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Somawansa Amarasinghe



THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL ASSESSMENTS ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES OF SRI LANKA AND THE WORLD

Collection of Articles and Interviews

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Niyamuwa Publications

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© Niyamuwa Publications
ISBN 978-955-8696-31-6

First Edition : 2013 April

Print:
TDL Printers Private Limited
43/43, Walawatte Road,
Gangodawila,
Nugegoda.

Publisher:
Niyamuwa Publications
464/20,
Pannipitiya Road,
Palawatte,
Battaramulla,
Sri Lanka.

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Dedication...

To those who sacrificed their lives,

*To popularize the correctness of materialism
thousands of years before,*

*and to popularize the correctness of Marxism
during the last two centuries,*

*To popularize Marxism – Leninism despite the
suppression of communists in 1990 and after,*

*and to all revolutionaries who resolutely dedicated
themselves,*

*to those who were subjected to torture in prisons
and laid down their lives in order to convince the
downtrodden people the appropriateness and
credibility of Marxism-Leninism!*

Foreword....

‘THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL ASSESMENTS ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES OF SRI LANKA AND THE WORLD’ is a collection of articles and interviews contributed by comrades of the Central Committee of the JVP to various publications between the period 2012 and the first quarter of 2013. The articles and interviews were formulated to explain social and political situations existing in Sri Lanka and the world and were published as a collection as they explicitly discuss Marxist – Leninist vision in relations to existing state of affairs locally and globally.

The articles and interviews include theses on the present state of the *International Communist Movement, imperialism and crisis in world capitalism, the crisis of democracy in Sri Lanka and despotic family rule, the national question in Sri Lanka, the relevancy of national liberation strategy for the victory of socialist revolution and current world affairs.*

Some of the articles and interviews are based on political phenomena centered on Sri Lanka while several articles and interviews are based on international political incidents. The article on ‘A Marxist-Leninist View on National Liberation Strategy’ is mainly a theoretical article written on revolutionary strategy. The volume expects to provide raw

material for the English reader and specially for comrades of International Communist Movement to share and have a dialogue on the vision and policies of the JVP, the leading leftist and Marxist – Leninist political party in Sri Lanka on local and international affairs.

Also, we believe that it is necessary for the International Communist Movement, specially today, to access and carry out affairs regarding political and social phenomena in Sri Lanka and elsewhere on a very correct Marxist – Leninist standpoint. It is necessary to remember Comrade Lenin's statement that there cannot be a correct practice without a correct ideology!

We live in an era in which thousand and one anti-Marxist, revisionist and ultra-leftist ideologies have sprung up after 1990 locally as well as internationally regarding Marxism-Leninism, building of the Bolshevik party, imperialism and stages of social revolution, the existence of a progressive capitalist class, various fronts of imperialism, the task of Communists amidst present capitalist crisis, class collaboration, coalition politics, giving preference to anti-imperialism rather than socialism, Trotskyism and post-modernism that have significant relevance on the world proletarian revolution. Establishing correct Marxist-Leninist standpoints on the aforesaid concepts and practices is the foremost task of a revolutionary movement today. This volume is another attempt to fulfill this responsibility.

The other reason is the role played by certain political parties and organizations that call themselves communist and socialist without articulating Marxist – Leninist standpoints regarding international affairs, but really playing the role of henchmen of pro-imperialist capitalist governments and traitors of the working class in the country where the so-called party or the organization is established. The harm done to the leftist movement by such ‘leftists’ who have been degenerated in parliamentarianism, revisionism, trade unionism and capitalist culture is not small.

Specially, at a time when anti-capitalist mass struggles have risen up throughout the world the existence of Marxist-Leninists political parties that hold high proletarian internationalism and revolutionary disposition and practice is necessary to attract forces of working and downtrodden masses. The JVP that considers proletarian internationalism and revolutionary disposition as its foremost political policy, included a short record on its history to provide the reader an insight to the party and its revolutionary history.

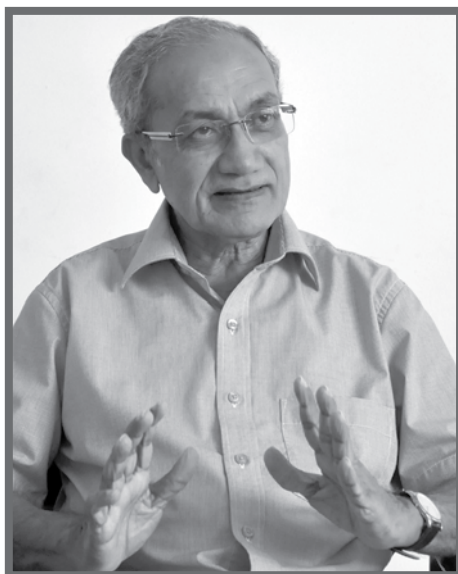
We thank all comrades who contributed articles and interviews, and the comrades who translated certain articles and lastly the comrades who sweat to complete this book.

‘Niyamuwa’ Publishers.

May 01, 2013

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Somawansa Amarasinghe
Leader
People's Liberation Front

CAPITALISM IS ROTTEN

This interview was published in April - May Issue of 2012 of Red Power, the central organ of the JVP.

Red Power: *In 1990 Socialism collapsed in a vast number of countries. 22 years have passed since then. How do you assess the International Working Class Movement today?*

Comrade Amarasinghe: Class struggle continues even in times in which reactionary forces are strong. Temporary defeat suffered by socialism has shifted the balance forces in favour of imperialism. Working class and the Progressive Forces suffered setbacks. Imperialism led by US imperialism in this favourable

situation for it expanded and intensified its economic, political and military domination all over the world.

Under these circumstances capitalist theoreticians predicted the demise of Socialism. Still capitalism dominates the world. If that is so the basic contradiction remains to be that between labour and capital. Under Imperialist globalization the greed for maximum profits has sharpened the contradictions creating objective conditions for working class struggles.

Imperialist globalization during the last few years failed miserably and drove the people to severe unemployment and poverty.

The crisis of capitalism emerged in 2007-2008 period in the form of financial crisis in the United States of America, the guardian of world capitalism. USA was humbled by the financial crisis for which capitalism has no solutions other than plundering the workers and the poor. The USA is in recession since 2008, making the lives of tens of thousands of Americans miserable.

The response of the US government to the financial crisis was finally to pass tax payers' money to private banks and financial companies and impose drastic cuts of the basic needs of people.

Tens of thousands of US citizens took to the

streets protesting the moribund system of capitalism. The protesting people “*OCCUPIED*” the Wall Street against corporate greed and against the 1% that deprive the 99% under capitalist system.

The crisis spread to Europe. Country after country fell into recession. Workers and poor have been denied jobs, pensions, education, health services and other social welfare benefits. The citizens of all the European countries took to the streets. Capitalism as a social system is rotten and is in systemic crisis.

The class character of the protests could be seen clearly. There is no doubt that a new chapter of history is being written at present. Class struggle is very much alive.

Red Power: *A revolutionary party to exist and for its growth must be based on Marxist-Leninist ideology. Also it is essential to be vigilant all the time about the discipline and revolutionary spirit of its members. JVP is known to be the revolutionary party in Sri Lanka. What are your experiences regarding the vigilance of the party?*

Comrade Amarasinghe: The founder member of the JVP, Comrade Rohana Wijeweera launched this political party in Sri Lanka in 1965 when the conditions then existed in the country demanded the emergence of a revolutionary party. The revisionist parties had been

rejected by the people as their historical mission had come to an end.

The first professional revolutionary of Sri Lanka Comrade Rohana Wijeweera engaged in the mission of building the political party of the professional revolutionaries. As you know all leaders and full time members of the JVP are professional revolutionaries.

Comrade Rohana Wijeweera gave up his ambition to become a doctor of medicine and worked hard amid untold difficulties to fulfill the task of building the strong organization to lead the working class and oppressed people of Sri Lanka.

JVP is a coherent organization ideologically and organizationally. Its organizational principle is Democratic – Centralism. We take decisions collectively through democratic discussions within the party organizations. Self- Criticism and Criticism within the organization is treated as the most important assessment of the JVP's political activities among the people.

The leaders and the members of our party serve the people without expecting anything in return. Personal benefits and glory are not encouraged at all.

JVP members who are elected to the parliament

or local government institutions donate the salaries they receive out of tax payers' money to the party. This is a new tradition in Sri Lanka introduced by the JVP.

JVP led two armed uprisings, once in 1971 and again in 1987-88 against the capitalist regime in Sri Lanka that launched a brutal repression to annihilate the JVP. Comrade Rohana Wijeweera and tens of thousands of our comrades gave their lives fighting the enemy.

Red Power: *At the present the task of all the working class parties throughout the world is to build broad alliances of Anti-Imperialist, Progressive and Democratic groups led by the working class parties. What is JVP's perspective?*

Comrade Amarasinghe: JVP already has taken an initiative to build the broad anti-imperialist democratic alliance. There is no doubt that this is the immediate task of the revolutionary working class party.

The working class historically plays the leading role of building alliances with democratic and progressive forces and the millions of citizens in the world who take to the streets against imperialism. To defeat massive interconnected power of Imperialism an alliance that could attract the broadest support must be built.

Red Power: *Karl Marx said “Capitalism has created not only commodities but also a man to buy them.” Today’s society is a consumer society. Capitalism takes every effort to push the people towards consumption. How does it affect the society?*

Comrade Amarasinghe: Consumption itself is not a problem. To survive people consume. Consumption becomes an issue when the consumers are being created and manipulated by capitalism. Under capitalism production is not planned to meet the needs of people. Under capitalism over consumption is promoted to make more profits. Capitalism has enslaved the people by consumerism.

**Robert Graves said, “When people have lost their authentic personal taste, they lose their personality and become instruments of other people’s wills!”*

Capitalism tells people how they should dress; furnish their homes, which car they should buy and so on. There is no end.

Advertising under capitalism is very powerful. It pressurizes people to buy what they really do not need. Consumerism destroys personality, personal and financial health and environment.

Red Power: *The two countries Syria and Iran are at the top of the agenda of war of the USA. What*

would be the consequences of a war against the two countries?

Comrade Amarasinghe: If US-Israel, the enemies of the mankind and the planet, decide to launch a military attack against Syria and Iran that will, without any doubt, bring disaster to the Middle East region if not to the whole world. The negative consequences will affect the world for a long time to come.

Already unjustified sanctions have been imposed on both countries. EU countries are affected more than Syria and Iran by the sanctions. In fact India and China have increased buying oil from Iran.

It is clear that Israel underestimates the ability to retaliate. US and Israel claim this to be a limited war targeting limited objectives. They hope that there won't be serious consequences.

US and its allies were capable of occupying Iraq and Libya within a few months after inflicting heavy damages to both countries.

The Republic of Islamic Republic of Iran was established in 1979 after a protracted struggle against the murderous regime of Shah Pahlavi, the most trusted ally of US imperialism in the 70's. The Islamic Republic has strengthened its defense capabilities since 1979. Iraq supported by US and

Israel covertly could not defeat Iran, fighting for 10 years. Iran has developed its own missile systems, the fleet of submarines. Iran also has well equipped and well defended bases, maritime defenses and large scale fortifications. Most of all Iran's Revolutionary Guard and the Armed Forces are always prepared to fight and sacrifice their lives for their country and the people.

Iran may ignore provocations and hollow threats of war mongers in Washington and Tel Aviv. Iran will certainly retaliate with ferocious force if that country is attacked. Iran will attack the enemy at the same level as they are attacked.

Iranian attacks will not be limited to its territory. Oil producing US occupied countries in the Gulf region will become legitimate targets. Limited war will become generalized war extending throughout the Middle East and beyond.

US will not be capable to defend Israel from missile attacks from Iran, Lebanon and Golan heights.

Iran's allies in the region and elsewhere will not be silent observers when US and Israel forces attack Iran. There will be worldwide support for Iran. Missiles will destroy oil fields, highways, factories, communication networks, television stations, water

supply systems, reservoirs, power stations and so on.

Within a few minutes Iran is capable of blocking the strait of Hormus, stop refineries of Gulf States, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia crippling oil supplies to Europe, Asia and also to US.

The world economy already in recession will finally collapse. Millions will die. Hundreds of Millions of people will be impoverished.

Red Power: *What is 'Humanitarian Imperialism?'
Could you explain?*

Comrade Amarasinghe: Human rights and Imperialism cannot go hand in hand. Imperialism is the enemy no.1 of the people and the environment. Imperialism never was, never is, and never will be humanitarian. Imperialism is responsible for crimes against humanity.

The USA declared 'A New World Order' with 'USA at the top' after the collapse of the Soviet Union and other socialist states in Eastern Europe. The most important consequence of collapse of Soviet Union was the resurgence of imperialism.

The world has been witnessing the United Nations Organization being manipulated by USA so that UNO would serve the interests of USA and

NATO. International law has been either interpreted in favour or has been ignored completely in favour of US and NATO.

Human Rights can be used as a better reason to intervene into internal affairs of another country. Humanitarian Imperialism is the ideology that justifies waging war against other countries to plunder their people and natural resources. NATO waged wars against Iraq and Libya to control and plunder petroleum resources and redraw the map of Middle East.

Humanitarian Imperialism is aimed to divert the contempt and vehement opposition of the people of the world. This lie must be demolished.

Red Power: *JVP has taken an initiative to build the ‘Broad Anti – Imperialist People’s Front’ What is JVP’s strategy to lead the people of Sri Lanka for victory of Socialism?*

Comrade Amarasinghe: At this very moment the monumental failure of Neo Liberal capitalist Policies is clearly visible.

These policies have attacked not only the working class but also people belonging to other strata during the last three and a half decades. At this moment the working class and a broad section of people are fighting back. It was encouraging to

witness the emergence of unprecedented protest movements first in Europe and then spread to the United States of America.

The systemic crises of capitalism have created unprecedented favourable conditions to mobilize the working class and the down trodden people of Sri Lanka.

Sri Lanka embraced neo liberal capitalism in the late 1970's. During the last three and a half decades successive pro – imperialist capitalist governments in collaboration with WTO, IMF, WB have plunged Sri Lanka into a serious economic – political – social crisis.

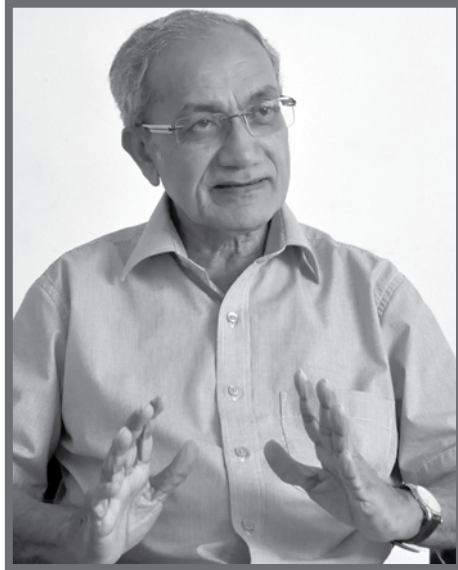
The JVP will fight back within the parliament and also out of it. Extra- Parliamentary activities such as marches, street protests, militant and peaceful will attract vast majority of the workers and oppressed people.

The working class no doubt is the leader of democratic and progressive people. Therefore the JVP will work tirelessly to unite the working class so that it could carry out the leadership role.

JVP will thus unite all the oppressed people and their organizations, not political parties, together with the working class laying the foundation for Anti – Imperialist People's Broad Front.

This Anti – Imperialist Front will challenge and defeat political power of the ruling pro – imperialist capitalist class.

*¹ Robert Clave :English Poet(1895-1985)



Somawansa Amarasinghe
Leader
People's Liberation Front

FINANCIAL CAPITAL FAILS AMERICA

This is a document that forecasted the instability of capitalist system in general and the US financial market in particular that was made visible with the breakdown of US financial institutions in September, 2008.

Somawansa Amarasinghe – Leader, People's Liberation Front (JVP) (14th September, 2008)

The U.S. financial system has seized up. Due to a complete loss of confidence in the solvency of even the oldest and most famous companies in America, private banks are currently unwilling to lend to anyone, even to each other. This unavailability of credit has had the effect of wiping out billions of dollars of what Marx called *Fictitious Capital*, i.e. titles to property which give the owner the right to income in the form of dividends or interest. But it is already having a deflationary and depressing effect on the real value-

creating economy, where surplus value is created and capital reproduced. Industrial output is now falling in the U.S. as the commercial credit that all manufacturing firms need for their month-to-month operations has dried up completely. So what appears to be a liquidity crisis is really the start of one of the cyclical downturns analysed by Marx in Capital Volume III which leads to recession, maybe to depression.

Amidst all that has been written in America about the financial crisis, none of the so-called economic experts have mentioned Marx's analysis of the role of credit in the reproduction process, and its role in the business cycle of boom and bust. People who serenely maintain that Marx is out of date should read Chapter XXX which, published in 1894, explains all the fundamentals of the 2008 financial breakdown with a clarity that none of today's bourgeois economists can match. It is too advanced for them to comprehend. "*At first glance*", Marx taught, crises like this one "*seem to be a credit and money crisis.*" But this is only because "*everything appears distorted, since in this paper world, the real price and its real basis appear nowhere...*"

U.S. economic policies created a giant bubble of fictitious capital which did not reflect real value, which can only be created by labour. Suddenly the market has lost faith in the whole paper mountain of securities and bills of exchange, and the US government, wedded

as they are to dogmas of non-intervention in the open market, simply doesn't know what to do. President Bush's Emergency Economic Stabilisation Act will hand \$700 billion to the unproductive and discredited financial corporations, but there is no logical reason why the recipients of that money should lend any of it; they may choose to retain it to repair their shattered balance sheets. And that is in fact what they are doing: the private financial institutions are still refusing to lend, even though a total of \$1.8 trillion dollars (\$17,064 for each taxpayer household) has already been promised to the very financial companies whose ruthless pursuit of private self-interest caused the whole problem in the first place.

The losses on Wall St. have been dramatic, as anyone who has read the news will know: the New York Dow Jones Industrial Index has lost one-third of its (paper) value during the past year. During the six trading days ending October 10th the index sank 2,251.8 points, or 20.8 %, the worst week in its 133-year history. The Standard and Poor 500 Index falls were only slightly exceeded in 1929 and 1933 when it fell by more than one per cent each day for the first time in its history. During the past year this famous index of share prices has dropped 42%. Shares are now on average trading at their 2003 prices. The rout has extended to non-financial shares. General Motors, whose sneezes made

the rest of the world catch cold during the 1930s, saw its share price beaten down from \$4.76 to \$2.15 in a single day. The quoted comments of professional traders on the floor of the Exchange during the collapse referred to a loss of confidence in companies' balance sheets and a consequent unwillingness to lend or invest in them: *"Nobody is willing to transact,"* a Ms. Caron said, *"and behind that, there are a lot of concerns about solvency."*; *"Nobody trusts anybody right now,"* said Mr. Detrick, an analyst at Schaeffer's Investment Research.

In order to deal with what it sees as a *"liquidity crisis"*, the U.S. Government is borrowing and printing colossal amounts of money and throwing it at the discredited financial sector. This throwing of good taxpayer's money after bad corporate paper has had no effect so far on the availability of credit, and is unlikely to, since it does not directly address the causes of the crisis, but only the symptoms of it.

During the presidencies of Clinton and the two Bushes, the central controls over the US financial system were removed. The most important deregulations occurred in 1999, 2000, and 2004. The Depression era Glass-Steagall Act, which rigorously separated commercial from investment banking, was repealed in 1999. In 2000 derivatives and credit default swaps were excluded from regulation. In 2004 the Securities and Exchange Commission, the main regulatory authority of

the financial system which had been set up by the New Deal in the 1930s, was persuaded to exempt investment banks from having to maintain sufficient cash reserves to cover losses on their investments. It is of interest that they were persuaded by one Henry M. Paulsen Jr, the billionaire banker who cashed out his own Goldman Sachs holdings for \$575 million to become Secretary of the Federal Reserve, the very same Henry Paulsen who has now asked for, and been given \$700 billion of taxpayers money “ *with which to take such actions as the Secretary deems necessary...without limitation...to restore liquidity and stability to the financial system of the United States*”. Evidently Mr Paulsen is a very persuasive man who knows what he wants, and gets it.

The lack of proper central controls, the absence of any nationalised bank, and the State’s unwillingness to intervene directly to increase output—these have rendered the richest government in the world powerless to steer and prevent their domestic economy from crashing on to the rocks. But they did not cause the crisis, which originated during the 8-12 year period of apparent rapid economic growth that has now so abruptly come to a close.

For many years the Federal Reserve of the US Government kept interest rates as low as possible to stimulate investment. This succeeded in inducing investors to borrow more to invest, but unfortunately

they invested in unproductive paper securities (fictitious capital) and property titles. In less than eight years, the Financial Sector Debt tripled, mortgage debt doubled, and financial borrowing rose 75 %. This produced impressive economic growth figures, but the real value-producing economy did not prosper. 3.9 million Manufacturing industrial jobs have been lost since 2001 as industrial capital moved off shore, primarily to Asia, in search of cheaper labour-power.

This weakening of manufacturing did not seem to matter much as America embarked on a long housing and equities boom under the low-interest policies of A. Greenspan, former Secretary of the Federal Reserve. Cheap money had a strong upward pressure on housing prices, as did a taxation policy which enabled investors in property to write off all their expenses as a tax deduction. Investment banks and hedge funds made huge (fictitious) capital gains on mortgages but paid no tax. “*Sub-prime*” loans were offered to poorer sections of the people who previously had been excluded from home ownership. These risky sub-prime mortgages were offered at up to 100 per cent of the paper equity value. They circulated throughout the finance market via the Fannie Maes and Freddie Macs, secondary mortgage brokers which made private profits but whose risks were borne by the public, since they were guaranteed by the State. By 2005 the Fannie Maes etc held \$80 in mortgages for every \$1 in

equity (the prudent ratio used to be considered no more than 12.1). Real estate had become the largest section of the US economy, most of its market prices consisting of the land's site value rather than industry and other means of production.

All went well for the financial capitalists until July 2006, when an unexpected thing happened: housing prices started to fall, relatively slowly at first. Nobody knows what started it, but the slide occurred gathered pace right across America, even in areas where it was previously unheard of. Prices in the ten major cities have dropped 21% since July 2006. The greatest falls in the past year have been recorded in Las Vegas, nearly 30%; whereas Phoenix dived 29% and Miami 28%. The collapse of the equity bubble had by February 2008 left nearly 8.8 million homeowners, or 10.3% of the total, underwater (i.e. owing more than their homes are worth). More than 770,000 homes have been seized by lenders since 2007, and 91,000 families kicked out of their homes in August. Credit Suisse, which expects housing prices to fall 15 % further before the end of 2009, predicts 6.5 million more mortgage foreclosures by 2012, which would put 12.7% of all residential borrowers out of their homes. Little has been said about what will eventually happen to these unlucky people, and none of the bailouts so far have offered direct financial assistance to them. Although the social costs of the bursting of the equity bubble are

unknown, the economic costs have been crippling, and are now spreading overseas to countries like Iceland, where the banks also lent too aggressively.

Bear Stearns, a long-established and supposedly reputable investment bank went belly-up in March with a 33.1 debt/equity ratio, but its worthless assets were underwritten by \$29 billion of government guarantees. Insurance giant A.I.G. was bailed out by Mr Paulsen with \$85 billion of borrowed money that the taxpayers will have to repay with interest. Lehman Brothers, a 158 year-old investment bank was, on the other hand, correctly allowed to go the wall on September 15th, brought down by its well-named “*toxic assets*” backed by bad mortgages. America has a long history of bank collapses, but the largest ever followed when the 119 year-old Washington Mutual Bank failed in September, although its depositors were subsequently rescued by the takeover by JP Morgan Chase, which thereby becomes America’s biggest bank. As Lenin said, “*monopoly hews a path for itself everywhere, without scruple as to the means*” Alan H. Fishman received a \$ 7.5 million bonus when he was hired as the CEO of Washington Mutual in early September, and will receive a \$20 million severance package after 17 days in the job. This is the distorted world of financial capital, the predominance of which in the economy Lenin defined as imperialism: “*That highest stage of capitalism in which*

this separation [i.e. the separation of money capital from real productive capital] reaches vast proportions..”

The spectacular disruption of the world of the US finance oligarchs would be nothing to worry about, were it not for their capability to transfer their losses onto the shoulders of people who own no capital at all the proletariat. Apart from paying for the giant government bailouts already mentioned, the only true wealth-producing class in America now cannot afford decent shelter, one of the most basic human necessities. In a country where individuals are supposed to save for their old age, Congress’ top budget analyst estimated that Americans’ retirement plans have lost as much as \$2 trillion in 15 months (Associated Press, Oct 7). 493,000 new claims were made for unemployment assistance during the first week of October, and 159,000 jobs were lost in September alone. By every measure relevant to the lives of human beings, American free market has failed. The long period of economic growth has not “trickled down” to benefit the working people, who now face an incipient downturn in the real economy. The New York Times reported on October 6th that consumer demand has slumped: “Recent figures from companies, and interviews across the country, show that automobile sales are plummeting, airline traffic is dropping, restaurant chains are struggling to fill tables and customers are sparse in stores.”

The result of the financial crisis is that the U.S. has already entered a consumer-led recession which has the potential to get a lot worse. It has features in common with the Great Depression, when at certain dates in 1932 *“scarcely anyone could be induced to part with holdings of money on any reasonable terms”* (Keynes). Another striking parallel is the collapse in world prices of raw materials. The price of oil, which analysts were tipping would rise above \$200 per barrel, has actually collapsed from \$147.27 on July 11 to \$87.91 on October 6, although the oil monopolies have avoided equivalently reducing the price of petrol. World commodity prices for tin, nickel, zinc, and lead have drastically deflated. This signifies a big downturn in demand from the buyers of these commodities – manufacturing industry.

The fundamentals of the U.S. economy are far from sound. The National Debt in October exceeded \$10 trillion, a liability which averages out as \$33,000 for every American. So the Federal Reserve bailouts must all be borrowed, chiefly from foreign lenders who have faith in the US currency. The chronic US balance of payments deficit on trade in goods and services was \$59.1 billion, or 5% of Gross Domestic Product. The combination of these two deficits drags down the US manufacturing sector. Their rapid growth is largely the result of the U.S. wars of aggression against Iraq and Afghanistan, plus the need to maintain 761 military

bases overseas. The U.S. dollar's privileged position since 1971 as the world's reserve currency could even be at risk, if foreign lenders, especially in China, refuse to underwrite the US economy any longer.

The US government lacks the central controls needed to halt the slide. They lack even one nationalised bank which could now be instructed to lend, rather than waiting for the private banks to decide to do so. They are not willing to revive output by direct government intervention, via New Deal style public works programmes. . The intellectual bankruptcy of the US bourgeoisie has never been plainer. They simply cannot conceive of action that is not taken to meet the needs of the capitalist class. Having discarded the proven full-employment recipes of John Maynard Keynes, the most important bourgeois economist of all time, their monetary policies are hastening their own ruin.

And they are of course blissfully ignorant of the most penetrating economic analysis of all, that of Karl Marx, whose verdict on schemes such as Bush's \$700 billion dollar handout was as follows: *"the entire artificial system of forced expansion of the reproduction process cannot, of course, be remedied by having some bank, like the Bank of England, give to all the swindlers the deficient capital by means of its paper..."* (see Chapter XXX, Capital Volume III)

October 14, 2008



Attorney Sunil Watagala
Member of Central Committee
People's Liberation Front

DEMOCRACY IN SRI LANKA; AN ILLUSION AND A FRAUD

The capitalist democratic rights too have been drastically cut down in Sri Lanka during the last four decades and during the present Mahinda Rajapaksa regime it has deteriorated to a dictatorial family rule breaking down even institutions (Eg: judiciary) that pretended to maintain established order. This article discusses the bringing about of a despotic family rule by the regressive administration in Sri Lanka to deal with the escalating capitalist economic- political crisis and also the breakdown of democracy in Sri Lanka.

Attorney Sunil Watagala – Member of Central Committee of the People's Liberation Front (JVP) - (July, 2012. Niyamuwa, Central organ of the party)

Democracy in Sri Lanka has become a controversial topic just after the brutal assault on a JVP rally on 15th June 2012 at Katuwana in the Hambantota District. This assault which was launched by a terror group defended by the government authorities resulted in two murders and severe injuries to a number of JVP activists.

The incident posed a question on democracy in Sri Lanka not merely because it murdered a mother (53) and a young man (17) but because the government with no shame attempted to defend those who were responsible for the assault. It was a continuous comedy that the state Media Center for National Security, high ranking officers of Sri Lanka Police, the government media institutions were attempting to defend the murderers and put the blame and responsibility of this incident to other parties. These developing conditions have forced us to be vigilant on the impact of damaged democracy in Sri Lanka and the true picture and gravity of capitalist democracy in practice.

Form And Essence

The fundamental law of the country or the constitution of Sri Lanka has defined the country as “*The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka.*” An outsider or simply a foreigner who is unaware of the real happenings within the country would imagine Sri Lanka as a country with genuine democratic and socialist practices. On the contrary, what is really found in practice is totally opposite to that definition.

As Engels once said, if form and essence corresponds to one another, there is no need of science. In Sri Lanka, essence and form fall in two opposite directions.

Although the constitution defines Sri Lanka as a Socialist country, what is in practice here is Capitalism. It truly is an imperialist led, neo liberalist backward capitalism. Democracy is not found in practice in Sri Lanka and it is limited only to the constitution as a written law. As found in many capitalist countries, in Sri Lanka, too democracy has become only a slogan. It is believed that democracy exists here but in reality and in practice it is only an illusion.

Democracy For Whom?

In the modern capitalist world, the word democracy is used with an absolute definition, but truly what is in practice is a closed capitalist democracy. Even in the countries where capitalist democracy is being practiced, it is only an illusion and a fraud. A complete and accurate definition of capitalist democracy has been presented by Lenin.

In comparison to Medieval period where feudal principalities existed, the capitalist democracy can be considered a step forward but in true class definition, in practice it is found in two folds one for the capitalists and the other for the proletariat masses.

It Is Defined By Lenin As Follows

“The Capitalist democracy marks a historical step forward, in comparison to the Medievalism but it will be forever with constraints, limitations, fraudulence and illusions full of opportunities for the capitalists in exploiting the proletariat and peasantry. And such existence is an unavoidable factor under the capitalist regime.”

(Selected Works of Lenin Volume: 9 page 28)

Accordingly, in the capitalist countries where true democracy is said to be in practice, what is found is capitalist democracy. Hence, it becomes an illusion and a fraud for the oppressed classes. The democracy in these countries is found with lots of limitations, constraints and deductions. In this scenario, in a country like Sri Lanka where true democracy has been neglected, it becomes a comedy.

Usage In Sri Lanka

The present rulers of Sri Lanka are even limiting and undermining the available capitalist democracy. Those visibly independent institutions are being totally controlled by the government agents for ulterior political motives. Presently, the ill effects of such an influence are barely seen in the country.

It is a historical record that in Sri Lanka elections were held to postpone elections. It happened in 1982 under the

UNP regime. A referendum was held by postponing general elections and folding the election map of the country for six years. The peoples' right for selecting representatives for governing the country was thus robbed in 1983. It was done with the people's own votes. It is a classic example to realize as to how capitalist democracy has been an illusion and a fraud.

Previously, the government reduced the practice of the civil law with the emergency law under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Public Securities Act. Presently, when there is no emergency draconian laws are being implemented in the country, the government is annihilating civil law in an arbitrary manner. The saying "the laws in practice are the laws desired by the rulers" is obviously seen in Sri Lanka.

18 In Place of 17

The 17th amendment to the constitution of Sri Lanka in parliament was a capitalist reform passed by the parliament in 2001. It is commendable that it paved the way for the establishment of Independent Election Commission, Independent Police Commission and Independent Public Services Commission. In the year 2010 by the 18th amendment to the Constitution under Mahinda Rajapakse government, the 17th amendment was repelled thus showing to the world how much fear the rulers have even for the capitalist democracy. It abolished the existing law that limited the number of terms of the Executive Presidency to two.

These actions show the manner of arbitrary rule of the present regime in which most of democratic values are condemned and discarded. This abolition has opened avenues for the present government to use police, judiciary, public service and other institutions for ulterior political motives to stay in power.

Rajapaksa Democracy

Under the Rajapaksa regime democracy is being used according to the whims and fancies of the rulers and their relatives. They are able to arrest the members of the opposition at any time under fabricated accusations, impose punishments in the same manner and release those accused as and when they wish. The regime is misusing the executive powers of the presidency to achieve all these objectives.

The best recent example at hand is the arrest, imprisonment and release of former Army Commander General Sarath Fonseka. The Sri Lanka Police, judiciary and the Prisons Department were handled by the government for political victimizations of the ever higher ranking army officer of Sri Lankan history. Appointment of friends for the high positions of the judiciary, offering top level positions to the relatives of those in the high positions of the judiciary are used to keep such people under the control of the rulers. Also, the government interdicted some of those who were in the high positions of the judiciary, not obedient to their ulterior motives. This is the fraudulent democracy being

presently practiced in Sri Lanka.*¹

Government Underworld

The present government is using state sector organizations for the harassment of the opposition members and the general public. In addition they have employed official and unofficial terror groups for the same purpose. These groups are in operation widely for the assaults, abductions, terrorizing, displacement, disappearances and murders. As these groups are being patronized by the government, they are freely in operation throughout the country with no control or fear of the law of the country. In the recent past, the government vanquished a number of underworld gangs. This was implemented not in lawful manner but by making the law a mockery before the general public. All those terror gangs who were destroyed were either not in favor of the government or against the government. The leaders of these gangs were murdered in a sarcastic manner without bringing them before the law. The fabrication that these leaders tried to attack the Police personnel on their way to show the hideouts of arms and ammunition and in the counter attack by the police they get killed is a common saga in Sri Lanka now.

The government has murdered the underworld gangs who are not under their control while nurturing the gangs who are under and in favor of them. It was one such gang that murdered two civilians and launched assaults at Katuwana JVP rally recently. The government continuously tried

to defend the said gang and was reluctant in taking legal action.

There are a number of incidents where the government has used these underworld gangs and posed a challenge to democracy in assaults, murders and abductions in Sri Lanka. The broad day light murder of prominent journalist Lasantha Wickramathunga and the abduction of journalist Prageeth Ekneligoda provide two examples for such series of activities. The murder of JVP activist comrade Nandana Balage in Gampaha in 2009 and the brutal assault and murder of the Member of Ambalangoda Urban Council and JVP activist Comrade Naiduwawadu have not yet been properly investigated by the Police. The culprits of these incidents are yet to be brought before the law. These arouse suspicion on the government involvement in this type of happenings in the country.

It is a total farce to discuss the usage of democracy in a situation where political activists are shot dead or assaulted and there is no legal action to do justice.

Election Democracy

The democratic election in Sri Lanka is totally strange. Elections are a major feature in capitalist democracy. Even under normal conditions capitalist elections are not free and fair. Capitalist elections do not become just or carried out in a genuine democratic manner as they are held with false

promises, bribes, threats, terrorizing, misuse of state power, voter impersonation, robbery of votes and other malpractices. Further, the present government uses the strategy of holding elections prematurely or at times conducive for their victory. Also, holding elections in a staggered manner is in practice too. The present government took steps to hold presidential election in 2010, two years prior to the due period and the previous Provincial Council election too was held in the same manner on selected provincials for getting advantage for the government. The misuse of state power was quite dominant in these elections.

Provision of free meals (Dansel) with the intervention of the President and distribution of a range of consumer goods among the under privileged groups of people are mental bribes that are a common occurrence and practice during elections. The government used the executive presidential powers, parliament powers, and the use of Provincial Council powers to win the Local Government elections. The use of all other available resources to win the presidential election was openly visible. All such elections were declared held “democratically in just and fair manner”. These incidents prove the fact that democracy in Sri Lanka is an illusion and a fraud.

Capitalist Crisis And Democracy

The crisis of the present capitalist regime and the attempts to eradicate even the available capitalist democracy

is demonstrated in all that is happening in the country. It is realized that the regime has failed in providing at least the basic capitalist democratic values. Hence, they are damaging it day by day by aggravating the situation.

There is a saying in our society as “love departs from the backdoor when poverty enters from the front door of a house.” Now the capitalist democracy in Sri Lanka is experiencing the same process. What is truly understandable is that the capitalist crisis has forced its rulers to secretly strangle and murder its own capitalist democracy. That is what is actually happening, presently in Sri Lanka. Therefore, we no longer need to follow the false belief of winning democracy from the ruling class. We are forced to unite and have a relentless continuous struggle even to safeguard the limited democracy from the ruling capitalists until such regime remains in power. But it is obvious that the capitalists fail in providing such democracy.

Therefore it is our prime duty to be aware of this fraud and be prepared to unite for the struggle to win true democracy from the capitalists who are degrading and making all attempts to eradicate it from our society.

We have a duty by the motherland to prepare forces for this relentless struggle. That is the one and only available path for the forces with true patriotism and desire for true democracy. There is no other alternative.

*¹ Family Bandyism

Family Rule of Rajapaksa Family

The President Mahinda Rajapaksa ,he himself holds number of important posts of the sri lankan government. Such as,

He is the, 1) Executive President. 2) Chief of the Cabinet Of Ministers. 3) Head of the State. 4) He is the Supreme commander of the Sri Lankan Armed Forces. 5) leader of the ruling party.

He is the, 6) Minister of Defense. 7) Minister of Finance. 8) Minister of Highways. 9) Minister of Ports and Aviation. 10) Minister of Wild life & Agrarian services.

He appoints , 11) all the Judges of Supreme court Sri Lanka including The Chief Justice. 12) all the Judges of Court of Appeal Sri Lanka. 13) all the Judges of High Courts in Sri Lanka. 14) the Inspector General of Police. 15) the Attorney General of Sri lanka.

He holds , 16) The Land Reforms Commission, Telecommunication Regulatory Commission, ICTA(National IT Agency)and hundreds of national institutions are under him.

His family Members:

1. Presidents' Younger brother Mr.Basil Rajapaksa (citizen of U.S. also) is the Economic Affairs Minister and recently raised him to the post of National Organizer of the ruling Party.
 2. His next younger brother (citizen of U.S. also) Mr.Gotabaya Rajapaksa is the secretary defense and secretary of Urban development ministry.(de facto minister).
 3. His elder brother Mr.Chamal Rajapaksa is the speaker of the parliament.
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4. His eldest son Mr.Namal Rajapaksa is handling unofficially all the affairs.
He's the owner and the chairman of the CSN television which is the nation's only sports channel.
5. His next son Mr.Yoshitha Rajapaksa is the Captain of the Sri lankan Rugby team. Recently he was appointed as the chairman of another national level sports federation.
6. His next son Mr.Rohitha Rajapaksa has been training to become the country's first ever astronaut.
7. His elder brother's son is the Chief Minister of UVA province.
8. Most of his relatives are also appointed the various high posts in the regime.

Ex:1. The Chairman of the Sri lanka Airlines, National Carrier Mr.NIshantha Wickramamsuriya is a brother of the First Lady.

Ex:2. The Sri lankan ambassador to U.S.A. Mr.Jaliya Wicramasuriya also a first cousin of the President

Ex. 3. The president's other first cousin, Udayanga Weeratunga has been appointed as Sri Lanka's ambassador to Russia since 2006.

Its important to mention here that all these people were appointed to their present positions after the president reelected



Ramalingam Chandrasekar
Member of Central Committee
People's Liberation Front

DEVOLUTION OR REVOLUTION?

Ramalingam Chandrasekar – Member of Central Committee
of the People's Liberation Front (JVP) (August, 2012 -
Niyamuwa, the central organ of the party)

Devolution of power the hottest topic in Sri Lankan political arena is once again catching the headlines, with the arrival of Indian Foreign Minister to Sri Lanka. Every time this topic comes to surface a delegate from Sri Lanka or India visits each other. The capitalist rulers and the reactionary forces that are trying to divide the country are backing the devolution process.

The Indian foreign minister who visited Sri Lanka on 6th January, 2012 called a press conference to brief his visit and announced that Sri Lankan President had promised him

that he would give a solution to the national problem by going beyond 13th amendment. The Indian Foreign Minister is doing the role of “*spokesman of Sri Lankan government*” while the Sri Lankan FM keeps silent and acting like a puppet. This is a clear evidence that India is practicing super dominance towards Sri Lanka and its government.

In the meantime government spokesman Minister Keheliya Rambukwella in his press briefing on the Indian FMs’ visit has announced that the government is going to implement a senate council which will work in cooperation with the central government and the provincial councils and also the government has agreed on a solution beyond the 13th amendment. But he has not mentioned what that solution is, how the senate council is going to be appointed and the limits of its function and how it is going to affect the national problem. We doubt that minister himself is unaware of the consistency of the counsel and etc. We know that the topic of senate council is a bait to deviate the attention of the masses from the announcement of 13+ solutions to national problem which would otherwise harm the patriotic image of president Rajapakse.

What is this *¹13th amendment? It was brought forward by late *²J.R. Jayawardena to please the Indian government with its blessing, as a solution to the national problem in 1987. Except some counter revolutionary forces in UNP all the other groups in the country were against this proposal as it was not in favour of issues of Tamil masses and their wishes;

it was purely an acceptable solution to Indian needs and some Tamil capitalist separatist groups. This 13th amendment was never a solution to the national problem in Sri Lanka but a worst nightmare that has caused more problems among ethnic groups in the country.

Mr. Maninda Rajapakse, who is following the path of J.R.Jayawardena in social, economic and political arenas more powerfully and strongly than JR himself did, is planning to bring up the 13+ going a step forward than late JR so that India does not need to drop bags of *³Dhal on Sri Lankan soil to make it accepted this time. The super domination by India has brought forward '*human rights issue*' and '*problems of people of north*' to the stage threatening and paralyzing the SL government.

In fact, certain Tamil groups in Sri Lanka also should understand that the Indian intervention is not so holy regarding their problem as they now accept that the Rajapaksha regime cannot and is unable to compromise the issues of national problem. India that is doing the role of *⁴'Rambo' protecting the rights of Tamils and acting as the sole guardian of SL Tamils is actually doing a double game. The truth is that India is fulfilling its political and economic targets using the Tamils as a shield to cover their true motives. Their main targets is to dominate the local market, own land, capture the natural resources and fisheries industry and etc. Though they voice for land ownership to more Tamils the truth is that India has owned more land in north east area, they have dominated the

labour force with Indian people weakening the Tamil labour force in north east area.

Here also we get two kinds of solutions to the national problem; one is the capitalistic imperialistic solution based on dividing the people and bringing in social injustice and unrest among them, which is currently being implemented. The second is the socialistic solution based on social justice peace and unity among ethnic groups and social classes. So-called NGO and petit bourgeois groups that don't see this matter with a class consciousness gather around capitalists and Indian super dominance. Their only solution is the devolution - not that they stand for the oppressed people but to voice and support the capitalistic solution which already has created this problem. Within capitalism and particularly in Sri Lankan context the so-called imported devolution of power will only benefit the rulers and leaders of the system but not the common man. That's why devolution of power is not a solution to the problem within the capitalistic frame.

When we say this, certain individuals argue that the JVP is communalist and we do not accept the right of self determination of the Tamil masses. First of all we must say that the JVP doesn't belong to any communalism. Marxists cannot represent communalism of the minorities against that of the majority. This is why we reject all types of communalisms. When Lenin talked about the Right of Nations to Self-Determination it indicates allowing free development of nations. At a time when free development of nations was

a prerequisite for socialism, nations that were trampled by imperialism and colonialism needed to free themselves. However, this slogan has been distorted by imperialists and is being used at present to partition countries, divide and weaken nations. The JVP taking this state into consideration and representing the unity of the class against separatist strategies of imperialism is not falling into communalism at all.

The JVP policy regarding federalism is very clear. As taught by Marxism, Federalism has two sides. One is to use federalism as an interim stage to merge divided countries or nations. The other is as an interim stage to divide nations and countries. We are against federalism that divides but support federalism that is used as an interim stage to unite countries and nations. What is being advocated in Sri Lanka is to bring federalism as a mean to divide the country and the nation (class). This is why we do not agree to this kind of federalism. We are against the politics of capitalism and imperialism that divide the nation but would struggle to achieve national unity based on democracy and equality.

The double role that the Rajapaksa regime is playing has complicated the national problem; To stabilize their political power they have to satisfy the Sinhala extremists groups in one way, and on the other they have to bow to Indian expansionism. This dilemma is clearly depicted in the way government reacted to Indian FM's Press release regarding the 13+ amendment.

Sri Lankan government, which promised beyond 13+ to India that is asking a demand for more than 13+ from SL, is still unable to address the real problems the people in the north and the east are facing at the moment; most in these areas still live as dissidents and they have no land to cultivate. Still they are unaware of the lost ones and most youth are under military arrest. The north and the east are governed by the military forces and thousands of political prisoners are being detained without bail. The people of these areas need basic things as civil governing body which can give them good education, basic health facilities, better transport and etc. But the central government is acting deaf and dumb to those problems which can be addressed easily.

As we mentioned earlier, we can have two kind of solutions to the national problem and Indian expansionism drags it to one extremity which is totally not acceptable and not justifiable to common man; the devolution of power which leads to a separate country; separate people and separate the classes. Though the military wing of separatism was defeated three years back, people still do not have democratic freedom. This is leading the Tamils towards separatism once again. Recently a group of Tamil intellectuals announced that the struggle for separate land is still continuing and advised the TNA *⁵(Tamil National Alliance) not to accept any political solution which can weaken their struggle.

When we think as a common Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim man, the national problem should be analyzed with a view of

the proletarian class. This solution is based on equality and, democracy. Instead of undemocratic decentralizing, it should be a democratic centralization - instead of separating people it should unite them.

So, the real solution is within the socialist frame and what is needed to reach this goal is a revolution of the society crushing the wings of imperialism, capitalism and all sorts of social injustice. Let a Revolution evolve in place of Devolution; It's the duty of us all to make sure that this social revolution defeats capitalism and brings victory to the people.

The JVP policy is very clear. As mentioned earlier the fundamentals of solving the national question would be affirming democracy, giving rights to all on a basis of equality, decentralizing administration up to the village level ensuring the sovereignty of the people and practically and legally abolishing all differences.

It is essential to do away with the acute differences between the cities and villages and establish an economy that would benefit both and get everyone to contribute to this economy which would give its benefits to all in a just manner. This could be done only by socialism; capitalism does not have any means of doing so. The revolutionary constitution of the JVP mentions several such policies. As proletarian state power is essential in solving the national question in socialism, it is mentioned as the first point in our party constitution. For, certain proposals are meaningless in

a capitalist system. The main policies on ‘state structure’ in the constitution are as follows:

- 1.i Proletarian state power would be established.
 - ii. A socialist constitution would be established as the fundamental law of the country.
 - iii. A socialist republic will be established.
 - iv. A referendum will be held to get the constitution approved by the masses.
2. Partitioning the country as well as arbitrary centralization will be opposed.
 3. The Socio-political cohesion and nationhood would be maintained based on equality and self administration for minorities.

Accordingly, in solving the national question arbitrary decentralization as well as arbitrary centralization is wrong. The policy should be democratic centralization. The capitalist policy is either arbitrary decentralization (devolution of power) or arbitrary centralization. Marxists do not accept either of them.

On the other hand the JVP maintained a very correct stand regarding the issue of the language. This too is mentioned in our constitution. Making one language the official language in a country where more than one language is used for communication would increase inequality and is unfair. Capitalist governments in Sri Lanka declared

Sinhalese as the official language to get the majority Sinhalese votes. However, the real official language in Sri Lanka was neither Sinhalese nor Tamil but English. The JVP policy on the language is that declaring one language as the official language is wrong, all three languages (Sinhalese, Tamil and English), used by people in the country, should be made official languages and the government should be prepared to communicate in any of these languages when dealing with masses. Providing privileges on the language and belittling anyone on his/her language should be ended. As such, it is evident that the national question could be genuinely solved in Sri Lanka only through socialism and following the aforementioned policies and Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim masses should struggle to achieve these objectives.

*¹ The national question is a ravage handed over to Sri Lanka by the regressive capitalist administration, colonialism and imperialism. The existence of political inequalities between Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim Burgher and Malay communities and imperialist separatist strategies that cultivated these inequalities developed the national question in Sri Lanka into a ferocious civil war. Indian central government, India's intelligence arm Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) and Tamil Nadu state government directly aided, gave armed training and weapons to separatist organizations in Sri Lanka, specially the LTTE. And in 1987 India, using its military and political might, overpowered the Sri Lanka government and got the infamous 'Indo- Sri Lanka pact signed. This pact allowed more than 100,000 Indian

soldiers to land in Sri Lanka and the 13th amendment, an amendment to partition the country and devolve power on a communal basis, was added to the Constitution of Sri Lanka. Since then Indian capitalist governments make use of the national question in general and the 13th amendment in particular to interfere in Sri Lanka's internal affairs.

*² J.R. Jayawardana - President of Sri Lanka. (1977-88) is Recognized as a pro-capitalist, pro-imperialist minded politician who was the main architect of the social economic disaster in Sri Lanka.

*³ Indian Air Force invaded the independent air space of Sri Lanka in 1987 and provided various material aids to the LTTE.

*⁴ Rambo - A main character of a series of films made in the USA. The character played by Sylvester Stallone and the films were made to justify CIA and US foreign policy moves.

*⁵ TNA - Tamil National Alliance. This is a capitalist coalition of Tamil political parties and groups. The TNA was formed by the LTTE as its proximate practicing Tamil communal politics and always aligned with imperialism and Indian government's agenda.



Vijitha Herath

*Member of the Political Bureau
Propaganda Secretary
People's Liberation Front*

LLRRC 'MAGIC BOX' HAS NO TRICKS

Comrade Vijitha Herath Member of Political Bureau,
Propaganda Secretary of People's Liberation Front (JVP) &
Member of Parliament

The report of the 'Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation' (LLRC) was presented by the government to Parliament on the 16th December, 2011. The government has opened its 'magic box' which it claimed had answers to all the accusations that were targeted against it during the 2 ½ year period since the end of the war. However, this has been exposed before the society as just an empty box that could not perform any tricks.

The only trump card the government held as an answer to the international accusations regarding the

conduct of the security forces during the war was the LLRC. What the government expected from the LLRC was not to learn any lessons or for reconciliation but to create a strong reply to the international. For, the government need not have waited until international pressure to set up such a commission.

Setting up such commissions after the end of civil wars is not a novel experience. The ‘Truth and Reconciliation Commission’ established after the end of the civil war in South Africa was one such commission. They were not set up as an answer for international pressure but were to genuinely review occurrences during the civil war and to find out ways and means to minimize animosity and erase mistrust.

However, LLRC was setup to show the world that a local mechanism exists to recognize the process of accountability for the war. For, the government was confronted with the threat of an international mechanism being set up with the direct involvement of the UN or the International Human Rights Council. The post war conduct of the government was so detrimental that the affect Darusman report had on the government was appalling even when LLRC had been set up.

In such a situation, compiling an incomplete report that merely feels the surface of a civil war situation that existed for more than three decades is a very risky move. For, incomplete conclusions and incomplete proposals that are arrived basing on incomplete information would

make the issue more complicated. In such a situation, the stand the government took stating the *¹ Darusman commission report was unilateral would have no validity. It is no coincidence that such pathetic destinies are met when answers (not solutions) for issues are sought not for exploration, examination and implementation but to please or deceive others.

The ‘Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation’ (LLRC) showed inadequate qualities from its inception and during the one year period from 15th May, 2010 to 15th May, 2011 it displayed its impotency in its functioning. The commission was not assigned to review regarding separatism that was active militarily for more than 30 years or local factors and historical conditions that influenced its birth. On the other hand the commission did not have as its objective to review the contributions from imperialism or the neighbouring India towards the activities of separatist forces. The commission had to review only incidents that occurred during the period from the signing of the *² Cease-Fire Agreement to the end of the war on the 19th May, 2009. Here too they were expected just to scratch the surface without going into the depth of socio-economic-political factors that influenced them.

There were accusations that the functioning of the commission from May 2010 to May 2011 did not create opportunities for a broad section of the masses to express their views. There were charges that sufficient time was not given when evidence was recorded from the people

in the North and the East and certain political groups affiliated to the government threatened those who came forward to give evidence before the commission.

On several occasions we have shown that what exists in the North today is a semi-military administration. The connections of the security forces in abductions and attacks on civilians in the North cannot be hidden from anyone. Thousands have been displaced due to the war and they still have not been able to regulate their agricultural, fishing, business and trade functions or know details about the disappeared members of their families. In short the government has not been able to establish civil administration in the North. The commission of the government too has not realized this situation or it has been careful not to embarrass the government.

The commission that has made a very meek suggestion of investigating EPDP, a faction of the government, is nonsensitive regarding government's political pressure applied in attempting to control the public opinion in the North and denying political activities for other parties. The commission expresses its pleasure for the withdrawal of emergency regulations but does not say this act has been nullified due to the continuation of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA). As the commission has made the period of war its field of inquiry it, like a man walking with closed eyes at noon, avoids suggesting any solutions for issues of the disappeared and those who are detained under the PTA.

As such, it is futile to judge or consider proposals of the report as good or bad ones. For, the commission has been unable not only to find solutions for the challenging task of reconciliation between communities which it was named for, but has not been able to question acts that hinder reconciliation process such as the undemocratic administration of the government and non establishment of good governance.

On the other hand it is the government that is inconvenienced when recommendations of the commission are presented 2 ½ years after the end of the war. For, they could have been implemented without the recommendations of a commission. Resettlement and assisting to normalize life in the North, giving back lands to their owners, releasing political prisoners, solving issues of the disappeared, civil administration, democracy and establishing good governance were proposed by the JVP within a month after the end of the war. *³ The JVP, recognizing the priority of this matter, proposed to stop all other political activities in the country for six months and appoint a committee consisting of members from all political parties representing the parliament to implement this programme.

However, Rajapaksa government did not comprehend then the risk of the challenges not only the government but also the country would have to confront. Even after 2 ½ years it is clear that the government has not learnt any lessons through this commission. Rajapaksa government, just like governments before it, is unable

to develop consensus among the communities. Under Capitalism it is impossible to achieve unity, consensus among the communities.

Most of the recommendations of the commissions are what the government should have done before. According to today's expression they are 'expired' goods. The government should contain the risk of marketing 'expired goods' internationally and locally. This is the challenge the government will have to face when the report is presented as an 'answer.'

*¹ UN Panel of Experts' Report on the final period of the war. The Chairman of the committee appointed by the General Secretary of UNO was Mr Darusman. So the Report got its name as Darusman Report.

*² The agreement signed between the LTTE and then prime minister of Sri Lanka Ranil Wickremesinghe on 21st February, 2002. Norway acted as the mediator. Despite the agreement mentions a ceasefire, it provided the LTTE direct and indirect opportunities to get military, economic, administrative and diplomatic authority to form a separate state. The agreement compiled secretly to the people, cabinet and the Parliament of Sri Lanka but with the backing of imperialist countries including the USA and Norway was signed by the LTTE and the government of Sri Lanka. This pact helped the LTTE to gain status of a state (unofficial).

*³ JVP proposals

Practical initiative to minimize issues of Tamil masses

A practical programme to minimize the issues and difficulties confronted by the Tamils in Sri Lanka and to build national unity was presented to the government by the JVP.

The programme was presented to the media by the Leader of the JVP Somawansa Amarasinghe at a media meeting held at 'Mahagedera,' the Head Office of the JVP at Pelawatta today (15th). The media meeting was also attended by General Secretary of the JVP Tilvin Silva, Parliamentarian Anura Dissanayake and Deputy Chairman of Committees of Parliament Ramalingam Chandrasekar.

The full text of the programme presented by the JVP is as follows:

The only wish of the Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim, Burgher and Malay citizens of this country is to build the future of Sri Lanka when separatist terrorism has been defeated and the country is at a decisive juncture. In directing the country towards this noble task the most essential and foremost task is to build national unity. In building national unity it is essential to comprehend the national question and find correct solutions. We have to overcome this challenge by defeating communalism and separatism. To completely resolve the national question it is necessary to establish genuine democracy and remove socio-economic inequality among various communities. This may not be a challenge capitalist rulers could overcome. However, at this moment, when separatist terrorism has been defeated, an environment has been created to implement several essential introductory measures that these rulers cannot evade. We present here several immediate introductory practical steps that could be taken to build trust among different nationalities in Sri Lanka.

1. As conferring privileges to one language in a multi-national state where several communities that speak several languages live would bring about differences and pressure on communities the clauses in the Constitution regarding languages should be amended and Sinhalese, Tamil and English should be pronounced as national languages. All three languages should be given equal status. To practically implement these rights immediately,
 - I. All circulars, documents that contain laws, regulations and resolutions of the government should be made available in Sinhalese and Tamil.
 - II. Displaying all notice boards and notices in government offices, name boards of public roads, public vehicles and public places in Tamil Language too should be made compulsory.
 - III. Recruiting those with competence in Tamil to serve in state institutions should be expedited and priority should be given to such recruitments in areas where there is a Tamil speaking majority.
 - IV. Measures should be taken to hold seminars, lectures held for the public by various state institutions in Tamil as well.
 - V. Steps should be taken to fulfill practical needs that is required for citizens to have education in their mother tongue in any educational institute.
 2. To normalize the living conditions of masses who were tormented by the war that continued for nearly three decades
 - I. The 'Task force to redevelop the Northern and Eastern Provinces' consisting of representatives from all political parties that represent Parliament should be appointed immediately.
 - II. All people's representatives that represent Parliament should be given opportunity to visit IDP camps, review their needs and find suitable solutions.
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- III. A 'programme of voluntary participation' for redevelopment of the Northern and Eastern Provinces should be implemented.
 - IV. A reasonable compensation should be paid to all those families whose members lost their lives due to the war and special emphasis should be drawn to improve the standard of life of those including widows who were tormented by the war in the North and the East.
 - V. A special programme should be implemented for the old who have lost their relatives and orphans.
 - VI. Steps should be taken to draw up a 'National Defense Plan' and remove, in several stages, the 'High Security Zones' that are a hindrance to daily livelihood and economic activities.
 - VII. All armed groups that are still active in the North and the East in a manner that obstructs establishing democracy in those areas should be completely disarmed.
 - VIII. A secretariat to collect data regarding all those citizens who were driven away from the North and the East should be implemented immediately in order to resettle them and a complete report should be submitted.
 - IX. Financial and physical resources should be made available specially to areas that were battered by the war and also areas that suffer from poverty.
 - X. A general procedure should be followed that would not harm the dignity of residents when people are registered by police stations for security reasons.
 - 3. Considering the issue of the internally displaced due to the war as the main issue nationally and in order to give priority in its mediation,
 - I. Steps should be taken to fulfill their basic needs and register them at least within 6 months
-

- II. A special mediation should be made to make available water, food, health and sanitary facilities in IDP camps that are being maintained and human resources including doctors, nurses and funds on par with the numbers in the camps and their needs should be made available with the understanding of the abovementioned "Council of Task Force. '
 - III. Members of the same families who are detained in different camps should be united in one camp until they are resettled.
 - IV. The mental environment and practical needs of the more than 50,000 students should be promptly made available and those students who sat the GCE A/L examination this year should be given an extra opportunity.
 - V. A report containing all particulars of those who have been apprehended and surrendered due to terrorist war should be presented to the Parliament.
 - VI. The fundamental rights of the people in IDP camps and also after they are resettled should be protected according to human rights regulations found in the Constitution.
 - 4. In order to abolish enmity among nationalities and develop friendship and in order to protect their general rights,
 - I. A mediation should be made to elevate cultural components of exclusive literary and aesthetic fields of Tamil and Muslim people to national level
 - II. Broaden the radio and TV medium maintained in Tamil
 - III. Commencing, as an introductory measure, at least one bi-lingual school in Divisional Secretariat areas where the main nationalities live in large numbers
 - IV. Establish a national centre and its branches in Divisional Secretariat areas to report injustices and unequal treatment based on nationality, religion and language and find solace to those victims in order to halt such injustices
-

and unequal treatment.

- V. Implementing a special project to expedite the issue of birth certificates, identity cards of Tamil citizens required to confirm their citizenship
- VI. Establishing a 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission' to examine injustices that have occurred to various communities, study and propose measures to abolish animosity and distrust among various communities.

Political Bureau,

Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP)

15.07.2009.



Dr. H.P. Dhammika
Member of central committee
People's Liberation Front

IS THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRATEGY A REALITY?

This Theoretical Political Paper by Comrade Dr. H.P. Dhammika Member of central committee of People's Liberation Front (JVP) was published in the March 2012 issue of 'Left' Magazine.

Capitalism stepped to the 21st century with a huge economic depression. It is facing its worse and deepest crisis in the history. Present economic depression began not from the bottom but the core itself. It is a social revolution that this crisis is asking for - socialist revolution. Though the subjective conditions for a revolution have thrived, putting the forces in line for such a revolution is needed in each country. Here, the revolutionary tactics become very important.

‘Socialism through national liberation struggle’ was

considered as the strategy to be adopted in countries like Sri Lanka which are developmentally backward and are victimized by neocolonialism. But, arguments differ on this. Various distortions exist. Petty- bourgeoisie- rightist opportunists blend national liberation struggle tactic with capitalist fronts and try to succumb socialism to the needs of capitalist class, stratifying the revolution into stages. At the other end, extremist-leftist Trotskyite petty bourgeoisies dream about 'pure proletarian revolution' rejecting national liberation struggle. In final analysis, both these notions serve to protect capitalism.

National liberation struggle strategy; Is it still valid? What is meant by that? How that strategy emerged? is it applicable in Sri Lanka? Clearing these doubts is of great importance in choosing tactics in defeating capitalism.

At the time of introduction of Marxism, as an answer to capitalist crisis, the global Capitalism was in its early years. At that time, Capitalism was operating in free competition model. Marx expressed that the Socialism would materialize worldwide altogether or else in developed rich countries first. He came to this conclusion seeing the crisis faced by capitalism in free competition. That was the objective reality which prevailed at that time. He further said that the organized proletariat class, shaped in industries in developed countries, would get hold of capitalist factories and gain ruling powers. Accordingly, capture of capital by proletariat was the strategic path for the revolution. But with a big leap capitalism reached

to a fresh status in 20th century. Capitalism, terminating free competition, stepped in to monopoly capitalism or else imperialism. It was Lenin, who based on Marxist principles, interpreted this new phase of Capitalism.

Lenin could see that Socialism could emerge not only in the capitalist developed countries but from the countries at the periphery which are stricken from Imperialism. In keeping with these new developments, Lenin improved Marxism to include new theoretical bases and new strategies to be considered for revolution in backward countries in the periphery. Lenin, theoretically and with clarity, answered those who overlooked these new developments and persisted on theories which Marx introduced at the era of Capitalist free competition.

Once he said, *“Comrade Ricoh says that Socialism should begin from industrially developed countries. But that is not the case. No one is sure about who would commence it or who would finish it. That is not Marxism. It is making fun of Marxism. Marx said that it would begin in France and end in Germany. But Russian proletariat could succeed surpassing all of the other”* (Lenin collected works, 5th volume, page 94-Sinhala language version)

Though the probability of revolution existed even in capitalist system in imperialist colonies as well as in peripheral backward countries, they needed a novel revolutionary strategy. Here, Lenin sorted out another dilemma theoretically. General acceptance was that if a country is not achieving all

gains of Capitalism that country will not enter into Socialist path. In other words, it was the general belief that Capitalist revolution must precede Socialist Revolution. Following new developments after Russian revolution, Lenin changed this notion. He said that if a triumphant proletariat state supports a country, it can achieve Socialism circumventing Capitalist revolution. He named it as '*non capitalist development path*'. He further explained '*Is it correct to affirm that it is a must that undeveloped countries which are stepping on liberation path and heading towards the progress at least to some extent, to attain era of capitalist economic development ? We answered it as 'no'. If the triumphant revolutionary proletariat class carry out a systematic propaganda, and if the Soviets come forward to help them using all the means which are there for their use, it is wrong thinking that undeveloped countries should essentially follow through capitalist development phase*' (Lenin collected works, volume 11, page 55 – Sinhala language version)

Studying all quantitative and qualitative changes which occurred with the progress of Capitalism into Imperialism, Lenin proposed new tactics for global revolution. There, if the Capitalist octopus were to be weakened, as if chopping its arms one by one, Lenin believed that similarly Socialism should be established in Imperialist stricken countries. It was in this background that National Liberation Struggle tactic was proposed as a way for Socialist revolution.

By the time of assembling 3rd Communist International

in 1919, under the guidance of Lenin and the leadership of revolutionary victorious Russia, National liberation struggles were sprouting in Imperialist Colonies against Colonialism. In general, the leadership of those struggles was held by bourgeoisie of respective countries. In this backdrop, in a resolution forwarded to 3rd International, Lenin proposed that the leadership of National liberation struggles in the Colonies should be held by proletariat revolutionary parties so that those struggles could culminate in Socialist revolution. National liberation struggle tactic was constructed as such. The purpose of this was to carry forward these National liberation struggles to a Socialist revolutionary victory rather than a triumph of bourgeoisie.

In understanding these tactics it is necessary to identify the concepts like National struggles, National liberation struggles, National states and the differences among them. Wiping out feudalism, capitalism came into existence creating capitalist national states instead of feudalist local governing bodies. Feudalist nationalities evolved in to Nations with the capitalist system. Accordingly, National states were established by bourgeoisie class. Political movement of young bourgeoisie class which fought against colonialist powers at the early years of capitalism was named as National movements. At the beginning even the Marxist movements (as it was needed that capitalist revolution precede Socialism) backed bourgeoisie National movements. But, once capitalism headed towards regression, at its depression Marxists tried to

carry their movements towards social revolution instead of backing bourgeois national movements. That is what Lenin proposed in 1905 in Russia.

National liberation movements differ from national movements. National movements are the ones which establish capitalist states getting rid of old social systems. In contrast, the national liberation movements facilitated the establishment of capitalist systems in the colonies and dependent countries stricken by colonialism. There, those national movements had an element of liberation too. That is the struggle against colonialism. At the inception of capitalism, Marxists supported these National liberation struggles. That's because it was a precondition to establish capitalism and then capitalist national states prior to Socialism. In keeping with that, during the Poland's issue Marx stood for the independence of Poland.

Later, by the time capitalism, amidst its crisis, developed into Imperialism the World was divided in to colonies and their owners, the Imperialist countries. Capitalist relationships were building up even during Imperialist interventions (ex-Ceylon). As a result, both bourgeoisie and proletariat classes were appearing in those colonies. Liberation movements were surfacing in those countries and the national bourgeoisie led them. Here, what Lenin proposed was to free National liberation struggles from the leadership of bourgeoisie and transfer to the leadership of proletariat class so that once these countries get independence from colonialism, Socialist

national states could be established instead of capitalist national states.

Therefore the strategy for the Socialist revolution in backward colonies in periphery was to use National liberation struggles by proletariat class to gain power. In line with this strategy Vietnam, N. Korea and China could succeed in socialist revolutions. But countries like India failed. In Sri Lanka, though there was a national movement, a national liberation movement did not materialize. By 1945, the time the World War II ended, several colonies could succeed in Socialist revolutions. Socialist front was founded together with Eastern European countries which could establish socialist states with the help of Soviet Red army. On the other hand, struggles against colonialism were on the rise with the retreat of Imperialism. A proletariat movement was active in those colonies. Seeing this development, Imperialists devised new strategies to prevent the risk of such Colonies falling in to the hands of '*Communists*'. Transferring the powers to local bourgeoisie class, Imperialists moved to '*neo colonialism*' strategy. Accordingly, direct colonialism was replaced by Neo colonialism era in 1945.

Establishment of neo-colonialism did not make the objective politics, required for national liberation struggle, obsolete. But, the expression of the struggle differed. It became more complex and laborious. That's because, even if the intruder was directly discernible in colonialism he was invisible during neo-colonialism. It was the local rulers who

were in the forefront. Hence, it was a necessity to unite the struggle against imperialism and capitalism together. Due to the complex situation which occurred in neo-colonial tactic, non-existence of Leninist 3rd International after 1943, and also forcing communist parties to form united front's accepting anti-fascist peoples' front ideology which was forwarded to 3rd International in 1935 by Bulgarian communist party leader George Dimitrov on behalf of Stalin, national liberation struggle tactic of some countries got deformed and entered into wrong political path of making united front's with bourgeoisie class. Revolution was divided into two stages; first stage was named as Capitalist Democratic Stage; and then Socialist Revolution was postponed. This harmed the national liberation struggle tactic hugely. Leftist extremists began to question and reject national liberation struggle tactic. But in reality, the defect was not in the tactic but the way it was used, by forming capitalist united fronts. There are political 'infants' who refuse national liberation struggle strategy in fear of 'pitfalls' in it. These so-called 'leftists' try to quote people like Frantz Fanon who failed to understand Marxism. With those, they serve imperialism indirectly by harming anti-imperialist struggle of countries affected by imperialism and the struggle for socialist revolution of those countries. This makes the assessment of applicability of national liberation struggle tactic in contemporary neo-liberalism.

We said earlier that complexities arose in national

liberation struggles when colonial countries started to operate in neo-liberalism. When there were direct colonies local bourgeoisie class was active in national liberation struggle. But, during neo-colonialism there was not need for them to be anti-imperialist or fight for national liberation as they were holding power. And also, there was no possibility for that too because of their dependence on imperialism. Hence, proletariat class movement has to lead and play the major role in genuine national liberation struggle during neo-colonialism. When capitalism starts to operate neo-liberalism, parallel to that the collapse of socialist front, and when the imperialists, who exploited that opportunity, began to spread their economic and political dominance around the world (especially in countries which functioned as socialist and their related anti-imperialist countries) imperialist interventions on new colonies escalated both quantitatively and qualitatively.

This developed almost to the extent of re-colonization. Invasion of Iraq by United States led imperialists, invasion of Afghanistan, the partitioning of Kosovo, intervening to partition Sudan, use of separatism as a weapon to weaken and exploit countries in periphery, R2P (Right to Protect) concept, recent invasion of Libya, intimidation and cordoning of Iran, increase in number of US military bases around the globe, are some of the examples which testify to this. Novel logical objective environment has surfaced for the national liberation and anti-imperialist struggles in the backdrop of imperialists'

activities such as direct military interventions to exploit and pillage countries in the periphery, use of various bodies such as Security Council and military alliances like NATO, United Nations Human Rights Commission, International Monetary Fund and also with their various conspiracies. It can be refused only by those who are politically blind, infantile, or by 'gangs' who are dependent on and serve imperialists as back up battalions. It is quiet rational to use national liberation struggle or the anti-imperialist patriotic struggle as the strategy for revolution in a situation where conditions for a socialist revolution has evolved in peripheral countries inflicted by neo-liberalism.

To gather the majority of people for revolution, slogan of national liberation and patriotism is important, especially because the proletariat forces are relatively smaller in peripheral countries due to poor capitalist development, and due to the presence of various groups affected by imperialism. Therefore, it is correct to put all anti-imperialist and patriotic forces in line with forwardness of proletariat by the revolutionary movement of proletariat class under its leadership. Here, the local bourgeoisie class becomes no companion and it is clear that they have no role to play as they stand in line with imperialism and are dependent on imperialism.

As Lenin highlighted, in a socialist revolution, the contribution of majority of the population or at least their allegiance is important in gaining power and

establishing socialism; use of national liberation struggle as the revolutionary tactic in countries which exist as new imperialist colonies or are victims of imperialism becomes an undeniable reality. If the proletariat movement, based on a more advanced ideology, build and lead a wider peoples' movement, not allowing the bourgeoisie class to exploit and use anti-imperialist, patriotic (not chauvinistic) sentiments of people for their mere subsistence, the path to socialism through national liberation struggle could end in success. Hence, it is an indisputable truth and objective reality that novel form of national liberation struggle is the revolutionary tactic in countries like ours.

It is the responsibility of genuine leftists to defeat non-Marxist ideology of so called radical leftists who have no faith in the masses, no courage to amass people of various sectors in to a unitary struggle, extremely leftist and are confined to small circles cut off from the public.



Tilvin Silva
General Secretary
People's Liberation Front

WE NEED AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST POLITICAL MOVEMENT

This Interview of Comrade Tilvin Silva General Secretary of People's Liberation Front (JVP) was published in May, 2012 issue of Niyamuwa, central organ of the party.

Question: How do you describe the crisis that Sri Lanka is currently facing?

Comrade Tilvin Silva: If I summarize, Sri Lanka is facing a severe economic crisis at this moment. Main reason for that is the neoliberal economic policy that our rulers follow. As a result of failure of the current government to head towards national unity, separatist ideology is on the rise again. India and the other imperialists interfere taking the advantage of these problems, specially, the national question and accompanying human rights issues.

It is very serious. United States could pass a resolution against Sri Lanka at the Geneva Human Right Council with the support of India. One can understand the gravity of imperialists' interventions with this move. On the other hand, repression of political dissidents, abductions, attacking peaceful protests and killing of unarmed civilians during such protests have put the democracy in peril. Rising crime rate has seriously affected the lives of ordinary people. This means that a huge socio-economic and a political crisis reign in Sri Lanka at present.

Niyamuwa: How do you see the imperialist interventions against Sri Lanka?

Answer: Sri Lanka was subjected to imperialist interventions from the very moment of being independent from direct colonialism and entered in to the era of neo-colonialism. These interventions became worse recently when imperialists attempted re-acquisition of the world with neo-liberal economic policies. Initially they, specially the USA, could put Sri Lanka in a debt trap through World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization and handle internal politics by means of various so called 'aids'. They established *¹**'Voice of America'** in Sri Lanka during *²J.R. Jayawardhana's rule, and tried to exploit *³Trincomalee port and the oil farm for their own benefit. India, by then being in the opposing front to USA, tried to keep its dominance over Sri Lanka and

prevented falling Trincomalle port in to the hands of USA. The 1987 *⁴**Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord** was a result of that. But, in the new geopolitical situation which came up following the collapse of Socialist front, both India and USA interfered in the matters of Sri Lanka sharing similar political and strategic stands. As in the past they used national question for that. It was this interference which pushed separatist politics in North to a separatist war. They could push the government of Mr. Ranil Wickramasinghe (present opposition leader) to a *⁵**Ceasefire Agreement** in 2002 making use of the separatist war. Even now, at a time there is no more war, they manipulate internal politics of Sri Lanka with concepts like '*human rights*' and '*R2P*'. They even manipulate the economy and the market of Sri Lanka with those. Therefore, imperialist interventions against Sri Lanka do not occur just unintentionally but happens within the context of their strategic planning.

Niyamuwa: By now imperialism has met with a big turmoil; it has fallen in to a deep economic depression. In such a situation how could imperialist intervention be on the rise in countries like ours?

Answer: It is this crisis that compels them to interfere in countries like ours. The crisis forces the imperialists to plunder, to subjugate and to manipulate other countries to the tune of their economical, political and military needs. Accordingly they become more and more frenzy.

The deeper the imperialist crisis goes the more becomes its aggression, cruelty and brutality. That is the reality. It is so because the only alternative they choose to get a way out of economic depression is pillage of resources in countries in the periphery and get hold of markets of those countries. This would prevail till imperialism is defeated.

Niyamuwa: In what way does imperialism interfere and what are their intentions?

Answer: There are many ways that imperialist's intervene in countries like ours. Either they use prevailing internal problems or else they will create such issues. If needed, they will invade. Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya are some examples. In addition, they try to weaken and subjugate countries by partitioning them. Meddling with the partitioning of Kosovo, partitioning Sudan and intervening in Sri Lanka using separatist politics are some such instances. Apart from that interference in countries all around the world economically and militarily by maintaining military bases are going on.

For some time, they interfered in our internal issues through granting loans and using national question. They manipulate economic policy of Sri Lanka through IMF and other monetary agencies. Sri Lankan rupee was devaluated on their influence. Similarly, USA took measures to stop oil import from Iran for dollars. With that, they could

involve Sri Lanka too indirectly for the embargo on Iran. Sri Lankan government had no alternative than abide by that. Sri Lanka entered into a ***Defense Agreement with USA**. That's on March 2007. Accordingly, USA has gained the power of using Sri Lankan soil for their military purposes and to obtain necessary services. USA 'Pacific Command' military unit uses Sri Lanka disguise in various welfare activities and exploit natural resources. Confining Sri Lanka into the USA's economic, political and military agenda is the strategy used by them on Sri Lanka. This has become unavoidable considering Socialist China's dominance in Asia.

Niyamuva: What is the role of India here?

Answer: As an ally of Soviet Russia at the time when Socialist front was strong, India acted against USA interference in this region. With that, India could dictate on Sri Lanka for a pro-India status instead of pro-American stance. India backed separatist politics that evolved in to an armed struggle. In the absence of Soviet Russia, India standing together with USA is now acting against Chinese dominance. Both India and USA follow the same agenda with regard to Sri Lanka. India voted in favor of the resolution brought up by USA in Human Rights Committee in Geneva, accordingly. Both countries are forcing for devolution of power to North and East on ethnic basis. An Indian parliamentary group arrived in Sri

Lanka on 17th and 18th of last April, 2012 to influence the government on devolution of powers. Not only that, imperialists try to strangle and get Sri Lanka to kneel down using resolutions passed in Geneva recently. That is how imperialists intervene in Sri Lanka.

Niyamuwa: O.K., can these imperialist interventions be defeated? If so how?

Answer: Though imperialism is in a big crisis it will not become silent on its own. It will do whatever it can to spread its dominance over the world. Therefore it's not easy to understand its behavior and also to defeat it. As once Lenin said *"the crust of the imperialism, as it is made up of strong iron, cannot be shattered by any chick"*. 'Magician ministers in the Rajapaksa's government or the President Rajapaksa cannot defeat imperialism; they have no intension as well. A massive peoples' movement is needed for that. Imperialism can be tackled only by a peoples' force which acts nationally and internationally, concurrently. For that, a national as well as a worldwide anti-imperialist movement is needed. The anti-imperialist movement should be enforced with a vision and an aim that could defeat imperialism as well as its local bourgeoisie rulers who act as their local agents.

Niyamuwa: Is it true that Mahinda Rajapaksa's regime is

anti-imperialist and that's why USA passed Geneva resolutions.

Answer: Not at all. Mahinda Rajapaksa's regime is neither anti-imperialist nor anti-USA by any means. It is not because of the fact that Rajapaksa's regime is anti-imperialist that USA passed that resolution. It is just to further subdue the government which is already standing together with imperialism. Some carters hit bulls with the stick while they are dragging the cart. That is not because the bull is against the owner; but it is to expedite the journey. And to threaten the bull to get more work done. The act of the USA is similar.

The other thing is that Rajapaksa's regime is working together with USA in many fronts already. As we said earlier, it is the IMF which decides economic policy of this government. How can they become anti-imperialist? The IMF released seventh tranche of its loan to Sri Lanka last month, because these people are pro-imperialist. On the other hand, Rajapaksa's government signed an agreement with the USA Department of Defense in March 2007. It was the Defense secretary Gatabhaya Rajapaksa who signed that. It is still functional. USA Pacific Command frequently visits Sri Lanka and works together. How come this government becomes anti-imperialist? In the field of economy, it's Caltex, a USA venture, which handles lubricant oil in Sri Lanka. Rajapaksa's government renewed the agreement between

Sri Lanka and that company for the second time. It was the same government which granted 5000 acres of land in Polonnaruwa for banana cultivation to American Dole Company.

Therefore this government is neither anti-USA nor anti-imperialist. It is acting to the tune of imperialists' economical and political needs. There can be antagonism between the two. But they are not serious. What is seen mostly is an attempt of imperialist to tame the current government.

Niyamuwa: What are JVP's proposals in this background to defeat imperialist interference?

Answer: Clearly, to defeat imperialist interventions an anti-imperialist movement which is strong enough for that is needed. We saw the need from the very beginning. We believe that there is a novel national liberation struggle is in front of us. Our tactic is heading towards socialism through national liberation struggle. In keeping with that and the current imperialist interventions a broader anti-imperialist front, anti-imperialist people's movement is needed. Our aim is to build such a broad anti-imperialist peoples' movement.

Niyamuwa: Could you explain the composition, leadership and duties of such a movement?

Answer: The leadership of a genuine anti-imperialist front in this era should essentially go to the leftist movement. At this stage, in backward weak capitalist countries like ours anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism are tied together. Therefore, the leftist movement should lead the genuine anti-imperialist front. In Sri Lanka the responsibility falls on the JVP.

Genuine anti-imperialist, patriotic and progressive forces should be rallied around leftist leadership. Here, more than an alliance of political parties, a coalition of peoples' forces is needed. It is the working masses that suffer socially, economically, politically and in all aspects due to imperialism that can fight steadfastly against imperialism. Those are proletariat classes, farmers, fishermen and so on who contribute to the economy. Therefore the forefront of the movement that we build should be held by the working masses. Similarly, youths, women, and students too should become strong forces in the fight against imperialism. They also should join as a force. Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims and all should be aligned in this struggle. In addition anti-imperialist, patriotic groups and individuals in various strata like intellectuals, professionals, journalists, artists, and environmentalists and so on should take part. In keeping with that we should put up the broadest anti-imperialist peoples' movement gathering all those organizations, groups and individuals

under the leadership of leftist leadership. That should be one which fights against imperialism together with other anti-imperialist elements all around the world and one which establishes new socialist rule in Sri Lanka instead of backward weak capitalism, unraveling it from imperialist bonds.

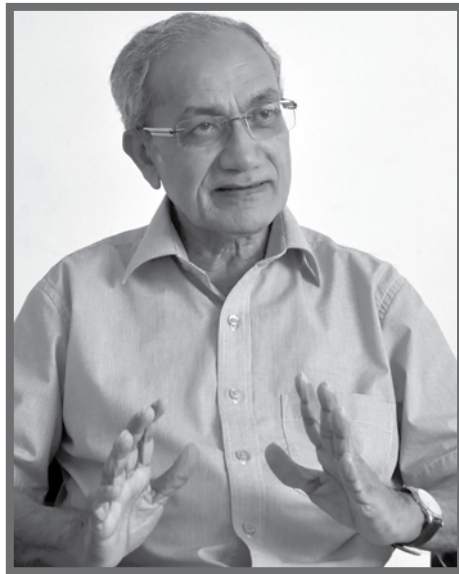
Niyamuwa: O.K, to end, what are the steps already taken to establish such an anti-imperialist people's movement and what are the future plans?

Answer: Even now, we are having discussions with various organizations like trade unions, farmers/fishermen's organizations, anti-imperialist forces and individuals. We initiated an island wide series of seminars with the participation of those organizations and individuals. There is a good response from the people. We continue to discuss with various groups, organizations and individuals. They are very successful. We hope to introduce this anti-imperialist movement as an organization soon. Our aim is to develop it as a massive force and to gather the public for the anti-imperialist struggle. Regardless of any obstacle, we would definitely continue with this task.

*¹ Voice of America (VOA) - was established in Sri Lanka at Iranawila village in North Western Province in 1993. There were huge mass demonstrations

against the establishment of imperialist institution in Sri Lanka but the UNP government allowed it to be established here by force and repression. This imperialist institution still functions in Sri Lanka.

- *² J.R. Jayawardana - President of Sri Lanka. (1977-88) is Recognized as a pro-capitalist, pro-imperialist minded politician who was the main architect of the social economic disaster in Sri Lanka.
 - *³ Trincomalee Port - The world's second largest natural harbour situated in eastern Sri Lanka. It is a militarily, economically and politically very important strategic point in Bay of Bengal area.
 - *⁴ Indo - Sri Lanka Peace Accord (See page 48)
 - *⁵ Ceasfire Agreement (See page 56)
 - *⁶ ACSA agreement - Aquire and Cross Services Agreement-This was signed by Robert O Blake, then US Ambassador and Gotabhaya Rajapaksa on 5th March, 2007. Even the cabinet and the Parliament of Sri Lanka were kept in the dark regarding this agreement.
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Somawansa Amarasinghe
Leader
People's Liberation Front

GEO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

This interview was specially presented to this collection of articles by Comrade Somawansa Amarasinghe - Leader, of Peoples' Liberation Front (JVP).

Question: Comrade Amarasinghe, Is the World Economic Recession over now? I am asking this question because we don't see media carrying news about the world economic crisis or economic recession?

Answer: Very good starting point. The crisis of the Neo Liberal Capitalism or Neo – Liberal Globalization (NLG) that exploded in the year 2008 continued for a long time. Recently Olivier Blanchard, the Chief Economist of the IMF said in very clear terms that the present economic crisis will last another decade. I would like to contradict

him. Present economic crisis will last another decade if and only if the millions of downtrodden people all over the world fail to organize and topple the capitalist system and to build socialism.

Mr. Blanchard's statement is very short but is clear. It indicates the grave situation the entire world is confronted with. It also explains the monumental failure of the capitalist system. It is the manifestation of the complete failure of the present day policy of capitalism, the Neo-Liberal Globalization. It is natural that the International and National main stream media institutions observe silence. They are the guardians of capitalism. They will certainly fail miserably as we are living in the global village in which no one, however he or she is powerful, will ever be able to suppress the truth.

Greece is bankrupt. Spain is also sliding fast towards bankruptcy. USA and United Kingdom are in economic recession. The leading country in Euro zone, Germany is also falling into the same fate. The situation is becoming too dangerous.

Question: Why do you say the situation is becoming too dangerous?

Answer: Before the first world war and then again before the second world war the world witnessed two similar situations in which the capitalist system underwent

serious crises or economic recessions. Imperialists as a last resort launched the two world wars that were extremely destructive. Millions of world's innocent citizens lost their lives; natural resources worth trillions have been destroyed. The world was re-divided among the rival imperialist camps. Nations in Asia, Africa and Latin-America were re-colonized and were exploited to an unprecedented extent. Of course, the Great Russian revolution triumphed in the 1917 at the end of the first world war and a number of Eastern European countries embraced Socialism after the end of the second world war. Anti-colonial liberation struggles emerged in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

At present there are arch-reactionary groups such as 'the tea party' that promotes the launching of a third world war. They are the real force behind the ugly alliance of US imperialism and Zionism. The criminal alliance of Imperialism and Zionism is the enemy number one of the people in the world and the environment. This alliance and US lackeys in Europe and elsewhere have already destroyed Iraq, Yugoslavia, Sudan and Libya and are fighting destructive wars in Afghanistan, Syria and are threatening Iran. Iran certainly is not going to be the last target.

Please do not ignore the fact that US imperialism has established more than thousand military bases many thousand kilometers away from United States of

America. And also the arch reactionaries behind their proxy politicians do not hesitate to use nuclear weapons destroying the whole world including themselves when they become extremely desperate.

Question: Are you pessimistic about the future of the mankind?

Answer: No, not at all. We are Marxists. We are revolutionaries living in the contemporary world. We are obliged to change the world for better. We discuss about the serious economic recession that led to enormous hardships to the people living in the so called developed world including USA. Neo-liberal economic policies have resulted mass unemployment, withdrawal of benefits. Many millions of people in these countries are jobless and homeless while billions of tax payers' money is being pumped to bailout insolvent corporate sector. This resulted in the emergence of unprecedented mass protests in Washington, London, Athens, Madrid, Paris, Rome, Tokyo and in many other cities. These protesting people who took to the streets are naturally against war. They now question the justification of fighting wars in other countries. We must not forget the effectiveness of mass scale protests that emerged in USA during Vietnam War. More and more people are out in the streets in developed countries at this moment than any other time in the past. Certainly they will be instrumental in building an anti-war movement that will bring the end

of war mongers' madness.

On the other hand the worst enemy of the human kind US imperialism is becoming weaker and weaker. USA is economically and financially bankrupt; politically, socially and culturally bankrupt. It is an indebted country. It spends trillions to fight wars and to maintain the military camps throughout the world. This is a tremendous burden on US economy. USA will drown in debts no doubt.

In addition millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America are up in arms against Imperialist neo-liberal globalization. History has manifested how "Empires Crumbled." Imperialism led by US imperialism will come to an end sooner rather than later bringing down the threat of war. That is why we are optimistic.

The forward march of the peoples of the world hasn't stopped, but continues. Hugo Chavez's Venezuela is the latest example. More countries will join tomorrow.

The world has entered an era in which the people in each and every country are suffering as a result of criminal onslaught of imperialism in its last stage. Imperialism has become more and more aggressive in this last stage. The JVP considers that the time has come for the mankind to defeat imperialism and liberate itself from imperialist oppression. The decisive moment is just there in front of the people from all the countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Oceania, North America and Europe. Anti-

imperialists the world over must lead the peoples to launch a new wave of National Liberation Movement to wipe out imperialism and create the new world sans exploitation of man by man. Millions of people out in the streets against ruling classes in the USA and in Europe at this very moment are encouraging the people living elsewhere in the world.

Question: In 1989 the Soviet Union and the Eastern European Socialist states collapsed. Are you confident that the counter - revolutionary era is gone?

Answer: Certainly yes! Just now I have mentioned the contemporary experience of Venezuela. Imperialism intensified interference in internal affairs of that country. But it failed to stop Hugo Chavez. Future belongs to the people. Not to the Imperialists. Future is Socialism!

After the collapse of Soviet Union there were many capitalist theorists such as Fukuyama that predicted about the 'end of history.' They thought nothing would replace neo-liberalism. They have been proved wrong miserably. As Lenin said "History moved forward even in reactionary periods." The reactionary period of history we witnessed since 1989 has certainly come to an end.

Historic Moments of JVP



The House at Kottegoga Matara where comrade Wijeweera, the founding Leader of JVP, was born.



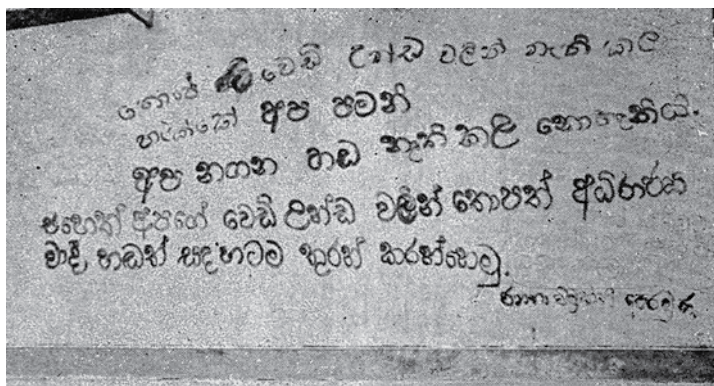
Comrade Wijeweera at a collective farm at Moldavia in USSR.



A photograph taken at the collective farm at Moldavia in USSR.



Addressing masses at Hide Park rally on 27th February, 1971.



Voice of the Struggle in 1971



Deniyaya police station after the 1st uprising in 1971



Thousands of youth under suppression in 1971



First Press Conference



Comrade Wijeweera at International Worker's Day demonstration



Comrade Wijeweera and others are being taken to the criminal justice commission



Comrade Wijeweera and others are being taken to the criminal justice commission



*After Comrade Wijeweera's release from Nuwaraeliya Courts.
1970*



Addressing masses after releasement.



Comrade Wijeweera and the leadership of JVP at International Worker's Day demonstration. 1982



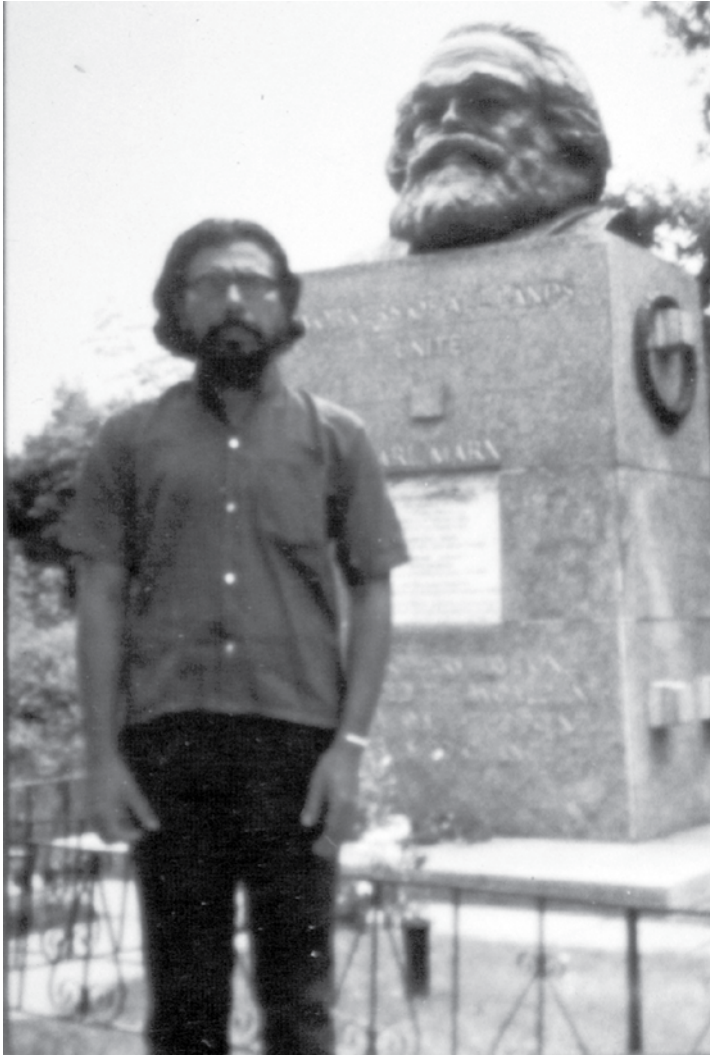
Comrade Wijeweera and the leadership of JVP at International Worker's Day demonstration. 1979



Comrade Wijeweera at a public prosession.



Addressing masses.



*Comrade Wijeweera at Karl Marx memorial at High Gate,
London*



At the first party congress of the JVP



*'Songs of liberation'
written, music, voiced by the comrades who were in prisons
during 1971-77*

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE JVP [PEOPLES LIBERATION FRONT] SRI LANKA

Left Movement in Sri Lanka

The beginning of the left movement in Sri Lanka goes back to 1935. The first leftist political party, Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP-Lanka Equal Social Party) which was founded in that year, became one of the largest national sections of the Fourth International during 1950's and 1960's. The birth of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka (CPSL) was due to the split of the LSSP in the year 1943. The CPSL later split into two factions along the lines of Moscow and Peking

after the Soviet Union and The People's Republic of China fell out. Since then Sri Lanka had two Communist Parties, The CPSL (Moscow) and The CPSL (Peking).

Since 1964 all three parties have been losing their support bases. The CPSL (Peking) no longer exists. Both the LSSP and the CPSL (Moscow) are now vulnerable and weak; independently they do not have any influence in the politics in Sri Lanka.

Birth of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP-People's Liberation Front)

The year 1964, marked the beginning of the end of the old left movement -the LSSP and the CPSL.

The bourgeois government that came to power was caught in a deep economic-political-social crisis for which it had no solution. The people of Sri Lanka, led by workers organised by the trade unions of the left parties were on the verge of bringing down the government and taking the United Left Front to power.

At this critical moment first the LSSP, and soon after that the CPSL, joined the bourgeois government against the will of their trade unions and hundreds of thousands of people who supported them. The betrayal of the workers in particular and the wishes of the people in general created a very favourable situation in which to launch a new left movement.

Rohana Wijeweera

A son of a member of the CPSL, Comrade Rohana Wijeweera had the influence of his father's politics when he was only 16 years old. Having won a scholarship to study medicine at the Friendship University, (later renamed the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University), he had the opportunity to study Marxism-Leninism at the party school of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

He was critical of the revisionist line of the CPSU under Khrushchev, and as a result he was refused a visa to re-enter the Soviet Union on his return from Sri Lanka during the vacation in 1964.

Subsequently, Comrade Rohana joined the CPSL (Peking) and became a full time activist in its youth wing. Having convinced himself that the Peking Wing was equally revisionist as the CPSL (Moscow), he led an ideological struggle against the leadership and its opportunist political line.

On the 14th May 1965 at Akmeemana in Galle district Comrade Rohana Wijeweera held a discussion with six other members of CPSL (Peking) to launch a campaign to correct the party ideologically. The Leaders of CPSL (Peking) who came to aware of the discussion expelled comrade Rohana Wijeweera and six others from the party.

A New Beginning

Comrade Rohana Wijeweera had enough courage to take the initiative to grab the opportunity and fill the void created by the betrayal of the people by the old left in 1964.

The final outcome of the discussions was a complete agreement of the others with comrade Rohana, to start building immediately a new political party which could lead the people to establish a socialist government in Sri Lanka.

Comrade Rohana Wijeweera was the first ever Sri Lankan involved in politics who did not come from a wealthy family. He built a formidable political party that shook the very foundation of a system based on deception and exploitation.

Initially the organisation of workers, farmers, students and the youth had to be carried out in a semi-clandestine manner, in order to avoid the suppression of this new political movement by the government of an extreme right political party, the United National Party (UNP) that had come to power in 1965 general election.

The nascent revolutionary political party under went severe difficulties during its first three years. Comrade Rohana Wijeweera and others had to do odd jobs to find money for party work and for their survival.

Comrade Wijeweera was very successful in organising the University students, then the workers and the farmers.

As a result of the betrayal of the old left the workers and the farmers had lost confidence in the Left. It was not difficult to comprehend why the workers and farmers took more time to join Comrade Wijeweera.

The activities of the students' movement spread to all universities and higher educational institutions. The UNP regime identified that there was a political movement in action among the workers, farmers, and youth and particularly among students. The intelligence services were given orders to pursue the leaders of the new movement.

On the 12th of May 1970, Comrade Wijeweera was taken into custody without charges, and the government propaganda machine carried out a campaign against Comrade Wijeweera and the new movement. The new movement was labelled as the Che Guevara movement. The people of Sri Lanka for the first time came to know that there was a new political party and that its leader was Comrade Rohana Wijeweera.

The coalition of Sri Lanka freedom party (SLFP) and the old left came to power in May 1970. In the month of July 1970 the courts found Comrade Rohana was not guilty on all charges framed by the government. After his release from custody on the 9th of July 1970, the new political movement achieved a new momentum. The coalition government of the bourgeois SLFP and the old left was perturbed by the progress of the new left movement and started a campaign to tarnish its image.

Comrade Rohana Wijeweera holding a press conference announced that the new political movement named as Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP - Peoples Liberation Front) and it would hold its first ever public rally to announce its existence and educate the people about its policies and future political activities.

Due to emergence of serious divisions in the International Communist Movement during the 1960's many Communist Parties emerged in every country including Sri Lanka. The people have been confused by these divisions and they lost their confidence in the Communist Parties and distanced themselves from these parties. Under these circumstances comrade Rohana Wijeweera named the new party he launched the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP- People's Liberation Front) the front of Workers, Farmers, Women, Youths, Students, Intellectuals, Artists and other downtrodden citizens of Sri Lanka.

Comrade Rohana Wijeweera strongly believed that without communists, the party of communists could not be built. So he launched the JVP as the Party School that produced Marxist -Leninists, communists.

After the April Uprising in the year 1971 JVP established its name Nationally and Internationally as well as.

Due to this reason the party decided to remain its identity as the JVP while preserving all the characteristics of a communist party , when the party launched the process of re-

organizing and re-establishing itself in 1975 when it emerged strongly after the temporary setback ended.

The JVP's ideology is Marxism-Leninism and its organization principle is Democratic Centralism and it has been practicing that principle since 1965. The JVP upholds Proletarian Internationalism since its inception.

On the 10th of August 1970, the day JVP was to hold its maiden rally in Colombo. The three general secretaries of the three political parties, namely, the SLFP, LSSP and CPSL issued a joint statement branding JVP as a CIA trap, and Comrade Wijeweera as a CIA agent. The Maiden Rally of the JVP was extremely successful and the people who participated when requested by Comrade Rohana Wijeweera donated money and jewellery they were wearing.

The JVP held public rallies in other cities and launched three newspapers: The Janatha Vimukthi (Peoples Liberation), central organ of the JVP; Rathu Balaya (Red Power), central organ of the workers wing; and Deshapremi (The Patriot), central organ of the student's wing. The Coalition government, intensifying its repression, took steps to arrest activists of the JVP who carried out political activities such as poster campaigns, conducting educational discussions and camps. These are legal political activities under normal conditions in Sri Lanka.

The JVP activists taken into custody were tortured while in custody at Police Stations. When these activists brought

before the court of law they were found not guilty under the constitution of Sri Lanka. The coalition government then put in place further provocative and repressive measures to thwart the activities of the JVP. The government was hunting for a situation favourable for enforcing emergency laws throughout the country.

On the 6th March 1971, a group of supporters of the government (led by few Members of the Parliament belonging to the coalition government) organised a march against American's war in Vietnam. While marching in front of the American Embassy someone among the demonstrators hurled a petrol bomb into the premises of the American Embassy. Later the person who hurled the bomb was arrested while trying to escape from the scene on a motor bicycle. He was found to be not a JVP member but a supporter of one of the Members of the Parliament who took part in the anti American demonstration.

Within a few hours of this incident, the government declared a state of emergency giving sweeping powers to the armed forces and the police, including disposal of bodies without holding a post-mortem or judicial inquiry. Under emergency regulations Comrade Wijeweera and many other members and sympathisers of the JVP were taken in to custody. Comrade Wijeweera was taken into custody on the 13th March 1971 and kept incommunicado in Jaffna Prison which is 395 km away from Colombo. He did not violate the law of the country.

By the 1st of April 1971 more than 500 members and sympathisers of the JVP were taken into custody and kept in prison camps. The leadership of the JVP met on night of the 1st of April 1971 and had a serious discussion about the ongoing repression by the government. Special attention had been given to the powers of the police and armed forces for the disposal of dead bodies without holding post-mortems.

The JVP at this critical moment took into serious consideration the annihilation of peaceful revolutionary movements in the world. The JVP leadership decided to take up arms against the repressive measure of the government which had provoked the armed forces, police and the people against the JVP.

The JVP wanted no repetition of what had happened to the entire Communist Party in Indonesia in 1965. The military Junta led by General Suharto had been able to annihilate almost the whole Communist Party including its supporters because the Communist Party of Indonesia believed blindly that the military junta will allow it to carry out its activities peacefully. In contrast the JVP wanted to fight back and safeguard its dignity and the right to build their party under the law of the country. The JVP decided to arm itself at the beginning of the year 1971 for the purpose of self-defence.

1971 April uprising

The JVP was compelled to take up arms on 5th April 1971 against the unlawful, unjust repression of the government. The government lost control in certain areas when nearly one hundred police stations were attacked and abandoned by police officers. A brutal repression was launched by the Government. The April uprising was totally suppressed within one month after killing nearly 10,000 members and sympathisers of the JVP. The people of Sri Lanka have never witnessed the slaughter of people in public before 1971. To quell the JVP, the government had to take in to custody further 20,000 JVP members and sympathisers.

For the suppression of the JVP, it has to be noted that 14 other countries supported the government; in fact the Indian government sent its Air Force pilots and MIGS to fight the JVP. After the suppression the government, used new methods, learnt from other countries, to brainwash or to so-called “rehabilitate” the members of the JVP who were in custody and prison camps.

The JVP was able to re-organise within a short time throughout the country and within the prison camps. The JVP held serious discussions regarding its activities and experiences before April 1971 and during the period from 1971-1974. The JVP identified its past mistakes and took serious action to correct them in order to re-organise. On 5th May, 1975 (ParisCommune Day) the JVP established its

emperor Central Committee in the prison.

The Criminal Justice Commission (CJC)

Meanwhile the government faced a dilemma. It was instructed by the Attorney-General that there are no provisions according to the common law of the country to prosecute the JVP members who had been taken into custody without arms. Particularly, the leader of the JVP Comrade Rohana Wijeweera who had been arrested and kept in custody prior to the uprising had to be released once the emergency laws lifted.

The government with total support of the opposition passed the Criminal Justice Commission Bill in the parliament. Violating the natural law for the first time in Sri Lanka a bill was passed in the parliament to prosecute those who were alleged to have been responsible for an offence committed in the past. The Criminal Justice Commission conducted its investigation into the 1971 uprising with the intention of deceiving people. In 1975, Comrade Rohana Wijeweera was sentenced to lifetime imprisonment, thus violating even the Criminal Justice Commission Bill. Consequently, it was amended to 20 years rigorous imprisonment. The class character of the CJC was more than clear and visible to everyone.

Not even one year passed after the sentencing before the demand emerged from the people to release all political prisoners unconditionally. The workers and students launched

agitations and demonstrations against the emergency laws and demanded the immediate release of political prisoners. In 1976 the emergency laws were lifted and the proscription of the JVP came to an end.

It could once again function as a legal political party.

In early 1977, the general election was held and the UNP (United National Party), a conservative and right wing party) came to power. Before coming to power it pledged to release all political prisoners but there was an unreasonable delay of releasing them after they grabbed the power.

The campaign for the release of political prisoners renewed its demonstrations.

Eventually the UNP government had to release all political prisoners including comrade Rohana Wijeweera.

The release of Comrade Rohana Wijeweera and other political prisoners contributed tremendous momentum to the JVP. The party could establish itself among the workers, students, and youths and paid attention to spreading its influence in the international arena. The JVP sent a delegation of 5 members to the 11th Festival of Youth and Students held in Havana in 1978. It was a successful move in establishing friendly relations with socialist parties in the world.

The JVP held its first national congress in the year 1978 and the national congresses of the junior organisations during

the period of 1979-1980.

It contested the Colombo (the capital city of Sri Lanka) Municipal Council elections for the first time in 1979.

Although it was not successful in winning seats in the council, it defeated for the first time the old left coalition and established itself as the third largest political party in Colombo.

In 1981 the JVP contested the island wide election of the District Development Councils and was able to win 13 seats.

In 1982 Comrade Rohana Wijeweera contested the presidential election. Only one month before the Election Day the JVP was registered as a recognised political party in Sri Lanka by the Commissioner of the Elections. According to the results of the Presidential Election, the JVP became established as the third largest political party in the country.

The UNP was very worried about this development and the steady progress of the JVP. The UNP leaders made public statements to the effect that they treated the JVP as the real and the main enemy and that appropriate actions would be taken to silence the JVP.

First the UNP government decided to hold a referendum to postpone the parliamentary elections due to be held in 1983 for another 6 years, in order to prevent the JVP entering the

parliament of Sri Lanka. Meanwhile, the UNP regime made a series of mistakes in trying to suppress the 11 year's old armed struggle of the Tamil Separatist Organisations in the Northern Province of Sri Lanka. Lack of political will and vision of the government that led to an escalation of armed activities and to the launch of civil war in July 1983 after an army truck was exploded by the detonation of a powerful landmine, killing 13 soldiers.

Public anger against the Tamil separatists was aroused and some leaders of the government and their private armies of thugs seized the situation to attack innocent Tamil people in Colombo and other cities.

President J.R Jayewardene hatched a conspiracy against left parties including the JVP, blaming them and the Soviet Union for instigating anti-Tamil riots. Most shameful and blatant lies were spread using state media; the JVP and two other left parties were proscribed undemocratically, unjustly and illegally.

India was unhappy with the President Jayewardene's pro-US foreign policy. India provided material and moral support to the Tamil Separatist organisations, ignoring its long term strategic interests. More than 100,000 Tamils in the North of Sri Lanka fled to India. India has been burdened with Sri Lankan refugee crisis since then.

The crisis created by the National Question of Sri Lanka finally led to the direct interference of India into internal affairs

of Sri Lanka. The JVP took every attempt to convince India, our friendly and the closest neighbour for centuries, not to get involved in the political mess in Sri Lanka.

The JVP was not successful in convincing India, and as a result had to oppose India, the pro-US Sri Lankan government, and the separatists who fight to dismember Sri Lanka and create an ethnically cleansed entity called Tamil Ealam that will destroy the hitherto enjoyed unity of the people.

In 1987 July the then President of Sri Lanka, J.R.Jayawardene of the UNP, was compelled by India to sign the Jayewardene - Rajiv Gandhi accord or the Indo-Lanka accord that allowed the Indian Army to enter Sri Lankan waters and land.

The JVP then had only one option to prevent the abdication of sovereignty and the division of Sri Lanka. The JVP took the correct decision to launch an armed struggle to defeat all enemies of Sri Lanka.

The majority of people of Sri Lanka supported the patriotic struggle until it was crushed by the UNP regime who engaged paramilitary groups and state sponsored killer squads to kill more than 60,000 people.

Most of the members of the Central Committee, and all but one member of the political bureau of the JVP, were arrested and killed while they were in custody.

The JVP had to face a set back, although temporary. The only surviving member of the Political Bureau comrade Somawansa Amarasinghe fled the country and re-organized the party from abroad. The members of the JVP who lived underground among the people, in the jungles, in the prisons and abroad, worked hard to carry out their political activities.

The UNP regime became unpopular and weaker after 1993, the year in which the heroic people in the Southern province of Sri Lanka defeated it, without fearing intimidation, at the provincial council elections for the Southern Province.

The people made the emergency laws unworkable and a favourable situation had been created for the JVP to enter legal politics again.

The JVP contested the general elections held in 1994. It was able to forge an alliance, the National Salvation Front, with the Sri Lanka Progressive Front. The National Salvation Front won a single seat out of 225 in the Sri Lanka parliament. Comrade Nihal Galappthi was appointed as the member of the parliament for Hambantota district in the Southern Province of Sri Lanka.

Comrade Galappthi tendered his nominations as the candidate of the JVP in the Presidential election in November 1994. He withdrew his nominations in favour of Mrs. Chandrika Bandaranayake Kumaranatunga (the presidential

candidate of the SLFP) who had given an assurance to the JVP and the people of Sri Lanka that she would abolish the Executive Presidency, hated by the people as a dictatorial post, within one year of becoming president of the country. She hasn't fulfilled her promise.

In May 1995 the JVP held an extra-ordinary congress at the city of Tangalla in the South. The new Central Committee was elected at this congress.

Since 1994 the progress of the JVP is steady and fast. It won 101 seats at the 1997 Local Council elections.

At the Provincial Council elections held in 1998/1999, it won 25 seats.

In 1997 six thousand members participated in its 3rd national convention held at the Sugathadasa Stadium in Colombo.

The next General Election was held in 2000 and the JVP won 10 seats in the Parliament. The support of the JVP was very vital for the People's alliance that came to power in 2000 defeating the UNP government.

The JVP offered conditional support to the People's Alliance government when the defeated UNP was hatching a conspiracy to topple the government and agreed to sign a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) that assured benefits for the ordinary people in the country. However, one month

after signing the MOU, a few ministers betrayed the PA government and joined the UNP.

As a result the government was dissolved and the general election was held on 5th December 2001. The PA lost the election. The JVP won 16 seats in the parliament.

The 4th congress of the delegates of the JVP was convened in Colombo in 2002. From 1977 until 2002 the JVP attracted thousands of workers, farmers, youths, students and women into its ranks. As the membership increased rapidly a congress of the delegates had to be held.

The UNF (United National Front) that came to power in 2001 implemented an anti-people, pro-imperialist, pro-separatist programme. The JVP had to take action to defeat the UNF government as soon as possible. The people of the country led by the JVP demonstrated their opposition to the government.

Meanwhile the JVP had important discussions with the SLFP to forge an alliance on a program based on people-friendly policies to stop the re-colonisation and division of Sri Lanka.

After having discussions for more than 10 months the SLFP and the JVP formed the United Peoples Freedom Alliance (UPFA) in January 2004.

To prevent the deterioration of the security of the

country the President dissolved the parliament. The general election was held on the 2nd of April 2004. The JVP won 41 seats out of 225 seats in the parliament and donated 2 seats to the SLFP establishing a new tradition in Sri Lanka.

The cabinet of ministers of the new Alliance government consisted of 4 members from the political bureau of the JVP.

The JVP won 80 seats at the Provincial councils elections held in 2004.

At this moment the total number of elected representatives of the JVP has risen to 338.

END OF UPFA

The election manifesto and the Programme of the UPFA were based on two main demands of the people.

1. Stop Re- colonization of Sri Lanka.

2. Stop division of Sri Lanka along ethnic lines.

Since it came to power the other partner of UPFA, as they had done in the past, attempted to implement policies that did not have a mandate from the people at the general election in 2004. The JVP had to work hard to stop these anti-people policies being implemented by the UPFA government. The JVP was vigilant and always took the responsibility of implementation the policies that had received a mandate from

the people. The JVP is the only political party that constantly reminded the government about the mandate it had received from the people.

By the end of the year 2004 the SLFP submitted a cabinet paper with a proposal to privatise the Electricity Board under the pretext of reducing losses incurred by the board. The JVP protested and wanted the government to abandon the proposal.

The UPFA government and the UPFA itself reached the point of collapse when the SLFP attempted to ignore the election manifesto. The JVP announced its withdrawal from the government and the UPFA if the policy of privatisation crept into the manifesto of the UPFA. Eventually the SLFP withdrew its proposal and the UPFA did not collapse.

Later at the beginning of the year 2005 the President and a few deputy ministers of her government wanted to sign another MOU with the LTTE on establishing a Joint Mechanism to manage Tsunami-affected people in the country, particularly in the Northern and Eastern provinces.

When the so-called joint mechanism between GOSL (Government of Sri Lanka) and the LTTE was being discussed, the JVP again pointed out that any agreement aiming to transfer power to the LTTE should not be signed by the government as it would violate the MOU signed by the JVP and the SLFP, and also the election manifesto of the UPFA and also the constitution of Sri Lanka.

The JVP warned the government and the President not to take steps to sign an agreement that would violate the constitution of Sri Lanka and encourage the separatists in their aim of establishing a separate state in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka.

The President succumbed to the conspiracy of the both national and international reactionaries. In secrecy she agreed with the LTTE to sign the so called P-TOMS (POST TSUNAMI OPERATIONAL MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE) agreement.

As it had announced, the JVP withdrew from the UPFA and the government on the 16th June 2005, before the signing of the agreement on 24th June 2005.

NEW TRADITIONS IN POLITICS IN SRI LANKA

The JVP established new tradition in Sri Lankan politics. It initiated a new political culture in Sri Lanka.

During the last 40 years since its emergence in 1965 the JVP produced the volunteers who have served the people without receiving a salary or an allowance from the party.

All the representatives of the JVP elected by the people transfer their salaries and other allowances to a Common Fund. This fund provides monies for projects proposed by the people themselves. The JVP is the first political party in Sri Lanka

that has transferred the tax payer's money back to them in the form of various services to the people.

The JVP produced Ministers who were not involved in corrupt practices.

They saved public funds by stopping waste and by rejecting luxuries. They sold their luxury vehicles and used the money to cheaply transport ministry officials. For the first time Sri Lankan people saw lights lit until late in the night at all four ministries manned by the JVP. They worked hard and demonstrated that they could deliver a better service to the people. the agriculture ministry manned by the JVP during the 14 months since April 2004 was successful in achieving the highest paddy harvest in Sri Lanka since gaining independence in 1948.

The JVP during the last four decades produced the most honest, dedicated, committed, and efficient politicians in Sri Lanka. Most of all, the JVP produced a humble servant of the people of Sri Lanka.

At present the JVP being the largest Leftist party in Sri Lanka represents people in the parliament, Provincial Councils and Local Councils. JVP is active at national level in all nine province of Sri Lanka.

The JVP is leading the largest Public Sector and Private sector Trade Unions in Sri Lanka. All Ceylon Trade Union Federation and Inter Company Employees Union respectively.

The inter company Employees Union is a member of the World federation Of Trade Unions (WFTU).

The Socialist Youth Union and the Socialist Students Union ,the Youth wing and the Students Wing of the JVP respectively are active members of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY).

JVP is committed to tirelessly work toward the victory of the Socialist Revolution in Sri Lanka.

LONG LIVE THE JVP!

THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT (JVP) SRI LANKA

FOUNDED :- 14TH May 1965

FOUNDING MEMBER :- Comrade Rohana Wijeweera

IDEOLOGY :- Marxism - Leninism

ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLES:- Democratic Centralism

JUNIOR ORGANIZATIONS:-

Socialist Workers' Union
Socialist Farmers Union
Socialist Women's Union
Socialist Students' Union
Socialist Youth Union
Society for Socialist Arts & Culture

Present Leader of JVP:- Comrade Somawansa Amarasinghe

General Secretary:- Comrade M. Tilvin Silva

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PUBLICATIONS:

NIYAMUWA (CENTRAL ORGAN - SINHALA LANGUAGE)

SENSHAKTHI (CENTRAL ORGAN -TAMIL LANGUAGE)

RED POWER (CENTRAL ORGAN - ENGLISH LANGUAGE)

RATHULANKA (ORGAN OF SOCIALIST WORKERS UNION - SINHALA LANGUAGE)

NAVODA (ORGAN OF SOCIALIST WOMEN'S UNION - SINHALA LANGUAGE)

GINISILUWA (ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST STUDENTS UNION - SINHALA LANGUAGE)

SYU(ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST YOUTH UNION- SINHALA AND TAMIL LANGUAGES)

Niyamuwa Publications
Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna
Sri Lanka.



International Workers' Day Rally 2012



Leading the May Day march - The JVP Leaders



Thousands of workers, farmers, fishermen, women, youth, students participated enthusiastically at the JVP May Day March and Rally held in Colombo on the International Workers' Day - 1st May, 2012.



Vehicle Parade : Commences at Dondra



Vehicle Parade : at Kalutara



Successfull completion of historical parade in Jaffna



Sri Lankans living in France, United Kingdom & Italy held demonstrations against Katuwana political Killings in front of Sri Lankan embassies in respective countries.



Demonstration against rape and child molestation in Colombo on 09th July 2012



The delegates at Asia Pacific Regional Conference of the World Federation of Trade Union (WFTU) visited JVP Head Office.



Com. Somawanssa Amarasinghe met com. Xi Jing Ping in 2010 in Beijing com. Xi Jing Ping elected as the General Secretary of the CPC



The Commemoration meeting of the 1971 April Martyrs who Sacrificed their lives to establish a society based on democracy and social justice was held at Viharamahadevi open theater in Colombo on the 5th April, 2012 with the participation of many members and sympathisers of JVP.



3rd National Convention of Socialist Women's Union held in Colombo on 8th March, 2012.



Che day 2012



Comrade Somawansa Amarasinghe, the leader of the JVP has been awarded the 'THE MEDAL OF FRIENDSHIP' by the Socialist Government of Cuba. Comrade Amarasinghe accepting the Medalle Amistad said that JVP admire the The Communist Party and the Government of Cuba for appreciating the honesty and solidarity work performed by the JVP in favour of Cuba since its inception.



Youth March - 2012



Youth rally in Colombo - 2012



Vietnam Solidarity Day



Palestine Solidarity Day



National Trade Union Centre leaders' demonstration.



Asia-Pacific Regional Meeting in Sri Lanka - 2012



Monument in commemoration of Martyrs.



Future is Socialism
