

**Refugee Review Tribunal  
AUSTRALIA**

**RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE**

**Research Response Number:** IND35215  
**Country:** India  
**Date:** 18 August 2009

Keywords: India – Tamil Nadu – TNLA – MDMK – DMK – AIADMK – Political violence

This response was prepared by the Research & Information Services Section of the Refugee Review Tribunal (RRT) after researching publicly accessible information currently available to the RRT within time constraints. This response is not, and does not purport to be, conclusive as to the merit of any particular claim to refugee status or asylum. This research response may not, under any circumstance, be cited in a decision or any other document. Anyone wishing to use this information may only cite the primary source material contained herein.

---

**Questions**

- 1. Please provide a brief summary of the relationship between Tamil Nadu’s MDMK, DMK, and AIADMK parties.**
- 2. Please provide a brief summary of the available information on the current situation of the TNLA. Is there information to suggest that the TNLA has the support of the DMK either officially or unofficially?**
- 3. Is there any information available to suggest that the TNLA have conducted reprisal attacks upon former members? What information is available on the situation of ex-TNLA identities more generally?**

**RESPONSE**

- 1. Please provide a brief summary of the relationship between Tamil Nadu’s MDMK, DMK, and AIADMK parties.**

The relationship between the DMK and MDMK has been characterized by factionalism, defections and shifting alliances. The Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (MDMK) is the vehicle of V.Gopalsamy (Vaiko), a Tamil Nadu politician who has remained one of the staunchest supporters of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Dravidian politics. Vaiko launched the MDMK in May 1994 to split the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) party which had expelled him in November 1993. “Officially, the DMK expelled Vaiko for his continued support for Tamil militancy in Sri Lanka (a hot potato in Tamil Nadu ever since Rajiv Gandhi was killed)”. It has also been claimed that Vaiko’s expulsion was linked to a power struggle between Vaiko and DMK leader Muthuvel Karunanidhi (Vaiko was allegedly proving disruptive of Karunanidhi’s plans to favour his son, Muthuvel Karunanidhi Stalin, as successor to the DMK leadership) (‘Will Jayalalithaa split the DMK alliance?’ 2006, *Rediff News*, 17 February <http://www.rediff.com/news/2006/feb/18flip.htm> – Accessed 9 June 2009 – Attachment 1; Subramanian, T.S. 2002, ‘A crackdown in Tamil Nadu’, *Frontline*, 20 July /

2 August, vol.19: no.15 <http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1915/19150200.htm> – Accessed 9 June 2009 – Attachment 2).

The MDMK has, since its formation, entered into a range of alliances with competing political parties at both the state and the national level. Tamil Nadu politics has, in recent years, been dominated by the DMK, on the one hand, and the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) on the other, and at different times the MDMK has aligned itself with both of these two parties (reconciling or splitting from the AIADMK and the DMK alternately). The MDMK's current alliance with the AIADMK comes in spite of the fact that the AIADMK government had, while in government in Tamil Nadu, detained Vaiko under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA) "in July 2002 for an alleged pro-LTTE speech". The two major poles of power at the national level, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) of the Indian National Congress (INC or Congress) have also enjoyed the swinging support of the MDMK at different moments. The AIADMK and the DMK have, likewise, also moved between the BJP-led NDA and the Congress-led UPA according to opportunity and circumstance (Vinoj Kumar, P.C. 2006, 'Will Wit's Warhorse Win?', *Tehelka*, 15 April [http://www.tehelka.com/story\\_main17.asp?filename=Ne041506up\\_close.asp](http://www.tehelka.com/story_main17.asp?filename=Ne041506up_close.asp) – Accessed 9 June 2009 – Attachment 3; 'The see-saw battle' 2004, *The Hindu*, 1 February <http://www.hindu.com/2004/02/01/stories/2004020100491600.htm> – Accessed 9 June 2009 – Attachment 4; Subramanian, T.S. 2006, 'Vaiko's flip-flop', *Frontline*, vol.23: no.5, 12-24 March <http://www.thehindu.com/fline/fl2305/stories/20060324007513100.htm> – Accessed 18 August 2009 – Attachment 44).

In Tamil Nadu state the MDMK is currently aligned with the AIADMK-led opposition having joined with the AIADMK in March 2006 in the lead up to the 2006 Tamil Nadu state elections (prior to this the MDMK had for a time been reconciled and aligned with the DMK). The DMK, on the other hand, currently rules the Tamil Nadu state assembly governing with the Congress Party as its principal coalition partner having defeated the previously ruling AIADMK government in the 2006 Tamil Nadu state elections. At the national level the DMK has accepted "seven ministerial berths, including three of cabinet rank", to become a part of the Congress-led UPA government in the newly elected 15th Lok Sabha (though in May 2009 there was, for a time, talk that the DMK would break from the UPA over DMK dissatisfaction with power sharing arrangements in Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's second term cabinet). The MDMK is presently non-aligned at the national level having competed in the 2009 elections as part of an AIADMK-led combine. As is noted above, the MDMK has served at the national level in both BJP-led NDA and Congress-led UPA coalitions (as have the DMK and the AIADMK). The MDMK contested the 2004 national election on the UPA ticket but left the Congress-led alliance in March 2007 complaining that the Singh government had failed the MDMK on a number of issues including the treatment of Tamils in Sri Lanka. The MDMK promised, nonetheless, to continue to support the Singh government on other issues from outside the UPA coalition. Recent reports, however, have rumoured that the MDMK is once again drifting back towards the BJP-led NDA ('Jayalalithaa resigns as chief minister' 2006, *Rediff News*, 11 May <http://www.rediff.com/election/2006/may/11ptn3.htm> – Accessed 18 August 2009 – Attachment 46; for the March 2006 split from the DMK to the AIADMK, see: 'Vaiko joins Jaya ranks' 2006, *The Statesman*, 5 March – Attachment 5; Jayanth, V. 2006, 'Karunanidhi's arithmetic versus Jayalalithaa's chemistry', *The Hindu*, 6 April <http://www.hindu.com/2006/04/06/stories/2006040605751500.htm> – Accessed 18 August 2009 – Attachment 45; and: 'Vaiko strikes poll alliance with AIADMK' 2006, *The Hindu*, 5

March – Attachment 6; for the DMK’s current relationship with the Congress-led central government, see: ‘Berth row solved, DMK to join UPA government’ 2009, *Express Buzz*, source: *Indo-Asian News Service*, 24 May <http://www.expressbuzz.com/edition/story.aspx?Title=Berth+row+solved,+DMK+to+join+UPA+government&artid=Czv%7CLoEPoj4=&SectionID=b7ziAYMenjw=&MainSectionID=b7ziAYMenjw=&SectionName=pWehHe7IsSU=&SEO=karunanidhi,%20cabinet> – Accessed 10 June 2009 – Attachment 7; and: Bhattacharya, S. 2009, ‘In India, the comedy of power-sharing’, *Asia Times*, 2 June [http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South\\_Asia/KF02Df02.html](http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/KF02Df02.html) – Accessed 5 June 2009 – Attachment 8; for the March 2007 split from the UPA, see: ‘MDMK withdraws support to UPA Government’ 2007, *OneIndia*, source: *United News of India*, 16 March <http://news.oneindia.in/2007/03/16/mdmk-withdraws-support-to-upa-government.html> – Accessed 9 June 2009 – Attachment 9; for the AIADMK combine in the 2009 national elections, see: ‘AIADMK combine will sweep elections: Vaiko’ 2009, *The Hindu*, 5 March <http://www.hindu.com/2009/03/05/stories/2009030553640400.htm> – Accessed 10 June 2009 – Attachment 10; Venkataramanan, K. 2009, ‘DMK-Cong proves pollsters wrong’, *Times of India*, 17 May <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/Cities/Chennai/DMK-Cong-proves-pollsters-wrong/articleshow/4541157.cms> – Accessed 2 June 2009 – Attachment 11; see also: Srinivasan, G. 2009, ‘DMK, MDMK lock horns for the second time’, *The Hindu*, 14 April <http://www.hindu.com/2009/04/14/stories/2009041457740700.htm> – Accessed 2 June 2009 – Attachment 12; for recent rumours of a drift towards the BJP, see: ‘Upset with AIADMK, MDMK mulling talks with NDA’ 2009, *Thaindian*, source: *Indo-Asian News Service*, 2 April [http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/politics/upset-with-aiadmkmmdmk-mulling-talks-with-nda\\_100174673.html](http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/politics/upset-with-aiadmkmmdmk-mulling-talks-with-nda_100174673.html) – Accessed 9 June 2009 – Attachment 13).

In the context of the recent Sri Lankan government offensive which has routed the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in the Sri Lankan north-east, certain protest actions undertaken by MDMK figures in support of the LTTE and/or Sri Lankan Tamils have brought these MDMK members to the attention of the Tamil Nadu police. MDMK leader V.Gopalsamy (Vaiko), who has previously been imprisoned for delivering speeches in support of the LTTE, has in recent weeks again come to the attention of Tamil Nadu police in this regard, with reports that Tamil Nadu police may take action against the MDMK leader. This noted, Vaiko has also successfully resolved, in recent weeks, a sedition case brought against him in the Madras High Court and a defamation case brought against him in a Chennai Magistrate Court. Other MDMK members have also been in court in recent weeks. On 26 June 2009 *The Hindu* reported that the Madras High Court had granted “conditional bail to Krishnaswamy and nine others belonging to the MDMK and the PUCL in a case relating to the attack on Army vehicles...in Coimbatore district in May [2009]”. According to *United News of India*: “On May 2, over 200 activists belonging to Periyar Dravidar Kazhagam (PDK) and the MDMK blocked and damaged four military trucks and a private truck carrying military equipment” rumored to be destined for Sri Lanka. According to *The Hindu* the MDMK “expressed regret for the incident and said that similar occurrence would not take place in future. They were willing to render community service and abide by any condition imposed by the court”. It would not appear that MDMK supporters presently occupy the attention of Tamil Nadu police or the DMK-led Tamil Nadu state government beyond these matters. MDMK and DMK activists have reportedly clashed in previous years but no reports could be located of any such clashes occurring during the recent April/May 2009 national elections (for Vaikos recent headlines, see: ‘Vaiko sedition case: police consulting legal experts’ 2009, *The Hindu*, 13 April <http://www.hindu.com/2009/04/13/stories/2009041359870800.htm> – Accessed 17 August 2009 – Attachment 14; ‘Pro-LTTE speeches, City police warns of legal action’ 2009, *United*

*News of India*, 12 April – Attachment 15; ‘Vaiko leans on Lanka issue to charm Virudhunagar’ 2009, *Economic Times*, 12 May – Attachment 16; ‘Criminal petition against Jayalalithaa, Vaiko dismissed’ 2009, *The Hindu*, 12 June <http://www.hindu.com/2009/06/12/stories/2009061253370400.htm> – Accessed 17 August 2009 – Attachment 17; ‘Defamation case; Vaiko appears before Magistrate court’ 2009, *United News of India*, 8 July – Attachment 18; for the aftermath of the Coimbatore incident, see: ‘Conditional bail for accused in Army convoy attack case’ 2009, *The Hindu*, 26 June – Attachment 19; ‘6 more held in Army vehicle attack case’ 2009, *United News of India*, 29 May – Attachment 20; for rumours of the supply of weapons to Sri Lanka’s armed forces by India see: ‘Jaya will be the next PM: Vaiko’ 2009, *webindia123.com*, 3 May <http://news.webindia123.com/news/Articles/India/20090503/1244382.html> – Accessed 2 June 2009 – Attachment 21; for clashes between DMK and MDMK activists in Tamil Nadu’s October 2006 Chennai municipal elections, see: Subramanian, T.S. 2006, ‘Farce in Chennai’, *Frontline*, 21 October – 3 November <http://www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/thscrip/print.pl?file=20061103003712900.htm&date=fl2321/&prd=fline&> – Accessed 2 November 2006 – Attachment 22; for the February 2007 disruption of an AIADMK/MDMK event by DMK activists, see: ‘Jayalalithaa flays arrest of AIADMK activists’ 2007, *The Hindu*, 12 February <http://www.hindu.com/2007/02/12/stories/2007021205730400.htm> – Accessed 12 July 2007 – Attachment 23; for a February 2008 clash between MDMK and DMK supporters, see: ‘Violence at MDMK meeting in Kulithalai’ 2008, *The Hindu*, 19 February <http://www.hindu.com/2008/02/19/stories/2008021959570600.htm> – Accessed 11 May 2009 – Attachment 51).

**2. Please provide a brief summary of the available information on the current situation of the TNLA. Is there information to suggest that the TNLA has the support of the DMK either officially or unofficially?**

The Tamil Nadu Liberation Army (TNLA) emerged from a blend of Tamil nationalism and revolutionary Marxism and sought an independent Tamil state through Maoist styled militant activity. The TNLA found its origins in the thinking of Tamil naxalites, like Pulavar Kaliyaperumal, Thamizharasan and Tamilarasan. According to an August 2007 study, published by the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), the TNLA emerged as the “military wing” of the “Tamil Nadu Communist Party-Marxist-Leninist in 1984-85, which had advocated a separate Tamil Nadu”. The TNLA “allegedly had close ties with the [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)] and indulged in several minor bomb blasts and looting of weapons till the mid-1990s, when some of its leaders were killed”. The report states that: “The resultant leadership crisis coupled with massive police crackdown, following the proscription of TNLA under POTA on 2 July 2002, led to the arrest of many members that weakened the group”. The TNLA subsequently maintained some prominence in Tamil Nadu headlines through its association with Koose Muniswamy Veerappan, sometimes referred to as ‘the Bandit King’, a controversial figure whose social banditry network came to involve the TNLA and associated groups like the Tamil Nadu Retrieval Troops. The year 2004 saw a number of major police operations against this network. In May 2004 it was reported that “Tamil Nadu police arrested chief of the outlawed Tamil Nadu Liberation Army (TNLA) Suba Illavarasan, a close accomplice of forest brigand Veerappan, in a dense jungle bordering Karnataka”; and in October 2004 Tamil Nadu police successfully ambushed and killed the elusive Veerappan along with several of his lieutenants and a TNLA figure,

Sethumani. The year 2004 also saw the arrest of persons associated with a new TNLA front, the Tamizhar Viduthalai Iyakkam (TVI) (for background on the origins of the TNLA, see: Srivasta, D. 2007, 'Naxals-LTTE nexus in Tamil Nadu: An Alliance in the Making?', Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, 14 August [http://www.ipcs.org/article\\_details.php?articleNo=2355](http://www.ipcs.org/article_details.php?articleNo=2355) – Accessed 17 August 2009 – Attachment 24; Dailey, P. 2005, 'Days and Nights in the Forest', *Dissent Magazine*, Winter <http://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/?article=267> – Accessed 18 August 2009 – Attachment 50; Kolappan, B. 2000, 'TNLA back in the limelight, thanks to Veerappan', *Indian Express*, 18 August <http://www.indianexpress.com/ie/daily/20000819/ina19010.html> – Accessed 18 August 2009 – Attachment 40; for further information on the 2002 crackdown, see: Viswanathan, S. 2002, 'A crackdown in Tamil Nadu', *Frontline* website, 7 – 20 December <http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1925/stories/20021220005003800.htm> – Accessed 7 March 2007 – Attachment 25; for further background on the TNLA up to 2005, see: 'Tamil Nadu Liberation Army (TNLA)' (undated), South Asia Terrorism Portal website <http://www.satp.org/satporctp/countries/india/terroristoutfits/TNLA.htm> – Accessed 26 November 2007 – Attachment 47; for further information on the TNLA's relationship with Veerappan, see: 'Bandit King becomes Tamil militant, puts community over self' 2000, *Express News Service*, 6 August <http://www.indianexpress.com/ie/daily/20000807/ina07037.html> – Accessed 18 August 2009 – Attachment 48; and: Thapa, V.J., Vaasanthi & David, S. 2000, 'Pardon This Man?', *India Today*, 21 August <http://www.india-today.com/itoday/20000821/crime.shtml> – Accessed 18 August 2009 – Attachment 49; for the arrest of Suba Illavarasan, see: Chanda, A. 2004, 'Veerappan's aide arrested', *The Tribune*, 26 May <http://www.tribuneindia.com/2004/20040527/nation.htm#9> – Accessed 18 August 2009 – Attachment 47; for the Veerappan ambush, see: Palaniappan, V.S. & Prasad, S. 2004, 'Veerappan walked into a well-laid trap', *The Hindu*, 19 October <http://www.hindu.com/2004/10/20/stories/2004102007580100.htm> – Accessed 26 November 2007 – Attachment 26; for the TVI arrests, see: 'Held on charges of extortion' 2004, *The Hindu*, 27 March <http://www.hindu.com/2004/03/27/stories/2004032708630400.htm> – Accessed 12 August 2009 – Attachment 43).

Since the Tamil Nadu police crackdowns of 2002–2004 it would appear that the TNLA network has been relatively quiescent. In recent years reports have occasionally appeared of the arrest of alleged TNLA figures on charges associated with robbery and/or extortion but it would not appear that the TNLA has been conducting bombings, abductions, or attacks on police stations, in the manner that it once did. An incident in which a former TNLA figure was attacked by other TNLA associates was reported in 2004 following which a number of the alleged TNLA assailants were arrested. It would not appear that any other incidents of this kind have been reported in more recent years. In October 2006 the *Press Trust of India* reported that the TNLA had “announced that it has abandoned ‘armed struggle’ and appealed to the state government to help it join the democratic process. Kavitha, wife of Suba Ilavarasan, imprisoned on charges of anti-national activities, talking to reporters said the organisation, now named ‘Tamizhar Needhi Katchi’, had decided to achieve its goal of ‘establishing a socialist Tamil Nadu’ through democratic process”. Kavitha also told reporters that the group “was facing difficulties in functioning ‘democratically’ as it was continuously [*sic*] being subjected to repressive measures by the police and was still branded as an extremist organisation”. In March 2007 *The Press Trust of India* reported on Tamil Nadu police plans for “the total eradication of extremist activities of Tamil Nadu Liberation Army (TNLA) in the state”; the report also related that: “the activities of TNLA were eradicated in most parts of north and central zones following efforts taken by police”. In November 2008

*Tehelka* reported that: “While cadres of the two groups have been arrested and the outfits are said to be defunct, a top official of the Q Branch of the state police, which deals with separatist outfits, said some cadres from these outfits are out on bail but are under close watch”. Even so, some sources suggest that the TNLA network remains active and present in certain areas of Tamil Nadu. On 20 April 2008 *New Indian Express* reported that “[m]embers of the public in Ariyalur district are disturbed” by the re-emergence of the TNLA through new political fronts. And according to a July 2008 *New Indian Express* report: “the outfit has a presence in Perambalur, Cuddalore, Thanavur, Changalpattu-East, Dindigul, Coimbatore, Nilgiris, Tiruchi, Salem, Villuparam, Nagapattinam, Chennai, Dharmapuri and Tuticorin districts. The area where slain forest brigand Veerappan operated also serves as a safe haven for the TNLA cadres” (for reports of recent arrests, see: ‘TNLA member held in heist case’ 2008, *United News of India*, 17 August – Attachment 33; ‘Two held with deadly weapons’ 2008, *The Hindu*, 22 November

<http://www.hindu.com/2008/11/22/stories/2008112259330300.htm> – Accessed 12 August 2009 – Attachment 31; ‘TNLA Leader Arrested’ 2008, *New Indian Express*, 2 July – Attachment 38; for the 2004 incident, see: ‘Country bombs hurled’ 2004, *The Hindu*, 12 August <http://www.hindu.com/2004/08/12/stories/2004081208500400.htm> – Accessed 12 August 2009 – Attachment 54; ‘Gang hacks former TNLA member to death’ 2004, *The Hindu*, 12 December – Attachment 4; ‘2 held in Arivazhagan case’ 2004, *The Hindu*, 20 December <http://www.hindu.com/2004/12/20/stories/2004122008820400.htm> – Accessed 12 August 2009 – Attachment 56; for the launch of the TNK, see: ‘Extremist grp abandons armed struggle’ 2006, *Press Trust of India*, 10 October – Attachment 42; ‘Activities’ 2007, *Press Trust of India*, 7 March – Attachment 41; Kumar, V. 2008, ‘The “Liberators” of Tamil Nadu’, *Tehelka*, Vol. 5, Issue 46, 22 November [http://www.tehelka.com/story\\_main40.asp?filename=Ne221108the\\_liberators.asp](http://www.tehelka.com/story_main40.asp?filename=Ne221108the_liberators.asp) – Accessed 26 March 2009 – Attachment 30; ‘Public concerned about return of ultras in Ariyalur’ 2008, *New Indian Express*, 20 April – Attachment 34; ‘TNLA Leader Arrested’ 2008, *New Indian Express*, 2 July – Attachment 38).

The relationship between the TNLA movement and the ruling DMK would appear to be a complex one. The DMK itself once advocated the formation of an independent Tamil state (the DMK “dropped its demand for a separate Dravida nation almost half a century ago, in 1963”) and it would appear that the TNLA has a history of supporting the DMK in electoral politics. In launching the Tamizhar Needhi Katchi TNLA front in October 2006, Kavitha told the *Press Trust of India* that: “As the party had a base only in a few districts, it had decided to extend support the DMK-led alliance in the civic body elections ... Explaining the reasons for the decision, she said the DMK was a political party fighting for the rights of Tamils”. On 23 April 2009 *Indian Express* reported that “Suba Ilavarasan, the leader of the banned Tamil extremist organization, Tamizar Vidudhalai Iyakkam, [was] campaigning for the DMK in Salem and Dharmapuri” through the Tamizar Needhi Katchi. The AIADMK opposition, which while in office oversaw the police actions of 2002 and 2004, has alleged that there is a nexus of support between the DMK and insurgent groups like the TNLA, alleging that the DMK-led Tamil Nadu government has been soft on security because of this relationship. In July 2008, the Pattali Makkal Katchi (PMK), which is currently allied with the AIADMK opposition, made a number of specific allegations following the release on bail of the former TNLA leader, Suba Ilavarasan. The PMK alleged that “Suba Ilavarasan, leader of the banned outfit Tamil Nadu Liberation Army, and a few others were detained during a routine vehicle check up, but let off after an intervention by a senior DMK Minister”. The “Superintendent of Police for Cuddalore District” reportedly denied the claims offering that the police had no grounds on which to hold the Suba Ilavarasan and his associates. In spite of such allegations

arrests of alleged TNLA figures have, as is noted above, continued to be reported since the election of the DMK-led Tamil Nadu government in May 2006. The DMK government has also committed publicly to combating any resurgence of TNLA militant activity. On 17 July 2009 *United News of India* reported on the comments of Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi in regard to the Tamil Nadu Liberation Army (TNLA). At this time the DMK leader asserted that the Tamil Nadu's ongoing campaign against the activities of both the CPI (Maoist) and TNLA had "led to the non-existence of extremism in the state"; "Activities of banned organisations like Tamil Nadu Liberation Army (TNLA), and Tamizhaga Viduthalai Iyakkam (TVI) and CPI (Maoist) were being closely monitored to prevent them from indulging in any activity disturbing law and order", the Chief Minister said (Kumar, V. 2008, 'The "Liberators" of Tamil Nadu', *Tehelka*, Vol. 5, Issue 46, 22 November [http://www.tehelka.com/story\\_main40.asp?filename=Ne221108the\\_liberators.asp](http://www.tehelka.com/story_main40.asp?filename=Ne221108the_liberators.asp) – Accessed 26 March 2009 – Attachment 30; for TNLA support for the DMK, see: 'Extremist grp abandons armed struggle' 2006, *Press Trust of India*, 10 October – Attachment 42; 'Extremist leader seeks votes for DMK' 2009, *Indian Express*, 23 April <http://www.expressbuzz.com/edition/print.aspx?artid=LWSr8YJEX7Y> – Accessed 17 August 2009 – Attachment 27; for the allegations of the AIADMK, see: 'Law and order has never been so bad' 2008, *New Indian Express*, 12 October – Attachment 32; for the PMK accusations of July 2008, see: 'Police rubbish charges' 2008, *New Indian Express*, 4 July – Attachment 35; 'Situation in State akin to mini-emergency: Ramadoss' 2008, *The Hindu*, 6 July <http://www.hindu.com/2008/07/06/stories/2008070654110400.htm> – Accessed 26 March 2009 – Attachment 37; 'Liberation and Peace!' 2008, *News Today*, 7 July <http://newstodaynet.com/newsindex.php?section=13&catid=22&id=8970> – Accessed 26 March 2009 – Attachment 36; for ongoing pursuit of TNLA suspects by the Tamil Nadu authorities under the DMK government, see: Venkatesan, J. 2008, 'LTTE still most lethal: tribunal', *The Hindu*, 21 November <http://www.thehindu.com/2008/11/21/stories/2008112159290100.htm> – Accessed 12 August 2009 – Attachment 29; 'Banned outfits under close watch' 2008, *The Hindu*, 10 May <http://www.hindu.com/2008/05/10/stories/2008051052890400.htm> – Accessed 12 August 2009 – Attachment 39; and for arrests under the DMK, see: 'TNLA member held in heist case' 2008, *United News of India*, 17 August – Attachment 33; 'Two held with deadly weapons' 2008, *The Hindu*, 22 November <http://www.hindu.com/2008/11/22/stories/2008112259330300.htm> – Accessed 12 August 2009 – Attachment 31; 'TNLA Leader Arrested' 2008, *New Indian Express*, 2 July – Attachment 38; for Karunanidhi's commitment to containing TNLA militancy, see: 'No Maoist extremism in TN: Karunanidhi' 2009, *United News of India*, 17 July – Attachment 28).

For previous research on the TNLA, see *Research Response IND34509* of 30 March 2009 and *Research Response IND34801* of 13 May 2009 (RRT Research & Information 2009, *Research Response IND34509*, 30 March – Attachment 52; RRT Research & Information 2009, *Research Response IND34801*, 13 May – Attachment 53).

### **3. Is there any information available to suggest that the TNLA have conducted reprisal attacks upon former members? What information is available on the situation of ex-TNLA identities more generally?**

With regard to the occurrence of reprisal attacks on former TNLA members by other TNLA associates, only one incident could be located of such an event in a search of the Factiva news

database and online. The event, noted above, occurred in 2004. An overview of the available reportage follows below.

On 11 August 2004 *The Hindu* reported that: “Tension prevailed at Dhevanur near Jayamkondam this morning after country bombs were allegedly hurled at a former activist of the banned Tamizhar Viduthalai Iyakkam (TVI), Arivazhagan, by a group of persons. However, none was injured.” Details of subsequent police actions follow:

Arivazhagan preferred a complaint with the police alleging that an attempt was made on his life by four persons. He said the bombs were hurled at the car in which he was proceeding to the Jayamkondam court from Vallam.

Top police officials, inspected the scene where a few splinters were seen.

A case under Section 307 (Attempt to murder) of the IPC and Section 5 of the Indian Explosive Substances Act has been registered (‘Country bombs hurled’ 2004, *The Hindu*, 12 August <http://www.hindu.com/2004/08/12/stories/2004081208500400.htm> – Accessed 12 August 2009 – Attachment 54).

On 12 December 2004 *The Hindu* reported that: “A former member of the banned Tamil Nadu Liberation Army (TNLA), Arivazhagan (33), was hacked to death by an armed gang at his house at Vallam in Andimadam panchayat union”; and that: “Group rivalry is suspected to be the cause for the murder”. Police were reportedly searching for the alleged attackers. Details of the victim, Arivazhagan, and his relationship with the TNLA, follow below:

The police sources said, Arivazhagan, who got married only six months ago, had several crime cases against him registered not only in Perambalur but also in the neighbouring Cuddalore and Erode districts.

...Arivazhagan, the sources said, became a member of the now banned TNLA in 1996. Later, he joined the Tamizhar Viduthalai Iyakkam, floated by Suba. Illavarasan in 2001.

After serving as its State deputy general secretary, Arivazhagan joined the Veera Vanniya Peravai in February 2004.

A case was registered against Arivazhagan by the Special Task Force (STF) in 2003 for having allegedly supplied an AK-47 rifle to the forest brigand Veerappan (‘Gang hacks former TNLA member to death’ 2004, *The Hindu*, 12 December – Attachment 4).

It was subsequently reported, on 20 December 2004, that police had arrested: “Ten persons, including a former activist of the banned Tamil Nadu Liberation Army (TNLA), and an office-bearer of the Paatali Makkal Katchi (PMK)” accused of murdering Arivazhagan (‘2 held in Arivazhagan case’ 2004, *The Hindu*, 20 December <http://www.hindu.com/2004/12/20/stories/2004122008820400.htm> – Accessed 12 August 2009 – Attachment 56).

It would appear that Arivazhagan was prominent member of the TNLA and his alleged involvement in a number of militant actions conducted by the TNLA has been reported over the years (see: ‘5 TNLA men convicted in rail-track blast case’ 2003, *The Hindu*, 15 November – Attachment 57; ‘Suba Ilavarasan acquitted’ 2007, *The Hindu*, 3 September <http://www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/thscrip/print.pl?file=2007030910630400.htm&date=2007/03/09/&prd=th&> – Accessed 27 March 2009 – Attachment 58; Das, S. & Raghavan, T.S. 2004, ‘TN STF nabs key Veerappan aide’, *The Times of India*, 28 May – Attachment 59).

## List of Sources Consulted

### Internet Sources:

#### **Regional News Services**

*Asia Times Online* <http://www.atimes.com>

*DNA News* <http://www.dnaindia.com>

*Express India* <http://www.expressindia.com>

*Frontline* <http://www.frontlineonnet.com>

*The Hindu* <http://www.hinduonnet.com>

*The Hindustan Times* <http://www.hindustantimes.com>

*Rediff News* <http://www.rediff.com>

*Thaindian News* <http://www.thaindian.com>

*The Times of India* <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com>

*The Tribune* <http://www.tribuneindia.com>

#### **Search Engines**

Google search engine <http://www.google.com>

Staggernation Google API Proximity Search search engine

<http://www.staggernation.com/cgi-bin/gaps.cgi>

### Databases:

FACTIVA (news database)

BACIS (DIAC Country Information database)

REFINFO (IRBDC (Canada) Country Information database)

ISYS (RRT Research & Information database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of State Reports)

RRT Library Catalogue

## List of Attachments

1. 'Will Jayalalithaa split the DMK alliance?' 2006, *Rediff News*, 17 February <http://www.rediff.com/news/2006/feb/18flip.htm> – Accessed 9 June 2009.
2. Subramanian, T.S. 2002, 'A crackdown in Tamil Nadu', *Frontline*, 20 July / 2 August, vol.19: no.15 <http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1915/19150200.htm> – Accessed 9 June 2009.
3. Vinoj Kumar, P.C. 2006, 'Will Wit's Warhorse Win?', *Tehelka*, 15 April [http://www.tehelka.com/story\\_main17.asp?filename=Ne041506up\\_close.asp](http://www.tehelka.com/story_main17.asp?filename=Ne041506up_close.asp) – Accessed 9 June 2009.
4. 'The see-saw battle' 2004, *The Hindu*, 1 February <http://www.hindu.com/2004/02/01/stories/2004020100491600.htm> – Accessed 9 June 2009.
5. 'Vaiko joins Jaya ranks' 2006, *The Statesman*, 5 March. (FACTIVA)
6. 'Vaiko strikes poll alliance with AIADMK' 2006, *The Hindu*, 5 March. (FACTIVA)

7. 'Berth row solved, DMK to join UPA government' 2009, *Express Buzz*, source: *Indo-Asian News Service*, 24 May  
<http://www.expressbuzz.com/edition/story.aspx?Title=Berth+row+solved,+DMK+to+join+UPA+government&artid=Czv%7CLOEPoj4=&SectionID=b7ziAYMenjw=&MainSectionID=b7ziAYMenjw=&SectionName=pWehHe7IsSU=&SEO=karunanidhi,%20cabinet> – Accessed 10 June 2009.
8. Bhattacharya, S. 2009, 'In India, the comedy of power-sharing', *Asia Times*, 2 June  
[http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South\\_Asia/KF02Df02.html](http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/KF02Df02.html) – Accessed 5 June 2009.
9. 'MDMK withdraws support to UPA Government' 2007, *OneIndia*, source: *United News of India*, 16 March  
<http://news.oneindia.in/2007/03/16/mdmk-withdraws-support-to-upa-government.html> – Accessed 9 June 2009.
10. 'AIADMK combine will sweep elections: Vaiko' 2009, *The Hindu*, 5 March  
<http://www.hindu.com/2009/03/05/stories/2009030553640400.htm> – Accessed 10 June 2009.
11. Venkataramanan, K. 2009, 'DMK-Cong proves pollsters wrong', *Times of India*, 17 May  
<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/Cities/Chennai/DMK-Cong-proves-pollsters-wrong/articleshow/4541157.cms> – Accessed 2 June 2009.
12. Srinivasan, G. 2009, 'DMK, MDMK lock horns for the second time', *The Hindu*, 14 April  
<http://www.hindu.com/2009/04/14/stories/2009041457740700.htm> – Accessed 2 June 2009.
13. 'Upset with AIADMK, MDMK mulling talks with NDA' 2009, *Thaindian*, source: *Indo-Asian News Service*, 2 April  
[http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/politics/upset-with-aiadmkm-dmkm-mulling-talks-with-nda\\_100174673.html](http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/politics/upset-with-aiadmkm-dmkm-mulling-talks-with-nda_100174673.html) – Accessed 9 June 2009.
14. 'Vaiko sedition case: police consulting legal experts' 2009, *The Hindu*, 13 April  
<http://www.hindu.com/2009/04/13/stories/2009041359870800.htm> – Accessed 17 August 2009.
15. 'Pro-LTTE speeches, City police warns of legal action' 2009, *United News of India*, 12 April. (FACTIVA)
16. 'Vaiko leans on Lanka issue to charm Virudhunagar' 2009, *Economic Times*, 12 May. (FACTIVA)
17. 'Criminal petition against Jayalalithaa, Vaiko dismissed' 2009, *The Hindu*, 12 June  
<http://www.hindu.com/2009/06/12/stories/2009061253370400.htm> – Accessed 17 August 2009.
18. 'Defamation case; Vaiko appears before Magistrate court' 2009, *United News of India*, 8 July. (FACTIVA)
19. 'Conditional bail for accused in Army convoy attack case' 2009, *The Hindu*, 26 June. (FACTIVA)

20. '6 more held in Army vehicle attack case' 2009, *United News of India*, 29 May. (FACTIVA)
21. 'Jaya will be the next PM: Vaiko' 2009, *webindia123.com*, 3 May  
<http://news.webindia123.com/news/Articles/India/20090503/1244382.html> – Accessed 2 June 2009.
22. Subramanian, T.S. 2006, 'Farce in Chennai', *Frontline*, 21 October – 3 November  
<http://www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/thscrip/print.pl?file=20061103003712900.htm&date=f12321/&prd=fline&> – Accessed 2 November 2006.
23. 'Jayalalithaa flays arrest of AIADMK activists' 2007, *The Hindu*, 12 February  
<http://www.hindu.com/2007/02/12/stories/2007021205730400.htm> – Accessed 12 July 2007.
24. Srivasta, D. 2007, 'Naxals-LTTE nexus in Tamil Nadu: An Alliance in the Making?', Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, 14 August  
[http://www.ipcs.org/article\\_details.php?articleNo=2355](http://www.ipcs.org/article_details.php?articleNo=2355) – Accessed 17 August 2009.
25. Viswanathan, S. 2002, 'A crackdown in Tamil Nadu', *Frontline* website, 7 – 20 December  
<http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1925/stories/20021220005003800.htm> – Accessed 7 March 2007.
26. Palaniappan, V.S. & Prasad, S. 2004, 'Veerappan walked into a well-laid trap', *The Hindu*, 19 October  
<http://www.hindu.com/2004/10/20/stories/2004102007580100.htm> – Accessed 26 November 2007.
27. 'Extremist leader seeks votes for DMK' 2009, *Indian Express*, 23 April  
<http://www.expressbuzz.com/edition/print.aspx?artid=LSr8YJEX7Y> – Accessed 17 August 2009.
28. 'No Maoist extremism in TN: Karunanidhi' 2009, *United News of India*, 17 July. (FACTIVA)
29. Venkatesan, J. 2008, 'LTTE still most lethal: tribunal', *The Hindu*, 21 November  
<http://www.thehindu.com/2008/11/21/stories/2008112159290100.htm> – Accessed 12 August 2009.
30. Kumar, V. 2008, 'The "Liberators" of Tamil Nadu', *Tehelka*, Vol. 5, Issue 46, 22 November  
[http://www.tehelka.com/story\\_main40.asp?filename=Ne221108the\\_liberators.asp](http://www.tehelka.com/story_main40.asp?filename=Ne221108the_liberators.asp) – Accessed 26 March 2009.
31. 'Two held with deadly weapons' 2008, *The Hindu*, 22 November  
<http://www.hindu.com/2008/11/22/stories/2008112259330300.htm> – Accessed 12 August 2009.
32. 'Law and order has never been so bad' 2008, *New Indian Express*, 12 October. (FACTIVA)
33. 'TNLA member held in heist case' 2008, *United News of India*, 17 August. (FACTIVA)

34. 'Public concerned about return of ultras in Ariyalur' 2008, *New Indian Express*, 20 April. (FACTIVA)
35. 'Police rubbish charges' 2008, *New Indian Express*, 4 July. (FACTIVA)
36. 'Liberation and Peace!' 2008, *News Today*, 7 July  
<http://newstodaynet.com/newsindex.php?section=13&catid=22&id=8970> – Accessed 26 March 2009.
37. 'Situation in State akin to mini-emergency: Ramadoss' 2008, *The Hindu*, 6 July  
<http://www.hindu.com/2008/07/06/stories/2008070654110400.htm> – Accessed 26 March 2009.
38. 'TNLA Leader Arrested' 2008, *New Indian Express*, 2 July. (FACTIVA)
39. 'Banned outfits under close watch' 2008, *The Hindu*, 10 May  
<http://www.hindu.com/2008/05/10/stories/2008051052890400.htm> – Accessed 12 August 2009.
40. Kolappan, B. 2000, 'TNLA back in the limelight, thanks to Veerappan', *Indian Express*, 18 August <http://www.indianexpress.com/ie/daily/20000819/ina19010.html> – Accessed 18 August 2009.
41. 'Activities' 2007, *Press Trust of India*, 7 March. (FACTIVA)
42. 'Extremist grp abandons armed struggle' 2006, *Press Trust of India*, 10 October. (FACTIVA)
43. 'Held on charges of extortion' 2004, *The Hindu*, 27 March  
<http://www.hindu.com/2004/03/27/stories/2004032708630400.htm> – Accessed 12 August 2009.
44. Subramanian, T.S. 2006, 'Vaiko's flip-flop', *Frontline*, vol.23: no.5, 12-24 March  
<http://www.thehindu.com/fline/fl2305/stories/20060324007513100.htm> – Accessed 18 August 2009.
45. Jayanth, V. 2006, 'Karunanidhi's arithmetic versus Jayalalithaa's chemistry', *The Hindu*, 6 April <http://www.hindu.com/2006/04/06/stories/2006040605751500.htm> – Accessed 18 August 2009.
46. Chanda, A. 2004, 'Veerappan's aide arrested', *The Tribune*, 26 May  
<http://www.tribuneindia.com/2004/20040527/nation.htm#9> – Accessed 18 August 2009.
47. 'Tamil Nadu Liberation Army (TNLA)' (undated), South Asia Terrorism Portal website <http://www.satp.org/satporgrp/countries/india/terroristoutfits/TNLA.htm> – Accessed 26 November 2007.
48. 'Bandit King becomes Tamil militant, puts community over self' 2000, *Express News Service*, 6 August <http://www.indianexpress.com/ie/daily/20000807/ina07037.html> – Accessed 18 August 2009.

49. Thapa, V.J., Vaasanthi & David, S. 2000, 'Pardon This Man?', *India Today*, 21 August <http://www.india-today.com/itoday/20000821/crime.shtml> – Accessed 18 August 2009.
50. Dailey, P. 2005, 'Days and Nights in the Forest', *Dissent Magazine*, Winter <http://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/?article=267> – Accessed 18 August 2009.
51. 'Violence at MDMK meeting in Kulithalai' 2008, *The Hindu*, 19 February <http://www.hindu.com/2008/02/19/stories/2008021959570600.htm> – Accessed 11 May 2009.
52. RRT Research & Information 2009, *Research Response IND34509*, 30 March.
53. RRT Research & Information 2009, *Research Response IND34801*, 13 May.
54. 'Country bombs hurled' 2004, *The Hindu*, 12 August <http://www.hindu.com/2004/08/12/stories/2004081208500400.htm> – Accessed 12 August 2009.
55. 'Gang hacks former TNLA member to death' 2004, *The Hindu*, 12 December. (FACTIVA)
56. '2 held in Arivazhagan case' 2004, *The Hindu*, 20 December <http://www.hindu.com/2004/12/20/stories/2004122008820400.htm> – Accessed 12 August 2009.
57. '5 TNLA men convicted in rail-track blast case' 2003, *The Hindu*, 15 November. (FACTIVA)
58. 'Suba Ilavarasan acquitted' 2007, *The Hindu*, 3 September <http://www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/thscrip/print.pl?file=2007030910630400.htm&date=2007/03/09/&prd=th&> – Accessed 27 March 2009.
59. Das, S. & Raghavan, T.S. 2004, 'TN STF nabs key Veerappan aide', *The Times of India*, 28 May. (FACTIVA)