remember that if you own a house, the value of your house has gone up, but your real wage may be negative at the same time. So you can be ... asset rich and cash poor," Donovan said last week.

Bangladesh court scraps most job quotas that sparked deadly protests



Police detained a man who was not leaving the University of Dhaka premises, in Dhaka, Bangladesh on Jul 17, 2024. Pic - Reuters

Bangladesh's Supreme Court on Sunday abolished most government job quotas following nationwide protests led by students that escalated into clashes resulting in at least 139 deaths, with some organizers vowing to continue the demonstrations.

Overturning a lower court's decision, the Supreme Court's Appellate Division mandated that 93% of government jobs be filled based on merit, according to Attorney General A.M. Amin Uddin speaking to Reuters.

Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's administration had previously eliminated the quota system in 2018, which reserved 56% of government jobs for groups such as families of freedom fighters, women, and individuals from underdeveloped regions. However, the lower court reinstated the quotas last month, triggering the protests and a subse-

quent crackdown that included an internet blackout and imposition of curfew with military presence on the streets, as reported by Reuters.

The recent unrest followed earlier violent protests ahead of January's national elections, organized by Hasina's opponents who criticized her alleged authoritarian rule, and by garment workers demanding higher wages amidst soaring inflation.

"Students have unequivocally distanced themselves from the violence and arson in Bangladesh since Monday," Amin Uddin clarified. "With today's ruling, I hope normalcy will be restored and those with ulterior motives will cease their provocations."

Internet and text messaging services in Bangladesh have been suspended since Thursday as security forces suppressed protesters defying a ban on public gatherings.

Several protest leaders told BBC Bangla that they intend to persist until detained student leaders are released and internet services restored.

Soldiers have patrolled the mostly empty streets of Dhaka since Friday's curfew announcement, with a tank stationed outside the Supreme Court during the hearing. Local media reported sporadic clashes earlier in the day between demonstrators and security forces, resulting in at least 139 fatalities according to hospital records.

Experts attribute the unrest to stagnant private sector job growth and high youth unemployment, making public sector jobs with regular pay raises highly coveted among Bangladesh's sizable youth demographic.

Bangladesh faces economic challenges, having secured a \$4.7 billion bailout from the International Monetary Fund last January due to struggles with energy import costs, which depleted its foreign reserves and fueled inflation.

Hasina, aged 76, who secured her fourth consecutive term in January, has been praised for revitalizing Bangladesh's economy and its garment industry. Critics, however, accuse her administration of authoritarianism, human rights abuses, crackdowns on free speech, and stifling dissent, allegations denied by her party.

Rwanda: Kagame wins landslide re-election

Rwandan President Paul Kagame is set to secure another five-year term in a landslide victory, extending his 24-year rule.

The 66-year-old leader faced no significant opposition once again, as prominent figures were barred from contesting. His two opponents, environmentalist Frank Habineza and former journalist Philippe Mpayimana, garnered a combined total of less than 1% of the vote.

Addressing supporters at his Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) party headquarters, Kagame expressed gratitude to Rwandans for their trust. According to BBC News, he stated, "These are not just figures, even if it was 100%, these are not just numbers. [They] show the trust, and that is what is most important."



Paul Kagame has been Rwanda's president since 2000. Pic - AFP

Provisional results are expected to be fully released by July 20, with final results by July 27.

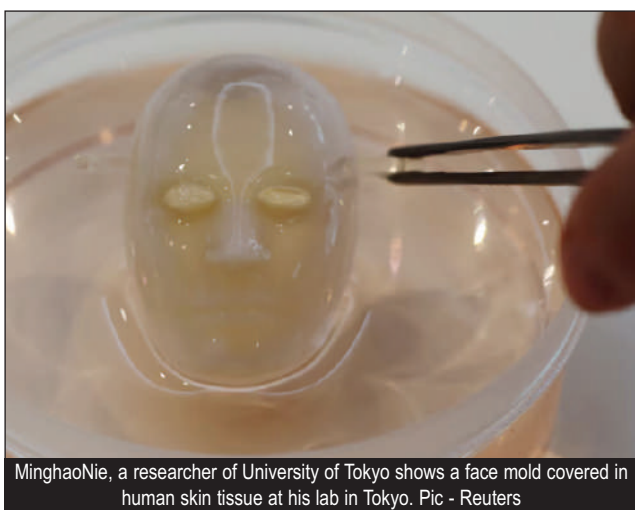
The outcome is unsurprising, echoing the results of the 2017 election, where Kagame also secured victory with 98.8% of the vote against the same candidates. Several potential candidates, including outspoken critic Diane Rwigara, were disqualified from running.

The electoral commission reported a high turnout, with 98% of over 9.5 million eligible voters participating in the elections. In addition to electing a president, voters also cast ballots for 53 legislators, with elections for 27 special seats designated for women, young people, and individuals with disabilities scheduled for Tuesday.

Kagame has been the de facto leader of Rwanda since the end of the 1994 genocide and officially assumed the presidency in 2000. Critics accuse him of restricting freedoms during his tenure, while his supporters highlight his role in fostering economic growth and reconciliation following ethnic divisions.

Compiled by Doojesh Ramlallah

Say cheese: Japanese scientists make robot face 'smile' with living skin



MinghaoNie, a researcher of University of Tokyo shows a face mold covered in human skin tissue at his lab in Tokyo. Pic - Reuters

Japanese scientists have devised a way to attach living skin tissue to robotic faces and make them "smile," in a breakthrough that holds out promise of applications in cosmetics and medicine.

Researchers at the University of Tokyo grew human skin cells in the shape of a face and pulled it into a wide grin, using embedded ligament-like attachments.

The result, though eerie, is an important step towards building more life-like robots, said lead researcher Shoji Takeuchi. "By attaching these actuators and anchors, it became possible to manipulate living skin for the first time," he added.

The smiling robot, featured in a study published online, is the fruit of a decade of research by Takeuchi and his lab on how best to combine biological and artificial machines, reports Reuters.

Living tissue has numerous advantages over metals and plastics, Takeuchi said, ranging from the energy efficiency of brains and muscles to skin's ability to repair itself.

Looking ahead, the researchers aim to add more elements to the lab-grown skin, including a circulatory system and nerves. That could lead to safer testing platforms for cosmetics and drugs absorbed through the skin.

It could also produce more realistic and functional coverings for robots. Still, there remains the challenge of ridding people of the strange or unnerving feelings evoked by machines that fall just short of being entirely convincing.

From the Pages of History - MT 60 Years Ago

6th Year No 281**MAURITIUS TIMES**

Friday 8 January, 1960

• *Enjoy when you can and endure when you must. — Johann Wolfgang von Goethe*

Bhisma Dev Seebaluck

It is very interesting to note the way and speed at which news is received and transmitted by a radio station. Seated comfortably at home and hearing the BBC saying, "This is London Calling. Here is the news," we do not in the least try to consider the amount of hard work done by those responsible to deliver this news in

English and in thirty-five other languages.

Twenty-five teleprinter machines spend their time ticking and chatting away day and night to receive messages from news agencies such as the Press Association and Exchange Telegraph, which focus on news within the United Kingdom, as well as Reuters, Associated Press, and United Press, which report news from around the world. Some other teleprinters are kept busy reporting what foreign radio stations happen to be saying. Thus, they perform a very valuable piece of work, as many important events from foreign countries are first revealed to the world by the local radio. As these machines print out the information, attendants carry away the paper and deliver it to the copytaster in the Newsroom.

A copytaster is one who makes the first scrutiny of every piece of news that comes into the office. About four hundred thousand words pass under his eyes every twenty-four hours. Since a radio bulletin is approximately two thousand words long, the copytaster has to strike off information he deems trivial. From that stage, the information passes to the Sub-editor, who in turn presents the facts in a way easily understood by the listener.

* * *

The British Broadcasting Corporation was established in 1927 by Royal Charter. Its aim is to ensure a public broadcasting service for general reception in the UK and overseas. The Corporation is overseen by a body of nine governors appointed by Her Majesty in Council. These governors do not dedicate their whole time to the BBC; governorships are part-time appointments over a limited term, typically five years.

For a few years before 1926, this service had been provided by the British Broadcasting Company, a private monopoly under a special government charter, which was controlled by radio set manufacturers. This was admittedly a temporary and unsatisfactory arrangement. The Crawford Committee, reviewing the entire subject on behalf of the government in 1926, recommended that the broadcasting service should be conducted by a public corporation acting as Trustee for the national interest, with status and duties akin to those of a public service. It is this recommendation that brought the BBC into existence under a Royal Charter. The charter provides fundamental and extremely important instructions to the BBC.

First and foremost, the BBC must broadcast news that is objective and without political bias. It must ensure there is no political leaning across its entire range of programs. The BBC must not broadcast any opinions of its own on matters of public policy, and it cannot receive any money from advertisements or sponsorship.

London Calling



The BBC in the 1960s, Pic - Women's Film and Tele

Since its inception, the BBC has operated on public service lines, with a growing emphasis on education, information, entertainment, and the interests of cultural minorities. The Corporation's popular school broadcasts, the integrity of its news services, its impartial handling of controversial talks and discussions, and the cultural value of the Third Programme, which started in September 1946, are just a few examples of how the Corporation fulfills its duties to the public. The BBC enjoys a worldwide reputation for reliability. However, initially conceived to promote radio sets, a significant amount of purely popular entertainment is broadcast, reflecting public demand for entertainment in Britain, which relies on private radio set purchases.

* * *

One of the most popular BBC programs is "English by Radio". This program is broadcast daily from London and eighty-eight broadcasting stations in forty-seven countries, with explanations provided in thirty-two languages.

"English by Radio" is a remarkable success story in broadcasting. The service began in 1943 with a five-minute program broadcast daily to a small audience in Belgium, France, and Holland. It has since expanded into a global service reaching millions of people.

The BBC has its own personnel recruitment system,

which generally parallels civil service arrangements but operates independently of general civil service rules.

Except for the Second World War, when the BBC was financed by parliamentary grants-in-aid, operations have been financed entirely through the license fee on radio receiving sets. A significant change in the 1947 license meant that the BBC's external services were thereafter funded not from license revenue but from parliamentary grant-in-aid.

Advisory committees, a listener research organization, and the Board of Governors itself serve as channels for public influence on BBC activities.

Apart from cricket, the BBC is the only institution that Englishmen take seriously. They react vehemently to things they see or hear. At the slightest provocation, an Englishman will phone or write to the BBC in far more emotional terms than he would use when speaking to his own wife in a moment of anger.

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Can a brush with death change politicians?

It did for notorious Alabama segregationist George Wallace

● Cont. from page 2

"I wouldn't want what happened to you to happen to anyone," she told the governor.

Wallace's daughter Peggy recalled that Chisholm's words brought her father to tears and he "started to change."

In 1974, Wallace professed his conversion in a speech at Jerry Falwell's Lynchburg, Virginia, megachurch. He told the congregation he had "been through the valley of the shadow of death," and proclaimed, "I am whole through the grace of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ."

Wallace reached out to those he had wronged, including John Lewis, the civil rights leader whose skull had been broken by Wallace's state troopers in Selma in 1965. Lewis was moved by their 1979 encounter.

"During that meeting, I could tell that he was a changed man; he was engaged in a campaign to seek forgiveness from the same African-Americans he had oppressed," Lewis wrote for The New York Times in 1998. "He acknowledged his bigotry and assumed responsibility for the harm he had caused. He wanted to be forgiven."

Playing to voters

Politics had been Wallace's life since he first won election to the Alabama Legislature in 1946. He could barely breathe without it, even after being nearly killed on the campaign trail.

"I don't believe he needs a family," his second wife, Cornelia, commented in the midst of an acrimonious divorce in 1978. "He just needs an audience."

Wallace's segregationist persona was a product, apparently, of politics. As a college student and budding politician, he was progressive by Southern standards: He avoided race-baiting and called for greater support for public services that benefited working-class Alabamians.

Years later, Ruth Johnson, whose husband, Frank, became a champion of civil



In 1963, Gov. George Wallace, second from left, attempts to block integration at the University of Alabama while confronting US Deputy Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach. uyenlarge/Gettyimages

rights as a federal judge, remembered Wallace as a college friend. "We were young and idealistic," Ruth recalled. "And we loved George for his enthusiasms."

In the late 1940s and 1950s, Wallace eschewed extremism. He refused to join the Dixiecrat rebellion against the Democratic Party's civil rights platform at the 1948 Democratic convention. And he had a reputation for dealing fairly with Black attorneys and plaintiffs during his years as a state judge.

That changed after he lost the Democratic nomination for governor in 1958 to a rival who courted the Ku Klux Klan and openly appealed to white racism. With the South in flames as the Civil Rights Movement accelerated, Wallace won election in 1962 as a full-throated segregationist.

"Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever," he proclaimed in his 1963 inaugural address. Wallace physically confronted a US deputy attorney general and federal marshals as they attempted to enforce a court order admitting a Black woman to the University of Alabama.

Going national

Ambitious and sensing that racism wasn't limited to the South, Wallace entered three Democratic presidential pri-

maries in 1964 during his first term as governor. Then, after leaving office in 1967, he launched an unsuccessful third-party bid for the presidency in 1968.

He was re-elected governor in 1970 and then pursued the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972 until his near assassination. Despite his injuries, he remained in office, winning election to a third term and serving until 1979.

In 1983, even as Wallace's physical and mental condition deteriorated, he

won a fourth term as governor. Being in the limelight was "a matter of life and death" for him, a long-term adviser observed.

The South had changed as a result of the movement Wallace fought so viciously, and Black people had become a major force in the Democratic Party. Ever the politician, Wallace changed too, appointing Black politicians to positions at all levels of his administration.

Wallace wasn't a saint. Two marriages ended in divorce, in part because of his emotional abuse of his wives.

Spike Lee's documentary "4 Little Girls," which recounts white supremacists' 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, that killed four Black children, features chilling interviews with Wallace. They reveal a man who treated Black people who worked for him in the 1980s in an embarrassingly patronizing manner.

Still, Wallace reflected, repented and asked forgiveness. That's worth remembering at a time when many of us hope our leaders will become introspective and perhaps even change.

Donald Nieman

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Venezuela: Un modèle pour "l'avenir de l'autoritarisme ailleurs dans le monde"

☞ Suite de la page 5

Les auteurs du rapport ont décrit cet appareil de surveillance d'État comme un "filet" capturant des données d'une large partie de la population vénézuélienne, tout en effectuant une surveillance approfondie d'un groupe restreint de cibles.

Parallèlement, des campagnes de désinformation orchestrées par l'État ont régulièrement utilisé des outils en ligne, notamment des comptes trolls payés sur les réseaux sociaux et de faux sites marginaux, pour diffamer et harceler des journalistes, des défenseurs des droits humains et des politiciens, a révélé le rapport.

"Le gouvernement contrôle ce que les gens peuvent accéder, percevoir et voir sur internet, même sur les réseaux sociaux, où ils ont peu ou pas de capacité à limiter le choix des gens sur ce qu'ils suivent. Ils couvrent simplement complètement... les perspectives indépendantes et les voix critiques avec des attaques de désinformation et plus encore", a déclaré Andrés Azpúrua, co-auteur et responsable de l'organisation des droits numériques Conexión Segura y Libre, à l'ICIJ.

En février 2023, selon le rapport, l'IA a été utilisée pour créer une série de vidéos vantant la prétendue reprise économique du pays. Le gouvernement Maduro a également été accusé d'utiliser des opérations d'information pour interférer dans les élections d'autres pays d'Amérique latine, influencer les décisions judiciaires en Afrique et contourner les sanctions contre les violations des droits humains.

"Il y a eu des expériences menées au Venezuela, et elles ont été explicitement adaptées ailleurs", a déclaré Ben Roswell, ancien ambassadeur canadien au

Venezuela, lors d'un événement de lancement en ligne du rapport lundi. "Si nous voulons voir l'avenir de l'autoritarisme ailleurs dans le monde, nous n'avons qu'à regarder le Venezuela."

Maduro s'est appuyé sur beaucoup de tactiques pour étouffer la dissidence intérieure. Celles-ci ont été mises en avant dans la période précédant l'élection du 28 juillet, où il affrontera une opposition résurgente menée par Edmundo Gonzalez, ancien diplomate.

Alors que la campagne de Gonzalez a attiré l'attention de la presse internationale, la couverture à l'intérieur du Venezuela a été largement confinée à des sites d'information indépendants, dont beaucoup sont bloqués par les fournisseurs de services internet publics et privés, selon le Comité pour la protection des journalistes. En revanche, les stations de télévision et de radio contrôlées par l'État ont été inondées de propagande favorable au parti au pouvoir.

"La désinformation est tellement répandue pendant les élections", a déclaré Azpúrua. "La campagne présidentielle a officiellement commencé le 4 juillet. Deux sites web de vérification des faits ont été bloqués par le gouvernement ce même jour." Un autre site web de vérification des faits a été bloqué peu après, a-t-il ajouté, juste au moment où "les campagnes de désinformation s'intensifiaient."

Plus de 100 sites web avaient déjà été bloqués, y compris ceux de plus de 40 médias, lorsque le rapport du 22 juin a été compilé. L'utilisation de réseaux privés virtuels (VPN) et d'autres outils de contournement de la censure étaient également fortement restreints. Les auteurs ont noté que la fragmentation de l'industrie médiatique du Venezuela s'était produite progressivement,



Venezuela naissance d'une dictature

Le gouvernement vénézuélien contrôle ce que les gens peuvent accéder, percevoir et voir sur internet, y compris sur les réseaux sociaux, ce qui déclenche de vastes manifestations. P - L'Express

alimentée par la montée des médias contrôlés par l'État et la censure en ligne, ainsi que par l'effondrement économique du pays en 2015.

Avec les derniers sondages d'opinion montrant Maduro en retard derrière Gonzalez, le système électoral vénézuélien est désormais sous surveillance. Reuters a rapporté que plusieurs décisions des autorités électorales, y compris la limitation de l'accès aux bureaux de vote et la présentation du bulletin de vote, semblaient destinées à confondre les électeurs.

République de Maurice: ICTA Consultation Paper et surveillance des médias sociaux

Pour rappel, le "Consultation Paper" de l'Information and Communication Technologies Authority (ICTA), rendu public en 2021 à Maurice, a suscité un débat animé quant à ses implications sur la liberté d'expression et la surveillance des médias sociaux. Ce projet visait à amender la loi sur les technologies de l'information afin de réguler l'usage et de répondre aux abus des médias sociaux. Bien que l'objectif de lutter contre les abus puisse sembler noble, de nombreux observateurs avaient alors exprimé des inquiétudes quant aux conséquences potentielles, notamment en matière de censure et de protection des libertés individuelles.

L'ICTA proposait la création d'un Comité National d'Éthique Numérique indépendant chargé de superviser cette régulation. Cependant, la mise en œuvre pratique de ces mesures soulevait des défis considérables. Par exemple, la nécessité de surveiller et de filtrer les contenus sur les réseaux sociaux implique l'utilisation de technologies avancées telles que le traitement du langage naturel et l'intelligence artificielle. Ce processus est complexe et pourrait entraîner des erreurs de filtrage ainsi que des questions de biais culturel et linguistique.

De plus, l'expérience internationale, y compris des exemples comme celui du Venezuela, montre que de telles initiatives peuvent être détournées pour réprimer la dissidence politique et limiter la diversité des opinions en ligne. La nécessité d'un dialogue ouvert et d'une surveillance citoyenne est cruciale pour s'assurer que toute régulation des médias sociaux respecte pleinement les principes démocratiques et les droits fondamentaux des individus.

Bien que l'intention de l'ICTA de réguler les médias sociaux puisse viser à protéger les utilisateurs contre les abus en ligne, il est essentiel de peser attentivement les implications sur la liberté d'expression et la vie privée avant toute mise en œuvre concrète de ces propositions.

A. Bartleby

YOUR STARS

SAGITTARIUS: NOV 22 - DEC 21

Sagittarius, adventure calls next week. You'll feel a strong desire to explore new places or ideas. Follow your curiosity, but also be mindful of your responsibilities. Finding a balance between excitement and practicality will be essential.

Lucky Numbers: 4, 11, 19, 23, 27, 36

CAPRICORN: DEC 22 - JAN 19

Focus on your career and long-term goals. This is a great time to set new objectives and plan your next steps. Your hard work and dedication will start to pay off. Stay disciplined and keep your eye on the prize.

Lucky Numbers: 2, 8, 14, 20, 28, 34

AQUARIUS: JAN 20 - FEB 18

Encourages you to expand your horizons. Engage in learning opportunities or explore new philosophies. This is also a good time to connect with like-minded individuals who share your interests. Embrace intellectual growth.

Lucky Numbers: 1, 7, 13, 22, 29, 37

PISCES: FEB 19 - MAR 20

Next week will be emotionally enriching. You'll feel more empathetic and compassionate. Use this energy to support those around you and strengthen your relationships. Creative activities will also bring you joy and help you express your feelings.

Lucky Numbers: 3, 9, 16, 24, 27, 33

ARIES: MARCH 21 - APRIL 19

You'll feel more dynamic and ready to tackle new projects. Use this momentum to your advantage but be cautious of potential conflicts with colleagues. Focus on clear communication to avoid misunderstandings.

Lucky Numbers: 5, 12, 18, 22, 30, 37

Taurus: Apr 20 - May 20

Your financial situation might see some positive changes next week. This is a good time to review your budget and make any necessary adjustments. You may also feel a stronger connection with your loved ones, so make time

for meaningful conversations.

Lucky Numbers: 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30

Gemini: May 21 - June 20

Your social calendar will be buzzing. Embrace the opportunities to network and reconnect with friends. However, be mindful of overcommitting yourself. Balance is key to maintaining your energy levels and ensuring you don't feel overwhelmed.

Lucky Numbers: 2, 6, 11, 17, 21, 28

CANCER: JUNE 21 - JULY 22

Focus on self-care next week. You may feel more sensitive and introspective. Use this time to nurture your emotional well-being and engage in activities that bring you peace. Pay attention to your dreams as they might offer valuable insights.

Lucky Numbers: 4, 9, 14, 19, 23, 27

Leo: July 23 - Aug 22

Your creativity will be at its peak next week. Channel this inspiration into your personal projects or hobbies. It's also a great time to showcase your talents. Be open to collaboration as working with others can bring fresh ideas and perspectives.

Lucky Numbers: 1, 8, 13, 16, 22, 31

Virgo: Aug 23 - Sept 22

Your organizational skills will come in handy. You'll find it easier to manage your tasks and responsibilities. Use this time to declutter your space and streamline your routines. This will help you stay focused and productive.

Lucky Numbers: 3, 7, 12, 20, 25, 32

LIBRA: SEPT 23 - OCT 22

Relationships take center stage next week. Whether it's with a partner, friend, or colleague, strive for harmony and balance. Open, honest communication will strengthen your bonds. Don't hesitate to compromise to maintain peace.

Lucky Numbers: 6, 9, 15, 18, 24, 30

SCORPION: 23 OCT - 21 NOV

Next week is about transformation. You may feel the urge to make significant changes in your life. Trust your intuition and take bold steps toward your goals. Embrace the unknown and let go of anything that no longer serves you.

Lucky Numbers: 5, 10, 17, 21, 26, 35

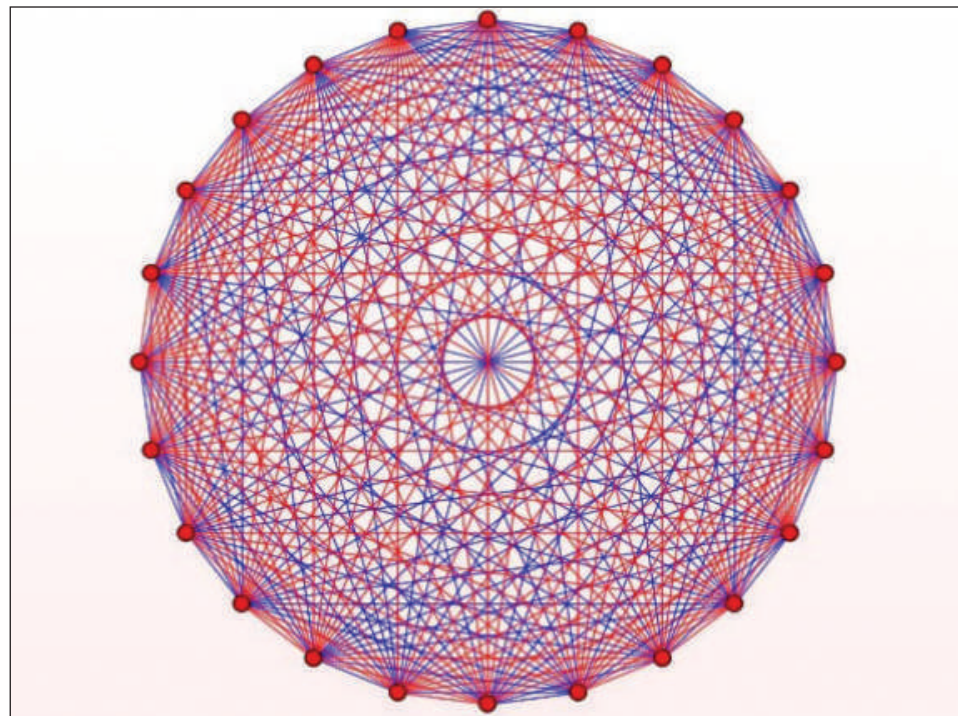
Decades-long mystery Solved: The elusive Ramsey Numbers revealed

After nearly a century of perplexity, mathematicians Jacques Verstraete and Sam Mattheus from the University of California San Diego have finally unraveled the enigma of $r(4,t)$, a long-standing problem in Ramsey theory.

Ramsey theory, which deals with the existence of order within graphs, has posed challenges since the 1930s. The problem $r(4,t)$, where s points are connected and t points are not, remained a significant hurdle until now.

To grasp the significance of their achievement, it's crucial to understand the essence of Ramsey theory. In simple terms, the theory posits that within a sufficiently large graph, one will inevitably find order, either in the form of complete connections between a set of points (cliques) or the absence of connections between another set.

The famous Ramsey problem, $r(3,3)$, often illustrated as "the theorem on friends and strangers," elucidates this concept further. In a gathering of six individuals, there will always be either three mutual acquaintances or three complete strangers. This certainty, known as $r(3,3) = 6$, underscores the universality of the phenomenon.



Ramsey problems, such as $r(4,5)$ are simple to state, but as shown in this graph, the possible solutions are nearly endless, making them very difficult to solve. Image credit: Jacques Verstraete / University of California, San Diego.

However, extending beyond $r(3,3)$ to problems like $r(4,4)$, $r(5,5)$, and particularly $r(4,t)$ proved to be daunting tasks. While the solution to $r(4,4)$ (18) was established in the 1930s by Paul Erdős and George

Szekeres, determining other Ramsey numbers remained elusive due to the sheer complexity involved.

Verstraete and Mattheus's breakthrough lies in their innovative approach,

leveraging pseudorandom graphs and insights from diverse mathematical disciplines like finite geometry, algebra, and probability. By refining the bounds of estimations using pseudorandom graphs, they made significant strides towards narrowing down the potential solutions.

Their journey towards solving $r(4,t)$ spanned years of dedication and collaboration, culminating in the realization that $r(4,t)$ closely resembles a cubic function of t . This approximation, while not exact, offers invaluable insights into the problem's nature and provides a promising direction for further exploration.

Their findings, currently awaiting review in the *Annals of Mathematics*, mark a triumph of perseverance and interdisciplinary collaboration in mathematical research. Verstraete emphasizes the importance of resilience in tackling formidable challenges, echoing the sentiment that a good problem indeed "fights back."

As Verstraete received the long-awaited call from Fan Chung, acknowledging his triumph and the fulfilment of Erdős's \$250 reward, the mathematical community celebrates a milestone achievement in unravelling the mysteries of Ramsey numbers.

Tasting food actually uses all of your senses. Your senses gather up all the information and combine it into a message about the taste of food that gets sent to your brain. For example, your eyes help you recognise food and remember how it tastes.

Your tongue has special parts that pick up flavour, bundled together as taste buds. They help you taste different flavours, like sweet, salty, sour, bitter, and a special one called "umami" which some people say is a bit like a mix of all the others put together.

The taste buds pick up clues about how a food tastes and sends messages about it to your brain along special wires called nerves.

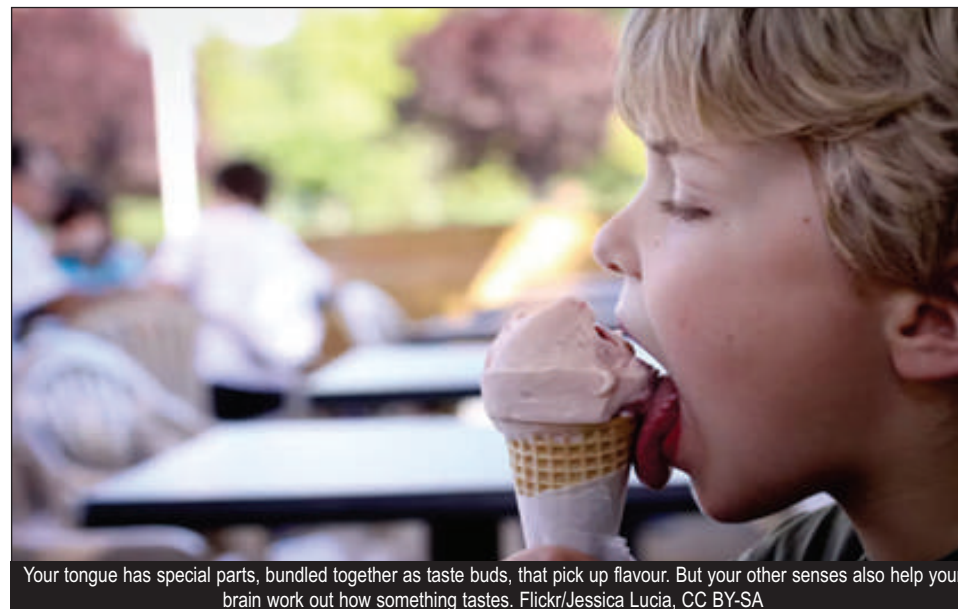
To taste something properly, you need to chew food into small pieces and to have a lot of drool, or saliva. This helps the flavour molecules (also known as "tastants") reach your taste buds.

Try this experiment: if you lick a piece of sliced apple, how does it taste? Now drink some water to wash away the flavour, and take a bite of the apple and chew it up. When you cut an apple, only some flavour is released. But if you chew it into smaller pieces, more flavour can escape into your mouth.

Foods taste sweeter if the sugar particles are smaller. Want to try another experiment? With permission, put some large sugar crystals on your tongue for five seconds. How sweet do they taste? Now rinse your mouth with water and put some fine icing sugar on your tongue – is



How do tongues taste food??



Your tongue has special parts, bundled together as taste buds, that pick up flavour. But your other senses also help your brain work out how something tastes. Flickr/Jessica Lucia, CC BY-SA

it sweeter or less sweet than the big sugar crystals?

The smaller the sugar particles are, the easier it is for your tongue to taste the sweetness. (For the adults reading, this is because smaller particles have a higher surface area). This trick helps food scientists develop sweet foods with less sugar.

Saliva and smell

When you chew your food, you also produce saliva (or spit) which dissolves some of the food flavour for your tongue

taste.

Want to try another experiment? Stick out your tongue as far as it can go and dry the saliva off with some thick paper towel. While your tongue is still sticking out, have your parent put some food on your tongue, like yoghurt. How strong is the flavour? Next, pull your tongue back into your mouth and taste the food. Is the flavour stronger, weaker, or the same?

If your nose is blocked, food tastes weaker. This is because your nose also

helps you "taste" food too.

Try it! While holding your nose closed, put some food in your mouth and chew. Can you taste it? While still eating the food, let go of your nose and keep eating. Is the flavour stronger, weaker, or the same?

In fact, without your sense of smell it can be hard to taste the difference between a raw apple and a raw onion!

So your tongue and nose work together to help you taste your food. I hope you can help your tongue taste more by chewing your food fully and using your saliva to help make the flavour stronger.

And if you have something to eat that you don't like, try holding your nose!



When it comes to tasting flavour, your nose helps a lot. Flickr/Bruce Tuten, CC BY

Paulomi (Polly) Burey

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Ursula Kennedy

Lecturer of Wine Science,
University of Southern Queensland



Ex-Husband's Intentions JULY

A woman confided to her girlfriend, "My ex-husband would like to marry me again."

The friend said, "How flattering."

The woman commented, "Not really, I think he's after the money I married him for."

* * *

Dating Advice

A guy walks into a bookshop and picks a book with a very interesting title: *Dating for the New Millennium: What Women Want*. He opens it to Chapter 1: The First Date. He peruses it for a while, and then rushes to phone a girl he has wanted to take out for a while.

She answers, "Hello?"

He says, "Hi, listen, I was wondering if you would like to go to a movie with me tonight?"

She replies, "Sure, I don't see anything wrong with that."

He gets excited; he thought she'd say, "No way," but she didn't. So he decides to take a further step. He asks, "Great, well, what about dinner before the movie?"

She replies, "Sure, that would be great too."

"Fine, I'll pick you up about nine. You should have finished eating by then."

* * *

Bingo's Tricks

Peter got off the elevator on the tenth floor and nervously knocked on his blind date's door. A beautiful and charming girl, as everyone had said, opened the door.

"I'll be ready in a few minutes," she said. "Why don't you play with Bingo while you wait? He does wonderful tricks. He rolls over, shakes hands, sits up, and if you make a hoop with your arms, he'll jump through."

The dog followed Peter into the balcony and started rolling over. Peter made a hoop with his arms, and Bingo jumped through—over the balcony railing. Just then, Peter's date walked out.

"Isn't Bingo the cutest, happiest dog you've ever seen?"

"To tell you the truth, Bingo seemed a bit depressed to me," Peter replied.

* * *

Prescription Instructions

Patient: "It's been a month since my visit and I still feel miserable."

Doctor: "Did you follow the instructions I gave you?"

Patient: "Sure, the instructions on the bottle said, 'Keep tightly closed.'"

* * *



Family Wisdom

A husband and wife are discussing their son's future. The husband says, "I think our son should learn a trade. Like how to fix things, maybe plumbing or carpentry."

The wife responds, "No, I think he should go to college and get a degree. He should become a doctor or a lawyer."

The husband nods and says, "Well, let's ask him what he wants to be."

Their son walks in, and they ask him, "Son, what do you want to be when you grow up?"

He thinks for a moment and says, "I want to be rich and famous!"

The husband-and-wife exchange glances, and then the husband asks, "Well son, which one do you want to be more, rich or famous?"

The son thinks about it for a moment and then says, "Famous! Because if you're famous, people will always say you're rich, and if you're rich, people will always say you're famous!"

* * *

The Preacher's Parrot

A preacher is known for his long, passionate sermons. He also has a parrot that listens to him preach every Sunday.

One Sunday, during his sermon, the preacher says, "Who's a sinner? Who's a sinner?"

The parrot interrupts and says loudly, "You're a sinner! You're a sinner!"

The preacher continues his sermon, saying, "Who's going to Hell? Who's going to Hell?"

The parrot again interrupts and says, "You're going to Hell! You're going to Hell!"

The preacher is annoyed but continues preaching.



"Then it struck me—nobody originally on the Paleo Diet lived past 35."

He says, "Who is the devil? Who is the devil?"

The parrot interrupts one more time and says, "You're the devil! You're the devil!"

The preacher is furious now and says to the congregation, "Someone catch that parrot and throw him out!"

The parrot flaps his wings and says, "Lead the way, devil!"

* * *

The Talking Dog

A man sees a sign in front of a house: "Talking Dog for Sale."

Intrigued, he knocks on the door. The owner answers and tells him the dog is in the backyard.

The man goes to the backyard and sees a dog sitting there. He asks the dog, "Can you really talk?"

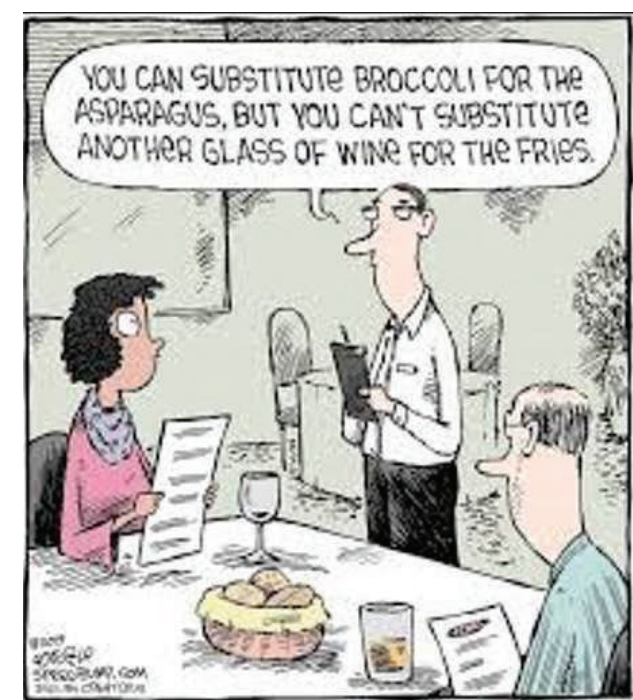
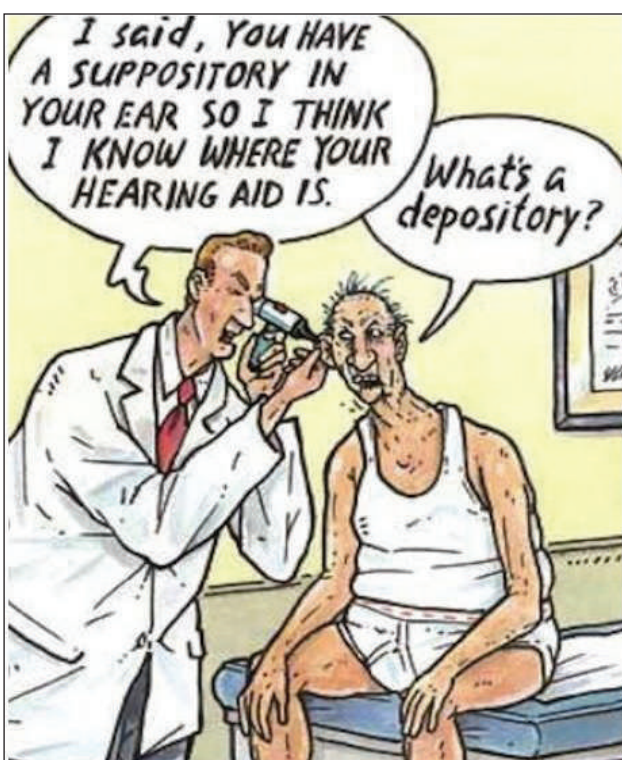
The dog nods and says, "Yes, I can talk."

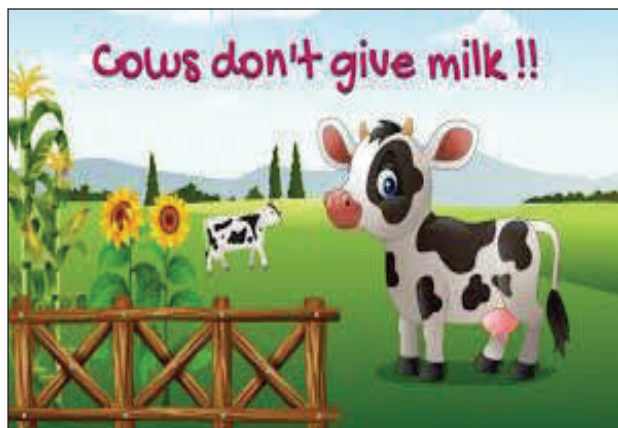
The man is amazed and asks, "Well, what's your story?"

The dog says, "I discovered I could talk when I was young. I wanted to serve my country, so I joined the CIA. I did undercover work in several countries. I lived a full life. Now I'm retired, and I just want a nice home."

The man is astounded. He goes back to the owner and asks, "Why on earth would you sell a talking dog? He's incredible!"

The owner sighs and says, "Because he's a liar. He never did any of that."





Cows don't give milk!!!

A father usually told his children this: "When you all reach the age of 12, I will tell you the secret of life."

One day when the oldest turned 12, he anxiously and curiously asked his father what the secret of life was. The father replied that he was going to tell him, but he should not reveal it to his brothers.

"The secret of life is this: The cow does not give milk."

"What are you saying?" asked the boy incredulously.

"As you heard it, dear son: The cow does not give milk, you have to milk it. You have to get up at 4 am in the morning, go to the field, walk through the corral full of manure, tie the tail, hobble the legs of the cow, sit on the stool, place the bucket and do the work yourself."

One can only imagine the look on the child's face.

That is the secret of life: the cow does not give milk. You milk her or you don't get milk.

This generation thinks that cows 'GIVE MILK'. That things are automatic and free: their mentality is if "I wish, I ask, I dream, browse... I obtain." They have been accustomed to getting whatever they want the easy way... But no, life is not a matter of wishing, asking, dreaming, and obtaining.

The things that one receives are the effort of what one does. We have to take steps towards achieving our goals.

Happiness is the result of effort. Lack of effort creates frustration. An idle mind is the devil's workshop. God rewards efforts.

Let's teach our children the truth. Hard work is required for success in life.

So, share with your children from a young age the secret of life, so they don't grow up with the mentality that the government, their parents, or their cute little faces are going to give them everything they need in life. Remember: "Cows don't give milk; they need to work it out for themselves."

Riddles of the Human Story

The Giant Heads of Easter Island

Archaeologists have long suspected that some of the "heads" on Easter Island had a buried body. At the same time, the "giant heads," several metres high, were thought to be an exception. In fact, if these heads had an underlying body, they would have had to be real stone giants, at least 20 metres tall, to meet the proportions.

Recent excavations have shown that the "giant heads" on Easter Island are actually buried "stone giants" whose heads emerged from the earth. How did statues weighing several tons end up almost 20 metres deep? If they did it on purpose, how did they manage to do it without breaking them? Easter Island is little more than a small island. Where did they get the manpower to bury dozens and dozens of "stone giants" in the middle of the ocean? Unanswered questions.

The Egyptians were able to do similar things, but they had the manpower of an empire at their disposal. What labour force did the islanders of tiny Easter Island have at their disposal? The same thing happened in Nan Madol. A mysterious people built a metropolis on a small island in the middle of the ocean. Of course, it is possible to do



that. But provided you have the manpower of an empire. But what manpower was available on a totally isolated island in the middle of the Pacific Ocean?

The same thing happened on the

border between Turkey and Syria. An entire megalithic complex was completely buried, no one knows by whom, no one knows why. This site has been called "Göbekli Tepe," meaning "the belly hill." But under that hill is one of the deepest mysteries of humankind. Recent studies with georadars have revealed that there are dozens of sites similar to Göbekli Tepe "buried" many metres deep. Was it a civilization unknown to us that later disappeared due to a natural cataclysm? Or what?

Several scientific articles appearing in the famous scientific journal 'Nature' tell us that over 10,000 years ago a series of comets passed through Earth's atmosphere, shattering into thousands of pieces. The Earth was hit by a veritable bombardment of fragments that struck at least four continents. Nothing was ever the same again. There was a real "Apocalypse" in prehistory, which wiped out an unknown number of "homo sapiens." Do the ruins of Easter Island correspond to those of Göbekli Tepe?

From the book: 'Homo Reloaded - The hidden history of the last 75,000 years' *Ancient Order of the Hermetics*

Quotable Quotes

Mistakes in Life

Mistakes are the portals of discovery.

-- James Joyce

You make mistakes. Mistakes don't make you.

-- Maxwell Maltz

Mistakes are the growing pains of wisdom.

-- William George Jordan

If you're not making mistakes, then you're not making decisions.

-- Catherine Cook

Fear of mistakes is the root of lack of confidence.

-- Dan Rockwell

An error doesn't become a mistake until you refuse to correct it.

-- Orlando A. Battista

Fear of mistakes is just another way of procrastinating, of never moving forward.

-- Robin S. Sharma

The greatest mistake you can make in life is to be continually fearing you will make one.

-- Elbert Hubbard

I can accept failure; everyone fails at something. But I can't accept not trying.

-- Michael Jordan

The only real mistake is the one from which we learn nothing.

-- Henry Ford

It's not how we make mistakes, but how we correct them that defines us.

-- Rachel Wolchin

Mistakes teach you important lessons. Every time you make one, you're one step closer to your goal.

-- Unknown

Never be afraid to try something new. Remember, amateurs built the ark; professionals built the Titanic.

-- Unknown

True Colours

By Cody Bret

When you meet someone and they show you their true colors, don't try to repaint them. When you try to save a toxic relationship or an abusive person, that is called a trauma response. Your relationship doesn't need to make sense to anyone except you and your partner. It's a relationship, not a community project. Always believe people when they show you who they really are. Many times what we call "giving people the benefit of the doubt" is our way of disrespecting our own boundaries with a delusional belief that they will change. We make

excuses for people we like when they don't treat us very well because we are too scared to accept the fact that they could care less about us. The earlier you come to terms with it, the better off you'll be. Stop wasting your time on temporary conversations. Always having effective communication is crucial. Communication is more than talking for hours at night before you decide to fall asleep. It's the quality of the conversation that truly matters. It's one thing to know how to talk, it's another to know the right questions to ask and the right conversations that will open your partner's mind. Always pay attention to how you feel deep down in your heart when you're talking to someone. If you feel like you're settling

for less, then that's what is most likely happening. Your soul knows when everything isn't in place. Don't ever ignore this feeling. A person's morals, standards, and mindset will be the qualities that will be raising your children. Those are the things that will make them a good spouse and parent. Not their looks, so choose wisely. Pursue a relationship with someone who knows the smallest details about you, like the way you like your eggs in the mornings, your favorite childhood memory, or what romantic movies make you cry. Take my advice and remember ... to know who you are, know what you want, know what you deserve, and never ... under any circumstances settle for less.

Health: 15 Surprising Factors That Can Raise Your Blood Pressure

Salt isn't the only offender when it comes to high blood pressure. From loneliness to low potassium levels, discover what else could be impacting your blood pressure.

1. Added Sugar: While we often focus on salt, added sugars—especially in processed forms like high-fructose corn syrup—can significantly increase blood pressure. Just one 24-ounce soft drink can raise systolic pressure by an average of 15 points and diastolic pressure by 9 points.

2. Loneliness: Feeling disconnected can have a profound effect on your health. Research shows that individuals who report feeling lonely can experience a rise in blood pressure over time, with some seeing an increase of over 14 points in four years due to heightened stress responses and anxiety.

3. Sleep Apnea: This sleep disorder, characterized by interrupted breathing, can lead to elevated blood pressure. The stress on the body from these interruptions prompts the release of chemicals that raise blood pressure, combined with reduced oxygen levels that can harm blood vessel health.

4. Not Enough Potassium: A balanced intake of sodium and potassium is crucial for maintaining healthy blood pressure. Insufficient potassium from fruits, vegetables, and low-fat dairy can lead to higher blood pressure, even if your salt intake is low.

5. Acute Pain: Experiencing sudden pain activates your nervous system, which can lead to temporary spikes in blood pressure. This effect is noticeable in situations like immersing your hand in ice water or experiencing a sudden injury.

6. Herbal Supplements: Certain herbal supplements, including ginkgo, ginseng, and St. John's wort, can



elevate blood pressure or interfere with antihypertensive medications. Always consult with a healthcare provider before starting any new supplements.

7. Thyroid Problems: An imbalance in thyroid hormone levels can impact blood pressure. Hypothyroidism can lead to a slower heart rate and less flexible arteries, while hyperthyroidism can cause an increased heart rate, both of which affect blood pressure.

8. Urgency to Urinate: Holding in urine can result in temporary increases in blood pressure, with studies showing an average rise of about 4 points in systolic pressure after three hours without a bathroom break.

9. NSAIDs: Nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs like ibuprofen and aspirin can cause blood pressure increases in some individuals, regardless of their baseline health status. The effects can vary widely

among people.

10. White Coat Syndrome: The "white coat effect" describes the phenomenon where patients experience higher blood pressure readings in a doctor's office, often due to anxiety. This can lead to misleading readings that don't reflect true blood pressure levels.

11. Decongestants: Common decongestants such as pseudoephedrine can constrict blood vessels, leading to increased blood pressure. These medications can also counteract the effectiveness of blood pressure treatments.

12. Dehydration: Inadequate hydration causes blood vessels to constrict, which can elevate blood pressure. The body reacts by signaling the release of hormones that tighten blood vessels to conserve fluid.

13. Hormonal Birth Control: Certain forms of hormonal birth control, including pills and injections, can increase blood pressure by narrowing blood vessels. This risk is more pronounced in women over 35, those who are overweight, or smokers.

14. Talking: Engaging in conversation can temporarily raise blood pressure, especially if the topic is emotionally charged. This effect is observed across all ages and can last for several minutes.

15. Antidepressants: Some antidepressants, such as venlafaxine and certain tricyclics, can alter blood pressure by affecting brain chemicals. Monitoring is important, especially if combined with other medications that influence serotonin levels.

By understanding these surprising factors, you can better manage your blood pressure and overall health.

You can do better

You're Not Lazy, Bored, or Unmotivated

You have internet access and time to read, which suggests you're in the top half of the world's wealth distribution. You likely have your basic needs covered, but the obstacles you face aren't physical; they're more abstract—laziness, boredom, self-doubt, and procrastination.

These feelings are often manifestations of fear. You're not unmotivated; every action you take is driven by some incentive, whether it's avoiding work or seeking comfort. If you dislike your job but haven't changed it, something is holding you back. It's time to explore that fear, not dismiss it as lack of motivation.

You're Not Bored

In a world where we're constantly connected, claiming boredom is often a way to distract ourselves from deeper feelings. As Blaise Pascal noted, "All of humanity's problems stem from man's inability to sit quietly in a room alone." Your boredom may mask a fear of facing your own thoughts.

You're Not Lazy

Laziness is often a scapegoat. It's not

a lack of motivation; rather, it's a symptom of unmet needs or a lack of confidence. What appears as laziness could be fear or self-sabotage. It's essential to recognize these underlying issues instead of labeling them as mere laziness.

Understanding the Symptoms

Laziness, boredom, and procrastination are symptoms of fear. When faced with challenges, we sometimes channel our fear into self-destructive behaviors, such as mindless scrolling or binge-watching TV. Recognizing this can help us confront the root causes rather than merely treating the symptoms.

The Endless Chase of Fear

Fear manifests in various forms: fear of failure, fear of success, fear of loneliness, and more. We can easily get lost in a cycle of distraction or self-help strategies without addressing the core issue—our fear. Acknowledge that fear will always be a part of life; you must learn to move forward despite it.

The Cure: Just Do It

You don't need formal qualifications to



understand fear; like many, I've lived with it. I've found happiness and fulfillment by focusing on what truly matters. My theme for this year is 'focus.' In the face of fear, the best advice is simple: Just do it.

A Strategy for Life

"Just do it" serves as a long-term strategy. It means committing to pursuing your goals based on your values. This approach empowers you to take action without waiting for perfect circumstances.

A Tactical Approach

As a tactic, "Just do it" involves

focusing on small, manageable actions. If setbacks occur—like a rejected presentation or a failed relationship—refocus and take the next step. The key is to keep moving forward, even when fear lingers.

Make a Promise to Yourself

You are not unmotivated, lazy, or bored. You are afraid. Acknowledge that fear exists, but choose to confront it daily. Each step you take, no matter how small, brings you closer to overcoming it.

Niklas Göke

BollyBytes



Tabu opens up about refusing films with SRK and dealing with insecure actors

Tabu, who boasts a career spanning over three decades in the industry, recently disclosed that she turned down roles opposite Shah Rukh Khan in a few films. The 52-year-old actress, renowned for her portrayal of complex characters, also emphasized her current ability to make decisive choices in her career.

Tabassum Fatima Hashmi, professionally known as Tabu, stands as one of Hindi cinema's most accomplished actresses. Her recent cameo in the teaser of *Dune: Prophecy* – a prequel series – underscored her enduring presence in the industry. With a plethora of films and accolades under her belt, Tabu was asked if she now has the liberty to dictate terms. In response, she humbly stated, "I can't."

In an interview with Galatta India, Tabu candidly discussed navigating through the dynamics of working with insecure co-stars, remarking, "Even though it's crucial to have secure actors,

it's not always guaranteed." She chuckled, adding, "You have to make the most of what you get."

"When you commit to a project, you see it through. Whether the experience is joyful or challenging, it culminates as your commitment to the work," Tabu explained. Reflecting on her extensive career, she acknowledged encountering a spectrum of personalities – good, difficult, and everything in between. "Ideally, a positive atmosphere on set is desirable, but insecurity is a fundamental human emotion," she observed.

Despite her illustrious tenure in Bollywood, Tabu clarified, "I don't dictate terms. I accept scripts that resonate with me and decline those that don't. However, I don't demand specific scenes or actions."

Addressing her professional trajectory alongside Shah Rukh Khan, Tabu clarified, "I am neither a producer, director, nor a scriptwriter. I don't influence Shah Rukh Khan's choices or film offers. I simply accept or decline what comes my way."

In the same interview, she disclosed, "There were opportunities for us to work together (Shah Rukh Khan and Tabu). I know the projects I declined, and he likely declined some too. Our paths just never crossed in terms of film projects."

Why Vicky Kaushal and Katrina Kaif haven't shared the screen yet: Vicky responds

Vicky Kaushal and Katrina Kaif, despite being one of Bollywood's most adored couples, have surprisingly never appeared in a movie together. This stands out considering many actor couples, often leading to real-life relationships, meet and fall in love while working on films, a longstanding industry norm. Thus, the romance between Vicky and Katrina, affectionately known as "VicKat" by their fans, has always intrigued audiences, comments Indian Express.

Recently, Vicky addressed the burning question of whether they would ever star in a film together. During a



Rhea Chakraborty opens up about life after Sushant Singh Rajput

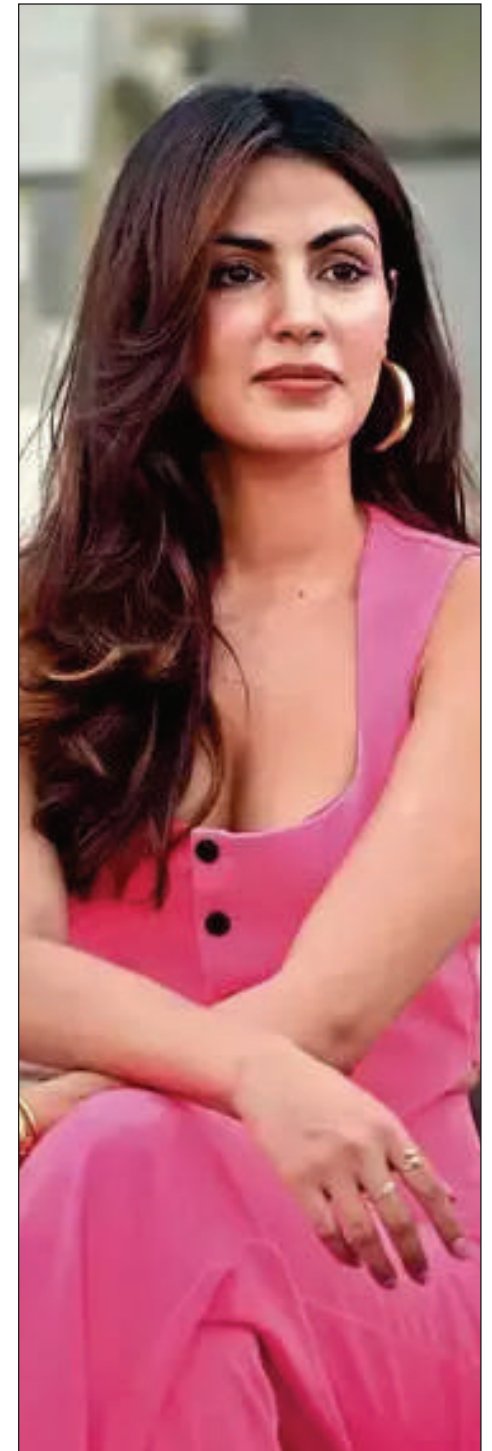
Rhea Chakraborty, who faced intense public scrutiny and legal challenges following the death of actor Sushant Singh Rajput in 2020, is now embarking on a new chapter in her life. After being a focal point in media and political controversies and enduring a period of incarceration related to a drugs case, Rhea is reclaiming her narrative.

In a significant step towards this new phase, Rhea recently launched her podcast titled "Chapter 2," symbolizing her current state of mind. Reflecting on her journey, she shared, "Everyone knows my 'chapter one' or assumes they do. I've experienced different emotions and versions of myself. Finally, I feel more like myself, albeit a newer version—a rebirth. I want to celebrate this with anyone starting their 'chapter two,' reassuring them that it's okay to move forward and embrace change."

Addressing misconceptions about her current endeavors, Rhea clarified in her podcast, "Some people are confused about my profession now. I am not acting in films anymore; instead, I focus on motivational speaking, which is how I earn a living."

Acknowledging the polarizing effect she unintentionally has on people, Rhea humorously mentioned, "I joke that I have a superpower—I can polarize entire rooms the moment I walk in. Some may think, 'She's done something wrong, she practices black magic,' while others see me as a strong girl who faced challenges with courage. I can sense this dynamic at the dentist's clinic, the gym, or the airport. It has taught me that it doesn't matter — those who love me, great; those who don't, that's okay too."

Earlier this year, Rhea Chakraborty was granted permission by a special court in Mumbai to travel abroad for a short holiday in Thailand with her family.



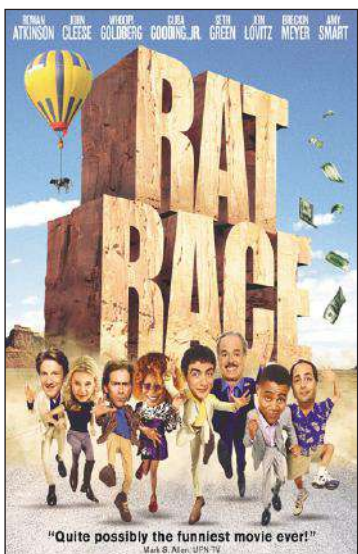
media interaction, he explained, "I hope that Katrina and I will be seen in a film soon. We are actively looking for the right story, but we aren't interested in doing a film just for the sake of pairing. Our on-screen chemistry should organically fit the story's requirements for it to be enjoyable. We are patiently waiting for the right opportunity."

Currently, Vicky Kaushal is celebrating the success of his latest film, "*Bad Newz*," which has become the biggest opener of his career, grossing Rs 83 million on its release day. Directed by Anand Tiwari, the movie also stars Triptii Dimri and Ammy Virk in pivotal roles.

After watching the film, Katrina praised it highly on her Instagram stories.



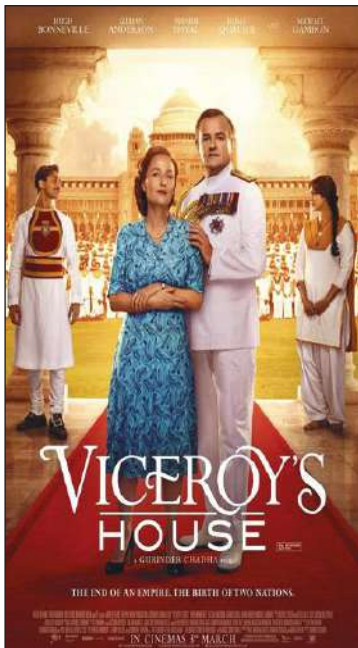
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Samedi 27 Juillet - 20.30



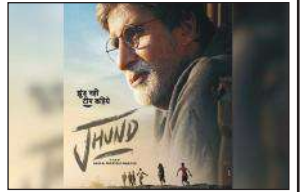
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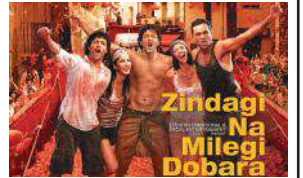
Programme TV



	MBC 1	MBC 2	MBC 3	Cine 12	Bollywood TV
vendredi 26 juillet	07.30 Serial: Madam Secretary 08.38 Tele: Amour Secret 09.30 Film: The Right Mom 11.00 Mag: Meet The Costume... 11.15 Mag: Red Carpet 11.30 The Gardener's Daughter 12.00 Le Journal 12.35 Tele: Terre Nostra 13.35 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin 14.00 Tele: Pasion Y Poder 15.00 Live: Samachar 15.30 Film: Get Happy! 17.30 The Gardener's Daughter 18.30 Other: Radha Krishna 18.31 Serial: Shiv Shakti 19.00 Serial: Swaran Ghar 19.30 Le Journal 20.30 Film: Rat Race 22.17 Tele: Terra Nostra 23.10 The Gardener's Daughter 23.35 Le Journal	06.20 Local: Crea 2024 08.28 Local: Nou Later Nou Lamer 10.30 Local: J'ai Faim 11.00 Rodrig: Klip Seleksion 12.00 Rodrig Prog: Decouvertes 12.41 Local: Emotion En Avant... 15.07 Local: J'ai Faim 15.36 Local: Artizan 17.00 Local: La Sosiete 18.00 Tele: Pasion Y Poder 18.30 Tele: Amour Secret 19.20 Le Magazine De L'emploi... 19.30 Local: 13 Minit Natir Rodrig 20.05 Local: Animalia Nos Amis... 20.32 Local: Lir - Ekriir Kreol 22.00 Local: La Sosiete 23.29 Le Journee Sous Le Regard 23.34 Local: Voyage Au Feminin 23.59 Rodrig: Zenn Aktif 00.52 Local: Retrovizor 01.27 Local: Couleur Marine	07.00 Serial: Gadget Guru Ganesha 08.01 MBC Prod: Amrit Vaani 09.22 Local: Hunarbaaz 10.00 Serial: Agniphera 12.00 Film: Londen Calling Gujrati Starring: Bhavwini Gandhi, Poojan Joshi, Hitesh Sampat 15.00 Live: Samachar 15.30 Serial: Senhur 16.00 Serial: Ishaaron Ishaaron 16.36 Serial: Bhakharwadi 17.30 Serial: Radha Krishna 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.31 Serial: Mati Ke Mol 20.00 Local: Khel Khiladi 20.30 Serial: Vidrohi 21.00 Film: Prem Leela Bhojuri 23.24 Serial: Mere Sai 00.26 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya 00.52 Serial: Senhur	06.30 Mag: Shift 06.38 Mag: Carnet De Sante 07.00 Les Nouvelles Aventures De Caillous 07.26 D.Anime: The Treasure Island 08.09 D.Anime: Yo Yo 09.06 Film: L'Odyssée D'Albert 10.29 D.Anime: Malory Towers 11.31 Mag: Shift 11.43 Carnet De Sante 12.04 Doc: Ageless Gardens 12.26 Mag: Border Crossing 12.54 Mag: Tomorrow Today 13.30 Film: M. Popper Et Ses Pingouins 15.04 D.Anime: Baby Einstein 2 15.21 D.Anime: Le Rythme De La... 15.28 D.Anime: Drole De Bocal 15.44 D.Anime: Jungle Book 16.43 D.Anime: Miraculous 17.40 Serial: New Generation	14.25 Serial: Radha Mohan 14.48 Serial: Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2 15.25 Film: Munna Michael Starring Tiger Shroff, Nidhi Agerwal, Nawazuddin Siddiqui 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.31 Kundali Bhagya 19.01 Udaariyaan 19.32 Fanaa 20.01 Sasural Simar Ka 2 20.31 Serial: Yashomati Maiyya Ke Nandlala 21.01 Anupamaa 21.22 Mere Sai 22.01 Kismat Ki Lakiron Se 22.32 Swaran Ghar 22.59 Serial: Rajaa Betaa 23.30 Film: Munna Michael Starring Tiger Shroff, Nidhi Agerwal, Nawazuddin Siddiqui
samedi 27 juillet	04.01 Serial: Blue Bloods 04.45 The Gardener's Daughter 06.37 Tele: Le Temps D'aimer 07.00 Serial: Heartland 08.30 Serial: Seal Team 09.15 Serial: Madam Secretary 10.00 Serial: Blue Bloods 10.49 Serial: Chicago Med 11.30 Tele: Le Temps D'aimer 12.00 Le Journal 12.25 Serial: Under Pressure 13.10 Tele: Sublime Mensonge 15.00 Live: Samachar 15.25 Film: Alien, La Resurrection 17.20 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.31 Enter: Dance India Dance... 19.30 Le Journal 20.30 Presentation Plateau Cine... 21.00 Film: La Liste De Schindler 00.51 Serial: Blue Bloods	06.00 Local: 13 Minit Natir Rodrig 07.09 Local: Itinerer Rodrig 07.48 Local: Lir - Ekriir Kreol 08.41 Rodrig Prog: Ala Nou Vini 10.29 Rodrig Prog: Nou La Ter 11.01 Local: Come On Let's Dance 13.00 La Journee Sous Le Regard... 13.06 Local: Voyage Au Feminin 14.13 Rodrig: Ala Nou Vini 15.00 Local: La Sosiete 16.13 Local: Mon Jardin Ma Maison 16.50 Local: En Forme 18.00 Tele: Gout De L'Amour 19.00 Journal Kreol 19.20 Mag De L'Emploi... 20.00 Local: Les Petits Genies 21.22 Local: Glwar Dantan 21.53 Rodrig: Klip Seleksion 22.58 Local: Lavi Zoli An XXL 23.26 Local: Saver Kiltirel 23.52 Rodrig Prog: Promnad 00.17 Local: Rodrig Prog: Coin Zen	07.00 Gadget Guru Ganesha 07.08 Serial: Kisna 08.26 Local: Mati Ke Mol 10.18 Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2 11.33 Dikri Vahalna Dariyo 11.59 Local: Mati Ke Mol 13.12 Local: Khel Khiladi 14.06 Serial: Mere Dad Ki Dulhan 15.00 Live: Samachar 15.30 Film: Heeralal Pannalal Starring Mithun Chakraborty, Johny Lever, Payal Malhotra 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Local: Puranya Pakwan 19.00 Duniya Mein Is Saptah 19.30 Local: Tohar Farmaish 21.00 Film: Rakht Starring Bipasha Basu, Sanjay Dutt, Dino Morea 23.05 Local: Puranya Pakwan 23.30 Duniya Mein Iss Saptah 01.20 Film: Rakht	06.00 D.Anime: Giant 06.25 D.Anime: Agent 203 09.49 D.Anime: Early Learning 09.53 Serial: Espoirs Secrets 10.36 D.I.Y Discover... 11.32 Doc: Top Dive Sites 12.43 Doc: Dogs & US 13.30 Film: Paroles De Champion 15.07 D.Anime: Earth To Luna! 15.26 D.Anime: Drole De Bocal 15.42 D.Anime: Jungle Book 16.07 D.Anime: Sonic Room 16.18 D.Anime: Hunter X Hunter 16.41 D.Anime: Miraculous... 17.12 Serial: Penny Sur M.A.R.S. 18.00 Mag: In Good Shape 20.01 Tele: Le Temps D'aimer 20.30 Live: News 20.50 Doc: Galapagos 21.40 Film: Monoligh 23.50 Doc: Into The Ice	08.00 Swaran Ghar 10.19 Sasural Simar Ka 2 11.59 Udaariyaan 13.52 Anupamaa 16.00 Fanaa 18.31 Film: Jhund Starring Amitabh Bachchan, Anushka Sharma, Babu Shrivastava 21.21 Porus 21.41 CID 22.21 Swaran Ghar
dimanche 28 juillet	04.44 The Gardener's Daughter 06.20 Tele: Le Temps D'aimer 06.43 Film: Get Happy! 08.20 Serial: Stan Lee's Lucky Man 09.07 Film: Borrowed Time 10.56 Serial: Chicago Med 11.36 Tele: Le Temps D'aimer 12.00 Le Journal 12.35 Film: Apache Drums Avec Arthur Shields, Coleen Gray 14.10 Le Livre Perdu Des Sortileges 15.21 Saying Radha Krishna 15.25 Film: Night School 17.05 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Sayings Radha Krishna 19.30 Le Journal 20.30 Film: Viceroy's House 22.20 Serial: Stan Lee's Lucky Man 23.05 L'Envers Du Paradis 23.30 Le Journal	07.08 Local: Saver Kiltirel 09.00 Local: Les Petits Genies 09.26 Local: Zanfan Nou Zil 11.03 Local: Nu Rasinn 13.00 Rodrig: Coin Zen 14.00 Le Festival Des Vocation 14.30 Live: En Direct De St Marys 16.00 Local: Nos Aines 16.43 Local: Tous Egaux 17.00 La Journee Sous Le Regard 18.00 Tele Gout De L'Amour 19.00 Journal Kreol 19.20 Local: Elle 20.00 Local: Tipa Tipa Nou Avanse 20.30 Le Challenge 20.45 Local: Les Klips 21.37 Rodrig: Sa Lavi-La 23.00 Journal Kreol 23.20 Local: Arsiv MBC 23.46 Local: Mangeons Veg 00.12 Local: Nu Rasinn	07.00 Serial: Kisna 08.00 Local: Hamar Fitness Challenge 08.26 Local: Puranya Pakwan 12.00 Film: Gharana With Govinda, Neelam,Shreeram Lagoo, Tanuja Samarth, Rishi Kapoor 15.00 Samachar 16.53 Local: Ekta 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Local: Planet Bollywood 19.00 Local: MBC In Collaboration 20.00 Local: Yaadein 20.30 Serial: Porus 21.00 Serial: CID 21.45 Serial: Naagin 22.30 Serial: Bahubali 23.10 Serial: Saaton Vachanwa Saath Nibhaib Sajna 00.16 Local: Planet Bollywood	06.00 D.Anime: Giant 06.25 D.Anime: Agent 07.10 D.Anime: The Jungle Book 09.37 D.Anime: Early Learning 09.35 D.Anime: Miraculous 10.44 Mag: Recipes For Kids 11.00 Film: Rufus Et Le Royaume D'Alyne 12.19 Doc: Galapagos 13.30 Film: Shelly 15.01 D.Anime: Baby Einstein 2 15.26 D.Anime: Drole De Bocal 15.40 D.Anime: Jungle Book 15.52 D.Anime: Robin Des Bois 16.40 D.Anime: Miraculous... 16.51 D.I.Y. Discover Your Inner... 17.16 Serial: Penny Sur M.A.R.S 17.30 Serial: Lost & Found Music 19.30 Mag: Arts Unveiled 20.00 Tele: Le Temps D'aimer 21.40 Film: King Kong	00.00 Sasural Simar Ka 2 01.40 Udaariyaan 03.55 Anupamaa 06.10 Fanaa 08.20 Tenali Rama 08.33 Patiala Babes 10.02 Kundali Bhagya 12.10 Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2 14.15 Kismat Ki Lakiron Se 16.10 Wagle Ki Duniya 18.31 Film: Yamla Pagla Deewana Starring: Dharmendra, Sunny Deol, Bobby Deol 21.15 Dance India Dance Little Masters 22.07 Serial: Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2 00.16 Patiala Babes
lundi 29 juillet	06.01 Tele: Tour De Babel 07.43 Serial: Amour Secret 08.09 Tele: L'Envers Du Paradis 08.34 Tele: King Kong 11.33 The Gardener's Daughter 12.00 Le Journal 12.25 Serial: Terra Nostra 13.21 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin 13.46 Tele: Pasion Y Poder 14.11 Serial: The Bionic Woman 15.25 Film: Viceroy's House 17.05 Meet The Costume Designers 17.30 The Gardener's Daughter 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Serial: Shiv Shakti 18.55 Serial: Swaran Ghar 19.30 Le Journal 20.40 Serial: Seal Team 21.58 Serial: Heartland 22.41 Tele: Terra Nostra 23.35 Le Journal	07.07 Tipa Tipa Nou Avanse 08.38 Local: Clin D'Oeil 10.37 Local: Le Challenge 11.00 Local: Les Klips 11.52 Local: Nu Rasinn 12.44 La Journee Sous Le Regard 14.04 Local: Elle 14.30 Arsiv MBC - Fer Roule 15.15 Tipa Tipa Nou Avanse 16.06 Local: Les Klips 16.58 Local: Le Challenge 17.13 Local: Radio Vision 18.00 Tele: Pasion Y Poder 18.30 Tele: Amour Secret 19.20 Le Magazine De L'emploi 19.30 Rodrig: Feminin Pluriel 20.00 Judicious Use Of Pesticide 20.30 Eclairage Economique 20.46 Local: Tous Egaux 21.01 Local: Konn Ou Drwa 21.25 Local: Radio Vision	07.00 Gadget Guru Ganesha 08.00 Local: Planet Bollywood 09.18 Local: Yaadein 09.48 Serial: Bahubali 10.24 Saaton Vachanwa Saath... 11.04 Serial: Radha Krishna 12.00 Film: Shubb Kamna 15.29 Serial: Senhur 15.45 Kundali Bhagya 17.30 Serial: Radha Krishna 18.30 Local: Ved Ki Shikshaen 19.00 Local: Ayush 19.30 Excerpts From Shiv Abhishek 20.36 Film: Heera Starring: Sunil Dutt, Asha Parekh, Shatrughan Sinha 22.56 Serial: Mere Sai 23.54 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya 00.17 Local: Ved Ki Shikshaen 00.43 Local: Ayush	06.25 Doc: Japan Video Topics 07.00 D.Anime: Les Nouvelles Aventures De Caillou 09.06 Film: Le Prince D'Egypte 10.40 D.Anime: Malory Towers 12.28 Doc: Brilliant Corners 13.30 Film: Ferdinand 15.18 D.Anime: Baby Einstein 2 15.23 D.Anime: Earth To Luna! 15.35 D.Anime: Le Rythme De La... 15.42 D.Anime: Drole De Bocal 16.11 D.Anime: Robin Des Bois 16.23 D.Anime: Sonic Boom 16.35 D.Anime: Hunter X Hunter 16.58 D.Anime: Miraculous... 17.20 Serial: D.I.Y. Discover Your... 17.27 Serial: Penny Sur M.A.R.S 18.30 Mag: The 77 Percent 19.30 Mag: In Good Shape 20.01 Tele: Le Temps D'aimer 21.16 Film: Armageddon	14.25 Radha Mohan 15.00 Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2 15.25 Film: Mubarakan Starring: Anil Kapoor, Arjun Kapoor, Ileana D'Cruz 18.00 Samachar 18.31 Kundali Bhagya 19.00 Udaariyaan 19.30 Fanaa 20.00 Sasural Simar Ka 2 20.31 Yashomati Maiyya Ke 20.51 Anupamaa 21.26 Mere Sai



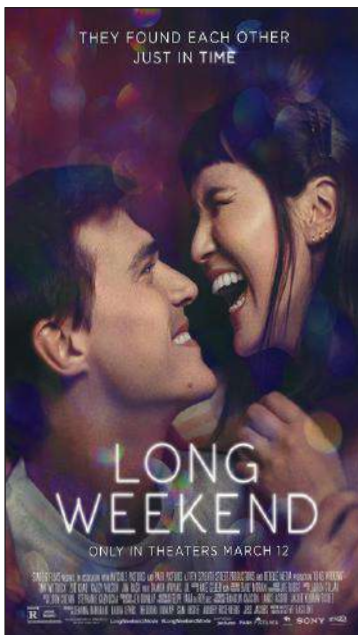
21.21 Porus
21.41 CID
22.21 Swaran Ghar



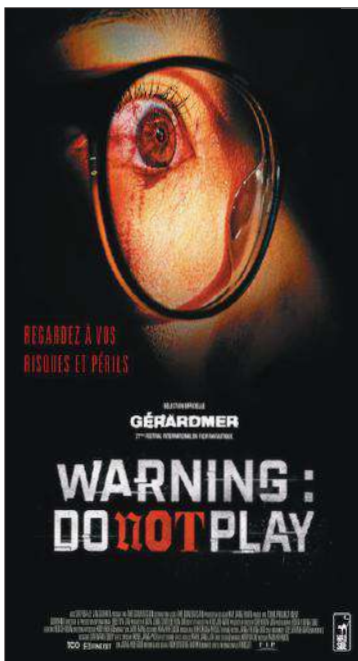
18.00 Samachar
18.31 Kundali Bhagya
19.00 Udaariyaan
19.30 Fanaa
20.00 Sasural Simar Ka 2
20.31 Yashomati Maiyya Ke
20.51 Anupamaa
21.26 Mere Sai



Mardi 30 Juillet - 20.30



Mercredi 31 Juillet - 21.30



Jeudi 1 Août - 21.40



Programme TV



mardi 30 juillet

MBC 1

03.44 Tele: Le Temps D'aimer
05.23 Tele: Tour De Babel
06.55 Serial: Seal Team
08.38 Serial: L'Envers Du Paradis
09.05 Film: Armageddon
11.30 The Gardener's Daughter
12.00 Le Journal
12.20 Tele:Terra Nostra
13.20 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin
13.46 Tele: Pasion Y Poder
14.15 Tele: Gout De L'Amour
15.25 Film: The Night We Met
17.00 Hollywood's Best Film
17.30 The Gardener's Daughter
18.00 Samachar
18.31 Serial: Shiv Shakti
18.55 Serial: Swaran Ghar
19.30 Le Journal
20.30 Film: Long Weekend
22.00 Tele: Terra Nostra
23.00 The Gardener's Daughter

MBC 2

07.07 Eclairage Economique
09.32 Local: Radio Vision
10.42 Local: Lir - Ekriir Kreol
11.09 Local: Rodrig Mo Pei
11.59 Rodrig: Feminin Pluriel
13.12 Local: Konn Ou Drwa
14.06 Local: Itinerer Moris
15.09 Rodrig: Zenn Aktif
15.46 Rodrig: Saver Lokal
17.02 Local: Le Mag
18.00 Tele: Pasion Y Poder
18.25 Tele: Amour Secret
19.20 Le Magazine De L'Emploi
19.45 Local: Son Ladan Mem
20.00 Local: Generations J
20.30 Local: Priorite Sante
21.33 Local: Le Mag
22.24 Local: Mots & Ecrits
22.47 La Journee Sous Le Regard
23.20 Local: Music Tour 2022
00.19 Local: Profil

MBC 3

07.00 Serial: Kisna
08.00 Local: Ved Ki Shikshayen
08.14 Local: Ayush
08.40 Excerpts From Shiv Abhishek
09.21 Local: Charcha
09.47 Serial: Kundali Bhagya
11.30 Serial: Radha Krishna
12.00 Film: Charanon Ki Saugandh
Starring: Mithun, Amrita Singh
15.00 Live: Samachar
15.30 Serial: Badki Malkaain
16.00 Serial: Shaurya Aur Anokhi Ki Kahani
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.30 Local: Tark Vitark
19.15 Local: Bhojpuri Dhamaka
20.00 Chikitsa Aur Swasthya
20.30 Film: Raaz
23.00 Serial: Mere Sai

MBC 5

07.00 Les Nouvelles Aventures De...
08.35 D.Anime: The Psammy Show
09.06 Film: The Jungle Book
11.15 Mag: Eco Africa
12.09 Doc: Ageless Gardens
11.41 Mag: The 77 Percent
12.41 Mag: In Good Shape
13.07 Doc: Unknown Patagonia
13.30 Film: The Little Mermaid
15.00 D.Anime:Baby Einstein 2
15.05 D.Anime: Earth To Luna!
15.51 D.Anime: Robin De Bois
16.03 D.Anime: Sonic Boom
16.15 D.Anime: Hunter X Hunter
16.56 D.I.Y. Discover...
17.30 Serial: Lost & Found
18.00 Mag: Rev
18.45 Mag: Red Carpet
19.00 Mag: Made In Germany
20.01 Tele: Le Temps D'Aimer
21.20 Film: Fast And Furious

Bollywood TV

14.25 Radha Mohan
14.58 Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2
15.23 Film: Super Singh
Starring Diljit Dosanjh, Sonam Bajwa, Pawan Malhotra
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.30 Kundali Bhagya
19.03 Udaariyaan
19.33 Fanaa
20.06 Sasural Simar Ka 2
20.29 Yashomati Maiyya Ke Nandlala
20.48 Anupama
21.27 Mere Sai
21.49 Kismat Ki Lakiron Se
22.25 Serial: Swaran Ghar
22.56 Serial: Rajaa Betaa
23.26 Film: Super Singh
Starring Diljit Dosanjh, Sonam Bajwa, Pawan Malhotra

mercredi 31 juillet

07.25 Serial: The Bionic Woman
08.03 Tele: Le Temps D'aimer
08.38 Tele: Amour Secret
09.01 Tele: L'Envers Du Paradis
09.20 Film: Fast And Furious
11.30 The Gardener's Daughter
12.00 Le Journal
12.25 Tele: Terra Nostra
13.20 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin
13.46 Tele: Pasion Y Poder
14.11 Serial: The Bionic Woman
15.00 Live: Samachar
15.20 Film: Long Weekend
17.32 The Gardener's Daughter
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.31 Serial: Shiv Shakti
18.55 Serial: Swaran Ghar
19.30 Journal & La Meteo
20.41 Serial: Nelle Tue Mani
21.30 Film: Warning: Do Not Play
23.03 Tele: Terra Nostra

06.20 Local: Son Ladan Mem
08.23 Local: Mots & Ecrits
08.45 Local: Profil
09.35 Local: Le Mag
10.33 Local: Koze Zom
11.00 Local: Music Tour 2022
12.02 Rodrig Prog: Plat Du Chef
12.17 Local: Son Ladan Mem
13.06 Local: Priorite Sante
13.57 Local: Koze Zom
15.00 Local: Nu Rasinn
15.50 Local: Glwar Dantan
18.00 Tele: Pasion Y Poder
18.30 Tele: Amour Secret
19.00 Journal Kreol
19.20 Le Magazine De L'Emploi
19.30 Local: Rodrig Spor
19.56 Mon Jardin Ma Maison
20.27 Local: Toc Toc Doc
20.42 Local: Pilates
20.57 Local: Agir Ensemble
21.29 Local: Les Klips

07.00 Gadget Guru Ganesha
07.12 Serial: Kisna
07.24 Serial: Tenali Rama
07.36 Serial: Lambu G Tingu
08.41 Local: Bhojpuri Dhamaka
09.28 Chikitsa Aur Swasthya
10.00 Serial: Shaurya Aur Anokhi Ki Kahani
11.32 Serial: Radha Krishna
12.00 Film: Sone Ke Haath
Starring: Sanjay Khan, Babita Kapoor, Om Prakash
15.30 Serial: Senhur
16.00 Zindagi Mere Ghar Aana
17.30 Serial: Radha Krishna
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.30 Local: Yatra
19.00 Local: Shraavan Maas Ka...
20.00 Local: Virasat
20.15 Local: Gyan Vigyan
21.00 Film: Litti Chokha Bhojpuri
23.18 Serial: Mere Sai

08.36 D.Anime: The Psammy Show
09.06 Film: Le Dernier Des Dinosaures
10.38 D.Anime: Malory Towers
11.36 Mag: Healthy Living
11.51 Mag: Shift
12.04 Doc: Top Dive Sites
13.30 Film: Sinbad
15.00 D.Anime: Baby Einstein 2
15.05 D.Anime: Earth To Luna!
15.26 D.Anime: Drole De Bocal
15.40 D.Anime: Jungle Book
16.04 D.Anime: Sonic Boom
16.39 Serial: Miraculous...
17.01 Serial: D.I.Y. Discover...
17.31 Serial: Lost & Found
18.00 Mag: Motorweek
18.30 Mag: Transforming Business
18.45 Mag: Planet A
19.00 Mag: Arts Unveiled
20.01 Tele: Le Temps D'Aimer
21.16 Film: Bad Boys For Life

14.25 Radha Mohan
15.00 Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2
15.25 Film: Aur Pappu Pass Ho Gaya
Starring: Krushna Abhishek, Kashmira Shah, Jackie Shroff
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.30 Kundali Bhagya
19.00 Udaariyaan
19.30 Fanaa
20.00 Sasural Simar Ka 2
20.30 Yashomati Maiyya Ke Nandlala
21.06 Anupama
21.28 Mere Sai
22.05 Kismat Ki Lakiron Se
22.31 Swaran Ghar
23.01 Serial: Rajaa Betaa
23.30 Film: Aur Pappu Pass Ho Gaya

jeudi 1 Août

07.23 Serial: Nelle Tue Mani
08.18 Serial: Le Temps D'Aimer
09.10 Tele: L'Envers Du Paradis
09.35 Film: Night School
11.30 The Gardener's Daughter
12.00 Le Journal
12.25 Tele: Terra Nostra
13.20 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin
13.45 Tele: Pasion Y Poder
14.10 Serial: Gout De L'Amour
15.25 Film: Rat Race
17.15 The Gardener's Daughter
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.31 Serial: Shiv Shakti
18.56 Serial: Swaran Ghar
19.30 Le Journal
20.30 Film: Chalho Driver
Stars: Vickrant Mahajan, Kainaz Motivala, Prem Chopra
22.05 Tele: Terra Nostra
22.57 The Gardener's Daughter

06.42 Local: Aktiv
07.26 Local: Agir Ensemble
11.00 Local: Les Klips
12.06 Local: Rodrig Spor
12.29 Mon Jardin Ma Maison
13.06 Local: Toc Toc Doc
13.20 Local: Pilates
13.46 Local: Agir Ensemble
14.14 Local: Klip Seleksion
15.53 Come On Let's Dance
16.50 Local: Aktiv
18.00 Tele: Pasion Y Poder
18.31 Tele: Amour Secret
19.00 Journal Kreol
19.30 Rodrig Prog: Decouvertes
20.00 Local: Les Grandes Lignes
20.30 Local: Mots & Ecrits
21.00 Local: Le Mag
22.54 La Journee Sous Le Regard...
23.20 Rodrig: Klip Seleksion
00.050 Local: Generations J

07.12 Serial: Kisna
07.24 Serial: Tenali Rama
08.27 Shraavan Maas Ka Mahatva
09.19 Local: Virasat
09.34 Local: Gyan Vigyan
10.00 Serial: Zindagi Mere Ghar Aana
11.30 Radha Krishna
12.00 Film: Main Tulsii Tere Aangan Ki
15.30 Serial: Badki Malkaain
16.00 Serial: Agniphera
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.30 Local: Amrit Vaani
19.00 Excerpts Form Shraavaan...
19.32 Local: Ayush
20.05 Local: Hunarbaaz
20.30 Local: Shiv Shakti
21.00 Serial: Yashomati Maiyya
21.30 Mag: Dharam Yatra
22.00 Serial: Mere Sai

06.40 Mag: Planet A
08.23 D.Anime: Les Schtroumpfs
08.48 D.Anime: The Psymmy Show
10.31 D.Anime: Malory Towers
11.31 Mag: Transforming Business
12.30 Doc: Submerged Universe
13.30 Film: Sherlock Holmes
15.03 D.Anime: Baby Einstein 2
15.08 D.Anime: Earth To Luna!
15.20 D.Anime: Le Rythme De La...
15.43 D.Anime: Jungle Book
15.55 D.Anime: Robin Des Bois
16.06 D.Anime: Sonic Boom
16.42 Serial: Miraculous...
17.04 Serial: D.I.Y. Discover...
17.13 Serial: Penny Sur M.A.R.S
17.36 Serial: Lost & Found Music
18.00 Mag: Eco India
18.30 Mag: Shift
20.01 Tele: Le Temps D'Aimer
21.16 Film: Maze Runner

14.25 Radha Mohan
15.00 Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2
15.25 Film: Kismat Connection
Stars: Shahid Kapoor, Vidya Balan, Vishal Malhotra
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.30 Kundali Bhagya
19.00 Udaariyaan
19.30 Fanaa
20.00 Sasural Simar Ka 2
20.30 Yashomati Maiyya Ke Nandlala
21.02 Anupama
21.30 Mere Sai
22.01 Kismat Ki Lakiron Se
22.37 Swaran Ghar
23.02 Serial: Rajaa Betaa
23.31 Film: Kismat Connection
Stars: Shahid Kapoor, Vidya Balan, Vishal Malhotra



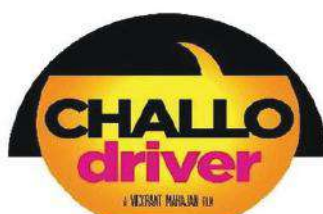
Jeudi 1 Août - 15.25

Stars: Vickrant Mahajan, Kainaz Motivala, Prem Chopra



Jeudi 1 Août - 20.30

Stars: Shahid Kapoor, Vidya Balan, Vishal Malhotra



Are the Olympic Games politically neutral?

Since July 2020, the Olympic Charter prohibits “any kind of demonstration or political, religious or racial propaganda”. But what if the Olympic project was in its essence political?

In the early 20th century, the father of the modern Olympic Games, Pierre de Coubertin, wrote that the competition ought to be “free from political interference”. Yet it’s often hard for champions to escape world affairs. Take the example of Algerian judoka, Fethi Nourine, who withdrew in from the Tokyo Olympics in July 2021 to avoid facing his Israeli counterpart on the grounds of “his support for the Palestinian cause”. Within two months, he and his trainer were handed a 10 year suspension by the International Judo Federation.

Like other suspensions, the Federation had based its decision on the Olympic Charter’s controversial rule 50.2:

“No kind of demonstration or political, religious or racial propaganda is permitted in any Olympic sites, venues or other areas.”

An issue dividing the Olympic world

That sentence alone has managed to sharply divide the Olympic world ever since the Charter was published in July 2020.

Concerns were running so high that in June 2020 the International Olympic Committee Athletes’ Commission (IOC AC) launched a consultation with over 3,500 athletes on Rule 50.2. The results of the study, delivered by Publicis Sport & Entertainment in April 2021, appeared to back the rule, with 70% of athletes considering it inappropriate to express their views on the field of play and at official ceremonies, and 67% on the podium.

However, a different survey dated February 2021 highlighted “a clear lack of understanding” of the passage. It stated that:

“The term ‘demonstration’ is perfectly clear for 62% of respondents, but not for the others. The term ‘propaganda’ is perfectly clear for 70%, but remains opaque for the rest. The term ‘protest’ was ‘not’ or ‘absolutely not’ clear to 49% of respondents.”

This raises the question of whether the interviewed athletes had all the information they needed to make up their minds on the rule. In any case, the IOC has decided to follow the Athletes’ Commission’s recommendations by relaxing the rule, while still curbing athletes’ expression during the period spanning the Olympic Games, ranging from ceremonies and podiums to anthems.

Protests that have gone down in Olympic history

At several recent US competitions, sportspeople, following the example of Colin Kaepernick, have raised their fists or taken the knee during the national anthem in support of the Black Lives Matter movement.

These acts of resistance are strongly re-

miniscent of the black-gloved fists raised by John Carlos and Tommie Smith on the podium at the 1968 Olympics, in support of the Black Power movement.

While the two athletes were expelled from the Olympic Village and banned for life from the Olympic Games, their image is now part of Olympic history.

Olympism: an ideological movement?

Are these acts incompatible with the Olympics’ principle of political neutrality? The debate came to the fore in July 2020, when a group of 150 academics, sportspeople and sports specialists signed an open letter to call on a ban of the rule:

Beyond the controversy surrounding Rule 50.2, we might ask whether the Olympic movement has, since its creation by Pierre de Coubertin, engaged in propaganda by conveying the vision of a better world through sport. This is not to say that the word has a negative connotation, but rather that it refers to a unifying ideal, “the great Olympic idea”. The word was even used explicitly in the June 1933 Bulletin of the International Olympic Committee:

“With the renovator of the Olympic Games, we all believed and certainly thought that the peaceful meeting of peoples on the field of sport would bring nations together to such an extent that the Olympic Games in their modern form would become a powerful propaganda element for the idea of world peace”

In this respect, couldn’t the speech by IOC President, Thomas Bach, at the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games on 23 July 2021, be considered “political ideology”? It presents a vision of the world and expresses an ideal, that of the “Olympic community”, united around the same belief system.

Solidarity is given pride of place and embodies the essence of Olympism. This solidarity goes beyond the traditional values of Olympism of excellence, respect and friendship because it involves recognising shared humanity. As Thomas Bach reminded us in his speech on 23 July 2021:

“Solidarity means much more than mere respect or non-discrimination. Solidarity is about helping, sharing and caring for one another.”

A holistic vision

Solidarity guarantees unity; the term “together” is repeated 10 times in Bach’s speech, and the adjective “united” appears 6 times. Thomas Bach emphasises the strength of this unity, which enables us to rise above individuals taken separately to form a “true community”, the “Olympic community”.

The Olympic movement, as conceived by Pierre de Coubertin, exists in service to a better, ethical and more fraternal world, as stated in the 1958 Olympic Charter.

“The aim of the Olympic movement is to exalt in young people both the physical effort and the moral qualities which are the foundations of amateur sport, and also, by inviting all the world’s athletes to a four-yearly, disin-



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terested and fraternal competition, to contribute to the love and maintenance of peace between peoples.”

This solidarity and unity is was fully integrated into the Olympic movement in 2021, thanks to the new wording of the Olympic oath and the addition of the term ‘Together’ to the motto:

Searching for the term “together” within a corpus of institutional texts such as charters, codes and conventions dating from before the Olympic Games reveals the proximity of “together” with “solidarity”, as well as with “ethical”, clearly showing the strong association of these values in the sporting spirit.

Solidarity is also the guarantor of peace in the world, as Thomas Bach emphasised in his speech. The close partnership between the IOC and the United Nations has brought together, for the second time in the history of the Games, the Olympic Refugee Team. This team includes 29 political refugee athletes, “an exceptional group of individuals who inspire the world”, as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Filippo Grandi said in June 2021:

“Having survived war, persecution and the anguish of exile already makes them exceptional people, but the fact that they are now excelling on the international sporting stage fills me with immense pride”

Thomas Bach expressed similar sentiments in Rio de Janeiro in 2016, when the refugee team was first established:

“These refugees have no home, no team, no flag, no national anthem. We will offer them a home in the Olympic Village alongside athletes from all over the world. This initiative ... is a signal to the international community that refugees are human beings and an enrichment to society”

So, far from being “apolitical”, the Olympic Games carry a strong ideology, which is reflected in the IOC’s Charters and official texts.

So when will Rule 50.2 disappear from the Olympic Charter to better reflect the Olympic spirit? Perhaps 2024 Paris Olympics will provide the answer. Will we see kneeling sanctioned, or will this controversial rule buried once and for all.

By Julien Longhi, CY Cergy Paris Université; Arnaud Richard, Université de Toulon; Carine Duteil, Université de Limoges

Tree of Knowledge



Soulful Voyages

Traveling can be hard on sensitive souls; routine and a few favorite items can make your journey easier.

The journeys we take are often as exhausting as they are exhilarating. The thrill we feel as we travel to a new environment may be undercut by our sensitivity to change, strange surroundings, and forced shifts in our usual habits. Air, road, and sea travel can be extremely taxing, and many people find sleeping soundly in a strange bed difficult. There are, however, numerous ways to take the stress out of both short voyages and lengthy sojourns. Since much of the comfort we feel in our day-to-day lives stems from the fact that we enjoy the regularity of routine, adapting your typical customs to correspond with your travel schedule can alleviate the unease you experience while away from your home. Likewise, when you ground yourself by honoring the rituals that are a part of your daily life, you’ll no longer feel like you’re out of your element.

If you find yourself disconcerted by the foreignness of your surroundings when traveling, packing a few reassuring items from your home in your luggage can help you stay balanced. Photographs of loved ones, a favorite tea or snack, soft slippers, or even your own pillow can soothe the rigors associated with travel. Holding a crystal, gemstone, talisman, or medicine bag in your hand during particularly stressful periods of travel can help you stay relaxed and alert. Items imbued with healing or calming energy can help you destress once you reach your destination. As you unpack, light a stick of sweet-smelling incense or bask in the glow of a meditation candle. You’ll gradually begin to feel more grounded and serene in your new location.

During the course of your journey, indulge in those activities that center you and sustain your emotional equilibrium. If you tend to sleep and wake at the same time each day, maintaining that schedule will ensure you stay strong and healthy. Taking time out of your travel agenda to write in a journal, meditate, do yoga, or walk can help you reconnect with yourself in an alien setting. However you restore your tranquility, your conscious choice to surround yourself with comforting possessions and focus on your well-being will make traveling a joy.