

Corruption Circle of Sri Lanka: The Second Largest Enemy to the State

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Abstract - A set of fundamental principles and core values are required to govern any state. However, the deep-seated causes and effects of corruption in a system kill people's satisfaction. Notwithstanding, the stagnation or half-measures of countering misappropriation and misuse of power can be considered as impediments to eliminate corruption. Corruption is disintegrative and the democracy is more likely to struggle for survival. The corruption level of Sri Lanka has become the second largest enemy to the state actually before, during and after the violent conflict. Consequently, it is evident that the viciousness of corruption circle victimises the state and people over the decades. Eventually, the principles and values become trivial due to disparities caused by dishonesty in the public sector. In this regard, the main objective of this paper is to come across the causes of corruption that make states less able. A holistic analysis has been used in this paper to analyse both primary and secondary data. To this end, this paper also shows the deep-rooted viciousness in the public sector.

Keywords: *Alienation, Corruption, Democracies*

Introduction

Historically, Sri Lanka is characterized with its diverse nature of human settlement. It has also evolved from threats and challenges. Present polity has been witnessing a rebirth of the island from various circumstances such as freedom fight, ethnic conflict and terrorism, constitutional reform, etc. and evolved as a lower-middle-income country. It had also graduated to an upper-middle income country in 2019. The representative democracy hanging on taxes has not found a meaningful relief from the pain of corruption that is parasitical in the public sector.

Even though the state could bring an end to terrorism, the fight against corruption remains stagnant: the viciousness has turned to be the second largest enemy to the state now. But, even so it has also a serious national security concern.

The great scholars of corruption address it (corruption) more broadly (Heymann 1996 p 324) because of its causes and endless burden to the state. The parasitism of corruption is, in a broader sense and in real terms, significantly connected with the status quo of the country too. It has increased public debt gradually and dramatically. It also allows a sub-culture and a sub-rule within society and institutions respectively by reason of increase in the trend of kickback and so caused injustice and disparities. Further, the plausibility of an argument as to the correlation between devolution and national integration seems to be real whenever the viciousness is reported from the top at provincial level. Land corruption or similar allegation that led deforestation and environmental impact has also disturbed ethnic harmony despite the loss of revenue. Country's progress of reconciliation might shift in a sluggish manner when the facts above make the state less able—the process to bring about national integration is heavily challenged due to corruption. Furthermore, combating corruption has also been a costly work and it may reap so less like government projects that have met loss even before commencement—it is not a shock to the system.

A question gives food for thought that is corruption an issue to Sri Lanka since it is a democracy. It may not be just because of being a democracy, but it is one of many. It becomes evident that a few successive governments of it are striving between increase in public debt and decrease of expenditure from the top. Precisely, corruption is a problem but may not be only this. As long as the system of taxation which allows the government to provide services, the state as a whole is determined to get rid of corruption to

take effect of the welfare. Heymann (1996 p 329) further indicates that every nation is unique in its particular forms of corruption and in the institutions and powers it has available for dealing with them. This study argues that corruption is, for Sri Lanka, not merely a problem as such, any reform of legal procedure to be dealt with before making progress but also a hurdle that is of concern to be continued to address and combat while progressing. Further, this exploration will reveal our own uniqueness to fight back the common enemy to the state.

Methodology

This study is a vivid reflection of a more qualitative approach, and the analyses emanate from reports of the National Audit Office during 2016, 2017 and 2018 in particular. All the instances and numerical data mentioned with this study precisely replicates above reports. Some secondary sources also bolster empirical study of the status quo. They back the analyses and well interconnect the causes and effects of corruption broadly. This paper carries recommendations and suggestions towards a break in the continuity of corruption circle and for the way forward.

Results

Corruption has not just declined services but increased expenditure. It makes the state less able and vulnerable to its all sorts of challenges, and it becomes victim of its own progress by reason of vicious trends of recruitment, procurement, payment, projects, etc. A prerequisite is here to come across the nature before responding or even to present the result, the uniqueness of corruption at home. There is no escaping the fact that either the policymakers or anyone cannot take a blind bit of notice of what the viciousness of corruption circle is all about beyond a shadow of a doubt. The circle is best broken into five different and also interconnected segments. Although the result derives from the context of Sri Lanka, this classification seemingly generalizes occurrences out too.

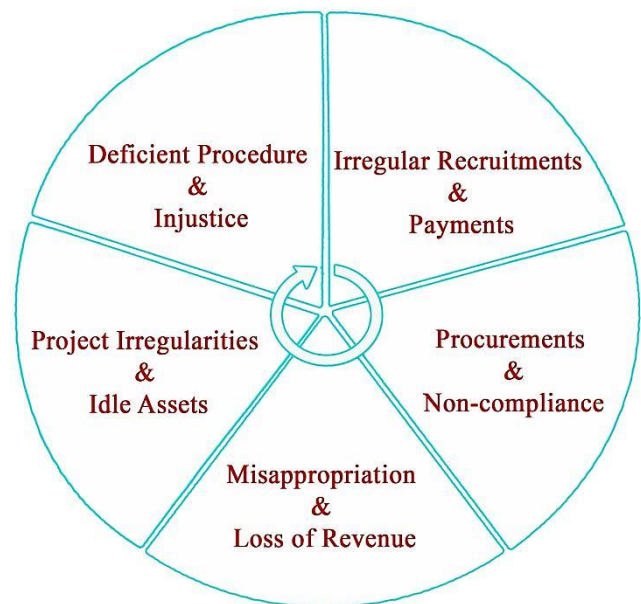


Figure 1: The five segments of viciousness of corruption circle

The varying segments are unique in analysis and the manner of occurrence but interrelated in terms of causes and results. Replicated every angle of the public sector it has qualitatively provided solid grounding below.

A. Irregular Recruitments and Payments: how do we select, appoint and pay persons?

Although all five segments go to prove varying instances of misappropriation, dishonesty, etc. in the public sector, the first, Irregular Recruitments and Payments presents more as to how public officials are recruited and paid in corruption angle. Firstly, the fact with regard to recruitment, everyone, by common consent, knows better that prior approval and process in compliance with conditions and regulations are mandatory. On the contrary, the process and the regulation have been neglected and violated. Secondly and more importantly, when handling public fund, salaries, allowances, incentives and all other pays for the officials had not been approved relevantly. Institutions have failed to ensure the aforementioned conditions and accepted values that should strictly be followed to avoid double payments, improper and ineligible allowances, unapproved incentives, irregular transaction, misappropriation of salaries, higher salary than that of approved (over-payment), salaries for released or vacated officials, unauthorized payment, delaying compensation and non-payment, etc. In addition, even the PAYE Tax had not been deducted and remitted regularly. Certain type of over-payment and unentitled allowances are likely to deliberately and directly exploit the

people. Finally, the objective to establish justice in recruiting and paying is defeated. This introductory attention permits a notion of what actualities are in the public sector.

B. Procurements and Non-compliance: how and for what do we spend?

To know full well, anyone is supposed to have a brief overview of public procurement better. It has turned to be a loss-making in corruption-prone area at present. Although the Government Procurement Guidelines control procurement activities of buying goods, services and works, irregularities before and after procurement tend to think that such guidelines are just optional and not mandatory ones: ignorance of procurement process, non-consideration of criteria when selecting the supplier or contractor, procurement without studying the substance and identifying the requirement, not entering into written agreement, violation of agreement and failure to mention conditions therein, procurement in violation to the Act and at varying prices during the same period, additional expenditure, over-payment, failure of Technical Evaluation Committee (TEC), non-abiding recommendations of TEC and District Price Committee, irregularities in chairing Procurement Committee (PC), indirect payment method to conceal transaction, payment for work not done, purchasing expired, quality failed and substandard items and weak distribution, purchasing in excess and for non-requirement and disposal, etc.

C. Misappropriation and Loss of Revenue: how and to what extent has the state lost its fund and revenue?

UNODC (2019) describes misappropriation that these are more common phenomenon. Nevertheless, it is more and more intentional and deliberate not just accidental—we couldn't agree more. The biggest tragedy to a state as well as to the government is that it further deepens the viciousness that is beyond description. Although misappropriation and loss of state fund and revenue can be separately identified, there are parallels obviously between the two in terms of its endurance and the detriment. It varies one another due to the way in which it was appropriated or lost and based on the amount or extent, the consequences of violation, etc. A categorical statement is that misappropriation of public fund occurs almost in all types of institutions at national, provincial and local levels and such instances of unlawful gain are two types;

1. Individual gain and;

2. Group gain

The worrying trend in the public sector is in rise: using forged document and signature, false name, fake chart and bill, etc. are for some individual gain. Misplacement of money, files, ledger, registry or non-maintenance of such documents is the general trend of fraudulent instances that occur for group gain. Nevertheless, financial or cash fraud has happened for both. In terms of project, payment for non-performed activities falls under both levels, but depending on whether it is intentional or erroneous. Misappropriation of monetary provisions of thousands of million had also occurred due to group gain but for individual's gain, and the ability of the state to serve the people on equal terms is compromised temporarily or permanently. With regard to annual loss of revenue, there is nothing to be all felt alien about it—it has been analyzed under next segment, discussion in depth.

D. Project Irregularities and Idle Assets: how do we implement projects and to what extent do we utilize assets?

This segment identifies abandoned, incomplete and discontinued projects, idle assets, and it reasons the fact behind them. It also reveals loss such as over-payments, doubled expenses, irregularities in distribution by reason of avoiding approval, lack of feasibility study, saving provisions, etc. In the final analysis, much of the projects and assets end up as non-achievement of objectives, and the sum paid by or to be paid through taxpayers' money or further taxation becomes burden to the state. As a whole project irregularities correlate with rise in public debt.

E. Deficient Procedure and Injustice: how efficiently do we handle public fund and state wealth and act in justice?

The deficiency in procedure has been caused not because of lacking procedure but mostly by bypassing. Injustice is consequent to the dishonesty. The final segment recalls the instances, which are to be analyzed under varying segments, connects with the causes and becomes evident that how efficient we are in serving the public and handling state fund and wealth. Further, this segment finds the causes as part of viciousness of corruption by reason of the dishonesty permitting unlawful gain. It examines the unacceptable actions of officials and the manner in which institutions discharges duties that causes injustice.

Discussion

This section bolsters the results of the study with precise instances shown in the reports of the National Audit Office, whereas the theoretical framework is less prioritized for a good purpose of considering more on practice. Even though theories such as Principal-agent theory, Game theory, Demand theory, etc. attempt to explain corruption, they hardly replicate the fact about the rout and unique characteristics of countries in terms of corruption. Unique studies considering the state of countries, entity, etc. have, in general or in particular, addressed the viciousness of corruption at varying pattern except a few narrow escapes. The analyses of practices in our own case are specifically discussed here;

Disregarding approvals prefers unqualified person, contractor or supplier and permits irregular payments that are more widespread at national level. In terms of recruitment, this deliberate action allows unqualified person in and causes injustice to or keeps aside the qualified (e.g. recruitment of a Deputy General Manager-Operations, at the Ceylon Fishery and Harbours Corporation in 2016), and it is also costly in terms of paying additionally to sort the inability of the unqualified. Based on the form of irregularity, the waves of irregular payment spread, i.e. higher and additional salaries had been paid to officials by the corporation in 2017. The most used term “personal gain” in general studies of corruption shifts to group gain here, but it has certainly not limited to recruitment and payments. Appointments so made in a foreign soil could be more costly in terms of both expenses and loss. As the National Audit Office (2017) indicates, the Sri Lanka Tourism Promotion Bureau had met an uneconomical expense of Rs.179.44 million in 2017 following a set of appointments in the United Kingdom without the approval of the management.

Further it indicates that, by 2017, the land for soil mining had been identified at the own discretion of the Division Manager of a zone in the South but not as per the internal instructions. An area of 20 acres had been mined illegally in 2 locations that come under Mahaweli Land. Neither an initial environmental report nor an environmental impact analysis had been obtained. Furthermore, the space for public opinion has been denied. Similarly, higher officials appoint persons, and they are not appointed by the relevant state body, e.g. (reinstatement of) a teacher by the Secretary

to the Provincial Ministry of Education, Northern Province in 2014 and 02 posts of labourer Grade II by the Secretary to a Provincial Ministry, Sabaragamuwa Province in 2014. Furthering recruitment, at the National Savings Bank, Staff Assistants (around 2,066) and Office Assistants (around 563) had been recruited irregularly and unjustly.

In terms of recruitment in excess, 16 permanent appointments for 05 unapproved posts have also been made by the North Western Provincial Human Resource Development Authority since 2014. Even after following the procedure, lower qualified person is also appointed, e.g. a Director General at the National Institute of Business Management in 2017. Similar acts paves ways to mischief-making in no uncertain terms, e.g. 06 Advisors to the Chief Minister, Uva Province (2017). Without the approval of the Department of Management Service (DMS), appointment for 12 foreign-funded projects implemented by the Ministry of Highways had also been made in 2016 while the Ministry of Health had granted permanent appointments of 120 project employees in 2018 despite the impossibility in accordance with DMS Circular or under Public Administrative Circular.

There had been instances of holding salary or pension during the investigation of the Commission to Investigate Allegations against Bribery or Corruption (CIABOC) against the person who had been recruited in the same manner though. Above all, the instances of recruitment in excess have turned to be a common issue in the public sector. It causes the taxpayers shoulder the burden of state welfare in case these employers run on loss. E.g. 190 persons at the Ceylon Fisheries Harbours Corporation as at 30 June 2016 and not less than 20 persons at the Sri Lanka Ayurvedic Drugs Cooperation by 2017 had been appointed in excess to the approved cadre.

Irregular payments are legitimized more and more as longer as the institutions continue to ignore to obtain the relevant approval and fail to recover what they have already paid the same. Number of institutions such as the Sri Lanka Ayurvedic Drugs Corporation (Rs.307.79 million from 2012 to 2017), Ceylon Electricity Board (Rs.1,930 million as Miscellaneous Allowance to staffs in 2017), Water Resource Board (Rs.8.4 million on the recommendation of the Secretary to the Ministry of Irrigation from 2014 to 2017) and

the Bureau of Foreign Employment (Rs. 83.17 million and Rs.86.40 million in 2017 and 2018 respectively) had paid to staffs partly or entirely ignoring prior approval(s). This condition has continued to exist the same and badly takes root: the CEB had paid various allowances amounting to Rs.1,873 million to the staffs in the following year right in the same manner. Sad to say, the approvals had not been obtained for years even after paying. Further, there has been a conflict of interest by reason of special pay according to Cabinet decision for one of the above institutions. Maybe it might spill or spread to another institution in a different wave consequent to the selective pay amidst poor pay co-exists in the public sector. The more the institutions ignored obtaining prior approval, the more irregular payments they have made.

A spill-over of additional expenses by PAYE Tax is taking root. Institutions additionally incur and meet loss of its fund that should go as revenue to the state but not to any individual, i.e. using the fund to pay PAYE Tax. Unlike any non-state actor, the CEB had additionally incurred Rs.4,210 million by 2018 for paying PAYE Tax for its employees since 2010. Maybe the selective approvals for special allowances within certain institutions would have fuelled the dishonesty. Nevertheless, the CEB is witnessing a spillover of the irregularity of payment. The Regional Development Bank, the Housing Development Finance Corporation Bank and the Pradeshiya Sanwardana Bank have incurred the same, but not in the distant past. This practice, which violates the Inland Revenue Act no.10 of 2006, should not spread like wildfire further or maybe in a varying form—there is an alarming rise. A disorder and lawlessness emanate from arbitrary and selective pays.

A knock-on-effect on government expenditure has been observed. Amidst the injustice caused by delaying payment and non-payment, the delay to commence or complete project activities leads to grossly varying effect to development and causes loss to the state variously. As one of the effects, the project is discontinued, e.g. the reconstruction of Gatambe Water Treatment Plant under Strategic Cities Development Project for Kandy (the lending agency cancelled the financial assistance) and halted, e.g. Dry Zone Water Treatment and Sanitation Project (after cancellation of foreign aid). The delay makes the project costly, and it further proves a knock-on-effect on government

expenditure, e.g. Rs.43.4 million had to be paid for staffs from the General Treasury for the Kottawa, Kaduwala and Kadawatha (3K) Township Development Project due to delay and progress in sluggish manner, and an overhead expenses of Rs.151 million had occurred for maintaining the office for the Greater Dambulla Water Supply Project due to the extension.

As worst case scenario in road development, a sum of Rs.476 million from Programme-I and Rs.31 million from Programme-II had to be paid to Asian Development Bank due to not utilizing the disbursement of the loan timely by 2018 while a sum of Rs.68.53 million had been recovered from the loan disbursed by a lending agency up to 31 Dec 2018 for the delay in completion of 35 new bridges. By 2018, the CEB had to pay a sum of Rs.42 million for delayed foreign funded projects that were not implemented as planned. The Industrial Technology Institute had sustained a loss of Rs.13.28 million payables to the European Union due to non-implementation of the project in terms of the agreement. The loss caused by delay in implementation trivializes the whole project and the lending agencies generally tend to pay a lip service for efficient development. The Construction of Matara Beliatta and Kataragama New Railway Line is a prime instance to bolster the argument. A sum of Rs.737.6 million of foreign exchange loss had occurred since the foreign bank delayed payment to the contractual company for 2 and half years.

More viciously, non-implementation of project also causes loss to the state due to non-commencement. But the loss depends on the means of project even though it may not be a dead loss whatsoever. E.g. in 2014 and 2015, payment of mobilization advance totaling to Rs. 4,011.05 million to a foreign company for implementation of the Gin-Nilwala Diversion Project that delayed commencement for years.

In terms of Payment, instances prove double negative situations in the public sector: neither the payees are legible to be paid nor the pays are approved. E.g. Rs. 15,000 monthly allowance by the Provincial Road Development Authority, Southern Province in 2015 and 2016 even though they don't belong to Sri Lanka Engineer Services; monthly allowances for 04 Staff grade Officers considering them as coaches in 2017 from the National Sports Fund and; commercial allowances for the days for which the holiday pay paid by the

Department of Government Printers in 2017 and 2018.

Based on the instances of irregular payment shown in the audit reports it is easy to understand 4 different trends further: (1) misappropriation of salaries due to non-maintenance of data, register and such and such, e.g. Anuradhapura Municipal Council (2018); (2) paying salaries for released or transferred officers, e.g. Department of Engineering, North-Central Province and (3) and for those who have vacated the service, e.g. (amongst many) Ceylon Fisheries Harbour Corporation and; (4) double payment of salary, e.g. to an officer by the Southern Provincial Governor's Secretariat and the National Museum Department during 2014 to 2015.

Non-recovery of trade debt, loan, credit, stamp duty, lease income for leased land (inter alia) for mining, quarrying, and plantation, arrears of penalties, tax, court fines, fine for breaching bond by officials, loss due to non-compliance with agreement, payment for no-pay leaves, etc. boil down to the causes of corruption-deficiency of procedure. The category of loss of revenue can be broken into two types analytically:

1. Short-term loss and;
2. Long-term loss

Sometimes both fall under the levels of individual gain and group gain. Furthermore, the short-term loss is temporary and the other may cause permanent loss. As short-term loss, there are non-settlement of advances, non-remittance of revenue and fund to the government account, etc. As long-term and permanent loss, financial loss caused by state investment, loss as a result of delay to impose duty, revise taxes, rent and pass statutes (at provincial level) loss of moveable and immovable properties, commitment charges, foreign exchange loss (due to delaying or non-implementation of projects contrary to the loan agreement), operating loss of profit making bodies, incurring revenue without remitting, loss of income due to failed trade, loss caused to the government by guaranteeing for loan, etc. are paramount description in short. However, both

types of losses may be changeable but not often: loss that was temporary once has become permanent and long-term loss due to failure of the institution and intractability.

Yet, permanent losses are diverse. E.g. a penalty of Rs.11 million by the International Rugby Committee on the Sri Lanka Rugby Union in 2016 by reason of allowing a foreigner irregularly to the national team. In terms of procurement, the state had lost a sum of Rs.519 million at the time of purchasing fertilizer for the agricultural sector due to over-payment for importing Urea *Granular* on the same price of *Field* in 2017. Similar to previous instances, a sum of Rs.28 million had to be paid as commitment charges during the Construction of Moragolla Hydro Power Project of MW 31. At local and provincial levels, over-expenses while purchasing gravel by the Nattandiya Pradeshiya Sabha in 2016 and financial loss by procurement of ABC gravel by the Southern Provincial Road Development Authority in 2017 had occurred.

Certain Cabinet Decisions have caused similar losses: The Sri Lanka Customs had to pay an additional amount of USD 1,075,200 for stickers procured in 2017 due to the Cabinet decision to reject a quotation with lesser price of the same supplier. At another instance, the Cabinet decision had caused a loss to the Company Fund by investing on a bankrupted company in 2017.

There is a huge vacuum in revenue collection and contradiction between institutions. The state had lost a sum of Rs.1,117.50 million of revenue to be collected from the granite miner of 49 quarries by Mahaweli Authority, Hambantota by 2018 and Rs.1,891.91 million during the Moragahakanda project. The contradiction is that the Mahaweli Authority had recovered charges only for 150,837 cubes whereas the Bureau of Geological Survey and Mining had collected charges for 1,266,991 cubes during the period 2010 to 2018.

The following figure 2 further summarises the discussion and casts light on the viciousness of corruption that makes the state less able towards a total failure eventually.

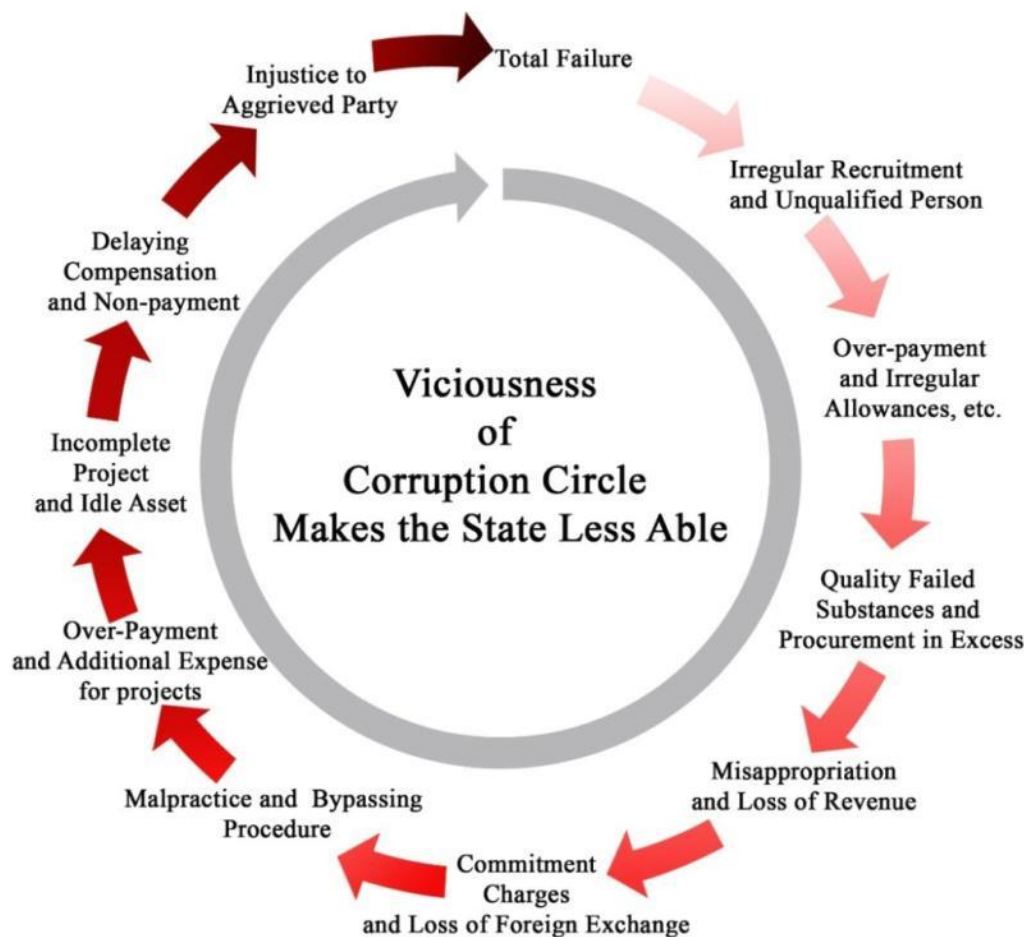


Figure 2. The Viciousness of Corruption circle makes the state less able

Savings have caused loss and denial of service. Although a large amount of tax becomes sinking fund nationally, most of the provincial councils save annual allocation. Even though they save up it still causes loss to the state. The Central Province had invested a sum of Rs.1,782.40 million in fixed deposits which was allocated for serving the public in 2017 while the state had to bear additional cost since the government had granted the sum by obtaining as overdraft facility at an interest rate of 27%. The SLBC had deposited a sum of Rs.122 million out of Rs.171million received from the Ministry of National Integration and Reconciliation for the launch of *Sanhindiya* (Reconciliation) Channel as a fixed deposit. A few instances witness of savings at interest-free bank accounts too. There is no denying that the people had been deprived of service, and it is a policy without plan and implementation without monitoring and evaluation—end of story.

The continuity of non-payment or delaying the pay may provoke a sense of injustice that could also induce the practice of kickbacks. We may wonder that these instances are directly not connected with corruption seemingly. Yet, it is

unjust due the dishonesty or deficiency in procedure. A sum released by the Office of the Commissioner for Workmen’s Compensation for the beneficiaries had been delayed for 1-25 years. The volume becomes huge when referring it to the Department of Labour where a large sum that was recovered by the department since 2011 by filling cases had been deposited in the general bank account without being settled. There had been some inactive funds, e.g. the Migrant Workers’ Contributory Fund, the National Child Development Fund, etc. It further reflects the stagnation of free-flowing function of policies between formulation and implementation.

The Foreign Employment Bureau had earned by depositing a sum including Rs.251.45 million which should be paid to the Sri Lankans who had employed in Kuwait during the Gulf War. With delaying payment and non-payment, there is always an alarming situation of bribery. Yet, it can be caused due to inefficient procedure or performance arguably, but the delay resultant to the error precisely makes the beneficiaries fall prey to the act of non-payment, e.g. a sum of Rs.57.37 million for 6,461 farmers, which was

credited by the Agricultural and Agrarian Insurance Board, had been rejected by the bank due to errors in names and NIC numbers and had remained unsolved. Not only whenever the pays are delayed but also when dishonestly Furthering malpractices and bypassing procedures, this study argues that it causes not only loss of revenue to the state but also detrimental more than the corruption concern: it has a serious national security concern. In 2017, 2,268 containers have been released on personal securities without inspection by the Sri Lanka Customs even though there are cases of importation of illegal drugs, committing tax frauds, etc. Amidst the threat to the functions relating to controlling explosives 35 metal quarries had been identified to be running without license particularly in the Districts of Kurunegala and Anuradhapura in the same year.

Projects up to thousands of million but without study had remained incomplete, inoperative and discontinued. The results are illustrative of lacking pre-studies. It is but one of the facts for the reasons for the failure among many, but instances begs the question how the institutions can neglect the studies before the projects that go up to thousands of million. It is hardly necessary to take the long view, but it rather causes burden to the state in the short run. Nevertheless, at certain instances, such study or report had just come to nothing. According to the National Audit Office (2017), a report had been prepared without conducting an investigation on environmental impact by the consultants for the reconstruction of Galle Fort Rampart. There had been other reasons for the irregularity, but not within reason. Furthermore, out of 21 contracts costing Rs.337.53 million, which had been awarded by the Central Province to one contractor during 2016 and 2017, 13 projects, had been in a position of cancellation while 07 remained weak. In the North Central province, 192 projects worth Rs.977 million had been abandoned by 2018. Development initiatives become backwater by reason of deficient procedure or malpractices.

delaying settling advances injustice is caused by individual, e.g. then Secretary to the Chief Minister of Eastern Province had delayed to return a sum of Rs.2 million despite elapse of 10 years.

According to the circle showing the viciousness of corruption, irregularities and failures end up with concealing information or non-presentation of data and denying physical check of audit as another irregularity. As indicated in the National Audit Office (2017 and 2018), the Ministry of Irrigation, Cricket aid (Guarantee) Limited, Sabaragamuwa Provincial Council and the Ja-Ela Pradeshiya Sabha had not presented a part of financial statement and concealed physical observation of certain assets and properties from the audit checks. It is the beginning of the end of the avenue for stern action against corruption in any case. The accessory after the fact may find a type of refuge in the above environment.

Conclusion

Revisiting the results and analyses backed by instances, this study recalls that the viciousness of the unique circle of corruption has been a parasitic on the public sector, and the parasitism makes the state less able and kills satisfaction of people with the system. Objectives of governments are defeated, and they meet drawbacks by reason of their own progress since corruption is disintegrative and detrimental to effectiveness and resilience.

Unfortunately, the unlawful gain of state fund and revenue had not decreased but has been spreading further in unique forms. The financial malpractice, which is being legitimized within a large entity disregarding the regulations and denouncement against the dishonesty, has made it difficult to break the circle but it is easy to work towards a break—there is no either-or situation. Indeed, these instances are signs for unequal application or futile implementation of policies against one and another or institution to institution. How are we going to get out of this adamant psyche neglecting the law to maintain a state of equal distribution? Are we going to sort it out in a way that is not known yet? Then, the

problem of instability may be caused due to the sudden change to the present. Or, is this the fact that we can lead a horse to water, but we cannot make him drink?

Nevertheless, in terms of combating corruption, certain states rely on the key law enforcement authority and fight through increasing public awareness. All the states believe that corruption increases the cost and makes loss: a few are far away from the stance due to an established culture and higher per capita income, but there is no escaping the fact for more. If we count on the traditional way and sluggish achievement while there is a rise of demand for reform in policing and allegation against wealthy players in the private sector, the fight against our own unique form of corruption will only be superficial. Taking all the instances and causes relating to the state of the viciousness of corruption which causes visible and invisible threat of fragility into consideration, this study lays down the recommendations that are as follows;

1. Entrenchment of a public culture that could abhor self-dealing (Haymaan 1996 p 331), kickback and all sort of personal and unlawful gain towards public-spirited citizenry: the progress will be slow but the result will be sure in the distant future. A strong personality or a leadership is a pre-requisite to preach the necessity before and while applying the tools of education and law enforcement—there is no time like the present

2. The functions of auditing and combatting corruption must become all-important pillars of governance right equal to holding free elections: the findings and results of investigation must be implemented sooner similar to the happenings and what is expected once the election results are out.

3. There shall be interdepartmental coordination legally. For instance, the complaints on misuse of public property received by the Elections Commission and the findings of annual and investigation audit reports of the Auditor General

should be sent over to the CIABOC with evidence for further investigation and prosecution.

4. The institution of restriction on campaign finance Act is necessitated again and above: it could offer the utmost in prevention of political corruption and the fight against corrupt wealthy players in the private sector.

5. The officials who are not strict in following the adequate procedures amply should be punished from the top first.

6. Ensuring no one works in a vacuum the state entities combatting corruption needs to well open the door for non-profit and non-state actors to amplify the level of reach and meet the costly work of combatting corruption: the state body may request them to include identified activity specifically to their annual strategic or work plan.

In short, for the uniqueness of Sri Lanka in combatting corruption, preventive measures will distinct reactive measures while the reactive efforts need to be revitalized and reformed further. Equal application of the law avoiding self-defeating regulations and entrenchment of a public culture are the way forward in the quest between hurdle and problem of combating the corruption in Sri Lanka.

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