

# MAKA GUARDIAN

Vol.19 No.17 February 01, 1997 Price Rs.15.00

## First Ever Opinion Survey WHAT SRI LANKA'S POOR REALLY THINK The View From Below

250'000 දෙනා



### CHAOS

Lakshman Jayatilleke

### ART IS ENDING

H.L.D.Mahindapala

### MILLENNIAL SYNTHESIS

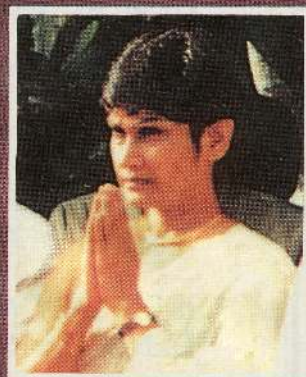
Dayan Jayatilleka

THE IDEAS MAGAZINE



## ON THE WATERFRONT: PRIVATISING THE QUEEN

Mahilal Silva



## A LETTER

Sunethra Bandaranaike



## A RESPONSE

Manik Sandrasagara

## CURRENT ICES PUBLICATIONS

### BHUTAN NEPAL REFUGEE ISSUE

A Report of a Fact Finding Mission to Nepal May 1-7, 1995 by Niaz Naik and Bradman Weerakoon. 1995. 19pp. Rs. 50.00

### THE BO-ATTE MASSACRE AND THE KEBETIGOLLAWA REFUGEE CAMP

A Report on the attack on Bo-Atte village in the North-Central Province on October 21, 1995 and other attacks in the Anuradhapura District. 1995. 32pp Rs. 50.00

### CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS; DISPLACEMENT MIGRATION AND ACCOMMODATION.

A Report by Devendra Raj Panday and Jeevan Thiagarajah. September 1996. 26p.

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS, by Neelan Triuchelvam (Tamil). 1996. 296pp. Hardcover: Rs. 300.00; Paperback Rs. 200.00

### DEVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT IN SRI LANKA

Edited by Sunil Bastian. 1994 232pp Rs. 350.00

### ELECTORAL POLITICS IN PAKISTAN: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS 1993.

Report of SAARC-NGO Observers. 1995. 136pp. Rs. 250

IDEOLOGY AND THE CONSTITUTION: ESSAYS ON CONSTITUTIONAL JURISPRUDENCE, by Radhika Coomaraswamy. 1996. pp178.

Hardcover: Rs. 300.00; Paperback Rs. 200.00

LIVING WITH TORTURERS AND OTHER ESSAYS OF INTERVENTION; SRI LANKAN SOCIETY, CULTURE AND POLITICS IN PERSPECTIVE, by Sasanka Perera. 1995. 89pp. Rs. 150.00

THE LOST LENORE; A TALE, by Regi Siriwardena. 1996. 100pp. Rs. 130.00

OCTET COLLECTED PLAYS, by Regi Siriwardena. 1995. 172pp. Rs. 175.00

SRI LANKA: THE DEVOLUTION DEBATE. 1996. 255pp. Rs. 250.00

TAMIL AS OFFICIAL LANGUAGE: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT, by A. Theva Rajan. 1995. 126pp. Rs. 150.00

WRITING SOCIAL SCIENCES: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO WRITING TRADITION, by Sasanka Perera. (Sinhala). 1996. 74pp. Rs. 110.00

**ALL ORDERS TO: International Centre for  
Ethnic Studies, 2, Kynsey Terrace, Colombo 8.**

# BACKDROP TO THE LOCAL POLLS

Mervyn de Silva

Indo-Sri Lankan relations in the recent past have been so multi-faceted and intricate that the brief visit of an Indian External Affairs Minister soon leads to a discussion on issues that are certainly not "external". In fact, the "external" leads inescapably to the "domestic", often offering congenial critics of our "big neighbour" another opportunity for "Big Brother bashing".

The same is true of the "economic", the other crucial area. The discussion of economic relations soon raises the question of "domination", however beneficial such Indo-Sri Lanka transactions could be for the small neighbour.

The visit of Mr. Inder Kumar Gujral, and his talks particularly with his counterpart, Mr. Lakshman Kadirgamar, were another reminder of the unique character of the Indo-Sri Lankan dialogue. (The fact that both ministers are blessed with a gift of the gab, an impressive command of the English language, and an irrepressible

*exceedingly silly.* Addressing the ruling party's 45th National Convention, President Kumaratunga assured the party faithfully that "two-thirds of the task" was completed and "the balance one third of the war" would be over in "a short time".

*Contd on page 7*

## Main Cover Photographs

The government is said to have taken a decision to terminate the 250/- monthly interest payment to over 400,000 Janasaviya recipient families. The implementation of this decision has been deferred by one month, until the local government polls are over. On Jan 25th (Friday) the Janasaviya recipient families organised a meeting at the Avissawella (Seethawakapura) Town Hall to protest against this decision. The cover photographs were taken at that meeting.

urge to use it, was quite obvious).

Inevitably, the LTTE did figure in the Gujral-Kadirgamar exchanges. "The two sides also discussed the recent ban on the entry into Colombo harbour of Indian mechanised sailing craft operating from Tuticorin. Mr. Kadirgamar said that the ban had been lifted earlier this month, and the restriction had been imposed because of security concerns that the Tamil terrorists might try to infiltrate into the harbour under the guise of Indian fisherman". (Sunday Island)

Yes, this is a genuine concern, and a shared anxiety. The advent of a Karunanidhi-led DMK administration in Tamilnadu has not made matters worse for Sri Lanka and the new Peoples Alliance government of Ms. Chandrika Kumaratunga. The Sri Lankan president made it clear in the first months of her government that friendship with India and a close liaison with South Block would be a major concern. The PA's strategists believed that the loss of the rear-base (Tamilnadu) and a regular source of supplies, would result in a steady decline in the LTTE's capacity to continue its guerrilla struggle. *Far from such a change on the battlefield, the LTTE has given a stunning demonstration of the enhanced capacities to engage the armed forces on almost equal terms. Both in terms of casualty figures, and equipment lost — including three aircraft that "disappeared" from the radar screen — Prabhakaran has made the PA's boasts about a fairly "quick" victory look*

## Pieter Keuneman

The Lanka Guardian regrets the death of Mr. Pieter Keuneman, the last survivor of the topmost leadership of the island's Left movement. A staunch anti-imperialist throughout his active political life, Mr. Keuneman's two most outstanding political contributions were to have identified with and championed the cause of the world's first socialist state during its decades of siege and isolation and to have stood for the anti-fascist cause during the global struggle against Nazism.

In the early decades of his political life, Pieter Keuneman's merits greatly outweighed his demerits. Coming from a background of social privilege and having achieved striking academic distinction, he took the side of the underprivileged and the poor, representing their interests and leading their struggles. He helped organise the working class and propagate the cause of socialism. However, Pieter Keuneman was also the first, most consistent and longest standing theorist and advocate, since the 1950's and through to the '90s, of the line of a united front or coalition with the 'progressive national bourgeoisie' and what he saw as its political representative, the SLFP, be it in or out of office. As such, no objective historical judgement can exculpate him of a considerable measure of responsibility for the consequences that flowed, in South and North, from that policy.



Vol. 19 No. 18 February 01st, 1997

Price Rs.15.00

Published fortnightly by

Lanka Guardian Publishing Co. Ltd.

No. 246, Union Place,

Colombo 02.

Tel/Fax 447584

E-mail - guardian@sri.lanka.net

Editor in Chief : Mervyn de Silva

Editor : Dayan Jayatilaka

Cover Photography :

Ravi Prasad Herath

Printed by :

United Publishing House (Pvt.) Ltd

## C O N T E N T S

Mervyn de Silva	01
Sunethra Bandaranaike	02
Manik Sandrasagara	02
Mahilal Silva	03
Dayan Jayatilaka	06
Lakshman Jayatilleka	08
Janasaviya Research Report	11
H.L.D. Mahindapala	17

THE IDEAS MAGAZINE



විමර්ශන කෞතුකාගාර කමිටුව  
பண்டாரநாயக்கா நூதனசாலை குழு  
BANDARANAIKE MUSEUM COMMITTEE

21st January 1997.

Mr. Mervyn de Silva  
Editor-in-Chief  
Lanka Guardian Publishing Co., Ltd.,  
246, Union Place  
Colombo 02.

Dear Sir,

I write with reference to the article appearing in the Lanka Guardian of 15th January 1997, under the caption "The Making of Sirimavo Bandaranaike".

I wish to set out the correct position in respect of your contentions pertaining to the alleged non-payment for work performed.

The Bandaranaike Museum Committee was desirous of producing a television documentary under the title "Sirimavo Bandaranaike" and engaged the services of Asia Information Channel (Pvt) Limited for the entire production of the television film.

AIC accepted the assignment and the parties entered into an agreement, where the entire production was undertaken by the AIC.

The primary source of funding for the project was the private sector.

On successful completion of the production of the television work, AIC was paid in full by the BMC.

For the purpose of the said production, payment was due only to AIC. No other payments were due to any other body or person in respect of any work on the production.

I trust that you would publish this letter in your next edition.

Yours faithfully,

  
Ms. Sunetra Bandaranaike  
SECRETARY.

## MANIK'S REJOINDER

Sunetra Bandaranaike is absolutely right. However, may I ask:

1. Who is Asia Information Channel (Pvt) Ltd? Is it not Sunil Situnayake?
2. Was it not I who had recommended and introduced Sunil Situnayake and AIC to Sunetra Bandaranaike?
3. The Bandaranaike Museum Committee entered into a contract with Sunil Situnayake and AIC, but was I consulted or made a party to this agreement, considering I was a key player in the project?
4. Can AIC assign my rights to a third party without my express permission?
5. What are my rights as interviewer? It is true Sunil Situnayake was the contracted producer but as originator and interviewer of the programme I too am entitled to a contract and a stipulated fee in keeping with my experience. Why was I denied this?
6. Can the Museum Committee or AIC prove that I had agreed to a given fee and that I was paid this? If not, why not?

Manik Sandrasagara

# HARBOURING GRIEVANCES

## CHALLENGING THE PORT PRIVATISATION AGENDA

MAHILAL SILVA

The author, aged 33, is the leader of the largest single union in the Colombo Harbour, the JSS union. A holder of a BA degree from Peradeniya University, he also has a MA in philosophy.

### THE INSIDE STORY OF THE PORT PRIVATISATION PLAN

\* In 1979 the Colombo Port commenced container operations and was placed 124th among the 339 container operating ports in the world.

\* By 1980, it occupied the 44th place among the container operating ports globally.

\* In 1980 the Queen Elizabeth Quay (QE) officially commenced activities as a container operating terminal. QE is 300 meters long and 12.8 meters deep and occupied an area of 3.2 hectares. Its assets included 3 gantries and 4 transfer cranes.

### PERFORMANCE

\* The number of containers handled by the Colombo Port annually:

1988 - 628,000 containers  
1993 - 858,000 containers  
1994 - 972,000 containers  
1995 - 1,000,000 containers  
1996 - 1,300,000 containers.

\* Annual Revenue of the Colombo Port also shows a steady increase.

	Rs. Million
1987	1969.5

1988	2342.4	2000	11,563.2
1992	4030.9	2001	12,719.5
1993	4930.9		
1994	5197.3		
1995	6817		

\* Average annual revenue per employee - Actual and estimated

### Estimated/Budgeted Revenue

	Rs. Million
1996	7923.3
1997	9771.7
1998	11,500
1999	14,400
2000	15,840
2001	17,424

	Rs. Million
1987	91,428
1988	113,964
1992	225,520
1993	284,286
1995	413,352
1996	450,237
1998	653,483
2000	900,102

\* The Colombo Port is also a major source of foreign currency earnings to the country.

	Rs. Million
1987	1,206.5
1988	1,479
1992	2,780
1993	3,649
1995	4,747

### Estimated/Budgeted Foreign Earnings

	Rs. Million
1996	5388.1
1997	6403.4
1998	8395
1999	10,512

\* The Colombo Port has been a **Profit making Venture** for decades

Profit (before taxes): Actual and estimated

	Rs. Million
1987	443.2
1988	472.9
1992	938
1993	949
1995	1357
1996	1907.7
1997	2643.3
1998	2926.8
1999	3,389.1
2000	3,840
2001	3424

\* Today the Colombo Port is placed 26th among the container handling ports globally.

\* The Colombo Port has also made a signal contribution to the development process of the country, particularly to the Mahaveli Scheme, 1 and 1.5 Million Houses Scheme, Electricity, Health, Education and National defence.

#### **ENTREE P AND O**

\* In 1994 tenders were called for the construction of a new Port to the north of the existing Colombo Port. This was called the North Port Development Project.

\* Since constructing a new port is an extremely costly venture involving, among other things, the expenditure of constructing a breakwater there were no applicants. The only exception was the P and O Company.

\* The subsequent developments are shrouded in mystery. The end result was that the authorities decided to lease the QEQ to South Asia Gateway Terminals (SAGT), a new company set up by the P & O with John Keells Holdings as its Sri Lankan agent. The fate of the original proposal to build a new port to the North of existing Colombo Port is unknown.

\* The QEQ is the largest and the most important of the quay in the Colombo Port. It is the only terminal which has the capacity to handle large ships bringing essential food items, medicines and **weapons** to Sri Lanka. It is also the only passenger ship terminal in the Colombo Port.

\* According to the agreement between the Government of Sri Lanka (GOSL) and SAGT, the SAGT will develop, operate and maintain the terminals (with the exception of the breakwater) using funds obtained through equity and debt; SAGT will have the complete authority to pledge all the infrastructure,

equipment and the other excess of the terminals in order to secure loans.

\* A Japanese international aid organisation has offered to provide the necessary finances to the Sri Lankan Government for the development of the QEQ **under extremely advantageous conditions**: a 30 year loan with a 10 year interest free period.

\* In 1995 the total revenue from the QEQ was Rs.1493 million (US\$ 29 million); the net profit (after taxes was) Rs. 212 Million (US\$ million); the contribution to government coffers was Rs 230 million (US\$ 5 million - and US\$ 2 million as BTT/ defence Levy and US\$ 3 million as income tax of 40%).

#### **SOME QUESTIONS ARISING FROM THE PRIVATISATION OF THE QEQ**

\* As was mentioned earlier, the Colombo Port occupies the 26th position among all container handling ports globally - which is a significant achievement for a small Third World Country. However in transferring the assets to the QEQ, the agreement only mentions equipment and not the 'goodwill' factor. In other words the SAGT is not paying anything for the considerable goodwill the QEQ possess. Doesn't this violate all accounting procedures? Why isn't the 'goodwill' accrued by of the QEQ being included in the equity contribution of the Sri Lanka Ports Authority (SLPA) ? Doesn't this amount to a loss to the Country and an unfair gain for the SAGT. When the government is buying back the shares of the SAGT at the period of the lease agreement wouldn't the be included in the sales price of the shares?

\* What is the guarantee that the SAGT will not use unfair practices to attract business away from the other terminals owned by the state?

\* The QEQ currently employs more than 1500 people. However according to the agreement the

SAGT will only absorb 500 employees. What will be the fate of the other 1000 employees ? If they are transferred to other terminals their labour costs will increase and profits will fall as a result. What is the government's solution to this problem?

\* QEQ today handles the importing of essential food items, medicines and weapons to Sri Lanka. Upto now the handling of some of these food items, medicines and weapons was done free of charge. According to the new agreement the SAGT has the right to set tariff rates, **which means that the costs of these essential consumer and defence items will increase. This will result in a corresponding increase in both the cost of living and the defence expenditure - with its inevitable adverse repercussions on the national economy, the war effort and the living standards of the citizens.** How does the government propose to handle this problem?

\* According to the agreement the Sri Lankan Government and the Ports Authority undertakes to prevent any other party apart from SAGT from developing or operating any new container handling facilities in Sri Lanka unless the terminals are unable to service the container volume demand. Doesn't this amount to **granting monopoly status** to SAGT? Won't this be detrimental to the further development and the expansion of the Colombo Port ?

\* The QEQ is a profit making institution which makes a significant contribution to the government revenue. A Japanese aid agency has offered to provide a soft loan on advantageous terms to the Sri Lankan Government to further develop the Colombo Port. Therefore what is the rationale in leasing the QEQ to a foreign company, particularly considering the QEQ's critical importance to the defence effort, the development process and the well-being of the citizens ?

## Agreement for the Build, Own, Operate and Transfer (BOOT) Port of Colombo, Sri Lanka.

- 1.1 Ministry of Shipping, Ports, Rehabilitation & Reconstruction of Sri Lanka, (GOSL)  
 1.2 Sri Lanka Port Authority ("SLPA")  
 1.3 South Asia Gateway Terminals Colombo Sri Lanka ("SAGT")

### Recitals

- 1.4 GOSL invited expressions of interest for development of the Port of Colombo  
 1.5 SAGT submitted a Proposal on 30 June 1995.  
 1.6 GOSL and SAGT signed a Letter of Intent on 20 February 1996.  
 1.7 The SLPA and SAGT agree on the objective terms and conditions for the expansion of the container terminal facilities at the Port of Colombo as contained in this concession.

### Definitions Interpretation

#### 4. Objective of Agreement

- 4.1 The Port of Colombo is geographically well positioned to provide container hub port services  
 4.2 The objective of the parties is to commercially maximise the use of the Port of Colombo as a container handling port through the expansion of its container terminal capacity and the provision of efficient container handling and associated port and customs services.

#### 5. Style of Agreement

- 5.1 SAGT to lease the QEQ area and marine area for the Outer Harbour development  
 5.2 SAGT to Build, Operate Own, Transfer the Terminals at the expiry of the concession (BOOT)

#### 6. Term of Agreement

- 6.1 130 years with extension if parties agree.

\*\*\*\*\*

#### Tariffs

- 24.1 SAGT has right to charge wharfage for its own accounts  
 24.2 SAGT to set tariff rates and structures on competitive basis whilst enabling SAGT to earn a commercial return on its investment and Colombo to be promoted.

#### 5 Employees

- 25.1 SAGT agrees to employ no more than 500 of the existing employees engaged at QEQ on terms and conditions to be detailed.

#### 27 Rent

- 27.1. SAGT will pay an annual rental to SLPA of US\$ 2

million for the lease

2. SAGT will pay SLPA a fee for each container handled by terminals in the Outer Harbour according to the following scale. Containers which are transhipped will attract only one fee charge.

TEU Range	US\$ per TEU
0 to 500,000	2
500,001 to 1,000,000	4
more than 1,000,000	6

### Competition

GOSL and SLPA will not in their own right or permit any other party to develop or operate any new container handling facilities in Sri Lanka unless the Terminals are unable to service the container volume demand.

1. The existing QEQ equipment will be transferred to SAGT by SLPA as their initial equity contribution of SLPA. The value of the QEQ equipment will be assessed by an independent international value SLPA will be entitled to that percentage of the stock of SAGT which the agreed value represents as a percentage of the total equity which is forecast to be required for the development of QEQ.

4. GOSL and SLPA agree that SAGT may secure debt as necessary through the pledging of the infrastructure equipment and other assets of the Terminals provided that the finance contracts incorporate the rights of GOSL and or SLPA as contained herein.

5. GOSL and SLPA agree that SAGT may use the Agreement as security for arranging debt and that debt providers have the right if SAGT defaults on its debt to assume the responsibilities and liabilities of SAGT under the agreement.

1. SAGT will be exempted from any and all taxes, duties and levies except for the Defence Levy on imported capital goods which will not exceed 2.0%

SAGT will be permitted to

23 1.3 remit dividends fees and capital without capital without restrictions, fees or penalties

23 1.4 pay interest and repay foreign loans without restriction, fees or penalties.

13.5 If GOSL terminates this Agreement early for national interest SAGT will be entitled to compensation as agreed or determined by an independent expert and assessed as follows:  
 13 5.1 Repay all loans, including termination costs and swap termination costs or take over finance liability.

13 5.2 Purchase the shares of SAGT with value being the sum of the market value of equipment and the present value of the cash flows projected for the balance of the concession period.

# A NEW POLITICAL ECONOMY

## For 21st Century Liberalism

Dayan Jayatilleka

Liberals have a choice to make as humanity passes through the gates of the new millennium: Liberal politics or neo liberal economics? Or, if you prefer, political liberalism or economic neo-liberalism? It is a stark choice, ineluctable and existential. Will the real liberalism please stand up?

The strength of liberalism resided in its appeal and its attractiveness. Liberalism resonates with every individual's sense of irreducible singularity. Together with the difficult but imperative realisation that no man is an island, there is also the irreducible assertion that he is not a mere contour ii: some endless archipelago, steppe or tundra. And the imperative need for that assertion. Liberalism's virtues of minimalism, flexibility and pluralistic tolerance strike a chord because, while they originated in the interests of particular socio-economic classes and were very much part of a class project, they reflected, perhaps quite accidentally, (such 'accidents' do happen) that which I would call not so much *la condition humaine* but *la condition anthropologique*. The anthropological condition : man is alone, even in his togetherness.

But above the tectonic depths of the anthropological man's lived reality, are the social and economic planes. And that is the beginning of the end of *essentialism*. 'Man' in general, 'man' in the abstract, man's 'essence', begins to blur, becomes diffused - and

fragments on the harsh terrain of the social and the economic. Concreteness intervenes.

No longer Man, then, but rich man, poor man. With concreteness, class. Liberalism appears to englobe that which is sundered from within and envelop those who do not live the same realities. Its cardinal sin is the myth that it would have us believe - *that all classes are created equal*. But this myth which bestows upon political and philosophical liberalism a bewitching naivete, assumes far less benign, even malignant forms of a deliberate lie, or worse still a cruel hoax, when it appears in the form of *economic liberalism*. Economic liberalism purports to *extend* the sovereignty of the individual already absolutised in political liberalism. But in the extension there is a sleight of hand. The free individual is substituted by free enterprise. The substitution then becomes subsumation and subordination. The freedom of the individual is transmogrified into the freedom of the *individual entrepreneur*. Poor 'Man', who believed himself not merely freed by liberalism but enthroned at the very centre of a liberal cosmos, now finds that above his head reigns forces which are far freer than he can ever dream to be: the *market* forces. Entities without a materiality, unassimilable by the human senses, invisible when even the forces of nature which enslaved him earlier were visible; factors endowed (by whom?)

with magic; a space that he cannot see in order to feel that he belongs to : the *marketplace*. Liberalism seeks to liberate man from the collectivist Leviathan and then delivers him into the prison of the impersonal. At least he could see the Commissar. The *sovereign* of *political* liberalism, man, the individual, becomes inverted into the *object* of *economic* liberalism. *In the free play of the market forces, some forces are freer than others!*

Between the promise of politico - philosophical liberalism and the fulfilment of economic neo-liberalism lie the ghettos of South central LA, the barrios of Sao Paulo, the slums of Calcutta. And after the forces of the marketplace have been at play, in their deserted playground, the Bloods and the Cripps, the Hells Angels with rocket launchers, the SWAT teams' snipers and the DEA with their flak-jackets and helicopters. And always and everywhere the kiddie hookers, the coke-heads and the crack babies. The chattering rhythm of rotor blades, the clatter of running feet, stifled sobs in the night, staccato voices on walkie-talkies, the clickclack of the shotgun slide, the endless echoes of ricochet, punctuate the sounds of liberalism's silence on inequality ... and exploitation.

And in the South, liberal civilisation impacts with Structural Adjustment Programmes and Cruise missiles in air-raid shelters, expresses itself in



blockades and helicopter gunship diplomacy in place of the old gunboat diplomacy. In the South, there is nothing liberal about liberalism, except its dispensing of advice and its use of firepower. In the South, liberalism's capacity for tolerance and accommodation of plurality, metamorphoses into the fanatical economic fundamentalism of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

The end of History never came in our South; here, where the majority of humanity lives. Here the contestation was never really between philosophical systems with grand totalisations. Here the struggle was always about determining one's own path, one's own trajectory. More metaphysically, it was about determining one's destiny ; more cynically it was about the right to suffer from one's own mistakes and madnesses. It was to do with that *right* - and liberalism was supposed to be above all, a doctrine of rights. The grand totalisation of Marxism was, in the South, only the most effective means to that end. Here History is what it was, from Columbus to William Calley, from Jallianwallabagh to Hiroshima, from Cortez and Pizzaro to Schwarzkopf and Messrs Helms and Britton. The beat - and the metanarrative - goes on.

Are political liberalism and economic neoliberalism in such symbiosis that they cannot be sundered? How does one explain then, the fact that the latter was most stringently practised be neo *conservatives* like Reagan and Thatcher and military dictators like Pinochet? So, the political and the economic in liberalism *are* separable - unless one believes that the political is a sham, to be dispensed with when the economic is within sight. If economic liberalism can be the handmaiden of political conservatism and dependent praetorian dictatorship, then surely political liberalism can be conjoined with an economic model that is not one of neoliberalism with its deification of market forces? The pluralism, tolerance, rationality and scepticism of politico-philosophical liberalism sits ill with the harsh, ruthless, fundamentalism of economic neoliberalism. 'Political power must be

limited through checks and balances' says the one; 'economic power and forces must be untrammelled' says the other. Man is the measure, says the former. No pain, no gain, is the sadistic slogan of the latter. The policy doctrine is even *called* 'shock therapy'. Milton Friedman meets the Maquis de Sade.

The characteristic virtues of political liberalism will be overrun or two flanks: by the elitist fundamentalism of economic neoliberalism and the populist-plebeian fundamentalism of the inevitable backlash it generates. These two fundamentalisms are evil twins; one cannot be called into being without conjuring up the other.

Politico-philosophical and cultural liberalism deserves a better home. It docks better with a kinder, gentler economic system which has pluralism built into it: a mixed economy, of a Social democratic sort. Or is it that Liberalism is choosy about the

company it keeps - meaning Pinochet was OK, sort of, (i.e. his economics), but Gregor Gysi is not? And what of the fatuous distinction between little 'l' liberalism and capital 'L' liberalism? The statement that the only genuine liberalism is that of the latter variety, that one cannot trust the liberalism of those who are not members of a Liberal party or organisation, reeks of political correctness. Such purist pronouncements and those sectarians who make them bring to mind Sartre's line, (I believe in 'Literature and Engagement'), about 'the young imbecile who says, "if you want to be committed in literature, what are you waiting for instead of joining the Communist Party?" Political liberalism must rendezvous with Social Democracy (and democratic Socialism, possibly of the 'reform Communist' variety). The new Millennium warrants a new synthesis. The old centre is no longer holding. A new one awaits creation.

*Contd from page 1*

**MEDIA WARS**

The other "war" was also over, President Kumaratunga added. "The government has not only ended state-sponsored terrorism, it had ensured the freedom of expression and media freedom". Such was the PA's commitment to press freedom that it has provoked many a reputed international organisation to lodge its indignant protests with each callous use of the Emergency and the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA). The most recent example was of course the harassment of a TNL producer, Ishini Wickremasinghe, a niece, as it happened, of the Opposition Leader, Mr.Ranil Wickremasinghe. And this outrageous conduct by a regime led by a Prime Minister who made history as the world's first woman prime minister, and by a President, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, her daughter. The UN's newly appointed "special rapporteur" on women, Dr.Radhika Coomaraswamy, a Sri Lankan, told the press "the Johannesburg principle which spells out press freedom, explicitly rules out the use of criminal prosecution in cases of press freedom". The PTA, said Ms.Coomaraswamy, "should be repealed". Right now, there are editors of national newspapers who face the serious charge of criminal defamation. In a strongly worded protest Mr.Robert Menard, Secretary-General *Reporteurs sans Frontiers* pointed out that no defence ministry official or any responsible spokesman had denied the reports.

**GRAND STRATEGY**

President Kumaratunga's grand strategy has now been stated by the author herself. Keep hammering the LTTE and reduce its military capacities to a level which would make the threat a "manageable" terrorism. The savings from the huge defence vote could then be invested in "productive projects" that could help the PA contain the frightening challenge of youth unemployment, first of all in the (Sinhala) south, the theatre of the first serious youth insurgency in Sri Lanka, the JVP revolt.

What saving? The defence budget is as large as ever. "The Peace Dividend" that the policy planners of the PA had pinned their faith, can be included with 'the disappeared ones'.

"Trapped by slipping revenues and mounting expenditure, the Sri Lankan government has had little choice but to speed up privatisation once again. The continuing economic drift was unveiled with the budget for 1997" said the *ECONOMIST* Intelligence Unit. Politics or Economics? The EIU said: "Even the modest privatisation program envisaged in the budget would be thwarted. President Kumaratunga's Left-wing coalition allies are bitterly opposed".

The EIU has added that almost all the trade unions are restless.

This then is the broader context in which the President has felt the need to test the PA's strength at the local government elections.

# CREATIVE USE OF CHAOS

Lakshman Jayatilleke

*(The author, who is Professor of Mechanical Engineering at Peradeniya University, is currently Chairman of the National Education Commission. He was the Chairman of the Youth Commission appointed by President Premadasa. Prof. G.L.Pieris was his Deputy).*

## UPS AND DOWNS OF LARGE SYSTEMS

Sometimes we watch our superiors, managers and leaders do things which we do not approve or cannot comprehend; and even feel shocked about the things they say or do. Some of us venture to imagine that things will come to a head, or the system will come to an impasse. The pessimists among us visualise companies, organisations and even countries come crashing down. This kind of spectacular thing does not happen in real life. Only balloons blow up, and rubber bands snap like that. Small groups centred around one person also disband and disappear when that person is no more.

Countries and large organisations do not collapse to the ground in that way. If they are not well managed they get into difficult situations, run down and go into crises of all sorts. They may change shape significantly after a crisis. But usually they recover and go on to attain new peaks of performance. In the process the top managers and the leaders at the highest level may change or are even

got rid of. The failures are usually seen as the unworkability of the schemes dreamt up by them. Contemporary history and the course of centrally planned socialist societies and totalitarian regimes show ample evidence of this fact.

Hence, despite the day to day bungling and apparent mismanagement things are sure to go on. This is in the nature of large systems. They will degenerate at times. They may even look run down and frayed at the edges. Eventually they will also pick up and regenerate themselves. The ups and downs are inevitable and are to be expected. Individuals cannot be held responsible for downturns unless they do monumentally foolish and rash things which can adversely affect and hurt many persons directly.

## HUMAN POTENTIAL

The recovery of countries after being practically wiped out by war and natural disasters reflects this true nature. Even if a few humans are left intact, they will band together, and keep on creating various devices and organising themselves into systems with increasing complexity. The Genesis of the human race starting from a pair in the Garden of Eden is not a once and for all happening, but is symbolic of the incessant building up of human society. Small groups of people migrating to and colonising continents to build up powerful

nations is evidence of the true potential of humans. They can invent the tools and find the resources to fashion the world to their design.

The creation of organisations, devices and artefacts of ever increasing complexity is an incremental and self-generating process. After these have been in operation or use for sometime they will be seen as unsatisfactory or inadequate by the users. The users will also renew their vision of what the future world should be, based on their experiences of what they have now. The dissatisfaction with the present and the vision of the future will together give rise to problems and contradictions. These will be solved through new strategies and creations. Unless the entire human race gets wiped out, we can expect an unending chain of degeneration followed by a new genesis and regeneration.

## TWO FUNDAMENTAL ASPECTS

This chain-like or cyclic arrangement of degeneration followed by regeneration is motivated by two fundamental aspects of the human spirit. The first aspect is what makes us restricted, conservative and cling to the *status quo*. The second is the urge to open out, to let go and to venture out and roam or wander freely. Being comfortable in doing what we can do well, being bound by rigid self-made rules, and being over cautious are manifestations of the

first aspect. Being adventurous, unconventional, and questioning of old values are manifestations of the second.

There are also environmental factors that reinforce our tendency to hold on to what we have and to resist change; and those factors that make us give up, reject the present and to move on. For instance, praise and admiration make us cling to the present position, whilst criticism and condemnation make us wish that we were at some other place and time. There are yet others factors, any or all of which may either reinforce or counter the inner motivation to be or not to be what we are now.

### YIN-YANG AND DHARMA CHAKRA

Both the Chinese and Indians have symbolic representations of the cyclic nature of human existence. The *yin-yang* symbol of the Chinese shows how two opposite natures take turns in dominating the scene. It also tells us that when one nature is apparently in full control, the germ of the other nature is at work quietly, growing and eventually taking control, with the former nature virtually disappearing.

This interplay of the opposites is reflected in the Chinese social doctrine which has the two fundamental aspects of nature and of society represented by Taoism and Confucianism. The former is the free flowing all embracing and even anarchic aspect symbolised by water and air. The latter is the highly legalistic, unwavering and regimental approach symbolised by a rock and a well trained army. The principle of *yin-yang* requires that when one aspect is holding sway in peak form, people start discussing the other aspect and becoming alive to it through story-telling and discussion. The society is subtly oriented to the arrival of the other aspect.

The Indian *dharma-chakra* (the wheel of law) also symbolises the dynamic interplay of opposites with no

extreme aspect or position staying on top all the time. It also conveys the idea that there is no pure and single aspect but a polarisation of any nature or disposition of an arrangement into two opposite qualities. At any particular time, one aspect is recognised because it stands out in contrast to the other or is dominant. This situation is bound to change with time as the wheel keeps on turning.

### POLARISATION

Organising things into groups or heaps on some basis or other always results in a *polarisation*, with the two polarities co-existing, not far from each other. One pole or aspect can dominate in our eyes: but in reality the opposite pole does exist somewhere, and can have similarly significant impacts some time or other. A magnet is an example of this polarisation. The two poles are produced by the act of magnetising. They are usually at the two ends of the magnet. Although at either end, one pole does not exist without the other.

Another familiar example is making something or some place clean or pure. **Purity** can only be attained by separating out impurities into another heap. That heap also lies somewhere in the vicinity and can never be got rid of absolutely. The heap of impurities is bound to come into prominence and at least become a big nuisance to us in the course of time. It may even come to the point of demanding our full attention, and distract us from enjoying the purity and cleanliness that was created by throwing away the impurities.

It is an important idea that if we were to create a *world* of pure and clean things by selectively picking them up, and leaving behind or dumping impure things out of our sight as waste, then out there another *world* is created out of the waste. This world of waste and impure things is usually a uglier and more extensive than the clean one because it not

conveniently arrange waste into nice heaps. Often we are forced to scatter it far and wide to keep it manageable. As a result garbage, trash, smoke, ash, various effluents, and riffraff of all sorts get collected in marginal locations. Urbanisation, modernisation and upgrading of a neighbourhood always exhibits this feature of *two worlds*. It is noteworthy that the second world contains many human beings who also form a part of the urban *waste*.

### CONCEPTS AND ANTI-CONCEPTS

Polarisation is also a feature of the basic problem arising from conceptualisation which we usually resort to in order to make the world comprehensible and manageable. We form a concept by selecting a set of properties. Things that do not have the particular set of properties are excluded from this concept. These excluded things form what we may conveniently call the *anti-concept*.

Thus each concept its anti-concept in its *neighbourhood*. It is also in our mind although we may not be conscious of its presence. Our life gets complicated only when we actually group things together or accept them on the basis of a Concept. Ignoring or not being aware of the anti-concept does not mean that it disappears altogether. It is bound to be around as a part of the reality, whether we like it or not.

### LIMITATIONS OF THE ACADEMIC APPROACH

The course of history of human organisations, including nations, is not determined by simple cause-effect relationship of the type worked out by academic scientists, historians, sociologists and political scientists. They cannot be described, analysed and understood in terms of such simple relationship either. These cause-effect relationship, and theories based on them, invariably have built in conceptualisations and assumptions about them. The

academic intellectual can use the theories only in academic discourse. They do not have much value as devices for making predictions about the future.

In the process of abstracting and reducing situations to manageable size, the sequence of mental operations is: firstly, we form the concepts; secondly, we link them up to form our theories through identifying various principles, cause-effect relationships, axioms, assumptions, and other propositions. Every one of us whether we have received an academic education or not, deals with world through this process.

### ANTI-THEORIES AND UNEXPECTED OUTCOMES

Hence every theory has, as its unavoidable implication, an *anti-theory* which is woven out of the jumble of the opposites of the concepts we have picked up for weaving our own theory. The qualities we leave out and which form the anti-concepts are not always things we can see and describe. They are often left out because we are incentive to them due to our own limitations. Therefore the anti-theories which we do not have, are about blind areas. We go wrong when we start making predictions about the world using our known pet theories. The things we have left out are also actually at work producing outcomes which we cannot even dream of.

### BUILDING-BLOCK CONCEPTS, BLACK HOLES, GREY AREAS.

We can see manifestations of this polarisation in the so-called *anti-matter* which has qualities that cannot be grasped through normally accepted theories that have been constructed by the scientists. The accepted theories have a limited number of concepts as the basic building blocks. The *building block* concepts, such as tiny sub-atomic

spheres and waves, are those having forms and qualities which the scientists are able to imagine, and can discern through the senses and through devices which detect qualities of things for discernment through the senses. The real sub-atomic things, if there are any, need *not* resemble anything that we can actually see or feel, like billiard balls and waves in water.

The fact remains that every bit of the universe has qualities which are beyond our grasp. Therefore, for every concept we form because we can discern the relevant details, there is an *anti-concept* which has qualities and properties which we either cannot discern or do not wish to discern. Thus matter which is in a form that is discernible and can be theorised about humans, has to co-exist with anti-matter which is beyond our theorising and hence beyond our comprehension. Nonetheless, the anti-matter is also real, and is around us and, most probably, in us. This is why there are *black holes* and *grey areas* both in what we seen and our understanding of it, which are unavoidable and unidentifiable, but nevertheless, real.

### OUR OWN LIMITATION

This is not a statement about the universe or parts of its such as countries in general, but about our own limitations in dealing with the universe and its history through our limited theorising abilities. This limitation comes about due to our efforts to describe and understand things that we do not know about in terms of things and ideas that we think we know. This creates problems only for ourselves. Despite these problem we have, the universe and what is happening in it will go on. Only our concepts and theories about them will arise, persist for some time and then fail.

### THE ANTI-SELF

An interesting point worth noting here is that the universe also includes

each one of us. We deal with ourselves too in terms of a *self-concept* which must be having an *anti-self*, diffuse but lurking somewhere, unknown to ourselves. Usually the anti-self does not create problems for us, although it might show up once in a way to our surprise. Pathologies arise if the anti-self starts controlling our daily actions. Multiple personalities, and schizophrenia are perhaps the instances of an anti-self up showing up in a hardened form too often.

### COMING TO TERMS WITH CHANGE

The unfolding of history will be unpredictable because we have to always approach and interpret it through theories which have their inherent limitations. Nevertheless, for practical purposes the course of events in any situations are best approached through a mix of theorising and feeling with awareness. It would be advantageous to grasp them holistically in terms of circular linkage schemes such as the *law of dependent origination* and the two symbolisms of *yin-yang* and *dharma-chakra* mentioned earlier. Through such approach we are made ready to accept change and expect the unexpected, although we cannot make accurate theoretical predictions. It also enables us to transcend mental impasses that we create for ourselves as a result of theorising dogmatically and trying to create the world according to our own design.

### STRANGENESS AND UNPREDICTABILITY

We are inherently unable to fully observe and understand social processes and life processes. This is because our recognising, thinking and understanding is based on our own mental store of concepts, background experiences and information. This store is cannot be exhaustive. The contents will always be limited in number and extent. Therefore trying to figure out what

Contd on page 21

# VOICES FROM BELOW

## JANASAVIYA RESEARCH FINDINGS

### SECTION I

1) This provides certain basic demographic data. (Note: The sample for some of the entries is slightly smaller than the general sample because the relevant information is unavailable for the Kalutara District and certain AGA divisions in Galle and Hambantota districts.)

- i) No. of males as a % of the total population - 52.3%  
No. of females as a % of the total population - 47.7%
- ii) Adults (over 18) as a % of the total population - 57.2%.  
% of males over 18 - 49.8%.  
% of females over 18 - 50.2%.
- iii) Average size of a family - 4.6%.

### 2) Occupational patterns of the poor as indicated by the occupation of the head of the household.

- i) Farmer/cultivator - 37.6%.
- ii) Labourer/Worker (including casual labourers) 34.3%.
- iii) Self employed (those engaged in small scale business and trade and occupations such as carpenters, electricians etc.,) - 13.1%.
- iv) Unemployed/No response - 6.7%.
- v) Plantation worker - 3.2%.
- vi) Employed by others (often service secure jobs such as drivers) - 3%.
- vii) Elderly and dependent - 1.7%.
- viii) Others 0.4%.

\* See Chart (01)

This shows that the majority are engaged in the so called traditional occupations such as agriculture or work as hired labourers or industrial workers. Only a small segment are engaged in small scale business/trade. Another interesting point is the fact that the absolute majority of the respondents are employed in some capacity or another. This gives the lie to the belief that the poor are lazy layabouts and welfare burns who do not do any work and depend on government handouts.

### 3) Educational levels of the poor as indicated by the highest education level achieved by any member of the household. (Sample size - 1638)

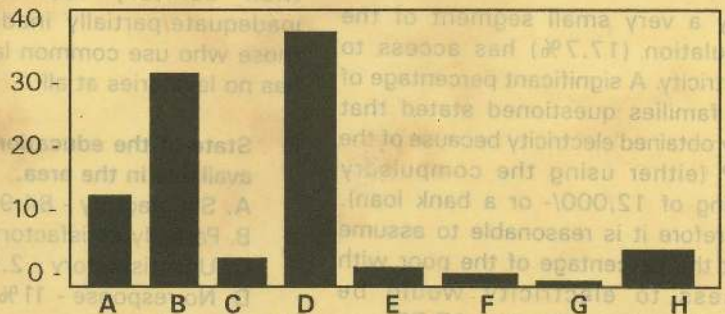
- A. No education (all members of the household are uneducated) - 2.1%.
- B. Grade 1 - 5 - 28.6%.
- C. Grade 6 - 9 - 40.6%.
- D. O Levels - 20.6%.
- E. A Levels - 4.6%.
- F. University/Tertiary education - 0.3%.
- G. Unspecified/No response - 3.2%.

\* See Chart (02)

The educational levels of the poor cannot be regarded as satisfactory because a majority of families do not have even a single member who has studied up to Ordinary Levels, while only a few families have at least one member with a tertiary education (0.3%). Therefore it is safe to assume that there is some correlation between

Chart 01

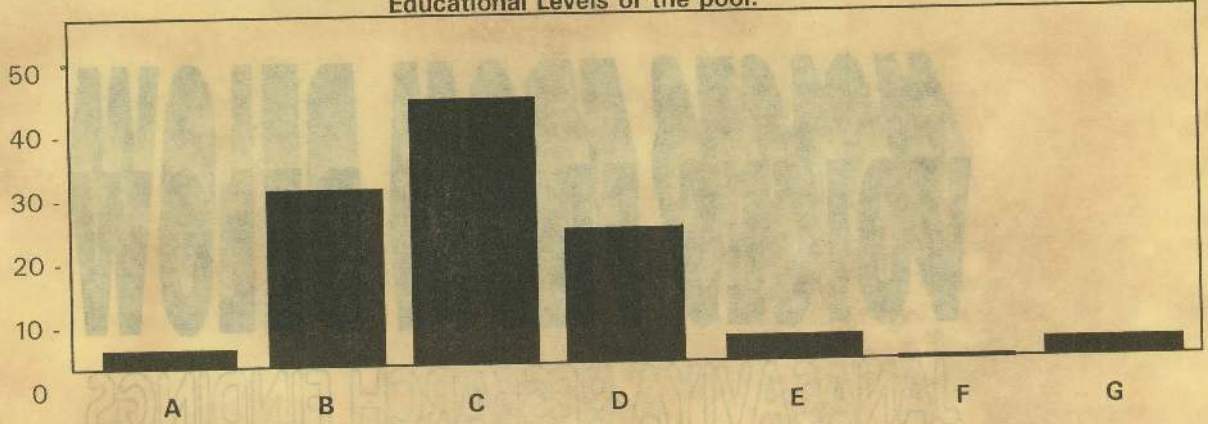
Occupational patterns of the poor as indicated by the occupation of the head of the household



- A - Self Employed- 13.1%
- B - Labourer/worker- 34.3%
- C - Plantation worker- 3.2%
- D - Farmer/cultivator-37.6%
- E - Employed by others- 3.0%
- F - Elderly and dependent -1.7%
- G - Other- 0.4%
- H - Unemployed -6.7%

Educational Levels of the poor.

Chart 02



low educational levels and poverty (and the difficulty in escaping the trap of poverty). This therefore is an area which needs urgent attention. (President Premadasa's Free School Uniform and Sevana Sarana Foster Parents Scheme were attempts to address this problem).

4) **Availability of basic facilities : (Electricity, Water, Education, Health & Roads**  
(Note: the families were asked to decide whether the facilities were adequate/ satisfactory or not).

- i) A. 17.7% of the population have electricity.
- B. 62.2% of the population have satisfactory access to clean water.
- C. 62.1% of the population have adequate sanitary facilities.

The sample size is 1638 because 362 of the respondents did not reply to this question.

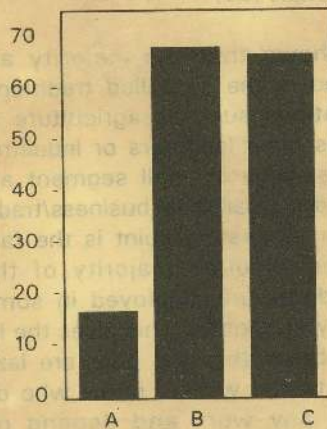
\* See Chart (03)

Only a very small segment of the population (17.7%) has access to electricity. A significant percentage of the families questioned stated that they obtained electricity because of the JSP (either using the compulsory saving of 12,000/- or a bank loan). Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the percentage of the poor with access to electricity would be considerably smaller than 17.7%.

Though 62.2% of the population considered their access to clean water to be satisfactory, only a very

Chart 03

Availability of basic facilities.



insignificant number of them (less than 2%) have access to pipe borne water. The majority own private wells or tube wells. Those families (37.8%) forced to rely on common wells/pipes or streams/river/waterfalls for water considered their access to clean water to be unsatisfactory/ partially satisfactory.

The 62.1% who regard their sanitary facilities to be adequate are those with private lavatories. Those who consider their sanitary facilities to be inadequate/partially inadequate are those who use common lavatories or has no lavatories at all.

- ii) **State of the educational facilities available in the area.**
  - A. Satisfactory - 46.7%
  - B. Partially satisfactory - 7.9%
  - C. Unsatisfactory 1.15%

\* See Chart (05)

- iii) **State of the health facilities available in the area. According to the responses received this had to**

be divided into 2 categories.

Category I :-

- A. Satisfactory - 46.7%
- B. Partially satisfactory - 7.9%
- C. Unsatisfactory 1.15%

\* See Chart (05)

Chart 04

State of the educational facilities available in the area.

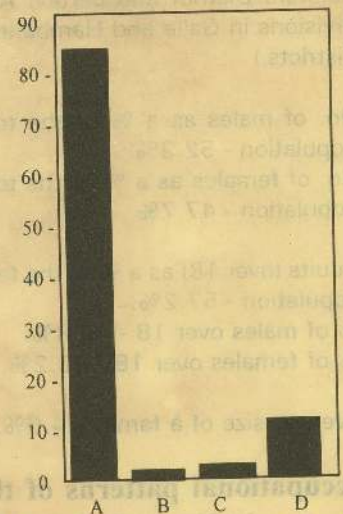
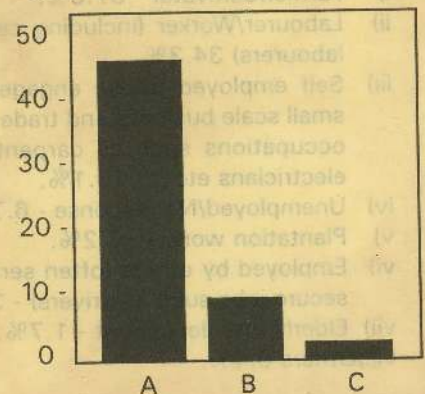


Chart 05

state of the health facilities in the area



**Category II :**

A. Totally dependent on government hospitals often situated at least 1 or 2 kilometres away from home - 40%.

B. Access to private clinics as well - 2.8%.

iv) **Access to roads/transportation facilities as indicated by the distance from the house to the nearest main road (bus route).**

A. Less than ½ km - 28.9%.

B. ½ km to (and including 1 km) - 41.4%.

C. More than 1 km but less than or equal to 1 ½ km - 10.7%.

D. More than 1 ½ km but less than or equal to 2km - 8.9%.

E. More 2 km - 3.9%.

F. No response - 6.2%.

\* See Chart (6)

Chart 06

Access to road transportation facilities

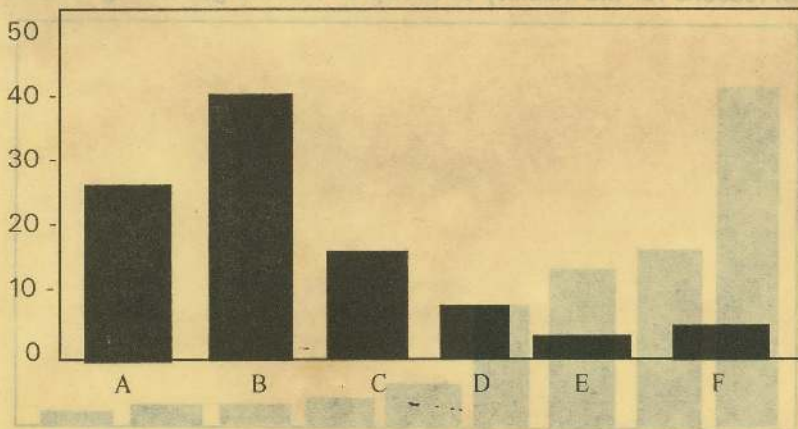
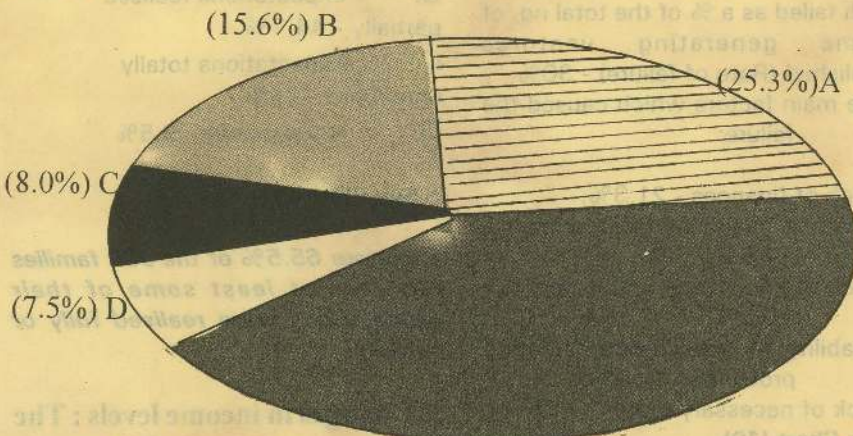


Chart 07



**5) Ownership of land:**

A. Less than or equal to ¼ acre - 25.3%.

B. More than ¼ acre but less than or equal to ½ acre - 15.6%.

C. More than ½ acre but less than or equal to 1 acre - 8%.

D. More than 1 acre - 7.5%.

E. No response - 43.7%.

Note : More than 50% of the poor families own at least a small plot of land.

\* See Chart (7)

**SECTION II**

Several key indicators will be used to evaluate the performance of the JSP.

**1. Socio-economic impact of the JSP.**

70.5% of the families questioned felt that the JSP caused a positive socio-economic impact on their lives. The breakdown is given below.

A. 82.1% felt that the JSP caused an improvement in their income levels.

B. 95.7% felt that their nutrition levels improved because of the JSP.

C. 93% felt that their health improved as a result of the JSP benefits.

D. 23.9% felt that their education and training levels improved because of the JSP.

E. 58.1% felt that their housing conditions improved as a result of the JSP.

\* See Chart (8)

**2. Socio-psychological impact of the JSP.**

The yardstick is two fold:

- a. Whether the JSP caused a decrease in the marginalization of the poor in society.
- b. Whether it enhanced their sense of self confidence and self esteem.

Since it was not possible to phrase this question directly (because of the intangible nature of these changes), often an indirect method was adopted. Still a large % of those questioned found it difficult to comprehend the question which accounts for the considerable number of 'no responses'.

\* 35% of the families felt that they became less marginalised in society as a result of the JSP (No response 46.5%)

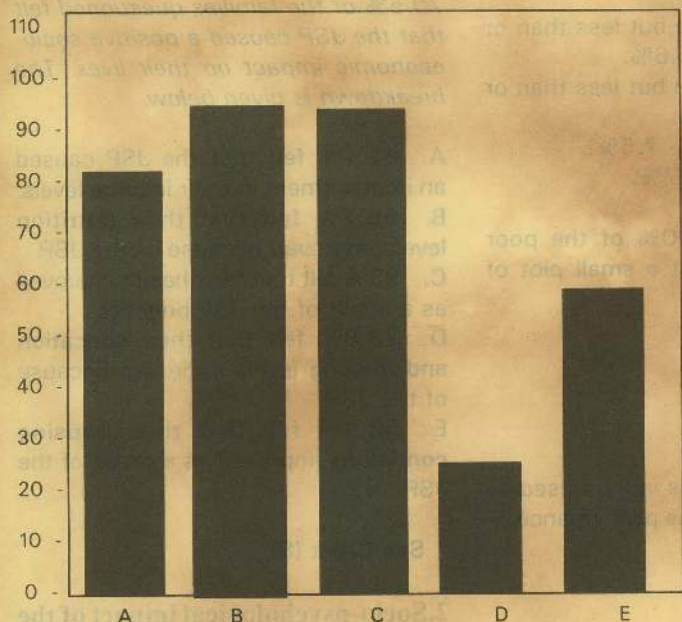
\* 76.7% of the families felt that their sense of self confidence and self esteem increased because of the JSP. (No response - 10.4%).

**3. Setting up of income generating ventures by Janasaviya recipients.**

An important objective of the JSP was to integrate the poor into the

Chart 08

Socio-economic impact of the JSP



\* 20.5% of JSP families were able to obtain credit facilities from banks and other financial institutions.

4. Expectations of Janasaviya families The purpose was to discover what each JSP family expected from JSP and to what extent these expectations were realised.

- i) Setting up a new income generating venture/upgrading existing income generating venture/improving level of income - 45.1%
- ii) Building/upgrading house - 19.1%
- iii) Achieving a high standard of living - 8.1%

A. Expectations realised fully - 21.4%

development process largely through the setting up of self employment/income generating ventures.

\* 13.4% of families succeeded in setting up some form of income generating venture.

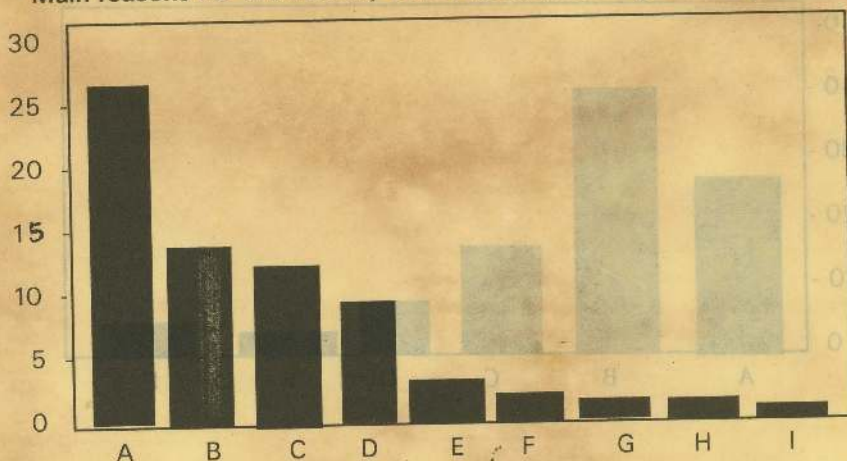
\* The main reasons for the inability to set up an income generating venture :

- A. Lack of finances - 25.9%.
- B. Already employed/engaged in an income generating venture - 13.7%.
- C. Available funds spent on building/upgrading house - 12.5%.
- D. Lack of knowledge and expertise - 8.8%.
- E. Lack of other facilities (Specially land) - 2.1%.
- F. Absence of a person capable of taking the initiative (this was specially applicable in the case of women headed households) - 1.6%
- G. Loan phobia (fear to borrow) - 0.6%.
- H. Personal/psychological factors - 0.6%.
- I. Available funds spent on educating children - 0.5%.

\* See Chart (9)

Chart 09

Main reasons for the inability to set up an income generating venture.



\* No. of income generating ventures which failed as a % of the total no. of income generating ventures established (Rate of failure) - 30%.

\* The main factors which caused the failure:

- A. Lack of finances - 21.3%.
- B. Death/ill health of farm animals - 17.5%.
- C. Lack of knowledge and expertise - 16.3%.
- D. Inability to break even/marketing problems - 11.3%.
- E. Lack of necessary inputs - 6.3%.

\* See Chart (10)

- B. Expectations realised partially - 44.1%
- C. Expectations totally unrealised - 25%
- D. No response - 9.5%

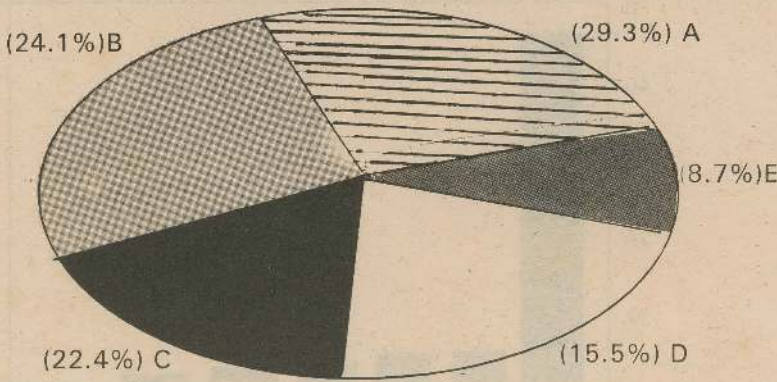
\* See Chart (11)

Therefore 65.5% of the JSP families felt that at least some of their expectations were realised fully or partially.

5. Changes in income levels : The purpose was two fold :



Chart 10 Main factors which caused the failure



\* See Chart (12)

ii) Changes in the income levels between 1992-'93 and 1995 (November/December) and 1996 (January/February).

- A. Improvement = 21%
- B. No change = 35.5%
- C. Retrogression = 34.3%
- D. No response = 11.2%

\* See Chart (13)

54.3% of the families managed to improve/maintain the relatively higher income levels achieved during the period of JSP benefit.

**6. Attitude of the JSP recipients towards the JSP and the way it was implemented.**

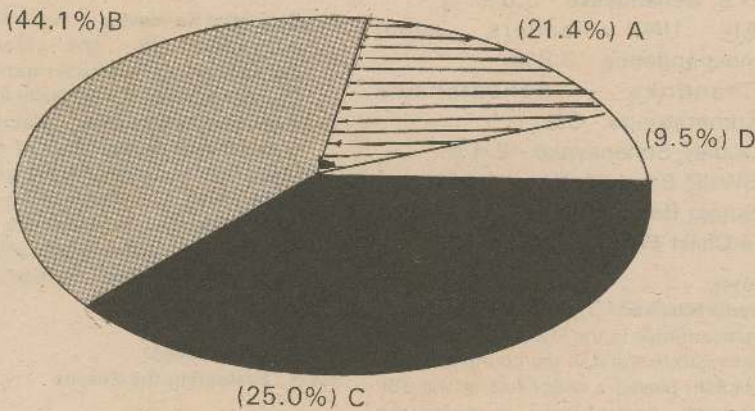
i) **69.3%** of families still have faith and confidence in the JSP. **75.7%** of the families want the JSP/JSP like programme to be reactivated in an improved form.

ii) **1.1%** of the families feel there was political interference in the JSP process.

**82.3%** of the families feel that there was no political interference in the JSP process.

iii) a) The role of Cooperatives :

Chart 11



- i) To discover the current income levels of the JSP families.
- ii) To ascertain how many families succeeded in at least maintaining the relatively higher income levels achieved during the period of JSP benefits.

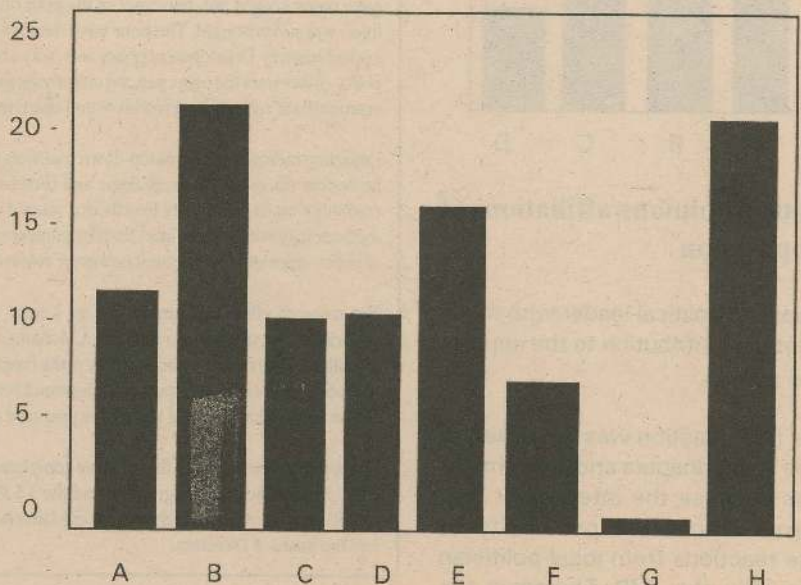
- equal to 2500/- - 16.8%
- F. More than 2500/- but less than or equal to 5000/- - 6.5%
- G. More than 5000/- - 0.9%
- H. No response - 22.6%

(Note: People are often reluctant to give accurate responses to question on income. The possibility that some of the respondents deliberately understated their incomes should be borne in mind.)

i) Current Income levels.

- A. Less than or equal to 700/- - 10.7%
- B. More than 700/- but less than or equal to 1000/- - 21.3%
- C. More than 1000/- but less than or equal to 1500/- - 10.1%
- D. More than 1500/- but less than or equal to 2000/- - 11.1%
- E. More than 2000/- but less than or

Chart 12 Current income levels



- A. Satisfactory - 79.2%.
- B. Partially satisfactory - 5.5%.
- C. Unsatisfactory - 10.4%.
- D. No response - 4.9%.

b) The role of Grama Niladharis, Praja Sahayakas, Sahayaka Kandayam<sup>1</sup> and various government officials.

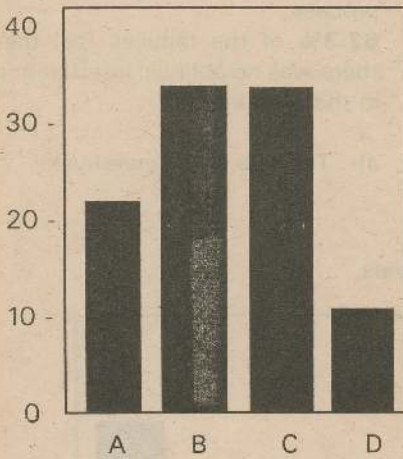
- A. Satisfactory - 84.3%.
- B. Partially satisfactory - 4.2%.
- C. Unsatisfactory - 2.9%.
- D. No response - 8.6%.

iv) Attitude of the JSP families towards the non receipt of the lump sum of 25000/-

- A. Disappointed - 56.3%.
- B. Partially Disappointed - 0.7%.
- C. Not disappointed - 13.7%.
- D. Still have faith and expectations that they will get this money someday - 9.1%.
- E. No Response - 20.2%

Chart 13

Changes in the income levels between 1992-93 and 1996



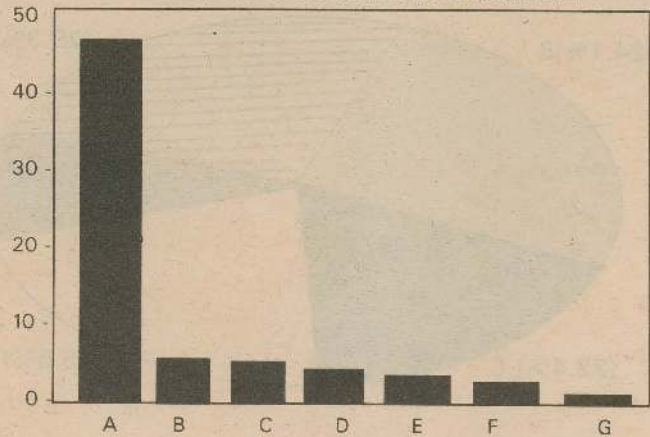
## 7) Political opinions/affiliations of the population

Who was the political leader who made the greatest contribution to the country and the people.

(Note - This question was not asked at all in the Anuradhapura and Trincomalee districts because the interviewer was concerned about the possibility of adverse reactions from local politician - particularly the JVP. Therefore the

Chart 14

Political opinions/affiliations of the population



sample size is 1835).

- A. Ranasinghe Premadasa - 47.4%
- B. D.S. Senanayake - 3.8%.
- C. All UNP leaders since independence - 3.8%.
- D. Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunge - 3%.
- E. Dudley Senanayake - 2.4%.
- F. SWRD Bandaranaike - 1.9%.
- G. Sirima Bandaranaike - 0.3%.

\* See Chart (14)

Footnotes:

- 1 Grama Niladhari - The official government representative in the lowest and smallest administrative unit in the country. Grama Niladhari played a major role in the JSP process, particularly in selecting Janasaviya recipients.

**Praja Sahayakas** - Paid full time social mobilisers and trainers drawn from local communities.

**Sahayake Kandayam** - According to the definition of the Janasaviya Commissioner's Department "SK or support team is the formally legitimised community core group, selected by the poor entirely on the basis of trust. The team is selected through actual performance. The recommended composition is : 10 members ; 5 to be women ; 7 to be Janasaviya members ; 6 to be youth between the ages of 18-30 years.

TO BE CONTINUED

Next : Evaluating the Results

Almost a half century of independence and over 65 years of democratic politics. More than six decades of the Left movement; over 50 years of the university based left academia. Two decades of off-campus progressive research institutes and social scientists associations. And all the while, none of the above - from economic planners for democratic governments/parties to votaries of 'subaltern studies' - once sought the view from below. On the infrequent occasions that the poor were studied, they were the objects of research, as one would regard insects under the microscope - mere raw material for the 'poverty studies industry', the output of which was for the export market or for the collection of academic credentials and the furtherance of careers. The voices of the poor were never sought out; the views of the poor on economic policies and practices which vitally affected their lives, was never sought. The poor were deemed to be incapable of expressing anything worthwhile on such exalted matters. Development policy was 'way above' the heads of poor; the poor were way 'below' the level of policy - these were the unspoken, yet underlying assumptions, shared from Right to radical Left, from conservative economists to robust Third Worldists and chauvinistic advocates of 'national ideology and a national economy'.

Departing radically from this top-down tradition, the Premadasa Centre's research programme endeavoured to be bottom-up, consultative, dialogic and therefore an attempt at *democratising research*. While it stakes its credibility on its conformity to orthodox scientific research methods, it attempts to combine such mainstream methodology with a 'mass line', thereby pioneering the extension and application of the mass line into the area of policy-oriented development economic research.

The research effort was undertaken by a team comprising U.G.Tilakarathne, Hasantha Srilal Hettiarachchi, Senarathne Ponnampereuma and S.H.A.Mohamed, under the guidance of Tisarane Gunasekara and Dayan Jayatilaka. The research subcommittee of the Premadasa Centre functioned as a panel of consultants and consisted of Bradman Weerakoon (Chairman), Desmond Fernando, PC, and Susil Sirivardhana, Tisarane Gunasekara and Dayan Jayatilaka. The final report was prepared and written by Tisarane Gunasekara and Dayan Jayatilaka.

The research project is the first of three completed by the Centre. The other two research projects deal with the 200 Garment Factories Programme and the 1.5 Million Houses Programme. The three comprehensive reports constitute an overall research programme launched by the Chairman of the Premadasa Centre, B.Sirisena Cooray and the Board of Directors.

# IS ART ENDING?

# ART

# IN THE 21ST CENTURY

H.L.D.Mahindapala

*(A senior Sri Lankan Journalist, the author is the former Editor, Sunday Observer)*

Another disturbing question which threatens to undermine the future of art concerns the superabundance of creative products. Taking even a brief glance at the multitudinous ways in which the human situation has been expressed in various art forms, is it not fair to ask : Has not art exhausted itself ? And is not this exhaustion a terminal affliction? These questions assume that art has explored the entire gamut of human experience which leaves only repetitions to be reworked under different cultures in different times. If the novel is to be taken as an example, what is there to be said after the panoramic views presented by the great novelists like Tolstoy, Thomas Mann, Dostoevsky etc ? Milan Kundera underscored this when he wrote in *Testaments Betrayed* that most novelists today "say nothing new, have no aesthetic ambition, bring no change to our understanding of man or to novelistic form, are each one like the next." Perhaps, in the future there could be a few more variations in techniques aided by advancing technology. At best, the future could only find a new way of saying the same old thing. If the substance is the same, what matters if the style changes like fashions in the market place ? Would it not then confirm the fears of the end of the traditional creativity expressed exclusively through the arts

? Does this not foreshadow the coming death of the arts ? Has not the creative imagination shifted dramatically to the field of science where exciting concepts are expanding the frontiers of knowledge and human experience through the language of mathematics? Will not our new world view — including, of course, the cultural values derived from it — be determined by physicists and biologists revealing whole new universes that exist beyond the known limits of sub-atomic and cosmic "boundaries" ? Is not science fiction a more stimulating and fascinating means of understanding and relating to future possibilities ? Will not this relegate the arts to a past which will retain some nostalgia only for the romantics ? Does this not mean that a significant part of the cultural baggage of our glorified past will be dumped unceremoniously as archival remnants in deserted museums ? Or, for that matter, what use will our arts be to a future Columbus and his cosmonauts exploring new worlds in outer space ?

Critical differences are bound to emerge in the answers to these questions. It is at this point that critics will display their aesthetic, cultural and political values. Perhaps, a radical futuristic answer may even have to abandon the important place given to

man in this cold, indifferent and amoral universe. It is possible that a Stephen Hawking may stumble upon a discovery which may open up exciting new universes, confirming the belief in the untapped higher potential of homo sapiens. Or our faith may shift to a superior culture of an advanced civilisation among extra-terrestrials ? Perhaps, it could be neither and science may reveal the undiscovered laws of GUT (Grand Unified Theory), or TOE (Theory of Everything) which may provide a chosen intellectual elite the ultimate knowledge to be in command of the known universe ! Stephen Hawking's bold prediction is that it is possible to solve the riddle of the universe within the next twenty years. Yet who knows what the future holds ? History is so open-ended that we are condemned to spend the rest of our days awaiting the next unexpected move in the unending unravelling of the space-time continuum without any reliable guidelines from the past. Only the dim ray of hope put out by science points to the unknown future.

We have long passed the time when art, philosophy and religion grappled exclusively with the Big Questions that baffled mankind. Their abstract descriptions have given way to the precise prescriptions of science. Physicist Paul Davies, Professor of Natural Philosophy at Adelaide University, Australia recently wrote that "...scientists are now tackling many of the age-old questions of existence, topics that were formerly the exclusive preserve of religion, art and literature. The origin of life, the nature of time, consciousness and the human self, the ultimate origin and the fate of the cosmos — even the meaning of physical reality itself have entered the scientific agenda. These investigations have deep implications for all human beings, by casting light on who we are and what our place in the universe may be." (The Australian Magazine, October 19-20, 1996). Quoting George Steiner he adds that "science has now seized the high ground of human intellectual endeavour, leaving the arts floundering and looking irrelevantly self-indulgent." Reviving C. P. Snow's plea to synthesise the two separate and competing cultures, Prof. Davies says

: "It grieves me to witness this war between the arts and sciences. As a passionate supporter of the arts, I have long urged a rapprochement, if not a reintegration, of the two cultures. This schism between them, so damaging to Western intellectual life, has only worsened since British novelist C. P. Snow bemoaned it in 1959." Proposing a way out he suggests: "Why not merge the science and arts festivals into a single high-profile cultural event — starting with the new millenium?"

The decline in the humanities is underlined by the fact that western academia are downgrading these studies as unaffordable luxuries, or as socially irrelevant subjects. Consequently, the vice-chancellors are very busy axing ruthlessly, numerous departments in the arts faculties. Universities are unashamedly tying up with big business to attract funding for scientific research which can earn subsidies for the professoriat. Writing a thesis, for instance, on Salman Rushdie's impact on the Islamic world, is not likely to secure the tenure of an academic. But a research project on manipulating the genes to clone Hitler is more likely to bring in millions from multinationals speculating in the markets of genetic engineering. The elevation of science to Himalayan heights and the patent loss of academic respectability for Western Classics, for instance, is a clear sign of the dying culture of the past. Academic criteria jump from age to age emphasising different branches of knowledge. At the moment the prestige and profits are in science. The extensive and intensive concentration on science will continue to enhance the scientific culture to a point that would marginalise arts as a pastime of lazy intellectual hedonists. To move with the sciences needs a mental discipline and an irreverent courage to "disturb the universe". Take, for instance, the revelation of Stephen Hawking who, in reversing his opinion recently on time travel, predicted that it is possible to go back in time and alter the past which would change the course of the future. This would open up the possibility of going back in time to throttle Pol Pot's grandfather in his cradle, thus preventing his own birth

later. Terrifying? Ummm..... Yes and no.

Undoubtedly, the possibilities of H. G. Well's Time Machine becoming a reality in the next century must be taken seriously, more so because of the unpredictable political, social and moral implications. Man will be given the opportunity to play God and predetermine his fate without leaving it to chance. Consequently, the values of the new generations may reflect a new morality, a new sensibility, or a new emphasis on the role of man in the universe. Science fiction — largely a futuristic genre which, according to Kingsley Amis, has outlined the "new maps of hell" — has come a long way from Gulliverian satirical travels to cosmic infernos. It is no longer stuck in the prehistory of science fiction (ending in circa 1914, according to Amis) where the old Shellyan formula of the morally irresponsible scientist (Frankenstein) goes beserk. Based on the assumption that everything is supposed to function according to precise mathematical laws, scientific and psuedo-scientific theories in SF generally explore man's possible confrontations in the expanding universe, or delve into social order of dystopias on planet earth. In *Player Piano*, Kurt Vonnegut drew the map of the new technocratic class, armed with the power of their specialised knowledge, ruling the information-poor underclass. The deracinating forces unleashed by science and technology are some of the major features of the dystopias of the future. The exponential growth of science and technology points to a future dominated by a disciplined (authoritarian?) scientific culture rather than the bohemian culture of romantic arts.

Turning to another side of the gyrating kaleidoscope of values, others may focus on aspects ignored by the cultural dominance of imperial powers, or classism, or sexism, or racism, or regionalism, or the over-determining political considerations, or the ever-increasing role of the market place that is creeping into every nook and corner of the globe. Oddly enough, the market plays a little acknowledged but a vital role in determining the "value" of art

through the fluctuating mechanism of price. The stature of the artist seems to rise with the price paid in the market place — the beastly bazaar of Beelzebub. Broadly speaking, there is the art of cultural imperialism inflated by the affluent buyers of the Western markets and there is the art of the Third World which is deliberately deflated until they are presented at the pricey auctions of Western art dealers. (If a Senaka Senanayake hangs at Southeby's it is guaranteed to fetch a far higher price than his collection hanging at the Oberoi Hotel.)

Art, indeed, is a new form of investment in a fluid global market, particularly a market in which inflation is eating into the values of currency. It is much safer to invest in Van Gogh's *Irises* than in Wall Street bonds. Furthermore, a businessman enhances his image by displaying a Van Gogh in the board room. It becomes a symbol not of culture but of money. Alan Bond, an English car salesman who made it to the top in Australia, bought the *Irises* for a record sum of \$50 million dollars purely to impress the business community. Such cultural assets, going up in value daily in the international currency market, increases his borrowing capacity. It also became a bankable collateral though, in the end, when he crashed, Van Gogh could not save him from going into prison for fraudulent practices.

Art has many uses. It can be used as a stick to attack your political opponents - as in the Cultural Revolution - or as a commercial commodity which can bring in great dividends. But art finds its defining moments at the hands of great artists who forge a vivid future in their magnetic imagination, drawing mankind to alternative directions, or opening closed minds to unseen possibilities. Great art removes the old scales from myopic eyes and reveals new ways of perceiving the world. The luminous vision of a dazzling genius throws a shaft of light that transforms the view permanently. After such knowledge there is no way of returning to the exhausted past. The monetary values of the market place and the political values of partisans will vary from time to time. But the impact of a great leap in imagination, whether in

the arts or sciences, will over-ride these considerations and continue to grip the minds of their time as well as the times to come.

### PUTTING SCIENCE IN COMMAND

Traditionalists will, no doubt, moan the arts losing the jealously guarded preeminence of the past to the new sciences. What they fail to see here is that science is another form of creative thinking. The conceptual symmetry and the awesome beauty of scientific imagination, leaping beyond the known galaxies into the mysterious universe, will hopefully prove to be the ultimate triumph of man's creative powers. There are those who argue that Scientific Laws = God. If man could crack open the ultimate mysteries through science then he would be equal to God, who has been identified essentially as the repository of all knowledge. Can man's knowledge reach that ultimate point of omniscience through science, and acquire omnipotency? Is that possible? Is there a hint of this possibility when the Bible says that man was made in the image of God? Or when Prof. Paul Davies claims that science is a better route to God than religion? The routes of science, if it is to go anywhere at all, must lead to solving the mysteries that has kept man in the dark. The alternative route is to take us down the Shellyan nightmare of the world gone awry through the deviry of Einsteins turning into Frankensteins. Despite prophets of doom and gloom man has been spared this fate so far.

Quite contrary to the pro-religion and anti-science lobby, there is a school of science which has found common ground with religion. Prominent physicists like Fritzof Capra and Prof. Paul Davies are two exponents of this view. The inspirational insights of scientists too have revealed the laws that bind the universe in an essential unity found in every bit of cosmic matter, wherever it may be in space. Whether religion and science are two different branches of the same stream of knowledge which may converge at some future point in time is yet to be seen. In the meantime, it is apparent that the creative energy that drives the artists and the scientists is the same,

though they work on two different planes. Both are creative approaches to understand man's place in this infinite universe.

If, however, the artists have reached the end of their imaginative journey then it is time for the scientists to take over and carry on the task of man's eternal endeavour to reach the stars. If in that process, the creative thinking of sciences can reveal a definitive meaning to man's existence through a greater understanding of the hidden laws governing the universe then there is no alternative to the triumphalist march of science. Considering the giant leaps of science it seems that it has all the possibilities of triumphing against all obstacles. Example : Galileo. By his own example Galileo proved that there is no alternative to the power of expanding scientific knowledge in religion, or in sanctified traditional authority, or in mysticism, or in myths and prejudices. Despite the

unresolved "principle of uncertainty" dogging science, it is the only branch of knowledge which holds out some promise of certainty to man groping in the dark. And, in the present state of ignorance, it is apparent that only science can lead the way, even if it is only on the crutches of provisional truths. The ascendancy of science as an intellectual activity with greater possibilities of finding a way out of the dark ages of the past, has demoted arts to a secondary position. The current culture wars revolve round the misguided attempts of the arts to maintain its pre-Darwinian superiority over the sciences. Unfortunately for the traditionalists wedded to the arts, their romantic myth of superiority cannot help them to go anywhere except into an unredeeming past. So the arts should accept the reality and join hands with the scientific imagination which is the only known means of building a stairway, slowly but hopefully, for the final ascent of man to reach the limitless sky.

## BANDARANAIKE INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMATIC TRAINING INSTITUTE

### Fourth General Course

The Fourth General Course of the above Institute will commence on **Monday 3rd February and end on Friday 30th May 1997**. Classes will be held in the evening, three days a week on week days between 5.00 p.m. and 8.00 p.m. The course curriculum will combine an in-depth study of the international scene including inter alia subjects such as diplomacy, area studies, the United Nations, global economy, international finance and trade and exercises in diplomatic skills conducted by eminent foreign and local quest lecturers.

Those interested should apply to the Director, Bandaranaike International Diplomatic Training Institute. Application forms could be obtained from the office of the Institute at **Suite 3G-07, BMICH, Baudhaloka Mawatha, Colombo 07**, and perfected forms should be submitted on or before **3rd February 1997**. The course fee is **RS.5,000/-** which should be paid prior to commencement of the course.

*For Further particulars please contact the above office*

Telephone Nos.: 682110/682111.



OUR MISSION IS TO BE  
AN EFFICIENT AND EFFECTIVE  
FACILITATOR IN CREATING  
WEALTH THROUGH  
INNOVATIVE FINANCIAL  
PRODUCTS AND SERVICES. WE  
ENDEAVOUR TO ACHIEVE THIS  
BY PROVIDING THE BEST  
INVESTMENT BANKING  
SERVICES TO BUSINESS  
ENTERPRISES, AT THE HIGHEST  
PROFESSIONAL AND ETHICAL  
LEVELS, IN AN ENVIRONMENT  
OF ENTREPRENEURIAL  
SPIRIT.

**VANIK**  
INCORPORATED LIMITED

108, 2nd Floor, W. A. D. Ramanayake Mawatha, Colombo 2.  
Tel : 331462(3 lines), Fax : 330815.

6, D. S. Senanayake Veediya, Kandy.  
Tel : 24912-3, Fax : 24916.

VANIK-PIONEERING "FINANCE FOR THE FUTURE".

HOLLIS POLLARD & STOTT

*Contd from page 10*

will happen next is only an academic exercise. We cannot even tell the probability of success except in so-called *ball-park* figures. Even the most confident person will be guessing or using ignorance as one input to his calculations. Statistics are useful only after a real event.

There is also the strangeness and unpredictability arising from the presence of *freak* happenings, unexpected branching of chain reactions, and interventions through devices that extend and multiply our efforts which have outcomes which are not under the user's control. All these can change the course of a society or the life of a person in the most dramatic and unpredictable ways which are not amenable to rational explanation. In such eventualities there is very little we can do but wait till things return to normal when we can start using our theories again. Then we can regenerate our self-confidence and carry on doing what we like, until another one turns up.

### **MOST SIGNIFICANT DEVICES**

Some of the most significant devices are: triggers; switches; levers; relays; amplifiers; transmitters; and missiles. These names are borrowed from technical practice for convenience and because of their familiarity. In technical applications the descriptions of the respective devices and their characteristics are identifiable and amenable to design. Even then, their actual working and outcomes are not fully predictable because of the inherent and inescapable limitations of our theories. What we will be able to recognise are only the visible features and the points from which they are operated. These are shown schematically in Annex A.

However, in social, economic and political contexts the events, happenings and arrangements are not easily recognisable, and their features are not readily describable

as such. What we may be able to say with some degree of certainty is that the operation of a device has been started at a particular location and time. Nevertheless, their effects are analogous to those of the technical devices, and evident. Their presence in the social, economic and political context ensures that the predictions made with the help of simple laws identified and used by those who theorise are true, if at all, only for a small number of actual cases.

### **THE TRIGGER**

Pulling a *trigger* is a simple act which can have profound effects on the subsequent course of event. In the social context one cannot even identify in advance the very existence of a trigger, let alone knowing when and by whom it will be pulled, and whom it will affect. An actual trigger of a fire-arm pulled in Sarajevo, resulted in the First World War where huge national armies were mobilised with a multitude of results. A social trigger could be the nod of a head or even an innocuous word. It works on an arrangement of people and things which is all keyed up and waiting for just the slightest nudge or push to be set off.

### **THE SWITCH**

Unlike in a railway yard, the operation of a *switch* in society is without a predictable outcome because the branch lines or paths, and their subsequent connections and branches are not known. These may even be put in place after the switch is operated. Sometimes a particular branch may come about as a reaction or response to the operation of a switch. A switch in practice does not work in isolation. Hence the net result of the operation may be magnified many-fold and end up in the operator's own back yard.

### **THE LEVER**

A *lever* describes in physics is a

means of multiplying an effort. In social contexts also there are levers. Education is said to be a lever in that it can enhance the effect of an input to society so that the outcome could be far greater than if the members were not so educated. The ability to communicate through spoken communication is also known to be a very powerful lever. Various social arrangements such as cultural devices are levers. Although the mechanical advantage of an ordinary lever can be worked out from its dimensions, the result of using a social lever is difficult to predict. One can only identify the most likely outcomes. In folk-literature there is also a reference to "being hoisted on one's own petard".

### **THE RELAY**

A *relay* is described as device that activates changes in a system as a result of changes affecting itself. It is also a device that can receive, reinforce and transmit a signal or an action. Relays can be arranged in a series so that something far away and out of reach of an initiator of action can be influenced by an action. Rumour is an example of a relay-like device that is commonly found in any society. It can be a way of harnessing the potential of a larger system to achieve one's ends, whereas without it the scope can be very limited. In a social relay one never knows whose energy gets harnessed and to what extent. It can also change in character. As a result we do not know in advance how far and how effectively it will work.

### **THE AMPLIFIER**

An *amplifier* in a public address system allows us to spread our word clearly to a larger number of people than when we are unaided by such a device. In society we can identify other amplifier-like devices. A political movement is an amplifier-like device. The main feature of an amplifier is that it harnesses and regulates external sources of power to deliver messages or actions which

are put into them in a weaker form by the senders. They need an outside source of power for them to operate. A technical amplifier is in the complete control of the user, whereas a social need to be so. What any user cannot control, however is the recipient and what he will do with the received message or action.

**THE TRANSMITTER**

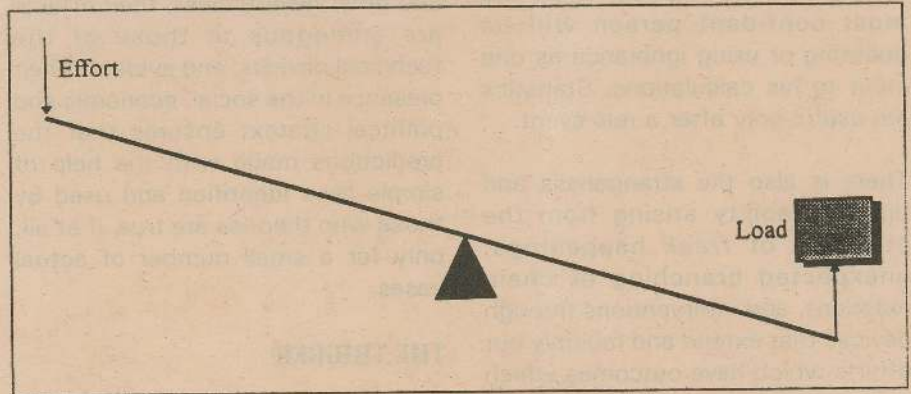
*Transmitting* arrangements are now developed to the point that they can be used to send signals over distances of millions of kilometres. Anyone with right equipment can receive the signals, and can use and re-use them. Whilst in a pure transmitting arrangements the energy has to be initially put into the signal by the sender, a transmission with relaying arrangements can greatly increase the effective coverage of an action whilst drawing on outside sources of power. In society, ideas, diseases and other good and bad things can be transmitted over distances through various media. There are instances when such transmissions get out of control, at least for some period of time long enough to cause confusion and havoc.

**PROJECTILES OF ALL SORTS**

The ability to hurl a material object, called a missile or projectile, over distances much greater than an arm's length gives one a feeling of superiority. Nowadays this ability has become very sophisticated and power-packed to the extent that lethal objects can be sent to those who are very far away, even beyond territorial boundaries and seas. Some of these objects or projectiles are capable of exploding and damaging life and property over a large radius. It is very likely that those who are damaged or badly affected are not even know to us. We may not have known whether they had the potential to be our friends or capable of having some positive impact on us some time or other. In addition firing missiles into an unknown

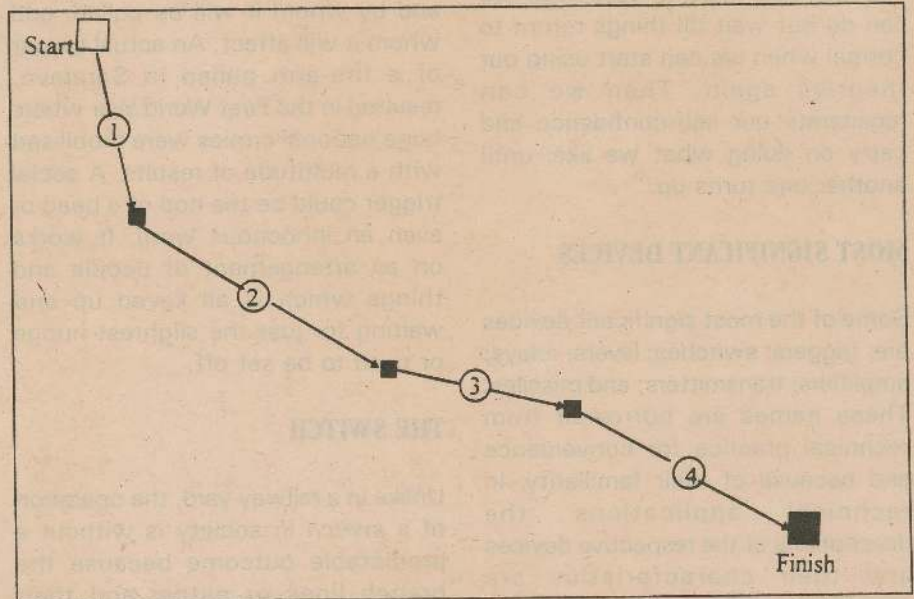
territory may be a very effective way of increasing the number of one's enemies.

- TO BE CONTINUED -



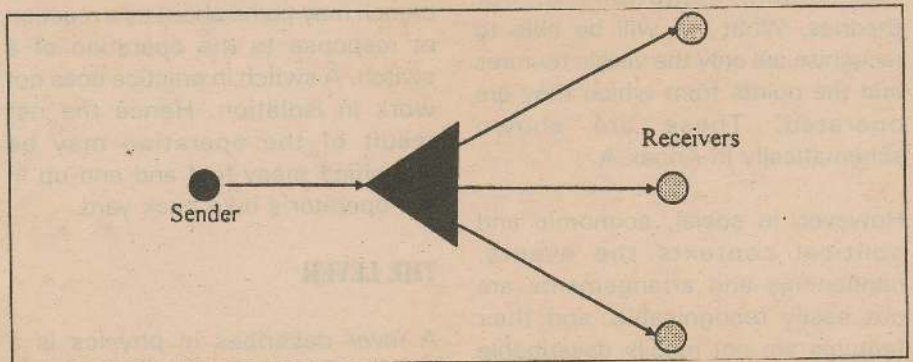
**Lever**

A lever is a very familiar device. It is found in our bodies and is also used by children as the see-saw. It is usually designed to give an advantage such enabling a heavy load at one end to be lifted by applying relatively smaller efforts at the other end.



**Relay**

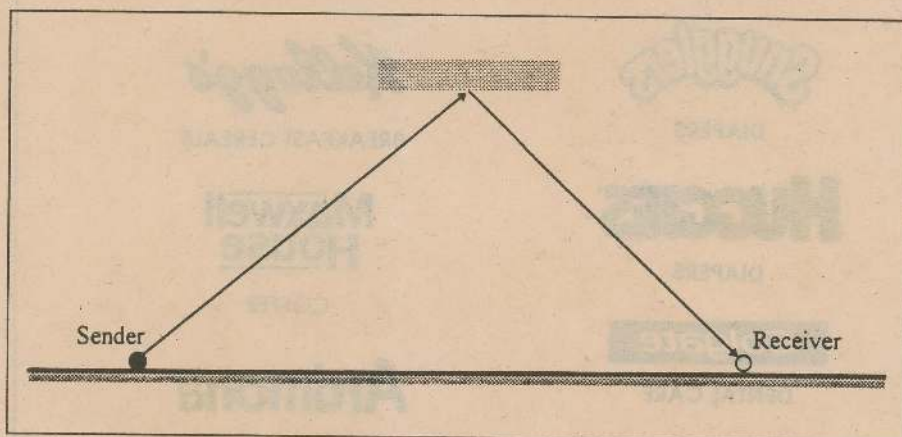
A relay can extend the reach of a signal or an item that can be carried by persons or some circuits or other media in a sequence, so that the following one takes off from where the preceding one gives over or leaves off.





### Trigger

Triggers are usually found on firearms. Pulling it activates a detonating device which in turn sets off an explosive charge. It has a primary effect as an explosion or firing of a bullet. The secondary effects are the damage, destruction and disruption of normal life, at least for some time.

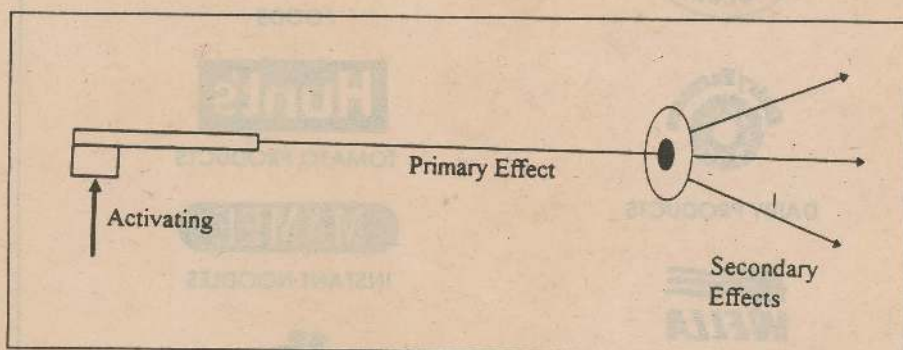
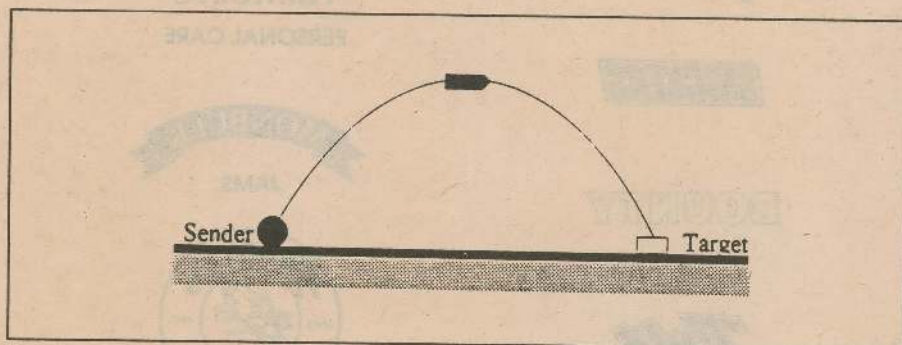


### Switches

Switches are found in electrical circuits and on railway tracks. Switching can turn an electric current in a selected circuit. At a point in a railway track the switch can be used to select the branch to which the train will be directed. By the operation of a series of switches in the set of tracks shown above, we can make the train reach any of the destinations as desired.

### Amplifier

An amplifier makes a signal louder and receivable by many standing at a distance.

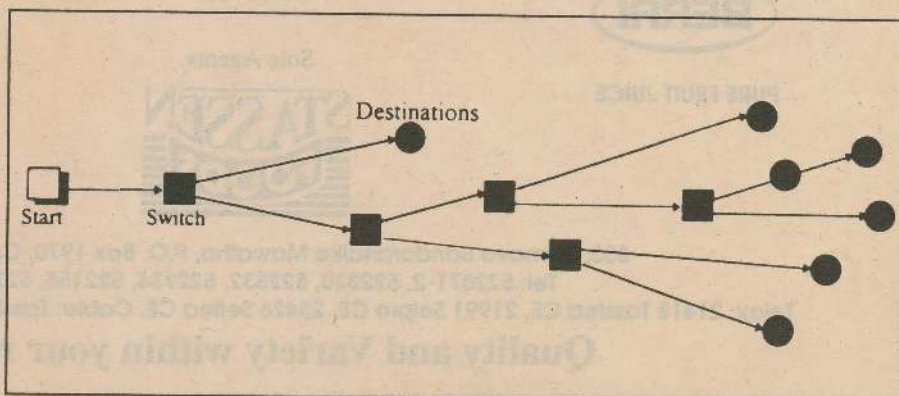


### Transmitting and Receiving

A transmitted signal can travel long distances, even through space and be received at a point situated far away.

### Missile

A missile can be sent off from a point anywhere and reach a target depending on how it projected and propelled to carry a payload which can be either friendly or deadly.



# A Selection of the Finest International Brands.

**HAPPY COW**  
CHEESE



PRUNES



**BOUNTY**



**TOBLERONE**  
CHOCOLATES



PURE FRUIT JUICE



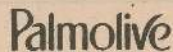
DIAPERS



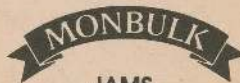
DIAPERS



DENTAL CARE



PERSONAL CARE



JAMS



DAIRY PRODUCTS



HAIR CARE

Sole Agents



BREAKFAST CEREALS



COFFEE



CANNED FRUITS



BUTTER



SOUPS AND PASTA



FOODS



TOMATO PRODUCTS



INSTANT NOODLES



CANNED MEATS

833, Sirimavo Bandaranaike Mawatha, P.O. Box 1970, Colombo 14.

Tel: 522871-2, 522830, 522832, 522934, 522155, 522373.

Telex: 21418 Tasstea CE, 21991 Selpro CE, 23426 Seltea CE. Cable: Tasstea. Telefax: (941) 522913.

**Quality and Variety within your reach.**

Available at all Supermarkets & leading groceries



**Will privatization mean  
the end of the union  
I represent?  
How will the interests  
of my members be  
protected?**

**- Trade Unionist**

Privatization will in no way dilute or reduce the powers and rights of your union. British Airways was privatized in 1987, and the unions remain to protect worker interests just as before. Some of the world's largest, most powerful and vocal unions exist in the private sector. For example, the United Auto Workers (UAW) represent over 100,000 workers at the three biggest American car companies, none of which are state owned. In fact, there is every likelihood that working conditions will actually improve in privatized companies, since there will be substantial investments made to upgrade facilities and training. You can look forward to representing a considerably more prosperous union.

It is important to realize privatization is a means to an end. It is a means to improve our living standards, foster technological progress, create employment and take our nation into a more prosperous tomorrow. In order to achieve these aims, privatization has to be executed in the appropriate manner.

That is the task of the Public Enterprise Reform Commission (PERC). Its mandate is to make privatization work for Sri Lankans today, and for generations to come.

Every privatization is a carefully considered decision that takes into account the interests of all sectors of society; the general public, the state employees, the consumers, the suppliers, as well as the country's overall economic vision.

PERC's mission is to see that privatization works. In doing so, your interests are always being well looked after.

**With privatization everybody has a stake.**



**PERC**

**WATCHFUL IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST**

**PUBLIC ENTERPRISE REFORM COMMISSION,**

Bank of Ceylon - 30th Floor, No.4, P.O. Box 2001, Bank of Ceylon Mawatha,  
Colombo 1, Sri Lanka.

Telephone: 94-1-338756/8. Fax: 94-1-326116

INTEREST FREE CREDIT?

CONVENIENT REPAYMENT TERMS

LOWEST JOINING FEE?

**Yes. All and many more  
benefits are yours with the  
CEYBANK VISA CARD.**

*Contact the Centre Manager,*

**CEYBANK CARD CENTRE,  
Bank of Ceylon**

No. 4, BANK OF CEYLON MAWATHA,  
COLOMBO - 1.

BE WISE. CARD - WISE

**BANK OF CEYLON**

*Bankers to the Nation*

TELEPHONE: 447823 — Ex. 4180 & 4185

