



# Encyclopedia of Indian History

## 21th Century Volume 3

**Thomas Baird**



**ENCYCLOPEDIA OF  
INDIAN HISTORY  
21TH CENTURY  
VOLUME 3**



**ENCYCLOPEDIA OF  
INDIAN HISTORY  
21TH CENTURY  
VOLUME 3**

Thomas Baird

Encyclopedia of Indian History: 21th Century, Volume 3  
by Thomas Baird

Copyright© 2022 BIBLIOTEX

[www.bibliotex.com](http://www.bibliotex.com)

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or used in any manner without the prior written permission of the copyright owner, except for the use brief quotations in a book review.

To request permissions, contact the publisher at [info@bibliotex.com](mailto:info@bibliotex.com)

Ebook ISBN: 9781984668219



Published by:

Bibliotex

Canada

Website: [www.bibliotex.com](http://www.bibliotex.com)

# Contents

Chapter 14	2008 Mumbai Attacks .....	435
Chapter 15	Ajmal Kasab .....	465
Chapter 16	Attribution of the 2008 Mumbai Attacks .....	481
Chapter 17	Erroneous Reporting on the 2008 Mumbai Attacks .....	497
Chapter 18	Zabiuddin Ansari.....	513
Chapter 19	Casualties and Compensation: 2008 Mumbai Attacks.....	520
Chapter 20	Aftermath of the 2008 Mumbai Attacks .....	541
Chapter 21	Reactions to the 2008 Mumbai Attacks.....	560
Chapter 22	2008 Mumbai Attacks: Persons .....	591



## Chapter 14

# 2008 Mumbai Attacks

The **2008 Mumbai attacks** (also referred to as **26/11**) were a series of terrorist attacks that took place in November 2008, when 10 members of Lashkar-e-Taiba, an Islamist terrorist organisation from Pakistan, carried out 12 coordinated shooting and bombing attacks lasting four days across Mumbai. The attacks, which drew widespread global condemnation, began on Wednesday 26 November and lasted until Saturday 29 November 2008. At least 174 people died, including 9 attackers, and more than 300 were wounded.

Eight of the attacks occurred in South Mumbai at Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus, Mumbai Chabad House, The Oberoi Trident, The Taj Palace & Tower, Leopold Cafe, Cama Hospital, The Nariman House, the Metro Cinema, and in a lane behind the *Times of India* building and St. Xavier's College. There was also an explosion at Mazagaon, in Mumbai's port area, and in a taxi at Vile Parle. By the early morning of 28 November, all sites except for the Taj Hotel had been secured by the Mumbai Police and security forces. On 29 November, India's National Security Guards (NSG) conducted Operation Black Tornado to flush out the remaining attackers; it culminated in the death of the last remaining attackers at the Taj Hotel and ended the attacks.

Pakistan condemned the attacks. Ajmal Kasab, the sole surviving attacker, disclosed that the attackers were members of the terrorist group Lashkar-e-Taiba, among others. The

Government of India stated that the attackers came from Pakistan, and their controllers were in Pakistan. Pakistan later confirmed that the sole surviving perpetrator of the attacks was a Pakistani citizen. On 9 April 2015, the foremost ringleader of the attacks, Zakiur Rehman Lakhvi, was released on bail and disappeared; he was arrested again in Lahore on 2 January 2021. In 2018, former Pakistani prime minister Nawaz Sharif suggested that the Pakistani government played a role in the 2008 Mumbai attack.

## **Background**

There had been many terrorist attacks in Mumbai since the 13 coordinated bomb explosions that killed 257 people and injured 700 on 12 March 1993. The 1993 attacks were carried out in revenge for earlier religious riots that killed many Muslims.

On 6 December 2002, a blast in a BEST bus near Ghatkopar station killed two people and injured 28. The bombing occurred on the 10th anniversary of the demolition of the Babri Mosque in Ayodhya. A bicycle bomb exploded near the Vile Parle station in Mumbai, killing one person and injuring 25 on 27 January 2003, a day before the visit of the Prime Minister of India Atal Bihari Vajpayee to the city. On 13 March 2003, a day after the 10th anniversary of the 1993 Bombay bombings, a bomb exploded in a train compartment near the Mulund station, killing 10 people and injuring 70. On 28 July 2003, a blast in a BEST bus in Ghatkopar killed 4 people and injured 32. On 25 August 2003, two bombs exploded in South Mumbai, one near the Gateway of India and the other at Zaveri Bazaar in Kalbadevi. At least 44 people were killed and 150 injured.

On 11 July 2006, seven bombs exploded within 11 minutes on the Suburban Railway in Mumbai, killing 209 people, including 22 foreigners and more than 700 injured. According to the Mumbai Police, the bombings were carried out by Lashkar-e-Taiba and Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI).

## **Training**

A group of men, sometimes stated as 24 and at other times 26, received training in marine warfare at a remote camp in mountainous Muzaffarabad in Pakistan. Part of the training was reported to have taken place on the Mangla Dam reservoir in Pakistan.

The recruits went through the following stages of training, according to Indian and US media reports:

- Psychological: Indoctrination to Islamist Jihadi ideas, including imagery of atrocities suffered by Muslims in India, Chechnya, Palestine and across the globe.
- Basic Combat: Lashkar's basic combat training and methodology course, the *Daura Aam*.
- Advanced Training: Selected to undergo advanced combat training at a camp near Mansehra, a course the organisation calls the *Daura Khaas*. According to an unnamed source at the US Defense Department this includes advanced weapons and explosives training supervised by former members of the Pakistan Army, along with survival training and further indoctrination.

- **Commando Training:** Finally, an even smaller group selected for specialised commando tactics training and marine navigation training given to the Fedayeen unit selected in order to target Mumbai.

From the recruits, ten were handpicked for the Mumbai mission. They also received training in swimming and sailing, besides the use of high-end weapons and explosives under the supervision of LeT commanders. According to a media report citing an unnamed former Defence Department Official of the US, the intelligence agencies of the US had determined that former officers from Pakistan's Army and Inter-Services Intelligence agency assisted actively and continuously in training. They were given blueprints of all the four targets – The Taj Mahal Palace Hotel, Oberoi Trident, Nariman House and Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Terminus.

## **Attacks**

The first events were detailed around 20:00 Indian Standard Time (IST) on 26 November, when 10 men in inflatable speedboats came ashore at two locations in Colaba. They reportedly told local Marathi-speaking fishermen who asked them who they were to "mind their own business" before they split up and headed two different ways. The fishermen's subsequent report to the police department received little response and local police were helpless.

### **Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Terminus**

The Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Terminus (CSMT) was attacked by two gunmen, Ismail Khan and Ajmal Kasab. Kasab

was later caught alive by the police and identified by eyewitnesses. The attacks began around 21:30 when the two men entered the passenger hall and opened fire using AK-47 rifles. The attackers killed 58 people and injured 104 others, their assault ending at about 22:45. Security forces and emergency services arrived shortly afterwards. Announcements by a railway announcer, Vishnu Dattaram Zende, alerted passengers to leave the station and saved many lives. The two gunmen fled the scene and fired at pedestrians and police officers in the streets, killing eight police officers. The attackers passed a police station. Knowing that they were outgunned against the heavily armed terrorists, the police officers at the station, instead of confronting the terrorists, decided to switch off the lights and secure the gates.

The attackers then headed towards Cama Hospital with intent to kill patients, but the hospital staff locked all of the patient wards. A team of the Mumbai Anti-Terrorist Squad led by police chief Hemant Karkare searched the Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus and then left in pursuit of Kasab and Khan. Kasab and Khan opened fire on the vehicle in a lane next to the hospital, and received return fire in response. Karkare, Vijay Salaskar,

Ashok Kamte and one of their officers were killed. The only survivor, Constable Arun Jadhav, was severely wounded. Kasab and Khan seized the police vehicle but later abandoned it and seized a passenger car instead.

They then ran into a police roadblock, which had been set up after Jadhav radioed for help. A gun battle then ensued in which Khan was killed and Kasab was wounded. After a

physical struggle, Kasab was arrested. A police officer, Tukaram Omble, was also killed when he tried to disarm Kasab by wrestling his weapon away from him.

### **Leopold Cafe**

The Leopold Cafe, a popular restaurant and bar on Colaba Causeway in South Mumbai, was one of the first sites to be attacked. Two attackers, Shoaib alias Soheb and Nazir alias Abu Umer, opened fire on the cafe on the evening of 26 November between 21:30 and 21:48, killing 10 people (including some foreigners) and injuring many more.

### **Bomb blasts in taxis**

There were two explosions in taxis caused by timer bombs. The first one occurred at 22:40 at Vile Parle, killing the driver and a passenger. The second explosion took place at Wadi Bunder between 22:20 and 22:25. Three people, including the driver of the taxi were killed, and about 15 others were injured.

### **Taj Mahal Palace Hotel and Oberoi Trident**

Two hotels, The Taj Mahal Palace Hotel and the Oberoi Trident, were among the four locations targeted. Six explosions were reported at the Taj Hotel – one in the lobby, two in the elevators, three in the restaurant – and one at the Oberoi Trident. At the Taj, firefighters rescued 200 hostages from windows using ladders during the first night.

CNN initially reported on the morning of 27 November 2008 that the hostage situation at the Taj Hotel had been resolved

and quoted the police chief of Maharashtra stating that all hostages were freed; however, it was learned later that day that there were still two attackers holding hostages, including foreigners, in the Taj Hotel.

A number of European Parliament Committee on International Trade delegates were staying in the Taj Hotel when it was attacked, but none of them were injured. British Conservative Member of the European Parliament (MEP) Sajjad Karim (who was in the lobby when attackers initially opened fire there) and German Social Democrat MEP Erika Mann were hiding in different parts of the building. Also reported present was Spanish MEP Ignasi Guardans, who was barricaded in a hotel room. Another British Conservative MEP, Syed Kamall, reported that he along with several other MEPs left the hotel and went to a nearby restaurant shortly before the attack. Kamall also reported that Polish MEP Jan Masiel was thought to have been sleeping in his hotel room when the attacks started, but eventually left the hotel safely. Kamall and Guardans reported that a Hungarian MEP's assistant was shot. Also caught up in the shooting were the President of Madrid, Esperanza Aguirre, while checking in at the Oberoi Trident, and Indian MP N. N. Krishnadas of Kerala and Gulam Noon while having dinner at a restaurant in the Taj Hotel.

## **Nariman House**

Nariman House, a Chabad Lubavitch Jewish centre in Colaba known as the Mumbai Chabad House, was taken over by two attackers and several residents were held hostage. Police evacuated adjacent buildings and exchanged fire with the attackers, wounding one. Local residents were told to stay

inside. The attackers threw a grenade into a nearby lane, causing no casualties. NSG commandos arrived from Delhi, and a naval helicopter took an aerial survey. During the first day, 9 hostages were rescued from the first floor. The following day, the house was stormed by NSG commandos fast-roping from helicopters onto the roof, covered by snipers positioned in nearby buildings. After a long battle, one NSG commando, Sergeant Gajender Singh Bisht, and both perpetrators were killed. Rabbi Gavriel Holtzberg and his wife Rivka Holtzberg, who was six months pregnant, were murdered with four other hostages inside the house by the attackers.

According to radio transmissions picked up by Indian intelligence, the attackers "would be told by their handlers in Pakistan that the lives of Jews were worth 50 times those of non-Jews". Injuries on some of the bodies indicated that they may have been tortured.

### **NSG raid**

During the attacks, both hotels were surrounded by Rapid Action Force personnel and Marine Commandos (MARCOS) and National Security Guards (NSG) commandos. When reports emerged that attackers were receiving television broadcasts, feeds to the hotels were blocked. Security forces stormed both hotels, and all nine attackers were killed by the morning of 29 November.

Major Sandeep Unnikrishnan of the NSG was martyred during the rescue of Commando Sunil Yadav, who was hit in the leg by a bullet during the rescue operations at Taj. 32 hostages were killed at the Oberoi Trident.

NSG commandos then took on the Nariman house, and a Naval helicopter took an aerial survey. During the first day, 9 hostages were rescued from the first floor. The following day, the house was stormed by NSG commandos fast-roping from helicopters onto the roof, covered by snipers positioned in nearby buildings. NSG Commando Sergeant Gajender Singh Bisht, who was part of the team that fast-roped onto Nariman House, died after a long battle in which both perpetrators were also killed. By the morning of 28 November, the NSG had secured the Jewish outreach centre at Nariman House as well as the Oberoi Trident hotel.

They also incorrectly believed that the Taj Palace and Towers had been cleared of attackers, and soldiers were leading hostages and holed-up guests to safety, and removing bodies of those killed in the attacks. However, later news reports indicated that there were still two or three attackers in the Taj, with explosions heard and gunfire exchanged. Fires were also reported at the ground floor of the Taj with plumes of smoke arising from the first floor. The final operation at the Taj Palace hotel was completed by the NSG commandos at 08:00 on 29 November, killing three attackers and resulting in the conclusion of the attacks. The NSG rescued 250 people from the Oberoi, 300 from the Taj and 60 people (members of 12 different families) from Nariman House. In addition, police seized a boat filled with arms and explosives anchored at Mazgaon dock off Mumbai harbour.

## **Attribution**

The Mumbai attacks were planned and directed by Lashkar-e-Taiba militants inside Pakistan, and carried out by 10 young

armed men trained and sent to Mumbai and directed from inside Pakistan via mobile phones and VoIP.

In July 2009 Pakistani authorities confirmed that LeT plotted and financed the attacks from LeT camps in Karachi and Thatta. In November 2009, Pakistani authorities charged seven men they had arrested earlier, of planning and executing the assault.

Mumbai police department originally identified 37 suspects—including two Pakistani army officers—for their alleged involvement in the plot. All but two of the suspects, many of whom are identified only through aliases, are Pakistani. Two more suspects arrested in the United States in October 2009 for other attacks were also found to have been involved in planning the Mumbai attacks. One of these men, Pakistani American David Headley (born Daood Sayed Gilani), was found to have made several trips to India before the attacks and gathered video and GPS information on behalf of the plotters.

In April 2011, the United States issued arrest warrants for four Pakistani men as suspects in the attack. The men, Sajid Mir, Abu Qahafa, Mazhar Iqbal alias "Major Iqbal", are believed to be members of Lashkar-e-Taiba and helped plan and train the attackers.

## **Negotiations with Pakistan**

Pakistani Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani and President Asif Ali Zardari condemned the attacks. Pakistan promised to assist in the investigation and President Zardari vowed "strong action against any Pakistani elements found involved in the attack".

Pakistan initially denied that Pakistanis were responsible for the attacks, blaming plotters in Bangladesh and Indian criminals, a claim refuted by India, and saying they needed information from India on other bombings first.

Pakistani authorities finally agreed that Ajmal Kasab was a Pakistani on 7 January 2009, and registered a case against three other Pakistani nationals.

The Indian government supplied evidence to Pakistan and other governments, in the form of interrogations, weapons, and call records of conversations during the attacks. In addition, Indian government officials said that the attacks were so sophisticated that they must have had official backing from Pakistani "agencies", an accusation denied by Pakistan.

Under US and UN pressure, Pakistan arrested a few members of Jamaat ud-Dawa and briefly put its founder under house arrest, but he was found to be free a few days later. A year after the attacks, Mumbai police continued to complain that Pakistani authorities were not co-operating by providing information for their investigation. Meanwhile, journalists in Pakistan said security agencies were preventing them from interviewing people from Kasab's village. The then Home Minister P. Chidambaram said the Pakistani authorities had not shared any information about American suspects Headley and Rana, but that the FBI had been more forthcoming.

An Indian report, summarising intelligence gained from India's interrogation of David Headley, was released in October 2010. It alleged that Pakistan's intelligence agency (ISI) had provided support for the attacks by providing funding for reconnaissance missions in Mumbai. The report included

Headley's claim that Lashkar-e-Taiba's chief military commander, Zaki-ur-Rahman Lakhvi, had close ties to the ISI. He alleged that "every big action of LeT is done in close coordination with [the] ISI."

In 2018, during an interview with newspaper *Dawn*, Pakistan's former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif reportedly indirectly accepted Pakistan's involvement in not preventing the Mumbai attacks.

## **Investigation**

According to investigations, the attackers travelled by sea from Karachi, Pakistan, across the Arabian Sea, hijacked the Indian fishing trawler 'Kuber', killed the crew of four, then forced the captain to sail to Mumbai. After murdering the captain, the attackers entered Mumbai on a rubber dinghy. The captain of 'Kuber', Amar Singh Solanki, had earlier been imprisoned for six months in a Pakistani jail for illegally fishing in Pakistani waters. The attackers stayed and were trained by the Lashkar-e-Taiba in a safehouse at Azizabad in Karachi before boarding a small boat for Mumbai.

David Headley was a member of Lashkar-e-Taiba, and between 2002 and 2009 Headley travelled extensively as part of his work for LeT. Headley received training in small arms and countersurveillance from LeT, built a network of connections for the group, and was chief scout in scoping out targets for Mumbai attack having allegedly been given \$25,000 in cash in 2006 by an ISI officer known as Major Iqbal. The officer also helped him arrange a communications system for the attack, and oversaw a model of the Taj Hotel so that gunmen could

know their way inside the target, according to Headley's testimony to Indian authorities. Headley also helped ISI recruit Indian agents to monitor Indian troop levels and movements, according to a US official. At the same time, Headley was also an informant for the US Drug Enforcement Administration, and Headley's wives warned American officials of Headley's involvement with LeT and his plotting attacks, warning specifically that the Taj Hotel may be their target.

US officials believed that the Inter-Services Intelligence (I.S.I.) officers provided support to Lashkar-e-Taiba militants who carried out the attacks. Disclosures made by former American intelligence contractor Edward Snowden in 2013 revealed that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had intercepted communications between the Lashkar boat and the LeT headquarters in Pakistan-administered Kashmir and passed the alert on to RAW on 18 November, eight days before the terrorists actually struck Mumbai. In the hours after the attack, the New York City Police Department sent Brandon del Pozo, an official from their Intelligence Division, to investigate the incident in order to understand what vulnerabilities its methods posed for New York City.

The arrest of Zabiuddin Ansari alias Abu Hamza in June 2012 provided further clarity on how the plot was hatched. According to Abu Hamza, the attacks were previously scheduled for 2006, using Indian youth for the job. However, a huge cache of AK-47's and RDX, which were to be used for the attacks, was recovered from Aurangabad in 2006, thus leading to the dismantling of the original plot. Subsequently, Abu Hamza fled to Pakistan and along with Lashkar commanders, scouted for Pakistani youth to be used for the attacks. In

September 2007, 10 people were selected for the mission. In September 2008, these people tried sailing to Mumbai from Karachi, but couldn't complete their mission due to choppy waters. These men made a second attempt in November 2008, and successfully managed to execute the final attacks. David Headley's disclosures, that three Pakistani army officers were associated with the planning and execution of the attack were substantiated by Ansari's revelations during his interrogation.

After Ansari's arrest, Pakistan's Foreign Office claimed they had received information that up to 40 Indian nationals were involved in the attacks.

## **Method**

The attackers had planned the attack several months ahead of time and knew some areas well enough to vanish and reappear after security forces had left. Several sources have quoted Kasab telling the police that the group received help from Mumbai residents. The attackers used at least three SIM cards purchased on the Indian side of the border with Bangladesh. There were also reports of a SIM card purchased in the US state of New Jersey. Police had also mentioned that Faheem Ansari, an Indian Lashkar operative who had been arrested in February 2008, had scouted the Mumbai targets for the November attacks. Later, the police arrested two Indian suspects, Mikhtar Ahmad, who is from Srinagar in Kashmir, and Tausif Rehman, a resident of Kolkata. They supplied the SIM cards, one in Calcutta, and the other in New Delhi.

The attackers used a satellite phone and cell phones to talk to each other as well as their handlers that were based in

Pakistan. In transcripts intercepted by Indian authorities between the attackers and their handlers, the handlers provided the attackers with encouragement, tactical advice, and information gained from media coverage. The attackers used both personal cell phones and those obtained from their victims to communicate with each other and the news media. Although the attackers were encouraged to murder hostages, the attackers were in communication with the news media via cell phones to make demands in return for the release of hostages. This was believed to be done in order to further confuse Indian authorities that they were dealing with primarily a hostage situation.

Type 86 Grenades made by China's state-owned Norinco were used in the attacks.

There were also indications that the attackers had been taking steroids. The gunman who survived said that the attackers had used Google Earth to familiarise themselves with the locations of buildings used in the attacks.

There were 10 gunmen, nine of whom were subsequently shot dead and one captured by security forces. Witnesses reported that they seemed to be in their early twenties, wore black T-shirts and jeans, and that they smiled and looked happy as they shot their victims.

It was initially reported that some of the attackers were British citizens, but the Indian government later stated that there was no evidence to confirm this. Similarly, early reports of 12 gunmen were also later shown to be incorrect.

On 9 December, the 10 attackers were identified by Mumbai police, along with their home towns in Pakistan: Ajmal Amir from Faridkot, Abu Ismail Dera Ismail Khan from Dera Ismail Khan, Hafiz Arshad and Babr Imran from Multan, Javed from Okara, Shoaib from Sialkot, Nazir Ahmed and Nasir from Faisalabad, Abdul Rahman from Arifwalla, and Fahadullah from Dipalpur Taluka. Dera Ismail Khan is in the North-West Frontier Province; the rest of the towns are in Pakistani Punjab.

On 6 April 2010, the Home Minister of Maharashtra State, which includes Mumbai, informed the Assembly that the bodies of the nine killed Pakistani gunmen from the 2008 attack on Mumbai were buried in a secret location in January 2010. The bodies had been in the mortuary of a Mumbai hospital after Muslim clerics in the city refused to let them be buried on their grounds.

## **Attackers**

Only one of the 10 attackers, Ajmal Kasab, survived the attack. He was hanged in Yerwada jail in 2012. The other nine attackers killed during the onslaught were Hafiz Arshad alias Abdul Rehman Bada, Abdul Rahman Chhota, Javed alias Abu Ali, Fahadullah alias Abu Fahad, Ismail Khan alias Abu Ismail, Babar Imran alias Abu Akasha, Nasir alias Abu Umar, Nazir alias Abu Umer and Shoaib alias Abu Soheb.

## **Arrests**

Ajmal Kasab was the only attacker arrested alive by police. At first, he deposed to police inspector Ramesh Mahale that he

had come to India *"to see Amitabh Bachchan's bungalow"*, and that he was apprehended by the Mumbai Police outside the bungalow. Much of the information about the attackers' preparation, travel, and movements comes from his subsequent confessions to the Mumbai police.

On 12 February 2009 Pakistan's Interior Minister Rehman Malik said that Pakistani national Javed Iqbal, who acquired VoIP phones in Spain for the Mumbai attackers, and Hamad Ameen Sadiq, who had facilitated money transfer for the attack, had been arrested. Two other men known as Khan and Riaz, but whose full names were not given, were also arrested. Two Pakistanis were arrested in Brescia, Italy (east of Milan) on 21 November 2009, after being accused of providing logistical support to the attacks and transferring more than US\$200 to Internet accounts using a false ID. They had Red Corner Notices issued against them by Interpol for their suspected involvement and it was issued after the last year's strikes.

In October 2009, two Chicago men were arrested and charged by the FBI for involvement in "terrorism" abroad, David Coleman Headley and Tahawwur Hussain Rana. Headley, a Pakistani-American, was charged in November 2009 with scouting locations for the 2008 Mumbai attacks.

Headley is reported to have posed as an American Jew and is believed to have links with militant Islamist groups based in Bangladesh. On 18 March 2010, Headley pleaded guilty to a dozen charges against him thereby avoiding going to trial.

In December 2009, the FBI charged Abdur Rehman Hashim Syed, a retired major in the Pakistani army, for planning the attacks in association with Headley.

On 15 January 2010, in a successful snatch operation R&AW agents nabbed Sheikh Abdul Khwaja, one of the handlers of the 26/11 attacks, chief of HuJI India operations and a most wanted suspect in India, from Colombo, Sri Lanka, and brought him over to Hyderabad, India for formal arrest.

On 25 June 2012, the Delhi Police Department arrested Zabiuddin Ansari alias Abu Hamza, one of the key suspects in the attack at the Indira Gandhi International Airport in New Delhi.

His arrest was touted as the most significant development in the case since Kasab's arrest. Security agencies had been chasing him for three years in Delhi. Ansari is a Lashker-e-Taiba ultra and the Hindi tutor of the 10 attackers who were responsible for the Mumbai attacks in 2008. He was apprehended, after he was arrested and deported to India by Saudi Intelligence officials as per official request by Indian authorities.

After Ansari's arrest, investigations revealed that in 2009 he allegedly stayed for a day in a room in Old Legislators's Hostel, belonging to Fauzia Khan, a former MLA and minister in Maharashtra Government.

The minister, however, denied having any links with him. Home Minister P. Chidambaram asserted that Ansari was provided a safe place in Pakistan and was present in the control room, which could not have been established without active State

support. Ansari's interrogation further revealed that Sajid Mir and a Pakistani Army major visited India under fake names as cricket spectators to survey targets in Delhi and Mumbai for about a fortnight.

A number of suspects were also arrested on false charges. At least two of them spent nearly eight years in prison and were not paid any compensation by the Indian government.

## **Casualties and compensation**

At least 174 people, including civilians, security personnel and nine of the attackers, were killed in the attacks. Among the dead were 29 foreign nationals.

One attacker was captured. The bodies of many of the dead hostages showed signs of torture or disfigurement. A number of those killed were notable figures in business, media, and security services.

The Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Vilasrao Deshmukh, stated that 15 policemen and two NSG commandos were killed, including the following officers:

- Assistant Police Sub-Inspector Tukaram Omble, who succeeded in capturing a terrorist alive, with his bare hands.
- Joint Commissioner of Police Hemant Karkare, the Chief of the Mumbai Anti-Terrorism Squad
- Additional Commissioner of Police: Ashok Kamte
- Encounter specialist Senior Inspector Vijay Salaskar
- Senior Inspector Shashank Shinde

- NSG Commando, Major Sandeep Unnikrishnan
- NSG Commando, Hawaldar Gajender Singh Bisht

Three railway officials of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Terminus were also killed.

## **Aftermath**

The attacks are sometimes referred to in India as "26/11", after the date in 2008 that the attacks began. The Pradhan Inquiry Commission, appointed by the Maharashtra government, produced a report that was tabled before the legislative assembly more than a year after the events. The report said the "war-like" attack was beyond the capacity to respond of any police force, but also found fault with the Mumbai Police Commissioner Hasan Gafoor's lack of leadership during the crisis.

The Maharashtra government planned to buy 36 speed boats to patrol the coastal areas and several helicopters for the same purpose. It also planned to create an anti-terror force called "Force One" and upgrade all the weapons that Mumbai police currently have. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on an all-party conference declared that legal framework would be strengthened in the battle against "terrorism" and a federal anti-terrorist intelligence and investigation agency, like the FBI, will be set up soon to co-ordinate action against "terrorism". The government strengthened anti-terror laws with UAPA 2008, and the federal National Investigation Agency was formed.

The attacks further strained India's slowly recovering relationship with Pakistan. India's then External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee declared that India may indulge in military strikes against terror camps in Pakistan to protect its territorial integrity. There were also after-effects on the United States's relationships with both countries, the US-led NATO war in Afghanistan, and on the Global War on Terror. FBI chief Robert Mueller praised the "unprecedented cooperation" between American and Indian intelligence agencies over the Mumbai terror attack probe. However, Interpol secretary general Ronald Noble said that Indian intelligence agencies did not share any information with Interpol.

A new National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC) was proposed to be set up by the then-Home Minister P. Chidambaram as an office to collect, collate, summarise, integrate, analyse, co-ordinate and report all information and inputs received from various intelligence agencies, state police departments, and other ministries and their departments.

## **Movement of troops**

Pakistan moved troops towards the border with India voicing concerns about the Indian government's possible plans to launch attacks on Pakistani soil if it did not co-operate. After days of talks, the Pakistan government, however, decided to start moving troops away from the border.

## **Reactions**

- Indians criticised their political leaders after the attacks, saying that their ineptness was partly

responsible. *The Times of India* commented on its front page that "Our politicians fiddle as innocents die." Political reactions in Mumbai and India included a range of resignations and political changes, including the resignations of Minister for Home Affairs Shivraj Patil, Chief Minister Vilasrao Deshmukh and deputy chief minister R. R. Patil for controversial reactions to the attack including taking the former's son and Bollywood director Ram Gopal Verma to tour the damaged Taj Hotel and the latter's remarks that the attacks were not a big deal in such a large city. Indian Muslims condemned the attacks and refused to bury the attackers. Groups of Muslims marched against the attacks and mosques observed silence. Prominent Muslim personalities such as Bollywood actor Aamir Khan appealed to their community members in the country to observe Eid al-Adha as a day of mourning on 9 December. The business establishment also reacted, with changes to transport, and requests for an increase in self-defence capabilities. The attacks also triggered a chain of citizens' movements across India such as the India Today Group's "War Against Terror" campaign. There were vigils held across all of India with candles and placards commemorating the victims of the attacks. The NSG commandos based in Delhi also met criticism for taking ten hours to reach the three sites under attack.

International reaction for the attacks was widespread, with many countries and international organisations condemning the attacks and expressing their condolences to the civilian

victims. Many important personalities around the world also condemned the attacks. Media coverage highlighted the use of social media and social networking tools, including Twitter and Flickr, in spreading information about the attacks. In addition, many Indian bloggers offered live textual coverage of the attacks. A map of the attacks was set up by a web journalist using Google Maps. The New York Times, in July 2009, described the event as "what may be the most well-documented terrorist attack anywhere".

In November 2010, families of American victims of the attacks filed a lawsuit in Brooklyn, New York, naming Lt. Gen. Ahmed Shuja Pasha, chief of the ISI, as being complicit in the Mumbai attacks. On 22 September 2011, the attack on the American Embassy in Afghanistan was attributed to Pakistan via cell phone records identical to the attacks in Mumbai, also linked to Pakistan.

## **Trials**

### **Kasab's trial**

Kasab's trial was delayed due to legal issues, as many Indian lawyers were unwilling to represent him. A Mumbai Bar Association passed a resolution proclaiming that none of its members would represent Kasab. However, the Chief Justice of India stated that Kasab needed a lawyer for a fair trial. A lawyer for Kasab was eventually found, but was replaced due to a conflict of interest. On 25 February 2009, Indian investigators filed an 11,000-page chargesheet, formally charging Kasab with murder, conspiracy, and waging war against India among other charges.

Kasab's trial began on 6 May 2009. He initially pleaded not guilty, but later admitted his guilt on 20 July 2009. He initially apologised for the attacks and claimed that he deserved the death penalty for his crimes, but later retracted these claims, saying that he had been tortured by police to force his confession, and that he had been arrested while roaming the beach. The court had accepted his plea, but due to the lack of completeness within his admittance, the judge had deemed that many of the 86 charges were not addressed and therefore the trial continued.

Kasab was convicted of all 86 charges on 3 May 2010. He was found guilty of murder for directly killing seven people, conspiracy to commit murder for the deaths of the 164 people killed in the three-day terror siege, waging war against India, causing terror, and of conspiracy to murder two high-ranking police officers. On 6 May 2010, he was sentenced to death by hanging. However, he appealed his sentence at high court. On 21 February 2011, the Bombay High Court upheld the death sentence of Kasab, dismissing his appeal.

On 29 August 2012, the Indian Supreme Court upheld the death sentence for Kasab. The court stated, "We are left with no option but to award death penalty. The primary and foremost offence committed by Kasab is waging war against the Government of India". The verdict followed 10 weeks of appeal hearings, and was decided by a two-judge Supreme Court panel, which was led by Judge Aftab Alam. The panel rejected arguments that Kasab was denied a free and fair trial.

Kasab filed a mercy petition with the President of India, which was rejected on 5 November. Kasab was hanged in Pune's

Yerwada jail in secret on 21 November 2012 at 7:30 am named as operation 'X'. The Indian mission in Islamabad informed the Pakistan government about Kasab's hanging through a letter. Pakistan refused to take the letter, which was then faxed to them. His family in Pakistan was sent news of his hanging via a courier.

## **In Pakistan**

Indian and Pakistani police exchanged DNA evidence, photographs and items found with the attackers to piece together a detailed portrait of the Mumbai plot. Police in Pakistan arrested seven people, including Hammad Amin Sadiq, a homoeopathic pharmacist, who arranged bank accounts and secured supplies. Sadiq and six others began their formal trial on 3 October 2009 in Pakistan. Indian authorities said the prosecution stopped well short of top Lashkar leaders. In November 2009, Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said that Pakistan had not done enough to bring the perpetrators of the attacks to justice.

An eight-member commission comprising defence lawyers, prosecutors and a court official was allowed to travel to India on 15 March 2013 to gather evidence for the prosecution of seven suspects linked to the 2008 Mumbai attacks. However, the defence lawyers were barred from cross-examining the four prosecution witnesses in the case including Ajmal Kasab. On the eve of the first anniversary of 26/11, a Pakistani anti-terror court formally charged seven accused, including LeT operations commander Zaki ur Rehman Lakhvi. However, the actual trial started on 5 May 2012. The Pakistani court conducting trial of Mumbai attacks accused, reserved its

judgement on the application filed by Lakhvi, challenging the report of the judicial panel, to 17 July 2012. On 17 July 2012, the court refused to take the findings of the Pakistani judicial commission as part of the evidence. However, it ruled that if a new agreement, which allows the panel's examination of witnesses, is reached, the prosecution may make an application for sending the panel to Mumbai. The Indian Government, upset over the court ruling, however, contended that evidence collected by the Pakistani judicial panel has evidential value to punish all those involved in the attack. On 21 September 2013, a Pakistani judicial commission arrived in India to carry out the investigation and to cross examine the witnesses. This is the second such visit: the one in March 2012 was not a success as its report was rejected by an anti-terrorism court in Pakistan due to lack of evidence.

### **In the United States**

The LeT operative David Headley (born Daood Sayed Gilani) in his testimony before a Chicago federal court during co-accused Tahawwur Rana's trial revealed that Mumbai Chabad House was added to the list of targets for surveillance given by his Inter Services Intelligence handler Major Iqbal, though the Oberoi Hotel, one of the sites attacked, was not originally on the list. On 10 June 2011, Tahawwur Rana was acquitted of plotting the 2008 Mumbai attacks, but was held guilty on two other charges. He was sentenced to 14 years in federal prison on 17 January 2013.

David Headley pleaded guilty to 12 counts related to the attacks, including conspiracy to commit murder in India and aiding and abetting in the murder of six Americans. On 23

January 2013, he was sentenced to 35 years in federal prison. His plea that he not be extradited to India, Pakistan or Denmark was accepted.

## **Memorials**

On the first anniversary of the event, the state paid homage to the victims of the attack. Force One—a new security force created by the Maharashtra government—staged a parade from Nariman Point to Chowpatty. Other memorials and candlelight vigils were also organised at the various locations where the attacks occurred.

On the second anniversary of the event, homage was again paid to the victims.

On the 10th anniversary of the 26/11 Mumbai terror attacks, Nariman House, one of the several establishments that were targeted by the Lashkar-e-Taiba terrorists, were to be declared a memorial and renamed as Nariman Light House.

The Indian Express group hosts an annual memorial event, 26/11 - Stories of Strength, in Mumbai to pay homage to those killed in the ghastly terror attacks in the city in 2008. The memorial event started in 2016, is now organised at the Gateway of India and brings forth the inspiring stories of courage and strength of more than 100 survivors that the Indian Express has interviewed over the past decade. Actor Amitabh Bachchan has been the brand ambassador for the event over the years.

## Published accounts

### Documentaries

*Operation Black Tornado* (2018) is a TV documentary which premiered on Veer by Discovery Channel series, *Battle Ops*.

### Films/Movies

- *Hotel Mumbai* (2019) is an American-Australian action thriller film directed by Anthony Maras and written by John Collee and Maras. It has come under criticism for omitting any reference to the role of Pakistan in the terror strikes.
- *The Attacks of 26/11* (2013) is an Indian action thriller film directed by Ram Gopal Varma, based on the 2008 Mumbai attacks.
- *Taj Mahal* (2015) is a French-Belgian thriller-drama film directed and written by Nicolas Saada. It was screened in the Horizons section at the 72nd Venice International Film Festival. This film is about an actual 18-year-old French girl who was alone in her hotel room when the terrorists attacked the hotel.
- *Terror in Mumbai* (2009) The inside story of the November 2008 terrorist attack on Mumbai, India. It features exclusive never-before-heard audio tapes of the intercepted phone calls between the young gunmen and their controllers in Pakistan, and testimony from the sole surviving gunman.
- *Mumbai Siege: 4 Days of Terror* (aka *One Less God*) (2017) features the situation of some foreigners inside Taj Hotel.

- *State of Siege: 26/11* (2020) ZEE5 Original crime thriller Web Series features When Mumbai was under siege in 2008, it was the NSG commandos that came to its rescue. Witness the untold stories of the brave heroes and the lesser-known facts of the horrid Mumbai attacks that shook the whole world.

## **Books**

*The Siege: The Attack on the Taj* is a non-fiction book by Cathy Scott-Clerk and Adrian Levy. It is an account of the 2008 attacks on The Taj Mahal Palace Hotel in Mumbai, India, during the night of 26 November 2008. The book was first published by Penguin Books in 2013.

In 2017, Elias Davidsson published *The Betrayal of India: Revisting the 26/11 Evidence*, claiming powerful institutions in India and the US had been the beneficiaries and the attacks had been organized by Indian prime Intelligence Agency, RAW and her surrogates.

Aziz Burney wrote a book titled *26/11: RSS ki Saazish?* ("26/11: An RSS conspiracy?") hinting that Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh was somehow linked to the attack and launched the book in presence of Congress leader Digvijaya Singh. Later as RSS filed a case against him, he had to apologise for it.

Former National Security Advisor of India, Shivshankar Menon wrote *Choices: Inside the Making of India's Foreign Policy*. In his book Menon mentioned that the reason why India did not immediately attacked Pakistan was, after the examination of the options by the leadership of the government, it was

concluded by the decision makers that, *"more was to be gained from not attacking Pakistan than from attacking it"*.

In his 2020 memoirs, *Let Me Say It Now*, former IPS officer Rakesh Maria, who was given the responsibility of investigating the attacks and personally interrogated Ajmal Kasab, revealed the extent to which terrorists had gone to ensure their bodies would be mis-identified as Hindus, to lend credence to the narrative that the attack was the handiwork of Hindu extremists, and thus provide the Pakistani authorities with plausible deniability. According to Maria, Lashkar-e-Taiba wanted Kasab to be killed as a Bengaluru resident named 'Samir Dinesh Chaudhari', with a "red (sacred) thread" tied around his wrist to portray the attack as a case of 'Hindu terror', but their plan apparently did not succeed and the police nabbed Kasab. LeT had even given each terrorist a fake identity card listing an Indian address, to further strengthen the circumstantial narrative. If everything went according to plan, Kasab would have died as Chaudhari and the media would have blamed 'Hindu terrorists' for the attack. Kasab, in his confessional account, acknowledged this plot, as did David Coleman Headley, who corroborated this account by confirming that the sacred threads to be worn around the terrorists' wrists to identify them as Hindus, were procured from Mumbai's Siddhivinayak Temple.

## Chapter 15

# Ajmal Kasab

**Mohammed Ajmal Amir Kasab** (13 July 1987 – 21 November 2012) was a Pakistani terrorist and a member of the Lashkar-e-Taiba Islamist terrorist organization, through which he took part in the 2008 Mumbai terrorist attacks in Maharashtra, India. Kasab, alongside fellow Lashkar-e-Taiba recruit Ismail Khan, killed 72 people during the attacks, most of them at the Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus. Kasab was the only attacker captured alive by police.

Kasab was born in Faridkot, Pakistan and left his home in 2005, engaging in petty crime and armed robbery with a friend. In late 2007, he and his friend encountered members of Jama'at-ud-Da'wah, the political wing of Lashkar-e-Taiba, distributing pamphlets, and were persuaded to join.

On 3 May 2010, Kasab was found guilty of 80 offences, including murder, waging war against India, possessing explosives, and other charges. On 6 May 2010, the same trial court sentenced him to death on four counts and to a life sentence on five counts. Kasab's death sentence was upheld by the Bombay High Court on 21 February 2011. The verdict was upheld by the Supreme Court of India on 29 August 2012. Kasab was hanged on 21 November 2012 at 7:30 a.m. local time, and subsequently buried at Yerwada Central Jail in Pune.

## **Early life**

Kasab was born in Faridkot village in the Okara District of Punjab, Pakistan, to Amir Shahban Kasab and Noor Illahi. His father ran a snack cart while his elder brother, Afzal, worked as a labourer in Lahore.

His elder sister, Rukaiyya Husain, was married and lived in the village. A younger sister, Suraiyya, and brother, Munir, lived in Faridkot with their parents. The family belongs to the Qassab community.

Kasab briefly joined his brother in Lahore and then returned to Faridkot. He left home after a fight with his father in 2005. He had asked for new clothes on Eid al-Fitr, but his father could not provide them, which made him angry. He engaged in petty crime with his friend Muzaffar Lal Khan, eventually moving on to armed robbery.

On 21 December 2007, Eid al-Adha, they were in Rawalpindi trying to buy weapons when they encountered members of Jama'at-ud-Da'wah, the political wing of Lashkar-e-Taiba, distributing pamphlets. They decided to sign up for training with the group, ending up at their base camp, Markaz Taiba.

An interrogator and deputy commissioner of the Mumbai Police stated that Kasab spoke rough Hindi and almost no English. He said his father in effect sold him to Lashkar-e-Taiba so that he could use the money they gave him to support the family. His father denied it. Zaki-ur-Rehman Lakhvi, a senior commander of Lashkar-e-Taiba, reportedly offered to pay his family Rs150,000 for his participation in the attacks. Another

report said the 23-year-old was recruited from his home, in part, based on a pledge by recruiters to pay Rs100,000 to his family if he became a martyr. Other sources put the reward at US\$4,000.

Villagers in Okara claimed on camera that he was at their village six months before the attacks in Mumbai. They said that he asked his mother to bless him as he was going for jihad, and claimed that he demonstrated his wrestling skills to a few village boys that day.

## **Training**

Ajmal Kasab was among a group of 24 men who received training in marine warfare at a remote camp in the mountainous areas of Muzaffarabad, Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan. Part of the training was reported to have taken place on the Mangla Dam reservoir.

## **Involvement in 2008 Mumbai attacks**

Kasab was seen on CCTV during his attacks at Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus along with another recruit, Ismail Khan. Kasab reportedly told the police that they wanted to replicate the Islamabad Marriott hotel attack, and reduce the Taj Hotel to rubble, replicating the 9/11 attacks in India.

Kasab and his accomplice Khan, then aged 25, attacked the Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus (formerly Victoria Terminus) railway station. They then moved on to attack a police vehicle (a white Toyota Qualis) at Cama Hospital, in which senior Mumbai police officers (Maharashtra ATS Chief Hemant

Karkare, encounter specialist Vijay Salaskar and Additional Commissioner of Mumbai Police Ashok Kamte) were travelling. After killing them in a gun battle and taking two constables hostage in the Qualis, Kasab and Khan drove towards the Metro cinema. Kasab joked about the bulletproof vests worn by the police and killed one constable when his mobile phone rang. The two fired some shots into a crowd gathered at the Metro Cinema. They then drove to Vidhan Bhavan where they fired more shots. Their vehicle had a tire puncture, so they stole a silver Škoda Laura and drove towards Girgaum Chowpatty beach.

The D B Marg police had received a message from police control at about 10 pm, that two heavily armed men had gunned down commuters at CST. 15 policemen from D B Marg were sent to Chowpatty to set up a double barricade on Marine Drive. The Škoda reached Chowpatty and halted 40 to 50 feet from the barricade. It reversed and attempted a U-turn. A shootout ensued and Khan was killed. Kasab lay motionless playing dead. Assistant sub-inspector Tukaram Omble, armed only with a lathi, charged the vehicle, being shot five times. Omble held onto Kasab's weapon, enabling Omble's colleagues to capture Kasab alive. Omble died from the bullet wounds. A mob gathered and attacked the two terrorists, which was captured on video.

Initially, Kasab pretended to be dead, and was being transported to the Nair Hospital when a police officer discovered Kasab was breathing. Seeing the mutilated body of another slain terrorist, Kasab begged doctors to put him on saline, saying "I do not want to die". The doctors who treated Kasab said he had no bullet wounds.

Kasab told police he was trained to "kill to the last breath". Later, after interrogation in the hospital by the police, he said: "Now, I do not want to live", requesting the interrogators kill him for the safety of his family in Pakistan, who could be killed or tortured for his surrender to Indian police. (Fidayeen suicide squad terrorists were instructed not to be captured and interrogated, use aliases instead of their real names, and hide their nationality.) He is also quoted as saying "I have done right, I have no regrets". Reports also surfaced that the group planned to escape safely after the attack.

Kasab told interrogators that all through the operation, the Lashkar headquarters from Karachi, Pakistan, remained in touch with the group, calling their phones through a voice-over-Internet service. Investigators succeeded in reconstructing the group's journey through the Garmin GPS that was found on Kasab.

An email sent from a group calling itself the Deccan Mujahideen claiming responsibility was traced to a Russian proxy, which was then traced back to Lahore with the help of the FBI.

## **Nationality**

Police announced Kasab was a Pakistani national based on his confession and other evidence. Several reporters visited Kasab's village and verified the facts provided by him. Former Pakistan Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif confirmed that Kasab was from Faridkot village in Pakistan, and criticised President Zardari for cordoning off the village and not allowing his parents to meet anyone.

Journalist Saeed Shah travelled to Kasab's village and produced national identity card numbers of his parents. His parents left town on the night of 3 December 2008. Mumbai Joint Police Commissioner of Crime Rakesh Maria said Kasab was from the Faridkot village in the Okara district of Pakistan's Punjab province, and was the son of Mohammed Amir Kasab.

The Mumbai Police said much of the information that Kasab provided proved to be accurate. He disclosed the location of a fishing trawler, *MV Kuber*, that the terrorists used to enter Mumbai's coastal waters. He told investigators where his team put the ship captain's body, a satellite phone and a global-positioning device, which the police found.

Pakistani officials, including President Asif Ali Zardari, initially denied Ajmal Kasab was Pakistani. Pakistani government officials attempted to erase evidence that there was a Lashkar-e-Taiba office in Deepalpur. The office was hurriedly closed in the week of 7 December. On the night of 3 December 2008, the parents were whisked away by a bearded Mullah, and since then, there was evidence of a cover-up by plainclothes police. Villagers changed their stories, and reporters who visit there were intimidated. In early December, Kasab's father admitted in an interview that Kasab was his son.

In January 2009, Pakistan's National Security Advisor Mahmud Ali Durrani admitted to Kasab being a Pakistani citizen while speaking to the CNN-IBN news channel. The Pakistan Government then acknowledged that Ajmal Kasab was a Pakistani, but also announced that Prime Minister Yousaf Raza

Gilani had fired Durrani for "failing to take Gilani and other stakeholders into confidence" before making this information public, and for "a lack of coordination on matters of national security."

## **Police interrogation**

### **Naming confusion**

On 6 December 2008, *The Hindu* reported that the police officers who interrogated him did not speak his language, Urdu, and misinterpreted his caste origin "kasai", meaning butcher, to be a surname, writing it as "Kasav".

*The Times of India* reported a different version of the error. The paper stated that the police officers correctly understood that Ajmal Kasab does not have a surname. To satisfy an administrative requirement that people have surnames, the officers asked Kasab for his father's profession, and decided to use "butcher", or "Kasab" in Urdu, as his surname.

*The Hindu* referred to him as either "Mohammad Ajmal Amir, son of Mohammad Amir Iman" or "Mohammad Ajmal Amir 'Kasab'".

List of various names used to refer to Kasab:

- Ajmal Kasab
- Azam Amir Kasav
- Ajmal Qasab
- Ajmal Amir Kamal
- Ajmal Amir Kasab

- Azam Ameer Qasab
- Mohammad Ajmal Qasam
- Ajmal Mohammed Amir Kasab
- Mohammad Ajmal Amir Kasar
- Amjad Amir Kamaal
- Mohammed Ajmal Amir Qasab

## **Confessions**

Ammunition, a satellite phone and a layout plan of Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus was recovered from Kasab. He described how his team arrived at Mumbai from Karachi via Porbandar. He said that they had received revolvers, AK-47s, ammunition and dried fruit from their coordinator. Kasab told the police that they wanted to replicate the Marriott hotel attack in Islamabad, and reduce the Taj Hotel to rubble, replicating the 11 September attacks in US. Kasab told police that his team targeted Nariman House, where the Chabad centre was located, because it was frequented by Israelis, who were targeted to "avenge atrocities on Palestinians."

Kasab told the police that he and his associate, Ismail Khan, were the ones who shot Anti-Terror Squad chief Hemant Karkare, encounter specialist Vijay Salaskar and Additional Commissioner Ashok Kamte. Kasab entered the Taj posing as a student from Mauritius and stored explosives in one of the hotel's rooms.

In December 2009, Kasab retracted his confession in court, claiming he had come to Mumbai to act in Bollywood films and was arrested by the Mumbai police three days before the attacks.

## **Confessions on video**

Kasab repeatedly asked the interrogators to turn the camera off and warned them he would not speak otherwise. Nonetheless the following confessions were recorded on video:

When police asked Kasab what he understood about jihad, Kasab told the interrogators "it is about killing and getting killed and becoming famous." "Come, kill and die after a killing spree. By this one will become famous and will also make God proud."

"We were told that our big brother India is so rich and we are dying of poverty and hunger. My father sells dahi wada in a stall in Lahore and we did not even get enough food to eat from his earnings.

I was promised that once they knew that I was successful in my operation, they would give 150,000 rupees (around US\$3,352), to my family," said Kasab.

Police said they were shocked by his readiness to switch loyalties after he was apprehended. "If you give me regular meals and money I will do the same for you that I did for them," he said.

"When we asked whether he knew any verses from the Quran that described jihad, Kasab said he did not," police said. "In fact he did not know much about Islam or its tenets," according to a police source.

## **Face to face with Abu Jundal**

On 9 August 2012, Kasab was brought face-to-face with Abu Jundal, the handler of Mumbai attacks, at the Arthur Road jail where they identified each other. Kasab also admitted that Jundal had taught him Hindi.

## **Other reports**

In a press conference, the Mumbai city police commissioner said "The person we have caught alive is certainly a Pakistani. They were all trained by ex-army officers, some for a year, some for more than a year". On 23 November 2008, they set sail from Karachi unarmed to be picked up by a larger vessel. They hijacked the Indian fishing trawler *Kuber* and set sail for Mumbai.

*The Times* reported on 3 December 2008 that Indian police were going to submit Kasab to a narco analysis test to definitively determine his nationality.

According to *DNA India*, Kasab began reading the autobiography of India's non-violent leader Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi in early March 2009, in response to coaxing by prison guards.

## **Legal issues**

Several Indian lawyers refused to represent Kasab citing ethical concerns. A resolution was passed unanimously by the Bombay Metropolitan Magistrate Court's Bar Association, which has more than 1,000 members, saying that none of its

members would defend any of the accused of the terror attacks. Other bar associations passed similar resolutions. The Hindu nationalist group Shiv Sena threatened lawyers against representing him. When one attorney, Ashok Sarogi, hinted that he would be willing to represent Kasab, Shiv Sena members protested outside his home and pelted it with stones, forcing him to retract. In December 2008, the Indian Chief Justice K. G. Balakrishnan said that for a fair trial, Kasab needed a lawyer.

An eight-member commission from Pakistan, comprising defence lawyers, prosecutors and a court official was allowed to travel to India on 15 March to gather evidences for the prosecution of seven suspects linked to the 2008 Mumbai attacks.

However, the defence lawyers were barred from cross-examining the four prosecution witnesses in the case including Ajmal Kasab.

Kasab wrote to the Pakistani High Commission in India requesting help and legal aid. In the letter, he confirmed he and the nine slain terrorists were Pakistani. He asked the Pakistani High Commission to take custody of the body of fellow terrorist Ismail Khan. Pakistani officials confirmed the receipt of the letter and were reported to be studying it. No further updates were given.

On 1 April 2009, Senior Advocate Anjali Waghmare agreed to represent Kasab, despite Shiv Sena activists having protested and stoned her home.

## **Trial**

His conviction was based on CCTV footage showing him striding across the Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus with an AK-47 and a backpack. Towards the end of December 2008, Ujjwal Nikam was appointed as Public Prosecutor for trying Kasab and in January 2009 M.L. Tahaliyani was appointed the judge for the case. Indian investigators filed an 11,000-page Chargesheet against Kasab on 25 February 2009. Due to the fact that the chargesheet was written in Marathi and English, Kasab requested an Urdu translation of the charge sheet. He was charged with murder, conspiracy and waging war against India along with other crimes. His trial was originally scheduled to start on 15 April 2009 but was postponed as his lawyer, Anjali Waghmare was dismissed for a conflict of interest. It resumed on 17 April 2009 after Abbas Kazmi was assigned as his new defence counsel. On 20 April 2009, the prosecution submitted a list of charges against him, including the murder of 166 people. On 6 May 2009, Kasab pleaded not guilty to 86 charges.

The same month he was identified by eyewitnesses who testified witnessing his actual arrival and him firing at the victims. Later the doctors who treated him also identified him. On 2 June 2009, Kasab told the judge he also understood the Marathi language.

In June 2009, the special court issued non-bailable warrants against 22 absconding accused including Jamaat-ud-Dawa (JuD) chief Hafeez Saeed and chief of operations of Lashkar-e-Taiba, Zaki-ur-Rehman Laqvi. On 20 July 2009, Kasab retracted his non-guilty plea and pleaded guilty to all charges.

On 18 December 2009, he retracted his guilty plea and claimed that he was framed and his confession was obtained by torture. Instead he claimed to have come to Mumbai 20 days before the attacks and was simply strolling at Juhu beach when police arrested him. The trial concluded on 31 March 2010 and on 3 May the verdict was pronounced – Kasab was found guilty of murder, conspiracy, and of waging war against India (which also carried the death penalty). On 6 May 2010, he was sentenced to death.

A Bombay High Court bench, composed of Justice Ranjanaa Desai and Justice Ranjit More, heard Kasab's appeal against the death penalty and upheld the sentence given by the trial court in their verdict on 21 February 2011. On 30 July 2011, Kasab moved to Supreme Court of India, challenging his conviction and sentence in the case. Thus, a bench composed of Justice Aftab Alam and Justice Chandramouli Kr. Prasad stayed the orders of the Bombay High Court so as to follow the due process of law, and started hearing the case.

On 29 August 2012, Kasab was again found guilty of waging war and was sentenced to death by the Supreme Court of India.

## **Execution**

Kasab's plea for clemency was rejected by President Pranab Mukherjee on 5 November 2012. On 7 November, Minister of Home Affairs Sushilkumar Shinde confirmed the President's rejection of the petition.

The following day, the Maharashtra state government was formally notified and requested to take action. The date of 21 November was then fixed for the execution, and the Indian government faxed their decision to the Pakistani Foreign Office.

Everything so far on secret basis, Kasab was formally informed of his execution on 12 November, after which he requested government officials to inform his mother. On the night of 18–19 November, a senior prison official at Arthur Road Jail in Mumbai read Kasab's death warrant to him, informing him at the same time that his petition for clemency had been rejected. Kasab was then asked to sign his death warrant, which he did. He was secretly transferred under heavy guard to Yerwada Jail in Pune, arriving in the early morning of 19 November. The death and funeral of nationalist politician Bal Thackeray also aided in diverting attention from Kasab. An officer at Arthur Road Jail stated anonymously: "Throughout the journey from Mumbai to Pune, he did not cause any trouble. Kasab's attitude was of resignation when he came to know that his mercy petition was rejected by the president. Kasab did not shed a single tear during the last few days."

Only the jail superintendent at Yerwada was made aware of Kasab's identity. Kasab was placed in a special cell when he was at Yerwada and no other inmates were informed of his presence. It was only a few minutes before Kasab's execution that the executioner was informed whom he would be hanging.

Though reportedly nervous in the final minutes before his execution, Kasab remained quiet and offered prayers. He was hanged on 21 November 2012 at 7:30, according to an

announcement by Home Minister Shinde. Kasab's execution by the Maharashtra government happened barely two weeks after President Pranab Mukherjee rejected his mercy petition on 5 November.

After the government contemplated burial at sea, the decision was finally made to bury Kasab at Yerwada Jail. Following his execution, Kasab's body was given to a maulvi for burial in accordance with Islamic rites. Ansar Burney, a human rights activist in Pakistan, later offered to help repatriate Kasab's body to Pakistan citing humanitarian reasons. The Indian government stated it would consider a formal application if offered. Shinde later stated that Kasab's body was buried in India because Pakistan had refused to claim it.

## **Reaction**

Authorities in Uttar Pradesh banned all celebrations and public gatherings and placed the state on high alert in response. Similarly, the Coimbatore City Police took a group of people in Coimbatore into preventive custody for celebrating Kasab's execution. K. Unnikrishnan, father of Major Sandeep Unnikrishnan, said though the execution was necessary, it was not something to "rejoice over" and that the ensuing celebrations were "foolishness."

In Pakistan, the general and official government response was muted, with the media treating the execution as another news item, according to *The Hindu*. Though some journalists attempted to elicit statements from villagers in Kasab's village of Faridkot, they met with a hostile response. A senior LeT commander issued an anonymous statement, saying Kasab was

a hero who would "inspire more fighters to follow his path." The Pakistani Taliban's spokesman Ehsanullah Ehsan issued a statement threatening Indians with retaliation and declaring Kasab would be avenged. Ehsan also made demands for Kasab's body to be returned to his family. "If they don't return his body to us or his family we will capture Indians and will not return their bodies."

While commending on the well appreciated role of two women officers in the smooth handling of the execution, Patil later responded to threats to avenge Kasab's death by stating that anybody daring to attack the soil of Maharashtra would meet the same fate.

Hafiz Saeed and thousands of others offered *ghayabana namaz-e-janaza* (funeral prayers in absentia) for Kasab at a Jamaat-ud-Dawah session in Muridke. Hundreds of others in Srinagar also offered similar prayers at the appeal of Syed Ali Geelani.

### **Pakistan Anti-Terrorism Court (ATC) Proceedings**

Mudassir Lakhvi, headmaster of the Government Elementary School in Faridkot village, Okara, appeared before the Anti-Terrorism Court (ATC) on 9 May 2014, during the trial of seven suspects, (Zakiur Rehman Lakhvi, Abdul Wajid, Mazhar Iqbal, Hammad Amin Sadiq, Shahid Jameel Riaz, Jamil Ahmed and Younus Anjum), accused of involvement in the attacks on 26 November 2008. He claimed that he knew that Ajmal Kasab was alive, and he had met Ajmal only a few days ago. He repeated the claim in 2015.

## **Chapter 16**

# **Attribution of the 2008 Mumbai Attacks**

**Attribution of the 2008 Mumbai attacks** were first made by the Indian authorities who said that the Mumbai attacks were directed by Lashkar-e-Taiba militants inside Pakistan. American intelligence agencies also agree with this attribution. Pakistan initially contested this attribution, but agreed this was the case on 7 January 2009. To back up its accusations, the Indian government supplied a dossier to Pakistan's high commission in Delhi. The Pakistan government dismissed the dossier as "not evidence," but also announced that it had detained over a hundred members of Jamaat-ud-Dawa, a charity linked with Lashkar-e-Taiba. In February 2009, Pakistan's Interior Minister Rehman Malik agreed that "some part of the conspiracy" did take place in Pakistan.

Moreover, Indian government officials have said that the attacks were so sophisticated that they must have had official backing from Pakistani "agencies", an accusation denied by Pakistan.

## **Attribution**

The Mumbai attacks were planned and directed by Lashkar-e-Taiba militants inside Pakistan, and carried out by ten young armed men trained and sent to Mumbai and directed from inside Pakistan via mobile phones and VoIP.

In July 2009 Pakistani authorities confirmed to their Indian counterparts that their investigations confirmed that LeT plotted and financed the attacks. Investigations conducted in LeT camps in Karachi and Thatta revealed diaries, training manuals, maps of India and operational instructions. According to a report from Pakistani investigators to Indian authorities, "the investigation has established beyond any reasonable doubt that the defunct LeT activists conspired, abetted, planned, financed and established [the] communication network to carry out terror attacks in Mumbai."

The criminal investigation begun by the Mumbai police has identified 37 suspects – including two army officers – wanted for their alleged involvement in the plot. All but two of the suspects, many of whom are identified only through aliases, are Pakistani.

David Headley was a member of Lashkar-e-Taiba, and between 2002 and 2009 Headley travelled extensively as part of his work for LeT. Headey received training in small arms and countersurveillance from LeT, built a network of connections for the group, and was chief scout in scoping out targets for the Mumbai attacks.

Lashkar-e-Taiba was created and sponsored by Pakistan's intelligence agency, the Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate (ISI). US officials have stated that current or retired ISI officers probably played some role in the Mumbai attacks. An ISI officer known as Major Iqbal gave Headley \$25,000 in cash in 2006 to scout out the target sites in Mumbai, helped him arrange a communications system for the attack, and oversaw

a model of the Taj Mahal Hotel so that gunmen could know their way inside the target, according to Headley's testimony to Indian authorities. Headley also helped ISI recruit Indian agents to monitor Indian troop levels and movements, according to a US official. At the same time, Headley was also an informant for the US Drug Enforcement Administration, and Headley's wives warned American officials of Headley's involvement with LeT and his plotting of terrorist operations, warning specifically that the Taj Mahal Hotel may be their target.

### **Cooperation by Pakistan**

Pakistan initially contested that Pakistanis were responsible for the attacks, but agreed this was the case on 7 January 2009.

A year after the attacks, Mumbai police continued to complain that Pakistani authorities are not co-operating by providing information for their investigation. Meanwhile, journalists in Pakistan said security agencies were preventing them from interviewing people from Kasab's village.

The Indian government supplied evidence to Pakistan's high commission in Delhi, in the form of interrogations, weapons, and call records of conversations during the attacks. The evidence, shown to friendly governments and media, provided a detailed sequence of training, supplying, and constant communications of attackers with handlers from Pakistan. In addition, Indian government officials said that the attacks were so sophisticated that they must have had official backing from Pakistani "agencies", an accusation denied by Pakistan.

In February 2009, Pakistani newspaper *Dawn*, citing Pakistani investigators, claimed that the attacks were planned in Bangladesh and refined in India with significant support being provided by Indian-based militant groups and criminal organisations. However, Indian investigators refuted this claim, with the Home Minister Palaniappan Chidambaram dismissing the claim as "rubbish". On 12 February 2009, Pakistan's Interior Minister Rehman Malik agreed that some part of the conspiracy did take place in Pakistan. Malik said that Pakistan had lodged a First Information Report (FIR) under Anti-Terrorism Act against three persons.

Pakistani Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi said on 15 February 2009 that the 2007 Samjhauta Express bombings and the Mumbai attacks were linked, and that Pakistan needed information from India to continue its investigation.

## **Attackers**

There were ten gunmen, nine of whom were subsequently shot dead and one captured by security forces. Witnesses reported that they looked to be in their early twenties, wore black T-shirts and jeans, and that they smiled and looked happy as they shot their victims.

It was initially reported that some of the attackers were British citizens, but the Indian Government later stated that there was no evidence to confirm this. Similarly, early reports of twelve gunmen were also later shown to be incorrect.

On 9 December, the ten attackers were identified by Mumbai police, along with their home towns in Pakistan: Ajmal Amir from Faridkot, Abu Ismail Dera Ismail Khan from Dera Ismail

Khan, Hafiz Arshad and Babr Imran from Multan, Javed from Okara, Shoaib from Sialkot, Nazih and Nasr from Faisalabad, Abdul Rahman from Arifwalla, and Fahad Ullah from Dipalpur Taluka. Dera Ismail Khan is in the North-West Frontier Province; the rest of the towns are in Pakistani Punjab.

## **Arrests**

Ajmal Kasab was the only attacker captured alive by police and was hanged on 21 November 2012 at 7:30 am. Much of the information about the attackers' preparation, travel, and movements comes from his confessions to the Mumbai police.

On 12 February 2009 Pakistan's Interior Minister Rehman Malik said that Pakistani national Javed Iqbal, who acquired VoIP phones in Spain for the Mumbai attackers, and Hamad Ameen Sadiq, who had facilitated money transfer for the attack, had been arrested. Two other men known as Khan and Riaz, but whose full names were not given, were also arrested. Two Pakistanis were arrested in Brescia, Italy on 21 November 2009, after being accused of providing logistical support to the attacks.

In October 2009, two men were charged by the FBI for involvement in terrorism abroad, David Coleman Headley and Tahawwur Hussain Rana. Mumbai police suspect these two may be involved in the Mumbai attacks, too. Headley is reported to have posed as an American Jew and is believed to have links with terrorist outfits based in Bangladesh. Lashkar-e-Taiba, a Pakistan-based terrorist group, planned and executed the Mumbai attacks.

The attacks were directed by handlers inside Pakistan, and carried out by ten well-trained Pakistani attackers who travelled to Mumbai by sea from Karachi via a hijacked trawler. Nine of the attackers were killed and one, Ajmal Amir, was captured alive.

The Indian government also says that former officers from the Pakistan Army and Pakistan's powerful and secretive Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) intelligence agency helped train the Mumbai attackers.

Police are also looking into possible Indian collaborators, also trained in Pakistan. Four former ISI officers have been requested by the US to be placed on the UN Consolidated List of terrorists, which will permit sanctions on their bank accounts, as well as the Interpol wanted list.

Police are also looking into possible Indian collaborators, also trained in Pakistan.

## **Investigations in Pakistan**

The Government of Pakistan initially denied that any of the attackers were Pakistani. On 6 January 2009, they admitted that "part of" the attacks were planned inside Pakistan. They accepted that Ajmal Amir Kasab, the only attacker captured alive, was Pakistani.

In the months since the attacks, police in Pakistan have produced their own dossier which adds information about the Lashkar-e-Taiba network and of the involvement of specific individuals in planning and training.

Pakistani authorities have arrested seven men linked to the Mumbai attacks, including Hammad Amin Sadiq, a homoeopathic pharmacist, who arranged bank accounts and secured supplies, and Zaki ur-Rehman Lakhvi, the chief of operations for Lashkar. They are searching for at least 13 other suspects.

But their investigation has come up short of the founder of Lashkar, Hafiz Saeed, the man Indian and Western officials accuse of masterminding the attacks.

In June 2009, a Pakistani court freed Mr. Saeed from detention, declaring it did not have enough evidence to hold him. He now has an international warrant out for his arrest, issued by Interpol.

## **Attackers**

The names and photographs of the ten attackers and their hometowns in Pakistan were released by Mumbai police on 9 December. All were from Punjab except Ismail Khan, who was from Dera Ismail Khan in the North-West Frontier Province.

Their names were difficult to establish because the alleged trainers of the attackers maintained "a system of changing the names of the members every few months, so that everyone had layers of names that were discarded over time."

Some of the terrorists booked a room in the Taj hotel posed as students using forged Mauritian identity documents and credit cards, but there is no evidence any of them were actually from Mauritius, which is an Indian Ocean island nation.

Each attacker carried a dozen hand grenades, a 9×19mm handgun with two 18-round magazines and an AK-47, seven to nine 30-round magazines and more than 100 rounds of loose ammunition. Each terrorist also carried a 17.6-pound (8 kg) bomb. Three of these bombs were recovered and defused, while the others exploded during the attacks. To navigate to Mumbai by sea and to find some targets, the terrorists used Global Positioning System handsets.

On 2 December, the number of ten terrorists, all coming into Mumbai from Karachi via a hijacked trawler, was repeated by Mumbai Police Commissioner Hassan Gafoor. He detailed that the terrorists broke up into five groups of two men each.

One attacker, Mohammad Ajmal Amir, is known to be a Pakistani national. The Pakistani government denies it, but several reporters have visited the small town in Pakistan where he said his family lives, and verified it. In addition, Mohammed Ajmal Amir was able to identify his home town on Google Maps, and pointed out places he used to hang out as a teenager.

The Observer stated that it had found Ajmal Amir's parents in the electoral record for "Faridkot, near Depalpur" containing 478 registered voters, and described comments from villagers about Ajmal Amir and about the village being "an active recruiting ground" for Lashkar-e-Taiba. The BBC also reported confirmation from local villagers and the presence of numerous intelligence officials at Ajmal Amir's family's house.

The Indian government supplied a dossier to Pakistan's high commission in Delhi, containing interrogations, weapons, and call records of conversations during the attacks. Shown to friendly governments and media, it provides a detailed

sequence of training, supplying, and constant communications with handlers from Pakistan. The Pakistan government dismissed the dossier as "not evidence," but also announced that it had detained over a hundred members of Jamaat-ud-Dawa, a charity linked with Lashkar-e-Taiba.

On 12 February 2009, Pakistan's Interior Minister Rehman Malik has agreed that some part of the conspiracy did take place in Pakistan. Malik said that Pakistan has lodged the FIR under Anti-Terrorism Act against three persons.

Pakistani Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi said on 15 February 2009 that the 2007 Samjhauta Express bombings and the Mumbai attacks were linked, and that Pakistan needed information from India to continue its investigation.

To answer 30 question that Pakistan had given to India on the attack, India provided a 400-page dossier which they claim will be adequate enough to answer all the questions.

## **List of attackers**

- **Mohammad Ajmal Amir** (aka Ajmal Amir Kamal, Ajmal Amir Kasab, Azam Ameer Qasab,, Azam Amir Qasab, Mohammad Ajmal Qasam, Ajmal Mohammed Amir Kasab, or Mohammad Ajmal Amir Kasar) – Initially imprisoned by Indian Police, eventually sentenced and hanged to death – Attacked the CST station, Cama Hospital. Captured after stealing Skoda Laura. Resident of Faridkot, Okara in the tehsil of Depalpur in Pakistan's Punjab province. The 21-year-old man was recruited from his Punjab,

Pakistan home in part based on a pledge by recruiters to pay \$1,250 to his family when he became a martyr. The Pakistani government denies this man is from Pakistan, but several reporters have visited the small town in Pakistan where he said his family lives, and verified it.

- **Abu Ismail Dera Ismail Khan** (aka *Abu Dera Ismail Khan, Ismail Khan*) (group leader) – Dead – from Dera Ismail Khan; attacked CST station, Cama Hospital with Mohammad Ajmal Amir (Azam Amir Qasab). Killed in stolen Skoda Laura. Originally from Dera Ismail Khan in Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province, he was 25 years old.
- **Fahad Ullah** (aka *Shadullah, Fahadullah, Abu Fahad*) – Dead – Age 24, from Dipalpur Taluka. Attacked Hotel Oberoi. Called India TV and claimed to be part of Deecan Mujahideen. Claimed to be one of seven attackers in the Oberoi.
- **Mohammed Altaf** (aka *Abdul Rehaman Chota*) – Dead – from Arifwala Multan Road. Attacked the Oberoi Hotel.
- **Babar Imaran** (aka *Imran Babar, Abu Akasha*) – Dead – from Multan. Attacked Nariman House. Claimed to be one of five in Nariman House. Claimed to be 25 and a medical representative of a multinational corporation.
- **Nasir** (aka *Abu Umar*) – Dead – Age 28. Oldest of attackers. From Faisalabad. Attacked Nariman House.
- **Nazir** (aka *Abu Umer*) – Dead – Also from Faisalabad. Attacked Taj Palace Hotel and Leopold Cafe.

- **Shoaib** (aka *Soheb*) – Dead – from Sialkot, Narowal District. Youngest of attackers. Age 18. Attacked Taj Palace Hotel and Leopold Cafe.
- **Javed** (aka *Abu Ali*) – Dead – From Okara. Attacked Taj Palace Hotel.
- **Hafeez Arshad** (aka *Hafiz Arshad, Abdul Rehaman Bada*) –Dead – Age 25, from Multan. Attacked Taj Palace Hotel

## **Alleged controllers in Pakistan**

- **Hafiz Muhammad Saeed** – Living in Pakistan – Founder of Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and *amir* of its political arm, Jamaat-ud-Dawa (JuD). Maintains LeT was uninvolved in the attack. India has demanded Pakistan arrest him and extradite him to India.
- **Zaki-ur-Rehman Lakhvi** – In custody of Pakistan military – Senior member of Lashkar-e-Taiba. Named as being one of the masterminds of the Mumbai attack. Said by US officials to have been involved in operations in Chechnya, Bosnia and Kashmir, where he allegedly trained LeT operatives to carry out suicide attacks.
- **Masood Azhar** – In custody of Pakistan military – Wanted by India in connection with the attacks on the Indian Parliament in 2001. Involvement with present Mumbai bombings unspecified. Leader and founder of Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM).
- **Yusuf Muzammil** – Status unknown, presumed living in Pakistan – senior member of Lashkar-e-Taiba. Named as the handler of Faheem Ansari, who was arrested in February 2008 scouting sites for attack

in Mumbai, as well as mastermind of the attacks by surviving gunman Amjal Kamal.

- **Zarar Shah** – In Pakistani custody – one of Lashkar-e-Taiba's primary liaisons to the ISI. Investigators in India are also examining whether Mr. Shah, a communications specialist, helped plan and carry out the attacks in Mumbai. "He's a central character in this plot," an American official said. Zarar Shah confessed to Pakistani authorities that LeT carried out the attacks, according to the Wall Street Journal.
- **Hamad Ameen Sadiq** – In Pakistani custody – Pakistan's Federal Investigation Agency calls him the "main operator". His bank accounts facilitated money transfer, and his arrest on 12 February 2009 led to information about the hide-outs of two others accused.
- **Abu Hamza** – Presumed living in Pakistan – Senior member of Lashkar-e-Taiba, gave the attackers maritime training, along with advanced lessons in explosives and weapons.
- **Khafa** (single name) – Presumed living in Pakistan – Senior member of Lashkar-e-Taiba, helped familiarise the gunmen with their targets during the final phase of training.
- **Muhammad Ashraf** – LeT's top financial officer. Not directly connected to the Mumbai plot. Added by the U.N., after the 2008 Mumbai blasts, to the list of people who sponsor terrorism.
- **Mahmoud Mohamed Ahmed Bahaziq** – The leader of LeT in Saudi Arabia and one of its financiers. Not directly connected to the Mumbai plot. Added by the

U.N., after the 2008 Mumbai blasts, to the list of people who sponsor terrorism.

## **Scouts**

- **David Coleman Headley**, a Pakistani-American, and Tahawwur Hussain Rana, a Pakistani-Canadian, were arrested in Chicago in October 2009 in a different matter. But Indian investigators are looking at these two closely because they made multiple trips to India prior to the attacks and may have scouted locations.

## **Indian collaborators**

As of 6 December, there are at least two groups of possible Indian collaborators being investigated:

- **Surveillance Team** – One group of six men, consisting of Faheem Ahmed Ansari, Saba'uddin Ahmed, and others, already in police custody for a separate bombing in northern India, who may have conducted surveillance of the Mumbai landmarks that were attacked.
- **SIM Card Suppliers** – A second group, consisting of Tauseef Rahman, Mukhtar Ahmed, who purchased the SIM cards that were used in the Mumbai attackers' phones.

## **Surveillance team**

Faheem Ahmed Ansari, an Indian from Mumbai, is a suspected collaborator. His group of six Indian men were initially arrested in connection with an attack on a police station in northern India. Ansari had also carried out reconnaissance of targets in Mumbai earlier in the year. He was caught with hand-drawn sketches of 8 to 10 Mumbai landmarks.

This group said they had been directed by two Lashkar-e-Taiba leaders: Zaki ur-Rehman Lakhvi, and a man known alternately as Yusuf or Muzammil—the same people who directed the Mumbai attackers by phone from Pakistan.

- **Faheem Ahmed Ansari** – Under arrest in India – Indian citizen, resident of Goregaon. Arrested in Rampur, northern India, in February 2008 with hand-drawn maps, sketches of targeted sites. Ansari worked in Saudi Arabia in 2006, from where he said he was recruited by the Lashkar-e-Taiba and given a Pakistani passport, then trained in Pakistan. Claims to have carried out reconnaissance in the fall of 2007 against 8–9 targets including the attacked hotels, the US Consulate, the Mumbai stock exchange, and other sites. Named Yuuf Muzammil as his Lashkar-e-Taiba handler in Pakistan, and claimed to have been trained in Muzaffarabad, Pakistan. A senior STF officer said, "Fahim guided the ATS to all the attack sites, particularly the Taj and CST, which he'd surveyed. He had sent the information by e-mail to somebody in Pakistan." The report went on to say, "Fahim used more than 16 e-

mail accounts to communicate with his handlers. He sent them nine scanned copies of handmade maps. His disclosures were later cross-checked with another Pakistani militant Sabauddin, who was arrested for the Rampur attack."

- **Sabauddin Ahmed** (aka *Saba'uddin Ahmed*) – Under arrest in India. May have provided help to the Mumbai attackers. Arrested along with Faheem Ansari in February 2008. He is a well-educated young man from an affluent family in Bihar, who said he had been trained both by Lashkar-e-Taiba and by an ISI operator for four months.

On 18 December Both Mohammad Faheem Ansari and Sabauddin Ahmed were taken on remand to Mumbai by a Mumbai Crime Branch team.

### **SIM card suppliers**

Two Indian men were arrested in Kolkata on 6 December for illegally buying mobile phone cards used by the gunmen in the Mumbai attacks. It is not known whether the two had advance knowledge of the attacks.

Tauseef Rahman allegedly bought SIM cards by providing fake documents, including identification cards of dead people, and sold them to Mukhtar Ahmed.

Ahmed is suspected to be an undercover policeman based in Srinagar.

- **Tausif Rehman, Muktar Ahmed** – Under arrest in India – On 6 December 2008, two men were arrested

in Calcutta, India, in connection with the Mumbai attacks, charged with conspiracy and forgery. These two men were being questioned in connection with selling of 22 cell phone Subscriber Identity Module (SIM) cards to the Mumbai attackers. One of the men was said to be from West Bengal and the other was from Kashmir. The Kashmiri suspect was at first believed to be a police officer. Later the two men were identified as Tausif Rehman, a clerk from Howrah Station, and Mukhtar Ahmed, an auto-rickshaw (three-wheel taxi) driver of Kolkata. Rehman used the identity documents of a dead relative to acquire the SIM cards, and later sold the cards to Ahmed.

## **Erroneous reports and theories**

There was enormous media coverage during and immediately after the attacks, and many of the early reports turned out to be erroneous in some details. The Government of Pakistan repeatedly dismissed claims that the attackers were Pakistani, presented alternative theories, and sought to link the attacks with other bombing incidents which, they claimed, the Indian government was responsible for. Similarly, many news outlets carried opinions and unattributed theories, which also caused confusion.

## Chapter 17

# Erroneous Reporting on the 2008 Mumbai Attacks

During and immediately after the 2008 Mumbai attacks the news media worldwide broadcast incorrect factual information on a scale often seen in a fog of war. **Erroneous reporting on the 2008 Mumbai attacks** included false information concerning the number of attackers, their nationality, their organizational affiliations, origins, and the methods of transport they had used. Theories and speculations were openly aired by various commentators that were later proved to be wrong. Many such speculations, such as the involvement in the attacks of the "Deccan Mujahideen", were widely reported by media worldwide. Various news outlets carried opinion pieces and unattributed theories about the origins of the attackers which were unfounded.

## Background

On 26 November 2008, in the evening, local time, a series of coordinated terrorist attacks began in the city of Mumbai, India's largest city. Targets included the Chhatrapati Shivaji railway terminus and two large hotels. The attack involved both explosives and gunfire and resulted in the deaths of at least 175 people, with many more injured. Actions to clear the city of the terrorists by the authorities lasted for three days; the final gunman was killed at the Taj Mahal Hotel on 29 November. There was enormous media coverage during this

attack and many of the early reports gave information that was later shown to be false. Similarly, many news outlets carried opinions and unattributed theories, both during and immediately after the attacks, which also caused confusion.

## **Number of attackers**

Only one terrorist involved in these attacks was taken alive. Ajmal Kasab was captured at the Chhatrapati Shivaji railway terminus. He reportedly claimed that he had been one of a total of 16 fidayeen, although this number was not cited in later police or news reports. He claimed that there had been another nine with him in the boat that had brought him to Mumbai. On 1 December, news reports indicated that investigators still had concerns that there may be terrorists still at large in the city. This was due to the presence of 15 toothbrushes and 15 winter jackets found aboard the hijacked vessel used to transport the hijackers to Mumbai.

On 2 December, the belief that there had been ten terrorists, all coming into Mumbai from Karachi via a hijacked trawler, was given by Mumbai Police Commissioner Hassan Gafoor. He explained that he had reason to believe that the terrorists had broken up into five groups of two men each, during the attacks.

## **Responsibility claimed**

A group claiming to be Indian made contact with news media, but the language used by them caused confusion over their actual origins. Indian authorities asserted that none of the terrorists were Indian, a claim that was later proved correct

when it was revealed through evidence and the testimony of the surviving attacker Ajmal Kasab that all of the attackers were Pakistani.

## **Deccan Mujahideen**

A previously unknown organisation identifying itself as the Deccan Mujahideen initially claimed responsibility by e-mail sent to news organisations. The name may be due to the Muslim Mughal Empire conquest of the Deccan plateau, which marked the peak of Muslim dominance in the sub-continent. On 1 December 2008, a new message was sent by the group threatening to attack one or more of three key Indian airports: New Delhi, Chennai or Bangalore.

## **E-mail to Indian media claiming responsibility**

Claims were initially made via an e-mail sent to news agencies by a group calling itself the Deccan Mujahideen (Urdu: *نی دکن مجاہد*; also referred to as *Mujahideen Hyderabad Deccan*). The Internet connection from which the e-mail was originally sent was reportedly traced to Russia, and was considered, for this reason, likely to be bogus by some intelligence experts such as B Raman, who spoke to NewsX. Further analysis, however, determined that the Russian e-mail address was registered to a computer user located in Pakistan, and routed through Lahore. India's RAW intelligence agency suggested that voice recognition software had been used to create the e-mail content. Analysis shows that the language of the manifesto corresponds to similar language used by a prior Indian Mujahideen manifesto issued after a New Delhi bombing in September 2008, thus raising the possibility that the

authors may be linked. A factor weighing against this likelihood, however, is the language: the e-mail purportedly sent by the Deccan Mujahideen was written in Hindi with some Urdu words, and used a relatively mild tone, compared with previous Indian Mujahideen e-mails, which have been in English.

*The New York Times* has stated that international security experts "drew a blank on" the Deccan Mujahideen group, with one analyst labelling it a "front name", perhaps from a "home-grown" terrorist group, such as Indian Mujahideen (IM). The existence of a group calling itself the Deccan Mujahideen was unknown to intelligence agencies prior to the Mumbai attacks in November 2008 and the existence of the Deccan Mujahideen has not been verified. It may be an assumed name for another terrorist organization. Indian Islamic militants are known to issue hoax claims of responsibility in this fashion.

## **Cellphone call to India TV**

Two of the terrorists involved in the attack, Shadullah and Imran Babar, called India TV twice during the siege on Thursday, 27 November, using cellphones they had taken from their hostages. Shadullah claimed that he belonged to Deccan Mujahideen. The anchor repeatedly asked whether he was from Hyderabad, India, or from Hyderabad in Pakistan, to which he responded that he belonged to Hyderabad of the Deccan. Shadullah also spoke of his motives during this conversation.

However, it has been suggested that "[the] risible attempt to claim the Mumbai killings in the name of the "Deccan Mujahideen" merely confirms that wherever the killers are

from, it is not the Deccan." *The Times of India* has questioned the authentic use of the term Deccan, since "Deccan" could denote any place between Pune and Hyderabad. It further cited unnamed analysts who ruled out direct connection with Hyderabad citizens or a home-grown Indian organisation since "the attacks bear the stamp of a high motivated and trained foreign agency."

## **Threat of further attack at airports**

On 1 December, another e-mail was sent by the "Deccan Mujahideen" threatening a hijacking or an attack at one of three major Indian airports. This was to take place between 3–7 December, it was threatened. Delhi, Chennai and Bangalore airports were all put on a high state of alert as a result.

## **Responsibility alleged**

A number of terrorist and other organisations have been mentioned in news sources regarding the ongoing investigations into the November 2008 Mumbai attacks. These organisations and individuals are detailed below. This should not be misconstrued as a list of those considered *likely* to have had involvement in the attacks.

### **Indian Mujahideen**

The Indian Mujahideen terrorist group threatened in September 2008 to carry out bombings in Mumbai. *Foreign Policy* magazine has speculated that it is possible the Deccan Mujahideen organisation, if it exists, could be related to this

organisation. On 21 September 2008, Delhi police raided Batla House and arrested members of Indian Mujahideen. This reputedly caused an indirect change to the timetable of the attack. When Batla House was raided, Delhi police claimed that there was a conspiracy between Indian Mujahideen, the Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI), and Lashkar-e-Taiba (see below).

According to some news reports, a terrorist holding hostages at the Oberoi Trident Hotel during the Mumbai attacks of November 2008 told an Indian TV channel that they wanted all 'Mujahideen' in Indian prisons set free before they released their hostages. He also indicated that there were seven terrorists holding hostages at that location. Other reports indicate that this demand was made through a hostage at the Mumbai Chabad House, in a call to the Israeli embassy in New Delhi.

## **Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI)**

Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) was suspected of providing local assistance to the attackers. A number of sympathizers of SIMI were detained on 27 November and questioned in connection with the attacks. SIMI's activities, as separable from those of Indian Mujahideen, is a subject of debate. Time Magazine has cited an unnamed Indian expert's assertion that, "Indian Mujahideen is simply a renamed SIMI."

### **Jaish-e-Mohammed**

As early as 27 November, published reports contained suggestions by analysts that a connection might exist between

the attacks and the Pakistan-based Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) organisation, even as others questioned whether "Deccan Mujahideen" could be an Indian-based "home-grown militancy."

On 3 December, the Indian Foreign Minister added the name of Masood Azhar (alias Maulana Masood Azhar), leader of Jaish-e-Mohammed, to the list of people wanted in connection with the Mumbai attacks and prior terrorist attacks in India. Azhar was described as "a suspected terrorist freed from prison in India in exchange for the release of hostages aboard a hijacked Indian Airlines aircraft in December 1999."

## **D-Company**

D-Company is an underworld gang that operates in Mumbai. It is headed (2010) by Dawood Ibrahim. D-Company has been blamed for other past terrorist attacks, including the 1993 Mumbai bombings, which led some analysts immediately to speculate about a direct connection between D-Company and the 2008 attacks. Maloy Krishna Dhar, former joint director of India's intelligence bureau, stated, "I distinctly see the hand of Dawood Ibrahim's gang, in the knowledge of Mumbai we witnessed."

## **Al-Qaeda**

Experts have conflicting views as to whether Al Qaeda played a role in the attacks. As events unfolded on 27 November, direct or indirect involvement by Al Qaeda could not be ruled out by Indian and British officials, although they noted that "the assault is not typical of the group, which generally favors suicide bombings." On 29 November, unnamed Indian and

American intelligence sources reported increasing evidence for an indirect connection to Al Qaeda through Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT) or Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM). Others analysts considered that the attackers in Mumbai, even if they were not directly or even indirectly linked to the more notorious terrorist group, were at least philosophically aligned or inspired by Al Qaeda.

On 27 November, Christine Fair, of the RAND Corporation, warned explicitly about making an overly-hasty connection between these attacks and the 9/11 attacks, stating that it was, in her opinion, an act of indigenous disaffected Indians: "There's absolutely nothing Al Qaeda-like about it... This is not India's 9/11.

This is India's Oklahoma City." Such analysis, however, proved to be incorrect. Later reports indicated that all the attackers came to India from Pakistan.

Until 2 December, claims that the attackers had had links to Al Qaeda were generally unsubstantiated. However, indirect ties between Al Qaeda and the Mumbai terrorists have emerged based on the following assertions:

- One or more of the Mumbai attackers were trained by Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT). The only surviving attacker "told police that he and the other nine gunmen had trained for months in camps in Pakistan operated by the banned Pakistani militant group Lashkar-e-Taiba, or LeT.
- Senior Al Qaeda member Abu Zubaydah was captured at a Lashkar-e-Toiba safehouse in 2002, and operational links between the two groups may have continued through to the present day.

- Harkat-ul-Jihad, a Pakistani and former Bangladeshi militant, operating on the Afghan border alongside Al Qaeda, was said to have taken over LeT training operations.
- In 1993, the United States uncovered an al Qaeda plot against targets in New York City, which was very similar in concept to that used in the Mumbai attacks.

### **Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence**

Rogue elements of the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) agency may have provided training or material support for the terrorists. The ISI has been suspected of providing support to LeT or JeM in the past, and it has been suggested that "the equipment, training and sophistication of [the planning of the Mumbai attacks] would tend to indicate a Pakistani link." It has also been alleged that the ISI once had plans, now abandoned, to support LeT-trained insurgents in attacks on Indian-controlled Kashmir. "The possibility of rogue elements in ISI and jihadi elements in Pakistan conspiring to create tensions between New Delhi and Islamabad cannot be ruled out."

The many fake identities and credit cards used by the terrorists have also led Mumbai police to suspect ISI involvement.

Sources from Pakistan have fiercely opposed this allegation. Pakistan's Ambassador to the US stated: "No element of Pakistan's State or Government was involved in these attacks. These attacks are the actions of non-state actors."

## **Former or active Pakistani Army members**

In December, reports alleged that the terrorists had been trained by former members of the Pakistani army: "Mumbai police commissioner Hasan Ghafoor said ex-Pakistani army officers trained the group – some for up to 18 months..." These news reports asserted that two active-duty Pakistani army corps commanders may have provided equipment and training for up to "70-odd terrorists tasked with the Mumbai operations." Analysts were said to be divided over whether Pakistani army chief Ashfaq Kiyani knew of these operations. Increasing strains between the civil and military leadership of the Pakistani government was widely noted in the days following the Mumbai attack.

## **Indian fugitives in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia**

On 3 December, Indian Foreign Minister Pranab Mukherjee released a statement that the Indian government was asking the Pakistani authorities for the arrest and extradition to India of about 20 Indian fugitives believed to be currently residing in Pakistan, in connection with the November 2008 and previous terrorist attacks. These fugitives included Dawood Ibrahim and Masood Azhar. Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari responded to this request by stating that these suspects, if they were in Pakistan, would be tried in Pakistani courts if there was evidence of any wrongdoing by them. "At the moment, these are just names of individuals – no proof and no investigation," he told CNN. "If we had the proof, we would try them in our courts and we would try them in our land and we would sentence them."

Reports have emerged of a possible connection between Indian residents and non-resident Indians (NRI) living in Saudi Arabia. Such Indian nationals who hold radical Muslim beliefs, living overseas, may be behind the financing and organisation of the operations of the Indian Mujahideen. These individuals have allegedly recruited and trained followers at LeT camps in Pakistan and been behind the terrorist bombings of Indian cities by Indian Mujahideen.

Indians possibly or allegedly involved in international terrorist networks include: Abdul Bari, a Hyderabad resident and possible financier of Indian Mujahideen (IM) operations; CAM Basheer, a leader of SIMI in the late 1980s, an aeronautical engineer and allegedly trained in LeT camps; Dawood Ibrahim, who has possibly aided smuggling or provided other logistical support and is wanted in connection with the Mumbai bombings of 1993; Amir Raza Khan, who has allegedly helped to create Indian Mujahideen and is believed to be responsible for the 13 September 2008 Delhi bombings; and Riyaz Bhatkal, possibly also known as "Shahrukh", and allegedly instrumental in the creation of Indian Mujahideen. He is thought to have fled to Pakistan after involvement in other terrorist attacks, including the 1993 Mumbai bombings and the 13 September 2008 Delhi bombings.

## **Involvement of Pakistan**

Various theories were put forward as to why the attack occurred. Some of these directly implicated the government of Pakistan in the attack, its military and the Pakistani ISI intelligence agency, in collaboration with the Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) organisation. Others fully exonerated these entities,

believing that the attacks were conducted by people operating independently. As of December 2010, opinion holds that the LeT most probably was behind the attacks.

### **Independent 'non-state actors' theory**

As late as 3 December 2008, Pakistan President Asif Ali Zardari and other Pakistani officials declared that they had seen no evidence that the Mumbai attackers were from Pakistan, and that they did not believe the attackers were from Pakistan. Later, they maintained that the attackers were "non-state actors" unconnected with the Pakistani military or ISI.

### **ISI/LeT Operation: agents provocateurs or rogues?**

"There is no doubt the terrorist attacks in Mumbai were perpetrated by individuals who came from Pakistan and whose controllers are in Pakistan."

- — *Indian Foreign Minister Pranab Mukherjee*

"Given the sophistication and military precision of the attack, it must have had the support of some official agencies in Pakistan."

- — *Indian prime minister Manmohan Singh*

Many reports confirmed that the terrorists had been trained, supported and directly sent by Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), an organisation which was originally established by the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) directorate. LeT and ISI sources continued categorically to deny any involvement, although there was evidence to the contrary.

On 2 December, investigations reported by the press alleged that Zakiur Rahman (also known as *Zaki-ur-Rehman Lakhvi*), the leader of Lashkar-e-Taiba, had trained the Mumbai terrorists "under the aegis of a junior ISI major" as part of a plan originally conceived by General Ashfaq Kiani, then head of the ISI. Gen. Kiani shortly thereafter became chief of the Pakistan Army. Such allegations raised the question of how much control the Pakistani government had over its military and ISI activities, and how much control the military and ISI had over the paramilitary groups they trained and equipped.

The reported goal of the original plan was to train insurgents to target the Indian-controlled territory of Kashmir. Two months prior to the attacks in Mumbai, this plan was officially scrapped by the Pakistani military. Three different theories were put forward to account for the change of direction of the operation following this decision.

### **Rogue independent LeT operation theory**

This theory held that after a planned ISI/LeT operation against Kashmir was cancelled, the LeT operation went rogue and the organizers of the operation then independently allied themselves with Al Qaeda. The operation was allegedly taken over by the Pakistani militant Harkat-ul-Jihad, working with Al Qaeda along the Afghan border. It was after this that the plans were radically redrawn to become an attack on Mumbai. Under this scenario, the cancellation of plans by the Pakistani government forced a radical transformation of the operation from one aimed at Kashmir to one aimed at Mumbai instead. Therefore, the Pakistani military and ISI were not responsible for the attacks.

### **Rogue element ISI/LeT operation theory**

In this theory, continued military and ISI connections to the operations were through agents who were operating without the authorisation of the Pakistani central military and intelligence command and were thus also rogue elements.

The motive here was to provoke a confrontation with India, which would be seen as an act of Islamic Pakistani strength, in contrast to the politically weak actions of Pakistani president Asif Ali Zardari.

### **Clandestine ISI/LeT operation theory**

A third scenario held that it was an ISI/LeT operation directed to use LeT agents provocateurs against Mumbai, independently and clandestinely funded and supported by the Pakistani military or the ISI without the knowledge or approval of the civilian Pakistani government.

This postulated the existence of a long-term plan to attack Mumbai, and was based upon the evidence of an operative, Faheen Ahmed Ansari, who was arrested in February 2008. Under this scenario, the attack was planned at least as early as Ansari's reconnaissance mission to Mumbai in late 2007. Under this theory, ISI continued to be involved in the planning and operations, even after formal cancellation of the plan involving terrorist attacks against Indian-controlled Kashmir, although the operation may have been assigned to a lower-level ISI official.

## **Other theories**

Many other theories and arguments arose over who was responsible for the attacks. The following are among the most-cited theories based on news sources and media information.

### **Indian perpetrators**

Faheem Ahmed Ansari, an Indian who was arrested in February 2008 in connection with the 2007 New Year's Eve terrorist attack in India, admitted to acting as a reconnaissance for a planned attack against targets in Mumbai.

### **Combination of Indian and foreign perpetrators**

Various analyses and reports posited a combination of local and international origins for the attacks. Either foreign attackers had local aid and assistance, or Indian nationals directly participated alongside foreigners.

According to reports on 30 November 2008, the captured terrorist Azam Amir Kasab gave the names and addresses of five Mumbai residents who provided assistance to the operation.

Joint Commissioner of Police (Crime) Rakesh Maria cautioned that it would be premature to comment on suspects and specifics at that time. On 2 December, Police Commissioner Hasan Gafoor said "there was no evidence of local support involved in the recent terror attacks in the city."

## **Speculation by port of origin**

Confusion arose at first regarding the means by which the attackers had arrived in India. Two separate ships were mentioned: the MV *Alpha* and the fishing trawler *Kuber*. The Indian Navy intercepted a boat, the MV *Alpha*, allegedly used by the terrorists. One report said that it had been commandeered while anchored at Porbandar on the Gujarat coast. Another spurious report said the MV *Alpha* had arrived from Karachi. Reports of the involvement of the *Alpha* were incorrect; it turned out to be a Vietnamese ship, en route to Alang for scrapping, with no connection to the attacks. The captain of the fishing trawler *Kuber* was found beheaded aboard his ship and the rest of the crew missing and it was confirmed that this was the vessel that had been used.

## **Female accomplice during attacks?**

Cama hospital workers and shopkeepers claimed that an unarmed burqa-clad woman, who wore a salwar kameez underneath, shopped for food supplies and knocked on doors with Azam Amir as he fired his weapon at the Cama hospital employee quarters at the beginning of the attacks on the evening of 26 November 2008. On 2 December, Mumbai Police Commissioner Hasan Gafoor was reported to say that "he was not sure about the involvement of any female terrorist," and the status of this unidentified woman remains unknown.

## Chapter 18

# Zabiuddin Ansari

**Sayed Zabiuddin Ansari** a.k.a. **Abu Hamza** or **Abu Jundal** is an Indian Islamic terrorist belonging to Indian Mujahideen and Lashkar-e-Taiba. He is accused of being involved in 2008 Mumbai attacks. Zabiuddin Ansari (Abu Hamza)'s name was listed in the list of "50 most wanted criminals sheltered in Pakistan" released by India on 21 May 2011. He served as the handler of the 10 LeT terrorists during 2008 Mumbai attacks.

He is a suspect in several cases such as the *Kalupur station blast* case of 9 February 2006, the Aurangabad arms haul case of May 2006 and co-accused in 2010 Pune bombing case. He was deported from Saudi Arabia on 25 June 2012 and is currently in the custody of Indian security agencies. On 2 August 2016, he was sentenced to life imprisonment in relation to the arms haul case by the special MCOCA court.

## Early life

Zabiuddin was born on 30 November 1980 in a village *Hathi Khana mohalla* in Georai area of Beed district in Maharashtra in western India. His father Syed Zakiuddin had worked as an insurance agent. Syed Zakiuddin's family consists of five sisters and one son, Zabiuddin. Zabiuddin had studied in Urdu up to Class X in Georai and joined Industrial Training Institute (ITI), Beed.

He was arrested by the Indian police in Maharashtra in 2003 for stabbing and attempting to immolate a woman, with whom his family was entrenched in a marital dispute. Subsequently, he was sent to jail but was bailed on conditions of appearing at the relevant court hearings. He never returned for the proceedings.

Ansari moved to Pakistan after his college. He married in 2009 to a Pakistani woman and has a son in Pakistan. The Pakistani passport he used, showed him as a resident of Sheikhpura in Pakistan's Punjab province.

## **Militancy**

Zabiuddin went to Pakistan for terror training in mid-2000s and recruited cadres for Lashkar-e-Taiba, and Indian Mujahideen. He was quickly promoted in the ranks of Lashker-e-Taiba after he was indoctrinated by banned SIMI post Gujarat riots in 2002.

Zabiuddin was introduced into LeT by a senior in college Fayaz Kagazi, who is suspected to be in Saudi Arabia. Fayaz also sent him for training to assemble bombs. He narrowly escaped an arrest in 2006 and reached Pakistan via Bangladesh.

Zabiuddin had lived in Pakistan for sometime after which he moved to Saudi Arabia where he worked as a teacher. He had been missing since 2005 and is known to have used at least ten aliases. Jundal also stayed for sometime in Bangladesh.

The central security agencies of India had interrogated many arrested terrorists to study the case of Zabiuddin. From these

interrogations it was known that he had been operating out of terror camps in Karachi and Pakistan administered Kashmir. It was also known that he was a key figure in the terror group Lashker-e-Taiba's plan to carry out the strikes in the remote areas of India.

## **Mumbai attacks**

Zabiuddin was the Hindi tutor and handler of the 10 terrorists responsible for the 2008 Mumbai attacks that claimed 166 lives. Zabiuddin is believed to be one of the four LeT men who had come to send off Ajmal Kasab and nine other terrorists from Karachi a week prior they went to Mumbai.

Investigators allege that Zabiuddin Ansari was present in Lashkar's Karachi based control room during the Mumbai attack. In telephone conversations between the terrorists and their handlers intercepted during the Mumbai attacks, a person speaking with a marked Mumbai accent can be heard instructing the terrorists to make a list of demands to the media. The men inside the control room also issued instructions to the terrorists on operational decisions including killing hostages.

Zabiuddin has claimed after his arrest that LeT chief Hafiz Saeed was also present in the LeT control room from where they had directed the Mumbai attack terrorist incident. Zabiuddin has also said that ISI and Pakistani army officials were involved in planning Mumbai attacks and had attended the meetings. According to him, those present at the control room later celebrated the terrorist attack and was later destroyed by ISI in 2008.

According to him, the coordinated attacks were previously scheduled for 2006, using Indian youth for the job. However, a huge cache of AK-47s and RDX, which were to be used for the attacks, was recovered from Aurangabad in 2006 thus leading to the dismantling of the original plot. Subsequently, Abu Hamza fled to Pakistan and along with Lashkar commanders, scouted for Pakistani youth for the attacks. In September 2007, ten people were selected for the mission. In September 2008, these ten terrorists tried sailing to Mumbai from Karachi, but failed to complete their mission due to choppy waters. The LeT terrorists tried again in November 2008 and managed to execute the final attacks.

He was accused of crimes involving the use of weapons, explosives and terrorism. India had secured an Interpol Red Corner notice against him.

## **Arrest**

Security agencies had been chasing him for 3 years in Delhi. The first tip-off about his presence in Saudi Arabia was given by a terrorist who was arrested by the Indian security agencies in connection with the 2010 Jama Masjid attack. Intelligence agencies, including western agencies, zoomed in on Ansari's location after he set up a website for recruiting youth for Lashkar under an alias *Kaasif*. This alias was known as one used by Ansari to the Indian intelligence agencies. Also, the US agencies noticed a high traffic between Ansari's website and other jihadi websites they were monitoring, and they asked Saudi intelligence to detain Ansari.

The arrest of Abu Jundal could be more significant than that of Ajmal Kasab as Jundal was amongst six main planners of the attacks. His evidence could have more credibility because of his presence in Pakistan. Investigation has confirmed some state support during the attacks when Abu Jundal and others from a control room in Karachi gave orders to 10 attackers.

## **Diplomatic negotiations**

Initial attempts to get Zabiuddin into custody had failed because, although a native of Beed in Maharashtra, he had used a Pakistani passport to travel to Saudi Arabia, under the alias Riyasat Ali. The passport also showed his father's name as Mohammed Khushi and residence as to Sheikhupura in Punjab, Pakistan. According to the Indian home ministry, Pakistan's ISI exerted immense pressure on Saudi Arabia for months, to prevent Jundal being handed over to India. He was considered a prized catch by India, due to his status as a Lashkar-e-Taiba insider who could expose the role of 'Pakistani state actors' in the Mumbai attack. In a diplomatic game that involved three countries, India, too, stepped up pressure and sent several documents to the Saudi authorities to establish that Jundal, although using a Pakistani passport, was actually an Indian citizen.

According to Indian Government sources, his arrest came after months of diplomatic negotiations involving authorities in Riyadh, Washington DC, and New Delhi. Indian dignitaries visiting Saudi Arabia had also lobbied Saudi authorities for assistance in Ansari's case. Intelligence Bureau director Nehchal Sandhu is known to have directly worked with his Saudi counterpart, Prince Muqrin bin Abdulaziz, then director

General of Saudi Intelligence agency Al Mukhabarat Al A'amah during the investigations. The Indian and Saudi Intelligence services had identified Ansari on the basis of intercepted phone communications.

### **DNA identification**

DNA test was also used to establish his identity. A DNA sample obtained from Ansari's family was sent to the Saudi authorities by India. The DNA test had matched and Saudi authorities were persuaded for handing him to India.

### **Deportation**

On 21 June 2012, the Intelligence Branch took custody of Abu Hamza alias Sayed Zabiuddin on his deportation from Saudi Arabia at the Indira Gandhi International Airport in New Delhi, and on 25 June 2012, formally handed him over to Delhi Police, that announced the arrest, for him to be produced at the New Delhi Court for trial. The arrest of Sayed Zabiuddin was touted as the most significant development in the 2008 Mumbai attacks case after Kasab's arrest.

### **Interrogation**

In July 2012, he was interrogated by several Indian security agencies for several cases of which he is accused.

### **Pakistani passport and IDs**

Zabiuddin although being an Indian, held a Pakistani passport and two Pakistani identity cards, which pointed towards

Pakistan's involvement. One of the two Pakistani identity cards provided to him was for internal use in Pakistan while the other was to be used outside Pakistan. His Pakistani passport was issued in the name of *Riyasat Ali*, and was arranged by a senior Lashkar commander and Mumbai attack plotter *Muzammil*.

His Pakistani passport and National Identity Card for Overseas Pakistanis were made in the name of Riyasat Ali. The documents had mentioned his address at a place close to Muridke, where the Lashkar-e-Taiba headquarters is situated. However, Pakistan has strongly rejected any insinuation of involvement by state actors in any acts of militancy in India. Pakistani Foreign Secretary Jalil Abbas Jilani while on a visit to India offered a joint investigation into Mumbai attacks.

### **The Karachi Control Room**

According to Indian government, the Karachi control room was created by Pakistani intelligence agency I.S.I. along with Lashkar-e-Taiba in Pakistan to monitor a Bombay attack. Accordingly, the Delhi Police has registered a criminal case of conspiracy to launch another terror attack on India.

## **Chapter 19**

# **Casualties and Compensation: 2008 Mumbai Attacks**

## **Tukaram Omble**

**Tukaram Omble** AC (c. 1954 – 27 November 2008) was a Mumbai police officer and army soldier, who served as assistant sub-inspector (ASI) of the Mumbai Police. He was martyred in action while fighting terrorists during the 2008 Mumbai attacks, at Girgaum Chowpatty Mumbai, and was instrumental in apprehending Ajmal Kasab alive. The lone surviving terrorist Kasab was later convicted and hanged. The Indian government posthumously honoured Omble, on 26 January 2009, with the Ashoka Chakra – the country's highest peace-time gallantry award for extraordinary bravery and valour in the line of duty.

## **Summary**

Omble joined the police as a constable in 1991 after retiring from the Indian Army's Signal Corps as a naik. He was an ASI with the Mumbai Police. On 26/11 he and his team were guarding one of the checkpoints when they were approached by two terrorists in a hijacked car. After an initial shootout, one of the terrorists died inside the car, while the other, Ajmal Kasab got out of the car and lay down to pretend surrender. As unarmed Omble approached him, Kasab got up and tried to

open fire. Omble stood in front of him and held on to the barrel of Kasab's rifle, thus preventing the bullets from hitting anyone else but him. The rest of the team managed to overpower and apprehend Kasab. Omble had taken over 40 bullets from an Ak-47 at point blank range and did not survive.

A newly discovered jumping spider species from Thane-Kalyan region has been named in the honour of the brave Mumbai cop Tukaram Ombale on June 2021.

Citizens of Mumbai petitioned to have him receive the highest civilian honour for his contribution to the nation in his rare feat to catch a terrorist on a suicide mission alive.

The Government of India awarded Tukaram Omble with the Ashoka Chakra, India's highest peacetime gallantry award.

## **Awards and honours**

- Tukaram Omble was awarded the Ashoka Chakra, which is the highest peacetime gallantry award.
- He was also awarded CNN Indian of the year award under the category 'Extraordinary service to the nation'.
- Omble is memorialized by a bronze statue in Chowpatty.

## **Hemant Karkare**

**Hemant Karkare** AC (12 December 1954 – 27 November 2008) was the chief of the Mumbai Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS). He

was killed in action during the 2008 Mumbai attacks. In 2009, he was posthumously given the Ashoka Chakra, India's highest peacetime gallantry decoration.

Karkare succeeded K. P. Raghuvanshi as the Chief of ATS in January 2008 and was eventually succeeded by Raghuvanshi after he was shot dead on 26 November 2008. He was credited with solving the serial bombing cases in Thane, Vashi and Panvel, and led the investigation of the 2008 Malegaon blasts.

## **Education and career**

Karkare did his primary schooling from Chittranjan Das Municipal Primary School, Wardha and then received his middle school and high school education from New English High School, Wardha.

He obtained a Bachelor of Engineering degree in Mechanical Engineering from Visvesvaraya National Institute of Technology, Nagpur in 1975. After graduation he worked for the National Productivity Council of the Government of India and then Hindustan Lever Limited (now called Hindustan Unilever Ltd.), India's largest FMCG company.

He joined the Indian Police Service (IPS) as a member of the 1982 batch. Before becoming ATS Chief of Maharashtra State in January 2008, he was Joint Commissioner of Police (Administration) of Mumbai Police. He served seven years in Austria in the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), India's external intelligence agency. According to former senior Mumbai Police officer Y.C. Pawar, Mr. Karkare was regarded as very influential officer in police circles.

## **Malegaon investigation**

On 8 September 2006, a series of bomb blasts took place in Malegaon, Maharashtra. On 29 September 2008, three bombs exploded in Modasa, Gujarat and Malegaon, Maharashtra killing eight people, and injuring 80. Several unexploded bombs were found in Ahmedabad, Gujarat. Hemant Karkare, as the chief of the state Anti-Terror Squad, led the investigation into the 2008 Malegaon blasts. In late October 2008, the ATS arrested eleven suspects, including a former ABVP student leader Sadhvi Pragya Singh Thakur, Swami Amritananda alias Dayanand Pandey, a retired Major Ramesh Upadhyay and a serving Army officer Lt. Col. Prasad Shrikant Purohit. Most of the accused belonged to a Hindutva group called Abhinav Bharat with prior links to Sangh Parivar organisations. Karkare's ATS identified, for the first time, Hindutva organisations as being responsible for terrorism in India, and political commentators began to call it Hindutva terror or Saffron terror.

Opposition parties, including the Bharatiya Janta Party and Shiv Sena, and Hindu organizations alleged that the arrests were made under the pressure of the incumbent radical government, in an attempt to appease India's Muslim population.

These parties called him 'a traitor to the nation' for his investigation in this direction. Narendra Modi, then the Chief Minister of Gujarat, accused the ATS of undermining the military morale. Some BJP, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) leaders accused the ATS of being used as a tool to attack the Sangh Parivar and of

using illegal detention and torture. Thakur was given a clean-chit in the chargesheet presented by NIA in 2016 to the court. And the court dropped charges of Maharashtra Control of Organised Crime Act (MCOCA) put by ATS following which she applied for a bail and the Court granted it. The bail order stated that she is "suffering from breast cancer" and was "infirm and cannot even walk without support". She is currently facing charges of Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act and other Indian Penal Code sections and a trial is ongoing as of April 2019. She contested and won the Bhopal seat during the Lok Sabha elections of 2019.

## **Death**

Karkare, along with senior police officials Ashok Kamte and Vijay Salaskar, were killed outside the Cama Hospital after the LeT terrorists Kasab and his partner Ismail opened fire on their police van.

At 9.45 p.m. on 26 November 2008, while having his dinner at his Dadar residence, he received a call about a terrorist attack at Chatrapati Shivaji Terminus (C.S.T.) station. He switched on the TV for news and left at once with his driver and bodyguards for C.S.T. There he donned a bullet-proof vest and helmet (shown on news channels live), and went to Platform No.1, but found it deserted. He was then informed that the terrorists had moved to the Cama and Albless Hospital ("Cama") next to the Azad Maidan police station.

The operation was difficult as it was dark and the terrorists were well prepared and virtually on a *fidayeen* mission. The officers, with a few constables, went into Cama from the back.

A couple of constables were left stationed at the back entrance of Cama, while the rest boarded a Qualis jeep. Senior Police Inspector Vijay Salaskar asked the driver of the Qualis to let him take over at the wheel. About that time, they heard on the wireless that the terrorists were hiding behind a red car.

As they turned from the Crime Branch office towards Rang Bhavan looking for the red car, near the Corporation Bank ATM, they saw one of the terrorists running. Ashok Kamte, ACP of Mumbai East, or Salaskar – or both – fired, the bullet hitting the terrorist on his arm, his AK-47 fell down. He was Kasab, the lone terrorist captured alive later. As they were thinking of getting down, a second terrorist, Ismail Khan appeared and fired a volley of bullets at them. All but one, Assistant Police Inspector Jadhav, died.

Hemant Karkare, Ashok Kamte, Salaskar and others died in fighting the Mumbai attacks, on 27 November 2008 in a narrow lane between St. Xavier's College and Rang Bhavan, just a stone throw away from the Crime Branch office.

*Indian Express* quotes statements by Constable Arun Jadhav, who was with the officers Hemant Karkare, Vijay Salaskar and Ashok Kamte when they died. The three officers and four constables had received information that Sadanand Date had been injured in the gunfire at the Cama and Albless Hospital for women and children. Located at Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus (CST), a ten-minute drive from the hospital, they took a Toyota Qualis and proceeded in that direction. Salaskar was driving, Kamte in the passenger seat, Karkare in the second row, and the four constables, including Jadhav, were in the back row of seating. According to Jadhav, five minutes

later, two terrorists stepped out from behind a tree and opened fire with AK-47 automatic rifles. The six policemen, other than Jadhav, were all killed quickly in the gunfire. Kamte was the sole officer who managed to retaliate, wounding terrorist Ajmal in the arm. The wounded Jadhav had no opportunity to render assistance. The two terrorists approached the vehicle, dumped the bodies of the three officers on the road and, leaving the constables for dead, proceeded to Metro Cinema. Upon arrival, they aimed three bursts of automatic fire at the police and press vehicles drawn up at that location, then drove off towards the government offices (Vidhan Bhawan) in South Mumbai.

Here again they fired several times. While attempting to leave the area, one of the tires of the vehicle burst, so the terrorists departed to obtain another. At this point, Jadhav was able to contact headquarters. The bodies of the dead were recovered and taken to St George Hospital. However the statement that Kasab fired "inside the car" was rejected by the court. The crucial evidence in Karkare's death - the source of bullet fired into his body was absent.

The bullets did not match with few of the terrorist's recovered guns which made it impossible to decide who amongst the terrorists killed Hemant Karkare. In an investigation, Headline Today, an Indian news agency, found that a substandard bulletproof jacket had been issued to Mr. Karkare. Though, according to the post mortem report, the quality of the vest was not a factor in his death as bullets did not pierce the vest. Concerns in the media about the quality of the vest continue because the vest itself was, according to Indian authorities, misplaced in the hospital. In 2018, the Bombay High Court

discarded a pending petition that had claimed that Karkare was not gunned down by terrorists Ajmal Kasab and Abu Ismail.

His wife Kavita Karkare, suffered a massive brain haemorrhage on 27 September 2014 and soon slipped into coma. Thereafter she died on 29 September 2014, at age of 57. She lived in Hindu colony, Dadar, and was a professor at the NSS B.Ed college, Tardeo, but left work a few months ago and was suffering from hypertension. The Karkares are survived by their two daughters and a son.

## **Ashok Kamte**

**Ashok Kamte** AC (23 February 1965 – 26 November 2008) was an Indian police officer, serving as the Additional Commissioner of the Mumbai Police supervising the Eastern region. He was martyred in action during the 2008 Mumbai attacks. He was posthumously given the Ashoka Chakra on 26 January 2009.

## **Personal background**

The son of Lieutenant-Colonel Marutirao Narayanrao Kamte (August 22, 1929 – 13 January 2014) and his wife Kalpana, Ashok Kamte was born on 23 February 1965 in a Marathi family with a long tradition of police service. His great-grandfather,

Rao Bahadur Marutirao Kamte KPM IPM, had served in the Indian Imperial Police from 1895 to 1923, while his grandfather Narayanrao also joined the Imperial Police in

1923, eventually serving as the first Indian Inspector-General (Director-General) of the Maharashtra Police from 1947 to 1955.

Kamte's schooling consisted of The Rajkumar College, Rajkot, and then the Kodaikanal International School for five years. He was an international scholarship recipient at Camp Rising Sun in 1980 and subsequently graduated with the Class of 1982.

He completed his bachelor's degree from St. Xavier's College, Mumbai, graduating in 1985 and a post-graduate degree in Arts from the St. Stephen's College, Delhi, 1985–87.

An accomplished athlete, he represented India at the junior power-lifting championship in Peru in 1978.

Ashok Kamte was survived by his wife Vinita, their two sons Rahul and Arjun, and by his father, mother, and sister, Sharmila.

His wife subsequently co-authored a biography of her husband.

## **Death**

Ashok Kamte was martyred in action by terrorists during the Mumbai attacks, on 26 November 2008 in a narrow lane between St. Xavier's College and the Rang Bhavan opposite Corporation Bank ATM just a stone away from Crime Branch office.

Kamte was well known for his cool temperament and negotiation skills; during the attacks he offered his assistance due to being Additional Commissioner of the East zone; an area

not under attack. When he reached CST area, upon arriving at Azad Maidan Police Station (AMPS) he met with ATS Chief Hemant Karkare and other police officers; they took a Police Toyota Qualis in pursuit of the reported terrorists with Kamte armed with an AK47. When they reached rear entrance of the Cama and Albless Hospital (A women and children's hospital) which is next to AMPS, Kamte spotted and fired at terrorists with the terrorists retaliating by throwing hand grenades; with this situation Kamte suggested that they should take on the terrorists from the front entrance of the Cama. At this point the terrorists had left the Cama area before the Kamte's plan could be implemented; during pursuit the police received a report that the terrorists were hiding behind a red car in the same lane.

At around the same time a terrorist was spotted running from the area which Kamte fired at, injuring him. The terrorist Ajmal Kasab was the only terrorist to be captured alive during the attacks. As they were about to get down another Pakistani terrorist, Ismail Khan fired a volley of bullets killing all but Asst. Police Inspector Arun Jadhav. Kamte was hit in the head; although he was wearing helmet with no ballistic vest.

*India Express* quotes statements by API Arun Jadhav, who was with the officers Ashok Kamte, Vijay Salaskar and Hemant Karkare when they died. The three officers and four constables had received information that Sadanand Date had been injured in the gunfire at the Cama and Albless Hospital for women and children. Currently located at Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus (CST), a ten-minute drive from the hospital, they took a Toyota Qualis and proceeded in that direction. Kamte was in the passenger seat, Salaskar driving, Karkare in the second row,

and the four Constables, including Jadhav, were in the back row of seating. According to Jadhav, five minutes later two terrorists stepped out from behind a tree and opened fire with AK-47 automatic rifles. Kamte was the sole officer who managed to retaliate, wounding terrorist Ajmal in the arm. The six policemen, other than Jadhav, were all killed quickly in the gunfire.

The wounded Jadhav had no opportunity to render assistance. The two terrorists approached the vehicle, dumped the bodies of the three officers on the road and, leaving the constables for dead, proceeded to Metro Junction. Upon arrival, they aimed three bursts of automatic fire at police and journalist vehicles drawn up at that location, then drove off towards the government offices (Vidhan Bhawan) in South Mumbai. Here again they fired several times. While attempting to leave the area, one of the tyres of the vehicle burst, so the terrorists departed to obtain another. At this point, Jadhav was able to contact headquarters. The bodies of the dead were promptly recovered and taken to St George Hospital.

Kamte was cremated with state honours at the Vaikunth crematorium on 27 November 2008.

## **Vijay Salaskar**

**Vijay Salaskar** AC (24 February 1957 – 26 November 2008) was an Indian police inspector and encounter specialist with the Mumbai police. He was widely credited with killing 75–80 criminals in encounters – most of these were members of the Arun Gawli gang. Salaskar was killed while fighting terrorists in the November 2008 Mumbai attacks. Captured terrorist

Ajmal Amir Kasab claimed responsibility for the killing. Before his death Salaskar was head of the Anti-Extortion Cell, Mumbai. His patriotism and bravery was honoured with the Ashoka Chakra on 26 January 2009.

## **Early life and his career**

He joined Bombay Police (now Mumbai Police) as a sub inspector in 1983. *India Today* reports Salaskar's first lethal encounter occurred during his first year of appointment, when he shot dead Raja Shahabuddin, known to police on several counts. Salaskar, who was reportedly sidelined for the last two years for unearthing the gutka-underworld nexus, was recently attached to the crime branch, where he headed the anti-extortion cell. An officer of the 1983 batch, Salaskar in his 24 years of service had eliminated many criminals. According to sources, the police officer had once even gone hunting for former don Arun Gawli. But Gawli fled from the scene, forcing Salaskar to return empty-handed. However, Salaskar got even by killing his two trusted men, Sada Pawle and Vijay Tandel, in 1997, triggering allegations that the encounters were fake.

This is what Salaskar said in 2004 about Gawli. "Gawli may have become an MLA. But for me, he continues to remain a former Mumbai don and I have to keep tabs on his activities. If I get any information of his group's involvement in a crime or learn about any shady activity going on at Dagdi Chawl, I will not hesitate to raid his Byculla residence. If I have to arrest him, I will not refrain from doing so. Now that Gawli is an MLA, arresting him will involve certain procedures. I will not bow to any political pressure. I will only take orders from the police commissioner, who is my supreme commander. It was

embarrassing that khaki-clad policemen would be deployed to protect Gawli. In the past, we refused him police protection on several occasions. At that time, I had gunned down several of his top henchmen and so he was scared of me. But if Gawli is really reformed, he should not be afraid of me or any other policeman. We do not target innocent persons."

## **Death**

Vijay Salaskar was killed in action by terrorists during the Mumbai attacks, on 26 November 2008.

*India Express* quotes statements by Constable Arun Jadhav, who was with the officers Vijay Salaskar, Ashok Kamte and Hemant Karkare when they died. The three officers and four constables had received information that Sadanand Date had been wounded while resisting hostile terrorist action at the Cama and Albless Hospital for women and children. Currently located at Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus (CST), a ten-minute drive from the hospital, they took a Toyota Qualis and proceeded in that direction. Salaskar was driving, Ashok Kamte in the passenger seat, Hemant Karkare in the second row, and the four Constables, including Jadhav, were in the back row of seating. According to Jadhav, five minutes later two terrorists stepped out from behind a tree and opened fire with AK-47 automatic rifles. The six policemen, other than Jadhav, were all killed quickly in the gunfire. The wounded Jadhav had no opportunity to render assistance. The two terrorists approached the vehicle, dumped the bodies of the three officers on the road and, leaving the constables for dead, proceeded to Metro Junction. Upon arrival, they aimed three bursts of automatic fire at police and journalist vehicles drawn up at

that location, then drove off towards the government offices (Vidhan Bhawan) in South Mumbai. Here again they fired several times. While attempting to leave the area, one of the tyres of the vehicle burst, so the terrorists departed to obtain another. At this point, Jadhav was able to contact headquarters. The bodies of the dead were promptly recovered and taken to St George Hospital.

## **Sandeep Unnikrishnan**

**Sandeep Unnikrishnan** (15 March 1977 – 28 November 2008) was an officer in the Indian Army serving in the elite Special Action Group of the National Security Guards. He was martyred in action during the November 2008 Mumbai attacks. He was consequently awarded the Ashoka Chakra, India's highest peacetime gallantry award, on 26 January 2009 by the president Pratibha Patil.

## **Early and personal life**

Sandeep Unnikrishnan came from a Malayali family residing in Bangalore, where they had moved from Cheruvannur, Kozhikode District in the state of Kerala. He was the only son of retired ISRO officer K. Unnikrishnan and Dhanalakshmi Unnikrishnan.

Sandeep spent 14 years at The Frank Anthony Public School, Bangalore before graduating in 1995 in the ISC Science stream.

He wanted to join the Army, even attending school in a crew cut. His peers and teachers recalled him as being a good

athlete who was active in school activities and sports events. He was also a member of the school choir and enjoyed watching movies. Major Sandeep Unnikrishnan was married to Neha.

## **Army career**

Sandeep Unnikrishnan joined the National Defence Academy (India) (NDA), Pune, Maharashtra in 1995. He was a part of the Oscar Squadron (No. 4 Battalion) and a graduate of the 94th Course NDA. He holds a Bachelor of Arts degree. His NDA friends remember him as "selfless", "generous" and "calm and composed".

In Indian Military Academy (IMA), Dehradun, he was the part of 104th regular course. On 12th June 1999, he graduated from IMA and got commissioned as Lieutenant in the 7th Battalion of the Bihar Regiment (Infantry) of Indian Army. During Operation Vijay in July 1999, he was regarded positively at the forward posts in the face of heavy artillery firing and small arms fire by Pakistan troops. On the evening of 31 December 1999, Sandeep led a team of six soldiers and managed to establish a post 200 metres from the opposing side and under direct observation and fire.

Sandeep Unnikrishnan received a substantive promotion to captain on 12 June 2003, followed by promotion to major on 13 June 2005. During the 'Ghatak course' (at the Commando Wing (Infantry School), Belgaum), which is considered as the most difficult course of the Indian Army, Sandeep topped the course twice, earning an "Instructor Grading" and commendation. He was also trained in High Altitude Warfare

school, Gulmarg. After serving in different locations including Siachen, Jammu and Kashmir, Gujarat (during 2002 Gujarat Riots), Hyderabad and Rajasthan, he was selected to join the National Security Guards. On completion of training, he was assigned as the training officer of the 51 Special Action Group (51 SAG) of NSG, on January 2007 and also participated in various operations of the NSG.

## **Operation Black Tornado**

On the night of 26 November 2008, several iconic buildings in South Mumbai were attacked. One of the buildings where hostage were held was the 100-year-old Taj Mahal Palace Hotel. Major Sandeep Unnikrishnan was the team commander of 51 Special Action Group (51 SAG) deployed in the hotel to rescue the hostages. He entered the hotel with a group of 10 commandos and reached the sixth floor through the staircase. After evacuating hostages in the sixth and fifth floors, as the team descended the stairs, they suspected terrorists in a room on fourth floor, which was locked from the inside.

As the commandos broke open the door, the round of fire by the terrorists hit Commando Sunil Kumar Yadav in both legs. Major Sandeep managed to save and evacuate Yadav, but terrorists disappeared after blasting a grenade inside the room. Major Sandeep and his team continued evacuating hostages from the hotel, for around next 15 hours. On 27th November, around midnight Major Sandeep and his team decided to take the path of the central staircase of hotel to go up, which they knew was a big risk, as they were exposed from all sides of the hotel. But this was a risk they were willing to take, as it was the only way to locate the terrorists and to save more hostages

who were trapped inside the hotel. As expected, when terrorists saw commandos coming up through the central staircase, they ambushed NSG team, from the first floor, in which Commando Sunil Kumar Jodha was grievously injured. Major Sandeep Unnikrishnan immediately arranged for his evacuation and continued to engage terrorists in the firefight. He then decided to chase terrorists alone, as they were trying to escape to the next floor. In the encounter that followed, he managed to corner all four terrorists to the Ballroom in the northern end of Taj Mahal hotel, single handedly but sacrificed his own life in the course. His last words were, "Do not come up, I will handle them" according to the NSG officials. NSG commandos later eliminated all four terrorists trapped in the Ballroom and Wasabi restaurant of the Mumbai Taj hotel.

### **Ashoka Chakra citation**

The official citation for the Ashoka Chakra Award reads:

- ic-58660 major sandeep unnikrishnan bihar regiment/51 special action group (posthumous)

Major Sandeep Unnikrishnan led the commando operation launched on 27th November 2008 to flush out terrorists from Hotel Taj Mahal, Mumbai in which he rescued 14 hostages. During the operation, his team came under intense hostile fire, in which one of his team members got grievously injured. Major Sandeep pinned down the terrorists with accurate fire and rescued the injured commando to safety. In the process, he was shot in his right arm. Despite his injuries, he continued to fight the terrorists till his last breath. Major Sandeep Unnikrishnan displayed most conspicuous

bravery besides camaraderie and leadership of the highest order and made the supreme sacrifice for the nation.

## **Funeral**

At Major Sandeep Unnikrishnan's funeral, mourners chanted "Sandeep Unnikrishnan Amar Rahe" ("May Sandeep Unnikrishnan('s name) remain eternal"). Thousands of people lined up outside his Bangalore house to pay their respects. His funeral was held with full military honours.

The Mother Dairy Double Road in Bangalore, a 4.5 km stretch from Federal Mogul on Doddaballapur Road to MS Palya junction, within Yelahanka New Town, was renamed Major Sandeep Unnikrishnan Road in his honour. A bust of Major Sandeep Unnikrishnan is installed on Ramamurthy Nagar Outer Ring Road junction in Bengaluru and is named in his honour.

There is a bust of Major Sandeep Unnikrishnan at the entrance of Indian Education Society on Jogeshwari Vikhroli Link Road, Mumbai to honour his sacrifice and inspire young students.

## **Biopic**

Sony Pictures Entertainment has registered two titles, *Major* and *Major Sandeep* with the producers' association, in their endeavour to make a biopic on his life. "It is not just about the attack but is more of a biopic. The studio is in talks with the family of Major Sandeep to get the rights personal as well as work-related and are keen to offer a tribute to the late soldier," says a trade source. "The story is also interesting as

he was trying to rescue an injured comrade when he was shot and later, he succumbed to injuries. There are many layers in the film," says the source.

It is reported that the title of the biopic is *Major* and actor Adivi Sesh is playing the titular role of Major Sandeep. The film is being produced by actor Mahesh Babu and is scheduled for release on July 2, 2021. The principal photography of the film began in February 2020.

## **Gajender Singh Bisht**

**Gajender Singh Bisht** (1 July 1972 – 28 November 2008) was an NSG commando and Havildar (Sergeant) who was martyred during the 2008 Mumbai attacks. His act of bravery was honoured with the Ashoka Chakra award by the President of India on 26 January 2009, India's Republic Day.

## **Childhood**

Hailing from Ganeshpur in Dehradun, Uttarakhand, young Gajender Singh studied at the Janata Inter College in Naya Gaon. He was remembered by his teachers as a disciplined student who participated in every event organised in the school, sports or cultural activities. He had a particular interest in boxing.

## **Operation Black Tornado**

Gajender Singh was a member of the National Security Guard's 51 Special Action Group. Gajender Singh was part of the team

of NSG commandos who were fast-rope on the roof of Nariman House in an operation to neutralize the terrorists inside who were holding at least six hostages.

According to Jyoti Krishna Dutt, Director General of the NSG, Singh was leading one of the teams that entered the building. The team came under intense fire from the terrorists and returned fire, while trying to dominate the situation. The terrorists also hurled a few grenades at the commandos. At this point, Singh had the option of retreating with his team. However, he realized that they had to seize this opportunity to dominate and continued moving ahead. He didn't turn his back to the militants and created a way for the other commandos despite a grenade thrown at him. Despite sustaining multiple bullet injuries while doing so, he moved forward and ultimately succumbed to his injuries. This enabled his team to secure a dominating position in the encounter.

## **Death**

While securing the Nariman House during Operation Black Tornado, Singh, a member of the Parachute Regiment was fatally wounded while storming the Jewish centre.

## **Ashoka Chakra Award Citation**

The official citation for the Ashoka Chakra Award reads:

- 4073611 havildar gajender singh parachute regiment/51 special action group (posthumous)

In the night of 27th November 2008, Havildar Gajender Singh was leading his squad in the operation to rescue hostages from the terrorists at Nariman House, Mumbai.

After clearing the top floor of the terrorists, he reached the place where the terrorists had taken position. As he closed in, the terrorists hurled a grenade injuring him. Undeterred, he kept firing and closing in on the terrorists by exposing himself to the hostile fire. In the act, he injured one of the terrorists and forced the others to retreat inside a room. He continued the encounter till he succumbed to his injuries.

Havildar Gajender Singh displayed most conspicuous courage against grave odds and made the supreme sacrifice for the nation in combating the terrorists.

## **Chapter 20**

# **Aftermath of the 2008 Mumbai Attacks**

In the **aftermath of the 2008 Mumbai attacks**, there were multiple and far-ranging events that were observed. Besides the immediate impact on the victims and their families, the attacks caused widespread anger among the Indian public, and condemnations from countries throughout the world.

The immediate impact was felt on Mumbai and Maharashtra state, and throughout urban India. There were also after-effects on the Indian government, centre-state relations within India, Indo-Pakistani relations, domestic impact within Pakistan, the United States's relationships with both countries, the US-led NATO war in Afghanistan, and on the Global War on Terror. There was also impact on the region of Kashmir and this also led to the 2010 Kashmir Unrest.

## **Immediate impact**

### **Impact on the attack locations**

The Leopold Cafe opened its doors to customers just four days after the attacks. The owners wanted to repair the damaged parts of the cafe, while retaining some of the damaged pieces as a tribute to those who lost their lives in the attacks.

Security forces handed back control of the Taj Mahal Hotel to the Taj group on 1 December 2008, and work on its repairs began that same day. Celebrated artist M.F. Hussain, whose art was destroyed in the attacks, has agreed to replace the paintings with a series that will condemn the attack. Hussain plans this series as a tribute to the staff of the hotel, who laid down their lives to save other people.

Control of the Trident has already been handed back to the management, while the Oberoi will take 3–4 months to resume operations. Both the Taj and Trident hotels reopened on 21 December 2008.

Nariman House will also reopen soon, but it is not known exactly when. Several young Chabad couples from all over the world have stepped forward to move to Mumbai and continue the movement's work.

### **Impact on Mumbai**

In the aftermath of the November 2008 Mumbai attacks, all schools and colleges, and most offices were closed. The Bombay Stock Exchange and National Stock Exchange remained closed on 27 November 2008. Shooting of Bollywood films and TV series had also been halted in the city. Many international airlines temporarily discontinued operations to Mumbai, in the interest of passenger and crew safety.

The Indian Cricket League's ongoing tournament in Ahmedabad was canceled. The two remaining One Day Internationals of the seven match series between the visiting England cricket team and India were cancelled. The visiting team flew home, but returned to continue the test series. However, the venue of the

second India-England test match, scheduled on 19–23 December, was shifted from Mumbai to Chennai. The inaugural Twenty20 Champions League, scheduled from 3 to 10 December, Mumbai being one of the host cities, was postponed. The attacks have brought into significance the issue of 379 Indian boats and 336 fishermen apprehended by the Pakistan marine agency, for entering their waters. Nearly 200 of the boats have reportedly been auctioned, now recognised as a national security issue for India. On 28 November, Pakistan released 99 fishermen who were apprehended, as part of confidence building measures with India. There were threats to blow up ITC Fortune Hotel in Navi Mumbai, after Mumbai police received a bomb threat from terrorists. Rumours about further shootings at Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus were doing the rounds in Mumbai on 28 November, and were widely reported by the news channels. The Railway Police denied these rumours, but stopped trains approaching CST.

### **Maharashtra state government**

After seeing the disparity between the quality of helmets and bulletproof vests used by NSG commandos and the police, the Police Commissioner of Pune, Satyapal Singh, said his police officers needed the same quality equipment as used by the NSG to reduce deaths and improve performance.

Maharashtra government has planned to buy 36 speed boats to patrol the coastal areas, and several helicopters for the same purpose. It will also create an Anti-Terror force known as the Force One, and it will upgrade all the weapons that Mumbai Police currently have.

The CST railway station was upgraded with metal detectors, but reports say that these are ineffective because the attendants cannot hear their beeps in the crowd. Civilians have tested these using their own licensed weapons.

Maharashtra's new Home Minister, Jayant Patil, was forced to defend the performance of the police in the legislative assembly, against demands from the opposition parties for resignations from the police chief and other officials.

In an attempt to take forward the 26/11 probe, the Mumbai Police will send a three members team to the United States in this regard, sources said. The team comprising Inspector Bharti, Inspector Kadam and Inspector Arun Chavan will share the findings of 26 November 2008 Mumbai attacks, with apex US investigative agency FBI. Mumbai police have sent a proposal to the Home Ministry, stating the need to establish direct contact with the FBI, to facilitate investigation in the Mumbai terror attacks. It is believed that the team, if permitted to go, will share the evidence gathered by Mumbai police, which prove Pakistan's hand in the attacks on the nation's integrity.

## **After-effects**

### **Government of India**

A Cabinet Committee on Security meeting was held on Tuesday, 2 December, to discuss expanding the National Security Guards (NSG) to cities outside Delhi. The aim is to have permanent presence of NSG anti-terrorist squads in cities

such as Mumbai, Chennai, Bangalore, Hyderabad and Kolkata, to avoid wasting precious time travelling from Delhi.

All NSG commandos will now undergo a new module of training, to learn how to deal with future anti-siege operations, because the Taj terrorists were in a gun battle for 59 hours continuously.

Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh, on an all party conference, declared that legal framework will be strengthened in the battle against terrorism and a federal anti-terrorist intelligence and investigation agency, like the FBI, will soon be set up to co-ordinate actions against terrorism. On 17 December, the Lok Sabha approved two new anti-terror bills, which are expected to pass the upper house (Rajya Sabha) on the 19th. One sets up a National Investigation Agency, similar to the FBI, with sweeping powers of investigation. The second strengthens existing anti-terror laws, to allow suspects to be detained without bail for up to six months, on the orders of a judge.

## **Centre-State relations**

The *National Investigation Agency Bill, 2008*, sets up a central agency for investigating terrorism related crimes. However, law and order is a state subject in the Constitution of India, which had made such a law difficult to pass in the past.

Union Home Minister P. Chidambaram assured parliament that the National Investigation Agency (NIA) did not usurp the States' right in any manner. The central government would make use of its power only under "extraordinary" circumstances, and depending on the gravity of the situation,

he said. "The agency will also have the powers to return the investigations to the State, if it so thinks. We have struck a balance between the right of the States and duties of the Centre to investigate."

## **Indo-Pakistani relations**

The attacks have damaged India's already strained relationship with Pakistan. India handed over two demarches to Pakistan—one was submitted at the Foreign Office in Islamabad by Indian High Commissioner Satyabrata Pal. The Indian Ministry of External Affairs also summoned Pakistan High Commissioner Shahid Malik on 1 December 2008, to lodge a formal protest over Pakistan's failure to curb terrorism emanating from its soil.

According to the Indian External Affairs Minister, Pranab Mukherjee, India, in the demarches to Pakistan, asked for the arrest and handover of those 20 persons, including gangster Dawood Ibrahim, the founder of Jaish-e-Mohammad, terrorist leader Maulana Masood Azhar and Lashkar-e-Taiba, and chief Hafiz Muhammad Saeed, who are settled in Pakistan and who are fugitives of Indian law. The external affairs minister has also stated that India will await Pakistan's response. He has not ruled out the option of military strikes against terrorist camps in Pakistan.

On 28 November, a hoax caller pretending to be the Indian Foreign Minister threatened Pakistan President Zardari with war, leading to the Pakistan military being put in high alert. Military aircraft with live ammunition were scrambled to patrol above Islamabad and Rawalpindi.

## **Requests for Pakistan's cooperation**

India's claims that the perpetrators were Pakistan-based were consistently denied by Pakistan. Pakistan initially contested this attribution, but agreed this was the case on 7 January 2009. The Indian government supplied a dossier to Pakistan's high commission in Delhi, containing interrogations, weapons, and call records of conversations during the attacks. Shown to friendly governments and media, it provides a detailed sequence of training, supplying, and constant communications with handlers from Pakistan.

The Pakistan government dismissed the dossier as "not evidence", but also announced that it had detained over a hundred members of Jamaat-ud-Dawa, a charity linked with Lashkar-e-Taiba. Moreover, Indian government officials said that the attacks were so sophisticated that they must have had official backing from Pakistani "agencies". an accusation denied by Pakistan.

At the request of Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, the head of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), Ahmad Shuja Pasha, was reported to be coming to India to share intelligence and help the investigation, but later on it was decided by Pakistani authorities that instead of Director General of the ISI, his representative will visit India to help the Indian government in the investigations.

India handed over two demarches to Pakistan – one was submitted at the Foreign Office in Islamabad by Indian High Commissioner Satyabrata Pal. The Indian Ministry of External Affairs also summoned Pakistan High Commissioner Shahid

Malik on 1 December 2008, to lodge a formal protest against Pakistan's inaction against terrorist groups operating within the country.

The Indian foreign ministry released a statement, describing the actions it expects Islamabad to take. "It was conveyed to the Pakistan high commissioner that Pakistan's actions needed to match the sentiments expressed by its leadership, that it wishes to have a qualitatively new relationship with India," the statement said. "He was informed that the recent terrorist attack on Mumbai was carried out by elements from Pakistan. Government expects that strong action would be taken against those elements, whosoever they may be, responsible for this outrage," it said.

The CNN-IBN reported that India had asked Pakistan to hand over Mumbai Underworld Don Dawood Ibrahim, Lashkar-e-Toiba chief Hafiz Muhammad Saeed and Jaish-e-Mohammed leader Maulana Masood Azhar for their suspected involvement in the Mumbai terror attack.

Dawood, India's most wanted criminal, is suspected to have helped the LeT terrorists who attacked Mumbai on 26 November. Azhar, founder of the terrorist group Jaish-e-Mohammad, is on India's most wanted list of people it accuses of terrorism. India freed Azhar from prison in exchange for passengers on a hijacked Indian Airlines Flight 814 in 1999.

*Times of India*, quoting Indian External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee, reported: "Now, we have in our demarche asked (for) the arrest and handover of those persons who are settled in Pakistan and who are fugitives of Indian law"

"...there are lists of about 20 persons. (These) lists are sometimes altered and this exercise is going on and we have renewed it in our demarche", Mukherjee said, adding that India "will await" Pakistan's response in the Indian-Arab forum.

In an interview with NDTV, Pranab Mukherjee had not ruled out the option of military strikes against terror camps in Pakistan. Mukherjee said that every country has the right to protect its territorial integrity, and take appropriate action when necessary. He also said that it has become difficult to continue the peace process with Pakistan in this.

## **Denials from Pakistan**

Pakistan claimed that it had not received any letter from Mohammad Ajmal Amir, the lone terrorist arrested for the Mumbai attacks, seeking legal aid. It also repeated its denial on his Pakistani nationality, saying it needed "incontrovertible" evidence.

The Mumbai police had said that the captured terrorist Ajmal Amir had written a letter to the Pakistan High Commission in India, asking for help, and that the letter had been given to India's central government. But the Pakistan High Commissioner to India, Shahid Malik, told Karan Thapar in the "India Tonight" program of CNBC TV-18, that no such letter had been received.

According to Pakistan's *Dawn* newspaper, Ajmal's father in Pakistan had admitted that the man seen in photographs at the CST railway station was indeed his son. But the High

Commissioner said they needed "something which is incontrovertible, which cannot be challenged in a court of law".

Pakistan was also not contemplating giving Zaki-ur-Rahman Lakhvi, the alleged mastermind of the Mumbai attacks, access to the FBI for investigation.

## **Interpol involvement**

Shortly after the Mumbai attacks, the Interpol team visited India and "promised help in securing the details of the 10 gunmen who attacked several places in Mumbai, 26 November, leaving at least 173 people dead and more than 300 others injured".

Interpol Secretary General Ronald Noble arrived in Islamabad on Tuesday, 23 December, for talks over Indian allegations of involvement with Pakistan-based militant groups in the Mumbai terror attacks. Interpol secretary general Ronald Noble met Pakistan's security officials the same day.

However, in a later press-conference, the Interpol chief said that India didn't share any specific information with the Interpol regarding the terror attacks. He said that Interpol had the same information that had been with media and the general public. Pakistan's Minister for Information and Broadcasting Sherry Rehman claimed that this statement somehow supported Pakistan government's stance that Indian government has yet to share substantial and credible evidence with them, and again offered help in due cooperation to India, for joint investigations into the Mumbai attacks.

On 10 March, India gave Interpol the DNA of the attackers.

## **Military preparations**

On 7 December, US Senator John McCain relayed a message from Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, to a group of Pakistanis at a lunch in Lahore, that if Pakistan did not arrest those involved with the attacks, India would begin aerial attacks against Pakistan.

Pakistan Information Minister Sherry Rehman said that "Our air force is on alert, and ready to face any eventuality". Ali Abbas Rizvi quoted a source as saying, "They [India] may have wanted to know whether the PAF was on five-minute alert or cockpit alert, and thereby find out the reaction time".

On 19 December, private intelligence agency Stratfor, in its latest report, said, "Indian military operations against targets in Pakistan have in fact been prepared, and await the signal to go forward". They also wrote that, "Indian military preparations, unlike previous cases, will be carried out in stealth". India's Border Security Force (BSF) has been put on high alert on the western sector, as well as the eastern sector, in order to prevent terrorist infiltration.

On 22 December, Pakistan began combat air patrol (CAP) over several cities, including Islamabad, Lahore, and Rawalpindi, which began a panic among Pakistani civilians. Many Pakistani civilians "started making frantic phone calls to media house[s] to enquire about whether a war has been declared". Pakistani Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi said, "Pakistan defence forces and armed forces are ready to face any

challenge, as Pak has the full right to defend itself". Pakistani PM Yousuf Raza Gilani said, "Pakistan remains united and is ready to fight anyone to defend itself". Pakistani Defense Minister Ahmad Mukhtar Chaudhry said, "If India tried to thrust war, then the armed forces of Pakistan have all the potential and right to defend [Pakistan]".

According to Pakistani media, India had started deploying troops along the Rajasthan border, and had tightened security in and around the defence airstrips. More radars and quick reaction teams were then deployed along the India-Pakistan border. Indian forces were on regular firing exercises at locations, like Lathi Firing Range in Jaisalmer, Mahsan in Bikaner, Suratgarh and Ganganagar.

On 23 December, Kamal Hyder, Al Jazeera's correspondent in Pakistan, wrote that the Pakistani "navy, air force and army were on red alert" and that "the chiefs of Pakistan's three armed forces were holding what had been described as an emergency meeting at general headquarters in Rawalpindi". He also wrote that "[t]he Pakistani air force have been seen visibly in a number of locations flying close to the Pakistani-India border, in what is being described as an aggressive patrolling mode, following reports that India is planning pre-emptive strikes against locations in Pakistan". A Pakistani airforce spokesperson said "[i]n view of the current environment, the PAF has enhanced its vigilance". Pakistani army chief General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani, said that Pakistan would mount an equal response "within minutes", to any Indian attack. Pakistan continued to combat air patrol over several cities.

The Taliban and affiliated groups openly declared their solidarity with Pakistan. The banned Tehrik-e-Taliban had proclaimed that they would send "thousands of (their) well-armed militants" in order to wage jihad against India if war should break out. Hundreds of would-be bombers were equipped with suicide jackets and explosive-laden vehicles.

On 24 December, P.K. Barbora, the air officer commanding-in-chief of Western Air Command, said "[t]he IAF has earmarked 5,000 targets in Pakistan. But whether we will cross the LoC or the International Border to hit the enemy targets will have to be decided by the political leadership of the country". India Today reported that "Indian Air Force fighter planes are engaged in round the clock sorties. An unusual hectic activity of Indian Air Force has been visible along the border for past some days". On the same day, Stratfor confirmed that "the state government of Rajasthan has ordered residents of its border villages to be prepared for relocation". President Asif Ali Zardari said "We will defend the country till the last drop of our blood", and "[w]e will defend the country till our last breath". Pakistan began deploying warplanes to forward air bases.

On 25 December, however, the ruling UPA government in India played down apprehensions of an imminent military conflagration. The Indian Prime Minister made it clear that "nobody wanted war". The Indian Air Force also downplayed the sorties by PAF fighter jets, saying it was an air defence exercise. Officials in New Delhi were amused at Pakistan air force's attempt to create war hysteria in the region. However, R. C. Dhyani, DIG of Rajasthan frontier BSF, said, "[a] lot of military movement is being noticed in districts just across the

international border for the last few days, which is not normal" and "Pakistan has deployed more troops across border".

Leader of the House Raza Rabbani, said that any surgical strike into its territory would be taken as an act of war and would be repulsed with "full force", and that "[e]ach and every inch of the country will be safeguarded". India moved MiG-29s to Hindon air base, located near New Delhi, in order "to protect the capital from aerial threats". The Pakistani city of Mianwali began a blackout.

Pakistan continued deployment, and moved the 10th Brigade to the outskirts of Lahore, and the 3rd Armored Brigade to Jhelum.

The 10th Infantry Division and the 11th Infantry Division had been placed on high alert. The Indian Army deployed quick reaction teams (QRTs) along the border, which "precede the movement of bridging equipment – to cross canals in Punjab – and of heavy guns".

Amir Mir of *Daily News and Analysis* wrote that "Pakistan's military leadership has advised president Asif Ali Zardari to take back his statement made last month, that his country would not be the first to use nuclear weapons in the event of a conflict with India".

On 26 December, Pakistan cancelled all military leave, and activated contacts with friendly countries and military partners. Pakistan deployed troops to "protect vital points along the Line of Control (LoC) in Jammu and Kashmir and the international border with India". Pakistani Foreign Minister Quresh said that, "if war is imposed, we will respond to it like

a brave, self-respecting nation". Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh held a second meeting of the Nuclear Command Authority to "discuss all the options available to India".

Pakistan deployed the 14th Infantry Division to Kasur and Sialkot, close to the border. India advised its citizens not to travel to Pakistan. Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh met with the chiefs of the Indian air force, army, and navy.

On 27 December, India's largest opposition party, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), called for all travel between India and Pakistan to be stopped, and for the recall of the Indian High Commissioner from Pakistan. The Pakistani Army alerted retired army personnel to be ready to be called back to active duty. On 28 December, Pakistan postponed all officer training courses.

On 29 December, the leaders of the Indian and Pakistani armies spoke over their red telephone, in order to avert an accidental nuclear war. The President of the BJP, Rajnath Singh, called for a joint India-US military action against Pakistan. John McCain said, "The Indians are on the verge of some kind of attack on Pakistan".

On 30 December, Pakistani media stated: "The service chiefs of all of the branches of India's military were told to stay in the country in order to achieve 'complete readiness'. All units that are on exercises have been ordered to remain so indefinitely, and to indicate any equipment or ammunition they need". However, this was not backed by Indian nor international media.

## **Pakistani deployments**

The Pakistani military had cancelled all leave. Elements of the Pakistani Airforce had been deployed to frontline bases. The IV Corp, with 60,000 troops, has been deployed to Lahore. Pakistan had deployed the 3rd Armored Brigade to Jhelum, and the 10th Brigade, with 5,000 troops, to Lahore. The 10th Division had been deployed to Ichogul and the 11th Division had been deployed to Tilla. Pakistani Army units had been deployed to Kashmir and the Jammu sector of the border. The 14th Division, with 20,000 troops, had been deployed to Kasur and Sialkot.

## **Indian deployments**

India had put its Border Security Force, India's border patrol agency, on high alert. Mig-29s have been deployed to Hindon air base,

In order to protect New Delhi. Later IAF sources claimed that the move was a result of intelligence inputs of an air attack on Delhi. The Indian Navy had moved six warships, including the INS *Jalashwa* and the INS *Ranveer*, to the west coast.

## **Trials in Pakistan**

Indian and Pakistani police had exchanged DNA evidence, photographs, and items found with the attackers, to piece together a detailed portrait of the Mumbai plot. Police in Pakistan had arrested seven people, including Hammad Amin Sadiq, a homoeopathic pharmacist, who arranged bank accounts and secured supplies, and he and six others began

their formal trial on 3 October 2009, in Pakistan, though Indian authorities say the prosecution stopped well short of top Lashkar leaders.

## **Impact on the United States**

US officials feared that should the firm evidence emerge that the Mumbai terror attacks were planned and directed from within Pakistan, it would certainly escalate tension between the neighbouring countries, and could also provoke an Indian military response, even strikes against terrorists, a media report said on Saturday.

US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, on Monday, urged Pakistan to give its "absolute, total" cooperation in finding those responsible for last week's attacks on Mumbai. Rice travelled to India on 4 December 2008, at the request of President George W. Bush, in the wake of the Mumbai attacks. She said that there is need for "direct and tough action" by Islamabad, even if the perpetrators of the Mumbai terror attacks were "non-state actors". "Secretary Rice's visit to India is a further demonstration of the United States' commitment to stand in solidarity with the people of India, as we all work together to hold these extremists accountable", White House spokeswoman Dana Perino said in a statement.

After visiting India, Condoleezza Rice travelled to Pakistan on 4 December 2008, to talk with the Pakistani government. She is quoted as saying, "We talked at length about the importance of Pakistan taking its responsibility to deal with those who may use Pakistan territory even if they are non-state actors".

However, some of the most wanted names on the list continue to operate openly in Pakistan. No action has been taken against them by the government of Pakistan.

Police forces in places like New York and Boston practised handling of similar situations, should they occur in the US.

## **Impact on the United Kingdom**

In the wake of the attacks, a new system of compensation for British citizens caught up in terrorist attacks is being considered. However, "currently the UK government does not guarantee compensation for people injured in attacks abroad".

British police feared similar attacks could occur in the country.

## **Citizens' movements**

The Mumbai attack also triggered a chain of citizens' movements across India. People from all walks of life hit the streets with candles and placards to pay tributes to the victims of the tragedy almost every weekend after the 26/11 incident. While NSG commandos, Mumbai police officials, hotel staffers, etc. who participated in the operation to eliminate the terrorists became overnight heroes, the wrath of the citizens was directed towards the Government's inability to ensure adequate security to its citizens, and soon led to the chain of resignations, including that of the Indian Home Minister, Shivraj Patil. The gathering of citizens at the Gateway of India in Mumbai was unprecedented and historic. From India Gate and Jantar Mantar in New Delhi to marketplaces and street corners all across the country, India witnessed candlelight

vigils by the common people. Some organised initiatives to carry forward the citizens' movement included a Hindustan Times-CNN-IBN Initiative, India Today Group's War Against Terror, and Hindustan Hamara Citizens' Initiative, besides a large number of blogs on the issue.

### **February 2009 video release**

On 25 February 2009, new videos were released off of CCTV, displaying the inside of the hotel where the Mumbai siege took place.

## **Chapter 21**

# **Reactions to the 2008 Mumbai Attacks**

**Reactions to the 2008 Mumbai attacks** were on the local, national and international levels. Political reactions in Mumbai and throughout India included a range of resignations and political changes.

Other reactions included condemnation of the attacks by an Indian Muslim organisation and Naxalites. International reactions to the attacks was widespread, with many countries and international organisations condemning the attacks and expressing their condolences to the civilian victims.

Media coverage highlighted the use of new media and internet social-networking tools (including Twitter and Flickr) in spreading information about the attacks, observing that internet coverage was often faster than more-traditional media sources.

## **India**

In a televised address Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said India would "go after" individuals and organisations behind the terrorist attacks, which were "well-planned with external linkages". In addition, the attacks were "intended to create a sense of panic by choosing high-profile targets and indiscriminately killing innocent foreigners", Singh said in a

televised address to the nation. Leader of the opposition L K Advani asked the people of India to stay united during the emergency. He also said, "We will take the strongest possible measures to ensure that there is no repetition of such terrorist acts".

### **Criticism of politicians and resignations**

Indians criticised their political leaders after the attacks, contending that their bickering and ineptitude were at least partly responsible. The *Times of India* noted on its front page that "Our politicians fiddle as innocents die". Anger with the political class in the wake of the Mumbai terror attacks boiled over with slain NSG commando Major Sandeep Unnikrishnan's father shoving Kerala Chief Minister V. S. Achuthanandan. Public furor was further exacerbated with Achutanandan's statement in a television interview that "if it had not been Sandeep's house, not even a dog would have gone there", which was posted online. After this became controversial the chief minister issued a written apology, stating that his remarks were misunderstood.

On 30 November Minister for Home Affairs Shivraj Patil resigned, taking moral responsibility for the security lapse. After his resignation, P. Chidambaram was made Union Minister for Home Affairs and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh took over the Finance Ministry from Chidambaram. India's National Security Advisor M. K. Narayanan also offered to resign the same day, but Singh did not accept his resignation.

Chief Minister of Maharashtra Vilasrao Deshmukh also resigned on 1 December 2008, and was replaced a few days

later by Ashok Chavan. On 1 December Deputy CM R. R. Patil resigned when Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) leader Sharad Pawar asked him to tender his resignation and he was replaced by Chhagan Bhujbal. Patil was under pressure to resign after commenting on the attacks that "*bade bade deshon mein chhote cheez hote rehte hai*" (small things happen in big countries).

### **Criticism of rescue operation**

NSG commandos based in Mehram Nagar, Palam Airport, Delhi took 10 hours to reach the sites. They were ready at 01:00, but had to wait three hours (until 03:15) for an aircraft to arrive from Chandigarh when the policy was that a plane be at Palam permanently.

The NSG commandos landed at Mumbai Airport at 05:15, but had to wait an hour for the Bombay police to arrange BEST buses for them. They reached the Taj Mahal Hotel and the Oberoi Trident Hotel at 07:00, but initially were not given detailed maps of the buildings. The operations in the Taj Mahal hotel and Nariman House were conducted under the glare of the media, which may have assisted the terrorists by removing the element of surprise.

### **Indian Muslims**

An Indian Muslim organisation, the Indian Muslim Council, refused to bury the nine attackers in South Mumbai's Marine Lines Bada Qabrastan (Big Graveyard). They also sent messages to other Muslim organisations in India asking them to refrain from burying them. The council said it was trying to

send a message to all cemeteries in India that none of the bodies should be buried on Indian soil.

All India Organization of Imams of Mosques expressed solidarity in the aftermath of the attack.

Javed Anand, a writer and activist said, "They (attackers) claim to be doing this in the name of Islam. We have to tell them, 'Not in our name'". The organisation also conducted prayers for peace and harmony.

Many mosques in Gujarat observed silence to remember the attacks.

According to the *Washington Post*, many Indian Muslims held a more sombre Eid (which occurred on 9 December in 2008) out of respect for the victims of the attacks.

### **Demand for self-defense**

The Mumbai attacks left the corporate sector of India angry; vulnerable sectors wanted to be armed. In addition, a meeting convened by the Karnataka government with industry heads led to demands from industry to be allowed to purchase automatic weapons for their private security firms and the right to bear arms.



### **Tribute to victims**

Naxalites (who are waging an insurgency in parts of India) gave a gun salute to the victims of Mumbai attack. According to the *Times of India*, this gesture marked a significant shift in their policy.



## **International reactions**

The Mumbai attacks elicited political responses from around the world, largely expressing condemnation for the acts of terrorism and condolences for the relatives of those killed.


### **International organisations**

- - Head of the Commonwealth of Nations Queen Elizabeth II issued a statement that read: "I am shocked and deeply saddened by the attacks that occurred in Mumbai. My thoughts and prayers are with the families of those who died and with those who have been injured".
-  EU and  France Nicolas Sarkozy, in his roles of both President of France and President of the European Council, said: "I strongly condemn the indiscriminate violence that hit your country through this series of ugly and odious terrorist acts. In this sad moment, I wish to give my sincerest condolences to the families of the innocent victims of these reprehensible attacks and express my sympathy and my wish to the injured for rapid recovery". High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana said: "I condemn in the strongest possible terms the heinous terrorist attacks throughout the city of Mumbai. I convey my most sincere condolences to the families of the victims and my sympathy to the Indian authorities. To those who were injured, I wish a speedy recovery. These acts show once again the

need for the international community to stand united against terrorism and fight it with determination".

-  Organisation of the Islamic Conference – A spokesperson for the OIC expressed regret over the deaths of innocent people due to the attacks; the spokesperson conveyed heartfelt condolences to the Indian Government and the families of the victims and wished for the speedy recovery of the wounded. The spokesperson stressed that such violent acts run counter to human values and they cannot be justified.
-  Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer said: "I condemn in the strongest possible terms the mindless and indiscriminate terrorist attacks in Mumbai.

Attacking innocent people, tourists and patients in hospitals is despicable and cowardly. On behalf of the Alliance, I am relaying the sincerest words of solidarity and sympathy to the Indian authorities, to Indian people and especially families of the victims. NATO, as part of the international community, is determined to spare no effort to fight the scourge of terrorism which should have no place in the 21st century."

-  UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's spokesperson stated: "The Secretary-General condemns the rash of shootings and blasts in Mumbai today, which killed and wounded a large number of people. Such violence is totally unacceptable.

The Secretary-General reiterates his conviction that no cause or grievance can justify indiscriminate

attacks against civilians. He calls for the perpetrators to be brought to justice swiftly. The Secretary-General sends his deepest sympathies to the families of the victims and the wounded and expresses his solidarity with the people and Government of India."





The 15 members of the United Nation Security Council issued a statement saying, "The members of the Security Council expressed their condolences to the families of the victims and to the people and Government of India, underlined the need to bring perpetrators, organizers, financiers and sponsors of these reprehensible acts of terrorism to justice. All acts of terrorism are criminal and unjustifiable, regardless of their motivation".

## **Religious communities and organisations**

- Anglican Communion – Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams wrote to the High Commissioner of India, Shiv Shankar Mukherjee, the next day expressing his shock and outrage and offering (on behalf of the Anglican Communion) prayers for those who had lost loved ones, for the injured and for all those caring for them or dealing with the ongoing siege: "People everywhere stand in solidarity with the innocent and in condemnation of those who would destroy innocent lives out of evil and misguided motives".



## Countries





### Support

-  Israel – Israel offered a team of about 40 special-operations forces and assistance in investigations. Tzipi Livni said: "If they need us we will help where needed". Magen David Adom dispatched a team of paramedics, medics and other professionals to assist with rescue efforts in the wake of the attacks. Israeli newspapers reported that India turned down an offer by Defense Minister Ehud Barak to send counter-terrorist units to help fight the attackers.
-  Malaysia – Malaysian authorities investigated reports related to Malaysian-issued credit cards held by the perpetrators. Malaysia will also coordinate with Interpol over reports that some of the Mumbai attackers passed themselves off as Malaysian citizens.
-  United Kingdom – the United Kingdom sent 15 forensic experts from its intelligence services to Mumbai to help with the investigations on the attacks. A Scotland Yard team also investigated the attack.
-  United States – President of the United States George W. Bush told Prime Minister Manmohan Singh that American agencies will "throw their weight" behind India's investigation into the Mumbai terror attacks and demonstrate a "shared commitment" to combat terrorism. The United States sent a team of agents from the Federal Bureau of

Investigation (FBI) to assist in the probe into the Mumbai attacks, and American President George W. Bush pledged "full support" to India in its efforts to unearth the plot behind the deadly terror strikes. While a group of FBI agents were en route to India, a second group of investigators was on alert to join the first team if necessary. "The FBI continues to monitor the situation in Mumbai and the Counterterrorism Division is reviewing all of the information and intelligence available", bureau spokesman Richard Kolko told *The Washington Post*.

## **General**




-  Afghanistan – President Hamid Karzai said: "The government and people of Afghanistan stand by India in the aftermath of this horrific and inhuman act of terror. Nothing is more heinous and deplorable than taking the lives of innocent people in such a cowardly attack on public places. (...)Terrorism is a threat to us all, affecting India, Afghanistan and the region. Responding to this threat requires nothing less than a joint strategy to defeat this menace".
-  Albania – A statement was published on 26 November: "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania condemns vehemently the unprecedented terrorist act perpetrated today in Mumbai, India, claiming hundreds of innocent human lives and hundreds of others injured. It extends its full solidarity to the Indian authorities and the deepest condolences to the families of the victims caused by this barbarous act."

-  Argentina – The Foreign Ministry expressed its condemnation and its "total solidarity with the people and government" of India. A communiqué also read that "the Argentine authority requested the Indian government to transmit its sorrow to the relatives of the victims".
-  Armenia – Speaker of the National Assembly Hovik Abrahamyan expressed condolences on the occasion of the attacks in Mumbai to Speaker of the Rajya Sabha and Vice President of India Mohammad Hamid Ansari and Speaker of the Lok Sabha Somnath Chatterjee: "We learned with grief about the tragedy in Mumbai, and about hundreds of killed and injured innocent people. I express my deepest condolences on behalf of the National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia and personally on my behalf to you, members of the Parliament, families of those killed and wish speedy recovery to the injured. We always condemned and condemn the terrorism. We are sure that the organisers and executors of this unprecedented crime will get their condign punishment".
-  Australia – Prime Minister Kevin Rudd said that his government "unreservedly condemned these atrocious attacks" and added: "We are deeply concerned by these developments, deeply concerned by the potential impact on Indian citizens and other citizens, and we will have further to say about this during the course of the day".
-  Bangladesh – Foreign Minister Iftekhar Ahmed Chowdhury said in a statement: "We strongly condemned what's happened in Mumbai. These are




acts of terrorism, and terrorism serves no purpose. Many innocent people have suffered, many have been killed, others injured and we send them our condolences".





-  Bosnia and Herzegovina – Chairman of the Presidency Nebojša Radmanović sent a letter of condolence to Indian President Pratibha Patil, saying "Brutal and gratuitous terrorist attack in Mumbai represents an attack on all the values of modern world: human lives, peace, freedom. It is responsibility of all of us who share those values to strengthen our forces against that evil. Such a terrible attack on civilians deserves harsh condemnation on the part of civilised world and there is no excuse for these crimes. I would kindly ask you to inform your citizens in this hard moment that peoples and citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina sympathise with them".
-  Brazil – The Foreign Ministry issued a communiqué that "the Brazilian government received with deep sorrow the news on 26 Nov., of terrorist attacks in Mumbai, where tens of people died". "Brazil transmits its condolences to the relatives of the victims and the Indian government", the communiqué added.
-  Bulgaria – In a public telegram on 27 November, Minister of Foreign Affairs Ivaylo Kalfin presented his deepest condolences to his Indian colleague and said, "We categorically condemn those barbaric acts of terrorism that cannot be justified by any sort of political, ethnic or religious reasons, and we express

our support for stronger co-operation of the international community in the struggle against terrorism".



-  Canada – Foreign Minister Lawrence Cannon stated: "Canada strongly condemns the savage terrorist attacks in Mumbai, which have left hundreds of innocent civilians injured or killed...these cowardly attacks are truly appalling". Cannon confirmed that two Canadians were killed in the attack on the Taj Mahal Hotel, and offered his sympathies to their families.
- Residents of Toronto's Little India neighbourhood expressed shock and disgust at the news.
-  Chile – The Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement that read: "The Government of Chile vows for the prompt identification, capture and taken up to justice of all perpetrators, and calls to stretch international cooperation with the Indian government, with this purpose. The use of innocent people as human shields, hostages or victims of the attacks in Mumbai, have no justification at all, because those actions attempt against human security and constitute crimes against humanity".
-  People's Republic of China – Premier Wen Jiabao said the Chinese government "strongly condemned" the attacks and that China is "firmly opposed to terrorism of any form". The *Xinhua* reported: "On behalf of the Chinese government and himself, Wen expressed deep grief for the victims of the attacks and conveyed sincere condolences to the relatives of the victims and those wounded in the violence". Foreign Ministry spokesman Qin Gang said at a

press briefing that the Chinese people offered their deepest condolences to those who died.




-  Hong Kong – A spokesman for the Security Bureau advised on 27 November that Hong Kong residents avoid unnecessary travel to India, and those who were already in India should attend to their personal safety and keep themselves abreast of the situation there. On the same day Secretary for Security Ambrose Lee, while visiting Tokyo, said the attacks clearly show the importance of close co-operation among law enforcement agencies around the world in the fight against international terrorism.
-  Colombia – In a press release, the Colombian government said it "regrets and condemns" the attacks. Since Colombia "has also suffered the effects of terrorism", it joined India in its struggle against this "international scourge". It also voiced its support for the Indian government and its solidarity with the victims and their families.
-  Cyprus – The Foreign Ministry expressed in a statement "the sympathy and the deepest and sincere condolences on behalf of the government and the Cypriot people to the government of India, the Indian people and the families of the victims". "At these difficult times for India," the statement continued, "the Republic of Cyprus expresses its solidarity and support to the struggle of the government of India to eliminate international terrorism and notes the need for a more active engagement of the international community in the campaign against terrorism".

-  Czech Republic – The Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement that read it "vigorously condemns the series of attacks done 26 November in Mumbai, and expresses condolences to the families of the victims. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs believes that the perpetrators of this bloody and unfair act will be captured and judged according to law. Simultaneously expresses its support to India in the fight against terrorism".
-  Denmark – At a press conference in Belgrade, Serbia, Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen stated that "I condemn in the strongest possible terms the cowardly and despicable terrorist act, that has killed many people, injured several others and taken other people as hostage". He also said that the Danish government's thoughts goes to the victims and relatives, as well as those still being held as hostages. Foreign Minister Per Stig Møller also condemned the attacks, saying that they were aimed against Westerners using a well-known strategy used in other terrorist attacks.
-  Estonia – The Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement condemning the attacks. "The deaths of innocent people as a result of shootings and bombings once again demonstrate the inhumanity of terrorism", said Foreign Minister Urmas Paet. There is absolutely no justification for terrorism, he emphasised. Estonia harshly condemns all types of terrorism and participates along with other nations in the unified fight against terrorism.
-  Ethiopia – President Girma Woldegiorgis and senior Ethiopian government officials sent messages



of condolence to their Indian counterparts over the tragedy in Mumbai due to the attacks. The President, Prime Minister Meles Zenawi and Foreign Affairs Minister Seyoum Mesfin expressed heartfelt sorrow over the death of innocent civilians following the acts of terrorists. Girma expressed sympathy and condolence (through Indian President Pratibha Patil) to the victims and their families and reiterated his belief that the Indian government and its people would overcome the situation. Prime Minister Meles reiterated to Manmohan Singh that "We (the world) is witnessing how serious is the danger we all are facing from those who care little for the innocent and who are prepared to resort to the worst form of barbarity to promote their objective. We condemn these barbaric acts and extend sympathy to the people of India". Similarly, Seyoum Mesfin expressed sorrow over the death of innocent civilians and damage to property. He also expressed (through his Indian counterpart) sympathy to the Indian people and bereaved families.




-  Finland – The Ministry for Foreign Affairs published a statement on its website: "The government of India deserves our clear support in the prevention of terrorism and calming down the situation," Foreign Minister Alexander Stubb said. "The strike in Mumbai showed, once again, that terrorism knows no frontiers. International cooperation against terrorism is even more important today".
-  Germany – Chancellor Angela Merkel wrote to India: "I was appalled to hear the shocking news





about the terror attacks on your country. As well as the sad fate of the many dead I'm particularly moved by the terrible situation of those who've been taken hostage. The Federal Republic strongly condemns these criminal acts. I would like to express my deepest sympathy to you and the people of your country. In this difficult hour our thoughts are with the victims and their loved ones. I wish the injured from the bottom of my heart a quick recovery."

-  Greece – Hellenic Foreign Affairs Minister Dora Bakoyanni stated, "We express our outrage at the terrorist attacks in India and condemn any act of violence against citizens and democracy".
-  Indonesia – The Foreign Ministry issues a statement that read: "The government of Indonesia strongly condemns the terrorist attacks in Mumbai, India. The terrorist attacks are cruel and inhumane acts. The government of Indonesia conveys its deepest condolences to the government of India and the victims along with their families, and hopes that the perpetrators could be swiftly arrested and be brought to justice."
-  Holy See – On 27 November, Vatican spokesman Federico Lombardi said that the "frightening and dramatic" attacks offended "the entire international community". Later the same day, Pope Benedict XVI condemned the "brutal attacks" in Mumbai. He also asked Archbishop of Bombay Oswald Gracias to "kindly convey his heartfelt condolences to the families of those who have lost their lives in these brutal attacks, and to assure the public authorities, citizens and all those affected of his spiritual




closeness. His Holiness urgently appeals for an end to all acts of terrorism, which gravely offend the human family and severely destabilise the peace and solidarity needed to build a civilisation worthy of mankind's noble vocation to love God and neighbour".

-  Iran – President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad condemned the attacks, saying that they aim at destabilising the region and adding, "I am sure that the sinister phenomenon [terrorism] cannot hinder the development of the nations of the region". He also sympathised with those Indian families who lost their loved ones in the attacks. Foreign Ministry spokesman Hassan Qashqavi said: "Iran is also a victim of terrorist attacks and is ready to fight against such evil acts on all levels". He also expressed the sympathy of the Iranian people and government with the Indian nation and the families of the victims.
-  Ireland – Minister for Foreign Affairs Micheál Martin stated: "I wish to condemn in the strongest terms these appalling terrorist attacks in Mumbai and to convey my deepest sympathy to the Indian people", adding that "Relations between India and Ireland have always been close and I wanted to assure him (Ambassador P. S. Raghavan) of our sympathy and prayers. As we in Ireland know all too well terrorist atrocities such as these serve no purpose except to kill and injure innocent victims, Indian and foreign alike, and to sow panic and suspicion".

-  Italy – President Giorgio Napolitano was said to be following the events with concern for the Italian people involved. Minister of Foreign Affairs Franco Frattini condemned the attacks and defined them as "atrocious and unjustifiable".
-  Israel – Interim Prime Minister Ehud Olmert praised the Indian government and military, stating that "At no stage were the issues of whether or not Israel should join the operation, or do things that were within the power of the Indian government and its strong and trained military to do alone, on the agenda. I am very pleased at the cooperation and would like to take this opportunity to thank the Indian government for seeing fit to update us throughout the events". Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni said: "I condemn the terror attack that is still ongoing in Mumbai; it is another painful testimony that terrorism is the main challenge that Israel and the international community are dealing with". She added, "Israel, India and the rest of the free world are positioned in the forefront of the battle against terrorism and extremists. Unfortunately, we were harshly reminded of this once again yesterday. The struggle against terror must be a communal struggle, and compels us to improve our cooperation on this front".
-  Japan – Prime Minister Taro Aso said: "This kind of terrorism is unforgivable, extremely despicable and vicious. I feel strong resentment and deeply condemn it. Japan is with the Indian people who are fighting against terrorism and we will cooperate with the Indian government".





-  Jordan – "Allow me also, on behalf of His Majesty King Abdullah Bin Al Hussein and the Government and people of Jordan, to present our sincere condolences to the people of India for the terrible suffering that they have endured after the reprehensible terrorist attacks in Mumbai. We condemn these despicable acts in the strongest terms. We express our deep sympathy to the bereaved families of the victims and reiterate our solidarity with these families during this trying time."
-  Kuwait – The government "strongly condemned" the attacks.
-  Latvia – Minister for Foreign Affairs Maris Riekstins expressed his sympathy to the people of India regarding the attacks. Riekstins sent a letter to Minister of External Affairs Pranab Mukherjee, strongly condemning the attacks of terrorism on the civilian population and conveying condolences to the families of the victims of the attacks.
-  Mauritius – Minister Arvin Boolell said that the whole world was horrified by the events. He also reiterated his support and solidarity with India and spoke of his condemnation of such acts. "The Government of Mauritius condemns forcefully the cowardly terrorist attacks that occurred in Mumbai last night."
-  Malaysia – The Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement saying: "The Government of Malaysia condemns in the strongest terms the horrific terrorist attacks on a number of major public places at the heart of Mumbai. It is our hope that the

perpetrators of these heinous and despicable crimes would be expeditiously brought to justice".



-  Mexico – The Mexican government regretted the loss of lives in a communiqué which also condemned the attacks against foreigners.
-  Norway – Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg stated: "The Norwegian government condemns in the strongest possible terms the terrorist attacks that has taken place in Mumbai, India, and our thoughts goes to all those affected and their relatives. We denounce this type of terrorist attacks. We have already sent a message from the Norwegian government, and I have as well sent a personal message to Prime Minister Singh with a personal message, in which we express our condolences and sympathies with the Indian people. We express our support to the work the Indian government now does to help the injured, what has happened and apprehend those responsible for the terrorist attack".
-  Pakistan – Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani condemned the attacks, saying "our grievances are with the families and friends of those killed and injured while carrying out the attack. Pakistan and India will continue their joint struggles to counter the actions of terrorists".

A statement on behalf of Foreign Minister Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Qureshi also condemned the attacks, saying: "Terrorism is a menace threatening humanity and humanity should join hands in fighting this scourge. Pakistan condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. Pakistan itself has suffered because of terrorism and sacrificed much in



fighting this threat. We also express deep condolences to the bereaved families".

-  Panama – Panama expressed its condemnation and said that "the violent and furious actions that have produced so much mourning and pain in that country (India) have touched global public opinion and aroused the highest expression of solidarity".
-  Philippines- Deputy Spokesperson Anthony Golez issued a statement that read: "We condemn these terroristic attacks against mankind and we will be united with the entire Indian nation and the rest of the world in its quest to end terrorism the soonest possible time". No Filipino nationals were attacked in Mumbai, according to the Department of Foreign Affairs.
-  Poland – President Kaczynski condemned the "acts of barbarity" and expressed "solidarity with the victims. The Mumbai terrorist attacks show that the fight with terrorism is necessary. These acts of terrorism show that the problem exists, that it is not easy to solve and that the fight with it is justified, even if some mistakes have been made." Sikorski said: "We are indignant at the terrorist attack in India. We are condemning what has happened there in the strongest possible words."
-  Russia – President Dmitry Medvedev said: "We are concerned about the loss of life and consider that acts of terrorism of this type are harmful to the whole international order and are a challenge to humanity". He added: "The monstrous crimes of terrorists in Mumbai arouse our wrath, indignation and unconditional condemnation. The inhuman





terrorist attacks on hospitals, hotels and other public places aimed at killing peaceful civilians, taking and murdering hostages are crimes directed against the very basis of civilised society. Those guilty of them should be severely punished. We support resolute actions of the Indian government to cut short terrorist actions. I would like to pass my deepest condolences to relatives and friends of those killed and wish the swiftest possible recovery to those injured".

-  Saudi Arabia – The *Saudi Press Agency* quoted an unnamed official as saying: "The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia strongly condemns and denounces this criminal act, and offers condolences and sympathy to the friendly government and people of India".
-  Singapore – In a press release, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that "Singapore strongly condemns the attacks. We would like to convey our deepest condolences to the victims, their families, the Government of India and its people. The Mumbai attacks underscore the common terrorist threat that we continue to face today. Singapore stands firmly behind the Indian Government in its fight against terrorism". Later, in a letter to his Indian counterpart, Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong said: "I was shocked to learn of the series of terrorist attacks in Mumbai on 26 November 2008. On behalf of the government of Singapore I convey our deepest condolences to you, the Government of India and the families of the victims. The terrorists have taken several people of different nationalities as hostages, including a Singaporean.

We are already working closely with the Indian authorities on this. Singapore stands ready to assist the Indian authorities in any way to secure the safe release of the Singaporean and other hostages. I am confident that the Indian people will rally around your government as it deals with the Mumbai terrorist attacks and bring the perpetrators to justice. The Mumbai attacks are another reminder that terrorism continues to be a common threat to all of us. We strongly support your government's efforts in fighting the scourge of terrorism".


-  Sweden – Foreign Minister Carl Bildt condemned the attacks in a press release that read: "There is every reason to strongly condemn the large-scale terrorist attacks in Mumbai in India. India is the world's most populous democracy with an impressive history of rich coexistence between different cultures and traditions. Its democratic stability is in the interest of the whole world. We express our sympathies for all those affected, and give our strong support to the government of India in its important fight against this terrorism".
-  Spain – Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero send a cable to his Indian counterpart that read: "The Spanish people and government strongly condemn the barbarian attacks perpetrated against innocent lives in Mumbai and express their sympathy, solidarity and affection to the Indian people with whom they will stand side by side." Spain offered its cooperation in intelligence affairs and expressed thanks to the Indian police for safeguarding the lives of a Spanish delegation




headed by Madrid Region President Esperanza Aguirre, who escaped from the Oberoi Hotel when the attacks began.

-  South Africa – Said: "The South African government extends its condolences to the government and people of India following a spate of attacks on a number of hotels, hospital and a restaurant in Mumbai on Wednesday, 26 November, which left a number of people dead and wounded while others have been taken hostage".
-  South Korea – Foreign Ministry spokesman Moon Tae-young said: "The South Korean government denounces terrorism as a crime against civilisation and against mankind that can be never tolerated."
-  Sri Lanka – President Mahinda Rajapaksa said: "My government and I hasten to condemn most vehemently the brutal acts of terrorism that killed more than 100 persons and injured many more in the attacks carried out in the Indian city of Mumbai last night. Our thoughts to go out to the families of those killed and injured and in these acts of terror; we express our deepest sympathies to the families of the deceased and wish a speedy recovery to those injured and the safe and early release of hostages. The attacks on leading hotels, hospitals and public transport in Mumbai, the business and financial capital of India, show that the terrorists are targeting an important sector of the Indian economy, with a view (to) destabilising democracy in India".
-  Syrian Arab Republic – "My country was one of the first to condemn those attacks through the President of the Republic, Bashar Al-Assad, who also


expressed his condolences on behalf the Syrian people to the fraternal people and Government of India. The representative of Israel has once again used the venue of the Security Council to falsify facts about the terrorist acts that have been organized and carried out by her State for decades now. The representative of Israel thought that, through attacks against my country, she could distract attention from the problems of violence and terrorism in our region. The essential fact here is that Israel is occupying Arab territories and committing crimes against humanity. These acts have been carried out by successive Israeli Governments against the defenceless Palestinian people. Everyone knows that Israel is imposing an unfair embargo against Gaza and has adopted a slow-kill policy against more than 1.5 million Palestinians there. Israel has folded its arms when confronted with the terrorist acts of Israeli settlers committed against Palestinians in Hebron. The intervention by the representative of Israel cannot change the terrible past of terrorism – the archives, encyclopaedias and museums are filled with facts about ethnic cleansing, war crimes and genocide committed by Israel in the course of its bloody history against Palestinians, Syrians, Lebanese, Egyptians, Jordanians and nationals of other countries. Israel introduced State terrorism in the region. The terrorist gangs are well known to everyone. They include Shtren, Irgun, Stern Gang, Haganah and Balmakh, which have killed thousands of Palestinians and evicted millions of them from

their land. Israel assassinated United Nations special envoy Count Bernadotte. By hijacking a Syrian civilian aircraft in 1954, Israel committed the first act of air piracy in history. Israel carried out political assassinations in Beirut in 1968, killing unarmed civilian intellectuals. In the 1980s, it carried out attacks against heads of Palestinian municipalities, using booby-trapped cars. Israel bombed the American intelligence vessel, USS Liberty, during the 1967 war, after it had intercepted orders for the mass execution of Egyptian prisoners in the Sinai. In 1971, Israel shot down a Libyan civilian plane. Israel attacked the headquarters of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon in southern Lebanon, killing 106 civilians who had taken refuge in the United Nations building."



-  Timor Leste – Nobel Peace Prize Laureate and President José Ramos-Horta condemned the attacks and called for the world to fight "terrorism" together. "This cowardly attack on innocent civilians, deliberately targeting American and British citizens, must be condemned by all and must rally all countries to pursue the fight against terrorism even more relentlessly." He also underlined the significance of the attack in light of the victory of Barack Obama in the U.S. election and said that "terrorists are not interested in seeking dialogue and peaceful means to resolve whatever differences they might have with the West. It is self-evident that whoever is in the White House in the United States, terrorism will not stop."

-  Tunisia – President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali condemned the attacks, according to TAP news agency reported.
-  Turkey – President Abdullah Gul added. "Turkey, as a country that wishes to strengthen relations with India in the fight against terror, shares the pain of the friendly Indian people". Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan said: "The attacks in Mumbai once again showed that terror has no religion, nationality and country." The ministry issued a statement that read: "Turkey stands together with the Republic of India and the Indian nation against the trouble of terrorism which is the enemy of all mankind and it shares their sorrow and anger. Terrorism is a crime against humanity. An effective fight against terrorism is possible only by the help of international cooperation and solidarity."
-  United Kingdom – In a press release from his office, Prime Minister Gordon Brown condemned the attacks in saying: "I think I speak for the whole world – shock and outrage at the tragic destruction of innocent lives. I have already sent my sympathy and support to Prime Minister Singh of India and to say we will do everything we can to help the Indian government. Our first duty is towards British citizens caught up in this terror in Mumbai. The High Commissioner has come from Delhi to visit all those who are injured – he's visiting them now. It is too early to say any numbers for the numbers of people who are injured – we will give that during the course of the day – what I can assure you is we are doing everything within our power. We've set up a


crisis centre in the foreign office where British citizens can phone in, just visit it and talk to them – they've had 800 calls already. And at the same time, we're in touch with many people who are caught up in the hotels and giving advice on what they can do. Our second responsibility is obviously to root out terrorism – to help the Indian government with their action – and that's why at the same time as giving support to the Indian prime minister, we're sending police emergency teams that are well versed in Indian terrorism and we will try to give what support we can through British police and security officials to the Indian government at this time". Foreign Secretary David Miliband also condemned the attacks, characterising them as "an attack on all of us, not just India".

-  USA – President George W. Bush said: "We pledge the full support of the United States as India investigates these attacks, brings the guilty to justice and sustains its democratic way of life. The killers who struck this week are brutal and violent, but terror will not have the final word. As the people of the world's largest democracy recover from these attacks, they can count on the world's oldest democracy to stand by their side". The State Department issued a statement that condemned the attacks and stated that, at the time, there were no reports of its citizens being victims. Spokesman Robert Wood said: "We strongly condemn the terrorist attacks that have taken place in Mumbai, India. Our sympathies go out to the families and friends of those killed and injured, and to the people

of Mumbai. We are monitoring the situation very closely and stand ready to support the Indian authorities as they deal with this horrific series of attacks". White House spokesman Tony Fratto also condemned the attacks. On 8 December 2008, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Mike Mullen stated in a speech to the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs that the attacks "crossed a new threshold" and that "their level of tactical sophistication, with GPS and BlackBerrys and satellite phones, matches only the indiscriminate nature of death and destruction they caused – and yet they intended far worse. We are working to prevent 26 November from becoming a tipping point toward chaos in the region by confronting once again a common enemy". He also said that the images of Moshe Holtzberg soon after his parents were "mercilessly struck down in Chabad House should not ever leave us".

- President-elect Barack Obama said: "These terrorists who targeted innocent civilians will not defeat India's great democracy, nor shake the will of a global coalition to defeat them. The United States must stand with India and all nations and people who are committed to destroying terrorist networks, and defeating their hate-filled ideology".
-  Uruguay – The Uruguayan government condemned the attacks and expressed its solidarity with the victims and their relatives in a communique.
-  Venezuela – The Foreign Ministry issued a communiqué that read it expresses its solidarity with

the Indian government over the situation and "offers its condolences to the relatives of the victims".

-  Vietnam – On 27 November, Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman Lê Dũng said: "We are furious over an attack of terrorism causing great casualty occurred in Mumbai, India last night. We oppose and condemn all terrorist activities in any form. The leader in the terrorist attacks should soon be found and must be punished properly. We sincerely share this great loss in India. We believe that these terrorist actions which are threatening the stability of the whole world are also a major challenge for humanity".

## **Travel**

Many international airlines temporarily discontinued operations to Mumbai amid fears for passenger safety. Delta Air Lines aided employees stranded in Mumbai, working to evacuate them. Several Western countries (including the US, the UK, Australia, France and Canada) advised their citizens to defer travel to Mumbai for the short term (48–72 hours).

## **Media coverage**

The attacks showcased the increased use of social media and citizen journalism in the way events were reported. Many people discussed the unfolding event on websites such as Twitter and Flickr, which were largely clustered under search tags such as "mumbai" and "attack". The day after the attacks, however, the Indian government asked Mumbai citizens to

cease updating Twitter with live coverage of police activity. The *New York Times* and the BBC offered live text coverage online, as did many Indian bloggers. A map of the attacks was also set up, using Google Maps. The attacks were dubbed by some journalists (and Hillary Clinton) as "India's 9/11", a reference to the 2001 11 September attacks in the United States.

A few days after the attacks the Indian news channel CNN-IBN re-aired a programme called *Operation Water Rat*, which they had initially aired in February 2006 and which revealed lapses in Indian maritime security. The reporters smuggled crates of apples into Mumbai three times from international waters, by landing their cargo on different beaches nearby.

## Chapter 22

# 2008 Mumbai Attacks: Persons

## David Headley

**David Coleman Headley** (born **Daood Sayed Gilani**; 30 June 1960) is an American terrorist of Pakistani origin, and a spy who conspired in plotting the 2008 Mumbai attacks. He is currently serving a 35 year prison sentence in the United States.

It has been alleged that Headley made periodic trips to Pakistan for Lashkar-e-Taiba training while simultaneously working as an informant for the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), but this is disputed. Under the direction of Lashkar chiefs, Headley performed five spying missions in Mumbai to scout targets for the attacks, which killed 168 people. The following year, he performed a similar mission in Copenhagen to help plan an attack against the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten*, which had published cartoons of Muhammad. He was arrested at O'Hare International Airport in Chicago while on his way to Pakistan in October 2009.

U.S. authorities gave Indian investigators direct access to Headley, but some in India have questioned why the U.S. had not shared suspicions about him with Indian authorities before the Mumbai attacks. At the trial of Tahawwur Hussain Rana, an alleged co-conspirator, Headley gave detailed information about the participation of Pakistan's Directorate of Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) in carrying out the attacks. Since his

arrest and guilty plea, Headley has cooperated with U.S. and Indian authorities and given information about his associates. On 24 January 2013, a U.S. federal court sentenced Headley to 35 years in prison for his role in the Mumbai attacks.

Headley was prosecuted by a Mumbai special court in early February 2016, via a video link from his prison cell in the United States. He was prosecuted by special public prosecutor Ujjwal Nikam, the same lawyer who represented the state during the Mumbai attack trials.

## **Early life**

David Coleman Headley was born as Daood Sayed Gilani in Washington, D.C., to Sayed Salim Gilani (?–2008) and Alice Serrill Headley (1939–2008). Sayed Gilani was a well-known Pakistani diplomat and broadcaster. Serrill Headley, originally from Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania and a prominent figure in Philadelphia high society, worked as a secretary at the Pakistani embassy in Washington. Daood Gilani has a younger sister, Syedah, and a half-brother, Danyal. As an adult, Danyal Gilani became the spokesman for Pakistani Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani and presently serves as Pakistan's press attaché in Beijing.

In 1960, shortly after Gilani was born, his family left the United States and settled in Lahore, the capital of the Pakistani province of Punjab. There, Gilani stood out because of his light skin color—he was often called a *gora*, meaning "fair", predominantly used for Americans and Europeans—and because of the heterochromic coloration of his eyes. Gilani's mother was unable to adapt to Pakistani culture and returned

to the U.S. Because of Pakistani custody rules, she was forced to leave her children with their father in Lahore. After getting a divorce, she went through four more marriages and spent time in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan.

Daood Gilani was raised in a political environment steeped in Pakistani nationalism and Islamic conservatism, both of which were amplified by Pakistani tensions with India. During the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971, stray bombs hit Gilani's elementary school in Karachi and killed two people; this event, along with Pakistan's defeat at the war's conclusion, is thought to have stoked Gilani's animus towards India. Gilani went on to attend the elite Cadet College Hasan Abdal, a boys' military prep school. Gilani remained in contact with classmates, and later engaged in impassioned debates with them about politics and Islam in e-mail correspondence.

In 1977, at the age of seventeen, Gilani left a contentious relationship with his Pakistani stepmother and moved to the U.S. with the help of his biological mother, Serrill Headley. Gilani settled with his mother in Philadelphia, where he helped her manage the Khyber Pass Pub and the adjacent Miss Headley's Wine Bar. Employees at the pub nicknamed him "The Prince." Gilani enrolled at a military high school, Valley Forge Military Academy, but dropped out after one semester. He was a student at the Community College of Philadelphia but dropped out without a degree in the 1990s. In 1985, he married a Pennsylvania State University student, but they divorced two years later due to cultural differences. He eventually moved to New York City and opened a video rental business.

## **Drug convictions and DEA deal**

During his frequent trips to Pakistan, Gilani hung out with heroin users and started using the drug himself. He became involved in Pakistani drug trafficking. When he was twenty-four, Gilani smuggled half a kilogram of heroin out of Pakistani tribal areas and used Tahawwur Hussain Rana, a Pakistani army doctor who Gilani knew from military school, as an unwitting shield.

Several days later, police in Lahore arrested Gilani for drug possession, but he somehow managed to beat the charges. Rana continued to be used by Gilani over the course of his career as a drug trafficker; in the late 1990s, after Rana had emigrated to the U.S., Gilani used Rana's legitimate immigration consulting company in Chicago to smuggle drugs.

In 1988, while he was traveling to Philadelphia from Pakistan, Gilani was arrested by police in Frankfurt, West Germany after two kilos of heroin were found hidden in a false bottom in his suitcase. Gilani quickly made a plea deal when his case was handed over to the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, agreeing to surrender his partners in Philadelphia in exchange for a lighter sentence.

Gilani's cooperation earned him four years in prison while his two associates were sentenced to eight and ten years. At his sentencing hearing, the judge made the following statement: "It's up to you, Mr. Gilani, to do what you can with the rest of your life. You are still a young man. You can either take advantage of this opportunity. Your mother, your lawyer, people said some nice things about you, but what you did, not

only to yourself, but to perhaps thousands, hundreds of victims, heroin users in this country is a terrible thing."

Gilani managed to overcome his addiction to heroin, but was still involved in the drug trade. In early 1997, Gilani was arrested with another man in a DEA sting operation when he tried to smuggle heroin into the country from Pakistan. Gilani quickly offered his services as a confidential informant to the DEA. In January 1998, the agency sent him to Pakistan to dispel suspicions amongst his partners about his prior absence, and to gain intelligence on the country's heroin trafficking networks.

According to the DEA, Gilani's participation led to five arrests and the seizure of 2½ kilos of heroin. The DEA has insisted that Gilani's 1998 trip to Pakistan was the only one paid for by the agency.

While the DEA seemingly made great gains from Gilani's intelligence, there is ample evidence that Gilani abused his status as an informant. He allegedly tried to set up heroin dealers with jailhouse phone calls that were not monitored by DEA agents. A mentally impaired Pakistani immigrant, Ikram Haq, was found to have been tricked into making a drug deal by Gilani, and was subsequently acquitted on the grounds of entrapment when brought to trial. Despite this result, Gilani was released from prison and put on probation for his contribution to the case. One anonymous former associate of Gilani later suggested that he was exploiting his rapport with the DEA, saying, "The DEA agents liked him. He would brag about it. He was manipulating them. He said he had them in his pocket."

## **Involvement in terrorism**

In exchange for information about Pakistani drug contacts, Gilani received a considerably lighter sentence than his co-defendant from the 1997 arrest: fifteen months in jail and five years of supervised release. In November 1998, he was delivered to the low-security Federal Correctional Institution, Fort Dix.

There, he became an increasingly devout Muslim. In July 1999, only months into Gilani's sentence, his attorney, Howard Leader, requested permission for him to be given a supervised early release from prison so he could travel to Pakistan to be wed in an arranged marriage. Judge Carol Amon granted the unusual request. Gilani married a Pakistani woman named Shazia and fathered two children with her.

While visiting Lahore, Gilani was introduced to Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), a terrorist organization. Gilani made further trips to Pakistan without the knowledge of U.S. authorities, immersing himself in LeT ideology. He befriended LeT's spiritual leader, Hafiz Muhammad Saeed, and committed himself to the group's struggle against India, which was supported by the Directorate for Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), Pakistan's premier intelligence service.

At the same time this was happening, Gilani resumed work as a DEA informant in New York City and participated in an undercover operation that reportedly led to the seizure of one kilo of heroin. Yet despite working for a U.S. government agency, Gilani actively raised money and recruited new members for LeT, a group that swore allegiance with Al-Qaeda.

Gilani would later testify that he discussed his views regarding Kashmir—the focus of LeT's militant activities—with his DEA handlers. The DEA has insisted that it was unaware of Gilani's political and religious radicalization.

### **Post-9/11 activities**

One day after the attacks on 11 September 2001, Gilani's DEA handlers tasked him with collecting counter-intelligence on terrorists through his sources in the drug trade. However, a New York City bartender named Terry O'Donnell reported Gilani to an FBI task force after Gilani's ex-girlfriend told him that Gilani had praised the 9/11 hijackers and "got off on watching the news over and over again" in the weeks following the attacks. Under questioning by two Defense Department agents, in the presence of his DEA handlers, Gilani denied the accusations and cited his work for the DEA as proof of his loyalty to the U.S. Gilani was cleared, and the DEA did not write a report on his interrogation.

On 16 November 2001, six weeks after his interrogation, Leader and Assistant U.S. Attorney Loan Hong made a joint application to Judge Amon asking for Gilani's supervised release to be terminated three years early. Amon agreed to their request and discharged Gilani from any further probation. Leader has claimed that the DEA was involved in the drive to end Gilani's probation, which would have kept him from traveling to Pakistan to continue his intelligence work on terrorists. However, the DEA has claimed that Gilani wanted his probation lifted so he could travel to Pakistan for family reasons. DEA officials also claim that the agency officially deactivated Gilani as an informant on 27 March 2002. Headley

himself has claimed that he ended his work for the DEA in September 2002; other agencies claim that he remained a DEA operative as late as 2005.

In February 2002, Gilani went to a LeT training camp and did a three-week introductory course on LeT ideology and *jihad*. That summer, Serrill Headley, who by then had moved to the town of Oxford, Pennsylvania with her brother, confided to friends that her son had become a religious fanatic and had been to terrorist training camps. While Gilani was on a catering visit to his mother's house, one of her friends, Phyllis Keith, noticed that he parked his car behind her residence as if he was trying to hide it. Keith reported Gilani to the FBI office in Philadelphia, which apparently did not follow through with an investigation.

That August, Gilani returned to Pakistan and began a second stint at the LeT training camp; he spent his spare time with Shazia in Lahore. Despite being already married in Pakistan, Gilani embarked on a series of affairs in the U.S. and had become engaged to a long-time girlfriend in New York City the month before. In December 2002, after landing in New York City, Gilani was briefly detained by border inspectors who had been on the lookout for unusual travel patterns to hubs of terrorism such as Pakistan. However, the border inspectors found nothing amiss and soon released him. Gilani married his fiancée at a Jamaican resort a few days later.

In the summer of 2005, Gilani's second wife confronted him after learning about his other marriage, and about his trips to the LeT training camps, from his father. On 25 August 2005, Gilani hit his wife during an argument at his New York video

store. After having Gilani arrested for assault, his wife called a government hotline and disclosed his terrorist activities. She was subsequently interviewed three times by the FBI's Joint Terrorism Task Force. The FBI, citing Gilani's work for the DEA, did not consider him a threat despite the accusations leveled against him in 2001 and 2002. The FBI agent investigating the matter speculated that Gilani's wife made her accusations because she had "an axe to grind" regarding his other marriage. Gilani was never questioned, and the assault charge was eventually dropped. Gilani later closed his video store.

In June 2006, Gilani's second wife, originally from Canada, applied for a green card under a U.S. law for abused spouses. In addition to physical abuse, Gilani's wife made reference to his radicalization and terrorist training; his anti-Semitic and anti-Hindu prejudices; and his praise for suicide bombers. U.S. immigration services granted the green card, but did not alert law enforcement about Gilani because of strict privacy laws governing immigration cases which involve spousal abuse.

## **Mumbai plot**

### **Name change and ISI recruitment**

By 2005, Gilani's training had advanced to the point where he wanted to fight in Kashmir. Instead, Gilani was referred to Sajid Mir, LeT's foreign recruiter. Under Mir's direction, Gilani went to Philadelphia and legally changed his name to David Coleman Headley, taking his mother's surname. Even though Pennsylvania law requires a background check for name changes, state officials apparently did not uncover Headley's

previous drug convictions. The name change would make it easier for Headley to hide his Pakistani ancestry and pass as a Westerner, leading anyone he encountered to assume he was a tourist.

In January 2006, Headley established ties with Adbur Rehman Hashim "Pasha" Syed, a retired Pakistan Army major and LeT militant, who put him in touch with Major Iqbal, a mysterious figure who is believed to have coordinated LeT activity through his capacity as an ISI officer. Under sworn testimony, Headley recalled meeting Iqbal and his superior, a Pakistani colonel, in a safe house.

Iqbal and Mir reportedly became Headley's ISI handlers and oversaw his training in espionage techniques in preparation for a reconnaissance mission to Mumbai; he met with Iqbal and Mir separately so that the ISI could maintain plausible deniability. In February, Headley was again detained by border inspectors at John F. Kennedy International Airport after returning from Pakistan, and was again released. That month, he contacted his former DEA handler for the final time.

In 2007, Headley met a Moroccan medical student in Lahore named Faiza Outalha, eventually marrying her as his third wife; unlike his second wife, Outalha reportedly knew that Headley was already married and approved of the potential arrangement. However, their relationship was strained due to Outalha's progressive views and Headley's unflinching religious conservatism. One reported point of contention was Headley's demand that Outalha wear traditional Muslim clothing for women. In December 2007, Outalha filed assault charges against Headley after getting into an altercation with his

servant outside of their house in Lahore. After spending eight days in jail, Headley was reportedly released after Iqbal intervened.

## **Trips to Mumbai**

Over the course of 2007, LeT's plot for the Mumbai attacks started to materialize, and the Western-looking Headley was considered the ideal militant to perform reconnaissance missions. Using \$25,000 supplied to him by Iqbal, Headley opened a Mumbai branch office for Tahawwur Rana's immigration business—which Headley had already used to traffic heroin—as a front company. Between 2007 and 2008, Headley made five trips to Mumbai, scouting local landmarks where LeT terrorists would carry out the multi-pronged attack. Headley stayed at the Taj Palace Hotel—identified by Iqbal and Mir as their main target—and surveyed the building using his ISI training, shooting hours of video during in-house tours.

Iqbal and Mir were emboldened by Headley's intelligence and decided to make their attack more ambitious in scale. As they expanded their list of targets, Headley scouted the Oberoi Trident Hotel, the Leopold Cafe, and the Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus. When LeT decided to target the Nariman House, a Jewish community center, Headley visited the location posing as a Jew. Headley also took boat tours to look for places where the attackers could reach the city through the waterfront; he found a landing location at a fishermen's slum in the Colaba area of southern Mumbai, where he gathered GPS coordinates. For the maritime reconnaissance, Headley received assistance from a frogman in the Pakistan Navy.

Headley lived the high life during his time in Mumbai, and developed a rapport with the very people he was planning to help attack. He joined an upscale gym, frequented nightclubs, and befriended Rahul Bhatt, the son of Bollywood director Mahesh Bhatt, who guided him through the city's party scene. During his stay at the Taj Hotel, Headley acquainted himself with the hotel's staff, reportedly praising the building's architecture. In Colaba, he reportedly tried to attract a young café proprietor.

For their 2007 honeymoon, Headley took Outalha with him to Mumbai and stayed at both the Taj Hotel and the Oberoi Trident. The trip ended with an argument between the couple and Outalha was sent back to Lahore. Afterwards, Iqbal and Mir pressured Headley to divorce Outalha, believing she endangered his cover. She responded by reporting Headley to the U.S. embassy in Islamabad, and later submitting to interviews with State Department and ICE officials, describing his Mumbai activities at length. However, Outalha later admitted that she embellished some of her accusations against Headley, leading the Americans to not take her claims seriously. The State Department relayed her warnings to the DEA, the FBI, and the CIA, but whether the agencies acted on them is disputed. After leaving Pakistan, Outalha divorced from Headley.

As the attacks unfolded in late November 2008, Headley watched the news coverage at home in Lahore after receiving a text message. The ten LeT militants carried out the attacks per the detailed intelligence gathered by Headley during his trips; the attack would lead to the deaths of 168 people, including six Americans. The intelligence he collected on the Nariman

House allowed the terrorists to raid the building and execute its staff, in an act personally supervised by Mir from a command post in Karachi. Shazia, who had moved with her children to Chicago earlier in 2008 and knew of Headley's reconnaissance work for LeT, praised him in a coded e-mail: "Congrats on your graduation. Graduation ceremony is really great. Watched the movie the whole day."

## **Denmark plot**

### **First visit and Kashmiri allegiance**

In October 2008, one month before the Mumbai attacks, Mir and Iqbal assigned Headley to scout the *Jyllands-Posten* newspaper in Copenhagen, which they wanted to attack in retribution for its publication of cartoons of Muhammad. Headley visited the editorial offices of *Jyllands-Posten* in January 2009, claiming to be interested in buying ad space. After meeting with the paper's advertising executive, Headley drove to *Jyllands-Posten's* newspaper building in Aarhus and met another executive there. Elsewhere during his trip, Headley collected video footage of Copenhagen, including the offices of *Jyllands-Posten*; looked into leasing an apartment that could be used by LeT's attack team; and inquired about getting a job as a secretary.

After being told by his LeT handlers that the plot would be put on hold, Headley became disenchanted with the group. Syed became Headley's new handler and introduced him to Ilyas Kashmiri, a former Pakistani military commando and leader of Harkat-ul-Jihad al-Islami, an Islamist organization active in Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh. Kashmiri took over

sponsorship of the Denmark plot and made changes to the plan, using the Mumbai attacks as inspiration; he wanted terrorists to storm the *Jyllands-Posten* offices, have its staff be taken hostage and executed, and then have their severed heads thrown out of the windows of the newsroom in an international media spectacle.

## **Second visit**

Headley planned to return to Copenhagen during the summer of 2009. Kashmiri put him in contact with two Al-Qaeda operatives called Simon and Bash, who were living in Derby, England. However, when Headley visited Derby on 26 July 2009, Simon and Bash informed him that they did not want to participate in the Denmark plot and were unable to supply weapons, instead giving him US\$15,000 in financing. Headley then traveled to Stockholm to meet a veteran militant named Farid.

Farid, reportedly agitated, was also unable to help Headley as he was under tight surveillance by Swedish police. When Headley arrived in Copenhagen by train on 31 July, he shot video of a Royal Danish Army barracks and approached drug dealers about acquiring guns.

## **Arrest and charges**

Upon flying to Atlanta, Georgia on 5 August 2009, Headley was questioned by airport inspectors. By this point, the FBI had put Headley on a watch list and engaged in a two-month surveillance operation, debriefing Headley's former DEA handler and reviewing records of past inquiries. Eventually,

investigators began to suspect Headley of being involved with the Mumbai attacks. On 9 October, Headley was arrested at Chicago's O'Hare International Airport while he was attempting to travel to Pakistan to deliver the footage he collected in Denmark.

During his interrogation, Headley gave up information on LeT, al-Qaeda, the ISI, and various terror plots and methods. Supervised by federal agents, he helped set up a trap against a militant in Germany and attempted to lure Sajid Mir out of Pakistan. Despite this, Headley, along with Rana, was charged in his involvement with Kashmiri's plot against *Jyllands-Posten*. Headley was accused of traveling to Denmark to scout the *Jyllands-Posten* office and a nearby synagogue. The FBI later additionally charged Headley of conspiring to bomb targets in the Mumbai attacks and providing material support to LeT.

India's National Investigation Agency (NIA) registered a case against Headley and Rana for allegedly plotting the Mumbai attacks. After questioning Headley in Chicago for a week, the NIA requested a Delhi court to issue non-bailable warrants to arrest Headley and other conspirators. Indian Home Minister Palaniappan Chidambaram reported that U.S. authorities shared "significant information" about the case. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Robert O. Blake, Jr. promised that India would have "full access" to question Headley, although the possibility of extraditing him to appeared to be precluded by Headley's plea agreement with U.S. Attorney Patrick Fitzgerald. Chidambaram said they would continue to try to get the man extradited.

Headley's admissions, e.g., that he made video recordings of terrorism targets for the LeT, had corroborated other evidence in the trial of Ajmal Amir Kasab in Mumbai.

A classified Indian report, based on Headley's interrogation by Indian investigators in Chicago, concludes that some of Headley's scouting trips to Mumbai were financed and planned by the ISI. When this report was leaked to U.S. media in October 2010, its conclusions were denied by Pakistani authorities.

In March 2009, Headley made another trip to India to conduct surveillance of the National Defence College in Delhi, and of Chabad Houses in various cities in India.

## **Passport issues**

Indian investigators were surprised at how easily Headley had obtained a visa to enter India, a process that is extremely difficult for Pakistani nationals. Headley's U.S. passport, his new Western and English-sounding name, and the fact that the passport and his visa application made no mention of his prior name or his father's nationality, made it easy for him to obtain an Indian visa from the Indian consulate in Chicago.

He falsely stated on his visa application that his father's name was William Headley and that his own name at birth was "Headley", a claim that was difficult to refute since the U.S. passport, unlike the Indian one, does not provide the father's name, and does not require endorsements on name changes by the passport holder. Indian government officials said that if the name change had been noted on his passport, Indian immigration officials would have been alerted during his

multiple visits to India. On his visits to India, Headley befriended several people, including Rahul Bhatt, the son of Mahesh Bhatt, a famous movie producer, who said he never suspected Headley of any wrongdoing.

### **Indian suspicion about U.S. relationship with Headley**

While government officials in India cite full cooperation by U.S. authorities, the opposition parties and others in India have demanded explanations of why Headley was allowed to travel freely for years between India, Pakistan, and the U.S., and why he was working undercover for the DEA. Some Indian analysts have speculated that David Headley was a double agent for the Central Intelligence Agency that had infiltrated LeT, an accusation denied by the CIA. As soon as Headley was arrested in Chicago, the Indian media had a barrage of questions for the government about him, whose answers were slow in coming. Among other questions, Indian investigators wanted the FBI to share its tapes of Headley's communications with his Pakistani handlers to match with the voices taped on cell phones during the 2008 Mumbai attacks.

Following intense coverage and speculation in the Indian press, U.S. ambassador Timothy J. Roemer in April 2010 told reporters in New Delhi that the United States was working at the "highest level" to provide India access to Headley, even as it was passing along answers to questions in "real time".

News reports in October 2010 revealed that U.S. authorities had much advance knowledge about Headley's terrorist associations and activities. Headley's American and Moroccan wives had contacted American authorities in 2005 and 2007,

respectively, complaining about his terrorist activities. The Moroccan wife told reporters that she had even shown the U.S. embassy in Islamabad photographs of their stay at the Taj Mahal hotel in Mumbai, warning them that he was doing something on behalf of Lashkar-e-Taiba.

Since Headley's guilty plea, Home Minister P. Chidambaram was repeatedly asked why the U.S. cannot extradite Headley to India. Analysts in some media outlets have speculated that the United States conspired to have Headley work undercover despite knowledge that he was involved in terrorism.

### **NIA interrogation of Headley**

In June 2010, US National Security Adviser James Jones announced that India's National Investigation Agency (NIA) had been given access to Headley. The investigation has confirmed that Lashkar-e-Taiba terrorists carried out the Mumbai attack under the "guidance" of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). Headley stated that the ISI was engaged with the Lashkar commanders responsible for the Mumbai deaths and injuries at each and every stage of the plot. Headley mentioned that Major Sameer Ali, Major Iqbal and Major Haroon Ashique, who are serving officers of the Pakistan Army, collaborated with the LeT.

Headley has also spoken of how after the Mumbai attacks, ISI wanted LeT to disown them in order to prevent global attention to the terror group. Pakistan considers it to be an important strategic asset to be used against India. With Ajmal Kasab as the only terrorist captured, ISI wanted to blame the terrorist act on al-Qaida. It prepared a list of 4-5 al-Qaida figures who

were to be projected as the conspirators. The plan, however, did not work due to resistance from Lashkar leaders, particularly Zakiur Rehman Lakhvi.

Headley said that while he had started off as a Lashkar recruit, he started drifting towards Al Qaida under the influence of Major Abdul Rahman Saeed, who retired in 2002. Headley was respected by the retired major because of the data which he provided for the Mumbai attack.

Saeed, with the help of Ilyas Kashmiri, drafted Headley for the plan to attack the Danish newspaper *Jylland Posten*, which had published cartoons of Muhammad considered controversial by Muslims. Headley's original handler, Sajid Mir, wanted him to focus on Lashkar's anti-India mission.

Headley has claimed that Ishrat Jahan, thought to be a case of staged police "encounter killing", was a trained L-e-T suicide bomber. On 31 May 2011, however, Headley contradicted his previous statements, and testified that the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) leadership was not involved in planning the 2008 Mumbai attacks.

### **Pune attack claims**

In relation to the 2010 Pune blast at the German bakery that injured at least 53 people and killed 18, of whom 6 were foreigners, Indian Home Secretary, G. K. Pillai and the *Hindustan Times* referred to Headley. The *Hindustan Times* stated that Headley had visited Pune in July 2008 and March 2009 and referred to him as a Lashkar-e-Taiba member. The *Hindustan Times* also reported that the CCTV footage which was accessed by the Investigating agency, could, per *The*

*Hindustan Times*, help solve the mystery. The *Times of India* reported similar reports, along with *The Telegraph*, *The Hindu*, *The Pioneer* and also *Indian Express*.

## **Review of U.S. handling of Headley**

The United States Director of National Intelligence James R. Clapper conducted a review of slip-ups in handling Headley's involvement in the 26/11 Mumbai terror attacks. His report was shared with India's Union Home Ministry.

## **Sentencing**

On 24 January 2013, Headley, then 52 years old, was sentenced by U.S. District Judge Harry Leinenweber of the United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois in Chicago to 35 years in prison for his part in the 2008 Mumbai attacks.

Headley could have been sentenced to life imprisonment, but federal prosecutors recommended a 35-year sentence in view of Headley's extensive cooperation with the government. Headley had provided details on the operations of the Pakistani terrorist group Lashkar-e-Taiba, which planned the Mumbai attacks, and information that he provided to the government led to charges against Tahawwur Hussain Rana and six other terrorist figures.

Judge Leinenweber stated that the sentence was sufficient to put Headley "under lock and key for the rest of his life" so that he would "never [be] in a position again to commit a terrorist attack."

Others, including survivors of the attacks, have been critical of the sentence, saying that the length of the sentence was an "appalling dishonor" and that Headley has "no right to live."

## **Subsequent developments**

The day after the sentence was imposed, the Indian government announced that it would continue to seek Headley's extradition to India.

In April 2013, it was reported that while imprisoned, Headley had written a memoir detailing his involvement with Lashkar-e-Taiba and the Mumbai attacks.

In July 2015, it was reported that the Mumbai police were seeking to take a deposition of Headley by video conference to provide evidence against Zabiuddin Ansari (Abu Jundal).

On 10 December 2015, a Mumbai court pardoned Headley, making him an approver in the Mumbai case. Deposition started in Bombay High Court via video conference on 8 February 2016. He told the court that LeT made two unsuccessful attempts to carry out terror attacks before finally striking in November 2008, once in September and again in October.

On 24 July 2018, it was reported that Headley was seriously injured after being attacked in prison and admitted to the critical care unit of Evanston Hospital of the NorthShore University HealthSystem. Earlier, on 9 February 2016, it was reported that Headley had confessed to a Mumbai court about LeT and Inter-Services Intelligence having penetrated into the ranks of the Indian Army, to work for them as spies and an

attack was also planned on the Indian defence scientists who were to meet at the conference hall in Taj Hotel, in Mumbai, in 2007. For this purpose he had carried out a recce on the Naval air station, INS Kunjali, INS Shikra and the Siddhivinayak Temple, Mumbai.

## **Hafiz Saeed**

**Hafiz Muhammad Saeed** (born 5 June 1950) is a Pakistani wanted terrorist, who is a co-founder of Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and the chief of Jama'at-ud-Da'wah (JuD), operating mainly from Pakistan.

In April 2012, the United States announced a bounty of \$10 million on Saeed for his role in the 2008 Mumbai attacks that killed 166 civilians. While India supported the US move, there were protests against it in Pakistan.

Saeed is listed on the NIA Most Wanted list and UN designated terrorist. India has banned his organisations LeT and JuD as terrorist organisations.

The United States, the United Kingdom, the European Union, Russia and Australia have also banned Lashkar-e-Taiba. India has demanded that Saeed be handed over to them by Pakistan but there is no extradition treaty between the two countries. Saeed has denied ever being a leader of LeT and said allegations that he planned attacks in India were baseless.

Hafiz Saeed is currently serving an 11-year prison sentence.

## **Early life**

Hafiz Muhammad Saeed was born in Sargodha, Punjab, Pakistan. As told by him, his father, Maulana Kamal-ud-Din, a religious scholar, landlord and farmer, along with his family started migrating from East Punjab and reached Pakistan in around four months in the autumn of 1947. His family lost 36 of its members when migrating from Hisar, Haryana (erstwhile Punjab) to Lahore during the partition of India. The family is of Gujjar background and three of his brothers, Hafiz Hamid, Hafiz Mastodon and Hafiz Hannan, are involved in Islamic activism as well, having previously ran Islamic centres in Boston in the United States.

He was named *hafiz* because he memorized the Qur'an during his childhood, a time during which he was already enthusiastic about the verses on jihad. He then attended the Government College Sargodha (now University of Sargodha) before getting a Master's in Islamic Studies at the King Saud University in Riyadh.

A major early influence on his life and ideology was his maternal uncle, and later father-in-law, Hafiz Abdullah Bahawalpuri, who was a famed theologian belonging to the Ahl-i Hadith, who held that democracy was incompatible with Islam (which alienated him with Maulana Maududi's Jamaat-e-Islami) and argued, on the importance of jihad, "that only in jihad does one offer one's life in the way of Allah, which elevates it to a higher plane than merely fulfilling other religious responsibilities such as saying prayers and paying zakat, also entailing sacrifices and adjustments, but not at the scale evident in jihad" and "considered shahadat (martyrdom)

to be the crux of jihad." Bahawalpuri's only son, Abdul Rehman Makki, is Saeed's brother-in-law and has been described as "his close partner."

General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq appointed Hafiz Muhammad Saeed to the Council on Islamic Ideology, and he later served as an Islamic Studies teacher at the University of Engineering and Technology, Pakistan. He was sent to Saudi Arabia in the early 1980s by the university for higher studies where he met Saudi sheikhs who were taking part in the Soviet–Afghan War. They inspired him in taking an active role supporting the mujahideen in Afghanistan. During his studies at the King Saud University, where he was gold medalist for his academic performances as well as taught there, he came under the influence of Salafi scholars like Shaykh Muhammad ibn al Uthaymeen and especially Shaykh Ibn Baz.

Hafiz Muhammad Saeed held two master's degrees from the University of Punjab and a specialisation in Islamic Studies and Arabic Language from King Saud University.

In 1987, Hafiz Muhammad Saeed, along with Abdullah Azzam, founded Markaz Dawa-Wal-Irshad, a group with roots in the Jamiat Ahl-e-Hadis.

This organisation spawned the jihadist group Lashkar-e-Taiba in 1987, with the help of Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence officers.

Lashkar's primary target is the Indian Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir. He is also quoted as saying, "There cannot be any peace while India remains intact. Cut them, cut them so much that they kneel before you and ask for mercy."

## **Family**

Saeed's son Talha Saeed serves as the Lashkar-e-Taiba second-in-command. He controls the finances of Lashkar. In 2019, Talha escaped an assassination attempt when a bomb inside a refrigerator shop exploded in Lahore. According to Lashkar the bombing was attributed to the infighting in the Lashkar and R&AW.

## **Activities**

### **1994**

In 1994, Saeed visited the United States and "spoke at Islamic centres in Houston, Chicago and Boston".

### **2001–2002**

Pakistan took Saeed into custody on 21 December 2001 due to an Indian government assertion that he was involved in 13 December 2001 attack on the Lok Sabha. He was held until 31 March 2002, released, then taken back into custody on 15 May. He was placed under house arrest on 31 October 2002 after his wife Maimoona Saeed sued the province of Punjab and the Pakistan federal government for what she claimed was an illegal detention.

### **2006**

After 11 July 2006 Mumbai train bombings, the provincial government of Punjab, Pakistan arrested him on 9 August 2006

and kept him under house arrest but he was released on 28 August 2006 after a Lahore High Court order. He was arrested again on the same day by the provincial government and was kept in the Canal Rest House in Sheikhupura. He was finally released after the Lahore High Court order on 17 October 2006.

## **2008–2009**

After the November 2008 Mumbai attacks, India submitted a formal request to the U.N. Security Council to put the group Jamaat-ud-Dawa and Hafiz Muhammad Saeed on the list of individuals and organisations sanctioned by the United Nations for association with terrorism. India has accused the organisation and its leader, Hafiz Muhammad Saeed, of being virtually interchangeable with Lashkar-e-Taiba. India said that the close links between the organisations, as well as the 2,500 offices and 11 seminaries that Jamaat-ud-Dawa maintains in Pakistan, "are of immediate concern with regard to their efforts to mobilise and orchestrate terrorist activities." On 10 December 2008, Hafiz Muhammad Saeed denied a link between LeT and JuD in an interview with Pakistan's Geo television stating that "no Lashkar-e-Taiba man is in Jamaat-ud-Dawa and I have never been a chief of Lashkar-e-Taiba."

On 11 December 2008, Hafiz Muhammed Saeed was again placed under house arrest when the United Nations declared Jamaat-ud-Dawa to be an LeT front. Hafiz Muhammad Saeed was held in house arrest under the Maintenance of Public Order law, which allows authorities to detain temporarily individuals deemed likely to create disorder, until early June 2009 when the Lahore High Court, deeming the containment to

be unconstitutional, ordered Hafiz Muhammad Saeed to be released. India quickly expressed its disappointment with the decision.

On 6 July 2009, the Pakistani government filed an appeal of the court's decision. Deputy Attorney General Shah Khawar told the Associated Press that "Hafiz Saeed at liberty is a security threat."

On 25 August 2009, Interpol issued a red notice against Hafiz Saeed, along with Zakiur Rehman Lakhvi, in response to Indian requests for his extradition.

Hafiz Muhammad Saeed was again placed under house arrest by the Pakistani authorities in September 2009.

On 12 October 2009, the Lahore High Court quashed all cases against Hafiz Muhammad Saeed and set him free. The court also notified that Jama'at-ud-Da'wah is not a banned organisation and can work freely in Pakistan. Justice Asif Saeed Khosa, one of two judges hearing the case, observed "In the name of terrorism we cannot brutalise the law."

### **Indian attempts at extradition**

On 11 May 2011, in an effort to place pressure on Pakistan, India publicly revealed a list of its 50 most wanted fugitives hiding in Pakistan. India believes Hafiz Saeed is a fugitive, but the Indian arrest warrant had no influence in Pakistan and presently has no effect on Saeed's movements within Pakistan. Following the Lahore High Court ruling, Saeed has been moving freely around the country. For many years, India has

demanded that Saeed be handed over but there is no extradition treaty between the two countries.

### **Declaration as a terrorist by the United States**

The United States declared two Lashkar-e-Tayyiba leaders—Nazir Ahmad Chaudhry and Muhammad Hussein Gill—specially designated global terrorists. The State Department also maintained LeT's designation as a Foreign Terrorist Organisation and added the following aliases to its listing of LeT: Jama'at-ud-Dawa, Al-Anfal Trust, Tehrik-i-Hurmat-i-Rasool, and Tehrik-i-Tahafuz Qibla Awwal. The Department of Treasury said that LeT was responsible for the November 2008 terrorist attack in Mumbai which killed nearly 200 people. The group's leader is Hafiz Muhammad Saeed, who is listed under UN Security Council Resolution 1267.

### **Cooperation with Islamabad**

In keeping with Pakistani establishment's wishes, Lashkar has been keeping focus on India and Saeed is among those who are thought to have helped Pakistan in capturing important al-Qaeda members like Abu Zubaydah. Senior Pakistani officials have said that Saeed is helping in de-radicalisation and rehabilitation of former extremists and that security is being provided to him because he could be targeted by militants who disapprove of Saeed's co-operation with Islamabad.

### **US bounty**

In April 2012, the United States announced a bounty of US\$10 million on Hafeez Saeed, for his role in the 2008

Mumbai attacks. Saeed stated that he had nothing to do with the Mumbai attacks and condemned them. When asked about the bounty, Saeed replied, "I am living my life in the open and the US can contact me whenever they want." He subsequently stated that he was ready to face "any American court" to answer the charges and added that if Washington wanted to contact him, they knew where he was. "This is a laughable, absurd announcement. Here I am in front of everyone, not hiding in a cave," he said in a press conference. Saeed identified his leading role in the Difa-e-Pakistan Council and US attempts to placate India as reasons behind the bounty.

## **Arrest and trial**

On 3 July 2019, 23 cases related to terror financing and money laundering under the Anti-Terrorism Act (ATA), 1997 were registered by Counter Terrorism Department (CTD) of Pakistan. According to CTD, JuD was financing terrorism from the funds collected by several non-profit organisations and trusts that included Al-Anfaal Trust, Dawatul Irshad Trust, Muaz Bin Jabal Trust, etc. CTD had banned these non-profit organisations in April 2019. On further investigations, CTD had found that these organisations were linked with JuD and were in touch with the top leadership of JuD.

On 17 July 2019, Saeed was arrested in Gujranwala by the Punjab CTD on the charges of terror financing. He was subsequently sent to the prison on judicial remand by a Gujranwala Anti Terrorism Court (ATC). On 27 September 2019, during the United Nations General Assembly, USA asked Pakistan to prosecute Saeed, Masood Azhar and other UN-designated terrorists. On 30 November 2019, the Government

of Pakistan stated that they will prosecute Saeed. On 11 December 2019, he was indicted by the ATC in the charges of terror financing in several cities of Punjab province of Pakistan. As of December 2019, Saeed resides in the Kot Lakhpat jail also known as Central Jail Lahore. He was convicted for five years by a Pakistan court for financing terrorism, in February 2020. On November 19, 2020 a Pakistani court sentenced him for 5 years in prison on terrorism-financing charges making the conviction for a total of 10 years meanwhile an anti-terrorism court in the city of Lahore on fined Hafiz Muhammad Saeed 110,000 rupees (about \$700). On 24 December he was sentenced to 15 and a half years in jail by an anti-terrorism court in Pakistan in one more terror financing case along with Rs20,000 (about \$125) fine.

While being in prison, Saeed's former residence in Lahore was targeted by a bomb blast on June 23, 2021, resulting in the death of three people and the wounding of 22 more. Three people were arrested for the attack. Pakistan's national security adviser Moeed Yusuf said that while the three arrested were Pakistani citizens who planted the bomb, it was suspected that "India was behind the attack".

## **Views**

### **Pakistani government**

Hafiz Saeed has criticised Pakistani leaders and has stated that they should aspire to be more like British Prime Minister David Cameron and London Mayor Boris Johnson. He had declared his admiration for the British Conservative Party along with several Tory MPs when he lodged a petition to the

Lahore High Court calling for public officials in Pakistan to tone down their privileged lifestyles. According to *The Daily Telegraph*, Saeed wrote in the petition that while Pakistan's political elite were 'living like kings and princes in palatial government houses,' Britain's prime minister lived in a 'four-bedroom flat.' He added, 'When the sun never set on the British Empire, the chief executive of that great country lived in the same house of a few marlas in a small street. That is truly Islamic, that is like following the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet.'

Speaking on the issue of arrest of separatist Kashmiri leader Masarat Alam by the Jammu and Kashmir government, Saeed said, "Jihad is the duty of an Islamic government ... there is a government in Pakistan and it has always taken the stand that it is the right of Kashmiris to attain freedom. I say what our Army will do to secure the right of the Kashmiris is jihad ... We extend help to Kashmiris alongside government ... we call this jihad."

Criticising his anti-India comments, Indian Muslim leader Asaduddin Owaisi said, "People like Hafiz Saeed are unaware about teachings of Islam, jihad in Islam. They are killing innocent lives in Pakistan, children are being killed. They are using Pakistan for maligning another country. The Government of India should take strict action against it and I condemn his comments in clear and strong words."

## **Indian government**

In January 2013, India's then Union Home Minister Sushil Kumar Shinde released a statement on the alleged existence of

Hindu terrorism as well as the existence of Hindu terror camps on Indian soil, being run and organised by the BJP and the RSS.

As a result, Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jamaat-ud-Dawa welcomed Shinde's statements and congratulated him for admitting the existence of Hindu terrorism. Hafiz Saeed demanded that the United States take serious notice of this statement by the Indian home minister regarding Hindu terrorist camps in India. "The US should now carry out drone attacks on these terror camps in India," Saeed said.

In September 2014, Saeed accused India of "water terrorism". Though there was flood crisis in India too, Saeed blamed India for flood crisis in Pakistan. In several tweets on social media he said,

"Indian gov discharged water in rivers without notification & has given false information; an act of open mischief," "India has used water to attack Pakistan, We are in state of War. India's water aggression must be taken to the UN security council."

Responding to a question about the nuclear warning issued by Indian authorities in Jammu and Kashmir after the 2013 India-Pakistan border incidents, Saeed said that in case of a nuclear war between India and Pakistan, India should distribute nuclear safety pamphlets in Delhi, Mumbai and Calcutta rather than in Kashmir.

## **Punjabi as national language**

Hafiz Saeed has questioned Pakistan's decision to adopt Urdu (only 8% of Pakistanis speak Urdu as a first language) as its national language in a country where the majority of people speak the Punjabi language. He advocated that Punjabi should be made the national language.

## **Zakiur Rehman Lakhvi**

**Zakiur Rehman Lakhvi** (born 30 December 1960) is a Pakistani militant and co-founder of the militant Islamist group Lashkar-e-Taiba, serving as Chief of Operations.

He is considered the foremost ringleader of the 2008 Mumbai Attacks and is listed on India's NIA Most Wanted list. In January 2021, he was arrested by Pakistani authorities and sentenced to three concurrent five-year sentences in jail.

A graduate of *Jamia Mohammadia* in Gujranwala, an Ahl-e-Hadith school, he has been considered by Amir Hamza, a co-founder of the LeT, as "the architect of Salafi jihad in Pakistan".

He has orchestrated terrorist attacks in Afghanistan, Chechnya, Bosnia, Iraq and South-East Asia and is referred to as Chachu, or Uncle, by trainees.

## **Early life and activities**

Lakhvi was born 30 December 1960 in the Okara district of Punjab, Pakistan. Belonging to the Lakhokay (village) caste, his

mother is Maulana Moeenuddin Lakhvi's stepsister, an Ahl-e-Hadith scholar and leader who passed away in 2011, at the age of 93.

In 1982 he would participate in the Afghan Jihad, eventually becoming LeT's military chief.

In 1999 at a three-day annual congregation held at Muridke, he explained the reason for fidayeen suicide squad missions in the aftermath of the Kargil War: "After the Pakistani withdrawal from Kargil and the Nawaz-Clinton statement in Washington, it was important to boost the morale of the Kashmiri people. These Fidayen missions were initiated to teach India a lesson as they were celebrating after the Kargil war." He said that the next target would be New Delhi.

In 2006, he asked LeT's members to begin training operatives for suicide bombings. In the past, he told operatives to mount attacks in well-populated areas. Indian officials claim Lakhvi also oversaw Azam Cheema, who has been accused of being a leader in the 2006 bombing of the Mumbai rail network that killed more than 200 and left 700 injured.

In May 2008, the US Treasury Department announced that it had frozen the assets of four Lashkar-e-Taiba leaders including Lakhvi.

## **Involvement in November 2008 Mumbai attacks**

On 3 December 2008, Indian officials named him as one of four possible major planners behind the November 2008 Mumbai

Attacks. He reportedly offered to pay the family of Ajmal Kasab the sum of Rs.150,000 for his participation in the attacks. On 7 December 2008 Pakistani armed forces arrested Lakhvi in a raid on an LeT training camp near Muzafarabad in Pakistani Kashmir. He was among 12 people detained. Pakistan confirmed the arrest but refused to hand over any of its citizens to Indian authorities. Officials stated that any Pakistani citizen accused of involvement in the attack would be tried in Pakistan.

On 12 February 2009 Rehman Malik, Interior Minister, stated that Lakhvi was still in custody and under investigation as the foremost mastermind behind the attacks.

On 25 November 2009, a Pakistani anti-terrorism court formally charged seven suspects, including LeT commander Lakhvi, with planning and helping execute the Mumbai attacks, an action that came a day before the first anniversary of the brazen assault.

On 18 December 2014, two days after the Peshawar school attack where 132 school children were massacred by Pakistani Taliban, the Pakistani anti-terrorism court granted bail to Lakhvi in Mumbai attacks case against payment of surety bonds worth Rs. 500,000. On 19 December, Lakhvi's bail was rejected by the high court. Pakistan assured that Lakhvi was not released and was in jail. The step was called 'positive' by Indian government.

On 7 January 2015, Lakhvi's bail was rejected by the Supreme Court and the case referred back to the high court, who reinstated the bail; though he may still remain in jail for a month in a kidnapping case. The surety bond required from

Lakhvi has a value of US \$2,300. Lakhvi was released from jail on bail on 10 April 2015; he was arrested again in Lahore on 2 January 2021.

## **Relations with Pakistan army and ISI**

It is said that both the Pakistan Army and the ISI are trying to ensure that crucial evidence against Lakhvi in the Mumbai terror attack case, most of which is available in Pakistan itself, is not presented before the court. During his stay in Adiala Jail Rawalpindi, he was provided access to a cellphone and permission to meet his close associates.

When he was jailed owing to international pressure, he even managed to father a child in jail. On 29 November 2012, India posed a question to Pakistan about Lakhvi having become a proud father. When he was arrested in 2009 for the 26/11 there was no mention of him being a father of a new born child. However, in the year 2010, while he was still in jail, he announced the good news to several of his accomplices including Abu Jundal. In Pakistan, he is known as the imam of Jihadis. He has put his family on the battle field and every person in the Lashkar is in awe of him for this.

Moreover, India also confronted Pakistan with more proof about him being meted out privileges while in jail which included orderlies and also a television set and communication access.

According to the *Deccan Herald*, China has blocked the United Nations' attempts to place Lakhvi on its list of suspected terrorists whose financial assets should be frozen.