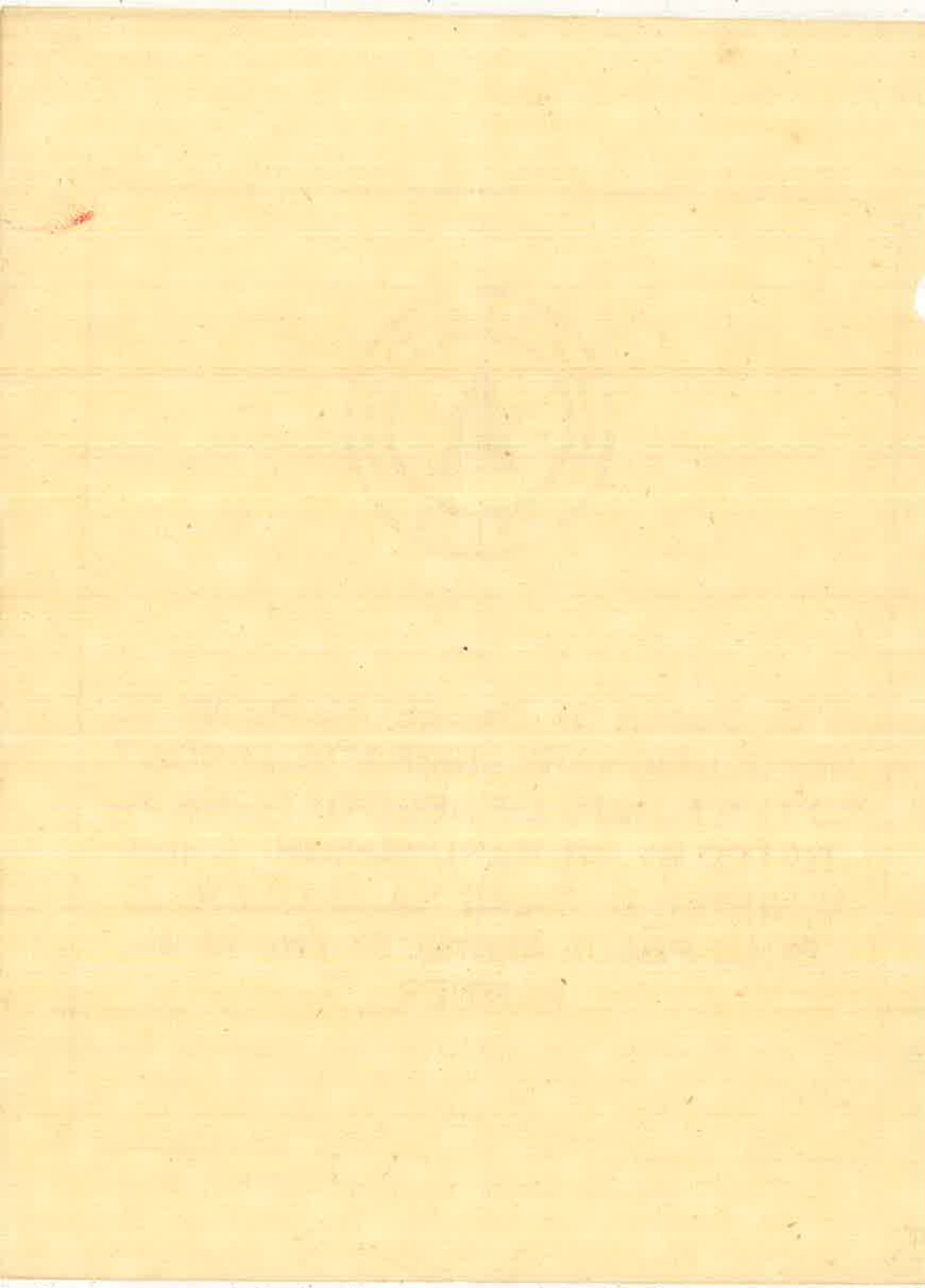




**PROPOSALS OF THE EELAM PEOPLES
REVOLUTIONARY LIBERATION FRONT
TO THE FORUM OF NEGOTIATIONS IN-
ITIATED BY DR. KARUNANIDHI, CHIEF
MINISTER OF TAMIL NADU TO BRING
ABOUT PEACE AMONGST THE TAMIL
PARTIES**

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**PROPOSALS OF THE EELAM PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY LIBERATION
FRONT TO THE FORUM OF NEGOTIATIONS INITIATED BY DR.
KARUNANIDHI, CHIEF MINISTER OF TAMIL NADU TO BRING ABOUT
PEACE AMONGST THE TAMIL PARTIES**

The Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front agreed to form the North-East Provincial Government:

- (a) To ensure that the Sri Lankan Government devolve powers due to the Tamil speaking people;
- (b) To take legitimate steps to ensure permanent security arrangements to enable the Tamil speaking people to live without fear.

We wish to bring to the notice of all concerned that the EPRLF has sacrificed the lives of over 600 of its leading members for the establishment of this Provincial Government and for its healthy growth, after the signing of the India-Sri Lanka Peace Accord. We wish to bring to the notice of all concerned that we gradually institutionalised the Provincial Government in the midst of all obstacles placed by the Sri Lankan Government, the inhuman and violent opposition of the LTTE and the adverse propaganda by the EROS.

We have no doubts about the good intentions of the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu who is taking all efforts to create peaceful coexistence among Tamil parties. But, we cannot at the same time ignore the treacherous actions and the political and militant disasters thrust on the Tamil speaking people by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation which functions as another component of the LTTE. We are not prepared to accept or believe if anyone was to say that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam will take care of the welfare of the Tamil speaking people. We therefore declare that a clear-cut political solution that would create conditions for the Tamil speaking people to live in Sri Lanka in democracy and freedom and with powers of self-rule should be implemented properly and in full.

We are not prepared to believe or accept that the Government of Sri Lanka which did not implement an Agreement between two countries, namely India and Sri Lanka, will on its own come forward with a political solution to the Tamil speaking people.

It is for these reasons that we are placing our proposals and are clarifying the realistic situation to the forum for negotiations initiated by Dr. Karunanidhi bearing in mind the future and the well being of the Tamil speaking people. We solicit the co-operation and support of the Tamil Nadu Government, the Indian Government and all Tamil parties and all democratic political leaders.

2. Deplomacy of the United National Party Government

The United National Party Government is raising its voice overtly and covertly that there is no unity among the Tamils, that the Provincial Council should be dissolved and that fresh elections should be held. Whatever reasons the United National Party Government attributes to the election to Provincial Council, the very same reasons could be attributed by us as regards the Presidential Election and the Parliamentary Election held in Sri Lanka. We wish to point out certain sinister motives of the Sri Lankan Government headed by the United National Party, which has often been talking out-of-turn about the North-East Provincial Council. They are :

- (1) To win seats in a Provincial Council which they failed to get at the Provincial Council election. At present, the United National Party holds only one seat in the Provincial Council. If this Council is dissolved and fresh elections held the UNP has calculated that it would be possible for it to win 15 to 16 seats;
- (2) The Tamil parties have 55 seats in the present Council of the North-East Province. If the Provincial Council is to be dissolved and fresh elections held, the Tamil parties will be able to win 48 seats or less. This is another calculation of the UNP;

- (3) If this Provincial Council continues to function the subjects of powers for the Provincial Government will continue to be of importance. By dissolving this Council, it would be possible to divert the attention of the Tamils to a fresh election and divert the minds of the people from the subject of devolution of power, Sinhala colonization, the creation of a Provincial Police Force, and enlisting Tamil speaking persons in the three Armed Forces on ethnic ratio basis;
- (4) The United National Party Government which has calculated that by dissolving this Provincial Council and holding fresh elections; the struggle of the Tamil speaking people for their rights would result in a free flow of blood among Tamils. The UNP Government is making all arrangements for a blood bath amongst the Tamils which would result in the weakening of the Tamil resistance movement and what might remain thereafter is to be dealt with by the State Forces;
- (5) Another plan of the United National Party is to weaken the Sri Lankan Muslim Congress which after many decades has come up to voice the rights of the Muslim people against Sinhala chauvinism. The Sri Lankan Muslim Congress has seventeen seats in the present North-East Provincial Council. It is the main opposition party and represents the majority of the Muslims. If this Provincial Council is dissolved and fresh elections are held, the strength of the Muslim Congress would be reduced to eight to ten seats. The Muslim Congress will lose its status as the Main Opposition Party. Pitching prominent Muslims of the United National

Party against the Muslim Congress would help to weaken the voice of the Muslims. This is also another sinister plan of the UNP;

- (6) When the subject of devolution of powers and Indian assistance for the Tamils are relegated to the back-seat, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, the Chief Minister of the North-East, all Tamil parties inclusive of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and the Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front would be held responsible for the future plight of the Tamils. This is another plot of the United National Party Government.

We feel that it is the duty and responsibility of all Tamil parties and the forces who are interested in the well being of the Tamil people to clearly understand the anti-Tamil aims of the Sri Lankan Government of the United National Party.

3. Our Proposals

We consider it our historical duty to place our proposal before the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and other Tamil parties and to solicit their support. We believe that this political proposal would enable the Tamil speaking people of Sri Lanka to live with honour and dignity, free from politico-military dangers and the grip of Sinhala chauvinism.

- (1) All Tamil parties should jointly prepare a clear and complete programme on what powers should be devolved to the Provincial Government and what arrangements should be made for the safety and security of the Tamil speaking people. This should be prepared at the forum for negotiations initiated by Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Dr. Kalaignar M. Karunanidhi and should find general agreement;

- (2) Concurrence for this programme should be given by the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu on behalf of the Government of Tamil Nadu and by the Prime Minister of India on behalf of the Indian Government;
- (3) The Indian Government should impose a time limit on the Sri Lankan Government for the fulfillment of programmes;
- (4) In the event of the Sri Lankan Government accepting the programme and the time limitation for fulfillment of it, an Implementation Monitoring Committee must be established for the fulfillment of the programme, consisting of representatives of the Indian Government, including the representatives of Tamil Political Parties, and it should function from the North-East Province;
- (5) In the event of the Sri Lankan Government failing to accept the programme and the time limitation for fulfillment of it or fails to fulfill the programme within the time limit, the Indian Government should recognize an Independent, Democratic Republic of Eelam, and should announce that India would give all support and assistance for the establishment and security of that Republic;

4. Devolution of Powers

Devolution of powers should contain atleast the following subjects:

- (1) Powers should be devolved in all the subjects on the North-East Provincial Government, not be less than the powers enjoyed by the Indian States. The relationship in administration and finance between the Central Government

and North-East Provincial Government should not be less than the relationship between Indian Central Government and State Governments.

- (2) It should be assumed that the North-East Province will not be bifurcated at any stage and in any way and it will continue to be one Province;
- (3) All State land within the North-East Province shall be vested in the North-East Provincial Government. All land development, land alienation of State land and colonization on State land shall vest in the North-East Government without leaving room for misinterpretation;
- (4) Although the demand that all Sinhala colonizations which took place after the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayagam Pact in 1957 are unlawful and should be disbanded is reasonable, but, for the reason that relationship between the various communities should be safeguarded. We propose the following on Sinhala Colonization.
 - (a) All Sinhala colonization deliberately carried out by the United National party Government after 1977 should be disbanded and the Sinhalese should be settled in their original Province or in any other Sinhala Province;
 - (b) In order to find a political solution in respect of sinhala colonization done prior to 1977, delimitation and demarcation of new boundaries of North-East Province should be done with the consent and unanimous decision of all the Tamil Political parties. Sinhala villages in the North-East Province adjoining to the Sinhala Province could be linked with Sinhala Province. At the same time for the substitution of it, the same extent of

fertile forest land from a Sinhala Province shall be linked with the North-East Province. The re-adjustment and demarcation of boundaries of North-East Province should not disturb the contiguity of the Province or affect the safe transfer within the Province. The boundaries of North-East Province such as from Pt. Pedro to Kumbukkam Aru and from Muhathuvara Aru to Tincomalee should not be changed for any reason;

(5) Today the Sri Lankan State Security Force is only a Sinhalese Force. Out of the 32,000 personnel in the Police Force only 740 are Tamil speaking. Out of 64,000 in the three armed forces only about 600 are Tamil speaking. To change this situation and for the State Forces to change qualitatively into a National force in a country inhabited by many nationalities the Sri Lankan Sinhala State Forces should change into a National State Force, personnel from the Tamil speaking community should be enrolled to the Police Force in a way which would maintain national ethnic ratio. This was accepted by the Sri Lankan Government at the Security Co-ordinating Committee meeting to implement in three years time. They have also placed their signatures in acceptance. Within the first three months 25% to be enrolled, another 25% to be enrolled before the end of 1990 and the remaining 50% to be enrolled to the State Forces before the end of 1992 and by January 1993 the Sri Lankan Armed Forces will become a National Force. This form will apply to the National Police Force as well;

(6) Earlier the Sri Lankan Government accepted at the Security Co-ordination Committee meeting that the

Provincial Government will have 9,500 Police personnel in the Province in a way that the ethnic ratio is brought out. 50% has to be recruited with the first three months. Before the end of 1990 the Provincial Police system should function in full;

(7) Bases of the three forces can only function in the following places in the North-East Province:

- (a) Palali Army Camp;
- (b) Karainagar Naval Base;
- (c) Thalladi Army Camp;
- (d) Vavuniya Josop Camp;
- (e) Trincomalee Naval Base;
- (f) Trincomalee Air Force Base;
- (g) Amparai Kondaivedduvan Army Camp

all other bases other than those mentioned should be dismantled. There can be no interference by the forces in Civil Administration without the permission of the Provincial Government;

(8) Any person who is not registered as a resident of the North-East Province will not have the right to vote in the North-East Province;

(9) As the Sinhalese constitute 73% of the National population, it is a common occurrence in the political history of Sri Lanka to deprive the Tamil speaking people of their political and economical rights by making use of Parliament. As such it is necessary to establish a second chamber to the Parliament

with equal representation for nationalities to safeguard the political, economic, cultural, religious and security rights. This chamber should be established in such a way that it could prevent communal legislation;

- (10) The Army should be removed from Fort Fredrick in Trincomalee where the Konesar Temple is situated. This area should be declared as a sacred area for Hindus and it should be brought under the administration of the North-East Provincial Government. Similarly, the army and the prison should be removed from the Jaffna Fort and the Kayts Sea Fort and they should be declared museums where rare articles of value would be exhibited to the public. The administration of these Forts should also come under the North-East Provincial Government;
- (11) The administration of all places of worship in the North-East Province should come under the administration of the North-East Provincial Government;
- (12) Foreign countries and International Agencies have agreed to donate 550 Million dollars for Rehabilitation and Reconstruction in the North-East. The Sri Lankan Government has to add 20% of this amount, the total amount for Rehabilitation and Reconstruction will be 25,000 Million rupees in Sri Lankan currency. This amount should be credited to the North-East Provincial Government. Our past experience has been that the Sri Lankan Government has created conditions by which we could not make use of these funds for Rehabilitation and Reconstruction in the proper way and further more these funds have been diverted to Sinhala Provinces. As such, donations for Rehabilitation and Reconstruction should be left to the authority of the North-East Provincial Government;

(13) The Tamils living in the upcountry are continuing to face oppression and suppression of the Sri Lankan Government and the Sinhala racial forces for over the last forty years. Over 5 lakhs of them have been repatriated to India. Those remaining there are living with no definite hopes for the future. They have been made political orphans amidst economic exploitation, discrimination, Sinhalese colonization and violent aggression by the Sinhalese racists. In order to change this situation a new Province and a Provincial Government should be created in the upcountry where the upcountry Tamils will be in a majority. In the event of such a Provincial Council being created for the upcountry Tamils, the Tamils would extend their co-operation for the creation of a Provincial Council where the Muslims will be in a majority, by linking areas such as Kalmunai, Akkaraipattu and Sammanturai.

A Tamil Council in the upcountry and a Muslim Council in the North-East should have atleast minimum rights in possession of lands, economic rights, basic political rights, cultural and religious rights, education, employment and social services. These Councils should have the right to safeguard these basic rights;

(14) The Provincial Government should have the powers to negotiate with foreign countries or foreign agencies regarding investments and donations. In the event of the negotiations ending successfully decisions arrived at these negotiations if are not contrary to the general foreign policy and the general economic policy of the Sri Lankan Government, legal and administrative arrangements should be made for these donations and investments to reach the North-East Provincial Government unhindered;

- (15) The Provincial Government should have legal rights not less than the rights enjoyed by the private sector in the establishment and maintenance of economic institutions;
- (16) The Provincial Government should have legislative and executive powers as far as residual matters of the Constitution are concerned ;
- (17) Mossad, South African, British Army Intelligence Services and International Agencies such as K.M.S. and the S.A.S. stationed and operating in Sri Lanka should be expelled from Sri Lanka immediately;
- (18) The Special Task force should be sent out of the North-East Province. They should never be allowed to come into the North-East Province at any time;
- (19) The prevention of Terrorism Act which is presently operative in Sri Lanka should be fully done away with. The Emergency Regulation should be repealed and all persons arrested under Emergency Regulations should be tried under the normal criminal laws of the country;

5. Interim Provincial Government

In the event of the arrangements being made for the fulfillment of the programme based on the 19 points and approved by the Indian Government and accepted by the Sri Lankan Government, the EPRLF assures that it will proceed on the following lines:

- (1) The Present Provincial Government will continue for another one year as Interim Government and new election to be held in March 1991 in a democratic manner, that is a situation in which no one will carry arms;

- (2) We feel that all the Tamil Political Parties can participate in the present Provincial Government collectively, by sharing the 55 seats amongst them. We will abide by the decision of the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister regarding allocation of these seats among Tamil Parties. In the event that the LTTE is willing to form a single party Government the EPRLF is prepared to forego all its 38 seats to the LTTE (This forms a single majority in the Provincial Government);
- (3) The EPRLF will provide co-operation and fullest support to have democracy, peace and harmony among Tamil Political Parties;
- (4) Because of all the matters in respect of the devolution of powers, security and development will be initiated and handled by the Provincial Government, we will give our fullest co-operation to the Interim Provincial Government in respect of same;

6. What we expect as alternate

- (1) Arbitrary acts by Tamil Political Parties against any Tamil must cease;
- (2) All the activities against the fundamental rights such as freedom of speech, freedom of writing, and freedom of association of persons should come to an end;
- (3) As a result of conditions in this country up to now the Tamil Political Parties are not prepared to trust each other nor are the Tamils prepared to trust the UNP Government or the Sri Lankan State Forces, under such conditions if a Tamil or a Muslim fears that his life is in danger by Tamil Political Parties or the Sri Lankan Government, India should afford them political asylum.

We believe that all will understand that our proposals are reasonable and justifiable and are necessary for the well being of the Tamil speaking people and for a future of hopes.

In the event of the Sri Lankan Government not accepting the political solution programme prepared on the basis of the 19 point programme inclusive of subjects related to the devolution of power and in the absence of a political position by India, Tamil Nadu Government and Tamil Parties, dissolving the Provincial Council, holding fresh elections would amount to digging the grave for the Tamil speaking people by our own hands. We firmly believe that we would only be helping the attempts of the Sri Lankan Government of the United National Party to attain their goal.

We feel that the clearly defined proposals of ours is a historical necessity at this point of time for the Tamil speaking people to live with dignity, self respect and the rights of self determination and to create conditions where good relationship could be maintained within the Parties of the Tamil speaking people. At the same time we categorically state that if any Tamil party submits proposals in a manner not less than the proposals submitted by us we would extend our co-operation. Pushing devolution of power and permanent security for the Tamils to the rear, dissolving the present Provincial Council and holding fresh elections would be killing a heart patient and attempting surgery on the dead body.

The Sri Lankan Government of the United National Party may think that it has successfully sabotaged all our attempts to strengthen this Provincial Council and getting the necessary powers for the Tamils through their diplomatic and propaganda tactics. We will continue to work with determination and optimism even if it is necessary to carry on the struggle for many more decades, we are confident that we would create a situation where the Tamil speaking people could live with the Independence and Democracy.

"If it is a United Sri Lanka there shall be self rule for the Tamils"

"Falling Independent Eelam is the final"

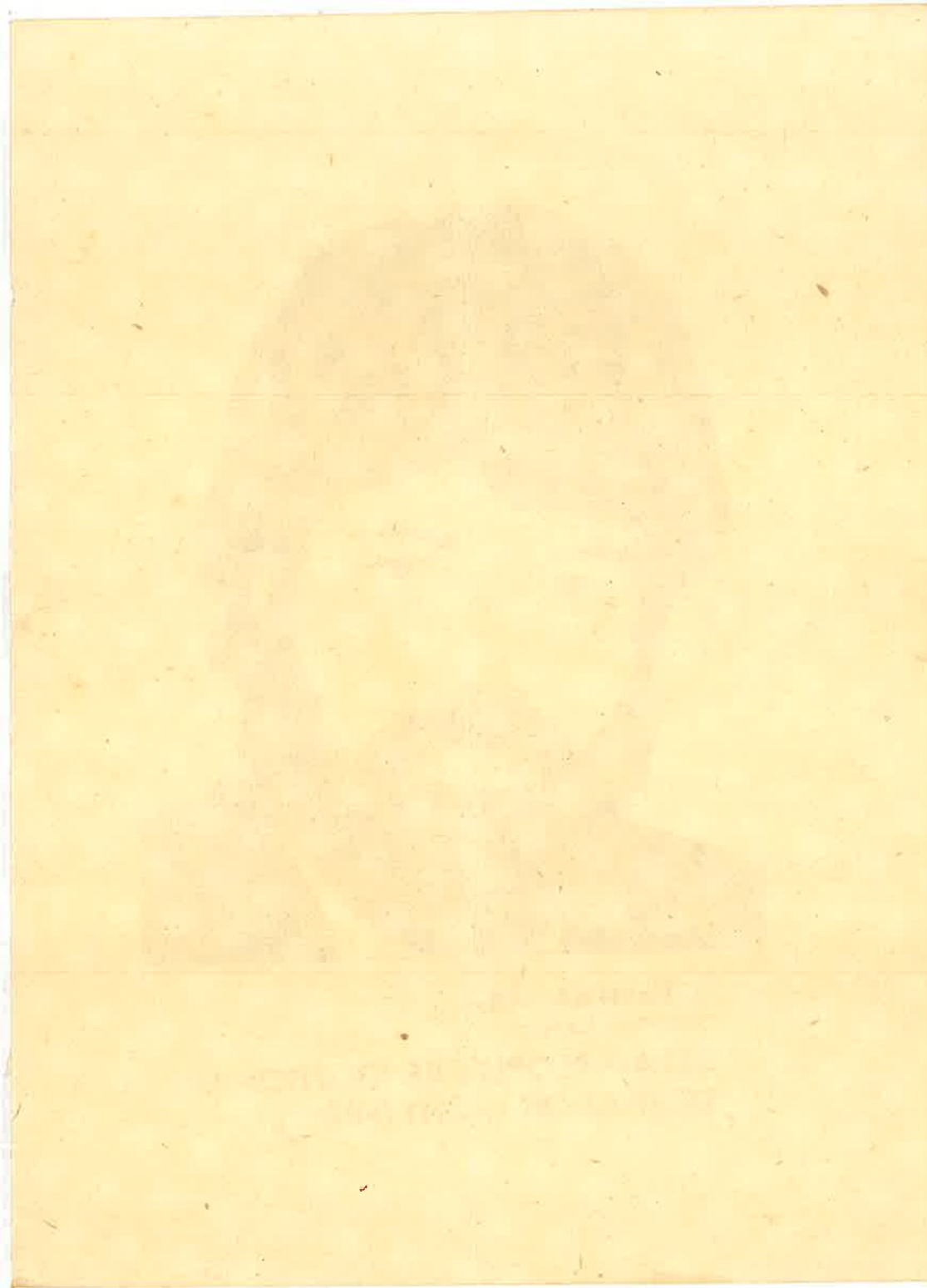
This is our Political Stand.

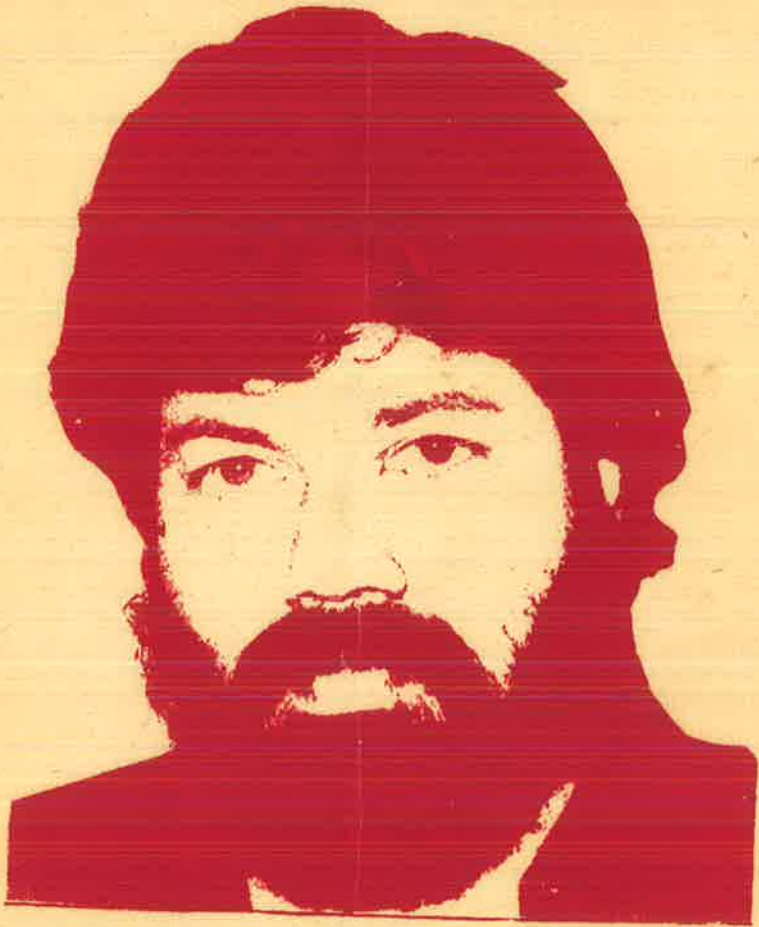
K. Pathmanaba

SECRETARY GENERAL

**On behalf of the Central Committee of the
Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front**

25.02.1990.





K. PATHMANABA
Secretary General

**EELAM PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY
LIBERATION FRONT (EPRLF)**