

# Frontline

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## feature

What is needed now is to gather all this so that analytic detailed conclusion can be formed regarding the effect the path taken by the capitalist neo-liberalism has on the political and social structure of the country and its economy.

# Battlefront to Defeat Racism

**The Front Line Socialist Party states that they have started a movement to unify all National communities against the racist campaign initiated by the Sri Lankan Government.**

The National Convener of "Movement for Equal Rights", Comrade Ravindra Mudalige stated that they are going to create widespread protests all

over the country to oppose this discrimination against different National communities.

The government used the support of a few Buddhist monks

to create an uprising against Muslims. This movement has escalated from websites and advertisements against Muslim people to the extent that they try to destroy mosques etc.

The "Movement for Equal Rights" further stated that the

failure of the law enforcement agencies in investigating these atrocities is a proof of the racist nature of the current regime of President Mahinda Rajapaksha.

The "Movement for Equal Rights" condemned the way that the Lankan Government use religion, language and cultural

differences to achieve its narrow objectives. They further stated that the "Movement for Equal Rights" is planning wide spread protests to unify all National communities to stand up against racism that is prevalent in the country of Lanka today.

### An year elapsed after the abduction

## Protest campaigns to Free Lalith & Kuhan!

To this December an year elapsed after the disappearance of comrades Lalith Kumar Weeraraju and Kuhan Muruganandan. Both comrades were followed and abducted by government security forces on the 9th of December 2011. Even there is clear evidence that they are illegally held by security forces but the government has rejected that. During this year, having launched a continuous protest to release Lalith & Kuhan nothing has revealed about the comrades' being detained.

On the 10th of December which completes an year after the abduction of Lalith & Kuhan, falls the International Human Rights Day. On that day, protest campaigns will be organised, demanding the release of political prisoners including Lalith & Kuhan, to stop abductions, disappearances and to protect democratic rights of people, Frontline Socialist Party announced. This protest campaign will be spread to the international level, said the FLSP further.

### Let Palestine Live!



Front Line Socialist Party affiliated Movement for People's Struggle (MPS) organized a protest in front of the UN High Commission in Colombo Sri Lanka on 23rd November. The protesters chanted slogans against the hypocrisy of Western nations and the UN which supports the on-going onslaught against Palestinians by the Zionist regime.

The Israeli aggression on Gaza continues as scores of children are being targeted in an indiscriminate bombardment of civilians in the most populated narrow land strip in the world.

## Sri Lanka is in 500Km radius from Kundankulam Nuclear Power Station

The island of Sri Lanka is in a radius of 500 KM from the proposed Kundankulam nuclear power station. This project will be serious threats to the lives of the public living around it and therefore should not be built there. It was insisted by the Movement against the Kundankulam power station.



It was revealed at the inaugural press conference held at Colombo public library conference hall on November 21st. The action committee members of the "peoples' movement against Kundankulannuclear power station" are Comrade Duminda Nagamuva –politbureau member of Front Line Socialist Party, Mr.Ravindra Kariyawasam on behalf of "Education Centre for the Nature", Mr.Karunadasa Munagama - "Friends of earth and development foundation of environment", Mr. Surendra Ajith Rupasinghe on behalf of "Children of the earth" attached to Mao Communist party and Mr. Wageesha Sumanasekara on behalf of "The Centre".

Action committee member Comrade Duminda Nagamuva further said that Sri Lankan major cities such as Anuradhapura Kurunagala Colombo Gampaha and Kaluthara are situated within the radius of 300 Km of the proposed nuclear power station. He said "the nuclear disaster which happened at Fukushima nuclear power station in Japan affected the crops harvested 750 KM away from the power plant which was later confirmed as not suitable for human consumption. Therefore this Nuclear power plant is very dangerous to Sri Lanka as well. The disposal of nuclear waste to the Indian Ocean is also a further threat to the environment. Because of these threats, French Government has taken action to close all nuclear power station in Germany by 2020."

Action committee member Mr. Surandra Ajith said that 1800 activists were arrested by the Indian police who protested against this nuclear power plant. "The Indian Government has given assurance to the Supreme Court of India to comply to protect the public and the environment, but so far fulfill only six of the assurances. If any disaster occurred, farmers, fishermen and poor public will suffer first. Is this development? This is capitalist development, neo liberal development. Neither Indian nor the Sri Lankan gain anything out of this nuclear power station except risk to their lives. We in near future will join hand together with Indian activist to protest against this disaster. "

## Denial of Waruna's party membership is contrary to the constitution -Court of Appeal-

The court of appeal ruled that the denial of membership status of Western provincial counselor, Comrade Waruna Rajapaksha by the JVP is illegal and contrary to the party constitution. Court of appeal gave this decision on 16th of November. It was decided when the Court of Appeal heard the petition filed by Comrade Waruna Rajapaksha. Comrade Waruna Rajapaksha is the media and propaganda secretary of Movement for Peoples' struggle (MPS).



## Ajith to act independently

Democratic National Alliance (DNA) MP and the convener of MPS (Movement for A Peoples' Struggle) Ajith Kumara said on 15th of November, he would from now on function as an independent member of parliament.

Mr. Kumara accused DNA Group Leader Anura Kumara Disanayake of violating his right to participate in the Budget debate. The MP charged that the DNA had no democratic values as it had violated his right to speak.



## Line up and unite to win a guarantee to safe guard the lives of workers

The fatal accident at the Sapugaskanda oil refinery shows that just like the private sector the government sector now also does not care a damn about the safety of the workers, states the Frontline Socialist Party. The party states that the trade unions that are limiting the workers struggles to only aiming to get wage increments, and not to win safe work conditions for the workers, also must take the responsibility for this incident. Below is the issued statement.

"Due to a incident at the Sapugaskanda oil refinery, two workers have lost their lives and a number of other workers have being hospitalised after being taken ill. According to the reports, these workers were sent to fix a reported gas leak in one of the gas lines at the Sapugaskanda oil refinery. Though the workers refused to go to the affected area, pointing to the danger of going down there without any personal protective equipment, the management of the facility ignored their concerns and exposed them to this grave danger.

The Sri Lanka petroleum corporation is a state owned corporation. This shows that it is not only private companies that exploit their work force ignoring the safety risks to their lives; even the state owned corporations are doing the same. But this is not the first instance the government has not taken seriously the risks to the lives of the workers, their living conditions or their rights. Even if you look at the 2013 budget, in it has totally ignored the workers.

In the face of the daily rise of the living costs the workers have being demanding a increment

to their wages in order to maintain a modest living standard. But instead of giving them the wage increase, they have received a trifling amount as an allowance. There is no mention of the over 40 lakhs of worker belonging to the private sector or the 8 lakhs of plantation workers in this budget.

Today the workers in the Government sector, private sector, plantations, contract workers and the casual workers are finding themselves living under very low living standards and even putting their lives at risk in unsafe work conditions.

There is ample evidence to show that the rulers neither give a damn about the rights of the workers nor to their safety risks. The accident at the Sapugaskanda oil refinery is only the latest example.

The trade union movement that is not taking a stand to ensure better work conditions for the work force, limiting the worker's struggles to wage related struggles and demands and that practice only a method of dealing with the government also must take the responsibility for this situation.

We want to extend our party's deepest sympathies and support to the family members, relatives and friends of the two workers who lost their lives due to the accident at the Sapugaskanda oil refinery. At the same time we appeal to all the working masses to join our struggle to ensure better conditions and the health and safety of the lives of the workers during work hours, and to win the demands of workers in their respective sectors.

## Safe guard the lives of the prisoners FLSP

The Frontline Socialist Party demanded that the government must ensure the safety of the prisoners.

Issuing a statement on the 10th of November on the incident at the Welikada prison yesterday, the party explains that this is another result of the government's militarisation. The full text of the statement issued by the Front Line Socialist Party is given below.

It is reported that due to an incident that occurred on the 9th of November in the Welikada prison, as a result of shooting by the defence forces, 25 detainees lost their lives and close to 50 prisoners were shot and injured. This incident was started when the prisoners objected to an attempt by the special Task force to search them. Using this volatile situation as an excuse the security forces opened fire and considering the number of dead prisoners this looks more like a all out attack than shooting in self defence. We as the Front Line Socialist Party unreservedly condemn this incident and we see the government's tendency to militarise all public service sectors as the main reason and the cause for this situation.

The usual practice is for the prison officers and other security personnel to strip search all the prisoners upon their arrival to the prison. If weapons, communication devices or drugs are in the hands of prisoners it is clear that it has come be in their possession while being inside.

All inspections must be carried out by the prison guards. Due to the government's agenda of militarisation of all service sectors, similarly to the free trade zone struggle, the Jayewardeneapura university student's struggle, and in all public services the direct involvement of the military is evident in the prison inspections. The main reason behind the unrest was due to the military involvement. Responsibility for this volatile situation must be worn by the government as a result of their arrogant direction of military interference. It is also clear that when the situation became volatile without trying to control the situation the use of deadly force was directed at the prisoners with revenge as the motive. The earlier incident at the Vavuniya prison also carries the same similarities.

The Government is responsible for the safety and the lives of all prisoners in their custody and time after time that responsibility has been ignored. We believe that this is a critical attack on basic rights of this nation. Without only writing the words "Prisoners are human too" on walls, the society as a whole must take the responsibility of protecting their basic rights. In order to defeat the developing anti-democratic atmosphere and being aware that today's attack on the prisons can be directed tomorrow at any institution, we appeal to all the people who value democracy to unite with us in our struggle to prevent the recurrence of these incidents.

A number of political events have loomed large during the past few weeks in Lankan politics. Apart from the killings of political prisoners and the killings of dozens of prisoners in political terms by the state armed forces sponsored by the family regime and the introduction of the new undemocratic bill to weaken the legal authority, the conflict between the judiciary and the political authority has become more crucial according to the media publications in Lanka. The class nature of this conflict has given an extra boost for this kind of attention than the killings of convicted or remanded prisoners or the introduction of the undemocratic bill to strengthen the repressive apparatus of the state. When an impeachment was handed over to the speaker of the parliament on November 1st, signed by 117 ruling party parliamentarians against the chief justice Shirani Bandaranayaka, the conflict entered a different level. A few weeks later the Supreme Court agreed to consider three fundamental right petitions on the 23rd of November, filed against the above said impeachment. These petitions have said that it is against the Lankan constitution and law. The Supreme Court will review the petitions on the 21st of January 2013.

The escalating conflict in-between the judiciary and the political authority have been made visible by various ugly and unruly events occurred in the recent past. Apart from the continues coercion of judges, the government-sponsored thuggery attack on the chairman of the judiciary service commission and the rock throwing attack against the courts with the direct participation of the government ministers the conflict in-between these two powerful authorities is evident but it further shows the undemocratic culture of the Lankan political authority. The conflict has turned into the climax after the debate induced by the Supreme Court, ruling that seven clauses of the newly introduced "Divi Neguma" bill was contradictory to the constitution, which was allocated huge amount of funds for the ministry of president's brother Mr. Basil Rajapaksha. By introducing this bill, three former funds have being centralized to one unique "Divi Neguma" fund for the sake of the rule of family clan and to stimulate

# CONFLICT OF JUDICIARY WITH EXECUTIVE OR BUILDING DEMOCRACY?

the concessionary illusion amongst the masses.

There is a huge debate amongst the different political groups, human right organizations and opposition political parties that the impeachment against the chief justice is an undemocratic and authoritative move by the present Rajapaksha regime. According to some political lines this conflict is a contradiction between the judiciary and the executive presidency. Some views hint that the only way to restore democracy can be achieved is by abolishing the executive presidency. There is no doubt that the present Bonaparte style rule in Lanka has become the worst regime in terms of democracy in Lanka has ever experienced since the so-called independence. On the other hand, there is an ascendancy of human rights violations and dispossession of the least offered democracy installed by the colonial rulers, by different backward capitalist regimes which held the reigns since the so-called independence.

According to the new constitution which introduced the executive presidency in 1978 by then prime minister Mr. J. R. Jayawardane, there were a number of avenues created to dominate the judiciary by the political authority. The chief justice, the supreme court judges, the president of the court of appeal and the solicitor general are all appointed by the president himself. Apart from that, under the present Rajapaksha regime the solicitor general's department also comes under the president's authority. In the recent past the constitution has been amended by lifting the restriction from contesting the presidential election for an incumbent president who has served two consecutive terms. This was also approved by the same and now conflicted judiciary. It paved the way for President Rajapaksha's wish to stay in power until his parliamentarian son has contested the presidential election.

In a given country or in global terms, democracy or any other political



factors cannot be analysed in an abstract manner in isolation from all other socio-economic factors, as all these are interconnected. Simultaneously, after the introduction of neo-liberal policies due to the crisis of imperialism all over the globe, the first phase of neo-liberalism was introduced by the UNP government in 1978

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in Lanka. The undemocratic practice against the oppressed masses and most of the strata of the society jumped to a new qualitative level during that seventeen year long era and finally it paved the way to victimise sixty thousand young lives. The second phase of neo-liberalism has been on offer from the present Rajapaksha regime after destroying LTTE with the killing of tens of thousands of innocent Tamil civilians. Using the so-called war victory to maintain a



military rule in the North and to deceive the masses in the South, a fear campaign has been spread across the entire island. When compared, the seventeen year long UNP era and the eighteen years of the ongoing present era have a huge number of similarities apart from the magnitude and the qualitative impact towards the society. Conflict between the judiciary and the political authority, privatization of state owned enterprises, introducing new laws and regulations to suppress masses, maintaining illegal armed forces, worthless massive illusionary projects alongside with nepotism are common features to both eras. That means that the constitutional dictatorship leading towards a Bonaparte style rule has its own connection with the deterioration of the entire socio-economic circumstances. Therefore the struggle to establish democracy should coincide with the struggle for a better life for masses.

On the other hand, the now debated judiciary has released orders to the police to stop trade union actions at least ten times in the first few months of this year. They also stopped students demonstrations organized by the Inter University Students Federation against the privatization of education. They ordered the

police to fix the date and the venue to hold the funeral by denying the request of the family members of the worker of the free trade zone who was killed by the armed forces while engaging in a peaceful protest campaign against the so-called pension bill. Further, the same judiciary has legalised the undemocratic move of the 13th Amendment to strengthen the powers of the executive presidency. More interestingly the same political authority itself installed Shirani Bandaranayaka as a Supreme Court judge and as the chief justice as well.

It shows that there is a long history in Lankan politics that shows that the executive, judiciary and the legislative arms of the state work together to suppress the masses. These three components of the Lankan politics didn't have contradictions to making decisions which act against the public or strengthen the hands of the political authority. Fighting only against these issues in an abstract way will not help to establish democracy in Lanka. It paves the way to play in some opposition parties' hands to strengthen their political agenda only to topple the government to re-install a similar one. The conflict over the judiciary with the political authority is a minor factor when considering the undemocratic features at the present political environment. According to the need of the masses, there is nothing to restore but to establish democracy should be the right slogan as we have never experienced a better democracy in Lankan history. On the other hand the expectation of the masses on democracy will not arrive without solving other major socio-economic crises. Allowing others to stick to their various stands according to their class nature, we as a proletarian movement should implement a concrete struggle to establish democracy alongside with other socio-economic struggles.



## Is there a crisis between judiciary and other two institution or is it a crisis of the system?

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*When we carefully perused some decisions given by the Supreme Court and the other courts under the guidance of the Supreme Court during the past year it is evident that in Sri Lankan court system did not appear as a people's court. Instead of hearing and determining the cases concerning on the public interest the Supreme Court has directly served to the legislative and the executive as a loyal servant of the other two institutions.*  
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The Rajapaksha Regime, through its parliamentarians, handed over an impeachment motion to the Speaker, the elder brother of the President Rajapaksha against the first woman Chief Justice of the country. It appears that the Government of Sri Lanka is in a mighty hurry to “get rid of the Chief Justice” so that a major obstacle for government's capricious track is removed. With the handing over of the impeachment, the government

has signaled to the judiciary that executive power and the 2/3 power of the parliament are superior to than the judiciary.

The events leading to the impeachment demonstrates that the move to impeach the CJ is nothing but a political witch-hunt. The tension between judiciary and executive started with Minister Bathirdeen's unsuccessful attempt to influence the Magistrate of Mannar, resulting in an attack on the Magistrate's court. Then there were attempts by the Executive to influence the Judicial Services Commission (JSC) on disciplinary matters, where the JSC stood firm. The JSC, through the Secretary, in fact issued an unprecedented statement on 12th September 2012 stating that there is interference with the functions of the JSC by the executive. Soon thereafter, the JSC Secretary was brutally assaulted in a typical - state sponsored style attack.

But the closest reason for the impeachment is the Divineguma Bill, which is included neo-liberal reforms by taking away some of the powers of the Provincial Council and concentrating power of rural development in the hands of a Minister under an unusual legislative scheme

I, and it came up for review in the Supreme Court where the Chief Justice presided over the relevant Bench. The Minister concerned was another B.Brother of the President. The decision has ignited so much of unfair criticism against the Court. Threats of impeachment emerged from within this case! Discharging a constitutional

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*The Supreme Court was being a blind umpire in assisting the neo liberal steps taken by the ruling class such as the extension of the time period of executive presidency, dismissing the application filed against the Army training university students, declaring the court martial decisions have the effect of court decisions etc.*  
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function or a duty cannot be the basis for any impeachment.

Anyway the CJ has to now appear before parliamentary select committee which includes 11 parliament members whereas 7 of them are representing the existing government. Since the majority of the committee are

henchmen of the president there is no doubt that they will deliver the final order against the CJ whether she is innocent or not.

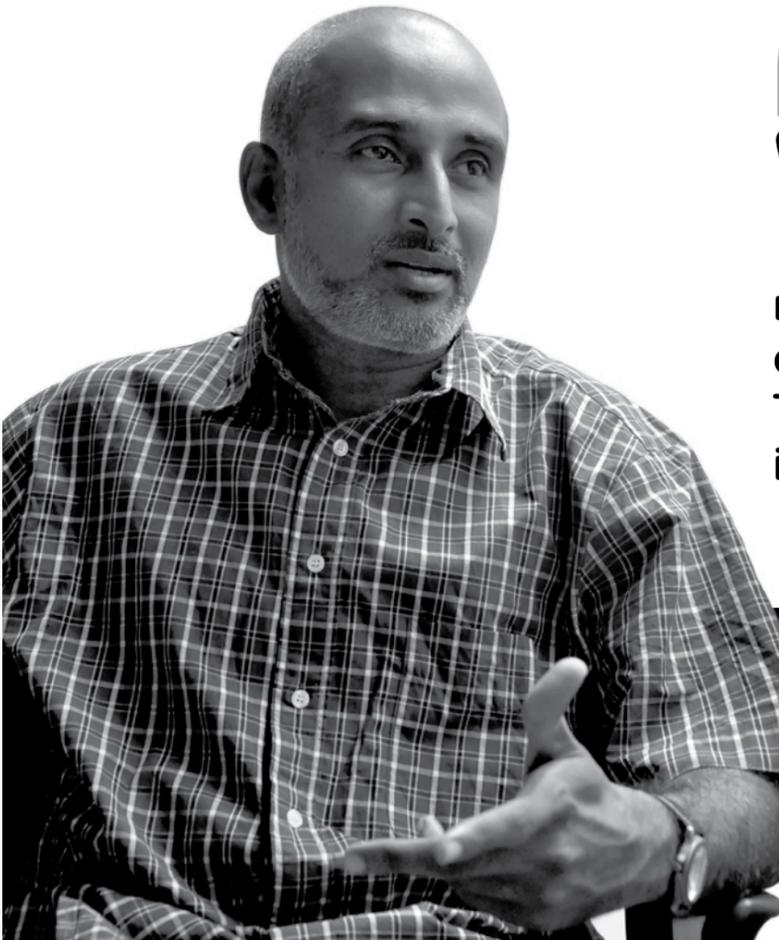
When we carefully perused some decisions given by the Supreme Court and the other courts under the guidance of the Supreme Court during the past year, it is evident that in Sri Lankan court system did not appear as a people's court. Instead of hearing and determining the cases concerning on the public interest the Supreme Court has directly served to the legislative and the executive as a loyal servant of the other two institutions. The Supreme Court was being a blind umpire in assisting the neo liberal steps taken by the ruling class such as the extension of the time period of executive presidency, dismissing the application filed against the Army training on university students, declaring the court martial decisions have the effect of court decisions etc. Furthermore the ruling class was able to use the Court to unleash the suppression on the students, workers, fishermen and other suppressed social strata classes. In the circumstances it was proved the fact that the executive, legislature and the judiciary are nothing but the institutions which are dedicated to preserve the capitalist system, and from time to time they

depend on each other to fight against their class enemies namely the suppressed groups of the society.

In Sri Lanka the capitalist class is very much keen to continue the judiciary system introduced by the imperialists three centuries back. At the outset the British imperialist used the court system and law to safeguard the imperialism and subsequently the local capitalist class used it to preserve the state dominated capitalism, liberalism and neo liberalism which were various reflections of the capitalism.

The political background at the time of previous impeachment motions to impeach Neville Samarakone was exactly the same. Mr J.R. Jayawardena had a 5/6 majority of the parliament and he was the man who introduced the neo liberal reforms first. In order to implement those economic reforms he needed prompt measures without any impediments. But Neville Samarakoon delivered some judgments against the wish of the executive and as a result of that an impeachment was brought against him. At present the Mahinda Rajapaksha who is the person playing the 2nd inning of the neo-liberalism also wants some prompts reforms to oppress the proletariat and facilitate the capitalist class to earn profit out of that. The control over the judiciary is very important to suppress the people and if the judiciary is reluctant to act according to those agendas as previously, the executive and legislature have to punish it and iron out the problems. Now Mahinda Rajapaksha is doing what? It is clear that the privatization of the education, grabbing the public money, suppressing the working class are some of the main objectives to be reached in order to continue the neo liberalism. Therefore at this juncture the judiciary cannot swim against the tide and say that its other two partners should not implement neo liberal reforms.

Unless the people topple the capitalist system and create a pro-people court system we cannot expect an independent judiciary under the capitalism. All these evils were emanated out of the capitalist system, and the judiciary, being a part of the system, cannot play an independent role. Therefore now it is the high time to re-think about these capitalist institutions and fight for democracy or independence of judiciary will be vain attempts under the existing system. Therefore instead of fighting for independence of the judiciary we must fight for independence of the people from capitalism.



“**We believe this is clearly interference into the country's judiciary by current regime in Lanka. But in the same time the very reason this dispute had been generated by the extreme right policies by the current regime. Therefore we as a left party see this turmoil not in isolation but with all other issues in the country.**”

## We don't promote a change of pillow for a headache

**Comrade Senadheera Gunathilaka,  
General Secretary, Front Line Socialist Party**

**Frontline:- Recently the Sri Lankan Government put forward changes to the Code of Criminal Procedure Act. People believe this will affect democracy, pointing the finger at the government about white van abductions, killing of prisoners etc. By looking at these incidents, to restore democracy in the country it is assumed that this government needs to be changed. But in order to achieve this, why is the FLSP not getting active with the common opposition?**

**Comrade Senadheera**

Firstly we need to look carefully at the current situation. The current Government is responsible for most of those atrocities you mentioned. At the same time it is important to analyze why the GOSL is continuing with this behavior?

The current capitalist system and Neo Liberal Policies are key components of the current Government and in order for them to continue to hold their power; their only option is to carry on the current regime's oppressive agenda. What we will be focusing on is to make sure what we wanted is not a temporary solution to the current crisis but a permanent change of the current system. We don't need to promote

a change of pillow for a headache but looking at a long lasting solution for the real headache.

We believe in 'struggle' to achieve victory but we don't believe a struggle to win an alternative Government which will also carry the same Neo Liberal Policies.

Therefore the FLSP will contribute to win a 'real and genuine victory' for working people in this country.

**Frontline:- The opposition must be strengthened, the opposition must be united, and these are the voices we hear from the common opposition but FLSP is not reacting positively. Now in the Parliament comrade Ajith Kumara MP also has become Independent. Divisions amongst the opposition will bring government more victories, will they not? What is your comment about it?**

**Comrade Senadheera**  
Comrade Ajith Kumara's decision to depart from the DNA and JVP to remain in the parliament as an independent MP has not occurred overnight. He has taken this decision as a result of series of activities over the last 12 months. In the parliament the left policies he is promoting has not given a fair hearing by the DNA and JVP and under those circumstances he has no other alternative but to become an Independent MP within the

current Parliament system. Within the society there are viewpoints that the entire opposition must be united to face the current regime. Now again certain parties and groups are highlighting that they need a common opposition, but "this so called common opposition to win who?" Is it to bring Ranil into power? Or Fonseka?



“**The current capitalist system and Neo Liberal Policies are key components of the current Government and in order for them to continue to hold their power; their only option is to carry on the current regime's oppressive agenda.**”

Or somebody else? Then again for them to carry these inhumane unjust Neo liberal policies in the country, we don't believe people of Lanka want to continue this suffering. Yes we want to change the

government to achieve victory for the people. Comrade Lenin also asked unity for a real unity amongst farmers, workers, teachers, labourers, intellectuals and that sort of common unity we should be aiming for. We can question what happened to the unity within old left. In 50's or 70's or even today, but once you build up grassroots level unity amongst progressive elements in the society we believe others will follow. Unity amongst the working people will bring the real change and that is our aim.

**Frontline:- We noticed FLSP organized the 23rd November heroes Commemoration and you said this time they organized differently. What was the difference?**

**Comrade Senadheera**

The struggle in 87-90 was a significant even and 65,000 people who sacrificed their lives to achieve a better society we believe we must commemorate those events with everyone, as November Heroes belongs to the entire community in this country and not to one party. It is important we have a genuine dialogue with the entire society about these struggles. In that sense this year we continue to have a broader discussion about significant political events

such as November Heroes.

**Frontline:- The Chief Justice in Lanka is now facing an impeachment by the Government and this shows clear interference by the government into judicial affairs. Under these circumstances we cannot see FLSP active within the force against these actions by the government. What is your position on this?**

**Comrade Senadheera**

We believe this is clearly interference into the country's judiciary by current regime in Lanka. But in the same time the very reason this dispute had been generated by the extreme right policies by the current regime. Therefore we as a left party see this turmoil not in isolation but with all other issues in the country. This is not, as some say, about three pillars in the society and one of them is the judiciary. We see this is as turmoil created by the capitalism in the country and unless we change this rotten system these conflicts will continue. Therefore we will have a sensible debate within the grassroots level of current system.

Current neo-liberal policies will distance the society from progressive politics and will confuse the masses and will shift to the right. We as a progressive movement will fight to shift our own communities into the correct path.

Among the latest Acts the government has put before the parliament, the Divinaguma Act, The Amendment to the Provincial Councils Act and the Amendment to the Code of Criminal Procedures Act are at the forefront. In addition to these it has been announced that a number of new Acts are due to be introduced by the government including the regulations for taxing ground water, Amended Seeds Act and the Plant protection Act. Amid all this the budget for the year 2013 has been also forwarded. At regular intervals changes are being made also to the economy. As an example the new taxes on essential consumer goods, policy changes to the tax on Imports and exports and the various trade agreements signed with foreign countries, changes to various regulations are affecting the economy. Though the information is reaching the people through a number of methods including the media it only comes as individual news items separate from each other. For an example at one time there will be an analysis on the new taxes will be published, then there will be criticisms published or discussed through media on the Divinaguma Act and on the Amendments to the Code of Criminal procedure Act. At another time there will be protests against making the water resource a sellable commodity. What is needed now is to gather all this so that analytic detailed conclusion can be formed regarding the effect the path taken by the capitalist neo-liberalism has on the political and social structure of the country and its economy. Then it can be observed that all these new laws and regulations are parts of one major plan.

### THE ECONOMIC TURMOIL

For a long period of time the Sri Lankan economy has been in huge turmoil. In order to get a true picture of the reality of the economy, one has to consider the facts on the budget deficit, trade deficit and the national debt. The budget deficit has been rising nonstop for a long time now. As an example, the government's income in the first 6 months in the year 2012 decreased 14.5% down to 496.8 billion rupees and the government's expenditure increased 17.4% up to 563.8 billion rupees. Compared with the first 6 months in 2011 the budget deficit has risen to 40.94% in the first

half of 2012. What it shows is that in comparison with year 2011, the budget deficit in year 2012 will rise even further. In the year 2013 this gap has the potential to expand even more with the economic experts predicting the actual budget deficit to be 507 billion rupees in 2013. The capitalist governments have no answer to stop the exponential growth in the gap between the government's income and expenditure and the only solution to they can come up with to fill this void is by putting extra burden on its citizens and taking more loans.

In addition to the Budget

“*What is needed now is to gather all this so that analytic detailed conclusion can be formed regarding the effect the path taken by the capitalist neo-liberalism has on the political and social structure of the country and its economy. Then it can be observed that all these new laws and regulations are parts of one major plan.*”

deficit, the next major factor for the economy is the trade deficit. The deficit between the income from exporting goods to foreign countries and the cost of importing goods into the country is called the trade deficit. According to the estimated data, the expenditure for the imported goods is around 22 billion dollars and the income from the exports are only 11 Billion dollars. According to these statistics the trade deficit stands at 11 billion dollars. Comparatively to the deficit of 7 billion dollars in the year 2011, target is a 57.14% increase. The collapse of the income from the exports is the main reason behind this deficit. The declining of the income from the exports is due to the collapse of the local manufacturing sector.

The speech delivered by the President on the budget and the action plan had neither a real plan for action nor a program but was filled with wishful thinking, false promises aimed at creating a shopfront for selling dreams. In his speech the President says the he will bring down the import expenditure from 22 billion dollars to 17 billion

dollars by the year 2016. In order to achieve this target the price of the imports must come down or the value of the rupee must be strengthened. The room for this to occur is minimal. In order to reduce the expenditure of imports the other alternative is to limit the imports. It is not practical to achieve this by only issuing statements indicating cuts to expenditure without indentifying the number of goods that will be limited or cut from the list of imports in order to reduce costs. But the neo-liberal capitalist path the current government has taken will not allow any room for such action.

In addition to this the President's so called solution was to increase the income from exports which is 11 billion dollars this year to 15 billion dollars by 2016. In order to increase the income of the exports by 1/3, there has to be a massive increase in the development of the manufacturing sector. The difficulty of this challenge increases with the continuing devaluation of the rupee. The question is that there was no plan put forward within the budget to increase manufacturing. The neo-liberal capitalist path taken by Sri Lankan governments for the past three decades has as a principle put more effort into the finance sector rather than the development of the manufacturing sector. Even this budget document shows that there is no difference being made to that principle. According to the draught document on Acts tabled to the parliament, 5.3 billion is allocated to the agricultural sector, 2.8 billion for livestock, 0.93 billion for export sector, 2.6 billion for the fisheries sector, 0.92 billion for the traditional trade sector and 2.8 billion for the plantation sector is like giving step mother's treatment to the manufacturing sector. But with the aim of developing the tourism industry the allocation for defence and the ministry of urban development is 289.5 billion and the allocation of 139 billion for the development of roads and the expansion of the harbour is noted. Amid this situation it is merely a dream to increase the income in exports. It is very clear that the ruling class has no practical solution for the lack of foreign exchange due to the day to day widening of the trade deficit and this budget statement is a clear evidence of that.

As a result the country's economy is drowning in a critical turmoil and in the face

of this turmoil the ruling class has only a few options.

01. Continue to borrow loans.
02. Continuation of oppression and centralization power.
03. Taking over grass root level finances by centralizing them.
04. Increase tax burden on ordinary public..
05. Cuts on welfare.
06. Increased engagement in neo liberal capitalism.
07. Print money.

### Burdening the lower class

Capitalist governments are imposing the total burden of

2012, the Harbour and the road development has being allocated 131.6 billion rupees. It is evident according to these statistics that the rulers of Lanka have chosen none other than the path of imposing more burdens on the public and the use of suppression and delusion in order to face the opposition.

The estimated total tax income for the year 2012 is 1000.6 billion rupees and in addition to the taxation new money is being printed. In the first 6 months of the year 2012 in order to give loans to the government, the total value of the money newly printed by the central bank was 329

## NEW LAWS: F THE 2ND INNINGS OF CAP



this turmoil on the shoulders of the oppressed masses. Close to the introduction of the budget statement the price of bread went up by 2 rupees due to the sudden increase of the cost in wheat flour. One week prior to this the tax on imported salmon and potatoes were increased. While the government allocated 289.5 billion rupees in the budget for the defence and the urban development ministry in order to oppress, spend on fake displays aimed at fooling the public and attract tourists, but only a trifling amount was allocated for the public welfare services. 37.9 billion For education, 27.9 for higher education and a 93.5 billion for health and 44.7 billion for public transportation was allocated. While the expenditure for the Defence and urban development ministry has increased by 60 billion in comparison to

billion rupees. In comparison to the first 6 months of last year that is a 243% increase. The printing of money results in devaluing of the rupee, and this affects the oppressed class through the rising cost of goods due to the rising price in imports.

### Centralization of power.

The government must gather and centralize more power in order to continue in this anti-social path it has taken. During the commencement of the first innings of the Capitalist Neo-Liberalism in 1978, J R Jayewardene created the current constitution and the Executive presidency with this factor in mind. Under the current constitution the power to appoint the prime minister, appointment of the cabinet and occupying the head position of the cabinet is under one

single person, who is the Executive President. He has also the power to appoint the chief Justice, to appoint high court judges, to appoint the chairman of the appeal court and to appoint the Attorney general, which are related to the judiciary. J R Jayewardene had the controlling power over the governance of the constitution by having in his possession signed undated resignation letters from the ministers. The control of the executive, the legislature and the judiciary has been centralized in the hands of the Executive president by this constitution.

In the beginning of

Judge was handed over to the speaker on the 1st of November as a part of an active operation to take revenge and to intimidate people who the president is unable to control. The assault on the secretary of the judicial services commission is a clear example of this fact. While centralising the controlling power upper level of the government, there is a clear signal of the effort to centralise the power of control of lower levels in the government by the new amendment to the Provincial council act.

The new amended provincial council act which

the aspirations of the voters who voted for the defeated candidates is very minimal in this act. This is completed through the allocation of 30% of the total number of votes in the provincial council for the proportional representation. But according to the new act the candidates who did not win and get a lower percentage than 5% in the any circuit will not be accounted. The parties with small voter base will lose their representation as a result of this act. On the other hand the publicity given on the promise of every village will get their own representative becomes a false and there is no provision in this act for someone to contest as an individual for a circuit. Whoever wishes to contest for the vote must produce a list of candidates to cover the whole provincial council area, the independent groups must deposit 20000 rupees for each candidate and the political parties must deposit 5000 rupees as a bond. Under the capitalist system democratic representation is a myth, and the representatives elected through elections are not the true representatives. The new Provincial council act has nullified the small room it had for the representation of small political parties within its borders and limited the ground level governing bodies to a few capitalist parties.

The Code of criminal procedure (Amendment) Act that was introduced few days back is also an act aimed at tripling the suppression in order to centralize power. By the second clause of this act, the time period a suspect can be held by the police before being produced before a Magistrate has increased from 24 hours to 48 hours. Furthermore, according to the clauses 3-4 (1) 4(3) in the event of a public outcry over a crime there are provisions in the act to directly take the case to the high court without conducting a hearing in a magistrate's court. By taking the case directly to the high court, it reduces the opportunities the suspects have to appeal against their arrest. There is criticism that the reason behind the increase in the time period a suspect can be kept under police arrest is only to get more time to collect false evidence and prepare false allegations. If this proposed Act get passed, according to the clauses 6(1), 6(2), 6(3) even the deposition given by a suspect at the initial police investigations can be used as evidence against him. Another critical problem in

“*While centralising the controlling power upper level of the government, there is a clear signal of the effort to centralise the power of control of lower levels in the government by the new amendment to the Provincial council act. The new amended provincial council act which was passed few days back will change the Provincial council election system.*”

this act is according to the clause 6(5) A, the opportunity to cross examine the witnesses for the prosecution by the accused is nullified. By the 8th clause of this act, this will be back dated to be affective from the 31st of May 2009 and all the illegal detentions by the police for more than three years will be considered as legal. There is no debate that this Act was put forward only to fulfil the need to take revenge on persons who oppose the government and to suppress the contending forces.

### “Divi Naguma” and Capitalist Neo Liberalism

In the face of the existing economic turmoil the regressive ruling class of Lanka has no other option than to get even more dragged in to the capitalist neo liberal system. For this the funds from the local bodies and also the development projects must be centralized. The Divinaguma Act put forward the other day is aimed at achieving this. By this act, there will be a number of bodies such as Divinaguma department of development, Divinaguma district committees, Divinaguma fascicular organisations and Divinaguma civic organisation established and any allocation of money for any development project will be under the total control of this body. According to the Act, the minister incharge of the Divinaguma will have the power to direct all development and reconstruction projects in the whole country. In the same way the finance aspect is also centralized. According to this act, the Samurdhi authority, Upcountry development authority and the southern development authority will be nullified and all their finances will be absorbed into Divinaguma. The funds close

to 80 billion the Samurdhi authority has now will be added to the Divinaguma bank of community fund.

According to the 34th clause in the Divinaguma act, the bank of civic fund and the Divinaguma civic fund committees that is going to be established under this act will not be under the regulations stated in the 1988 Act number 38 and 2011 Act number 42 of Business finances act. By this these banks will be exempt from the auditing process by the finance committee of the Central bank. On the other hand, according to the 35(2) clause, the funds can be used in any way the minister for finance directs and on any project identified by the minister. According to this the minister has the total power over decisions on funds. This way, even the minimum guide lines on forward thinking on the handling of public funds are nullified. The most critical issue in this Act is that according to the 38th clause, unless there is a direction from courts, the entire officers of the department must sign a statement to protect the confidentiality of the department's activities. This creates suspicion as to why so much effort to prevent information getting to the public if the objective of the Divinaguma Act is to develop the grass root projects. On the other side, except for the constitution, by putting all other Acts under the Divinaguma Act has created a superpower. It is not an exaggeration to say that the creation of this super powerful act is aimed at only to push the capitalist neo liberal agenda to the village level without any obstacles.

The best example in recent times as proof of how Sri Lanka is kneeling down in the face of neo liberal ways and means is the statement given by the chairman of the water management board, on the plans to construct an Act to tax the use of underground water resources. By this act it was planned to tax a sum of 7500 rupees for a year for wells with the capacity over 100000 litres and to tax 15000 rupees from the wells which has capacity above that. This is merely a try to convert a natural resource into a legally sellable commodity. At this moment, according to the water charter put forward before the North West provincial council, above ground water sources like reservoirs, rivers are to be privatised (clause 5), to charge

cont. page 11

## ORESIGHT OF ITALIST NEO-LIBERALISM



“*The speech delivered by the President on the budget and the action plan had neither a real plan for action nor a program but was filled with wishful thinking, false promises aimed at creating a shopfront for selling dreams.*”

the second innings of this Capitalist neo-liberalism, this power was made more centralised by Mahinda Rajapaksha. As an example, the removal of the limitation on the term one can serve as the Executive president by the 18th amendment to the constitution and currently the department of the Attorney General is also under the President. The impeachment notice against the Chief

was passed few days back will change the Provincial council election system. The government and the capitalistic and minor capitalistic oppositions agreed to pass this amendment in the pretence of eliminating the preferential voting and to give opportunity to the village level civil representatives. But that does not happen with this new Act. What really happens is that only the political parties with the ability to spend the most amount of money, which has the power and has the control of media gets the opportunity to represent the Provincial councils and the smaller parties get thrown out. According to this Act the provincial governing areas will be divided in to circuits and the elected candidate of each circuit will represent that circuit. Room for the argument on the proportional voting system in order to represent

The founding of the United Nations in 1945 ushered in a new era of international politics. For the first time in history, the competing interests of different countries were to be policed by a collective council to ensure the survival of what everyone treasured most – the capitalist system. It was obvious to the leading

Instead of being a force for civility and peace as initially intended, the UN Security Council has since been transformed into a public relations tool designed to sanitize the aggressive foreign policies of its members. In the face of rampant imperialism, the noble internationalist aims of the United Nations have become sidelined.

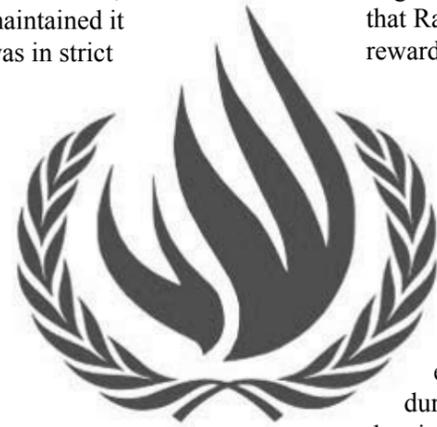
session appreciated the work that has been achieved by the Government of Lanka”.

Minister Samarasinghe has been kept very busy in recent years. Whether in Geneva representing Lanka in an endless array of United Nations associations, chairing monthly meetings with humanitarian agencies, or even being interviewed on BBC

appeared on Hard Talk, UN satellite pictures revealed that the Lankan Army had fired heavy artillery on an area it had previously designated a ‘civilian safety zone’ for around 100,000 displaced civilians. The Lankan government later admitted to the attack, but maintained it was in strict

quickly became important for capitalist states keen on investing in Sri Lanka to remain in Rajapaksa's good books. The recent US\$4 Billion dollar investment deal made by Indian company Gateway Industries with the Lankan government, the largest ever of its kind, shows that Rajapaksa is eager to reward his allies.

# CREDIBILITY OF UNITED NATIONS



The United Nations is only too aware of their impotence. In a scathing report released on 14th November 2012, the United Nations stated that their inadequate effort to protect civilians during the final months of

the civil war marked a “grave failure”. Even Secretary General Ban Ki-moon acknowledged the failure of the UN in Lanka, in particular “the roles played by the Secretariat, the agencies and programs of the U.N Country Team and the members of the Security Council and Human Rights Council”. The report is also highly critical of the failure of the UN to hold a single formal meeting regarding the problem in the Security Council, Human Rights Council or General Assembly. In comparison, during the unrest in Syria – a staunchly independent country that is resistant to European and American influence – there were three Security Council meetings within an eight-month period. Had the Rajapaksa Government been politically and economically independent of the West, it is clear the response of the United Nations would have been vastly different.

By releasing such a damning report in which reveals its own contradictions, the UN is desperately attempting to protect its reputation and remain politically relevant. These efforts remain in vein. Not only has the United Nations proved itself to be an imperialist tool used by countries to further their neo-liberal foreign policies, it has also shown itself as an economic tool that seeks above all to ensure the free-flowing movement of capital across international borders. The quicker the illusion of a ‘helpful and humanitarian international community’ is banished from minds of workers, the sooner they can begin to establish themselves as a powerful independent force capable of fighting the repressive acts of their governments in their own right.



capitalist countries of the day, particularly with the growing presence of the USSR, that capitalism would not endure another World War. Consequently, an organisation was formed that aimed to regulate international politics through the introduction of universal laws. It soon became clear, however, that attempting to regulate the inner political workings of the capitalist system would be impossible. Hungry for fresh markets, imperialist countries saw the UN as a useful tool to further their own expansionist political agendas.

Fresh from sanctioning NATO invasions in both Libya and Afghanistan on the grounds that they were necessary ‘humanitarian interventions’, the UN Security Council has become the go-to place for countries looking to spread their influence. And rather than fighting against such expansionism, the United Nations find themselves actively legitimising it – as it is through the UN Security Council that countries seek justification for their military operations, invariably on the grounds of human rights.

On 1st November 2012, the relevance of the United Nations was put to the test as representatives of ninety-nine countries met at the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) in Geneva to conduct a review of Lanka's recent human rights record. Considering the raft of human rights allegations aimed at the Rajapaksa government for its role in the closing stages of the 30-year war against the Tamil Tigers (LTTE) – in which tens of thousands of Tamil civilians were reportedly caught in the crossfire – the Geneva conference was keenly anticipated by Lankans and international observers alike. On 6th November the review panel of Spain, India and Benin submitted their resolution report, which concluded that out of 220 recommendations made by the Human Rights Council, the Lankan government had accepted only 100. Mahinda Samarasinghe, Lankan Minister and Special Envoy of the President on Human Rights, was pleased at the “professional” nature of the review, stating that “almost all the countries at the Geneva

talk shows, Samarasinghe has flown the world over assuring the International Community that his commander-in-chief, President Mahinda

“**Within the capitalist system political phenomena can be mostly explained in economic terms, and the United Nations response to the Lankan civil war is no different.**”

Rajapaksa, is a compassionate humanitarian. On 3rd March 2009, Samarasinghe, then Minister for Disaster Management and Human Rights, told BBC's Hard Talk that the government's mission against the LTTE was primarily “humanitarian”. Samarasinghe maintained that the government's primary goal was to “liberate the civilians from the crutches of extreme terrorism” and that consequently, they would not jeopardise the civilians in the area by using heavy weapons.

In April 2011, just over a month after Samarasinghe

accordance with their ‘zero civilian casualty policy’, as no civilians were specifically ‘targeted’.

Throughout the closing stages of the war, the ‘zero civilian casualty policy’ continued to be the centrepiece of the Rajapaksa government's program. However, in August 2011 – more than two years after Rajapaksa claimed victory over the LTTE – a report by the Lankan Defence Ministry acknowledged that their military operations during the civil war had indeed resulted in the “unavoidable” deaths of civilians. The ‘zero civilian casualty policy’ was a sham.

Within the capitalist system political phenomena can be mostly explained in economic terms, and the United Nations response to the Lankan civil war is no different. Considering that powerful capitalist countries control the UN, it will come as no surprise that it will always be administered in accordance with imperialist led capitalist economic and political interests. And clearly these countries did not want to ruffle the feathers of a Rajapaksa government that, after a 30-year wait, was on the brink of opening its doors to foreign investment; specially towards Northern and Eastern areas

In early 2009, as the government forces were finally overpowering the LTTE, many investors were salivating at the prospect of a relatively untouched areas of Lankan market opening up, free of any economic disruptions of the 30 year long civil war. The Lankan Board of Investments was equally excited, and in June 2009, barely a month after the defeat of the LTTE, they predicted that foreign investment would quadruple by 2012. Consequently, it



concentrated on portraying his opponent as a danger to the nation if allowed to win. Neither put forward answers to the key economic problems facing the society, such as unemployment and falling standard of living.

The whole Presidential campaign, including its tightly stage-managed debates, was characterised by a lack of debate about the most important political issues. Nothing was said by either candidate or the media about the big national issue of war or peace. The cause of socialism was not represented anywhere. What was debated was how quickly the government should inflict new austerity measures on its people. Both the Democratic and Republican parties stand 100 per cent for the neo-liberal economic agenda, so it was hard to find differences between them. It has often been said that America is a one party state with two wings. To be only given a choice between two very similar candidates is actually to be given no democratic choice at all. Half the American people realised this and didn't want to have anything to do with U.S. democracy.

In 2008 Barack Obama had raised the hopes of the American people by offering the nation "real change" from the policies of his predecessor George W. Bush. As the first black president he seemed a more legitimate representative of the American people. Furthermore, he had

against Libya, Syria and now is seriously destabilizing world peace with plans against Iran. He has personally authorised drone strikes to assassinate 'militants' in Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia. Obama has done nothing to improve relations with communist Cuba, such as releasing the Cuban Five would easily have done. Instead he broke his promise to close the notorious Guantanamo Bay prison with its indefinite military detainees. On the international plane where the acts of the U.S. president are most relevant to the rest of the world, Obama's actions have not deviated from the policies of his predecessors.

President Obama's domestic political record also shows continuity with the Bush period. He continued the use of public funds to prop up failing banks and other private corporations. He cut corporate taxes and left Bush-era tax cuts in place. His much-publicised health care reform (Obamacare) essentially opened up new fields for the commercial exploitation of health by corporate predators. The veteran consumer activist Ralph Nader calls it "a pay-or-die system that's the disgrace of the Western world."

The result of four years of Obama's economic policies (i.e. neo-liberalism) is that that one out of every seven Americans is now living below the official poverty level, the highest proportion since the 1960s. One in five American children is living in poverty. 15 million people are unemployed, while most remaining jobs are low pay and temporary or part-time.

During his time in office Obama has worked to centralize power over all government branches by the executive presidency, similar to what the Rajapakse family has done in Lanka. He strengthened the security "state within the state" by approving the National Defense Authorization Act of 2012, which suspends the medieval democratic right of habeas corpus and authorizes the military to arrest and indefinitely detain anyone suspected of assisting terrorists. Such a law is capable of being used against communists.

Given Obama's foreign and domestic record, it needs to be explained why even one-quarter of the U.S. adult voting public would want to re-elect him. The answer is probably because they feared

## 90 million reject

## U.S. Democracy

The U.S. government holds up its version of democracy as the model which all other countries not only should adopt, but must adopt. We have seen this most recently in the U.S. invasions of Libya and Afghanistan, and in the American-led proxy war against Syria. In every one of their military interventions the U.S. government has done it in the name of bringing democracy to supposedly oppressed peoples. They regard their Presidential elections, where everybody votes at once, as the pinnacle of such a democracy.

The first thing we notice about U.S. democracy is that only half the people take part in it. The other half see no point in doing so. In the 2012 election the voter turnout at 57.5% was down in every single American state, compared to the previous election. Approximately 90 million eligible voters stayed away, which is double the number who voted for either Obama or Romney.

Democracy U.S. style is extremely expensive, so the candidate who raises the most financial backing has an obvious advantage. The U.S. Supreme Court

in 2010 removed all limits on corporate contributions to political campaigns. The result was that \$6 billion was invested by campaigns and outside groups in the whole campaign including the primaries. Obama's financial backers were able to raise \$1 billion, Romney \$800 million. All of those who contributed to the winner's financial coffers will inevitably be coming around wanting something for their money. Most of the campaign contributions were spent in advertising, usually negative in nature. Each candidate

Muslim family connections and an African name, so seemed a much more credible in the Middle East and in Africa. Obama, a former constitutional law professor, pledged to close the military prison at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and run a transparent and open government.

Once elected in 2008, Barack Obama continued the Bush/Cheney policy of making war in the Middle East. For this he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. He implemented Bush's already-agreed pullout from Iraq, relocating those troops in Afghanistan. He has arranged military aggression

*cont. page 11*

**W**hat is kudankulam? Where is it? And why should we bother about something that is beyond our control? These are the questions raised at first, when we start to talk about the Kudankulam Nuclear Power Plant which belongs to Indian territory. This is a humble start to recognise the real threat it presents to the people of both countries and how ignorant the rulers of both countries are about the safety of people as well as the environment. Kudankulam Nuclear Power Plant is situated in the Thirunelveli district of the southern Indian State of Tamil Nadu. Since 2007, thousands of people have taken to the streets across many Indian cities, including Chennai, calling for the closure of the Kudankulam complex. Hundreds of protesters have been arrested since last August, and nearly 60 protesters were killed recently, in Idinthikkarai village near kudankulam.

Meanwhile the Lankan government is remaining silent over this controversial Nuclear Power Plant. And also the opposition parties, environmental organizations, civil organizations along with common people seem to be unaware of the devastating effects of this Power Plant to Sri Lankan territory. When we examined the facts clearly, it shows that Sri Lanka is the closest country to the Power Plant and Sri Lankan coast is the most vulnerable to any danger. "In case of an accident at Kudankulam there is little Sri Lanka can do to stay out of the way, early warning systems or otherwise, since the radiation particles travel fast," the environmentalists have warned. For example, from Kudankulam to Puttalam the distance is just 160 kms, while to Chennai it is 450 kms.

"Nuclear is a very dangerous initiative, particularly in countries like India, which has had more than its share of industrial disasters, Bhopal being the most famous. I would like to express my support for the courageous people's movement protesting the opening of the Kudankulam Nuclear Power Plant." - Noam Chomsky

"I stand in complete solidarity with the villagers of Idinthikkarai who are resisting Kudankulam reactor. I happened to be in Japan in March 2011 when the earthquake damaged the Fukushima reactor. After the disaster, almost every country

# FROM KUDANKULAM TO NOWHERE

that used nuclear energy declared that it would change its policy. Every country, except India. - Arundathi Roy, writer

These statements made by different intellectuals indicate the impact of Kudankulam Nuclear power plant to India as well as to the South Asian Region. Thousands of people, belonging to environmental organizations, NGOs,

political parties, scientists and also common people, have used various means to protest against the plant, fearing a Fukushima like disaster. But still the Power station is being constructed, and the authorities have agreed on building 4 additional reactors, expanding the project. The history of Kudankulam Power Project (KKNPP) goes back to the mid 1980's. An inter-

governmental Agreement was signed between the then leaders of two countries, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, and Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev for the construction of two reactors. The capacity of each these reactors was expected to be 1000MW, or 1 GW. The total capacity of the power plant when expanded, will be 9200 Mw or 9.2 GW. It is said that, when completed,

these reactors will become the largest power generation complex in India.

In India, the most prominent organization against the power plant is the People's Movement Against Nuclear Energy (PMANE), which was founded in 2003. Its leader is S.P.Udayakumar, a Ph.D in Political Science, who lives 30 km from the plant site. He says "the nuclear plant is unsafe. No public hearing was held. It's an authoritarian project that has been imposed on the people."

As we in Lanka pay attention to the situation in case of an accident, the Indian protesters base their objection on the fact that more than 1 million people live within the 30km radius of the KKNPP which far exceeds the Atomic Energy Regulatory Board (AERB) stipulations. It is impossible to evacuate that many people quickly and efficiently in case of a nuclear disaster at Kudankulam. The Kudankulam mega nuclear complex will have disastrous consequences for all, the Tamils, the Malayalese, Lankans, and the Maldivians.

As Lankans we see that the attention paid by the Sri Lankan government, the opposition, and the Atomic Energy Authority to the issue is not sufficient. Since 2010 there have been bilateral talks and agreements of which the results or decisions are not known. What is the safety assurance in case of an accident? The Chernobyl, Three Miles Island, and Fukushima kind of experiences from which human beings face disastrous consequences, should be considered as live and true evidence for a devastating situation. It is not clear what the safety measures are in case of a nuclear fallout, that India has assured us about the lives of thousands of people who live in the North, Northwest, East and Western provinces of Sri Lanka. As a member state and also a member institution according to the International Atomic Energy Declaration, what is our mediation to the building of the project? The area that is recognized as risky was affected after the strong earth slips in 2012 and also by the tsunami in 2004. How is it the International Atomic Energy Institution grant permission to the Indian government in such a situation? Compared to the other Nuclear Power Plants, Kudankulam is being built near a main wind pressure area - Bengal. What is the

*cont. page 11*



## Leaflets distributed against the Kundankulam nuclear power plant



The Movement for People's Struggle together with a number of environmental organisations joined in solidarity launched a program on the 15th of November to educate people about the grave danger the building of the Kundankulam nuclear power station poses to Sri Lanka and the lack of response by the Sri Lankan government in regard to this situation.

In line with this leaflets were distributed to the general public in front of the Colombo Fort railway station. The National organizer for the Movement for People's Struggle, parliamentarian comrade Ajith Kumara and the movement's operations coordinator, comrade Duminda Nagamuwa joined the action on this day.

### New law From page 07

farmers for the water (Clause 13) has been proposed. It is clear that this exercise is aimed at converting water into a trade item and to give its ownership to private companies. In addition to the water, the Seeds Act and the Plant protection Act is creating laws needed to hand over the ownership of agricultural seeds and plants varieties to multinational companies. According to the Plant protection act, the Director General of Agriculture maintains a register on ownership of plants varieties. By this there is legal provision given to register the ownership of any plant as a new plant variety, which has proven as not being used over year in Sri Lanka, under someone's name. This is within a broader boundary which include agricultural crop, trade crops and from agricultural export crops to plant crops. According to the 17th clause of the act, in the event of a plant being registered in Sri Lanka and abroad the prominence is given to the foreign ownership. When the 35th and the 36th clauses are investigated closely it shows that the farmers can be subjected to punishment if they cultivate a plant variety of which is owned by a company. According to the clause 36th if the farmer can prove his ignorance in the courts then he will be free of the charge of contravening the patent ownership. The hidden message

in this is any farmer can be charged and punished if they cultivate without permission any plant which is owned by a company. This Act creates laws that will remove the ownership of the plant varieties this country's people has enjoyed for decades and hand over them to multinational companies.

Similar to the acts which will turn water, seeds and plant varieties into trade goods, the Acts that will convert education and the health services into trade goods are destined to come before the parliament in 2013. This is because Mahinda Rajapaksha regime is looking for solutions to the economic turmoil by engaging itself more and more into capitalist neo liberalism. The so called opposition also has no other alternative other than capitalist neo liberalism, has no vision to analyse the issue and ask questions it merely engages in washed out protest on technical shortcomings in the road to capitalist neo liberalism. On the other hand when the Divinagama Act, The Code of criminal procedure Act was challenged in the courts, the panel of judges identified that some of the clauses in these acts were against the constitution and the only way these can be passed is to get a two third majority in the parliament. But since the government already has the two third majority in the parliament these act will be passed with all the anti social clauses intact without any difficulty. The only

way to defeat this is through a broader public orientation. In the face of this situation, without engaging in protests on the face value of these acts, it is the responsibility of the Left to take all the opposition to these acts and make them parts of the opposition to the systematic neo-liberal agenda. With the program of this second innings, the imperialist capital is invading Sri Lanka savagely in its nakedness and through its direct and merciless exploitation the blind fold is torn revealing its true nakedness. This is all made possible by the backward capitalistic ruling class who are drowning up to their neck in this economic turmoil and are pro imperialists. Within this situation there is one opportunity open for a public and social struggle that will unite the struggles against the local bourgeois class and the struggle against imperialism. The challenge upon us is to take this vision and the ideology to the oppressed class, to organise them, to lift the struggle of these forces to an anti system position and to combine these forces against Capitalism/Imperialism and bring them together into a broader platform to build socialism. To find answers to the latest attempt by the imperialists to subject the proletariat including the oppressed masses to inequality and poverty lies only in socialism.

### 90 million From page 09

the Republican Romney more, and decided to vote for the lesser evil. That is the basic electoral strategy used by social democratic reformers around the world, and workers must come to see through it. 90 million already have, but at present there exists no credible Marxist-Leninist party to fill the political vacuum on the left.

Since his re-election Obama has shown signs of continuing

the U.S. on its course of being the world policeman. On November 7 he bombed Yemen, where Washington has been waging a proxy war for years. One November 8 he announced new sanctions against Iran. It came as no surprise when Obama supported Israel's latest military aggression against the democratically elected Hamas and the long-suffering Palestinian civilians in the Gaza Strip.

The presidential election showed once again that U.S democracy, the supposed model for the whole world to follow, is an expensive sham and a fraud on the American people. No political system that has completely alienated half of its citizens can be considered democratic in the true sense of the word. In reality the "most powerful politician on earth" was elected not by the people, but by the oligarchy of the capitalist class.

### From Kudankulam From page 10



radius limit of a radiation leak spreading and has there been an estimation made by the Indo Lanka Atomic Energy Authority, separately or jointly? What are the bilateral agreements which relate to the joint declaration of the nuclear energy solidarity, nuclear knowledge and training between two countries?

Without direct answers to these questions,

the Lankan media raised doubts about the agreements and disagreements between the two countries. The Sunday Times of October 21st, reported that India has assured Lanka that every possible safety precaution had been installed at Kudankulam. It is also said that India has refused to accept a year-long request to have Lankans as part of safety committees in the event of a nuclear fallout at the KNPP. Meanwhile the Atomic Energy Authority (AEA) Chairman, Dr Ranjith Wijewardana has stated that Lanka has failed to obtain a firm assurance that it would be allowed to be on hand to monitor the functioning of the plant.

It is said that India is willing to provide an early warning system to Lanka in case of a nuclear fallout from the plant, but was not willing to share information regarding the safety issues surrounding the nuclear complex. Environmentalists, however, slammed Lankan officials for failing to advise the government on dangers posed by this complex. The seriousness of the issue is that not only the lives of people in the island at risk, but also the dumping of nuclear waste from the plant which might be pumped into the Indian Ocean and would lead to a disaster for marine life in the region. A joint statement by the two countries stressed that New Delhi had tried to address Lanka's concerns over the nuclear plant and therefore further talks would be held early next year in Colombo.

With or without talks there is no doubt that Kudankulam Power Plant is a threat to lives of people in both countries. The challenge is how to react and what is to be done to stop it. As a leftist political movement we do not deny the need of technology for development. As. But the source of energy has to be economical, sustainable and environment- friendly. The present day neo-liberalism has no least concern on the public other than their profit. This is not only happening only in the energy sphere but also every sphere of the economy. On the other hand It is believed that nuclear power is more expensive than any other mode of energy sources.

There is hardly any discussion or consciousness among the political or the bureaucratic circles about the nuclear waste issues, decommissioning questions, radiation hazards, future impact on our seas, fish and so forth. Nuclear waste management is going to be a major headache for our people. In fact, American, Russian and French capitalists try to dump their nuclear technology on us for their own survival and profit. The Indian government, supported by the multinational companies, imperial powers, and the global nuclear mafia promises nuclear power, security and super power status while ordinary people demand risk free electricity, disease free life, unpolluted natural resources and sustainable development.

There has been no nuclear power stations built in the United States for the past 35 years and in Russia for almost 22 years, and many European countries are phasing out their nuclear power programmes. Even advanced countries like Germany have decided to shut down all its 17 nuclear reactors through which the country derives 23% of its energy. So, shouldn't we pay our attention to alternative modes of energy? Isn't there a risk of an Indian Fukushima? The common people together with mass movements should join hands and convince the rulers of both countries that they cannot play games with the lives of people. We should stand in complete solidarity with Indian people and we should form a strong mass movement against the Kudankulam Power project and it should be stressed to the rulers that fighting will not cease until they stop the building of the power plant.

# Frontline

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## socialism or barbarism?

Rosa Luxemburg prophetically told the German workers in 1916 that their future would be either "socialism or barbarism". In the end it was barbarism that won out in Germany.

The basic social challenge facing the Sri Lankan socialist movement is to reverse today's capitalist society's descent into barbarism.

Barbarism is a concept often used by Marx and Engels. It was invented by the people who lived in the ancient city-states of Greece and Rome. These people believed in the common good of their city, of their civilization. The words city and civilisation are connected. In order to be able to live together in the city, people had to learn civilised behaviour and practices and to make sacrifices in the common interest. They saw the barbarians as their enemy precisely because they were uncivilized in their behaviour.

An essential aspect of barbarism is that it involves the turning away from the collective needs we share as a society. It shares that aspect with neo-liberalism, which replaces human needs with market forces as the governing principle of society. The neo-liberal capitalist state is therefore barbaric in its essence; it is not at all interested in building a harmonious society which meets the needs that are common to all human beings. Instead it treats its citizens as though they don't matter, and promotes impersonal market forces. It also propagates barbaric individualist ideas and behaviour among its citizens. Individualism is the ugly capitalist doctrine of self-interest. People are taught to pursue their own individual desires for wealth and power at the expense of others, who become our competitors.

In opposition to this general promoting of the individual differences that exist ( ethnic, sex, etc) between us, the socialist movement helps all workers to become more aware of what we have in common, and what it is that unites us.

## For You, They Braved the Fight

Front Line Socialist Party held its 23rd November Heroes' day (13th November) at Henry Pedris stadium in Colombo, with a massive audience and with the participation of most senior members of the party. The walk in commemoration of the November heroes with songs of liberation started at 2.30 near Kirulapana police station and arrived into Pedris Stadium in Colombo. The welcome speech was made by comrade Senadheera Gunatilake, the General Secretary of the Front Line Socialist Party whilst the Tamil speech was given by comrade

Palanivel Richard. Comrade Pubudu Jayagoda, the propaganda secretary to the FLSP made the key note speech in this event. A collection of poems titled " Anduruma re tharu"(Stars in the Dark Sky) was launched at this historical memorial occasion. These collection of poems were related to the events of 87-89 struggle. Mr Gayan Ganakadhara was the vocalist of liberation song titled "Ipida merena minisun athara apamana". These are the images of November Heroes Day commemorations in Colombo and abroad.



Commemorating November heroes in Colombo, Lanka



Commemorating November heroes in Rome, Italy (above) and in milano, Italy (right)

