

Theoretical Organ of the New Democratic Marxist Leninist Party

Marxist Leninist

New Democracy

June 2026

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On a Full Moon Night

S. Sivasegaram

O, Lord Buddha

I follow my path.

I do not worship idols.

Yet

the majesty of your state of meditation
has always charmed me.

The calm on your face has captivated me.

The enchanting whiteness of the viharas
on moonlit nights
has filled my heart.

Your sermons on love and nonviolence
have mesmerised me.

Vesak and Poson festivals
have brought me joy.

Today, your images are visible in every direction I view

Your statues, standing and seated, sprout all over.

Viharas too rise high.

Some say that this land is yours

If it is your land

it needs to take the path of peace.

(Continued on inside back cover)

There is now no doubt or secret about the JVP–NPP sell out to the US and India. As the US acts to consolidate its military footprint, India focuses on its economic hold and buying influence among the country’s elite.

On 23rd June the Sri Lanka Air Force received ten discarded Texas-built TH-57 Sea Ranger helicopters under the U.S. Excess Defense Articles program. Two days later, the US formally designated the Sri Lanka Navy as a key partner in its Indo-Pacific strategy. Sri Lanka’s current defence partnership with the US began in November 2025 when its armed forces paired with the Montana National Guard under the State Partnership Program covering assistance with high-tech communications, transfer of decommissioned US naval vessels, capacity building at naval bases, high level military visits, strategic consultations, defence agreements and joint naval exercises like the series of joint activities conducted by the U.S. Coast Guard and the Sri Lanka Coast Guard.

The US, owning Sri Lanka’s largest export market, uses the advantage to bully Sri Lanka. When the US recently imposed tariffs on exports, Sri Lanka pleaded for mercy only to submit to the demands of the US. The US seeks to promote a role for its private investors in Sri Lanka’s ports, aviation and digital sectors. Notably, energy is a sector in which the US has demanded a larger share since early this decade, something that the JVP–NPP had vehemently opposed until assuming power.

India is seeking economic and trade integration to enhance its economic grip. Indian FDI in Sri Lanka, involving heavy investments in energy, fuel retail, luxury hotels and automotive manufacturing, has reached \$2.8 billion. Plans are afoot to conduct cross-border trade in the local currencies and expand trade in services, digital commerce and investment beyond the scope of the current Free Trade Agreement (FTA) through a comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA).

India, is also strengthening its position in infrastructural development and connectivity through projects such as the energy hub in Trincomalee, jointly with the UAE and Sri Lanka, the Three Islands Hybrid Renewable Energy Project besides interconnection of power grids of both countries, and drawing Sri Lanka into the Indian digital payment system to facilitate real-time cross-border transactions. Bilateral efforts are afoot to strengthen logistical connections including ferry services and air transport from the Jaffna peninsula. Talks have also been reactivated on a marine bridge.

India has intensified development assistance besides credit assistance. Its support for community development projects in the North and East has now extended to the Hill Country where it is actively seeking influence among the Hill Country Tamil nationality. Its four High Commission offices in the island visibly exploit cultural commonalities to strengthen influence among the Tamil-Hindu elite.

India has often used the 'China threat' to promote its expansionist schemes in South Asia, and seeks to bring Sri Lanka under a common South Asian security umbrella. Pretexts of maritime security, counterterrorism, and regional stability serve to strengthen strategic collaboration.

Matters have passed the point of persuading the JVP–NPP government to reverse its treacherous path of surrendering the sovereignty of the country to the main imperialist power and the regional hegemon. The government is unlikely to fulfil any of its pledges but for selectively punishing past perpetrators of economic and social crimes, using the draconian PTA which it pledged to scrap. The government is also bound to rely heavily on the state machinery and the chauvinist clergy for its survival.

It is for the progressive left and democratic forces to awaken the public to the harsh reality of the JVP–NPP government and mobilise the masses for genuine revolutionary action for national salvation and social justice.

The Stand of the New Democratic Marxist Leninist Party on National and International Issues

Being a party steeped in Marxist Leninist principles and with historical roots in the defence of Marxism Leninism against Sri Lankan Trotskyism and later Modern Revisionism driven by Soviet revisionists, the New Democratic Marxist Leninist Party has consistently upheld Marxist Leninist principles amid a wide range of testing circumstances. True to Marxist Leninist principles, the party consistently resisted opportunism in the name of pragmatism. The Party also rejected dogmatism as a phenomenon just as anti-Marxist as opportunism.

The Party has made mistakes, mostly of a tactical nature, but it has been quick to recognize and rectify them through criticism and self-criticism. It has always had the humility to appreciate different points view and accommodate differences with partners in alliances for united struggles against the oppressors of the people and their reactionary ideologies.

The Party lost popular support and faced attack by the chauvinist state as well as narrow nationalists as a price for its principled stand on several issues. It was betrayed by partners who were tempted by cheap offers from devious political forces. But its principled stand rewarded it by making it shine as a Marxist Leninist party with unstinting rejection of chauvinism and narrow nationalism amid left parties that yielded to opportunism.

It is with such background that the party arrived at its policies and guiding principles in national and international issues based on a principled Marxist Leninism. The Party notes that prospects for revolutionary change towards socialism are uneven across the world and that immediate

prospects for a workers' revolution are weak even in advanced capitalist countries which are burdened with a politically weak working class leadership. Transition to socialism in advanced capitalist countries can, nevertheless, directly follow the overthrow of the capitalist state.

The economies of the Third World (also called 'the Global South) are bound to imperialism by a network of neocolonial devices so that the immediate task of social revolution is to overcome neocolonialism. The once anti-colonial national bourgeoisie is much in league with neocolonial forces and act like the comprador bourgeoisie of the colonial era. Even where capitalism has not fully penetrated the rural economy, the feudal mode of production has been weakened by a various factors including democratic struggles. Residues of feudalism (like a caste hierarchy, control of land by local landlords, and the role of religion in socio-political affairs) still mark the dominant ideology and need to be overcome. But the shift in production relations away from the feudal mode in many former colonies and semi-colonies is too strong to call them semi-feudal.

The Party identifies Sri Lanka as a country under imperialist neocolonial control, with its dominant ideology showing feudal features such as the political role of major Buddhist chapters and families with powerful feudal lineage and social oppression based on caste and gender.

Class and class struggle

The Party, recognizes imperialism as the main oppressor of the country and its people, and holds that for the revolutionary struggle to succeed it should be directed at imperialism. This view, consistent with the recognition of class contradiction as fundamental, has guided the Party in identifying the toiling masses as the main anti-imperialist force and the big capitalists and the feudalist elite as partners of imperialism.

The Party is aware that global and local developments influence class alliances and cause shifts in loyalties, and considers the toiling masses

comprising industrial workers, the peasantry and fisher folk as the main fighting force for social justice and liberation from neocolonialism. It sees wage earning middle classes, small traders, the self-employed and small holders as allies as they too are victims of neocolonialism and therefore can be partners in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The post-independence history of the country has vindicated the position of the party that parliamentary elections cannot deliver socialism and the revolutionary leadership of the working class is a necessary condition for socialist transformation. The old left comprising the Trotskyist LSSP and the revisionist CPSL failed to understand this truth, and took the parliamentary road and made compromises with the bourgeois parties only to cause their political demise as a left force more seriously their failures became a serious setback for the left movement as a whole.

Given the balance of class forces in the country and there is need to mobilize the vast majority against imperialism and its local agents, the Party urged mass struggle and the need for a broad united front. The course of the revolutionary struggle depends on the recognition of the major contradictions and adopting a principled stand on each and distinguishing between contradictions among the people and contradictions between the people and their enemies.

The economy

The country has since the declaration of the open economy in 1978 been forced to abandon the building of a national economy. It has increasingly subjected itself to the whims of imperialist crises by relying on the export of labour directly as workers at low wage levels particularly as semi-skilled workers and workers in the domestic service sector. A sizeable section of the labour force is employed in the export processing zones where their labour adds value to goods such as apparel for foreign investors to profit from. It has also become over reliant on earnings from tourism, so that another significant part of the labour force is denied to

national industrial production. The adverse implications of this economic distortion were clearly seen during the global economic slowdown during the said COVID-19 pandemic.

The country has deeply immersed itself in debt since the open economic policy of 1978, accompanied by a boom in consumerism backed by borrowed money and drawing on foreign earnings by expatriate labour which could have been invested in national economic development.

The national question

The current national question has its origins in the British colonial era, and is based on rivalry for position and profit among the elite of the different ethnic groups. The colonial rulers took advantage of such rivalries to facilitate control over the population, by encouraging divisions.

The presence of an English educated class that, despite internal rivalries, loyally served the colonial rulers for its own benefit caused resentment among the less well to do populations. The seeming predominance of Christian, and later Tamil, members of the elite in education and employment also was a source of resentment. The resentment also extended to rivalry between Sinhalese and Muslim traders. Thus the national bourgeois resentment of the colonial social order failed to emerge as a secular anti-colonial nationalism.

The national question was long misunderstood as the contradiction between the two main linguistic groups, and its resolution was seen in terms of settling the language problem. But the language issue, like the Citizenship Act of 1948, planned colonization and the rise in communal conflicts, was only a symptom of a larger problem. It represented the wish of the elite of an ethnic majority to use differences of language, religion and ethnicity to strengthen its hold on the state. The leadership of the oppressed minorities also chose to present the national question in terms of ethnic identity so that they could maintain their political control of their

community. The central issue shifted from language to a conflict between the majority and minority based on ethnicity and religion. Tamil was no more the sole ethnic identity of the three distinct Tamil-speaking ethnic groups (or nationalities as the Party would define them).

It was the failure to recognize the national question as one concerning a majority nationality and three minority nationalities and other national minority groups that has been an obstacle to the resolution of the national question. Both Sinhala nationalists and Tamil nationalists are reluctant to recognize the country as a multi-ethnic entity comprising four nationalities and other minority groups. The problem was further complicated by the growth of Buddhism as a divisive political force, led by some of the most reactionary political forces that gladly side with imperialism. Imperialism took advantage of the grievances of minorities to further its interests in the country while backing the oppressive chauvinist rulers.

Thus the resolution of the national question also is tied up with the anti-imperialist struggle. Besides US-led imperialism Indian hegemonists are also dabble in national politics through clients on contending parties in the ethnic divide.

Besides class contradiction are caste and gender contradictions that are important facets of social oppression with roots in South Asian feudal society that escape narrow nationalist interest.

The party recognizes the national contradiction as the main contradiction in Sri Lankan society while the class contradiction based on production relations remains fundamental. The Party takes a firm stand on fighting oppression based on ethnicity, language, caste, gender and religion.

International forces in contention

In the Party's view, imperialism is in acute crisis. US imperialism, which by late 20th Century had subdued its imperialist partners in Europe and Japan, is still the main imperialist power stirring conflict and crises all over

to defend its claim that it is the sole global power after the collapse of the Soviet Union, prior to which the world seemed to be divided between a nominally socialist camp and an imperialist capitalist camp led by the US and its partners.

The current challenge to US hegemony was born of its plan for imperialist globalization, where global production would be based on an international division of labour and the US and advanced capitalist countries would dominate the global economy through finance capital and selective possession of advanced technology, while the Third World would bear the burden of man power as a source of cheap labour for heavy industry and remain a source of primary industrial materials including semi-processed and raw minerals.

Imperialist calculations went awry as the West, the US especially, lost its manufacturing base to the Third World which it still controls through Finance Capital. The US and Europe got more and more dependent on goods produced by the Third World amid an unstoppable shift of industrial capital to the Third World owing to capitalist greed for profit.

The West still counts on cheap goods from the Third World to ensure economic stability. It sought to maintain control over production by monopoly over technological knowhow, market manipulation, keeping Third World countries indebted, and using the might of the US dollar as the dominant, if not effectively the sole, international currency. It exerted economic pressure on any country that dared to defy the imperialist order. In the past three decades, US economic sanctions would also hit any country that would trade with a country sanctioned by the US. The US dollar proved mightier than a military coup d'état or invasion to bring governments to their knees. But defiant exceptions emerged.

Within ten years of the fall of the Soviet Union, things began to change. China became the main manufacturing hub of the world, the leading trading nation, and an economy growing faster than those of US, Europe

and Japan. China caught up with and even overtook the US and Europe in key sectors of modern technology. The US and Europe steadily lost ground to China in trade and development partnership in Africa and Latin America, and countries vied to join China's B&R global trade initiative.

Financial crises that struck global capital since late last century hurt Europe badly so that the European Union was reduced to a subservient partner or even a client of the US.

Russian economy, although based mainly on export of fuel, minerals and grain, recovered fast and Russia freed itself of domination by the US and partners. Its military power was restored and could stand up to the US. It challenged global expansion of the US by backing states and forces that dared to resist neocolonialism. Russian backing was not driven by socialist ideology but grew out of need to confront US moves to isolate and weaken Russia. Notably Russia has not sought to seize or control territory, as has been the case with the US and allies.

Meanwhile, many African and Latin American states have become assertive in their responses to imperialist meddling. New economic alliances, especially BRICS, grew steadily and existing alliances like ASEAN and OPEC seek greater freedom from US control. Humiliation of the US in Afghanistan was further aggravated by Afghanistan moving closer to US rivals in the region.

The US, however, won hollow victories through regime changes in Libya, Iraq and now Syria, while North Korea and Iran stand firm against US threats and sanctions. US sanctions have, nevertheless, severely battered the economies of Cuba and Venezuela, and the US is intensifying efforts to cripple the Cuban economy after its recent successful raid in Caracas to kidnap the Venezuelan President and his spouse. The US has also reversed some leftward trends in Latin America, especially Ecuador and Argentina, and successfully manipulated elections elsewhere. Defeats for the Left in

Bolivia and Chile, however, are also self-inflicted as the Left failed to build a sufficiently strong united front against US imperialism and its partners.

Israel, the bulwark of US military power in West Asia, has become very aggressive in the past decade and is able to manipulate US foreign policy to instigate war against Iran.

Iran, despite a reactionary theocratic government, plays a positive anti-imperialist role in West Asia. US-Israeli efforts to isolate Iran failed, thanks to Chinese diplomacy in smoothing relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia. But overcoming hostility towards Shia Islam nurtured by Sunni Muslim Arab clients of the US is a challenge for anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist forces.

On anti-imperialism and the idea of ‘new imperialisms’

There is tendency among some left parties to brand Russia and China, and occasionally India, as imperialist powers. Some stretch their list of imperialists to cover Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Singapore among others. Such ideas arise from a subjective stagnant idea of imperialism as seen at the turn of the 20th Century. The Party’s rejection of this idea has been vindicated by recent global experiences of imperialist provocations against Russia, China, North Korea, Cuba, Venezuela, Nicaragua and Iran, besides US moves at regime change elsewhere.

The Party sees Russia, China and India not just as capitalist countries but also as potentially imperialist. But they are not yet imperialist for differing sets of reasons. It will be useful to study their contemporary role in the context of a world dominated by US imperialism and its allies, while keeping the eye open to the prospect of their turning imperialist.

Post-Soviet Russia made no pretence to be socialist. But it is not given to territorial ambition. Its actions in Georgia and Ukraine need to be seen in the context of its own security when wilfully threatened by the US and its NATO allies. Provocation begun with instigation and support for wars in

1994–96 and 1999–2009 for secession of the Autonomous Republic of Chechnya from the Russian Federation was followed by steps to draw Georgia and Ukraine into the NATO. Russia responded with force. Notably, Russia had tolerated NATO's acceptance of the former Soviet states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, although in breach of the US pledge to Soviet President Gorbachev that the NATO will not expand to include states of the former Soviet Union. The ongoing conflict in Ukraine is not part of a Russian plan to resurrect the Tsarist Greater Russian Empire or the Soviet Union as falsely accused by some of its critics but a defensive move against the expansion of NATO to throttle Russia.

Interestingly some Marxists, pick out wild claims by Western propagandists to attack China by denouncing China's 'Debt Trap', imperialist ambitions in Africa, persecution of Muslims in Xinjiang, and pursuit of colonialism in Tibet, Xinjiang, Hong Kong and even Taiwan. The Party acknowledges that China has taken the capitalist road. But it also notes key aspects of the Chinese economy and international relations that distinguish Chinese capitalism from that of any known imperialist power. China is a state capitalist entity seeking to keep its new capitalist class under control. It practices welfarism and has done more than any other state to eliminate abject poverty. That does not make it socialist, but places it far from being imperialist.

Balance between China's private sector capitalism and the welfarist state capitalism is not eternal. It will last as long the economy is stable. How an economic crisis would affect it will depend on the strength of the socialist forces and the working class of China. The Party is aware of the risks accompanying China's development model, especially its feeding consumerism. But what matters now is its role in defending the Third World against imperialist dominance. There should be objective comparison between China's trade and development activities and those of the imperialist West. Western media cannot be the guide for Marxist criticism.

India is a regional hegemon that has drifted towards US imperialism since the fall of the Soviet Union, especially since the rise of the BJP in this century. Its big capitalists wield control over the government's economic and foreign policies. Despite impressive economic growth figures, India is backward in many ways. The decline of the parliamentary left has helped the alliance of reactionary feudal thinkers with capitalist clients of neocolonialism. The Indian ruling class counts on the US to become the regional hegemon and has entered into alliances such as the Quad to target China. Its attempt to bring SAARC a South Asian partnership with much economic potential under its control has hurt SAARC. Indian hegemonic ambition has made India an unreliable partner in BRICS and the Non Aligned Movement. India has yet to learn that it really belongs to the Third World and not to a US-led alliance. Its potential to become a regional power has only been further dented by its unwise foreign policy.

Since early this century US imperialism sees China as a major challenge to its global hegemony and its inability to subdue Russia made Russia also a target. Its moves to encircle both countries and impose economic burdens on them have, however, failed. US partnership with Zionist Israel was at the centre of a series of regime changes that US undertook in West Asia and North Africa. Iran is now a target from that point of view as well as to contain Russia and China.

The Party is concerned about US imperialist plans for Iran. While condemning state oppression of Iranian progressive forces, the Party notes that Iran is the only West Asian state to stand up to Zionist aggression in the region and defend the Palestinian people, and that it is the reason why the US--Israel partnership seeks to destroy the Iranian state. The Party is of the view that the need of the moment is unconditional defence of Iran against US--Israel aggression.

China is steadily expanding trade and development partnership in Africa. With the West as a whole at a loss to offer an alternative. Desperate Western media resort to charges of Chinese 'debt traps' and neocolonial

expansion. Meantime, the US and France are losing their grip on what was French Africa, where armed forces with an anti-imperialist national policy have seized power in several countries. The challenge for a Marxist is to recognize the essence of the changes that have occurred and encourage steps that are in the interest of the people rather than parrot bourgeois democratic ideals. There is a part for Russia and to a less extent China to play to defend these countries against imperialist subversion. To invoke rivalry of imperialisms to interpret events will only help US imperialism.

The US returned to asserting its power in Latin America following the election of several left or left inclined governments in what it considers its backyard. The Party distanced itself from the idealization of Latin American 'leftist' governments as socialist models, but was also critical of the dogmatic left for denouncing them for not living up to its narrow expectations. Such dogmatism only helped the partners of imperialism in Latin America. Marxists need be objective and be alert to reality. While the opportunist parliamentary left of Western bourgeois democracies deserves firm rejection, criticism of Third World left governments should be cautious and constructive to avoid playing into the hands of reactionary forces waiting to subvert them.

Lack of unity among left forces has helped the rise of the right, including forces of fascism. The party always urged unity among genuine left forces, especially Marxist Leninists, in India and Nepal among others. It sees the task before Marxist Leninists as building a strong broad-based anti-imperialist united front and not electoral alliances. It also holds that the purpose of mass struggle in any Third World country is not to restore national bourgeois rule. The party has always urged principled unity and identification of a common program to unite the majority against the main enemy. A Marxist, while being alert to the risk of compromise with the enemy and concession to reactionaries, should be mindful of differences between the primary and secondary contradictions in resolving differences among partners.

Recent history offers lessons on placing one's trust in imperialism as evident from the Kurdish experience in northern Syria. It also warns against the vulnerability of alliances to treachery. Thus the Party urges that anti-imperialist alliances should be open and mass-based and not based on deals among leaders.

Summary of the position of the Party

The Party is firm that class contradiction is fundamental and considers the national question as the main contradiction of the country. It upholds the need to struggle against oppression by gender, caste and religion and rejects attempts by NGOs and other mischief makers to isolate these issues from class struggle.

Nationally, the Party considers imperialism as the main enemy which manipulates the state and internal contradictions to control the neocolony. To fight imperialism effectively, the people should be united in struggle.

The Party sees the national question as a set of friendly contradictions wilfully transformed into hostile contradictions by the reactionary forces of chauvinism and narrow nationalism. Its amicable resolution is essential for the unity of the oppressed masses. Thus the Party urges resolving the national question on the basis of a united country with power devolved through creative application of the principle of self determination to provide autonomy for the nationalities and national minorities.

The Party rejected the adoption of an open economy as the path to development as set out by the UNP government in 1978. No government has since shown the will to deviate from that policy which is at the root of the country's ongoing economic crisis and deepening debt. The JVP/NPP government despite solemn anti-imperialist declarations surrendered to the IMF and shows no sign of a vision to develop the national economy.

The Party has consistently held that large scale export of Sri Lankan labour and its deflection to Export Processing Zones hurt the national economy.

That along with over reliance on tourism has made the country and its expatriate workers captive to the vagaries of global capitalism.

The Party considers the Sri Lankan bourgeoisie to be lacking in anti-imperialism. Activating the anti-imperialist potential of progressive sections of the bourgeoisie is possible only in the course of mass anti-imperialist struggle carried out by a united front of anti-imperialist forces.

The party prescribes revolutionary mass struggle as the path for liberation of the country from imperialist neocolonial control. It considers the toiling masses as the main revolutionary force with other oppressed sections of the population including the national minorities as partners. Alliance is possible with any section of the petit bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie that will adopt an unambiguous anti-imperialist stand.

The Party is acutely conscious that the ruling classes have increasingly indulged in corruption, nepotism and abuse of power for personal gain to the detriment of the country. It is also aware of the breach of the rule of law by those who should uphold it. While upholding the right of the people to expose and fight corruption and abuse of power, it rejects the view promoted by NGOs and their masters that clean government is the cure for all ills of the country's ailments. It is an illusion to imagine that steps to cure consequences of fundamental flaws will rid the country of its economic and political crises.

Internationally, the Party considers US imperialism to be the main enemy of the people of the world and a serious threat to peace and the human environment. While specific criticisms against any capitalist country cannot be easily brushed aside, matters need to be viewed in context and criticism should be based on the impact of any action on the anti-imperialist struggle.

It rejects the tendency to analyse global events in terms of rivalry between rival imperialist powers. Such approach has deflected attention from the

main oppressor in any global issue conflict by invoking other imperialist interests where there is none.

Much of the burden of the global struggle against imperialism is on the shoulders of the revolutionary masses of the Third World. It is in this context that the Party views the value of the roles played by China and Russia in containing US imperialism. It has warned against placing China and Russia on par with the US in global conflicts. That does not mean calling for the replacement of US imperialism with China or Russia.

The party also strongly urges defending the planet against the impending environmental disaster, but it rejects the tendency to isolate it from the anti-imperialist struggle. To the Party, the environment is being wrecked by capitalist greed and its protection is not feasible within the imperialist framework.

Draft Political Report for the Third Plenum of the Seventh Congress of the NDMLP 21-22, April 2024, Matale

Comrades

Revolutionary greetings

The political situation of the country was extensively analysed during the Seventh All Sri Lanka Congress of the New Democratic Marxist Leninist Party. Following that, the prevailing political situation of the country was again explored in the Plenary Session of the Party held in Ragala in 2024. There is need to consider the political, economic and social situations briefly but in depth during the ongoing Plenary Session. The Party had characterised the country as a neo-colonial country and that structure prevails in the current stage too.

Let us try to understand neo-colonialism based on the following observation of Comrade Lenin's on imperialism: When capitalism reaches its peak, it takes a form in which it uses multinational banks and financial institutions to economically enslave other countries.

The great anti-colonialist Kwame Nkrumah observed that neo-colonialism is the final stage of imperialism, where what appears to be independence is a means by which foreign countries exercise control over a country's policies through economic restrictions.

We can call Sri Lanka a neo-colonial country. This may be explained as follows. Its economy had motley relied on the plantation economy created by British colonialists, spices, and foreign markets, and post-independence economic reliance has been built upon the garment industry

created by foreign investors and tourism. There has been no feature transcending them to draw on indigenous industry, agriculture or anything native to Sri Lanka or assure self-sufficiency and export of surplus production.

The IMF has created a situation in which the country has to rely on bodies like the IMF, the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the World Trade Organization to meet its financial needs. The impact of political, economic and cultural interventions by India, the regional hegemon, and imperialist US are clearly evident in the political course of the country.

The Party insists that the country is guided by feudal conservatism, and neoliberal social and economic policies backed by privatization. Besides, the country witnesses the rise of comprador capitalism.

By comprador capitalism we mean a context in which the predominance of commercial brokers, stock market brokers, commercial middlemen and financial agents dominate over industrial labour and manufacture to exercise control over the economy to make profit out of exchange of goods and services without generating productive value. That is why we hold that comprador capitalism is on the rise in the country.

When capital alienates itself from its manufacturing base to seek refuge in finance and foreign investment it loses its grip on driving production.

Sri Lankan capitalists had distanced themselves from production to become brokers to foreign manufacturers and producers who are middlemen who trade in these products. Banks, financial institutions, stock markets, and importers of gold invest their capital in capital markets to expand their wealth. Comprador capitalist features pervades the whole economy.

Since the 1950s, there was in Sri Lanka a category of national bourgeoisie that was patriotic, and moderate in its exploitation of labour and was somewhat humane to provide welfare and concessions to their employees.

The hands of comprador capital were strengthened with the arrival of JR Jayewardene in 1977 and his new constitution and the open economy in 1978. Whoever came to power since only mortgaged the national economy to foreign imports and led the country along the path of neo-colonialism.

Our country is one within the framework of neo-colonialism. It has accepted IMF programmes sixteen times to borrow money. Now we have entered an IMF for the seventeenth time, and are implementing the reform programmes prescribed by the IMF. The IMF explicitly demands that the government implements its reform programmes while refraining from industrial and commercial ventures, and the government obliges. Besides, it maintains financial links with bodies such as the World Bank and Asian Development Bank and tailors its programmes to suit their agenda.

Sri Lanka, which was mainly an agricultural country with dairy farming and small industries, deviated from those activities in the 1980s to become a country that relies on imported goods.

Efforts to strengthen small and medium farmers through cooperative systems have been deserted with cultivators discouraged from developing agriculture to force them away from their lands. This is not surprising and is a feature of the liberal privatized globalization scheme of things.

Our country which is abundant in natural resources seems to have an economy that relies on earnings from sending workers abroad, tourism and industrial processing zones in place of a manufacturing economy. This can never lead us to a stable economy.

Our Class Forces

Toiling masses comprise the vast majority of the country. They make up over 90% of the population. Differentiating them on the basis employment will lead to a long list of working class categories such as workers, peasants, small producers, plantation workers, lumpen proletariat, state and private sector employees, minor employees, shop and office workers,

working women, students and small traders. By understanding their development base on the nature and character of these class forces will help to understand new developments among them.

The workers of the country may be classified as industrial processing zone workers, construction sector workers, workers in small industries, plantation workers and fisheries workers among others.

It is the duty of communists to strengthen political links with the above categories of class forces.

The New Constitution and the National Question

Our assessment is that it is the question of whether the existing constitutional structure or a new constitutional structure will be more effective to implement the programme of privatization, liberalization and neoliberal globalization that will determine the speed of the motivation and discussion of the proposed new constitution.

One of the three main election pledges of the National People's power was the enactment of a new constitution and abolition of the executive presidency. But one year after its coming to power, there is no sign of any initiative for a change in constitution.

Enactment of a new constitution and abolition of the executive presidency are not feasible under the current Presidential and parliamentary scheme of things. The ruling classes of Sri Lanka and forces of foreign imperialism and regional hegemony will not allow it. Besides, even if the ruling party has the strength to create a new constitution that will suit all people and nationalities, it cannot do anything as it is in partnership with the ruling classes. Thus, the position of the Party is that a new constitution to serve the country and the people cannot be created without a mass uprising.

The problems of the nationalities and the political and economic problems of the country are closely related. The highly important national question has been denied by past governments.

There are in Sri Lanka the Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim and Hill Country Tamil nationalities. There are also national minorities such as Burghers, Malays and the Aththo. Sinhala chauvinism which wields state power to make the Sinhalese the oppressor nationality. The Tamil, Muslim and Hill Country Tamil nationalities remain the oppressed nationalities. Oppression takes many forms like lack of power sharing, non-implementation of Tamil language rights, discrimination in sharing of resources, lack of administrative resources, lack of educational resources, planned Sinhalese settlements, planting of Buddhist relics with Sinhala chauvinist agenda, and discrimination in health issues. Tamil, Muslim and Hill Country Tamil nationalities as well as the national minority communities suffer the said discriminations. But the national question is presented as one between the Sinhala and Tamil nationalities. The party has consistently emphasized that this is a wrong outlook and that the national question also concerns the Muslim and Hill Country Tamil nationalities and the national minorities. It therefore has preferred to refer to the national question as a problem of the nationalities.

The NPP government does not accept that there is a national question. It instead adopts the view that the problems of the nationalities can be resolved by building up unity among the nationalities.

The Party has proposed that regional autonomies and autonomous internal structures should be created base on the principle of self determination. And the Party upholds the problem of the nationalities as the main contradiction of the country and class contradiction as its fundamental contradiction.

Indo-Sri Lanka agreements

During the visit of President Anura Kumara Dissanayake to India following the formation of the National People's Power government, a Memorandum of Understanding has been signed concerning seven agreements. The agreements are said to deal with matters such as bilateral

defence, trade, pharmaceuticals and electricity. But fact remains that the contents of these agreements have not been declared to either Parliament or the MPs of the ruling party. The MoU has to be seen as an agreement that endorses India as the regional hegemon. The JVP since its beginning has vociferous about Indian expansionism and used it as a basis to denounce the hill Country Tamils with a two centuries long history as arms of Indian expansionism. But the NPP government led by the same JVP has become a trusted neighbourly partner of the Indian regional hegemon, and India has recently invited the General Secretary of the JVP to provide him guidance and advice.

New Educational Reforms

The new educational reforms that are hailed as reforms to be introduced by the NPP government, on close examination, show that they are educational reforms put forward by Susil Premajayantha while he was the minister of education in the Ranil Wickremesinghe government and by Dr Upali Sедера. The government has shown no interest in preparing new educational reforms. The reason seems that even if they produced a fresh set of reforms it would need to conform to the neo-liberal agenda and the Prime Minister Harini Amarasuriya seems to have arrived at the conclusion that it would be adequate to adhere to the earlier reform proposals. This decision is something that would please the IMF and the World Bank. National People's power.

Privatization in the Name of Restructuring

The NPP government in accordance with IMF programme is expected to carve up and rename the Ceylon Electricity Board as four private sector companies so that private investors could be accommodated. Also, the government has decided to either shut down or privatize 232 state corporations and state ventures.

Foreign Corporates

India's NTPC and Sri Lanka's Ceylon Electricity Board have officially agreed on two major solar power projects in Sampur, Trincomalee, with a total capacity of 120 MW on over 200 ha (500 acres) of land in Sampur in the Trincomalee district.

There are reports of large-scale land deals, considering allocating over 3,000 acres in the Trincomalee region for projects in partnership with India.

It is strongly speculated that land allocated to the Mahaweli Development Authority are to be privatised for foreign investment in the Eastern Province while 1300 ha (5200 acres) of land has been identified in state plantations in the hill country for allocation to the private sector.

Ideological Penetration by the Regional Hegemon

The government is cautious to avoid creating a strong impression among the Sinhalese public that this government has surrendered to India. That is complemented by the lack of a vivid sense of anti-imperialism or anti-Indian hegemony among the Sinhalese public. But, as far as the Tamils are concerned, Indian reactionary thinking is making inroads in sectors such as education, mass media, sports and religious thought.

The Indian High Commission conducts monthly programmes, while organizations such as the Indian RSS and the local Shiv Sena conduct field work among the Tamil public.

Support for India is also visible among Hill Country Tamils. India is implementing educational scholarships and religious programmes to reinforce it,

While there is much anti-US and anti-Israel feeling among Muslims based on the genocide of Palestinians, the hostility is not translating into a strong anti-Imperialist tendency. The campaign to boycott goods from Israel the genocidal state of West Asia is not strong. Tendency to be critical of Indian hegemony is also weak.

The Economic Crisis, causes and Status of Class Forces

The economic crisis of Sri Lanka did not appear suddenly out of the blues. It has mainly been the outcome of the neoliberal open economic policy introduced in 1977. It is also related to the global capitalist crisis, and driven by the nature of global capitalism and its inability to deal with its crisis. Although at the time the neoliberal open economic policy was announced, people were led to believe that the country will achieve great economic growth, the reality comprised a surge in imports and consumerism. Funds borrowed from international financial organizations and banks were invested in infrastructure and service sector rather than in agriculture small industries that related to the local population. Besides, investments in infrastructure were associated with substandard work, corruption and deception.

The economic crisis became inevitable because agriculture, dairy farming and small industry were not planned properly owing to the neglect of agriculture and small industries involving the local population in favour of tourism, foreign services, garment industry in the free trade zones and the plantation sector. The crisis was further accelerated the Easter Sunday bombing and the shutdown induced by the COVID-19 pandemic.

The country was pushed into a situation in which it could not service the massive internal and external debts. The country was blacklisted by international financial organizations as a country that was incapable of repaying its external debt. Mishandling of finance led to crises in the distribution of LPG for cooking, fuel for transport fuel and food as well as power supply. This led to the Aragalaya uprising of 2022 which led to many political changes.

The working class is still toiling. Although there is little connection between the toil of the working class and the economic crisis, it is our working class that is affected most by the economic crisis.

Even before the economic crisis of 2020, the working masses have faced many economic, political and social crises. But after 2020, they are facing even greater crises. Among the problems facing the working people are

1. Wages inadequate to meet the cost of living
2. Need to seek multiple jobs to manage the expenses
3. Denial of time for participation in sport, literary and social activities.
4. Need to reside in rented houses
5. Increased cost of education
6. Inability to obtain nutritious food
7. Rise in electricity tariff and prices of essential goods and services

Tamil People

The Tamil people facing state oppression based on nationality also suffer class oppression.

It is important to pay attention to pay continued close attention to the ion of Tamil working people and people of oppressed castes by the Tamil elite.

The Party Congress should pay due attention to the oppression and exploitation of descendants of Hill Country Tamils who live widely distributed in the North and East.

Among important concerns of the Tamil people are the release of land seized by the armed forces and other agencies of the government, justice for those who were disappeared, release of [political detainees, employment opportunities and rural development.

The Muslim People

Despite the strong claim of being a distinct nationality, explicit assertion of the national identity is muted. The Muslim nationality comprises families with agriculture as their livelihood and those whose economy is based on fishery besides working people who are wage earning workers and casual workers. Small traders among them also have the potential to support our revolutionary journey.

The Muslim nationality calls for devolution of power. The party has the duty to campaign among them to sharpen the demand as a call for autonomy based on the principle of self determination.

Small traders among Muslims need to be fully informed about how they are exploited under neoliberalism. It is also important to recognize their problems that are specific to their regions of domicile and organize the struggle in accordance.

Hill Country Tamils

The Hill Country Tamil people remain more backward than Tamil and people. They are oppressed and exploited based on ethnicity and class.

They have been a people without right to land for over 200 years. Thus far, including the time from the election of the National People's Power government, this problem has, despite opportunities to resolve, remains unresolved.

The plantation companies which make massive profits have offered only a measly wage increase of 200 rupees per day. By offering 200 rupees per day to the companies to offer as inducement to workers for attendance the government has relieved the profiteering companies of their answerability.

The comment on the national question is brief here in view of the extensive study of the matter at the last Congress of the Party.

The Budget and Loan Repayment in 2028

The country's economy is not sound, as pointed out by the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce, the Central Bank, and directorates of major companies. The economy of a country that pays scant attention to industrial economy cannot be strong. The NPP government has tabled its second budget.

The budget neither offers a reduction of prices of essential goods nor concessions to the ordinary people. On the contrary, it sustains the goods and services tax of 16% as imposed in earlier budgets. The ruling classes are heaping praise on the budget. It is true that the high tax of 18%, raised prices of goods and customs duty along with other taxes have increased the revenue to treasury. It is also true that the present budget has paid due attention to sustaining the increased revenue.

Time is nearing to pay back foreign loans, starting 2028. It is expected that six billion US Dollars are due annually. Notably, the NPP government is obliged to repay debts of previous governments.

The people voted for the NPP in anticipation of a major change in the acute economic crises and other political problems. The NPP made election pledges accordingly and the people believed them and voted to give parliamentary power to the NPP under Anura. But the NPP has not conducted itself in ways keeping with that trust. The NPP is prioritizing the securing of the respect of the US and India. The embassies of the US and India are consistently active to keep the government on their side.

Meanwhile the opposition leaders who lost power are itching to return to power. They resort to using racialism and Buddhist extremism for the purpose. Likewise, narrow nationalists in the North and East have resorted to racism to recover from their electoral humiliation. They keep at Sinhala—Tamil differences in every issue. That remains the basis of narrow nationalism.

As a result, there will be no solution for the economic problems national question. Hence the Party upholds the need for leading mass struggles and uprisings under a political programme of the working people. The country has to take the path of a broad united front. That is why the Party urges in its mass struggles and election campaigns.

Current International Situation

Document presented at the Third Plenum of the Seventh Congress of the NDMLP

21-22, April 2024, Matale

Comrades

Revolutionary greetings

We have gathered in Matale for the Third Plenary meeting on the Seventh Congress of the Party. The report on the National situation and the debate on it have been concluded. The Plenum is now to discuss the current international situation. The draft report for the purpose is now placed before you.

Comrades

Our Party is based on Marxism Leninism Mao Zedong Thought. Therefore, we need to approach and analyse any problem from the standpoint of that basis. Thus it is necessary for us to analyse the current international situation on that basis.

In our view, we do not find today any country that we can call socialist. But there are several countries that formerly adopted the socialist path existing in varying conditions. The former Soviet Union has now been reduced a capitalist country named the Russian Federal Republic. China has adopted many capitalist features and is traveling along that path. At the same time, the Communist Party of China implements several practices of the past through its leadership, as evident in the party name, party flag, party positions and leadership and inner party democracy practices proceeding from top to bottom and bottom to top.

At the same time, there is there is scant interest in the international communist movement or communist parties. However, China is firm in its opposition to imperialism, in particular US imperialist unipolar attitude.

A very similar approach is evident in the conduct of the North Korean and Cuban parties and their leaders. The Cuban Communist Party and government can be seen to firmly uphold the political stand of their past amid difficult circumstances. Although these countries have adopted capitalist practices to varying extents, they are at the forefront of rejecting the imperialist hegemonic stand of endorsing the position that the US is the world's foremost state.

These countries also play a leading role in forming alliances that that resist US dominance. For instance they have acted to strengthen the BRICS alliance initiated by Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. China has played a key role in expanding the alliance to incorporate new member states. Thus far the BRICS has eighteen members besides some partner countries.

In the 1970s, the Non-Aligned Movement was a major historical challenge to imperialism. But the US and the imperialist West acted successfully to render NAM defunct. The failure of the NAM was also facilitated by the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Since the fall of the Soviet Union, the policy of global imperialist with the US as its leader has been the establishment of a unipolar world with the US at its head and thereby dominate and plunder the countries of the world and their resources.

Today, although the US President Donald Trump is in conflict with the imperialist countries of Europe, we should see clearly through scientific Marxist analysis that capitalism and imperialism, its most advanced form, will never abandon their hunt and greed for profit which form part of their nature. Thus, we should recognize that, in the contemporary world, the US is the prime enemy of the people and countries of the world.

Meanwhile, the remaining capitalist and imperialist countries are active in their competition for finding their markets. In the process they are in conflict with the US. We see China taking advantage of that contradiction. In this context it should be noted that some member organizations of ICOR hold that China and Russia are imperialist countries. The Party does not accept this position.

The German Marxist Leninist Party (MLPD) had proposed that twenty or so countries are imperialist. Since member states of ICOR accepted that position and adopted resolutions on that basis the party refused to endorse those resolutions. That situation persists up to now.

At the same time, we have no doubt that Russia and China are countries that have taken the capitalist road. But our stand is that they are not imperialist countries. Hence it is important to oppose US imperialism, the world's foremost imperialism, and bring together the other forces for that purpose. Our Marxist Leninist stand is that outright labelling of countries without capitalist development as imperialist will only help US imperialism.

Comrades

We can also see important trends in the international scenario. One is the cruel attack on Gaza by Israel with US backing and the unprovoked war threat and naval siege by the US against Iran in West Asia.

Plundering of the petroleum resources of West Asia, also termed 'Black Gold', has been the purpose of all greedy capitalist exploiters beginning with the British imperialists up to the present US imperialists. What the US is doing is to keep the oil rich West Asian countries in its control and plunder the petroleum resources. It retains Israel as its partner. It has fully armed Israel as its hit man in West Asia and uses Israel to destroy Palestine and its people and intimidate the Arab countries.

It is against this background that Israel armed with modern American weapons waged war to destroy Hamas, the armed fighters for Palestine.

Thus far, up to 72,000 Palestinian people have been killed in Gaza. Of those killed up to 22,000 are women and children. Close to 200, 000 have been severely injured. The reason for all of this is the American mission to establish US imperialist dominance in West Asia through the expansion of Zionist Israel in West Asia by destroying Palestine and its people.

Iran continues to be at the forefront of confronting this US obsession with dominance and Israeli intimidation. Expecting to intimidate and subdue Iran, the US has sought to lay a marine siege on Iran by sending its largest aircraft carrier vessel and conducting a jingoistic propaganda campaign.

Iran is governed by conservative Islamist rulers. There is no denying that the rulers severely oppress the toiling masses, communists, leftists, trade unionists and women. It is the duty of the toiling Iranian masses and pro-people political parties of Iran to wage struggle against such oppression. But at the same time, when we consider whether the US, the world's cruellest and most powerful imperialist power, or the Islamic fundamentalist rulers of Iran that is the fierce enemy that has to be fought and defeated, we will recognize that US imperialism is the main enemy of the world and a fierce enemy that has to be fought to destruction. This is in accordance with the method of classifying the contradictions of a problem and identifying the main contradiction and fighting the main enemy by uniting with other forces that can be united with. This is the way shown by Marxism Leninism Mao Zedong Thought for the correct handling of contradictions.

Secondly, we have seen the disgraceful US air attack on Venezuela and the kidnapping of the elected president of the country and his wife who are held captive in the US. The people of the world are bitterly opposed to this evil deed. The continued detention of the first couple of Venezuela fully exposes the fallacy of the bogus championship of freedom and the farce of upholding human rights.

The reason for the aggression against Venezuela by US imperialism and President Trump is its immense petroleum resources. Imperialists could not bear to see Venezuela advance on all fronts using its petroleum reserves. Especially President Hugo Chavez and President Maduro who succeeded him defied US imperialist economic pressure to take firm steps to uplift Venezuela and its people from their state of backwardness. US imperialist bandits could not bear it, and that was the reason why out of desperation they hijacked and imprisoned the President of Venezuela and his wife. The people of the world have denounced this despicable action of a desperate US. The Party joins them in vehemently condemning the action of the US.

Comrades

As much as we recognize US imperialism and its global hegemony, we also need to recognize the growth of India as a regional power in South Asia. The Indian ruling class forces practice intervention in the countries of the region in the domains of economics, politics, society, religion and culture in order to establish their hegemony. We can also notice that in this matter there is collusion and conflict with the US. India is a member of the Asia Pacific alliance of Quad comprising the US, Australia, Japan and India. At the same time, India is a member of the BRICS organization that includes China and Russia. Notably, India participated in the summit of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization held in September 2025. But it also claims to be a strategic partner of the US.

India, meanwhile, finds itself playing the role of a 'big brother' to be in conflict with Bangladesh, Nepal, Maldives and Sri Lanka which it seeks to bully into submission in common issues. Notably, the Indian ruling class can be seen to have brought under its control the Anura Kumara Dissanayake leadership of the NPP government. This clearly illustrates India's regional hegemonic ambitions. Besides, India along its regional hegemonic route in Sri Lanka has secured a firm foothold in the North and East of the country and is making inroads into the Hill country. It is seeking to gain access to

the south of the country through the present government. The mutual visits by Modi and Dissanayake and their agreements expose these trends. Hence, we the people of Sri Lanka need to be clear, firm and far sighted about the Indian ruling classes and their hegemonic tools as well as be prepared on due occasions to mobilize the people against this regional hegemon.

Notably, the US, which during periods of UNP rule since 1977 under JR Jayewardene until Ranil Wickremesinghe in 2014 took steps to tighten its long term hold on Sri Lanka, had used the country's open economic policy and imperialist globalization to secure total political and economic control. No alternative government that came to power had dared to question the policies of liberalization, privatisation, and globalization or bring about changes in to bring about changes to the political outlook or economic and social policies.

Likewise, even under the Anura Dissanayake presidency and the NPP government, which used the attractive slogan "resourceful country and beautiful life" in their election campaigns, we can see that the US has tightened its hegemonic grip. The US ambassador and her embassy that had felt the pulse of the JVP during the Aragalaya campaign in 2022, paid a visit to the JVP headquarters subsequently to ensure their future hold on it. Thereafter, the US gave its silent approval for a government headed by Anura Dissanayake.

It was because of this understanding that the Anura Dissanayake government accepted without any amendment the terms and conditions of the IMF loan agreement made under Ranil Wickremesinghe just before he stepped down as president. This was a major gain for US domination and expansionism.

Subsequent agreements, as in the case of the US imposed tariffs, have followed a constant pattern of submission to the will of the US. This affirms the victory for US domination and expansionism.

It is the considered view of the Party that it will not be long before the country and people wake up to the reality of what these steps mean for the country's independence and sovereignty and the social and economic life of the people.

Comrades

In the contemporary global situation, the US badly needs a global war. With the US economy continuing to weaken, the only way for the US to expand its global capital and sustain its military bases across the globe is to expand its control over the world through war.

Besides, the multi billionaires of the American armaments industry need the prevalence of a war environment. Comrade Stalin once drew attention to this in his declaration that imperialism cannot survive without war and bloodshed.

The people of the world saw in the First and Second World Wars a real life expression of the truth of the observation. Now too we are compelled to see and experience that reality.

Hence the revolutionary task facing us is to join hands with the people of the world to oppose the US imperialists who are readying for war in order to rob the resources of the world and bring countries under their control.

Interests Served by the NPP

Imayavaramban

The Background

Anura Kumara Dissanayake was elected President of Sri Lanka in September 2024 and, in the wake of his success, the National People's Power (NPP) swept to power in November 2026 with a parliamentary majority exceeding the two-thirds majority needed to pass laws with ease in parliament. It is over one and a half years of power for the NPP and a little longer for the President. It was not long since election that doubts arose not just about the ability of the NPP and the President to deliver on their election pledges but also about their intentions. A quick look at the path to power of the JVP-led NPP to power will offer useful insights into the style of work of the NPP government.

The immediate background to the electoral success of the NPP and its President is the 2022 mass protest campaign, commonly known as the Aragalaya on the Galle Face green in Colombo, which began as a middle class protest lacking in objective but for the demand that President Gotabhaya Rajapaksa should resign. The slogan "Gota Go Home" found mass appeal as an expression of mass anger against the government for leading the country into an economic mess with soaring prices and shortages of fuel for transport and cooking, food items and medicines, through bad financial handling and unwise import policies compounded by consequences of the clumsy handling of the COVID-19 pandemic. That is not to argue that the financial crush was solely the making of the Gotabhaya presidency. Foundation was laid in 1978 with the open

economic policy that undermined the national economy. It did not take long for the country to become a consumer society which substituted local production with export of labour and became part of the value addition chain for foreign investors mainly in the apparel sector. The country also became dependent on tourism. Successive governments failed to divert foreign earnings and tourist income into industrialization. University graduates and technically skilled personnel sought jobs abroad. Governments pandered to the consumerism of the wealthy and the middle classes with superficial social values.

To worsen things, successive governments kept the country plunged in an avoidable civil war for three decades until it reached a cruel end. The war that made the country increasingly indebted also served as pretext for privatization and the opening up of the country to predatory investors. Imperialism tightened its grip and the country held captive by its open economic policy submitted to neo-colonial control.

Besides economic woes, there was concern about blatant abuse of power for personal gain and increasing corruption involving politicians. Almost all governing parties and partners in government were suspect. The JVP, however, was not accused of theft during its year-long partnership with the SLFP in the Sandhanaya alliance in 2004 and thus had credibility as an anti-corruption force in the post-Aragalaya political landscape.

Aragalaya, despite its initial apolitical approach, began to be politicized by strongly left leanings groups. Its attraction minority nationalities and religious minorities made it seem an emergent anti-sectarian force with mass appeal. A combination of factors led it to become a struggle against the political class that had ruled the country until then. But adventurist and opportunist forces came into play before it could emerge as a truly progressive force for social change. Misguided spontaneity provided opportunity for the government of Ranil Wickremesinghe, who was made interim President following the theatre of resignation of Gotabhaya as President, to unleash the armed forces of the state on the protesters.

Various parties that sought political mileage from the Aragalaya passively accepted the violent suppression of the protest by Ranil Wickremesinghe. The state forces that crushed the Aragalaya targeted the Inter University Students Federation (IUSF) and selected political organizations for attack. No parliamentary political party cared to protest. However, the Aragalaya, despite its brutal suppression, had an enduring impact on the minds of the public. A political regrouping comprising the Frontline Socialist Party, the New Democratic Marxist–Leninist Party and the Socialist People's Front emerged in 2024 as the 'Peoples Struggle Alliance' to continue the left tendency of Aragalaya. The PSA alliance is also supported by mass organizations that defied state repression of Aragalaya.

NPP's Pledges

Although the NPP, the JVP led electoral alliance had no role in organizing the Aragalaya protest movement, it supported Aragalaya. But it distanced itself from the protest when state violence was unleashed on protesters. The NPP gained much electoral support from the Aragalaya by presenting itself as an anti-corruption force with no links to the old political elite. In its election manifesto it pledged to abolish the executive presidency and eliminate corruption and created an impression that it will address the national question in a fair manner, but disclosed no plan or proposal.

The NPP was harshly critical of the relief package agreed between the IMF and the outgoing President Wickremesinghe, who mischievously bound to the IMF's rescue package any government that would succeed him. NPP's presidential candidate Anura Kumara Dissanayake, pledged to renegotiate key aspects of the package that will hurt the deprived sections of the population. He had the right to make that pledge and many believed him, as the deal made by Wickremesinghe was not in good faith...

The NPP was also hard on Indian meddling in Sri Lankan affairs and India's abuse of its new found influence in Sri Lanka under Gotabhaya

Rajapaksa and Wickremesinghe. It denounced the improper award of renewable energy projects to an Indian business of ill repute with close links to the Indian Prime Minister, and was highly critical of poaching by Indian trawlers, mainly from Tamilnadu, in the northern waters of the island, which besides the massive theft caused lasting damage to fishing resources in the country's coastal waters.

It pledged to correct misdeeds under past governments, especially acts of corruption by government officials, besides, promising to investigate the culprits of the Easter Sunday massacres of 2018. But the NPP ceased to act on and even reverse, most of its pledges. To appreciate the implications of these failures we to take a close look at the political metamorphosis of the JVP--- starting from an adventurist pseudo-left militancy and transit through parliamentary political opportunism to become the dominant part of a government of increasingly questionable repute.

The Roots of the JVP

The JVP's origins were in the two rival communist parties emerging from the Communist Party of Ceylon amid the ideological split in the global communist movement in the early 1960s. The Ceylon Communist Party was called the 'Peking Wing' Communist Party to distinguish it from the revisionist Communist Party of Sri Lanka, called the 'Moscow Wing' Communist Party. Rohana Wijeweera, the founder leader of the JVP, resorted to Sinhala chauvinism to build support among the Sinhalese youth in the Ceylon Communist Party. His underhand activities came to light when he joined the notorious protest march in January 1966 by the SLFP, LSSP and CPSL to oppose the Tamil Language Bill offering special language rights to the Tamils. The Ceylon Communist Party and the Trotskyist LSSP(R) denounced this disgraceful protest.

Wijeweera, besides participating in the protest in defiance of CCP, had used the Party's printing press to print unauthorized pamphlets in the name of the Party in support of the infamous demonstration in which

vicious anti-Tamil slogans were shouted. The pamphlets were found in good time and destroyed, and a disciplinary inquiry led to his expulsion from the Party. But by then he had built a strong base among rural party youth. The group that later became the JVP were also known as Che Guevarists. Interestingly, Lionel Bopage, a former JVP leader, in his reference to the exit of Wijeweera omits the CCP's disciplinary action against him. The claim that the JVP had adapted Marxism to suit Sri Lankan conditions rings hollow because the JVP, while it pandered to Sinhala chauvinism, offered no Marxist insight into the Sri Lankan context.

Although the JVP has called itself Marxist Leninist from the 1960s, its Marxism was always suspect, as it showed no interest in building among the minority nationalities and was hostile to the Hill Country Tamils whom it claimed were the arms of Indian expansionism until after its failed April 1971 insurrection. Although it later found a handful of followers among minority nationalities, it had no mass organization among them. Its hostility toward the working class (which it derided as a working class muddled in trade union struggles) and the trade unions was owing to its failure to find support among the working class. The JVP's change in course following its failed insurrection was not through ideological self-criticism but out of political desperation.

The number of insurgents killed during the April '71 insurrection has been estimated at between 1500 and 15,000 (the number depending on the political outlook of the claimant, with the JVP website claiming 10,000). The government soon realized that the political damage caused by the harsh treatment meted out to JVP militants by the armed forces needed rectification, and acted to rehabilitate a vast majority of the detainees while being hard on the top JVP leaders.

Trials conducted by the Criminal Justice Commission established shortly after the insurrection began in 1972 and concluded in 1976. Wijeweera, arrested three weeks before the insurrection, received a 20 year sentence. Other leaders had shorter terms of imprisonment, some had suspended

sentences, and some were acquitted. The death sentences delivered to a few were commuted to life. There were also trials in regional courts for other detainees under normal laws of the land. Of the over 20,000 taken into custody, most were released after rehabilitation. The ban imposed on the JVP after the April '71 insurrection lasted until 1977.

The Rehabilitated JVP

The JVP leadership while in police custody came under the influence of veteran trade unionist, Trotskyist politician and eminent criminal lawyer Bala Tampoe who with a group of progressive lawyers courageously appeared in the CJC trials for many JVP detainees. While the extent to which the JVP leaders accepted Trotskyism is debatable, Tampoe secured prompt recognition for the JVP from a Fourth International (one of many such) to which he was affiliated. JVP's infatuation with Trotskyism that began in 1977 was brief as it had more to do with Tampoe's compassion for JVP leaders than with any knowledge of Trotskyism. The recognition, however, helped to boost the 'left' image of the JVP internationally. The JVP refrained from chauvinist utterances until 1982, when its deep-seated chauvinism got the better of its left identity which began to wash off. Strangely, it took a quarter of a century for the global Trotskyite outfit to see that the JVP was a chauvinistic party and 'expel' it. JVP's flirtation with Trotskyism hardly receives mention in current JVP documents.

By 1976, following the CJC trial, a cynical alliance emerged between JR Jayewardene, leader of the UNP, and the imprisoned JVP leadership. It was facilitated by Ronnie de Mel, who had fallen out with Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranayake and moved close to Jayewardene. The deal meant that a UNP government if elected to power in 1977 would release the JVP detainees in return for JVP's support. The UNP government lost no time and in November 1977 released all persons convicted by the CJC under a general amnesty, including UNP personalities and supporters convicted of foreign exchange fraud.

The JVP fulfilled its obligation by attacking public meetings organized by the foes of the UNP. By 1980 JVP--UNP relations began to sour, and supporters of the parties in the universities clashed violently. The JVP meanwhile made inroads into some trade unions, the postal workers union especially, and gained public acceptance at the expense of the LSSP and CPSL whose fortunes faded after the 1977 electoral debacle.

Sri Lanka's first presidential election was held as scheduled in October 1982. The isolation of Sirimavo Bandaranayake from mass politics by a kangaroo court appointed by Jayewardene that deprived her of her civic rights for seven years it was a struggle for the rather demoralized SLFP to revive its spirits. The SLFP fielded the former Minister of Agriculture Hector Kobbekaduwa as presidential candidate to oppose Jayewardene. The performance of the JVP candidate Wijeweera was below expectation. He secured 4% of the votes, but ahead of the Tamil Congress candidate's 2.6% and far ahead of the two leftist rivals. The electoral defeat was a likely factor that drove JVP to violence at the first opportunity that came its way.

The election also exposed the cheap opportunism of the JVP. Its candidate Wijeweera, at a campaign rally in Jaffna, declared endorsement of the Tamil people's demand for secession. The next day, in Galle, he reversed to declare that he will give his life to fight secession. This was the fastest known policy reversal of the JVP, and was a sign of more to come.

According to Lionel Bopage, a former JVP leader, the imprisoned leaders produced a fresh manifesto in 1973 that was printed in 1978 after their release, to define the JVP's line from then on. The manifesto reportedly opposed autocratic centralisation as well as separation and declared the democratic right of the people to self-determination. How the right to self-determination could exclude the right to secession remains a puzzle. But fact is that the JVP has been hostile to devolution, and did not recognize the Tamils, let alone Muslims and Hill Country Tamils, as nationalities.

President Jayewardene cheated the country of its next parliamentary election with a cunningly manipulated referendum held in December 1982. That deprived the JVP of prospects of parliamentary representation until 1989 while the JVP remained in the crosshairs of the government.

Since the Presidential election of 1982, the JVP underwent an ideological shift from its pretences to be Marxist to a Sinhala-Buddhist identity, marked by bitter hostility to any compromise or devolution of power to address the Tamil national question. The JVP's failure to distance itself from anti-Tamil violence of the past, helped the government to assign the JVP a role in the anti-Tamil violence of July 1983, and officially ban it. The ban, based on false charges of inciting the riots, which were in fact provoked by the government itself, lasted until 1993.

The JVP, prohibited from public political activity, saw in the Indo--Sri Lanka Accord of 1987 a chance to expand its popular base. Its response to the Accord blended Sinhala-nationalist populism with its historical hostility to India and it used violence fringing on terrorism to confront an oppressive government. It used intimidation to force strikes and obstruct transport and thereby hurt the economy. In addition to punishing with death those who dared to defy its orders, it also resorted to targeted political assassinations. The response of the state was even more brutal. State-backed paramilitaries and death squads joined government forces in the torture and killing of JVP suspects and sympathizers. An estimated 60,000 persons were killed mostly by the government.

Notably, the JVP's objections to the Accord were to parts addressing the grievances of the Tamil minority. The JVP took scant notice of the parts that imposed restrictions on Sri Lanka in matters of foreign policy and defence, which the SLFP strongly denounced as compromising the country's sovereignty. The NDMLP was unique in its acceptance with reservations the parts that addressed the national question while fully rejecting the less publicized parts that compromised the sovereignty of the country. Interestingly, the JVP's hostility to India during its 1988--89

uprising focused on concessions to the Tamil minority. This attitude was part of its populist pandering to the chauvinism prevalent in the Sinhala electorate. India and resident Indian nationals were shown as friends of the Tamils. While the JVP's objection to the presence of Indian troops in the country from 1987 deserved welcome, its reasoning was flawed.

The JVP re-entered parliamentary politics in 1994, after the ban on it was lifted in 1993. It backed the SLFP candidate Chandrika Kumaratunga in the presidential election in 1994, with the JVP candidate Nihal Galappaththi withdrawing from the race after securing a written pledge from Kumaratunga that she will abolish the presidential system. This deal marked the first of several opportunist alliances with the SLFP--- under President Chandrika Kumaratunga in an electoral alliances in December 2001 in April 2004, joining the cabinet until dissent in June 2005, and with the SLFP presidential candidate Mahinda Rajapaksa in 2005. The JVP later partnered with the UNP to bring down Mahinda Rajapaksa in 2015.

Notably, the JVP targeted political rivals in various ways. Amid the 1988-89 uprising it attacked left leaders for their support for the Indo--Sri Lanka Accord. Vijaya Kumaranatunge (the late husband of Chandrika Kumaratunga), a peace campaigner politician gaining popularity in the South and respect in the North, was seen as a threat and hence killed in 1984. Vickramabahu Karunaratne was shot in the stomach but survived.

The next potential challenge to the JVP from the left was the New Left Front, an alliance of six organizations including the NDMLP, NSSP and USP, which won one seat in the Western Province Council in 1999.

The JVP conspired to wreck this first serious attempt at a left alliance since 1963. It tempted Vickramabahu Karunaratne, the sole NLF member in the WPC, with the prospect of making him Speaker of the WPC with backing from the UNP. Karunaratne fell for it. That triggered friction within the NLF which fell apart and Karunaratne was left in the lurch by the JVP.

The Resurrection

In November 1989, government forces eliminated the entire politburo of the JVP, except Somawansa Amarasinghe, a Sinhala nationalist with no pretence to being a leftist. This blow virtually reduced the JVP to nothing. Amarasinghe fled the country through India and found refuge in Britain.

Surviving members of the JVP who regrouped opted for electoral politics. After the political ban of the JVP was lifted in 1993, they fielded a few candidates in the 1994 parliamentary elections as the Sri Lanka Progressive Front and one (Nihal Galappaththi) was elected. He was also the JVP's presidential candidate later in the year, who later withdrew in favour of Chandrika Kumaratunga, the SLFP-led People's Alliance candidate.

The JVP improved its parliamentary representation to 10 (of 225) with 6% of the total vote in October 2000. In the snap election of December 2001 its vote share rose to 9.1% with 16 seats. In 2004 the PA, in need of a partner to confront the UNP, formed an alliance (UPFA) including the JVP, which by clever electoral manipulation secured 39 of the 105 seats won by the UPFA. The partnership did not last and the JVP, which vehemently opposed the Post-Tsunami Operational Management Structure (P-TOMS) that allowed the government and the LTTE to jointly share aid for relief to the North and East for the Tsunami of 2004 December, quit en bloc in June 2005, forcing Kumaratunga to head a minority government. The JVP had argued that the deal legitimized the LTTE and compromised the sovereignty of the state. It also had longstanding grievances regarding the government's approach to the peace process and foreign policy. It went to court in partnership with the rightist Sinhala nationalist JHU to bring down P-TOMS and to demerge the North-East Province which came into existence following the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of 1987.

After Kumaratunga ceased to be President, the JVP patched up with the SLFP and made a pact to help Mahinda Rajapaksa win the presidential election in November 2005. Key features of the pact were that Rajapaksa

will commit to protect a unitary state, reject federalism, renegotiate the Ceasefire Agreement with the LTTE, and stop certain privatizations. The deal snapped when Rajapaksa, under external pressure, negotiated with the LTTE. Rajapaksa outmanoeuvred the JVP by drawing in a group of UNP MPs, based on their wish to support the government's war effort. The JVP faced internal conflicts and, in 2008, its main campaigner Wimal Weerawansa broke off to form the National Freedom Front and side with Rajapaksa. A further split developed with a more left-oriented group emerging from the JVP to form the Frontline Socialist Party in 2012.

JVP's electoral fortunes dwindled amid internal dissent while Rajapaksa's popularity surged after the military defeat of the LTTE in 2009 May. In the parliamentary elections that followed in 2010, the JVP opportunistically joined General Sarath Fonseka in the Democratic Freedom Alliance and secured 4 seats of a total of 7 seats won by the DFA with 5.49% of the vote. JVP performance was low in 2015 with 6 seats and 4.87% of the vote and dropped to 3 seats and 3.84% of the vote in 2020, despite the founding of the NPP alliance in 2015 as a coalition designed to bring in civil society, academics, and women's organizations.

The NPP has all along been dominated by the JVP as its partners were politically weak. The JVP itself was not popular in 2020 and had not built a support base even as the state mismanaged COVID-19 during 2020--21.

In essence, after the April 1971 insurrection, the militant Sinhala chauvinist JVP with a bogus Marxist identity became a bourgeois democratic Sinhala chauvinist party with a bogus Marxist identity. It entered an opportunist alliance with the UNP in the late 70s for survival. Parliamentary ambitions led it to dubious alliances with parties that it had denounced earlier. A most shameful partnership was that with the rightist JHU when the chauvinist rivals joined hands to oppose devolution of power to the minorities. However, its most disastrous alliance was that with Mahinda Rajapaksa which wrecked the JVP's credibility and split the party.

Recovery from the Rajapaksa Shock

The JVP was always chauvinist but for a semblance of accommodation of the minority nationalities between around 1977 and 1981. Its chauvinism surged after Somawansa Amarasinghe took charge. JVP's re-emergent Sinhala Buddhist nationalism became more strident after the return of Amarasinghe to the country in 2002. The JVP adopted his ardent support for the war against the LTTE and applauded the US and India for their support to the government to fight the LTTE.

The JVP's acceptance of cabinet posts under President Kumaratunga in 2004 signalled its immersion in bourgeois democratic politics. The fallacy of its Marxism was bared when it decided to support Mahinda Rajapaksa as presidential candidate in 2005, and resentment among members led to a split leading to the formation of the Front Line Socialist Party some years later. The rightist politics of Amarasinghe, meantime, proved increasingly embarrassing for the JVP which forced his exit in April 2015. He formed a party called the Janatha Sevaka Pakshaya (People's Servants' Party) which went extinct as he drowned among ultra-nationalists of the country. That the JVP had chauvinists like Amarasinghe and Wimal Weerawansa in top positions reflects the strength of chauvinist thought in the JVP ideology.

The National People's Power was a JVP creation designed to restore its status in mainstream politics after the damage caused by partnership with the JHU and Mahinda Rajapaksa. The NPP served to attract middle class elements and businessmen besides frustrated members of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka and the LSSP. The NPP could not make any political decision without prior approval of the JVP so that the JVP's partners have found themselves voiceless on many matters.

The Reality of Electoral Politics

The NPP was no different from its electoral political predecessors in making pledges that would appeal to the typical voter. Like many election manifestos with charming titles and lack of substance, the NPP's manifesto

titled “A Rich Country – A Beautiful Life” too held out many pledges with electoral appeal, which would be abandoned within month of coming to power. The pledge to serve the needs of the oppressed people while working within the capitalist framework itself was a fallacy with too many precedents. But it was a necessary pledge to keep the middle class intellectuals and businessmen within the fold of the NPP.

People voted for the NPP expecting easy solutions to complex issues. The NPP pledged a reduction in VAT from 18% and VAT exemption for educational and medical goods, besides a 33% reduction in electricity tariff and a lower fuel tariff.

The NPP also promised to repeal the Prevention of Terrorism Act and to abolish the executive presidency. Sunil Handunnetti, a key member of the Cabinet, declared during the swearing-in of the cabinet that Dissanayake would be the last President of Sri Lanka. In fact, the JVP had stood for the abolition of the presidency all along, but what we see now is reluctance to act on abolishing the executive presidency. The reluctance to abolish the executive presidency is linked to the equally challenging pledge to address the national question by introducing a new constitution.

It seems that the NPP government fears losing its grip on power by introducing a new constitution which will destroy its hold on power through the executive presidency while the loyalty of sections of the society on which it counts for its survival could slip away. The hold of the Buddhist hierarchy on the JVP is even stronger than in the late 1990s when the JVP leaders submitted its election manifesto to the chief priests of Asgiriya and Malwatte for blessings before publication. Devolution of power to Tamils, still anathema to the bulk of JVP cadres is also resented by the armed forces who see in it curtailment of their power over the people and land in the North and East.

The NPP has less excuses than any earlier government to drag its feet on the new constitution, as is the only one to be elected with a 2/3 majority in

parliament since 1977. But its spokespersons make excuses like the need to prioritize economic development over a new constitution. This is old rhetoric used by governments uninterested in delivering on their pledges.

Another issue on which the NPP seemed firm in its election campaign was the scrapping the Prevention of Terrorism Act under which the JVP suffered in 1998--99. Surprisingly, the NPP, rather than act to scrap the cruel piece of legislation, is replacing it with another no less harsh than the PTA. This is because the JVP knows well that the government is better protected by anti-terrorism laws than by normal law against mass protests amid waning public support for the government. Meantime, the government is busily hunting down its opponents using the PTA.

The NPP was ill equipped to offer social welfare owing to its lack of will to confront the neocolonial masters to whose IMF rescue package the NPP government had submitted without protest. Despite the presidential election pledge that the terms of the IMF loan will be negotiated, not even a minor objection was raised after the NPP candidate was elected President. The NPP government, having succumbed to the terms of the IMF, not only went back on its promise of lowering VAT and electricity and fuel tariffs but also added to pile economic burdens on the people.

While the JVP used slogans of Marxism and socialism to attract petit bourgeois youth, its show of red caps, red flags, impressive May Day rallies and revolutionary speeches was void of substance. It had no plan or programme for socialist transition. The JVP had long ago betrayed its constituency of angry young men and women who would risk their lives in the interest of a revolutionary change for social justice.

What was left of the JVP by the mid-1980s was a Sinhala chauvinist party seeking power through elections. That ambition began to falter until after the Aragalaya. The JVP saw its chance in a situation that brought to light the public's lack of faith in the political parties that once held power.

The NPP won the presidential election in a three-way contest, where, the UNP and SJB candidates, despite their political bankruptcy, polled enough to deny a first count victory for Dissanayake. Voting in the parliamentary elections that followed was conditioned by the outcome of the presidential election, with the prospect of an NPP victory swaying the vote much in its favour. Regardless of faith in the NPP's election pledges, many expected a change for the better in the management of the economy, administration of law and control of corruption. Tamils of the North and East hoped for a serious effort to resolve the national question.

Where the NPP surprised the public most was in its passive submission to the IMF and abject surrender to India and the US in foreign relations. These are matters in which even the opponents of the JVP expected it to defy the IMF and stand up to India and the US to defend the sovereignty of the country. The surrender to India was absolutely clear by in the way President Dissanayake grovelled before the Indian Prime Minister Modi during the latter's visit to Sri Lanka. Modi was conferred the Sri Lanka Mitra Vibhushana--- the country's highest civilian honour reserved for foreign leaders ---for the first time to an Indian leader since Mahinda Rajapaksa introduced it in 2008.

Class Loyalties

The government, to fulfil the IMF dictated objective of stabilising the economy in pursuance of navigating the country along the growth and development trajectory defined the IMF, proceeded to issue new bonds in exchange for existing ones in December 2024, and has continued with the prescribed restructuring. Although the NPP knew well what it was in for even before the Wickremesinghe stepped down, neither Dissanayake nor the NPP declared that they had no choice in the matter so that they did the exact opposite of what they pledged.

The government has for economic advisors persons who had served in financial institutions meant to implement neoliberal economic programs and were advisors to the governments of Gotabhaya Rajapaksa and

Wickremesinghe. In September 2025, the cabinet announced its decision to liquidate 33 state properties. Meantime, the Electricity Board and state banks are on course to privatization as per the directives of the IMF. There is no sign of government effort to reverse the neoliberal trend. What class interests does a government that submits to demands of the IMF to curtail the role of the state in economy represent?

The government seems most willing to serve capitalist interests in the country as evident from the recent asset declarations of JVP leaders, many owning property worth multimillions and having foreign currency bank accounts. Whether the NPP was simply unprepared for what was ahead or was willing to take the easy way out to follow the route chalked out for Wickremesinghe by the IMF is arguable, but what is clear is that neither JVP nor NPP was built of material that would stand up to imperialism.

As the 'old left' declined its trade unions lost their militancy and members sought shelter in unions controlled by rival parties including the JVP and right-wing parties. The plantation trade unions had become appendages of parties that used them as vote banks for political bargaining, and never delivered on demands for fair wages, housing and other rights. The brutal assault of the UNP government on the general strike of 1980, including the dismissal of at least 40,000 workers, delivered a blow that the trade union movement has not fully recovered from. It was much after the weakening of the UNP government and its electoral defeat in 1994 that these has been significant trade union action in the country.

Major strikes by JVP led unions since then are: the national token strike of July 2008 demanding a Rs 5,000 monthly wage raise and better conditions for estate workers; the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation strike of April 2017 protesting a proposed joint-venture agreement with India on the oil tank farm in Trincomalee; a multi-union strike in May 2020 for better protective measures against COVID-19 and broader economic demands; the Colombo Port Strike of August 2020 asking the government to retain the East Container Terminal (ECT) under the Sri Lanka Ports Authority rather

than hand it to foreign entities (India at the time); and the multi-sector token strike of March 2023 protesting tax hikes and increased utility tariffs. Interestingly two of these strikes targeted Indian expansionism.

After the JVP-led NPP came to power in 2024, JVP trade unions changed their style. They subdued their protest against the IMF imposed austerity, while unions controlled by right wing political parties readily followed suit. This was a clear signal that the NPP, once in office, will not confront the IMF on sensitive issues but instead passively implement IMF policies.

The unions as a whole had failed their members by passive acceptance of the government's efforts to fragment and privatise the CEB. The need now is for the workers to organise independently of their union bosses.

The government's IMF driven policies on the electricity, banking, postal, telecommunication, railway, insurance and education services have put the JVP affiliated trade unions in an awkward spot in many institutions where workers have openly expressed their disapproval.

The response of the government is worrying to trade unions as a whole. Besides the government inciting public against strikers, the President and a few ministers have resorted to threatening workers and trade unions engaged in industrial action. These warnings by NPP leaders against unions and the left cannot be taken lightly.

Foreign Policy Surrender

Successive governments have avoided appearing to take sides between India and China, even when the country had to rely more on one than on the other. During the civil war, India, which initially armed and advised Tamil militants so that it could impose its will on Sri Lanka, intervened to impose its 'solution' to the national question through the Indo—Sri Lanka Accord of 1987 which also imposed conditions on Sri Lanka's foreign relations. When sending its armed forces as peace keepers proved disastrous, India lost trust among all nationalities.

After the forced retreat of its peace keeping forces, India held back on Sri Lankan internal affairs, until 2002 when it returned to side with the Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL) and wreck peace talks between the GoSL and the LTTE. When war resumed, India **backed** Sri Lanka militarily and logistically to defeat the LTTE.

India, seeking economic dominance over Sri Lanka all along, saw its opening during the financial crisis of 2022 precipitated by reckless financial management of the Gotabhaya Rajapaksa government. While it aided Sri Lanka during the credit crisis, it took advantage of the situation to secure among others major contracts in the energy sector for Indian investors. India also has since late last century been fishing unlawfully in the northern territorial waters of Sri Lanka causing severe hardship to the fishers of the region. The JVP opposed this and India's plans to place its strategic footprint, on pretext of countering China's increasing economic and strategic presence. The JVP was firm in its position on these issues even on the eve of parliamentary elections in November 2024.

The change in policy towards India was swift and the JVP retreated on all earlier criticisms of India. The signs were clear during Dissanayake's visit to Delhi in December 2024 to meet the Indian Prime Minister. The government had since signed a series of MoUs in matters of defence, development investment and trade, the contents of which are still held secret from the public. These include security agreements whereby India has fulfilled its regional strategic needs.

When the Indian Prime Minister Modi visited Sri Lanka for three days in April 2025, more MoUs were signed, especially the Defence and Co-operation Pact. President Dissanayake personally assured Modi that Sri Lanka would not allow the use of its territory to harm India's security.

The MOU on defence co-operation came three months short of 38-years since the contentious Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord of July 1987 was made between President Jayewardene and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

The JVP now claims pathetically that at the time 'misidentified' Indian intentions as expansionist to lead an armed insurrection against the government which therefore betrayed the interests of the country.

While the SJB, the main parliamentary opposition party charged that the present string of MoUs signed without informing parliament or even the Cabinet lacked transparency, it did not organize any public protest against the MoUs. Notably, the Frontline Socialist Party, the NDMLP and a few other groups announced protests in Colombo, but only to be restrained by a Court Order.

Notably, the Sampur Power Project that was opposed by the JVP since its proposal in 2005 is among the recent MoUs. The project also aims to develop Trincomalee as an energy hub. Another MoU relates to grid inter-connectivity between India and Sri Lanka to facilitate power trade.

Besides economic agreements including Indian investment projects is the Economic and Technology Cooperation Agreement (ETCA) to be signed soon, atop the existing free trade agreement. India has, notably, been offered various development projects in the North and East which it is using to buy political influence among Tamils. Every one of these moves by the NPP will contribute to making the country a pawn of India and for that reason consistently opposed by the JVP until 2024.

The government by its frequent pleas for Indian assistance has put itself under obligation to India so that the latter may continue unhindered its maritime poaching by bottom trawling boats that will also wreck the fish stocks in the northern waters of the country. Those who hail Indian generosity seem blind to the fact that Indian poaching earns for India many times bigger sums than its financial assistance to the country.

China has reputation as a friend that has made no political demands on the country. It has extended the government a helping hand when the West turned its back on it. China did not impose any project on Sri Lanka. In fact, the Hambantota harbour project went to China after developers

from the West refused to undertake the task. The Colombo Port City was not imposed on the country by China, but was built on Sri Lankan government request. The transfer of the bulk of the share in the Hambantota harbour to the Chinese developer was not owing to pressure from China, but done to raise funds to service loans from other lenders.

The myth of Chinese economic traps is readily swallowed by critics of China. To say this out is not to claim that China has no ambitions in Sri Lanka. It wants Sri Lanka to be with at least a neutral foreign policy. Yet, China has maintained good relations even with Sri Lankan governments with a pro-US bias, as long as they were not hostile towards China.

China encouraged Sri Lankan partnership in its Belt and Road project, and will use harbour facilities in Colombo and Hambantota. But Sri Lanka is one among many participants in the B&R. Strangely, critics want China to be some kind of charity in its economic projects and accuse it of exorbitant profits from its development projects with no evidence to support their charges. However, China is a capitalist country practicing state controlled capitalism, and needs to be dealt with due caution.

It is for Sri Lanka to make sure that China does not abuse its influence to take advantage of Sri Lanka. But the risk of China abusing its harbour facility for military purposes is non-existent and it is only the US and India that have shown strategic interests in the country.

Surprising friend and foe alike, the government's foreign policy has become characteristic of a client of the US. The government dares not go beyond nominal criticism of the wars waged by US-backed Israel in Palestine and the US in Iran, with Israeli support. Its pathetic submission to US demands to receive relief from tariffs imposed by the Trump administration is a sign of its fear to antagonize the US.

A State Partnership Program was signed in November 2025 formalizing a defence partnership between the Sri Lanka Armed Forces, the Montana National Guard, and the US Coast Guard to cover disaster response,

maritime domain awareness, cyber defence, and professional military education. This in the wake of the Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement (ACSA) and the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) concerning military logistics and port/airfield access, to which the JVP was bitterly opposed, but no more. Notably, the Sri Lanka Air Force (SLAF) in June 2026 took delivery of ten ex-US TH-57 helicopters transferred free of charge to the SLAF early in the year under the US Excess Defence Articles (EDA) programme.

Upholding the Law and Fighting Corruption

The NPP government made a seemingly impressive start in addressing corruption by letting the judicial system take its course in punishing former government ministers and officials accused of major acts of corruption. Buoyed by public enthusiasm, it went on the overdrive to arrest former president Wickremesinghe for misuse of state funds to attend his wife's convocation at the University of Wolverhampton in 2023. The government has spent considerable sums, unsuccessfully so far, to ascertain that he was not formally invited by the University.

While misuse of state funds by Wickremesinghe remains to be ascertained by court, it is questionable whether the charge justified arrest and detention. It seems a political unwise move to produce him handcuffed in court as it has only aroused undeserved public sympathy for him, as he faces more serious charges such as the notorious Bond Scam of 2015 where his role is still to be investigated. What the government has gained by the arrest is perhaps the thrill of producing in court a man against whom there were grave charges of human rights violations against JVP suspects in the 1990s for which he was spared due legal action.

A more serious issue in the context is the failure of the government to act against the two Rajapaksa Presidents against whom there are far more serious charges of corruption and abuse of power. The reluctance seems to

be driven by fear of political fallout, as their arrest could lead to mass protests unlike that of the unpopular Wickremesinghe.

Amid this theatre of respect for the rule of the law, a number of scandals have surfaced about which the government is slow to act. Most importantly the coal procurement scandal where it is alleged that tender irregularities leading to the supply of inferior-quality coal to the country's only coal power plant have cost the state at least Rs 7.5 billion. The Energy Minister has resigned but the government has dismissed the prospect of flawed tender procedure.

The exposure of fraud to the tune of Rs 13.2 million between 2024 and 2026 in the National Development Bank called into question the integrity of the regulatory oversight by the Central Bank.

Early this year, a payment of US \$ 2.5 million as external debt repayment has been misdirected from the Government treasury to an unauthorized beneficiary by a cyber-breach. Although no government minister has been faulted in this sorry affair, its occurrence points to the vulnerability of the government to high-tech scams out of sheer incompetence.

Apart from financial scams, the government has also been faulted for appointing unqualified loyalists and persons with vested interests to important positions in the state and state corporate sectors. The Supreme Court delivered a significant blow by ruling that a top Ministry Secretary acted unconstitutionally and outside his administrative powers with the concurrence of his minister leading to the resignation of senior official.

Besides, the Commission to Investigate Allegations of Bribery or Corruption (CIABOC) is investigating six NPP-aligned ministers and deputies for alleged illicit asset accumulation and embezzlement, some going back to their service in state corporations in 2015.

It is true that the parliamentary opposition parties are drawing attention to various financial irregularities not to rectify corruption but destroy the

credibility of the government amid its moves against various opposition politicians. But that does not absolve the government of its faults.

At a lower level, the JVP, once a victim of seizure of property by the UNP, shamefully abused its new found political muscle to forcefully seize the office of the Front Line Socialist Party in the Gampaha District in September 2025. It held to it until the District Court ruled in March 2026 that the JVP acted unlawfully.

The National Question

The NPP's understanding of the national question is at best poor. Its poor understanding of the national question, besides its lack of will to address it, underlies its failure to offer a policy statement on the national question. The vague utterances by the NPP during its election campaign indicated that what it saw as the national question comprised issues that were the results of chauvinistic policies. The JVP, the dominant force in the NPP, itself was strongly in favour of a military solution to the national question in the decade running up to the end of the war.

Concepts of minority nationalities, self-determination and devolution of power were all along anathema to the JVP whose hostility to devolution of power under the 13th Amendment of 1987 was notorious. It went so far as to join with the rightist chauvinist JHU to secure a Supreme Court order in 2005 to split the Northern and Eastern Provincial Council formed under the 13th Amendment by merging the two provinces. It will be a herculean task for the JVP to persuade its supporters to consent even to implementing the 13th Amendment, let alone improve on it.

While Anura Kumara Disanayake's declaration in the North that racism will not be tolerated is a welcome statement, it is inadequate to resolve the national question. The armed forces and Buddhist clergy in the North and East pose strong resistance to returning to the lawful owners land forcibly seized from them, to releasing land seized based on bogus archaeological

claims, and stopping illegal construction of Buddhist shrines and monuments. The government is often unable to uphold the law against the chauvinist aggressors who enjoy unreserved backing from major political parties.

While the government has shown greater tolerance to the commemoration of the war dead than former governments, especially of the Rajapaksas, progress is poor in the release of detainees under the PTA and providing information on persons who went missing in the period of conflict. The government is no different from its predecessors in seeking to prevent international inquiries into war crimes and human rights violations than in addressing the issues themselves.

The government is making all manner of excuses for not coming up with a clear proposal to address the national question, which is linked to the drafting of the new constitution, a matter in which the government is dragging its feet.

Whither the NPP Government?

The government has gone back on most of its pledges to the people, and seems unlikely to fulfil its promise to put an end to the executive presidency. Along with it goes the promise of a new constitution, which will at best be a belated document that has nothing to do with popular expectations. The government's efforts to replace the Prevention of Terrorism Act with its Protection of the State from Terrorism Act which in substance is no different from the PTA. The government's use of the PTA to persecute its opponents is a clear sign that the PSTA will be put to similar use.

The national question is likely to remain unresolved overall. Some sops will be thrown at minority nationalities in the form of development activities while the government will be assisted by its new patron in India to dodge core issues of the national question.

The economic problems of the country that are rooted in the open economic policy and the wilful neglect of the national economy cannot be resolved by compliance with the IMF conditions attached to its relief package. There were already signs that the government will seek another IMF relief package on the heels of the present package, and the current global economic instability triggered by the US-Israel war on Iran will offer the necessary pretext for continued submission to the IMF. The government is increasingly passing on the burdens of the rising cost of living and taxation on the toiling masses of the country and there is no sign of a policy change to improve the living conditions of the people.

The government's education and training plans seem designed to make the new generation of the country's workforce to fit into the global market and there is no sign of relieving the economy from its reliance on tourism, remittances from Sri Lankans working abroad and on the Export Processing Zones and Free Trade Zones.

The NPP government's foreign policy is driving the country deeper into the clutches of the US and India. Whereas the US is pushing to increase its military footprint in the country, India is working on increasing its economic control of the country as well as political and cultural dominance in the North and East and the Hill Country. Some of the steps to support Indian investment are seen as hostile to China by political observers in India who are pleased with the trend.

The undue delay of the Provincial Council elections is due to the long-time hostility of the JVP to the Provincial Council system and partly to the fear of a sharp drop in popular support as signalled by the significant slide in the vote share in the local council elections held in April 2025, just five months after the general election that swept the NPP to power.

The failure of the NPP government to honour its election pledges is not accidental as it is committed to deliver the neocolonial agenda more efficiently than previous governments. In the process the JVP is fast being

unmasked to reveal its face of treachery. The government will receive support from imperialism as long as it takes orders from the IMF and the World Bank and keep the creditors happy. But that will be at the cost of burdening the toiling masses and increasing poverty.

Despite clear evidence of a fall in support for the government among the people who voted it to power, the people also have bitter memories of former governments. Thus, given the absence of a strong and credible opposition among the much discredited SLPP, SLPP, SJB and UNP, and more importantly the absence of a strong revolutionary mass movement, the government is unlikely to be overthrown by a genuine mass uprising. Yet, encouraged by the failures of the government, forces loyal to the reactionary former ruling parties are regrouping, and use every chance that comes their way to attack the credibility of the government. That can lead to a climate where the patrons of the NPP government, especially the US, plan and execute a regime change using a fake 'Aragalaya' or even a military coup.

Given the dominant political forces at play, the fall of the government risks takeover by right wing forces with imperialist support. The genuine left and democratic forces of the country therefore need to build themselves as a mass political force to avert that possibility, not to save the NPP but to rescue the country and the people and the country from neo-colonialism.

A Vexing Question

An important question remains to be fully answered. What made the JVP/NPP government fully surrender to the US and India even before it had to confront them? Neither the US nor India takes kindly to potential opponents and each acts to keep them out of power. But on this occasion they showed no displeasure about the prospect of an NPP government. It seems likely that the JVP had planned its surrender even before the presidential election while it presented a face defiance of imperialism and regional hegemony right up to the end of the parliamentary election.

This question is important in the context of methods used by the US to achieve regime change without formally changing anything. Of the two striking examples in South America, one concerned the election of Lenin Moreno as successor to Rafael Correa in Ecuador. The former was the formerly Correa's Vice President and chosen successor when Correa's two term limit ended. Moreno lost no time to reverse every key policy decision of Correa and make Ecuador a US client. Most shamefully, he betrayed to the British Police Julian Assange who was granted asylum in the Ecuadorian embassy in London by Correa.

Abduction of Venezuelan President Nicolas Maduro and his wife Cilia Flores in early 2026 was not followed by replacing Maduro with a known US loyalist. Instead, Deputy President Delcy Rodríguez, was allowed to be Acting President. Rodríguez, while pledging loyalty to Maduro and declaring that Maduro was still the president of Venezuela and even claiming to continue Maduro's policies, readily takes instructions from the US on key issues like opening up Venezuela's oil and power sectors to U.S. companies in exchange for sanctions relief. She also dismissed Maduro loyalists in the cabinet and her administration has initiated a 90-day government restructuring effort to modernize public services to attract foreign capital.

What is certain is that the JVP has taken a path that is hard to deviate from, and before long the old JVP will be a thing of the past for all practical purposes. Details of the sell out will by then be irrelevant. What will matter is resisting the imperialist and regional hegemonic masters and their accomplices.

The Feminist Collective for Economic Justice, Sri Lanka stands in support of the people of Mannar

The Feminist Collective for Economic Justice, Sri Lanka hears the harrowed cries of the birds, the land and the people of Mannar. One of the darkest days of this government has come to pass on the night of September 26th 2025, with the brutal attack by hundreds of police officers of peaceful protestors in Mannar.¹ Many protestors have ended up in hospital including women and children.

For years the people of Mannar have been fighting an inspiring battle against sand mining and the wind power project that threatens to destroy their fragile ecosystem. The wind turbines have affected the globally renowned migratory paths of thousands of birds and sand mining is destroying the coastal ecosystem.² The people of Mannar are feeling the social, economic and ecological deterioration caused to the region.³

The government appears to be carrying through the plans of the previous regime with cosmetic changes. Having stopped the Indian investor, Adani Company from setting up a wind power plant in Mannar, the contract has been handed over to a Sri Lankan company, Hayleys Fenton.⁴

There are no assurances that the local company will do anything different from the Indian investor in terms of preserving the environment, and not harming the people of Mannar.

Similarly, the Mannar wind power project coincides with the government coming under review by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) of their 'electricity tariff methodology' in November 2025. This is a pre-requisite for the Extended Fund Facility. The review is to ensure 'cost recovery and cost reflectiveness' and the urgency to deliver a broader and privatized energy sector. The bulldozing through of the Sri Lanka Electricity Act in

the past few months,⁵ moving electricity closer to complete privatization by unbundling the services and forming new entities of Ceylon Electricity Board,⁶ and the now violent removal of people raising concerns about the Mannar wind power project seem to align with the November deadline.

On the other hand, the government reminds people that the electricity tariffs have been reduced. Taken in light of the monumental increases between 2022 and 2024, the reduction is not a significant relief. The reality is that paying electricity bills has become another burden pushing ordinary Sri Lankans into an incessant debt cycle. The systems of forcing payment of bills are causing households to struggle without electricity for many months.

The people protesting in Mannar surely had hopes for change. Instead, the continued dancing to the tune of the IMF, the blindness to the irreversible environmental and social impact of a wind power plant and sand mining, and the complete failure to engage people's views, in this instance, cries, means there is no system change. The people of Mannar speak from their lived experiences of existing wind turbines and the loss they have already suffered.⁷ The situation in Mannar is particularly horrifying as the destruction to the fragile ecosystem and erasing of the culture and livelihood of people who are tied to this ecology are irreversible.⁸

The attack on the protest is also an act of suppression of Tamil speaking people of the North of the island. The attack took place in the context of a history of marginalization of Tamil and Muslim communities, and the continued experience of Sinhala majoritarianism. A Sinhala majoritarianism that continues to dictate the actions of this government within its party and beyond. Populations severely disenfranchised for generations because of the war, violence and top-down imposed 'development projects' by the Sri Lankan state will, justifiably, see this as yet another oppressive act by a Sinhala state. The majoritarian mindset has fuelled conflict and justified violence. It is a violence that is valuable to corporations also interested in capturing markets such as the energy sector.

Bringing 'green energy' without real consideration for the environment or human rights is an exercise in green washing which many governments and companies across the world are engaging in. Dismantling the subsidised public energy sector to make way for profit extraction by private parties in the guise of expanding renewable energy projects is another trend we are witnessing world over. To see the National People's Power government joining these ranks is troubling. The move is particularly tragic, as Sri Lanka has been known as a country that had achieved 99% electrification through its public energy sector.

We require a thorough review of the energy infrastructure, costs and inflow through a consultative process that takes as its foundation the right to energy as a fundamental right.

Through this lens, it will be possible to restructure tariffs and undertake other measures to balance cost and income from the energy sector without bringing ecological and social destruction. This is imperative as the existing mode of addressing the issue, especially through privatization, is unsustainable in the long run and will only increase costs to the government and to the people.

People must have a right to energy, a basic necessity for life today. This right must co-exist with the right to a safe environment. To pit one against another is a vulgar mode of functioning which has become all too common in the world. To watch a supposedly 'progressive government' that rose to power through the energy of people's protest join the bandwagon of this vulgarity is heartbreaking.

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[The Feminist Collective for Economic Justice is a collective of feminist economists, scholars, feminist activists, university students and lawyers that came together in April 2022 to understand, analyze and give voice to policy recommendations based on lived realities in the current economic crisis in Sri Lanka.]

Party Political Events

Third Plenum of the 7th Party Congress

The Third Plenary Session of the Seventh Congress of the NDMLP was held on the 21st and 22nd of April 2026 in Matale. The Party reasserted its recognition of class contradiction as the fundamental contradiction and the national question as the main contradiction. It drew attention to the status of the country as a neocolony and warned of further subjection to imperialism by the government through the IMF relied package.

It put forward the following demands to the government:

- *Implement a production based economy.*
- *Seek ways to reduce the cost of living.*
- *Put forward proposals to resolve the national question.*
- *Establish internal autonomous structures.*
- *Do not allow room for US and Indian infiltration.*

The Party affirmed its stand on resolving the national question based on the recognition of four nationalities and several national minorities and the principle of self determination. It also reasserted its anti-imperialist, anti-hegemonic stand in the country's external relations. (See Draft Political Report and Report on the International Situation in this issue.)

May Day 2026

The Party held its May Day Rally in Hatton. The May Day procession commenced at 9.30 a.m. from the Malliyappoo junction and concluded at the Krishna Bavan hall where the public meeting commenced at 10.30 a.m. with the singing of the Internationale. The meeting chaired by Comrade SK Senthivel, General Secretary of the Party was addressed by Comrades V Mahendran, K Jintheesan, N Pradeepan, David Suren, Padmasrii and Prashanthini were among others.

The May Day Rally emphasized opposition to the US imperialist aggressive militarism and urged the resolution of the pressing economic problems of the country.

Remembering the Victims of Mullivaaikkaal

On the afternoon of 18th May 2026, the Party participated in a public event at the beach close to Alexandra Road, Wellawatte, Colombo to pay floral tribute in memory of the many thousands who were cruelly killed in Mullivaikkaal in the final weeks of the war in 2009.

Solidarity with the People of Iran

The Party participated in a mass demonstration opposite the Jaffna Bus Station on 10th April 2026, denouncing US imperialist war mongering and expressing solidarity with the struggle of the Iranian people.

Solidarity with Cuba

The Party participated in a public event to express solidarity with Cuba on the afternoon of 6th April 2026 at the Foundation Institute, Colombo. The event called for breaking the US blockade of Cuba and expressed solidarity with Cuba.

Women's Day 2026

The Organization for Women's Liberation Thought, celebrated Women's Day in the morning of 8th March 2026 at the A&B Wedding Hall, Matale under the theme "Women, Let us Arise as an Organization and defeat all Oppression!". Comrade Karunanithi Damayanthi chaired the meeting, addressed by Comrades Raman Navamani, Jezeema Hameed, Brinda, Kaladevi and Prashanthi, Secretary of the Organization for Women's Liberation Thought. Comrade Priya delivered the vote of thanks and Comrades Krishnaveni and Fatima Nusrat compered the events.

Protesting the PSTA, Jaffna

The party participated in a mass protest against the PSTA organized by the Equal Rights Movement and the Mass Organization for Social Justice held opposite the Central Bus Station on the afternoon of 6th February 2006.

The protest demanded the withdrawal of the PSTA, as it would be yet another repressive legislation that replaces the PTA under which the people have suffered for several decades. It also urged the release of all political prisoners and demanded justice for those who went missing.

Seminars

Questioning the PSTA

The Party participated in the seminar on the proposed Protection of the State from Terrorism Act (PSTA) organized by the Equal Rights Movement and the Mass Organization for Social Justice held at the Parish Hall of the St John's Baptist Church, Jaffna on the afternoon of 18th January 2026.

Demanding Answers to Pressing Issues

On 7th June 2026 afternoon, the NDMLP organized a public seminar held at the Town Hall, Vavuniya on the theme "What are the answers to the economic crises? What are the answers to the problems of the nationalities?"

The seminar, chaired by Comrade N Pradeepan, member of the Party Politburo, was addressed by Comrade SK Senthivel, General Secretary of the NDMLP, Comrade David Suren, Regional Secretary of the Party for the Hill Country and Comrade Nuwan Bopage, Attorney at Law, of the Front Line Socialist party. The talks were followed by an open public discussion, and the staging of the play "the Wail of Silence".

Statements

Trincomalee: the Buddha Stature Mischief

On 25th November 2025 Comrade SK Senthivel, General Secretary of the New Democratic Marxist Leninist Party issued a statement on behalf of the Party affirming that the problem of the Buddha statue that developed over the weekend in Trincomalee was undoubtedly a creation of Sinhala Buddhist chauvinists.

The statement further pointed out:

In the 77 year history of parliamentary politics, parliamentary politicians, the leading chapters of the Buddhist Sangha and their Mahanayakes have acted as powerful tools of the ruling classes. The recent event is an illustration of how government parties and the opposition have used the politicized religious environment as a shield to protect their survival.

We see the NPP government bowing pathetically before Buddhist chauvinism to make compromises. This points to its pro-Buddhist bias. Meanwhile, the ruling class forces of the South that lost their grip on power and Tamil narrow nationalists who lost their dominance in the North are using the situation to serve their narrow purposes.

The JVP-led NPP government's approach of surrender and appeasement with Buddhist chauvinism is much like its survivalist submission to imperialism in its international dealings. The Party questioned how one could expect a secular stand from such a government.

Ditwa Disaster

On 1st December 20225 Comrade SK Senthivel, General Secretary of the New Democratic Marxist Leninist Party issued a statement on behalf of the Party on the impact of the Ditwa disaster, expressing the Party's deep concern and stating that the Party had acted to console and provide disaster assistance to the people in distress.

The Party notes that the disaster that struck the country during the preceding week had hurt the entire people and caused severe losses to the toiling masses. It deeply shared the grief of the people struck by severe winds, heavy rain and consequent floods, earth slips and falling of trees and damage to roads besides cruel loss of life. Members of the Party and its supporters joined hands with mass organizations to continue with their contribution to provide relief and console the affected.

Meantime, the Party, despite its criticism of the government, supported and cooperated with all rescue and relief operations by the state to help the victims recover from the impact of the disaster. The Party deplored the use of this tragic environment by some parliamentary political parties to feed their vote banks and urged all activists to help the affected people in every conscientious and humanitarian way possible regardless of differences in race, religion and language.

US Aggression against Venezuela

On 6th January 2026 Comrade SK Senthivel, General Secretary of the New Democratic Marxist Leninist Party issued a statement on behalf of the Party strongly and unequivocally condemning blatantly aggressive act of the US where it violently abducted and arrested the head of Venezuelan government through a commando-style military operation in breach of the sovereignty of the country and in violation of international law. The Party called it an act of international terrorism for which the President of the US is answerable.

The Party noted that the purpose behind this criminal act is to let the US regain of the vast oil resources of Venezuela, holding the largest oil reserves in the world. It also noted that this criminal act is reaction of US imperialism to the firm refusal by the democratically elected President Nicolás Maduro and before him President Hugo Chavez and their governments to let the giant US corporations plunder this national wealth.

The Party, together with the people of Sri Lanka and the progressive forces of the world including those of the US strongly condemns this cruel act of US imperialism.

US--Israel Aggression against Iran

On 23rd March 2026 Comrade SK Senthivel, General Secretary of the New Democratic Marxist Leninist Party issued a statement on behalf of the Party denouncing the unprovoked war of aggression waged by the US and Israel against Iran.

The statement explained that the aggression was motivated by a desire to impose a regime change in Iran so that Israel could pursue unhindered its goal of Greater Israel and the US has a client state in the most important West Asian country.

The statement congratulated the people of Iran for their defiance in frustrating the purpose of the aggressors and demonstrating to the world that US imperialism can be overcome, and declared solidarity and support for the people of Iran and their government in their bold anti-imperialist anti-Zionist undertaking.

Tributes

Red Salute to Comrade Nalliah Mariyanayagam

The central committee of the New Democratic Marxist Leninist Party in a statement issued on 17th April 2026 paid its final revolutionary salute to Comrade Nalliah Mariyanayagam, who passed away at an age of 77 years on 14th April 2026 at his home in Kolumbuththurai, Jaffna.

Comrade Mariyanayagam had been a long time member of the party and has since his youth taken the road of Marxism Leninism for the liberation of the toiling masses. His political journey was in harmony with his family life and joined the Youth League of the Party and then the Party through participation in the various struggles of the party in the 1970s.

Comrade Mariyanayagam was a humane person with a desire for social change who sided with the people with militant resistance oppression. His memories will endure for eternity among Party comrades and the people as a comrade who was warmly close to the Party and its members and tirelessly conducted his communist journey to his last breath.

Remembering Comrade Panchaligam

The first anniversary of the death of Comrade K Panchaligam, communist trade union activist, steadfast fighter for the rights of Jaffna Municipal Council workers and member of the Northern Regional Party was marked at a public meeting held at the Poet Murugaiyan Auditorium of the DKIP in Jaffna on 25th January 2026. The meeting presided by Comrade K Selvam Kathirgamanathan was addressed by Comrades SK Senthivel, K Thanikaasalam, V Mahendran, N Pradeepan, K Seelan and P Murugesu.

Commemorating Comrade Maniam

The political seminar titled “The National Question and Proposals for its Resolution” to mark the 36th annual commemoration of the Party’s founder General Secretary Comrade KA Subramaniam (Comrade Maniam) that was originally scheduled for 30th November 2025 afternoon was deferred amid the Ditwa disaster and held in the Poet Murugaiyan Auditorium of the DKIP in Jaffna in the afternoon of 28th December 2025. Comrade SK Senthivel chaired the meeting and delivered the opening address. Addresses by Comrades Selvam Kathirgamanathan, K Thanikaasalam, David Suren and K Jintheesan among others followed.

(Continued from inside front cover)

But

my beliefs are insulted
in your name.

My community is humiliated.

Its livelihood faces obstacles.

Guided by saffron clad theros

who chant your name

mosques where we worship are demolished.

Now

every saffron robe intimidates me.

Every full moon day makes me sob.

The quiet on your face frightens me.

Your silence shatters me.

I evaluate on the global landscape the claim by many
that all religions preach peace
and reject hatred.

Not just every Vihara and Pansala
not just every temple and church
even every mosque has me
disturbed sobbing frightened shaken
and shivering

(2013)

To Our Land

Mahmoud Darwish

To our land,

and it is the one near the word of god,
a ceiling of clouds.

To our land,

and it is the one far from the adjectives of nouns,
the map of absence.

To our land,

and it is the one tiny as a sesame seed,
a heavenly horizon... and a hidden chasm

To our land,

and it is the one poor as a grouse's wings,
holy books ... and an identity wound.

To our land,

and it is the one surrounded with torn hills
the ambush of a new past.

To our land, and it is the prize of war,

the freedom to die from longing and burning

and our land, in its bloodied night,

is a jewel that glimmers for the far upon the far

and illuminates what is outside it....

As for us inside,

we suffocate more!

(2005)

Published by V Mahendran of 15/4 Mahindarama Road, Mt Lavinia
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Website: <http://www.ndmlp.org/>

Printed at World Vision Graphics, 18 1st Floor, 2nd Rohini Lane Colombo 11