

Don't make Sri Lanka stakeholder of any military alliance!

The rulers have got the country caught in a massive debt trap of Rs. 14 trillion drastically weakening the country's economy as they have failed to earn not even half the export expenditure says the Leader of the JVP Comrade Anura Dissanayake. He pointed out that powerful states have made use of this situation to use our sovereignty and independence like a football. He emphasized that the government should not give in to the whims and fancies of such powers but stay away from making our country a stakeholder of any military alliance.

Comrade Anura Dissanayake made these observations at a press conference held at the head office of the party on 28.10.2020.

Speaking further Comrade Anura Dissanayake said, "Their moves belittled Sri Lanka before world powers such as China, India and the USA. Our political authority has been bought over for commissions and privileges. It is how loans were obtained for large projects that are not fruitful to our country and thereby getting the country caught in a massive debt trap. This is how the country has been made a playground for world powers. It should be revealed to the country regarding the pressure put on Sri Lanka when Dean Thompson and David Stilwell, Mike Pompeo's assistant officials, stated before Pompeo arrived here that Sri Lanka should make the decision 'with whom and how it would secure its economic independence'.

It is not an issue regarding a coconut estate at Medamulana. The Secretary of State did not visit his relatives here. It is evident that they have selected India, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Indonesia to enhance their military domination in the Indian Ocean. The visit by the Secretary of State was to initiate the process to make Sri Lanka a stakeholder, a supporter of the military domination in the Indian Ocean. We warn the government not to make Sri Lanka a stakeholder of any military alliance.

Also, we call upon the masses, who genuinely love our Motherland, to rally

against the moves by the two cliques to allow the world powers to entrap the country systematically. These two cliques have ruled the country for more than 70 years, making it possible for foreign powers to interfere in the internal affairs of our country. As a political movement, we have given leadership to protect the country from foreign interferences. The government should immediately reveal to the country the agreements reached at the discussions held between Pompeo and Gotabaya Rajapaksa. The government also should state what agreements were reached and discarded at the meeting Pompeo held with the Minister of Foreign Relations. Every citizen in the country has the right to know this information as the discussions were held regarding the future of our Motherland. Any agreement that pushes the country into a military pitfall should be defeated. Unfortunately, the leaders of the country, their wives and children are US citizens. Can we expect these US citizens to protect our Motherland's sovereignty and independence? Our Constitution is amended for their benefit. We saw how they fled to the US in 2015. They could do so again when things become hot to them. Those who expect to spend the evening of their lives in the US are not concerned about the sovereignty and independence of our country. We invite all those who genuinely love the Motherland to take the patriotic struggle into their hands.



Genuine patriotism...

Continue Page 07

struggle was re-establishing feudal system. It was the reality at that time. However, the 1988-89 struggle had a goal to establish a socialist society and therefore, it is progressive.

RP: As a political party that experienced all the bitterness of a struggle, don't you think that there will be chances for such struggles in the future?

TS: No. because the present situation is different. We have learnt lessons from 1988-89 struggle, so have the capitalist leaders. They too suffered losses. People too learnt lessons. Therefore, there is no chance for similar struggles. We will not allow such a situation to occur again.

It is true, Gotabhaya Rajapaksa is attempting to simulate JR Jayawardena with neoliberal agenda and vast dictatorial powers accumulated with 20th amendment. Nevertheless, Gotabhaya cannot be JR, and already he has become a clown. Also, JVP is not a single party today but is a broad social movement. Although the situations seem similar, there are differences.

Once Karl Marx said, "History repeats itself, first as tragedy, second as farce." So JR created a tragedy with neoliberalism and knelt in front of imperialists and now Gotabhaya is attempting to do the same but differently. He may end up as a clown.

RP: How can we defeat this trend and change the situation?

TS: It is very clear that all these situations are the expressions of the crisis of the capitalist system. Capitalism is expired now and it is like a stinking carcass spreading foul smell. They need a dictator to maintain it. They need to borrow money to maintain it and kneel before powerful countries. This rotten socio-economic system cannot be repaired, and it cannot be cleaned up and turned into a new one. Nobody can become a patriot while protecting this system. Those who protect this system either directly support the dictatorship or are fake patriots.

Therefore, at this November heroes' commemoration, we stress that the only solution for all crises faced by our country is socialism. Now, true patriotism and anti-imperialism only go with socialism.

Memories of...

Continue Page 06

they were in custody. To justify those killings the enemy fabricated various tales. The patriotic struggle was temporarily defeated and many patriotic revolutionaries including Comrade Rohana Wijeweera sacrificed their lives in this struggle. As a revolutionary movement, we are responsible for some mistakes that occurred during the struggle the UNP is responsible for the massive destruction and terror. That is the truth of 88-89 incidents.

November heroes sacrificed their lives for the common cause and not for their personal gains. Their objectives were broad and noble. They are heroes because they fought for the freedom of the country. They cannot be compared with so-called 'patriotic heroes' we can see today. They had final determination, liberate the country from foreign invaders and establish a socialist society. Under today's global context, any country cannot become sovereign or independent without socialist transformation. They have realized that only those who are fighting for socialism can become true patriots.

We know that a day will come to rewrite the history based on real historical materialism. On that day the history will be rewritten by victorious masses. On that day, all faults, insults and accusations against November heroes will be wiped out and the truth will come out. They will be recognized as true heroes who fought in the darkest era of this country and sacrificed their lives for democracy, equality, freedom of the motherland and socialism and fought against invaded foreign forces and traitors who betrayed the country. Therefore, the greatest tribute we can do for November heroes is to take the red banner that dropped from their hands and carry it until victory, ignoring all insults and false accusations created by the enemies.

All opportunists...

Continue Page 02

giving Rajapakas the required number to make the 2/3rd majority to pass the draconian amendment. The betrayal took place just as we predicted. Communalism was ignored in Parliament to fulfill the power-hunger. The aspirations of the voters were betrayed by both sides. This is a good example for the voters to learn about the duplicity of both these groups. The people should comprehend this situation so that they would not get caught in the communalist trap again. Communalism will bring the country and the people devastation only.

The debate on dual citizenship was emphasized to conceal the real substance of the 20th amendment, which is dictatorial power. Mr Wijedasa Rajapaksa wrote fake letters and held media briefings and said supporting the 20th amendment would be an action against the Constitution. He said it is an action against one's conscience. If he has any shame and a backbone he could have voted against the dual citizenship. A thundering slap one pseudo hero received made his pseudo-patriotism tricked down through his garb. His excuse was that the President had emotionally expressed that the issue on dual citizenship would be removed when a new constitution is introduced. The real reason is that the likes of them have no existence if they oppose such moves. The flea cannot exist if the dog dies. This is why the flea always protects the dog. Will he support the signing of the MCC agreement if the President emotionally says it should be done?

Elle Gunawansa Thero said the drums would crack and those in the procession will have to shed their garbs if the 20th amendment is passed. The pseudo-patriotism carried out by many has been exposed. The genuine patriot represents national unity. However, vote for the 20th amendment exposed pseudo-patriots. The UNP that was critical of the 20th amendment didn't even appoint a Member of Parliament to vote. All opportunists were exposed in Parliament yesterday. Those who trade the Parliament membership for privileges, perks and money were revealed. On one hand, the party was sold to Sajith and on the other, the Parliament seat was sold to Rajapaksas. Their politics is a business. Members have prices in Parliament. Hence, the country needs principled politics. We ask the masses to understand what happened and mediate to make a change for the good of the people. We invite all to rally to prevent the dictatorial power received by the ruler from the 20th amendment being used against the right for life, children's right for education, right for health, right for employment etc.

JVP hands over a letter to the US Embassy

We wish to register our strong protest and condemn the efforts by the United States government to interfere with the independence and sovereignty of Sri Lanka.

We do not believe that the visit of US Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo to Sri Lanka is at all to do with a "commitment to a strong, independent, and democratic Sri Lanka" as stated in the briefing of the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs Dean Thompson and Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs David Stilwell on the 22nd of October 2020.

On the contrary, the USA has consistently sort to bring Sri Lanka under its sphere of influence and thereby drag Sri Lanka into an unnecessary and costly global and regional power play. We are well aware that the USA is willing to violate every democratic and international norm and principle when it comes to protecting its interests. World history is littered with far too many examples of the US's bullying of independent nations that also include interference with elections, usurping of democratically elected leaders, providing military and economic support for dictators and terrorist organizations.

Now that the USA's influence and power are waning in the world, it is desperately attempting to fix its interests in South Asia with whatever means it can. If not, we see no reason why a week before a critical election in the US, the Secretary of State should hurriedly visit Sri Lanka in this manner. We are well aware that several critical military and trade agreements are pending which the US government is pressurizing the Government of Sri Lanka to enter into without proper accountability and due process. Unfortunately, the current government of Sri Lanka has proven itself unable to maintain an independent and non-aligned stance on these

issues.

We find the statement by the US government urging Sri Lanka to make 'necessary but difficult decisions to secure its economic independence' not just hypocritical (given that the US government is making all efforts to undermine Sri Lanka's political & economic independence!) but also threatening and deeply disrespectful of an independent and sovereign nation-state.

In addition to that, at the same statement principal undersecretary had mentioned that "encourage Sri Lanka to review the options we offer". We would like to know among these undeclared secret options, signing of MCC agreement, strengthening of SOFA, pulling Sri Lanka to be a partner of QUAD and any more.

We categorically affirm that the people of Sri Lanka have no intention of tying its fortunes to a regime, which has been violating every decent principle of international cooperation, collaboration and diplomacy. We assert that we will take all steps in our power to resist the ambitions of the US government to compromise our nation's regional and international independence.

We call upon the people of the USA to join us in resisting imperious ambitions of any global power, including that of the USA but to work towards a system of international cooperation and collaboration that prioritises interests and well being of people and our planet. The failure of the economic model championed by the USA and other capitalist countries has become all too obvious today as we face crises on multiple fronts. It is time that all those who value equality, social justice and democracy join forces against rulers who have exploited the people and the planet for far too long.

**Political Bureau,
Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna - 27.10.2020**

'20' adopted! What now?

The 20th amendment was adopted in Parliament with a special 2/3rd majority. It would be one that did and would teach many lessons within politics in Sri Lanka. '20' would mark a turning point in politics in our country. Adopting '20' marks a victory for Rajapaksas as well as it hides their doom. Within this marks a short term victory for capitalism and at the same time hides its long term defeat. Correctly comprehending this is the responsibility of all.

By adopting '20', Rajapaksa clique consolidated its power to the brim. Now, the President can manipulate the judiciary and state service according to his whims and fancies and carry out a one-person dictatorship. Also, allowing dual citizens to enter Parliament individuals having dual loyalty such as Basil Rajapaksa and Gotabaya Rajapaksa have been offered an advantage. They are their victories.

However, the likes of Gotabaya have to, now, fulfill what they have promised to the country – show the people that they are not pseudo-workaholics. They should develop the country. There are no excuses anymore. What they unceasingly chanted earlier was that they needed 2/3rd majority and executive powers to work. Now, they have everything they expected. Now they cannot make excuses. They have to show results. If not the likes of Gotabaya Rajapaksa would appear as imposters to the society. As such, the present insolvable capitalist crisis would soon prove that Rajapaksa administration is a failed administration. It is a defeat for Rajapaksas. However, it is a factor to achieve victory if the masses



are prepared to learn from experiences.

On the other hand, the manner the '20' was passed in Parliament brought down many serious illusions that existed in the country. It proved that Rajapaksas are an irresponsible group that is bent on grabbing power only. Their pseudo Sinhalese Buddhist garbs have been removed by the '20' silencing Buddhist monks and others who strived day and night to adorn them with Sinhalese Buddhist garbs. They, who utilized communalism and religion to get votes at the presidential and general elections, without any shame, sought the support of Hakeem's and Rishard's MPs to get the '20' passed in Parliament. Rajapaksa group had branded Hakeem and Rishard as 'dangerous people'. Of course, Hakeem's and Rishard's MPs would have voted for the '20' with their knowledge and blessings. Now, those who swallowed the anti-Muslim rope given to them

by Rajapaksas are in a mess unable to throw it out.

On the other hand, it was shown again how opportunist the Muslim capitalist political leaders are and that they are prepared at any moment to betray Muslim masses to get privileges and benefits. Meanwhile, Sajith Premadasa belittled the post of the Leader of the Opposition showing the world that he does not know politics. It was shown that Sajith's or Ranil's UNP could never become the genuine opposition in the country and Sajith is not suitable to be the Leader of the Opposition nor to look after a herd of cattle.

By adopting the '20' Gotabaya and the Rajapaksas carried out another 'good' task. They exposed the real faces of pseudo patriots who existed within Rajapaksa clique like parasites helping and guiding Rajapaksas to adorn garbs of patriotism and anti-imperialism. The task carried out (may be unintentionally) by Gotabaya to turn the

likes of Wimal Weerawansa, Udaya Gammanpila, Wijedasa Rajapaksa and Vasudeva (who is said to be using the 'left' to go to the toilet only) as mere jokers and silence them is excellent. Now, the whole country has realized that they are mere court jesters or janitors. It is good for the future of the country.

Colossal is the challenges that are before President Gotabaya Rajapaksa, with his executive powers and the government. However, the executive powers would not make their 'brains' anew, nor would they have any new capabilities. There is an economic crisis and a debt crisis in the country. They cannot be solved with 'executive powers'. Executive powers are needed to betray the country to foreign powers when it is impossible to settle the loans, to suppress people's opposition to such acts and to heap the burden of the debt crisis on the people.

The anarchism and incompetency of Gotabaya regime, its arrogant conduct, and the failure to be aware of such weaknesses are causing colossal harm to the people and the country. On one hand, Gotabaya has failed to halt the spread of corona clusters that emerged recently from Brandix and the fish market. There is no control of corona now. The task to wipe out corona has failed. The country is gradually becoming dormant. The main bus terminal has been closed down. Several trains have been cancelled. Government offices are inoperative. Though it has not been declared the country is being 'locked down'. There is no programme to provide relief to those who are affected by such a 'lockdown'. The employees in trade zones are entangled in a massive crisis. There are no solutions

to such issues. Rajapaksas are displaying that people no longer matter once power has been grabbed. This anarchism is frustrating the masses. It is providing raw material for anti-government sentiment.

On the other hand, Sri Lanka has become a playground for world powers. They come to Sri Lanka one after the other. A senior Chinese leader arrived in Sri Lanka on 8th September. India got excited. They appointed a consul general for four districts in the South. Now, the Secretary of State of the US is expected. Before he arrived in Sri Lanka his second in command had said that Sri Lanka should choose with whom she walks. It is quite a threat. Gotabaya's executive powers cannot do anything about it. When Pompeo arrives in the country as if he is visiting his estate or when Chinese delegates visit the so-called executive President has to welcome them with a bowed head and do whatever they wish and fancy.

Furthermore, When Pompeo arrived in Sri Lanka the pseudo patriots were in deep slumber. We, as a country, should be very pleased that the truth about the imposters was revealed so soon. The colossal images of the likes of Gotabaya built among masses will dissolve like icebergs very soon. Even those who fabricated stories to get the people to revere those images will be unveiled. Finally, masses will be forced to comprehend the truth and take the responsibility of making their society an amicable place for all to live in. The attempt to find solutions for all crises will end by losing all power. Perceiving this earlier would be very important for masses for their victories.



responsible, including the Minister of Health, are playing with pots and pans. The situation will be serious if people start believing that the disease could be controlled by throwing pots of water into the

Media briefing held at the head office of the JVP

Corona pandemic a money-making racket for Govt. supporters

Comrade Tilvin Silva
General Secretary of the JVP

[Excerpts from the speech made by Comrade Tilvin Silva, General Secretary of the JVP on 08.11.2020]

It is time to draw the attention of the people and the government to the problems that have arisen in the current corona situation. The so-called corona deluge is spreading across the country. The government has not understood this properly or is hiding information. From the time corona patients were found in Sri Lanka in March this year to the end of September, there were just over 3,000 patients. Nevertheless, in the second wave, 13,000 were reported within a month. The first wave reported more than 3,000 patients in seven months, while the second wave exceeded 10,000 in one month. It shows that it is spreading fast.

Today's situation is disastrous. There is a risk of spreading the disease in many places. More patients have been reported from Brandix, Peliyagoda Fish Market, STF, the police, Bogambara and Welikada prisons. Also, the

health staff did not get the disease last time. However, this time a significant number of health staff have contracted the disease. The government, instead of stating the disease 'doesn't exist in the society', should understand that the spreading is out of control at the moment. Only then can it be suppressed.

Health experts say the corona issue would continue for another two or three years. Accordingly, a new programme should be implemented for the masses to carry out their essential affairs without doing that the government has started blaming the people. This has led to an uncontrollable increase in the spread of the disease and the number of deaths. We emphasize that a program that could be implemented for the whole society should be created. However, what we see is that the government is not working according to the seriousness of the issue. We do not say that the government is not doing anything. The government has failed to formulate a common program

to get the results of the work carried out by the health sector, security forces despite the threats posed to them. This is why we say there are many shortcomings in whatever the government does. It is necessary to understand the shortcomings without being arrogant. However, the government is working on getting victories in its name but thrust crises on the people.

We believe that a collective effort to bring together all the institutions needed to deal with the epidemic should be made. However, each member of the government makes individual statements expressing their own views. We would be left with a tragedy only when individuals carry on their solo acts without any attempt to respect the opinion of others ignoring their own shortcomings but think that everything they do is right. Also, there is no point in blaming people. Instead of creating a practical program by the government to create awareness among the people and restrict travelling, those

river. The Minister of Health herself intervenes and sows superstition. The Ministry of Health should function based on science. While respecting what the government is doing, we emphasize that this behaviour is not responsible.

It is clear from the money allocated to the Ministry of Health from next year's budget that the government has not given due weight to control the disease. It is only Rs. 15,9570 million. This is not sufficient at all. Much more has been allocated for the family. However, the Ministry of Health, which has the most responsibility, has not been given the required funds. Less than Rs. 15,9570 million has been allocated for next year. There is no effort to get accurate reports about the disease. Health officials say that the number of patients will increase if more tests are carried out. If so more space in hospitals will have to be found. At present, a programme has been started to send even patients in hospitals to their homes as soon as possible. Previously cured patients were sent home after a PCR test. Now, this has been stopped. The disease will be completely out of control if it is done with numbers. Government

authorities should act responsibly in this regard.

In spite of this catastrophe, the usual frauds and corruption of the government have come to the fore. Businessmen who helped the government use the government to swindle the afflicted people. It is cruelty at its worst. With the support of the government, those businessmen have turned corona into a bounty. An institution close to the President is in charge of bringing Sri Lankans abroad to Sri Lanka. A large amount is charged for air tickets to bring in Sri Lankans abroad. Also, much money is charged on investigations and for quarantine. However, most of those facilities are not provided when they come to this country. Much more money has to be paid for the facilities they have already paid for. Such a cynical culture has been created with corona. Business associates of the government are having a bonanza when importing medical equipment. Various people have revealed information regarding this. However, the government keeps mum about this. Ways have been paved for business persons who helped the authorities to acquire wealth..

The government has no further excuses in this regard. The President has enough power. There is also a 2/3 parliamentary power. The President has enough power to pass the 20th amendment. Now they have to show work. People are waiting for that. We emphasize that the power gained should be used to do good work.

The masses affected by the pandemic should be provided with relief. A comprehensive program should be implemented to prevent the spread of the disease. The government should immediately mediate to find solutions for the issues that burden all affected people as well as school children whose education has been affected. We emphasize that the government should carry out its responsibilities appropriately as it has enough power. On the other hand, we call upon the masses to act responsibly at this moment.

New global order and quadripartite summit against China

The second quadripartite summit of the Indo-Pacific alliance against China that consists of the US, Japan, Australia and India was held on 09 October in Japan. Several important events that are crucial for the power balance in the Indo-Pacific region took place in the recent past. On 23 September, the US signed a security agreement with the Maldives while a top Chinese delegation led by Yang Jiechi visited Sri Lanka on 09 October. The US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo visited Sri Lanka on 27 October. All these events lead to reshaping and rearranging geopolitics in the Indo-Pacific region.

Significant global political and economic changes have taken place in the world that compels a geopolitical change in the Indo-Pacific region as well as a new global order. Especially, the situation demands the rebalance of power between China and India and China and the US.

In 1990 China's Gross National Product

(GNP) stood at US\$ 360 billion, and it is approximately equal to India's GNP today. China's GNP is over five times higher than that of India's today as it is over US\$14 trillion. Also, in 1990, China's GNP was lower than 1/20 of the USA's GNP. Today, China's GNP is just 1.5 times lower than the USA's GNP.

In 1990, China's GNP was just equal to 59% of Australia's GNP and today it is 8 times higher than Australia's GNP. China has overtaken Japan and has become the second-largest economy in the world. China is the only country that has achieved economic growth under Covid 19 pandemic.

On the other hand, this economic capability is used by China to expand its military capabilities and technological capabilities by increasing investments in these fields. China's military expenditure is four times higher than that of India and it is 1/3 of the US. China is growing as the largest naval power in the world, with 350 warships and



submarines.

These changes in the economic and political fronts demand new global order in respect of power balance and relationships between countries. At the moment, sovereign governments, international law, international organizations are like a cobweb hanging in front of artillery gunpoint. Relationships between countries are decided by the power each country possesses. Therefore, China may not be ready to maintain its old relationships between the US, India, Japan and Australia unchanged and China always attempts to enter into new relationships with these countries

in peaceful ways, any other means or to establish new relations. At the same time, the US and other countries are attempting to keep their positions unchanged and take individual and collective efforts to do so.

Under the Belt and Road Initiative or "Modern Silk Route" program, China is constructing a strategical network of ports and roads covering Bangladesh, Myanmar, Nepal and Sri Lanka. At the same time, these countries are caught in a debt trap laid by China. Establishment of China-Pakistan economic corridor from Xinjiang in China to Gwadar Port Complex in Baluchistan in Pakistan to deploy

Chinese army unit at Gwadar Port Complex is one such initiative. Also, China is establishing the same military unit at Djibouti and is acquiring strategically important positions in the South China sea.

Against this move, the US is attempting to establish strategical agreement and create an alliance in the region with India, Indonesia and Vietnam. Indo-Pacific alliance against China is one such initiative.

At the second summit of the quadripartite Indo-Pacific alliance against China, US Secretary of State said that all countries should be united against "Chinese exploitation, corruption and aggressive

interference." However, at the end of the summit, the countries failed to issue a joint statement condemning or mentioning China. The reason is that all other countries except Japan are economically or other means connected with China. Meantime, Australia and the US have planned a joint military drill in the Arabic sea in November.

Political analysts say that this situation will lead to a cold war between the US and China. However, it will not be similar to the cold war between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp in the past. It will demonstrate inter-imperialist resistance.

Memories of November Heroes Will Never Die!



With unceasing memories of heroism, colossal sacrifices, endless determination and unshaken confidence, another commemoration day of November Heroes has dawned. November is significant to us since 1989. It is because a large number of true patriots and Communist revolutionaries, including the founder of our Party Comrade Rohana Wijeweera, the General Secretary Comrade Upatissa Gamanayake, who gave leadership and contributed to form the JVP as the genuine revolutionary movement and make it the genuine left political party in the country, were assassinated. November 13th 1989 was the darkest day of the revolutionary movement in the history of our country.

Now 31 years have been passed for these memories of heroism and the forbidding agony. The enemy thought that the JVP was burned to ashes, but it raised itself from the ashes, like the phoenix and had a long march in politics achieving victories and at the same time facing setbacks, conspiracies and betrayals. It has also identified new approachable forces and joined with them. It is the path that a proletarian political party working in a capitalist system has to pass through. It is not a soft path. Global experiences show us, to gain victory, we have to traverse through difficult paths passing through reverses, ordeals and various obstacles.

We can see that the present young generation does not have a correct understanding of the events that took place 31 years ago. We can see that through those 'juveniles' who endlessly reiterate about 'JVP terror' in 88-89. It is nothing to be surprised as the mudslinging and vilification campaigns carried out by our enemies against us throughout the past is deposited in the social consciousness. The views expressed by this generation that has never seen 1988-89 or not known about this era but believe they know everything, are based on these vicious insults and fabrications created and spread by our enemies.

Always, the winner writes the history and therefore history always justifies the winner. Until the loser wins the history is built up against him. Though their victory is short-lived, the victorious capitalist class writes the history, and it is the capitalist history. That history is against the proletarian movement and is distorted. However, it is inevitable. This history is full of half-truths, distorted information, falsehoods fabrications and insults. Therefore, until a genuine peoples' force corrects it, capitalist history is a fiction. Therefore, brief information on how 88-89 era is presented stating who is responsible for it and other details. It is important for those who do not know about it.

Those who point their finger at the JVP on its responsibility for 1988-89 incidents acquit UNP, the real creator of 1988-89 terror. Therefore, to understand the real causes and roots of 1988-89 incidents, the whole scenario has to be studied.

Those who point the finger at the JVP never question the UNP as to why it banned the JVP in 1983 July. They may do so due to not knowing facts or hypocrisy or to protect their class interests. To refresh our memories of November incidents, we have to go beyond 1983 and see what happened.

After 1971 insurgency, JVP came into active politics or capitalist democratic stream in 1976 and grew fast and became the main and the largest left political party in Sri Lankan by 1980. JVP contested in 4 electorates in 1977 general election and after that contested all by-elections and other elections. Especially it contested at District Development Council (DDC) election in 1981 and got 13 of its candidates elected to DDCs.

In 1982 JVP leader Comrade Rohana Wijeweera contested the presidential election and secured third highest votes from 6 candidates who contested the election. In 1982, the ruling UNP postponed the general election scheduled in 1983 by a referendum held in 1982 and the government of President J.R. Jayawardena undemocratically

extended its 5/6 majority power it obtained in 1977 for further 5 years. The JVP campaigned against this undemocratic move at the referendum and JR Jayawardena won the referendum by massive election fraud.

After that JVP launched a campaign under the slogan "Referendum is a fraud! Hold 1983 general election!" and started a series of demonstrations island-wide. Also, Comrade Rohana Wijeweera filed a lawsuit against the referendum to protect the voting rights of the people. The lawsuit was not favourable for the government and government had faced a threat of calling the due election in 1983 if it was defeated in court. The UNP government banned JVP in July 1983 under this circumstance without any reason.

Why did Jayawardena government ban JVP in 1983? This is a very important question, and the answer can explain the causes of 88-89 incidents. Later, JR himself explained the reasons. He clearly said that the reason is interests of his class, the capitalists. By this time, the SLFP had been divided and was weak. Civil rights of the SLFP leader Ms. Sirimao Bandaranayake, had been abolished and as a result there was an internal struggle for the leadership and it caused

for this division of the party. There were two fractions of the party the Maithree fraction led by Maithripala Senanayake and Sirima fraction led by Ms. Bandaranayake. Therefore, UNP did not have a threat from the SLFP. The real threat the UNP had was from the rising left movement. At 1983 May Day rally JR said that his future challenge was the JVP. Also, the lawsuit filed by Comrade Rohana Wijeweera was a significant threat to JR Jayawardena.

JR Jayawardena had created a dictatorial constitution in 1978, and he was suppressing trade unions, progressive people and launching neoliberal economic policies in Sri Lanka. He was an ultra pro US leader but he couldn't tame or frighten the JVP. Therefore, he decided to ban the JVP. He used the Black July racial attack on Tamils, his own creation, to ban the JVP. By this time, the JVP was functioning successfully under the capitalist democratic system. But JR banned the party for his class interests.

Therefore, this banning of the party paved the way for 1988-89 incidents. By this time, there were no allegations against the JVP for any unlawful or undemocratic act or any complaint or lawsuit in courts. It is clear that the JVP was banned on political reasons and it can also be explained as an act of a dictatorial regime.

Today Rajapaksa regime is also attempting to create a similar political environment and those who support them should understand that dictators will attack people at any moment. The best example in this regard was given by JR.

As most people think JVP did not take arms and fight against the government immediately after its ban. For 2 years since 1983, JVP attempted to get its ban removed. But the JVP was not dissolved and it started to work underground. Comrade Wijeweera wrote letters to Chief Justice, presidential secretary, local and international human rights organizations appealing to intervene to remove the ban on his party. But the government continued the JVP proscription and apart from that JR started to suppress the party. He plotted to assassinate Comrade Wijeweera and the leaders.

The first JVP member assassinated by Jayawardena regime was Comrade Dissanayake of Anuradhapura. He was arrested while he was pasting posters calling to remove JVP ban and in 1984 he was assaulted and assassinated by police. Also, in 1985, Comrade Dharmas was assaulted and killed by Matara police. By this time, the JVP had not got involved in any illegal or military activity. That is the nature of capitalist suppression. It is hilarious when we see political infants, who

don't know anything about this politics, talk about 88-89.

Jayawardana regime carried out suppression of progressive forces on the one hand. On the other, it knelt before India as a result of the intensified separatist struggle in the North. Jayawardana was an ultra pro-US leader, and as a result of his US biased foreign policy, he had to kneel before India. He was in a serious political crisis and was ready even to betray the country to protect his regime.

By 1987, a new peoples' movement called "Movement to Protect Motherland" was formed with the JVP leadership and progressive monks such as Ven. Maduluwawe Sobhitha, Ven. Muruththettuwa Ananda, and political leaders such as Dinesh Gunawardena actively supported this movement. It was a struggle front against the UNP suppression and the betrayal of the country.

Continuous suppression and arrest and killing of its members and betrayal of the country to India compelled the JVP to take up arms. In April 1987, weapons were seized from several military camps without doing any damage to the soldiers.

Proving JVP predictions, in July 1987 J.R. Jayawardana signed Indo-Lanka pact. It was a betrayal agreement. As a result of the agreement, Indian forces landed in Sri Lanka. Before signing the agreement, India violated Sri Lankan air space and dropped dhal and other consumer items as a way of frightening president Jayawardena. The Indo-Lanka pact was signed by president Jayawardena without consulting the prime minister or the cabinet. He used the executive powers he had. These are the facts that those who praise executive presidency today do not consider.

However, after the signing of the agreement, struggles were launched against it. Cabinet minister Gamini Jayasooriya resigned from his portfolio condemning the

decision. Demonstrations were launched island-wide while 147 people were shot dead by the government by shooting at these peaceful demonstrations.

A navy soldier in the parade assaulted Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi while demonstrations and armed struggles were launched against the traitorous government and Indian forces. The armed struggle was carried out by the Patriotic National Movement (PNM) in which the JVP was also a partner. After that, the country faced a civil war. The 1988-89 era in the history of this civil war period.

A civil war is not a tea party and in such a situation, incidents that we like and dislike can happen. From the beginning of the struggle, the patriotic movement maintained the highest discipline and ethics but mistakes and shortcomings couldn't be fully avoided. Therefore, there were some incidents that the enemy exaggerate and use against the JVP. These mudslingings cannot erase or undermine the value of the struggle. The inhuman terror was created by the government. Apart from the military, it used paramilitary groups such as Green Tigers. PRRA etc. and these paramilitary groups killed thousands of people. Government ministers and MPs maintained torture houses in many parts of the country. They were used to kill political and personal opponents as well, and the responsibility of these killings was credited to PNM account. Several such killings were disclosed later.

R. Premadasa became the president by winning the 1988 presidential election and during his regime suppression and terror intensified. Even under these suppressions and terror, the working people won several struggles. However, finally, Comrade Rohana Wijeweera and Comrade Upatissa Gamanayake and other leaders were arrested and assassinated on November 13th while

Page 02 >>>

Genuine Patriotism Exists Only With Socialism

[Exerpts from an interview with Comrade Tilvin Silva, the General Secretary of the JVP]



RP: How do you hope to conduct the 31st commemoration of November Heroes this year?

TS: Covid 19 pandemic prevents us from commemorating November Heroes on a large scale with a gathering of a large number of people. Therefore, this year we have to do the commemoration as a symbolic event. Under any circumstances, we do this commemoration, discuss and share the vast experiences, determination, sacrifices and courage the November heroes have given us.

RP: How do you view the political environment prevailing in the country at this 31st commemoration of November Heroes?

TS: Today, Sri Lanka is confronted with a political and economic crisis similar to the crisis the country faced in the 80s. Country's economy has collapsed and caught in a debt trap. The rulers have to borrow more and more. The leaders do not have a correct vision or a program to pull the country out of this crisis. They take decisions on day to day basis; continuously borrow money even for the debt servicing and finally, when they fail to repay debts, they sell national resources. To suppress the peoples' struggle against these moves, they accumulate dictatorial powers and 20th amendment to the constitution is for that. Today, Sri Lanka is caught in a power game between several powerful countries such as China, US and India. To please all these forces, the government is selling off important national resources and the independence of the country. This is what is happening now under the name of patriotism. The situation in 1988-89 too was similar to this. This is a threat to freedom and democracy in the country, and people should seriously consider this situation.

RP: There is public criticism against the JVP over the 1988-89 incidents and commemoration of November Heroes.

TS: The parties and governments that killed November Heroes and betrayed the country and still contribute to these repeated betrayals have used their media power to portray a wrong picture and fabricate stories. They have created such a public opinion about 1988-89 incidents. Those who believe those untrue and fabricated opinions without analyzing facts intelligently, accuse us.

RP: How do you interpret 1988-89 struggle?

TS: It was a patriotic struggle with socialism as the ultimate goal. It was against the betrayal of the country to India and the invasion of Indian forces. It was an inevitable struggle against a dictatorial capitalist ruler. It had mass support but was suppressed brutally. Thousands of genuine patriotic revolutionaries sacrificed their lives in the struggle, but the capitalist governments never recognize them. They sling mud at the struggle to hide their betrayal of the country.

There were patriotic and anti-imperial armed struggles in Sri Lanka before 1988-89. Uva- Wellassa struggle 1818, 1848 Mathale struggle are examples. Both were against British imperialists. The leaders of those struggles too were branded as antigovernment terrorists. However, the capitalist leaders who name and commemorate leaders of Uva-Wellassa rebellion Keppitipola and the leader of the Mathale rebellion Puranappu talk nonsense about 1988-89 struggle. The 1988-89 struggle is superior to 1918 and 1848 struggles in many ways. Although those two struggles were against British imperialists, the goal of the

Page 02 >>>

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'20' Reveals the Bitter Truth

Communalism is a too reactionary tribal concept, an attitude that should not exist in any society. However, communalism exists in the world, even during the 21st century. Communal attitudes cannot be easily wiped out of society. Despite communalism being a reactionary sentiment, society would not be massively harmed when it is concealed inactively in people's minds. However, when roused and made a power, it brings adverse results for the society as well as for the people.

According to our historical experiences, communalism does not blow up and inflame automatically. It should be aroused organizationally. Within the world politics as well as in politics in Sri Lanka communalism is aroused by capitalist political groups. It is to grab power without much trouble. This includes all sorts of communalisms. Despite arousing communalism to grab power, these capitalist political groups are not communal in a class sense. They arouse communalism for power but also act contrary to it for power. It is the common people of all communities that are being deceived and have to suffer. There are plenty of experiences in our country's political history. The latest experience that is added to this list is the '20th' amendment.

We know that the clique headed by Mahinda and Gotabaya carried on an organized communalist campaign for several years to grab power for themselves. In this campaign they utilized 'Muslim phobia' to terrorize the majority Sinhalese. They began their campaign with the pseudo phobia of 'increase in Muslim population' and communalized it through sterile food, sterile clothes, female sterilization. For this, communal groups created by them and communalist media were utilized. The Muslim phobia and anti-Muslim feeling that was thus developed got stimulation due to certain statements and moves carried out by Muslim extremists and the Easter attacks were its highest point.

Finally, the dividing line of the country at the presidential election and the general election was decided by the Sinhalese Buddhist Nationalism. Rajapaksas beguiled the majority of the Sinhalese Buddhist people with their communalist slogans such as "a government that is not controlled by the minority", "an exclusively Sinhalese Buddhist government" to form a government with a large majority. In a bid to rally Sinhalese Buddhist masses around them Muslim capitalist leaders such as Hakeem and especially Rishard Bathiudeen were labeled as enemies. Communalists in Rajapaksa group came out with false warnings that they would leave the government if Muslim leaders and their followers are taken into the government. It was merely to deceive the people. Later events showed us that they had no intention of leaving the government.

However, what occurred when '20' was passed in Parliament? Rajapaksas got the '20' passed with the votes of those they branded as terrorists, Muslim extremists and those who conspire to sterilize the Sinhalese, reminding the phrase on the wrong side of history. Rajapaksas obtaining the support of 6 Muslim and 1 Tamil MPs in Parliament to get the '20' passed silenced the communalists in the government and communalist monks who campaigned vigorously for Rajapaksas.

At the vote for the '20' Maithripala Sirisena absconded and the government had only 148 votes. It was 2 votes less than the 2/3rd majority, which was necessary to get the '20' passed. As such, the 6 Muslim votes were decisive in getting the '20' passed in Parliament. Rajapaksas bamboozled the 90% of the majority Sinhalese voters, got the support of Muslim MPs to get the '20' passed. The voters who thought they could tear the likes of Rishard and Hakeem to pieces in a Rajapaksa administration have been left nonplused. This is a good lesson for the masses if they are prepared to learn.

Why did Rishard and Hakeem not vote for the '20' though their MPs cast their votes for it? It was due to the agreement with the government. Had Rishard and Hakeem voted for the amendment, it would have been very disadvantageous for the government. It would be disadvantageous for the two of them as well. This is why they used 'cats' paws' to 'draw their chestnuts from the fire. Hakeem's and Rishard's MPs would never have supported the government without their knowledge and blessings.

'20' has taught many lessons to the masses. It would be so in the future as well. They could be lethal lessons as well. What is the lesson the masses learnt when the '20' was passed? It is the lesson of communalism. Communalism is necessary for the capitalist class to gain power. Communalism is not necessary for them to rule. Capitalist political parties that divide masses through communalism and religion ignore the divisions of social class, which is the oppressor and the oppressed, that exists in the capitalist society but communalism is brought out merely to grab power which is their class need. Hence, communalism is nothing but a deception of the capitalist political parties. They divide the oppressed to grab power but unite their class, notwithstanding communal and religious differences within, to rule the oppressed. Let us learn from '20'; defeat communalism that divides our class and rally to defeat the looming dictatorship. Let us struggle together and bring victory to the masses and the country together!

All opportunists exposed at the vote for '20'

Comrade Vijitha Herath Information Secretary of the JVP

The 20th amendment to the Constitution was passed in Parliament yesterday with a majority of 156 votes. This amendment tolls the death knell of democracy in our country. Throughout the past, the masses experienced what pressure a constitution with powers of dictatorship



could apply to them. The real menace of the 20th amendment was concealed and more attention was paid on dual citizenship and other matters. However, the seriousness of the matter is that an individual is conferred with unrestricted power which is going beyond the powers Mr J.R.Jayawardene had from the constitution he manipulated. The Parliament, the cabinet and the judiciary are subdued. Cabinet ministers and members of Parliament become puppets. An individual gets the sole power of deciding the appointments and removal the Chief Justice, justices of the Supreme Court and the Court of Appeal and higher officials of the government.

The fundamental essence of the Constitution in our country is that the legislature, the executive and the judiciary are the three main pillars of democracy and the balance should necessarily be maintained between the three pillars. Now all these have been subdued and the menace of an individual taking all decisions has emerged. The President is empowered to make decisions on economic, political and other matters as well as appointments and removals. The President is empowered to appoint and remove the Prime Minister as well. The legislature is completely dilapidated while the legislature and the judiciary lose their independence. The President grabbing the power of appointing judges means the judges are made to glorify the President. It is like breaking the backbone of the judiciary. A situation has been created to use dictatorial power when masses agitate for their right to live.

How was the 20th amendment passed in Parliament? During the election campaign, communalism was utilized to ask the people for a 2/3rd majority to build an exclusively Sinhalese rule. Communalism against Muslims was spread talking about 'sterile koththu', 'sterile tablets' and 'sterile surgeries'. Instead of building national unity election stages were used to spread disunity to grab power. In response the Muslim community supported Muslim communalism. The election result reflected this state. However, in Parliament yesterday they all came together. Those who spread Sinhalese communalism got the 20th amendment passed with a 2/3rd majority with the support of Hakeem's and Rishard's groups. The government had only 145 seats. With the supporting groups it could muster 150. However, the number came down to 148 when the Speaker and former President are not counted. If not for the support it received from Hakeem's and Rishard's groups it could have been defeated.

During the election campaign, we said that the votes given to Sajith's faction against dictatorial power would be traded. Just as we predicted, eight members who entered Parliament from the 'telephone' voted with the government

Page 02 >>>