APPENDICES
APPENDIX I

RESOLUTION

Unanimously adopted at the First National convention of the

TAMIL UNITED LIBERATION FRONT

Held at

VAADUKODDAI

On

14.5.1976

Chairman
S J V. Chelvanayakam, Q.C., M.P, (K.K.S.)

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A TRANSLATION

Political Resolution Unanimously Adopted at the 1st National Convention of the Tamil United Liberation Front Held at Pannakam (Vaddukoddai Constituency) on 14.5.766, presided over Mr. Chelvanayakam Q.C.MP

Whereas throughout the centuries from the dawn of history the Sinhalese and Tamil nations have divided between them the possession of Ceylon, thee Sinhalese inhabiting the interior of the country in its Southern and Western parts from the river Walawe to that of Chilaw and the Tamils possessing the Northern and Eastern districts.

And whereas the Tamil Kingdom was overthrown in war and conquered by the Portuguese in 1619 and from them by the Dutch and the British in turn independent of the Sinhalese Kingdoms,

And whereas the British Colonialists who ruled the territories of the Sinhalese and Tamil kingdoms separately joined under compulsion the territories of the Tamil kingdom to the territories of the Sinhalese kingdoms for purposes of administrative convenience on the recommendation of the Colebrooke Commission in 1833,

And whereas Tamil leaders were in the forefront of the Freedom movement to rid Ceylon of colonial bondage which ultimately led to the grant of independence to Ceylon in 1948,

And whereas the foregoing facts of history were completely overlooked and power was transferred to the Sinhalese nation over the entire country on the basis of a numerical majority thereby reducing the Tamil nation to the position of a subject people.

And whereas successive Sinhalese governments since independence have always encouraged and fostered the aggressive nationalism of the Sinhalese people and have used their political power to the detriment of the Tamils by
(a) Depriving one half of the Tamil people of their citizenship and franchise rights thereby reducing Tamil representation in parliament,

(b) Making serious inroads into the territories of the former Tamil kingdom by a system of planned and state-aided Sinhalese colonization and large scale regularisation of recently encouraged Sinhalese encroachments calculated to make the Tamils a minority in their own homeland,

(c) Making Sinhala the only official language throughout Ceylon thereby placing the stamp of interiority on the Tamils and the Tamil language,

(d) Giving the foremost place to Buddhism under the Republican Constitution thereby reducing the Hindus, Christians, and Muslims to second class status in this country,

(e) Denying to the Tamils equality of opportunity in the spheres of employment, education, land alienation and economic life in general and starving Tamils areas of large scale industries and development schemes thereby seriously endangering their very existence in Ceylon,

(f) Systematically cutting them off from the mainstream of Tamil cultures in South India while denying them opportunities of developing their language and culture in Ceylon thereby working inexorably towards the cultural genocide of the Tamils,

(g) Permitting and unleashing communal violence and intimidation against the Tamil speaking people as happened in Amparai and Colombo in 1956; all over the country in 1958; army reign of terror in the Northern and Eastern Provinces in 1961; Police violence at the International Tamil Research Conference in 1974 resulting in the death of nine persons in Jaffna; police and communal violence against Tamil speaking Muslims at Puttalam and various other Paris of Ceylon in 1976- all these calculated to instill terror in the minds of the Tamil speaking people thereby breaking their spirit and the will to resist the injustices heaped on them,

(h) By terrorising, torturing and imprisoning Tamil youths without trial for long periods on the flimsiest grounds,
(i) Capping it all by imposing on the Tamil Nation constitution drafted under conditions of emergency without opportunities for free discussion by a constituent assembly elected on the basis of the soulbury Constitution distorted by the Citizenship laws resulting in weightage in representation to the Sinhalese majority thereby depriving the Tamils of even the remnants of safeguards they had under the earlier constitution,

And whereas all attempts by the various Tamil political parties to win their rights by co-operating with the governments, by parliamentary and extra-parliamentary agitations, by entering into pacies and under-standings with successive Prime Ministers in order to achieve the bare minimum of political rights consistent with the self-respect of the Tamil people have proved to be futile;

And whereas the efforts of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress to ensure non-dominator of the minorities by the majority by the adoption of a scheme of balanced representation in a Unitary Constitution have failed and even the meager safeguards provided in article 29 of the Soulbury Constitution against discriminatory legislation have been removed by the Republican Constitution;

And whereas the proposa’s submitted to the Constituent Assembly by the Ilankai Thamil Arasu Kadchi for maintaining the unity of the country while preserving the integrity of the Tamil people by the establishment of an autonomous Tamil State within the framework of a Federal Republic of Ceylon were summarily and totally rejected without even the courtesy of consideration of its merits;

And whereas the amendments to the basic resolutions intended to ensure the minimum of safeguards to the Tamil people, moved on the basis of the nine point demand formulated at the conference of all Tamil political parties at Valvettithurai on 7th February, 1971 and by individual parities and Tamil members of parliament including those now in the government party were rejected in to by the government and Constituent Assembly.
And whereas even amendments to the draft proposals relating to the language, religion and fundamental rights including one calculated to ensure that at least the provisions of the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Regulations of 1956 be included in the Constitution were defeated resulting in the boycott of the constituent Assembly by a large majority of the Tamil members of parliament.

And whereas the Tamil United Liberation Front, after rejecting the Republican Constitution adopted on the 22nd of May, 1972 presented a six point demand to the Prime Minister and the Government on 25th June 1972 and gave three months time within which the Government was called upon to take meaningful steps to amend the Constitution so as to meet the aspirations of the Tamil Nation on the basis of the six points and informed the Government that if it failed to do so the Tamil United Liberation Front would launch non-violent direct action against the Government in order to win the freedom and the rights of the Tamil Nation on the basis of the right of self determination.

And whereas this last attempt by the Tamil United Liberation Front to win Constitutional recognition of the rights of the Tamils Nation without jeopardizing the unity of the country was callously ignored by the Prime Minister and the Government;

And whereas the opportunity provided by the Tamil United Liberation leader to vindicate the government’s contention that their constitution had the backing of the Tamil people, by resigning from his membership of the National State Assembly and creating a by-election was deliberately put off for over two years in utter disregard of the democratic right of the Tamil voters Kankesanthurai.

Where in the by-election held on the 6th February 1975 the voters of Kankesanthurai by a preponderant majority not only rejected the Republican Constitution imposed on them by the Sinhalese Government but also gave a mandate to Mr S J V. Chelvanayakam Q C and through him to the Tamil United Liberation Front for the restoration and reconstitution of the Free Sovereign, Secular, Socialist State of TAMIL EELAM.
The first National Convention of the Tamil United Liberation Front meeting at Pannakam (Vaddukoddal Constituency on the 14th day of May, 1976 hereby declares that the Tamils of Ceylon by virtue of their great language their religions, their separate culture and heritage, their history of independent existence as a separate state culture and heritage, their history of independent existence as separate state over a distinct territory for several centuries till they were conquered by the armed might of the European invaders and above all by the their will to exist as separate entity ruling themselves in their own territory, are nation distinct and apart from the Sinhalese and this Convention announces to the world that the Republican Constitution of 1972 has made the Tamils a slave nation rules by the new colonial masters the Sinhalese who are using the power they have wrongly usurped to deprive the Tamil nation of its territory language citizenship, economic life, opportunities of employment and education thereby destroying all the attributes of nationhood of the Tamil people.

And therefore, while taking note of the reservations in relation to its commitment to the setting up of a separate state of TAMIL EELAM expressed by the Ceylon workers, Congress as a Trade Union of the Plantation Workers, the majority of whom live and work outside the Northern and Eastern areas.

This convention resolves that restoration and reconstitution of the Free, Sovereign, Secular Socialist State of TAMIL EELAM based on the right of self determination inherent to every nation has become inevitable in order to safeguard the very existence of the Tamil Nation in this Country.

This Convention further declares:

(a) that the State of TAMIL ELLAM shall consist of the people of the Northern and Eastern provinces and shall also ensure full and equal rights of citizenship of the state of TAMIL ELLAM origin living in any part of the world who may opt for citizenship of TAMIL ELLAM.

(b) that the constitution of TAMIL EELAM shall be based on the principle of democratic decentralization so as to ensure the non domination of any religious or territorial community of TAMIL EELAM by any other section.
(c) that in the state of Tamil Eelam, caste shall be abolished and the observance of the pernicious practice of untouchability or inequality or any type based on birth shall be totally eradicated and its observance in any form punished by law.

(d) that TAMIL EELAM shall be a secular state giving equal protection and assistance to all religion to which the people of the state may belong.

(e) that Tamil shall be the language of the State but the rights of Sinhalese speaking minorities in Tamil Eelam to education and transaction of business in their language shall be protected on a reciprocal basis. With the Tamil speaking minorities in the Sinhale state.

(f) that Tamil Eelam shall be a Socialist State wherein the exploitation of man by men shall be forbidden, the dignity of labour shall be recognized, the means of production and distribution shall be subject to public ownership and control while permitting private enterprise in these branches within limit prescribed by law, economic development shall be on the basis of socialist planning and there shall be a ceiling on the total wealth that any individual or family may acquire.

This Convention direct the Action Committee of the TAMIL UNITED LIBERATION FRONT to formulate a plan of action and launch without undue delay the struggle for winning the sovereignty and freedom of the Tamil Nation;

And this Convention calls upon the Tamil Nation in general and the Tamil youth in particular to come forward to throw themselves fully in the sacred fight for freedom and to flinch not till the goal of a sovereign socialist state of TAMIL EELAM is reached.
16th April, 1984

UNITED FRONT OF EELAM LIBERATION ORGANISATIONS

Now the Tamil Speaking people living in Ceylon have been pushed into a worse situation. With the object of suppressing the Eelam liberation struggle, the Sri Lankan Government and its armed forces have adopted all sorts of repressive measures.

Sri Lankan troops as well as fanatic Sinhalese thugs have been massed in all parts of Eelam.

In order to repress the struggle of the Tamil speaking people President Jeyawardene of Sri Lanka has entrusted the civil administration over the Eelam people into the hands of armed forces.

Under the guise of ‘eradication of terrorists’ Sri Lankan Government has given the armed forces an open license to arrest, torture and to kill indiscriminately Tamil speaking people especially youths.

The American imperialists and their allies have colluded with the Sri Lankan Government in its genocidal activities, rendering economic and military assistance.

In this difficult circumstances, in order to defeat our common enemy and to give expression to the aspirations of our freedom loving people in the midst of suffering. We feel it necessary to work together at least in the most vital areas. We, the three organizations namely, Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO), Eelam Revolutionary Organisations (EROS) and Eelam People’s Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) have created the bases to work together.

Our Political Principles Forming as the Base for our Minimum Working Programme

1. to liberate our mother land from Sri Lankan domination,
2. nothing less than Eelam will be acceptable,
3. armed struggle at broad mass level to be our path,
4. to construct a Socialist society in the Independent Eelam,
5. to free our nation from the Yoke of neo-colonialism headed by U.S. Imperialists.

The Minimum Working Programme as Agreed at Present

1. to implement co-ordinated armed activities against Sri Lankan armed forces,
2. to carry on overseas propaganda work jointly,
3. to collect fund from individuals and organizations in support of our liberation struggle and to manage it to a joint committee

We take this opportunity to urge other organizations fighting for Eelam' liberation to join and strengthen our United Front. We would lime to request them to respond positively in this regard.

(Sgd) Srisabaratnam
Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO)

(Sgd) V. Balakumar
Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS)

(Sgd) K. Pathmanaba
Eelam People’s Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF)
APPENDIX III

10-4-1985

A NEW TURN IN THE STRUGGLE FOR TAMIL EELAM LIBERATION MOVEMENTS UNITE

Eelam National Liberation Front and Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam have decided to function unitedly in taking forward the National Liberation struggle of the Tamil speaking people of Eelam. Eelam National Liberation Front, formed in April 1984, is an alliance of three important liberation movements. Tamil Eelam Liberation Movement (TELO), Eelam Revolutionary Organization (EROS), and Eelam People’s Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) are the members of this alliance.

An event of historical significance in our fight for freedom is this agreement reached by these four liberation movements that carry out the struggle in the ground by adopting the path of revolutionary armed struggle. This event, which is a turning point in the fight for freedom of the Eelam Tamils, has paved the way to strengthen and focus the armed struggle by uniting the revolutionary forces.

We believe that the news of the union of our liberation movements will delight and give hope as well as consolidate the inner resolve and sense of freedom of our people who suffer unbearably in the face of state terrorism and, atrocities and genocide at the hands of the Sri Lankan army.

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and Eelam National Liberation Front which is the united front of Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization, Eelam Revolutionary Organization and Eelam People’s Revolutionary Liberation Front, resolve to function unitedly based on the following fundamental political principles.

(a) To win the freedom and sovereignty of our motherland from the oppressions and atrocities of the state of Sri Lanka.

(b) Not to support any agreement other than that which ensures a separate state which establishes the right to self-determination of the Tamil Nation living in Sri Lanka.
(c) To adopt the armed struggle evolved by the participation of the diverse masses of our people (people’s struggle) as the path of our struggle.

(d) To build a socialist society in our liberated motherland by taking forward a socialist revolution together with the national liberation struggle.

(e) To follow the principle of non-alignment by completely freeing our country from the hands of imperialists and neo-colonialists of the world.

According to the common minimum programme agreed on now, we have decided to take decisions on important political matters by conferring together, and to coordinate our armed struggle against the military forces of the Sri Lankan state.

We request all Tamils who care for the freedom of our people to extend their co-operation and support to expand and strengthen this alliance of ours.

(Sgd) V. Pirabakaran
President
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

(Sgd) K. Pathmanaba
Secretary General
Eelam People’s Revolutionary Liberation Front

(Sgd) Srisabaratnam
President
Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization

(Sgd) Balakumar
(Sgd) Sangar
Revolutionary Executive Committee
Eelam Revolutionary Organization

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