

# **ANNUAL REPORT 2022**

**Centre for Policy Alternatives**

“For more than 25 years, we have  
been committed to enhancing civil  
society's role in  
Public Policymaking”



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# Message from the Executive Director

I am pleased to present our Annual Report for 2022.

In the year 2022 we have faced significant challenges, particularly the impact of the Covid 19 pandemic, the declaration of economic bankruptcy and the unprecedented Aragalya or peoples' uprising, resulting eventually in a change of government. Despite all of this, we expanded our portfolio of projects, enabling us to have a greater impact on the communities we serve and further the realization of the goals outlined in our Strategic Plan of 2021-23.



CPA's perspective was that the crisis in Sri Lanka, was essentially a crisis of governance with political and economic dimensions. The social contract was destroyed presenting a unique opportunity to redefine it. Whilst the legality of governmental actions was not in doubt or dispute, the legitimacy of government and parliament was. Consequently, CPA called for and supported the holding of elections, local, provincial and national and championed an agenda for governance reform.

CPA continued its work on constitutional and legislative reform, transitional justice, awareness of the Right to Information Act, language, land and gender rights, the situation of the Adivasi and Malaiha communities, training of election monitors and campaign finance. Submissions were made to both the UN Human Rights Committee and Human Rights Council in Geneva. Groundviews, Maatram and Vikalpa provided space for the counter-narrative with news and stories of issues either ignored or under-reported in the mainstream media. Work on a new constitution continues with the Edinburgh Centre for Constitutional Law and Social Indicator conducts polls on contemporary political and social issues.

As a well-established organization based in Colombo, with strong ties to the regions, we serve as a valuable resource of research and advocacy to define, develop and disseminate the reform agenda for governance and democracy. In 2022, CPA received funding from several organizations including the Open Society Foundation (OSF), the Friedrich Neumann Stiftung (FNst), the German Development Corporation, the National Languages Equality Advancement Project (NLEAP), the United National Development Program (UNDP), UNOPS, the National Endowment for Democracy, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and the Westminster Foundation for Democracy. I thank them for their support and solidarity.

The challenges faced by citizens and partners are profound, but we can make a difference in the future. Overcoming hurdles will require innovation, commitment of colleagues, strong partnerships and community resolve. CPA is dedicated to assisting citizens, communities and partners towards a more resilient and sustainable future.

I extend my gratitude to the Board of Directors for their trust and commend their unwavering dedication as well as active involvement in CPA's work, which has been instrumental in shaping the organization into the success it is today.

Finally, and most importantly, I express my heartfelt appreciation to my colleagues, each bringing with them unique skills and ideas to CPA, fostering a positive and stimulating work environment.

Together we strive to push boundaries and drive progress for governance in a Sri Lanka.

**Dr Paikiasothy Saravanamuttu**  
Executive Director



# BOARD OF DIRECTORS



**Prof. Chandraguptha Thenuwara**  
(Chairman)



**Mr. Aritha Wickremasinghe**



**Dr. Zameer Careem**  
Medical Doctor



**Mr. Chandana L. de Silva**



**Dr. Sukanya Devarajan**



**Ms. Minoli De Soysa**

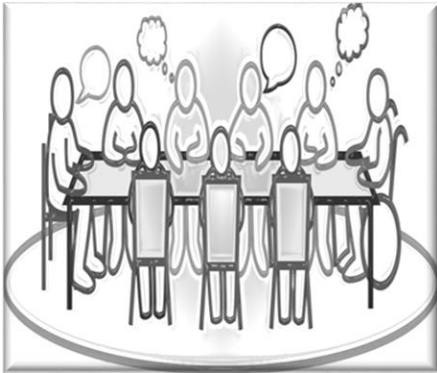


**Dr. Dinusha Panditaratne**



The Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA) was established in 1996 to strengthen the role of civil society in establishing democratic governance and conflict transformation in Sri Lanka. For over two decades, CPA has been a leader in effectively communicating cutting-edge research and advocacy through constructive dialogue and innovative content, to address democracy and governance challenges. CPA collaborates with a diverse range of stakeholders, including civil society organizations, community activists, students, academics, and government officials at various levels. Additionally, CPA works with NGOs, civil society organizations, and academics internationally to exchange ideas, collaborate on policy approaches to democratic governance and sustainable peace, and learn from each other. CPA staff members are frequently cited in media, both locally and internationally, for their expertise and insights. Their institutional output in print and online, in all three languages, is regularly referenced in discussions on domestic policy making and international discourse. CPA's commitment to promoting good governance and conflict transformation remains unwavering as it continues to engage with key stakeholders and drive positive change in Sri Lanka and beyond. As it looks towards the future, CPA will continue to push boundaries, foster dialogue, and work towards a more inclusive and sustainable society for all.

# Strategic Drivers



## Capacity Building and Outreach Monitoring

CB&OM collaborates with sub-national governments and community-based organizations to enhance the capacity of local governance institutions, improve service delivery, and establish income generation

mechanisms. Additionally, it focuses on advocating language and political rights of women and promoting reconciliation.

## Research and Advocacy

Research and advocacy team of CPA critiques public policy, identifies and promotes alternatives for constitutional and legislative reform and conflict transformation from a human rights perspective. These are key focuses of the organization, which underpins its national and international reputation.



## Public Interest Litigation

CPA's extensive Public Interest Litigation encompasses cases on fundamental rights as well as on the pre-enactment judicial review of legislation. Issues range from the rights of the internally displaced to electoral democracy, the independence of the judiciary and public service, freedom of expression and provincial devolution, land and language rights.





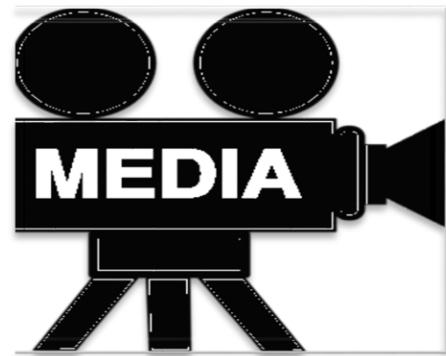
## Social Indicator

The survey research section of CPA conducts public opinion polling on a wide range of social and political issues, thereby uniquely informing opinion and policy making and the wider research and advocacy agenda of the organization in particular and Sri Lanka in general. Social Indicator has pioneered the Peace Confidence Index in Sri Lanka and currently conducts

a survey on peoples' perceptions and expectations of governance, government and economic development in Sri Lanka.

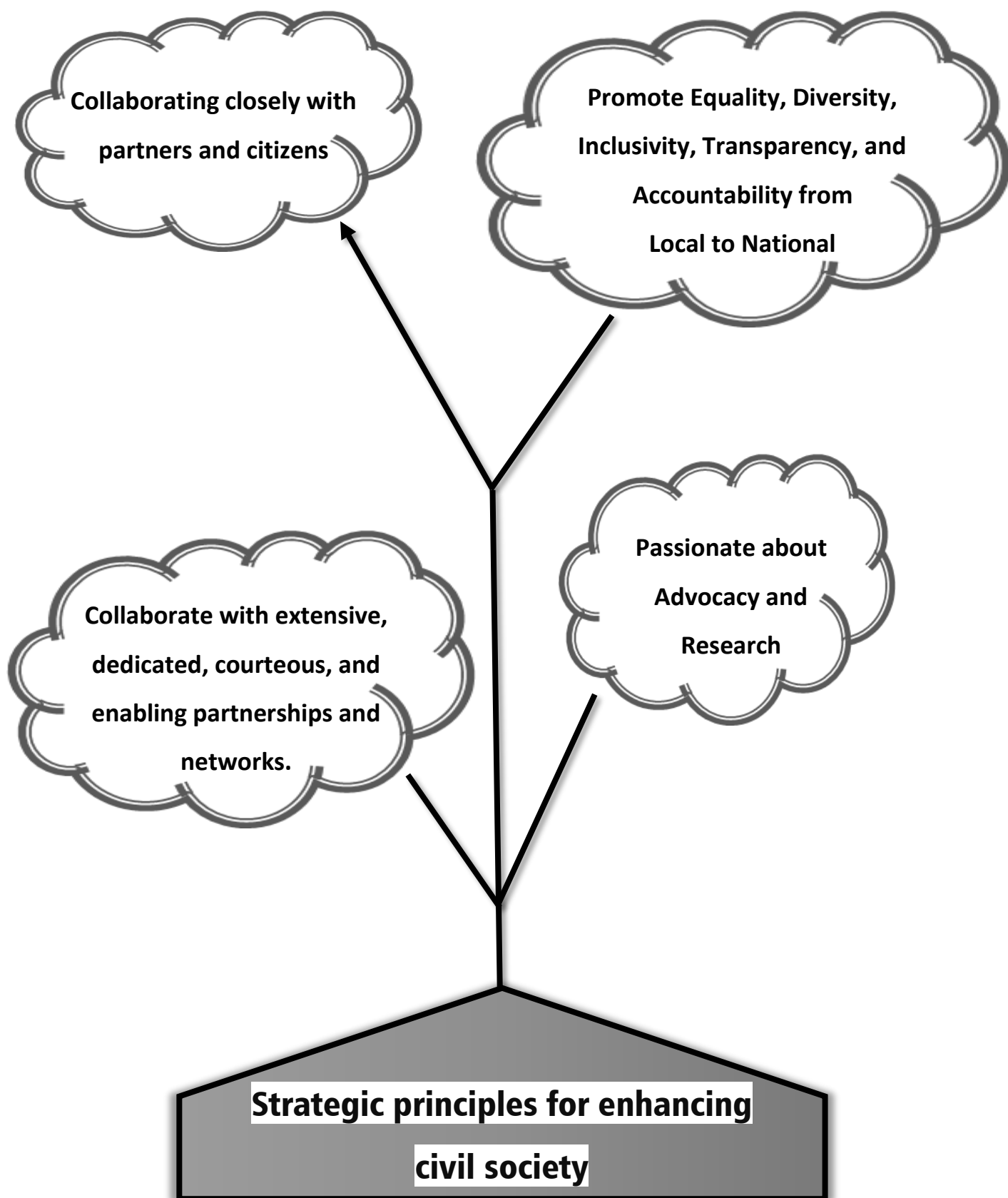
## Civic Media

The award-winning civic media initiatives විකල්ප, Maatram, and Groundviews are institutionally anchored at CPA to give the fullest expression to narratives by citizens otherwise marginalized and/or erased from mainstream media.



## Centre for Monitoring Election Violence - CMEV

Leading election monitoring and electoral reform advocacy organization in Sri Lanka which promotes free and fair elections and inclusive democratic participation.



## EXECUTING APPROACHES

In all our programs, we utilize a range of integrated methods, developed and implemented in partnership with beneficiaries, local CBOs, CSOs, networks, and collaborators. Our interventions consist of:

-  Training, capacity building, and advocacy support
-  Conducting legislative and policy research, providing strategic advice
-  Engaging in strategic and amicus curiae involvements
-  Conducting campaigns, mobilizing support
-  Developing narratives
-  Building partnerships, mergers, coordination

# 2022

## Key

# Highlights

## 2022 Key Highlights

- ♣ *Assessment of trends and dynamics related to human rights governance and reconciliation in Sri Lanka.*
- ♣ *Evaluation of the implementation of the official language policy in Sri Lanka.*
- ♣ *Dissemination of 3 distinct survey reports that capture the ongoing interest of researchers: a survey on Aragalaya, confidence in democratic government index, and the economic reform index.*
- ♣ *Opposing the political decision to reduce the women's quota from 25% to 10% before the 2022 local government elections, 126 local councils in the Central Province [21], Uva Province [28], and Southern Province [48] protested and advocated for maintaining the original quota. They actively engaged with the Parliamentary Select Committee in the early first quarter of 2022.*
- ♣ *Vikalpa, Maatram, and Groundviews continue to hold their prominent positions in the media landscape.*

Provided knowledge with the tools, capacities and influenced National regional and local actors. Despite the COVID Pandemic, CPA was able to organize many activities aimed at strengthening citizen, CSO members, politicians, public officials, indigenous community, and LGBTIQ community increasing awareness.

## How We Serve

In the past year, due to the pandemic, CPA has leveraged remote opportunities for participation to improve and significantly increase the direct engagement of local citizens, women, youth, female councilors, rural CBOs, CSOs, and activists at the village level.

CPA has *strived to enable them to voice their opinions*, share their expertise and experiences, and develop service delivery methods that are effective and meaningful to them.





The year **2022** witnessed extraordinary citizen mobilization, protesting the economic and governance crisis in Sri Lanka that resulted in months-long protests across the country demanding the resignation of the President,



Government, and calling for a system change. The protests were met with arrests, detention, the declaration of a state of emergency, and the issuance of emergency regulations, raising concerns of authoritarian governance, threats to fundamental rights, and the erosion of the rule of law.

Post -COVID- 19 and the crisis of governance, the political, social, and economic situation in Sri Lanka was notably unstable in 2022. It was a pivotal year for the country with the significant people's uprising (Aragalaya) against corruption and mismanagement, demanding accountability from those in power. This movement led to the resignation of President Gotabaya Rajapaksa, followed by the election of Ranil Wickremesinghe as the new President by Parliament. The new President quelled the Aragalaya with security forces while negotiating with the IMF for financial assistance to address the ongoing economic crisis. The IMF loan was expected to come with recommendations for policy changes and structural reforms to boost growth potential and tackle the country's economic challenges. Consequently, the government implemented various measures to secure the IMF assistance, albeit at the cost of negatively impacting many Sri Lankans.

*CPA consists of five key sections that offer support and solidarity to citizens, public officials, institutions, partners, funders, grassroots organizations, CSOs, women and youth organizations, activists, universities, think tanks, and researchers working on intersecting and mutually supportive issues.*

# Capacity Building and Outreach Monitoring

The achievements in 2022 span various areas such as language rights, economic empowerment, conflict resolution, and socio-economic issues impacting marginalized communities. Its work was guided by a profound recognition of the importance of informed criticism, accountability, and inclusive public dialogue.

This program was instrumental in sparking discussions on socio-economic and civil rights at a local and regional level in Sri Lanka. Our efforts brought together a variety of participants, including civil activists, journalists, human rights defenders, and community leaders, promoting openness and responsibility in governance.



A key focus was our dedication to empowering citizen groups at the local level, providing them with the information and insight necessary to address important social, economic, and political issues. We understood that creating meaningful change, whether locally or nationally, relies on arguments and requests supported by evidence. As such, we encouraged collaboration and the exchange of knowledge among these citizen groups.

Another significant focus area was the evaluation of the official languages policy (OLP) implementation in Sri Lanka. Extensive research was conducted to assess the compliance of selected bilingual secretariat units and Ministries, along with measuring public perceptions on OLP's implementation. The goal was to advocate for equality and harmony in the region through evidence-based policy recommendations.



Empowering women entrepreneurs and women's groups to access legal remedies for social and economic rights violations was a key part of our strategy. The objective was to improve their understanding of the right to information, enabling them to effectively advocate for their rights.

Additionally, our innovative approach to early conflict identification and crisis response mechanisms at the grassroots level was crucial. We promoted enhanced social discourse to foster social cohesion and harmony, contributing to conflict resolution and prevention.

Looking back on the achievements of 2022, the program will continue to focus on expanding engagements with both state and non-state actors. The mission remains clear—to uphold the rights of citizens and promote inclusive, informed, and evidence-driven governance.

## Research & Advocacy

The program closely monitored significant events such as the declaration of a state of emergency three times in 2022, efforts to enforce a 'police curfew', arrests and detention of protestors and government critics, the push to establish a High Security Zone in Colombo, and the creation of a Rehabilitation Authority, among others.

The R&A program observed these and various other events, publicly addressing the legality of certain actions, raising awareness about the applicable legal framework and citizen rights. The program also engaged in legal challenges, contesting the state of emergency declaration, emergency regulations, and the proposed Rehabilitation Authority. CPA's involvement shed light on the proposed actions and their implications for human rights, governance, and the rule of law.

Furthermore, the team monitored additional developments related to human rights and reconciliation, producing advocacy materials for national and international audiences.

These efforts facilitated discussions in Sri Lanka and beyond, including at the UN Human Rights Council Session in September-October, where a new resolution on Sri Lanka was passed.



Through its research, advocacy, and public interest litigation, the team countered executive overreach and arbitrary measures that eroded the rule of law, violated human rights, entrenched impunity, and threatened Sri Lanka's democracy. The program's work in monitoring, critiquing, challenging, and engaging with stakeholders during an exceptional year in Sri Lanka had a significant impact, leading to increased engagement with the team and its tools. This involved maintaining existing networks while also expanding outreach to new actors and networks, resulting in a broader audience both within and outside Sri Lanka.



# Social Indicator

The Social Indicator Program conducted three primary studies in a climate of intense public demand for change in public administration, leadership, and operational practices.

01.

Survey on Aragalaya: The aim was to gather public views and opinions on the Aragalaya, including perceptions of youth involvement, attitudes towards the movement, thoughts on potential system changes, willingness to compromise for change, views on political and economic ideologies, and opinions on the country's economic recovery.



02.

The study aimed to evaluate the country's governance system. In 2022, two phases of the study were carried out. The second phase examined public views on widespread public suffering, responsibility for the economic crisis, auditing of Parliament members, accountability perceptions, and the path to normalcy. The third phase gauged confidence in leaders to address the economic crisis, perceptions of the youth involved in the Gota-Go-Gama Aragalaya movement, alternative suggestions from protesters, public sentiment on the removal of protesters from the Presidential Secretariat grounds, and the enactment of emergency legislation by Parliament.





03.

Economic Reform Index: This survey assesses public opinion on the economic situation compared to a year ago, perception of IMF assistance, the UN resolution, and the Inland Revenue Amendment Bill, trust in personnel leading economic reforms, willingness to migrate, attitude towards liberal economic policies, public opinion on welfare policies, and optimism and pessimism about the future economic condition.



All surveys were conducted to provide a platform, supported by data, for the public to express their concerns and opinions regarding the country's progress and politics. They aimed to convey public sentiments to various stakeholders, including state, non-state, and private sectors, on current governance issues, promoting civil society involvement for a more democratic and peaceful Sri Lanka. These surveys play a crucial role in bridging the gap between top-down policy-making and the genuine needs of those affected by governance decisions.

Amidst the economic and political challenges in Sri Lanka, a comprehensive island-wide survey, known as the 'Survey on Aragalaya,' was crafted to gauge public sentiment towards Aragalaya and the economic beliefs of the population. This survey collected feedback on topics such as the country's economic recovery, potential system changes, budget priorities, democratic governance, perceptions of governance models, privatization, power distribution, the involvement of youth in Aragalaya, public attitudes towards the movement, liberal economic policies, views on welfare initiatives, and readiness to compromise for systemic reforms.

Summary findings and Overview (Media release) with infographics of key survey results posted on CPA website and social media in English, Sinhala, and Tamil.

ENGLISH: <https://www.cpalanka.org/summary-findings-and-overview-of-the-survey-on-aragalaya/>

SINHALA: <https://www.cpalanka.org/summary-findings-and-overview-of-the-survey-on-aragalaya-sinhala/>

TAMIL: <https://www.cpalanka.org/summary-findings-and-overview-of-the-survey-on-aragalaya-tamil/>  
The topline report is published on the CPA website and social media platforms. Further, the executive summary of the topline report is translated into Sinhala and Tamil languages. Website: <https://www.cpalanka.org/survey-on-aragalaya-topline-report/>



## Civic Media

While the unrest subsided with the return of basic services and the suppression of demonstrators, the persistent governance inefficiencies and widespread corruption have prevented the desired change from materializing. The deteriorating economy has brought immense suffering and lasting harm to those struggling to provide for their families and educate their children amidst soaring prices and shrinking incomes. The repercussions of child malnutrition will be enduring. The relentless exploitation of the environment for profit under the guise of progress has continued unchecked, with grave implications for future generations. Since the start of the year, analysts and economists have been cautioning about the severe repercussions of not taking corrective measures to prevent a financial collapse, but their warnings were disregarded, resulting in endless lines for fuel, power outages lasting 12 hours, and culminating in the historic unrest.

The latter part of the year witnessed a harsh crackdown on protesters and the continued detention of activists as President Ranil Wickremesinghe's administration sidelined human rights and freedoms in pursuit of political and economic "Stability."

The Civic Media program was actively reporting from Galle Face Green, GotaGoGama, and other locations. During the peak of the protests and the removal of political figures, there was a significant increase in engagement across all platforms, particularly driven by social media. The three websites featured a diverse array of analytical articles on the unfolding events.

Throughout the year, Groundviews, Vikalpa, and Maatram expanded their social media presence on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, sharing video interviews, infographics, and photo stories. In addition to human rights and politics, these platforms delved into environmental degradation, gender issues, and the impact of the deepening economic crisis.

**Link:** <https://groundviews.org/2022/04/11/how-an-incompetent-cabal-of-voodoo-economics-practitioners-ruined-sri-lankas-economy/>

<https://www.vikalpa.org/article/41571>

<https://maatram.org/?p=10230>

## Centre for Monitoring Election Violence - CMEV

Since 1997, CMEV has monitored national, provincial, and local government elections as an accredited observer organization by the Election Commission in Sri Lanka. Over its 25 years of operation, CMEV has been involved in electoral reform discussions, voter education, and capacity building for electoral stakeholders. CMEV has led efforts to advocate for inclusive elections to protect the democratic rights of marginalized communities in Sri Lanka. During the 2019 Presidential Election and the 2020 Parliament Election, CMEV monitored campaign expenses of candidates alongside its usual monitoring of election violence and irregularities.





# Accomplishments

Accomplishments	
Outreach & Capacity Building	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Significant efforts accomplished implementing seven diversified projects to uphold the rights of citizens and foster inclusive, informed, and evidence-driven governance.</li> <li>• Local and regional level societal discourse with updated socio-economic and political developments and ensure informed citizenry engagement with governance</li> <li>• Promoting Language Rights and Effective Implementation of the Official Languages Policy in 29 bilingual Divisional Secretariat Divisions in Sri Lanka. (NLEAP),</li> <li>• Creating a local and regional discourse on socio-economic and civil rights of people with evidence-based information in Sri Lanka,</li> <li>• Strengthening Malaiya Community Rights and sensitization of their rights through exhibition of Photography</li> <li>• Right to information awareness radio program</li> <li>• Strengthening Political Rights of Local Women</li> </ul>
Research & Advocacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Challenging the decision to pardon Sunil Ratnayake</li> <li>• Challenging the Presidential Pardon of Gnanasara Thero</li> <li>• Challenging the death penalty</li> <li>• Challenging prohibition of Sale of Alcohol to Women</li> <li>• Challenging the decision of the Cabinet of Ministers to allow President Maithripala Sirisena the continuous use of the residence at Paget Road</li> <li>• Challenging the rehabilitation guidelines under the Prevention of Terrorism Act</li> <li>• Challenging the Proclamation of the State of Emergency by Gazette Extraordinary No. 2278/22 dated Friday, 6th May 2022 and the</li> </ul>

	<p>Emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions and Powers) Regulation No.1 of 2022.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Challenging the Emergency Regulations No.1 of 2022 gazette by Extraordinary Gazette No 2289/07 dated 18th July 2022.</li> <li>• Challenging the Emergency Regulations No.1 of 2022 gazette by Extraordinary Gazette No 2289/07 dated 18th July 2022.</li> <li>• Appeal against Judgement in Mirusuvil Land Writ</li> <li>• Land case in Batticaloa - CA (Writ) 36/2021</li> <li>• Land cases in Trincomalee - HCT/Writ/649/20 and HCT/650/20</li> <li>• Case in the North - Kurunthoormalai temple in Jaffna - SC (FRA) 186/2021</li> <li>• <b>CONCLUDED CASES:</b> Challenging some powers granted to the Commission of Inquiry appointed to probe political victimization: <a href="https://www.cpalanka.org/centre-for-policy-alternatives-v-attorney-general-sc-fr-32-2020/">https://www.cpalanka.org/centre-for-policy-alternatives-v-attorney-general-sc-fr-32-2020/</a></li> <li>• Challenging the proposed Special Goods and Services Tax Bill <a href="https://www.cpalanka.org/dr-paikiasothy-saravanamuttu-files-petition-in-the-supreme-court-sc-sd-8-2022against-proposed-special-goods-and-services-tax-bill/">https://www.cpalanka.org/dr-paikiasothy-saravanamuttu-files-petition-in-the-supreme-court-sc-sd-8-2022against-proposed-special-goods-and-services-tax-bill/</a></li> <li>• Challenging the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) (Amendment) Bill <a href="https://www.cpalanka.org/in-re-the-prevention-of-terrorism-temporary-provisions-amendment-bill-scsd-13-2022/">https://www.cpalanka.org/in-re-the-prevention-of-terrorism-temporary-provisions-amendment-bill-scsd-13-2022/</a></li> <li>• Challenging the appointment of Mr. Dhammika Perera as a Member of Parliament <a href="https://www.cpalanka.org/centre-for-policy-alternatives-guarantee-ltd-and-dr-paikiasothy-saravanamuttuvs-mr-sagara-kariyawasam-m-p-general-secretary-sri-lanka-podujana-peramuna-sc-fr-203-2022/">https://www.cpalanka.org/centre-for-policy-alternatives-guarantee-ltd-and-dr-paikiasothy-saravanamuttuvs-mr-sagara-kariyawasam-m-p-general-secretary-sri-lanka-podujana-peramuna-sc-fr-203-2022/</a></li> <li>• Challenging the constitutionality of the Bill titled “Bureau of Rehabilitation Act”. <a href="https://www.cpalanka.org/centre-for-policy-alternatives-guarantee-ltd-and-dr-paikiasothy-saravanamuttuvs-the-attorney-general-in-re-the-bill-titled-bureau-of-rehabilitation-act/">https://www.cpalanka.org/centre-for-policy-alternatives-guarantee-ltd-and-dr-paikiasothy-saravanamuttuvs-the-attorney-general-in-re-the-bill-titled-bureau-of-rehabilitation-act/</a></li> </ul>
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- **PUBLICATIONS:** Commentary on Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) (Amendment) Bill 2022 -  
<https://www.cpalanka.org/commentary-on-prevention-of-terrorism-temporary-provisions-amendmentbill-2022/>
- Why the amendments to the Prevention of Terrorism Act are insufficient (A Visual Summary)  
<https://www.cpalanka.org/why-the-amendments-to-the-prevention-of-terrorism-act-are-insufficient-avisual-summary/>
- Rights of those arrested by Law enforcement [the Police or the Military] <https://www.cpalanka.org/rights-of-those-arrested-by-law-enforcement-the-police-or-the-military/>
- Impeachment and No Confidence Motion Procedure and Protocol Explained: <https://www.cpalanka.org/impeachment-and-no-confidence-motion-procedure-and-protocolexplained>
- Emergency Regulations promulgated in May and July 2022:  
<https://www.cpalanka.org/emergency-regulations-promulgated-in-may-and-july-2022/>

### ***HUMAN RIGHTS, GOVERNANCE AND RELATED ISSUES***

- CPA is the only civil society organization which challenged Emergency Regulations twice this year and publicly commented on all instances when emergency was declared. Further, CPA is the only organization that has challenged the rehabilitation guidelines made under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) since March 2021 and was granted leave to proceed by the Supreme Court with interim relief also granted in January 2022. In August 2022, the matter was refixed for 20 January 2023 and the stay order preventing the operation of the guidelines was extended.
- Moreover, CPA has raised concerns on repression/challenged arbitrary action in recent months.
- CPA was engaged on issues around the protests and violence/accountability issues surrounding these developments and



	<p>sent letters to the IGP and AG requesting action on the violence against peaceful protesters on the 9th May 2022.</p> <p><a href="https://www.cpalanka.org/cpa-letter-to-the-igp-and-ag-requesting-action-on-the-violence-against-peacefulprotesters-on-the-9th-may-2022/">https://www.cpalanka.org/cpa-letter-to-the-igp-and-ag-requesting-action-on-the-violence-against-peacefulprotesters-on-the-9th-may-2022/</a></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• CPA produced advocacy material on the protests including a timeline. A three-part video series was created in collaboration with 'Not Another Agency' to trace the emergence of the GotaGoHome movement from its beginnings in March to the setting up of GotaGoGama in GalleFace to the Aftermath of the May 9 Attack. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Part 1 - The Ides of March</li> <li>Part 2 - A #BlackMonday, the Prime Minister departs</li> <li>Part 3 - The Aftermath</li> </ul> </li> <li>• CPA engaged on issues around the protests and violence / accountability issues surrounding these developments and sent letters to the IGP and AG requesting action on the attacks against peaceful protestors on 21 July 2022 and other incidents of violence. <p><a href="https://www.cpalanka.org/request-for-action-on-the-attacks-against-peaceful-protestors-on-21st-of-july-2022-and-other-incidents-of-violence/">https://www.cpalanka.org/request-for-action-on-the-attacks-against-peaceful-protestors-on-21st-of-july-2022-and-other-incidents-of-violence/</a></p> </li> <li>• CPA monitored the work of the Attorney Generals department and accountability with new advocacy material being produced highlighting challenges to justice.</li> <li>• CPA monitored the work of the Commission of Inquiry (COI) on the May 9 violence and will be producing advocacy material on this in the future.</li> <li>• Submission by CPA to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR) Review <p>On 28 May 2022, CPA made its submissions to the 6th CCPR Review. The CCPR Review is a mechanism implemented by the Human Rights Committee to monitor the implementation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights by its States parties. In its submissions to the CCPR Review, CPA highlighted</p> </li> </ul>
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grave concerns related to counter-terrorism measures, states of emergency, accountability for human rights violations, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, and independence of the judiciary. While drawing attention to serious gaps in the implementation of Sri Lanka's obligations under the Covenant, CPA further reiterated the need for a genuine effort to address the issues highlighted and strengthen the constitutional and legal framework within which the Covenant is implemented.

- **Submission by CPA to the Universal Periodic Review (UPR)**

CPA prepared a submission to the 4th cycle of the UPR. The Universal Periodic Review (UPR) is a unique process that involves a review of the human rights records of all UN Member States. In its submission, CPA highlighted numerous issues related to governance, rule of law, accountability, freedom of assembly, and gender discrimination. CPA hopes to draw special attention to human rights issues that are often overlooked and ignored.

### ***STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS***

- Purpose - Strengthening the strategic communications capacity and capabilities of the Centre for Policy Alternatives.
- The social media campaign was based on a series of long-form interviews titled "Reconstituting Sri Lanka".
- Campaign Part 1 - Final

Please download all the files from the links below.

Posts/Infographics - All 3 languages for all platforms

<https://drive.google.com/folderview?id=1dydo8Ea0WHHH2mzbdNsd-OMGn0qHmC1G>

Trailers - All 3 languages for all platforms

<https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1ViZGO8TdH38zuQej-4SDi6hitcL7Zxtt?usp=sharing>

- CPA completed the production of four interview style videos in English from 4 August to 5 September 2022. These videos were produced by a company named 'Roar Digital Pvt Ltd'. The duration

	<p>of each interview was 30 minutes and was structured with 6 guiding questions. Interviewees were the Executive Director, Dr. Paikiasothy Saravanamuttu and Research Fellow, Dr. Asanga Welikala of CPA. See links below for four videos.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Ep 01 : <a href="https://drive.google.com/file/d/1O0VfQnZxyCud3SKcej-PinjbQcr9LyMh/view">https://drive.google.com/file/d/1O0VfQnZxyCud3SKcej-PinjbQcr9LyMh/view</a></li> <li>○ Ep 02: <a href="https://drive.google.com/file/d/1iZT0s8Cj3o7VU53ihd-a5Ex_SGzhlnsp/view?usp=sharing">https://drive.google.com/file/d/1iZT0s8Cj3o7VU53ihd-a5Ex_SGzhlnsp/view?usp=sharing</a></li> <li>○ Ep 03 <a href="https://drive.google.com/file/d/17cPoqIH5LHHaZ9DIQsVbEP5MRhGlaMg9/view?usp=sharing">https://drive.google.com/file/d/17cPoqIH5LHHaZ9DIQsVbEP5MRhGlaMg9/view?usp=sharing</a>,</li> <li>○ Ep 04 <a href="https://drive.google.com/file/d/1KiVNuDqqE42hqLnhkC1wkK1YW4dzkH0/view?usp=sharing">https://drive.google.com/file/d/1KiVNuDqqE42hqLnhkC1wkK1YW4dzkH0/view?usp=sharing</a></li> <li>• The content generated will be closely monitored for the coming years. Opportunities to promote this content will be seized in alignment with relevant occasions and trends</li> </ul>
<b>Social Indicator</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A Topline report incorporating the topline analysis and Infographics depicting key survey findings was published and for wider reach a Sinhala and Tamil version of the Executive summary of the report was published.</li> <li>○ ENGLISH: <a href="https://www.cpalanka.org/topline-report-of-the-economic-reform-index/">https://www.cpalanka.org/topline-report-of-the-economic-reform-index/</a></li> <li>○ SINHALA: <a href="https://www.cpalanka.org/economic-reform-index-infographics-sinhala/">https://www.cpalanka.org/economic-reform-index-infographics-sinhala/</a></li> <li>○ TAMIL: Economic Reform Index - Executive Summary + Infographics (Tamil) - Centre for Policy Alternatives (cpalanka.org)</li> </ul>

- ENGLISH: [https://www.cpalanka.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/CONFIDENCE-IN-DEMOCRATIC-GOVERNANCE-INDEX-WAVE-3\\_Summary-Findings-and-Overview\\_CPA-SI\\_08.08.2022.pdf](https://www.cpalanka.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/CONFIDENCE-IN-DEMOCRATIC-GOVERNANCE-INDEX-WAVE-3_Summary-Findings-and-Overview_CPA-SI_08.08.2022.pdf)
- TAMIL: Summary Findings and Overview (Tamil) of the CONFIDENCE IN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE INDEX-WAVE 3 - Centre for Policy Alternatives (cpalanka.org)
- SINHALA: Summary Findings and Overview (Sinhala) of the CONFIDENCE IN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE INDEX-WAVE 3 - Centre for Policy Alternatives (cpalanka.org)
- The topline report depicting a detailed analysis of the survey findings in English and the summary of the report in Sinhala and Tamil can be accessed via: <https://www.cpalanka.org/topline-report-of-the-confidencein-democratic-governance-index-wave-3/>
- The topline report and associated data visuals were published
  - ENGLISH: <https://www.cpalanka.org/confidence-in-democratic-governance-index-2nd-wave-summaryfindings-and-overview/>
  - SINHALA: <https://www.cpalanka.org/confidence-in-democratic-governance-index-wave-2-summary-offindings-and-overview-in-sinhala/>
  - TAMIL: <https://www.cpalanka.org/confidence-in-democratic-governance-index-wave-2-summary-offindings-and-overview-tamil/>
- The topline report depicting a detailed analysis of the survey findings in English and the summary of the report in Sinhala and Tamil can be accessed via: <https://www.cpalanka.org/confidence-in-democratic-governanceindex-wave-2-report/>

*CMEV*

- Monograph on Functional Democracy with objective of increasing the awareness of public functional democracy in Sri Lanka in parallel with the country is completing 90 years journey in democratic governance since 1931 to 2021, CMEV published a monograph on electoral system in Sri Lanka. This monograph discusses main features of the electoral systems in Sri Lanka. In additions to an overall explanation given about the universal franchise introduced in 1931, its further discus the history of the different electoral systems that have been used in Sri Lanka and explains how they have functioned and what are the pros and cons of those. Trilingual Monograph is available on CMEV-website. So far, over 200 readers have reached the Monograph through the CMEV website. It has been sent through email to 500 individuals including Activists Academics, Youths, University students and relevant Stakeholders
- 21 training workshops on Election Dispute Resolution (EDR) for relevant staff of the district election offices and polices officers in collaboration with the Election Commission.

These participants were given a comprehensive understanding of the existing legal framework and developing areas of the Electoral Dispute Resolution (EDR) system of Sri Lanka, Constitutional amendments affecting the EDR system, and the present administrative mechanism established by the Election Commission. The staff of the District Election Commissions attached to EDR units, Police Officers, other government officers, and representatives of observer groups were participants in these trainings.

The activity was inaugurated on December 04, 2021, at the auditorium of the Jaffna District Secretariat with the participation of the chairman and members of the Election Commission. The higher level of commitment given by police officers for the training program as a key stakeholder group in electoral dispute resolution was a significant observation of these programs.

A total of 1961 participants received training across 22 districts in 16 capacity-building workshops. Senior staff of the Election Commission, Deputy Inspector General (Election) of Police, and CMEV coordinators contributed as resource persons for the training.

- **Public Access to Knowledge on Constitutional Reform process through Social Media platforms.**

CMEV was involved in developing a series of short videos about identified 24 milestones of the constitutional reform process in Sri Lanka since 1948. CMEV's intention was to increase the awareness of the youth about the landmark intervention of constitutional reform using social media platforms. Each video clip is developed for 3-5 minutes to give a clear understanding of significant features of a constitution as well as events in Sri Lankan constitutional history. Well-known academics, activists, and legal practitioners were the main resource persons of these videos. Altogether 72 videos (**24 Original videos and 48 Dubbed version videos**) are posted on social media platforms, Such as CMEV Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, Instagram, and CMEV website.

- Some sudden challenges such as the rise of the 3rd wave of COVID-19, fuel distribution shortages coupled with the economic crisis, and increased cost of goods and services severely affected the implementation of the projects in the last quarter of the project. The high-security concern situation due to people's protest against the government and political instability negatively impacted the scheduled trainings in Gampaha, Colombo, and Kaluthara Districts resulting in the sudden cancelation of those by the Election Commission. Since the Election Commission expressed their inability to continue training with the given budget sealings, CMEV adopted a new approach for remained trainings with youth and Civil Society groups.

	<p>As an alternative approach, CMEV conducted two Multi Stakeholders discussions on the current constitutional reform process and its impacts on social demand for system change.</p> <p>The first discussion was conducted under the title of <b>“Way out from the Current Political, Economic and Social Crisis through the Constitution and Electoral Reforms.”</b> The event focused on creating a broader discussion of current issues with possible solutions. More than 40 Civil society leaders, activists, and youths participated in the program.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The second discussion was conducted with youth involved in <b>“Aragalaya” (Civic Protest)</b> to discuss the way forward beyond their proposal presented as an action plan. It was highly focused on how to direct the Aragalaya to advocate for a public constitution and governance system for a paradigm shift in Sri Lankan political culture. Nearly 20 youth leaders &amp; Civil activists participated in the program.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Civic Media</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• While covering issues not tackled in depth by the mainstream media relating to human rights, governance, democracy and reconciliation as well as environmental and social matters, the media platforms that form CPA’s Civic Media Team - Groundviews in English, Vikalpa in Sinhala and Maatram in Tamil - increased their social media presence on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram with video interviews, infographics and photo stories.</li> <li>• In 2022, Groundviews Twitter had 65,000 followers, Facebook 37,000 followers, YouTube 155 subscriptions and Instagram 4,100 followers while Vikalpa Twitter had 16,000 followers, Facebook 17,000 followers and YouTube 8,700 subscribers with 1,000 videos. Maatram Facebook had 14,000, Twitter had 3,800, followers, and Instagram had 915 followers and Maatram Youtube 379 followers.</li> <li>• Some of the critical issues covered by Groundviews, Vikalpa and Maatram were:</li> </ul>



## GROUNDVIEWS

How an Incompetent Cabal of Voodoo Economics Practitioners Ruined Sri Lanka's Economy?

Life After Death of the Rajapaksa Conglomerate

Constructive Article The End?

COPE Inquiry Reveals the People Who Brought Sri Lanka to its Knees

Incomplete Reflections on "Let Her Cry"

The Never Ending Saree

Observations on the Current Situation in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka's Crisis of Incompetence

No More Loans Without Accountability

A Love Letter to My Sri Lanka

Link - <https://groundviews.org>

## VIKALPA

ජනාධිපති ගෝඨාභය රාජපක්ෂ 'ඉල්ලා අස්වෙයි' - ඉදිරි නීතිමය තත්ත්වයන් මොනවාද?.

පණ අදින ආර්ථිකයන්ට ලැබෙන ණයලයින් මානුව.

හිනය හීලෑ කරගැනීම මිස වෙනත් උත්තර දැනට නැත.

ගැලවුම්කාර ඉතිහාස ප්‍රබන්ධවලින් ඔබ්බට.

මැතිවරණවලට බය කවුද? ඒ ඇයි?.

සිංහයා අපට අමතක වූ එක් මොහොතක්.

<https://www.vikalpa.org>

## MAATRAM

இலங்கை அரசியல் பரப்பை பேரளவில் மாற்றிவிட்ட 100 நாட்கள்.

பொருளாதார நெருக்கடிக்கான தீர்வுக்கு சரியான தீர்மானம் எடுக்கக்கூடிய தலைவர்கள்:

மக்களின் அபிப்பிராயம்

ராஜபக் 'பதவி விலகுவது மாத்திரமல்ல, பொறுப்புக்கூறலுக்கும்

முகங்கொடுக்கவேண்டும்!

குழுவொன்றின் புரட்சியும் போராட்டங்களை செயலிழக்கச் செய்வதற்கான ஏனைய

வழிகளும்

இன்றைய ஜனநாயகத் தருணம் செயலுக்கும் சிந்தனைக்குமான ஓர் அழைப்பு!

இலங்கையில் இந்திய வம்சாவளித் தமிழர்களின் அவலம்

தேசிய இனப் பிரச்சினையும் மலையகத் தமிழரின் சமூக உருவாக்கமும்

உருவப்படங்களை ஏந்தி பேரணி வரும் அலை

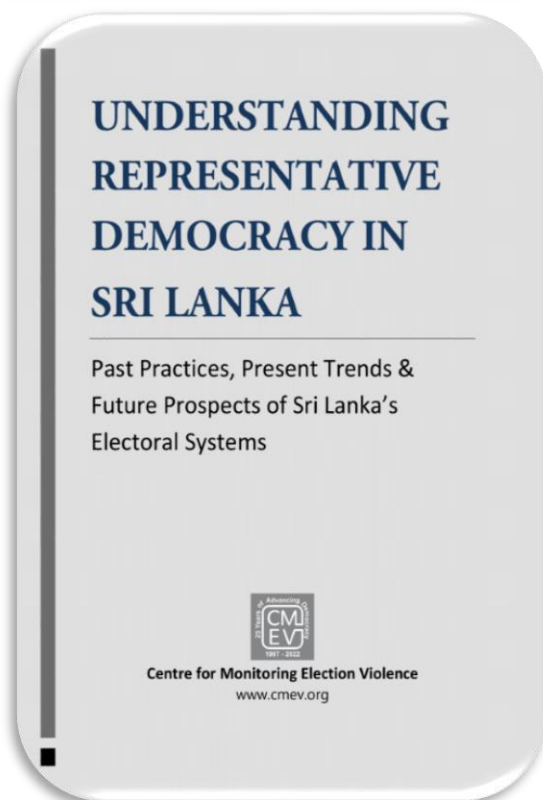
இலங்கைக்கு உண்மை மற்றும் நல்லிணக்கப் பொறிமுறை ஒன்று அவசியமா?

பொருளாதார நெருக்கடி கல்வித்துறைக்கு ஏற்படுத்தும் பாதிப்புகள்

<https://maatram.org>

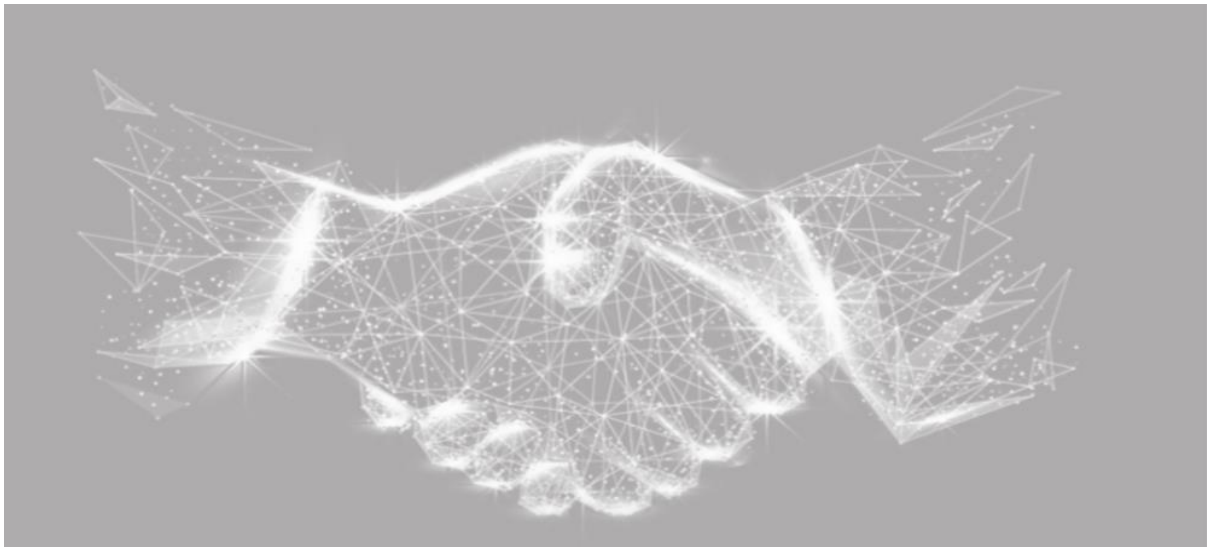
*\* Experimentally verified information and data form the basis of a factorial Journey*

# Evidence Gallery



# DONORS ➤

- German Development Corporation [GIZ]
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- Friedrich Neumann Stiftung (FNst)
- National Endowment for Democracy [NED]
- International Foundation for Electoral Systems [IFES]
- Westminster Foundation for Democracy Limited [WFD]
- International Coalition of Sites of Conscience [ICSC]
- Open Society Foundation [OSF/FOSI]
- The Asia Foundation [TAF]



**Thank You for your unflinching  
support this year,  
and all of these years.**

# INDEPENDENT AUDITOR'S REPORT

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## INDEPENDENT AUDITORS' REPORT

TO THE MEMBERS OF CENTER FOR POLICY ALTERNATIVES (GUARANTEE) LTD Report on the Audit of the Financial Statements

### Opinion

We have audited the accompanying financial statements of Center for Policy Alternative (Guarantee) Ltd, ("The Organization") which comprise the Statement of Financial Position as at 31 December 2022, and the Statement of Comprehensive Income, the Statement of Changes in Reserve and Statement of Cash Flows for the year then ended, and notes to the financial statements, including a summary of significant accounting policies.

In our opinion, so far as appears from our examination, Center for Policy Alternative (Guarantee) Ltd maintained proper accounting records for the year ended 31 December 2022 and the financial statements give a true and fair view of the Center for Policy Alternative (Guarantee) Ltd state of affairs as at 31 December 2022, and its surplus of Income over Expenditure and cash flows for the year then ended in accordance with Sri Lanka Accounting Standards and Sri Lanka Statement of Recommended Practice for Not-For-Profit Organizations (Including Non-Governmental Organization) (SL SoRP-NPO's [including NGO's]) issued by the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Sri Lanka.

### Basis for Opinion

We conducted our audit in accordance with Sri Lanka Auditing Standards (SLAuSs). Our responsibilities under those standards are further described in the Auditor's Responsibilities for the Audit of the Financial Statements section of our report. We are independent of the Organization in accordance with the ethical requirements of the Code of Ethics issued by CA Sri Lanka that are relevant to our audit of the financial statements, and we have fulfilled our other ethical responsibilities in accordance with the Code of Ethics. We believe that the audit evidence we have obtained is sufficient and appropriate to provide a basis for our opinion.

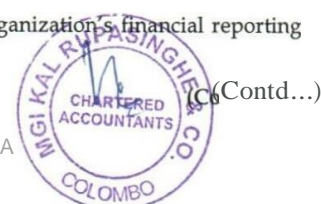
### Responsibilities of Board and those Charged with Governance for the Financial Statements

Board of Directors ("The Board") is responsible for the preparation and fair presentation of these financial statements in accordance with Sri Lanka Accounting Standards and Sri Lanka Statement of Recommended Practice for Not-For-Profit Organizations (Including Non-Governmental Organization) (SL SoRP-NPO's [including NGO's]) issued by the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Sri Lanka, and for such internal control as Board determines is necessary to enable the preparation of financial statements that are free from material misstatement, whether due to fraud or error.

In preparing the financial statements, Board is responsible for assessing the Organization's ability to continue as a going concern, disclosing, as applicable, matters related to going concern and using the going concern basis of accounting unless Board either intends to liquidate the Organization or to cease operations, or has no realistic alternative but to do so process.

Those charged with governance are responsible for overseeing the Organization's financial reporting

Partners: Lakshman Rupasinghe FCA, Indika Gunawardana, ACA, Thanuja Ranasinghe ACA





## INDEPENDENT AUDITORS' REPORT (CONTD.....)

### Auditor's Responsibilities for the Audit of the Financial Statements

Our objectives are to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the financial statements as a whole are free from material misstatement, whether due to fraud or error, and to issue an auditor's report that includes our opinion. Reasonable assurance is a high level of assurance, but is not a guarantee that an audit conducted in accordance with SLAuSs will always detect a material misstatement when it exists. Misstatements can arise from fraud or error and are considered material if, individually or in the aggregate, they could reasonably be expected to influence the economic decisions of users taken on the basis of these financial statements.

As part of an audit in accordance with the SLAuSs, we exercise professional judgment and maintain professional skepticism throughout the audit. We also:

- Identify and assess the risks of material misstatement of the financial statements, whether due to fraud or error, design and perform audit procedures responsive to those risks, and obtain audit evidence that is sufficient and appropriate to provide a basis for our opinion. The risk of not detecting a material misstatements resulting from fraud is higher than for one resulting from error, as fraud may involve collusion, forgery, intentional omissions, misrepresentations, or the override of internal control.
- Obtain an understanding of internal control relevant to the audit in order to design audit procedures that are appropriate in the circumstances, but not for the purpose of expressing an opinion on the effectiveness of the Organization's internal control.
- Evaluate the appropriateness of accounting policies used and the reasonableness of accounting estimates and related disclosures made by management.
- Conclude on the appropriateness of management's use of the going concern basis of accounting and, based on the audit evidence obtained, whether a material uncertainty exists related to events or conditions that may cast significant doubt on the Organization's ability to continue as a going concern. If we conclude that a material uncertainty exists, we are required to draw attention in our auditor's report to the related disclosures in the financial statements or, if such disclosures are inadequate, to modify our opinion. Our conclusions are based on the audit evidence obtained up to that date of our auditor's report. However, future events or conditions may cause the organization to cease to continue as a going concern.
- Evaluate the overall presentation, structure and content of the financial statements, including the disclosures, and whether the financial statements represent the underlying transactions and events in a manner that achieves fair presentation.

We communicate with those charged with governance regarding, among other matters, the planned scope and timing of the audit and significant audit findings, including any significant deficiencies in internal control that we identify during our audit.



(Contd...)

### Report on Other Legal and Regulatory Requirements

As required by section 163 (2) of the Companies Act No.07 of 2007, we have obtained all the information and explanations that were required for the audit and, as far as appears from our examination, proper accounting records have been kept by the Company.

*Mgi Kal Rupasinghe*

MGI KAL Rupasinghe & Co.

Chartered Accountant

Colombo



# Management Team



**Dr. Paikiasothy Saravanamuttu**  
Executive Director



**Anel Guruge**  
Senior Researcher - CPAL Lanka



**Dilupa Athalawansa**  
Senior Researcher - CPAL Lanka



**Hasantha Hemali**  
Communication - CPAL Lanka



**M. Krishna**  
Manager - Research - CPAL Lanka



**I. Ramesh**  
Program Manager



**Anjula Gajanayake**  
CPAL Lanka



**S. Kamaladevi**  
Senior Researcher - CPAL Lanka



**Sampath Samarakoon**  
Senior Researcher - CPAL Lanka



**Selvaraja Rajasegar**  
Senior Researcher - CPAL Lanka



**Sumedha Kumar**  
Office Assistant - CPAL Lanka



**Anvito Ganeshathasan**  
CPAL Lanka



**M. Pradeepan**  
CPAL Lanka



**Lakshmi Kirithalagama**  
Senior Researcher - CPAL Lanka



**Chandraoka Godewesan**  
Senior Researcher - CPAL Lanka



**Nitrosha Subashini**  
Senior Researcher - CPAL Lanka



**Adesha Wittachchi**  
Senior Researcher - CPAL Lanka



**Uvin Dissanayake**  
Senior Researcher - CPAL Lanka



**Inoka Perera**  
Senior Researcher - CPAL Lanka



**Apudliya Gajanayake**  
Senior Researcher - CPAL Lanka



**Rebecca David**  
Senior Researcher - CPAL Lanka



**Charaya Samarakoon**  
Senior Researcher - CPAL Lanka



**Praveethi Wimalasiri**  
CPAL Lanka



**Nirashan Kaluarachchi**  
Senior Researcher - CPAL Lanka

I thank all of you and your predecessors who have made CPA's journey possible. You are CPA: CPA is NOT just any single individual, but all of us who have a common set of values from which we will not flinch. I know that for many of you, CPA has been your first or your only employer and that you have worked not only for remuneration alone, but in the belief that the values of the organisation were central to the creation of a functioning liberal democracy in Lanka. You have faced threats, intimidation, aggression (not about) as official criticism in the media from the forces of autocracy and hate. This has not deterred you but strengthened your commitment to CPA and its values. There will always be allegations against us as a "non-aligned" body by the self-proclaimed patriots. They call us naïve because they do not take on any sort of idea to represent us with a shred of evidence by any wrongdoing. Happy Birthday to us all! We shall continue. Unbowed!





The Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA) is an independent, non-partisan organisation that focuses primarily on issues of governance and conflict resolution. Formed in 1996 in the firm belief that the vital contribution of civil society to the public policy debate is in need of strengthening, CPA is committed to programmes of research and advocacy through which public policy is critiqued, and alternatives identified and disseminated.

## Centre for Policy Alternatives- CPA

6/5, Layards Road, Colombo 05



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E-MAIL: [info@cpalanka.org](mailto:info@cpalanka.org)





CENTRE FOR POLICY ALTERNATIVES

லீபல் பாலீசீ லீனீ லீனீ

மாற்றுக் கொள்கைகளுக்கான நிலையம்