

MUMBAI ATTACKS

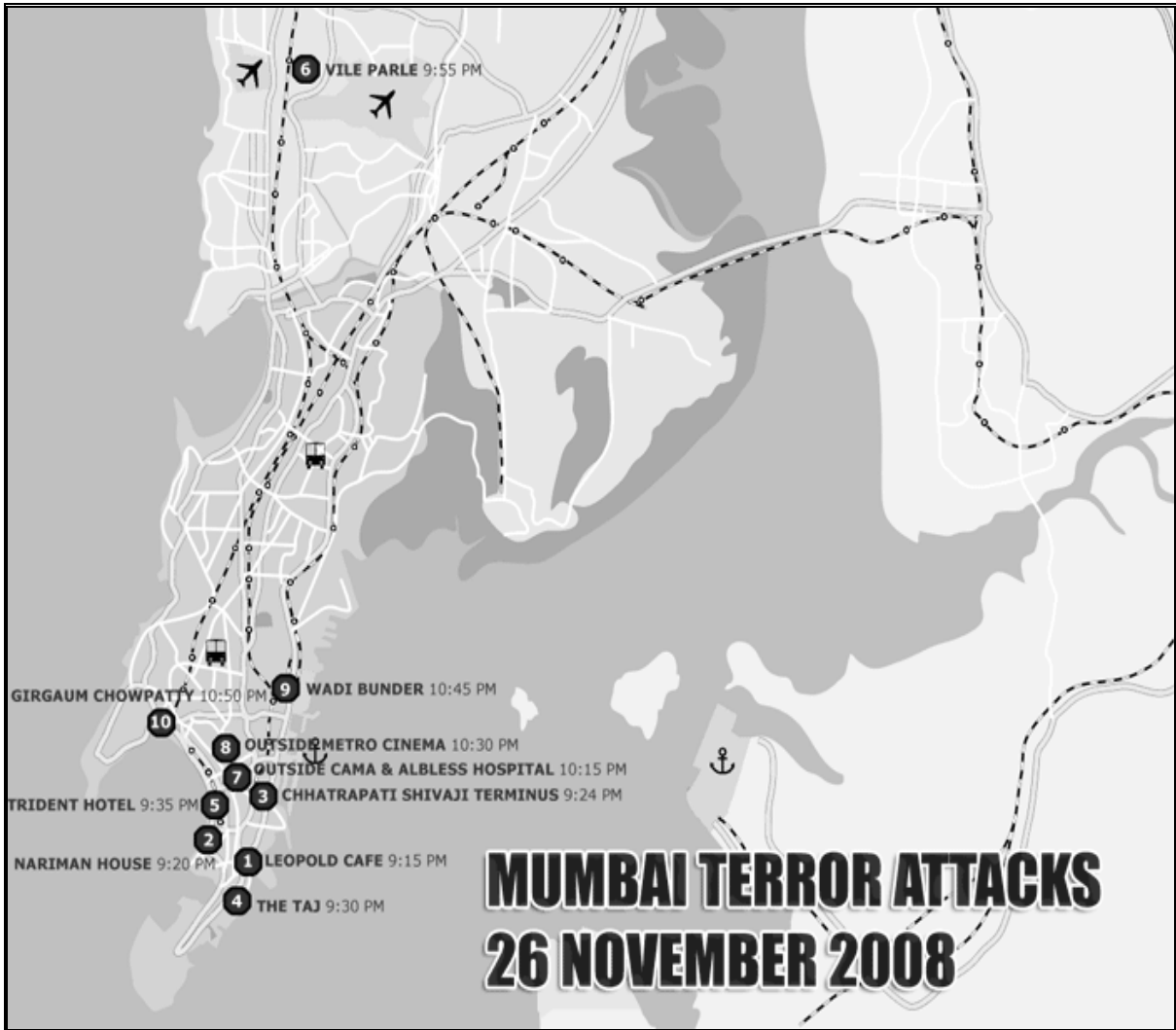
RESPONSE & LESSONS

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THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ATTACKS

THE MUMBAI TERROR ATTACKS

A CASE STUDY OF RESPONSE & REACTIONS

Introduction

A group of 10 terrorists from Pakistan, trained by terrorist groups supported by Pakistan's Army and Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) directorate, attacked Mumbai on November 26, 2008. The multiple attacks and the counter-terrorist offensive lasted over 60 hours, leaving over 180 people, many of them foreign nationals, killed, leaving India, and the world, shocked by the audacity of the attack.

The Mumbai terror attack was the most serious terrorist onslaught on the Indian state with grave ramifications for its secular, democratic and economic aspirations. This 'terrorist invasion' of the country seriously undermined, if not crippled, multiple layers of security and crisis management structures put in place with considerable investment and thought to protect the country. The success of the terrorists in achieving their objectives of damaging the economy and image of the country, attract global attention towards their cause and create a world-wide bout of panic and anxiety showed the global agenda of the terrorist alliances, some of which based in Pakistan, to influence economic, social and political changes in sovereign countries.

The attack changed, like 9/11 did in the US, the dimensions of the threat terrorist groups pose to India. It signalled a dramatic change in strategy as well as modus operandi in how India faced grave threats from terrorist groups and alliances with bases and support within the country, and outside, particularly in Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The Mumbai attack therefore called for a decisive, visible and comprehensive response from India. Was there such a response from the Indian state and its agencies? This is the question which this document proposes to address by documenting the responses of various arms of the government during the crisis to study obvious gaps and possible lessons that can be drawn from the experience.

It must be said at the outset that this study cannot, and do not, claim to be a comprehensive account of the events that unfolded between November 26,

2008 (9.30 pm) and November 29, 2008 as it is based entirely on published accounts. There were meetings, conversations and discussions at the highest levels of government which we have no way of knowing or collating for the purpose of a detailed assessment. Such assessments are best carried out by government-appointed commissions of inquiry with access to official records and witnesses.

The singular objective of our exercise is to encourage such an inquiry and initiate a much-needed debate on a comprehensive, national effort to tackle terrorism which has shown a high degree of flexibility and ruthlessness as compared to counter-terrorism mechanisms in place.

LESSONS OF MUMBAI ATTACKS

CRISIS MANAGEMENT

CONCLUSIONS:

- For the first five hours, no one took a decision whether the attack in Mumbai merited a national response. There was considerable delay in raising the response level from local (gang war?) to State level (firings at CST, Leopold Café) to National level (hostage situation and assault on hotels).
- Even after the Home Minister ordered airlifting of NSG commandos from Manesar near Delhi to tackle the situation, no coordination mechanism was put in place to facilitate the response. The NSG's five-hour delay in reaching Mumbai betrayed the absence of a command and control mechanism and absence of authority at the federal level.
- Too many meetings were held in Delhi during the crisis, none of which resulted in the setting up of a Crisis Management Group to deal with the unfolding situation in Mumbai.
- There was no coordination between various agencies involved in the operation.
- No provision was made for a regular media briefing (twice a day) made by a senior Press Information Bureau officer or the official spokesperson of the Ministry of External Affairs/Ministry of Home Affairs/Ministry of Defence. This could have helped the government to control the flow of information and prevented damage done by the zealous media.
- The Prime Minister's address came almost a day later. An early broadcast should have helped ease public anxiety.
- No alert was sounded for Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) containment throughout the crisis. The Natural Disaster Response Force (NDRF), stationed in Pune, too could have been mobilised.

LESSONS:

- The Crisis Management Group should have met round the clock to review the situation and act as bridge between various agencies involved in the operation in Mumbai.
- The Cabinet Secretary, assisted by the National Security Advisor, should have taken charge of the review and monitoring of the situation in Mumbai.
- The Prime Minister's Office should have independent facility for broadcast.
- NSG teams with CBRN training should form part of the response team.
- Media briefing or updates on a daily basis must form part of the crisis management.
- The intelligence agencies should appoint a spokesperson or utilise the services of the Press Information Bureau to address the media or respond to questions and clarifications sought.
- The Natural Disaster Response Force (NDRF), an eight battalion force set up under the Disaster Management Act of 2005, comprises 2 battalions each from the Central Industrial Security Force (CISF), the Border Security Force (BSF), the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) and the Indo-Tibetan Border Police (ITBP). The force is responsible for mounting professional response during natural or man made disasters. Four of these battalions are trained and equipped in NBC related disasters. While NDRF is a specialized force, despite regular protests by the National Disaster Response Authority (NDMA), the Ministry of Home Affairs often deploys NDRF in election duty like regular assignments.
- Some of the above loopholes can be rectified or reduced by adding `terrorist attacks`` as part of the mandate given to the National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) under the Disaster Management Act, 2005. Cyber terrorism is one of the agendas which include both man-made and natural disasters.

INCIDENT MANAGEMENT

CONCLUSIONS

- A chain is no stronger than its weakest link. And in the case of India's terror response mechanism, the first responders were clearly not

trained for the job and represented the weakest link. Most of the security personnel present in CST simply refused to fight as their training did not infuse in them the confidence to fight well armed terrorists. At, Cama hospital ATS officers could not counter the tactics of their adversary. In both the hotels, the first responders were simply not equipped to access the situation and act accordingly.

- There are laid out Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) for Command during joint operations in conflict areas like J &K and the North East. However in Mumbai such a single point command was completely missing.
- Critical coordination between local authorities and armed forces was absent adding to delays and confusion about the layout of the hotels and other buildings taken over by the terrorists.
- There was hardly any attempt to cordon off the area to keep the media and public at a safer distance. The presence of large number of people in the area of operation could have jeopardised the operations and resulted in additional casualties.
- Media briefings were conducted by different agencies and political leaders giving a confused picture of the situation and the State response while giving away crucial information to the terrorists.

LESSONS

- A command and control centre should have been set up in Mumbai with the State Chief Secretary as in charge with representatives of the, Navy, Army, NSG, local police fire-brigade, medical and municipal authorities.
- The need for a well trained, cohesive first response to terror attacks is the need of the hour. This could mean raising specialised units within the police departments of cities with high threat perceptions. These SWAT-like units should be trained in terrorist incidents and hostage crisis. They should also be mandated to coordinate with federal and units of the Armed Forces and Standard Operating Procedures should be established regarding joint operations and command related issues. Most western police departments like the Los Angeles Police Department have established norms of responding within 40 minutes.
- There is already a blueprint of a Incident Command System which was developed by the Ministry of Home Affairs in collaboration with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to handle man-made disasters. The primary objective of developing the

ICS programme was to transform the confusion during the early stage of an emergency situation into a well managed response process by providing answers to questions such as "who's in charge? " and "what's my job?" The ICS is broadly based on five -management principles a) Command b) Planning c) Operation d) Logistics e) Finance and administration. The structure can be developed further to handle terrorist situations. The most effective way to develop such an integrated system would be to build on existing emergency response capabilities at the state and central levels.

- An official spokesperson with a media room should have been in place within 12 hours of the incident and all media queries should have been referred to him or his representatives.

CHRONOLOGY
November 26-29, 2008

November 26 (Wednesday)

9:20 pm firing near Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus. Terrorists hijack a police jeep near Metro Cinema

9: 48 pm firing outside Leopold café at Colaba in South Mumbai

9:57 pm firing near Hotel Trident

9:59 pm firing at Cama hospital, near CST

10.03 pm Firing outside the Taj Mahal Hotel in south Mumbai.

10:50 pm firing near the Times of India building

10:51 pm firing outside the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai headquarters, Gate 2, opposite CST

11:00 pm Blast in a van in Vile Parle in North Mumbai

11:00 pm Mumbai police Anti- Terrorist squad (ATS) Chief Hemant Karkare killed in a fire fight with terrorists in Cama Hospital.

11:10 pm two blasts at Napean Sea road in South Mumbai

12.00 am: The top floor of the famous hotel catches fire after a bomb explosion.

12:29 am: shooting at the State Bank of India

12:3 am: shooting at Vidhan Bhawan

November 27th (Thursday)

2.30 am: Maharashtra DGP A N Roy says no more hostages in Taj .

5 am: An email sent by unknown group, Deccan Mujahideen, to television channels warning of more attacks.

7:30 am: NSG commandoes enter the Taj to evacuate people.

9.30 am: Senior Army officer says 10-12 terrorists still hiding in the two hotels and the Nariman House.

11: 15 am Rabbi Gavriel Holtzberg's child and an Indian maid seen coming out of Nariman house in South Mumbai.

11:16 am: Shots heard from the Mumbai headquarters of the ultra orthodox Jewish outreach group Chabad Lubavitch that was seized by the gunmen overnight.

12.01 pm: At least four terrorists are holed up in the Taj Hotel where 40 to 50 guests were still trapped, says Major R K Hooda, General Officer Commanding of Maharashtra, Goa and Gujarat.

12.13 pm: Anti-mine squad from Pune also rushing to Mumbai.

12.55 pm: A day after the terror attack on the historic Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus which left over hundred killed, services on the Central Railways were restored to normal.

1.48 pm: Maharashtra DGP Roy confirm all hostages inside Taj rescued. Hostage-like situation at Trident continued.

1.50 pm: 200 more NSG commandos rushed to Mumbai.

2.40 pm: More NSG commandos reach Taj.

2.40 pm: Firing resumes in Taj.

2.43 pm: Grenade blast heard from Nariman House.

3.10 pm: The Coast Guard launched a major search for a ship 'M V Alpha'. Navy's INS Kunjali and Vindhyagiri are involved in the chase.

4.13 pm: Jewish priest Gabriel among hostages held at Nariman House.

4.18 pm: Major General R K Hooda, GOC Maharashtra, Goa and Gujarat, confirms 4-5 militants holed up at Nariman House.

4.24 pm: Terrorists holed up in Room No 473 of Taj Hotel.

4.25 pm: A terrorist reportedly killed in Taj hotel. Commandos began entering into the rooms of the hotel.

4.40 pm: 30 hostages freed from Trident; another 35 people still trapped inside the hotel.

4.55 pm: Navy spokesman Capt Manohar Nambiar said MV Alpha located.

5.40: pm: An NSG team, specialising in managing hostage crisis, moved to Nariman House armed with rocket launchers and bazookas.

6.00 pm: 14 more people evacuated from the Oberoi, 50 more commandos enter the Taj.

11: 30 pm : Security forces surround the Nariman House with reports of fresh firing.

November 28 (Friday)

Early morning: NSG commando Major Sandeep Unnikrishnan killed in the operation at Taj.

12.05 am: seven hostages freed from Nariman.

2.25 am: Fresh firing begins between NSG and the holed up terrorists in Nariman house. Reports of an Israeli team being flown in to assist in operations.

4.15 am: NSG-DG JK Dutt said Trident-Oberoi has been sanitised, two terrorists were in Oberoi, one in Taj and 2-3 at Nariman.

5.00: Third blast heard at Nariman House. National Security Guard (NSG) commandos take positions.

5.55 am: Police asks media to stop live telecast of happenings at the Taj. .

6.55 am: One terrorist reportedly spotted at the third floor of Taj.

7.15: Commandos airdrop on roof of Nariman House. Two explosions at Nariman House.

7.40 am: One more helicopter drops commandoes on top of Nariman House.

8.05 am: NSG brings more commandos from Delhi.

10.12 am: Evacuations underway in two floors of Trident-Oberoi hotel.

10.35 am: At least 35-45 more hostages, majority of them foreigners, rescued from Trident-Oberoi hotel.

10.57 am: Southern Command GOC-in-Chief Lt Gen N Thamburaj says one terrorist may still be holed up inside Taj.

11:26 am: Six foreigners among 35-45 people rescued from Trident.

11.43 am: Terrorists fire at NSG commandos from the fourth floor of Nariman House.

1.00 pm: Six more teams of Rapid Action Force (RAF) are on way to Taj.

1.24 pm: At least 148 hostages, majority of them foreigners, rescued from Trident.

2.00 pm: Operation complete in Oberoi Trident, NSG takes control.

3.26 pm: Coast Guard Commander Satish Chandran said 'Kuber' seized, belongs to a resident from Porbandar.

3.50 pm: Nine blasts rock Taj.

4.11 pm: 30 bodies recovered from Trident.

4.22 pm: Six hostages rescued from Taj.

4.44 pm: Three explosions at Taj .

6.55 pm: DG NSG J K Dutt said the second floor of Nariman House cleared, NSG in the third; five bodies of hostages recovered.

7.40 pm: Two terrorists killed in Nariman House.

7.55 pm: Operation on at the third floor of Nariman House.

9.06 pm: DG NSG says "Nariman House cleared and secured ."

November 29 (Saturday)

12.01 am: NSG moves into lobby of Taj; Director General (DG) NSG J K Dutt says operation will end tonight.

3.50 am: Intense gunfire on first floor of Taj.

6.04 am: Five large explosions heard from inside the Taj. Snipers take positions as security forces launch the 'final assault' against terrorists holed-up in the hotel.

7.45: Fire breaks out on lower floors of Taj.

12.00 pm: NSG confirms all terrorists killed at Taj.

4.30: Indian government announces death toll of 183, including 22 foreigners.

9.00 pm: 22 bodies, including that of the fourth terrorist, recovered in Taj by NSG commandos.

RESPONSE AND LESSONS

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Crafting a multi-dimensional approach to counter terrorism calls for extensive assessment of the systematic failures that facilitated the execution of the Mumbai attack, how the State agencies responded to the crisis, how did the international community react and respond and what are the possible lessons which can be drawn from the experience.

Prime Minister's Office

It is fair to assume that the Prime Minister must have been informed of the attacks within the first hour of the first attack on CST in Mumbai on November 26, 2008. There are reports that a Crisis Management Group meeting was called by the Prime Minister at his residence at about 11.30 pm.

Of the several calls that followed the meeting, one went to the office the Directorate General of Military Operations. Division 8B of the DGMO then alerted the army's Special Forces.

The NSA and the intelligence heads, who participated in the meeting, were asked to prepare briefs for the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS) which met later in the day. The meeting was attended by RAW Chief Ashok Chaturvedi and IB Chief P C Haldar besides the NSA. The CCS meeting was addressed by the NSA and the Union Home Minister. Members of the National Security Advisory Board also met alongside. The CCS meeting was followed by a meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs (CCPA). Both the meetings were over by 11 in the morning and were followed by a full-Cabinet meeting later in the day. The CCPA meeting was more of routine nature and the only reference to the Mumbai attacks was to offer condolences to the victims.

The media was briefed by Home Minister Shivraj Patil after the Cabinet meeting where he said the attacks were "very disturbing" and "we are all sorry about it."

The Prime Minister addressed the nation at 7.30 pm the same day, three hours later than the scheduled time. The delay in broadcasting the PM's address was caused by the absence of the technician handling the teleprompter. The delay only added to the widespread level of anxiety among the people about the

government's reaction to events unfolding in Mumbai telecast by multi tudes of television channels.

The Prime Minister's address was measured in tone and tenor but fell short of sending out a strong message and reassurance to the public that the government was in the know and control of the situation.

The Prime Minister visited Mumbai on November 27, and chaired a meeting of Maharashtra Governor SC Jamir, Maharashtra Chief Minister Vilasrao Deshmukh and others. He also visited the injured in the hospitals. He did not address the media at Mumbai.

On November 29, the Prime Minister remained in Delhi and spoke to Pakistan Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani. Dr Singh asked his counterpart to send the ISI chief to Delhi for a meeting. Gillani accepted the offer, only to retract within hours.

He chaired a meeting attended by the three Service chiefs and intelligence agencies to discuss the fall-outs of the terror attacks and ways to prevent the recurrence of such incidents in the future. The meeting reviewed the security situation. Defence Secretary Vijay Singh, Home Secretary Madhukar Gupta, Army Chief General Deepak Kapoor, Naval Chief Admiral Suresh Mehta, Air Force Chief Air Chief Marshal Fali Homi Major, Coast Guard Director General Admiral R F Contractor and Intelligence Bureau Chief P C Haldar attended the meeting.

Union Home Minister

Minister Shivraj Patil flew to Mumbai on November 27 with National Security Guards Director General JK Dutt and Home Secretary Madhukar Gupta. In Mumbai, he held an emergency meeting with Maharashtra Chief Minister Vilasrao Dekhmukh to review the situation. Others who attended the hour-long meeting include Governor S C Jamir and Deputy Chief Minister R R Patil besides top government officials.

In Delhi, on November 28, Patil chaired a meeting with top officials of various forces and agencies where it was decided to shore up security measures along the coastline. The meeting was attended by the Home Secretary, Naval Chief, the Coast Guard Chief, Army Vice Chief Lt Gen M L Naidu and Special Secretary (Internal Security) in the Home Ministry M L Kumawat. One of the decisions taken at the meeting was to ask coastal states to register all fishing ships with the police. At present, fishing ships and small trawlers are simply

registered with different harbour authorities, leaving the police clueless about their owners and the clients who generally hire them for fishing purposes.

On November 29, he called a high-level security review meeting attended by the NSA, Cabinet Secretary KM Chandrashekar, Home Secretary Madhukar Gupta, IB chief Haldar and other senior officials to discuss short, medium and long term measures to prevent attacks like the Mumbai one. The next day, he participated in the all-party meeting convened by the Prime Minister where he briefed the members of the situation and the action taken by the government. The same evening, at the Congress Working Committee, he submitted his resignation.

Union Defence Minister

Defence Minister AK Antony convened a meeting of the three Service Chiefs on November 27. The meeting was attended by Chiefs of Staff Committee chairman and Navy chief, Admiral Sureesh Mehta, Vice Chief of the Army Staff and Air Force chief Fali Homi Major, apart from top intelligence officers of the services. The Army chief was away on a tour of South Africa. The meeting reviewed the situation in Mumbai and discussed counter-terrorist measures. The Directorate of Public Relations, Ministry of Defence, held no press briefings during the crisis or afterwards.

National Security Advisor/National Security Advisory Board

At the time of the attack, National Security Advisor MK Narayanan was attending a party at a former IPS officer, Nikhil Kumar's residence and returned only after 11.30 p.m. For the next two days, he attended all the meetings called by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister. There is no indication of the meeting of the National Security Advisory Board during the crisis.

The National Security Advisory Board also met along with the Crisis Management Group meeting on the morning of November 27. The board, whose job is to give "out of government" advice to the National Security Council and the Centre, is understood to have conveyed its "dismay" and "sense of outrage" over the attacks and urged the Centre to address these public perceptions.

Intelligence agencies

Both the Intelligence Bureau (IB) and Research Analysis Wing (RAW) heads remained busy with meetings called by the Prime Minister, Home Minister and Defence Minister. With the multiple failures of intelligence and security

agencies becoming glaring as the crisis unfolded in Mumbai, the agencies indulged in selective leaks to the media to shrug off accountability for the failure. While the federal agencies said specific intelligence warnings had been given prior to the attacks (which is true), the State police, Coast Guard and Navy argued that such warnings were routine and hence not given the importance they deserved.

National Crisis Management Committee

The committee, mandated by the Disaster Management Act of 2005, to organise rescue and rehabilitation measures in times of crisis ranging from earthquake to cyber-terrorist attack did not take any visible action during the Mumbai crisis. The Cabinet Secretary heads the committee. In Mumbai, the Chief Secretary, who heads the State committee, was at home and the crisis control room was manned by a DGP and senior police officials. The Home Secretary was trapped inside the Taj and the Chief Minister was away in Kerala and reached Mumbai only at 3 am.

The National Security Guards are trained in **CBRN** (Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear) containment by the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre. Whether CBRN containment was factored in during the planning of the rescue operation in Mumbai is not known.

Similarly, there is no indication of the deployment of **Natural Disaster Response Force** (NDRF), trained in CBRN contained and stationed at Pune in Mumbai.

MAHARASTRA GOVERNMENT

Chief Minister. Vilasrao Deshmukh

The Chief Minister was in Kerala when the attack took place. He called up the Union Home Minister who in turn informed the National Security Guards about the crisis. The CM returned to Mumbai at 3 am. On November 27, he spoke with the Prime Minister, the Congress President Sonia Gandhi, Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi (among others), received the Union Home Minister, attended the security review meeting and addressed a press conference where he said: "This is a most audacious attack. It is a very serious situation and gun battles are still on in at least three places." The next day, he received the Prime Minister, attended a security review meeting with him. On November 29, the CM held a press conference to declare that Mumbai was free of terrorists. On November 30, he took his son, and a movie director friend to inspect the Taj and Trident Hotels. He submitted his resignation on December 1, 2008.

Home Minister and Deputy Chief Minister RR Patil

Deputy Chief Minister and also Home Minister of Maharashtra RR Patil, was out of station during the first two days of the crisis and returned to Mumbai on November 28 and addressed a press conference. On November 29, he said "Tine bade shear mien chute hands ho jota hay. To total failure nail hay. (In big cities like this, small incidents do happen. It's is not a total failure.)" He briefed over the next two days regularly, holding forth on the need for strengthening coastal security and an elite commando force like the National Security Guards (NSG) for Mumbai. He refused to resign and argued, before the media, that since Gujarat Chief Minister did not resign after the Akshardham was attacked, nor did Union Home Minister LK Advani after the Parliament attack, there was no reason for him to do so. On December 1, he resigned.

Mumbai Police

Directorate General of Police A N Roy on November 27 said "we will very soon get them (terrorists) either alive or dead". At 2 am, he said there were no hostages in the Taj and Trident, and there were no talks with militants. He said "till now five terrorists have been killed and nine suspected people have been arrested. The situation at the Taj hotel is under control. There is no hostage-like situation there."

On November 28, he said "Several hostages have been evacuated from the 17th floor of the Oberoi hotel by the NSG commandos." Roy declined to give any number of people who might be inside the hotel and informed that four suspected terrorists were killed in the Taj Mahal operation and that more deaths were likely.

Mumbai Police Commissioner Hasan Ghafoor on November 27 said the attacks were suspected to be "coordinated terrorist acts", and added that automatic weapons like AK-47 and AK-56 and semi-automatic rifles as well as grenades were apparently used. He was involved in briefing the visiting dignitaries and coordinating the police action on the spot as well as in other parts of the city. He also remained busy in initiating the investigations.

Municipal authorities

The Disaster Management Cell of the Mumbai municipal authority was involved in directing operations and liaising with the separate control rooms of police, fire and medical teams. The team members were in constant contact with each other through the emergency radio network but were not prepared to handle an emergency of the magnitude which was witnessed in Mumbai. There is no indication of any coordination with the central authorities.

The **Mumbai Fire brigade** was brought into action both for extinguishing fire that erupted often during the operations in the Taj Hotel and Oberoi Trident and also in the rescue operations. The ambulances of the fire services were utilised for ferrying the casualties to hospitals. American businessman, C. Richard Diffenderffer, was just one of hundreds of trapped victims. In news accounts, he referred to Mumbai's fire fighters as "angels from Heaven." As fire crews finally reached Diffenderffer, they surrounded him in order to protect him from gunfire. Fire fighting efforts were hampered by gunfire aimed at fire fighters, who bravely remained at their posts both atop the aerial platforms and at the ground level.

Private **ambulance services** were pressed into service from November 27. But the para-medics and other staffers with these services were hampered by lack of protective gear and training to handle rescue and relief operations during a terrorist attack. The Mumbai fire brigade used its vans to cart the injured to the hospitals.

COUNTER TERRORIST RESPONSE

Units involved in the strike

The Security Forces devised a four tier security ring around the target areas. The first tier comprised of crack commandos of the NSG, the MARCOS and the Army Special Forces. The second tier comprised of the Army personnel that cordoned off the targets. The third tier was laid by Mumbai Police ATS and the last tier by regular Mumbai Police.

First responders

State Police, ATS, Firemen, Paramedics

Specialist Units – NSG, MARCOS, Army Spec Ops

Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus (CST)

November 26

The Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus was struck at 9 21 pm on November 26. Two militants - Mohammed Ajmal Amir 'Kasab' and Ismail Khan entered Platform 13 where outstation passengers were waiting and began to fire indiscriminately and lobbed grenades. The station had limited security manned by poorly equipped local police, and Railway Protection Force personnel. These units, trained to maintain law and order and carry out basic policing duties were neither equipped nor trained to fight terrorists trained in military tactics. Of the police personnel present on the spot, Constable Ajit Kumar Nalavade fired three rounds at terrorists before his gun (.3 03) jammed. The terrorists enjoyed an overwhelming advantage over the police and killed 56 people and injured 98 in CST.

Cama Hospital

November 26

By 11 pm, the two terrorists went to the adjoining Cama & Alless Hospital and lodged themselves somewhere near the terrace. Three policemen soon arrived at the front gate and a fire fight took place. Using grenades, the terrorists killed two while injured the third. The two attackers came down and were intercepted by Additional Commissioner of Police Sada nand Date who was injured in the attack.

Responding to Date's injury, ATS chief Hemant Karkare, ACP Ashok Khamte and encounter specialist Vijay Salaskar, along with 4 constables arrived at Cama Hospital in a police Qualis jeep. They were ambushed and all three officers killed on the spot.

Girgaum Chowpatty November 26-27

The terrorists removed the bodies and drove the jeep to the Vidhan Bhawan where one of the tyres got punctured. They hijacked a Skoda and went to Girgaum Chowpatty.

The police had established a barricade on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Marg in Chowpatty. Two men carrying SLRs (Self Loading Rifle, a single fire assault rifle) took positions on either side of the road. The vehicle came to a halt 50 feet from the barricade. The terrorists tried to make a U turn and crashed into the divider. The driver, Abu Ismail fired at the police who returned fire and killed him on the spot.

Nine brave policemen, armed only with *lathis* (batons,) charged at the vehicle; Assistant sub-inspector Tukaram Ombale moved towards Kasab who fired from his AK-47 at him. Ombale grabbed the barrel of the rifle and fell on Kasab. His act enabled others to capture Kasab alive. Ombale died on the spot.

Taj Mahal Hotel – Operation Cyclone November 26-27

The iconic 565-room Taj Mahal hotel was stuck by four terrorists at around 10 in the evening of November 26. Terrorists barged into the hotel through the front entrance after a shootout in the nearby Café Leopold that was meant to cause a diversion which gave the assailants complete surprise at the Taj. They targeted the front desk and began to fire indiscriminately at the guests.

According to eyewitnesses, they then stormed the adjoining eateries – the Harbour Bar and the Golden Dragon and killed most of the guests who had not moved to secure locations by then. They also broke into the cellar and lobbed grenades, killing everyone. They took hostages, especially American and British citizens, and lodged themselves on the 19th floor. In the meantime, hotel staff, showing admirable strength and presence of mind, escorted around 250 guests to the members only Chambers area. However their location was given away by media reports and soon the terrorists began to comb the

Chambers. It thus became evident that the intent of the terrorists was to cause maximum casualties and take hostages only for the sake of prolonging the siege, increase international media attention and make rescue operations difficult; and perhaps attempt a getaway.

After sounds of gunfire and grenade explosions were heard, eight police officers armed with pistols arrived at the Taj, becoming the first responders. Unable to confront the terrorists, reinforcements were soon called the fighting continued.

By two in the morning, elite special forces of the Indian Navy, MARCOS, stationed at INS Abhimanyu near Mumbai entered the scene an hour after being requested by the Maharashtra government. Their entry was delayed as the Navy refused to commit its assets unless requested by the Chief Secretary, which is the laid down norm with specialized forces like the MARCOS. Two Prahar teams, each comprising 8-9 operatives entered the Taj and continued to 'flush out' guests by checking into their rooms, according to Vice Admiral J.S.Bedi, Chief of the Western Naval Command. Contact was made with the terrorists on the second floor and an exchange on gunfire took place, injuring one of the commandos.

At three in the morning, militants lobbed a grenade and the famous dome of the old wing was set on fire. At this moment firemen arrived on the scene and in fifteen minutes, the first hostage was rescued. They made multiple rescue attempts using cherry-pickers and were given cover by MARCOS. By the end of their mission, the MARCOS had cleared 40 suites and more than 300 hostages were rescued.

NSG operatives, under the tactical command of Col Sheoran, entered the new building of the Taj complex, known as the Taj Towers. Two teams, led by Major Sandeep Unnikrishnan and Major Kanwal push the terrorists to the old building through the connecting door while rushing rescued hostages through all possible exit points.

By 2 pm it became clear that instead of two, there were four terrorists holed up in Taj. They were reported to be shifting between the top floor restaurant and the bar below and lobbed grenades whenever threatened by the commandos.

The NSG planned to move the trapped guests into a centralized area from where they could be evacuated. Most guests trapped in their rooms refused to open the door. Improvising, the NSG circulated a password among the trapped

guests (these are not to be confused with hostages that were being kept at gun point) in order to communicate with them. It should be noted that electronic keys had been disabled due to the pressure of the grenade blasts. By the end of Thursday, more than 400 hostages had been rescued.

November 28

Throughout the night of the 28th fire fights continued between the holed up terrorists and NSG commandos. Terrorists moved into the 4th floor and secured themselves in room 473. In the ensuing attempt to break into the room, a commando was injured. Major Unnikrishnan was hit while trying to save the injured commando and dies in the process. Both the terrorists are killed.

At 11 am (28th), GOC Southern Command, Lt. Gen. Thamburaj told the media that the Taj Towers (new building) had been cleared and that one terrorist remained in the old building. Later in the evening, Mumbai Police Chief A N Roy said that two huge caches of explosives, capable of causing 'major damage' have been found at two locations at either side of the Taj.

November 29

Series of explosions were heard in the morning. Fire broke out in the lower floors of the Taj due to the now constant grenade blasts. NSG made another move to eliminate the remaining two terrorists, who, isolated on the first floor began to show signs of fatigue and low morale. NSG commandos lobbed a grenade into the room and killed the first terrorist who falls off the window. The other terrorist is shot dead in the corridor, thus bringing the 60 hour Operation Cyclone to an end.

Security forces recovered magazines, AK series weapons, magazines, grenades and also, a Mauritius ID card, \$1200 and Rs 6000 in cash, dry fruits and a host of credit cards from the terrorists.

At least 50 civilians lost their lives during the siege in the Taj. Rescue personnel, comprising the police, the fire brigade, the NSG and MARCOS rescue more than 400 hostages. NSG lost one of its officers while eliminating all four terrorists.

Hotel Oberoi-Trident – Operation Black Tornado November 26-27

Terrorists attacked the Oberoi- Trident Hotel at 9 57 pm on November 26, in synchronization with the assault on the Taj. Two terrorists attacked the front desk, and moved towards the famous Tiffin restaurant and opened indiscriminate fire, killing most present. They then move towards the upper floors to gain tactical advantage in the fire fight with the security forces that ensued. At 2 25 security forces, comprising the state ATS, Police and the Quick Reaction Force of the Mumbai Police entered the hotel complex but had to be pull back soon afterwards. Reports suggest that they were successful in rescuing some of the hostages. One and a half Prahar units of MARCOS were deployed in Trident but were kept on standby and did not take part in the rescue operation.

In the morning (between 7-8 am) the 51 Special Action Group (SAG) of the National Security Guards began preparations for the hostage rescue mission. They received maps from the hotel staff and also video footage from a 21 Para (Special Forces) officer on leave. Soon the 50 Guards stormed the hotel in two teams, one led by Squadron Commander Major Bharat Singh and the other by Lt Col Sharma. They used the fire exits and climbed to the 21st floor. By adopting the 'top down' approach, they were able to diminish the advantage held by the two terrorists.

First contact was made on the 18th floor and in the ensuing fire fight, the terrorists moved into room 1856 and were surrounded. The NSG used Hand Held Thermal Imagers (HHTI) to locate them but were unable to do so. Major Saurav Shah was injured in the process and was evacuated. By three in the afternoon, the terrorists were zeroed in. NSG kept up the fire in order to exhaust the terrorist's ammunition.

November 28

By afternoon, the two terrorists moved to the 18th floor and were spotted. They moved into the washroom of a room and set up defences. Commandos surrounded them and both are eliminated. The Trident-Oberoi complex is secured and thus Operation Black Tornado reaches its end. Two AK series assault rifles, one pistol and live grenades are found from the scene.

Almost 150 hostages were rescued from the Trident Oberoi Hotel, 30 killed with the security forces not suffering any casualties. Both the terrorists were killed.

Nariman House November 26-27

Nariman House was targeted at around 9 30 pm on November 26 by two terrorists. Located in the highly congested area of Colaba, Nariman House which houses the ultra-orthodox Jewish Chabad Lubavitch outreach group presented the trickiest challenge for the security forces. The five -storey tall Nariman House is located in the in one of the most congested localities in Mumbai and had limited entry points from the ground. The NSG has come for severe criticism from international experts, especially former Israeli special forces personnel for the manner in which the rescue operation was carried out.

Throughout November 27 and the early hours of November 28, security personnel positioned themselves in and around the house but are not able to break in. It was suspected that there were at least 2 terrorists holed up in the house along with several Israeli and Indian hostages, the fate of whom was unknown. Sporadic exchange of gunfire took place between the holed up terrorists and the security forces that had cordoned the building. Late on Thursday night, seven hostages were rescued from the Nariman House.

November 28

Between seven and eight in the morning, NSG launched a rescue operation in the Nariman House. Sources claim that intelligence gathered from intercepted communications revealed that there were two terrorists and that all the hostages had been killed. IAF MI-8/17 helicopters hovered on top of the locality and commandos slithered down to the roof of the target building and the adjacent buildings. Almost simultaneously, NSG teams also began to move from the ground floor. The entire episode was captured by live TV and was seen by people around the world, including the ‘terrorist’s handlers’ based in Pakistan.

Fighting started almost immediately after the Guards rappelled down into the roof top. By afternoon, NSG was in control of the fourth and the fifth floors.

By six in the evening, NSG guards were seen moving out of the Nariman House, which caused a huge crowd to gather outside in the streets and premature celebrations soon began, much to the embarrassment of the security officials responsible for cordoning the area. However, soon afterwards, a series of explosions were heard. Some reports hint that the second terrorist was gunned down at this time. Others suggest that these explosions were deliberately caused by the NSG to demolish booby traps. By nine at night, DG NSG JK Dutt said the operation was over.

RESPONSE OF INDIAN POLITICAL PARTIES

Congress

In a statement issued on November 28, Congress president Mrs Sonia Gandhi said the attacks caused her both distress and outrage. The incident was a challenge both to the country and the Indian society and everyone must face it as one. "This is not just a question of India's security but its prestige [too]. Terrorists are enemies of the nation and we have to deal with them as such. No challenge can withstand a determined nation. I want to tell those who want to harm India through maniacal [acts] that we will rest only after eliminating terrorism," she said. The Congress Working Committee (CWC), on November 30, expressed serious concern over the Mumbai terrorist strikes. At the CWC meeting, chaired by the Congress president, disturbed members demanded exemplary steps to check recurrence of similar attacks and to restore public confidence in the government

Bharatiya Janata Party

The BJP said on November 27 that it will refrain from being critical of the Government at this juncture in view of the Mumbai Terror s trikes which it termed as a "national crisis". BJP chief Rajnath Singh spoke to party Prime Ministerial candidate L K Advani over phone from Jaipur and decided "not go critical" of the government on the issue "in this time of crisis", the party said. The party also asked the people to rise above political affiliations and stand by the security forces in their fight against terror." It is a time of national crisis. The country has been challenged. It is time for us to rise above politics. There is no government side or opposition side. Our top leadership has decided to stand by all steps to defeat the forces who challenge our sovereignty," BJP Vice President Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi said. Senior BJP leader L K Advani on November 28 blamed the intelligence agencies for Mumbai terror attacks, saying their preoccupation with "Hindu terror" helped the terrorist plot go undetected. "It now appears that a mobile phone with a terrorist is of Pakistani origin. This reinforces the fact that intelligence agencies' energy is being diverted to nail the so-called Hindu terror which evidently enabled the Mumbai attackers' plot go undetected", Advani said in a statement.

Communist Part of India-CPI

The CPI described the Mumbai terror attacks "as a colossal failure" on part of the intelligence agencies and said Home Minister Shivraj Patil should "bear the

full responsibility for this failure. Repeatedly the intelligence system failed to thwart terrorist attacks. The Home Minister must bear full responsibility for this failure," the party's Central Secretariat said in a statement. It wondered how "such a well-planned attack failed to attract the notice of the intelligence network" and dubbed it as a "colossal failure". Condemning the dastardly attacks on unarmed and peaceful citizens of Mumbai, it said, "the terror attacks are intended to weaken and destabilise India and to divide its people." Terrorists will not succeed in their nefarious design. India stands valiantly united in containing such terror incidents which have unfortunately been mounting in the country," the statement said.

On November 29, the CPI (M) issued a statement stating that `` The country has experienced a sense of relief at the successful conclusion of the security operations against the armed men who had perpetrated the terrorist outrage in Mumbai. The lessons from this grim incident have to be drawn correctly and promptly. The continuous and widespread terrorist attacks which have occurred in the country have shown up the weakness in our intelligence and security systems. The country expects the Government to immediately take effective steps to revamp and strengthen the intelligence and security set up. A beginning has to be made by identifying and taking steps against the forces with external links who have perpetrated this crime. This is the time for all sections of the people and political circles to rise above any sectarian interests and ensure that the unity and integrity of the country is safeguarded by curbing all forms of terrorism whatever their source.

CPM Polit Bureau member Sitaram Yechury wrote in an article that "what was required is to ensure strong response from Pakistan against terrorist organization and personnel working in that country." Noting that the issue was to get the Pakistani government act against extremist groups, Mr. Yechury said all evidence collected should be presented to that government which should be asked to act promptly. CPM leader Prakash Karat fully endorsed the view of his party leader. The party criticized both the congress and BJP for their failure to present a united front in the wake of grave national emergency.

Bahujan Samaj Party

UP Chief Minister and BSP chief Mayawati on November 27 condemned the terrorist attacks and demanded stern action against the culprits. Ms Mayawati appealed to the political parties to shed their differences and be united in this critical situation before the country. The CM also urged the political parties not to rake up issues to derive political mileage at this juncture. Ms Mayawati, paying homage to the martyr police officials and common people, who died in

the ghastly terrorist attacks, said the incident was of great concern for the country.

Samajwadi Party

Mulayam Singh Yadav-led Samajwadi Party (SP) blamed intelligence failure for the Mumbai terrorist attacks, but said it was not the opportune time to go critical in this regard. "It is an intelligence failure...but, this is not the time for post-mortem. Instead, we should take lessons from such heinous acts," SP general secretary Amar Singh said. He said, "We are anguished and ashamed over such incidents as several innocent citizens and security persons had to lay their lives." It is time to evolve a solid strategy so that such incidents were not repeated instead of doing politics over it, he noted.

Shiv Sena

The Shiv Sena, which had earlier targeted slain Anti-Terrorism Squad chief Hemant Karkare for the investigations into the Malegaon blast, castigated the Congress-NCP coalition government on November 29 for sending him into the jaws of death symbolised by the "Islamic terrorism". Paying tributes to the "martyrdom" of Karkare, Sena chief Bal Thackeray in an editorial in party mouthpiece 'Saamana' said, "The officers of the calibre of Karkare and his colleagues Salaskar and Kamte who led from the front in combating terrorists had done Maharashtra proud with their supreme sacrifice. "Accusing the state government on its policy of Muslim appeasement, the edit said, "What needs to be condemned is the politics played by the ruling coalition in directing ATS to go after Hindu organisations and in the process ignoring the real danger of 'Islamic terrorism' that held Mumbai hostage."

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE

United States

The US said that Mumbai attacks were the handiwork of extremist groups since US and British citizens were targeted. In a news conference at Pentagon on November 27, Secretary of Defence Robert Gates said that it was clearly an act of extremist group primarily targeting US and British nationals.

President George Bush condemned the Mumbai terrorist attack and pledged to support India to investigate these attacks and bring the culprit to justice. The US State Department immediately condemned the attacks. The Spokesman Robert Wood said: "We strongly condemn the terrorist attacks that have taken place in Mumbai and 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."

Following the terror attacks in Mumbai, The White House National Security Council convened officials from counter-terrorism and intelligence agencies as well as the State and Defence departments to analyse the Mumbai attacks.

In the daily briefing to the media, he said that India's not going to forget and neither the US is going to forget those terrorist acts. This is the reason we want to have joint investigation – we want to try to find out who did this, who carried out these attacks, and bring them to justice. At the same time, we also need to figure out how we can prevent these attacks from happening again. ”

Similarly, Brooke Anderson, spokesman for Barack Obama said that the President-elect Obama strongly condemned the terrorist attacks in Mumbai. He said these co-ordinated attacks on innocent civilians demonstrate the grave and urgent threat of terrorism. The US must continue to strengthen the partnerships with India and nations around the world to fight and destroy terrorist networks. Obama received several intelligence briefings and spoke with the US Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice. Obama said he expected Islamabad to fully cooperate with New Delhi in the investigations into the Mumbai terror attacks after India accused it for indulging in the terrorist attack. He said India, like other sovereign nations, had the right to “protect” itself.

According to senior US officials, both the US Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice and Admiral Mike Mullen, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, issued

stern warnings to the Pakistan government to crack down on militant groups in Pakistan near its borders with Indian-administered Kashmir and with Afghanistan. The officials said that the US had warned India in mid-October of possible terrorist attacks against "touristy areas frequented by Westerners" in Mumbai, but that the information was not specific.

The US officials said on November 28 there was still no evidence that Pakistan's government had a hand in the operation, though investigators were searching for clues of outside support for the terrorists. "There's very little doubt that L-e-T is responsible, but beyond that we need to learn more," said a senior American official. Defence Secretary Robert M. Gates told reporters in Pentagon that it is important for both Pakistan and India to exercise restraint and to find out who was responsible to the attacks.

Secretary of State Rice, on a visit to India and Pakistan (December 3 -4) said there was 'irrefutable evidence' of involvement of elements in Pakistan in the Mumbai attacks and that it needs to act urgently and effectively to avert a strong international response. After meeting President Asif Ali Zardari, Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani, Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi and Chief of Army Staff General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani in Islamabad, Rice said Islamabad's options were quite limited contrary to the formal statements issued by Pakistani authorities. She is reported to have said that the response needed to be "effective and focused" and that India was thinking on similar lines.

While appreciating Pak's offer to cooperate in probing the Mumbai incident, Rice said, Pakistan bore a special responsibility to get to the bottom of the Mumbai incident. She assured PM Gillani that her government would extend support to Pakistan for enhancing the capacity of its paramilitary forces to confront increasing challenges of extremism and terrorism. She said Pak should also take necessary steps to prevent any non state actors from indulging in such activities in other countries from its soil.

Meanwhile, a US counter-terrorism official said that a militant group fighting Indian rule in Kashmir, possibly Lashkar-e-Taiba, may have been responsible for the deadly wave of attacks in Mumbai. "Some of the things that have been learnt thus far do point in the direction of a Kashmiri connection. But it's still too early for definitive conclusions" said the official. "At this point people are looking very hard at the Lashkar-e-Taiba," which is based in Pakistan and fighting Indian rule in Kashmir. The group is notorious for a deadly assault on the Indian parliament in 2001 that pushed New Delhi and Islamabad to the brink of war. The US counter-terrorism official declined to give more details,

citing the ongoing investigation. However, the Lashkar-e-Taiba has denied any responsibility for the assault.

In an address at Howard University, US National intelligence Director, Michael McConnell did not name any specific groups but said the organisation involved in 2006 train bomb blast and 2001 Parliament attacks was behind the terror acts in Mumbai. A senior US expert on South Asia, Christine Fair cautioned against rushing to blame game over the terrorist attacks. In an article in New York Times, she said that India's domestic problems and long tensions between local communities were at the root of the rise of terrorism in that country. She added, the style of the attacks on the targets suggested that militants were likely to be local people and not linked to Al-Qaeda or abroad.

During his visit to Pakistan, the US Senator McCain opposed military strikes against Pakistan by India and said there was no hard evidence to suggest that Pakistan government was involved in the incident. He was encouraged by Pakistani leadership's resolve and urged Pak to take timely, transparent and specific steps to prevent further escalating tensions with India.

The Chairman of the US Joint Chief of Staff Committee Admiral Michael Mullen visited Islamabad and met with President Zardari and Army Chief Ashfaq Pervez Kayani and discussed the latest situation on the 'War on Terror' and Indo-Pak relations. During the meeting, he demanded that Pak should act with sincerity against all elements and groups linked to the Mumbai attacks.

The US also warned Pakistan against future attacks emanating from its soil. Briefing the media in Washington, the State Department Spokesman, Sean McCormick said that the US was closely monitoring Pak action against the Mumbai suspects.

Meanwhile, the US President-elect, Obama called upon to take up a new approach in the war against militants in South Asia. In an interview to a television channel, he said that the US needs a strategic partnership with Pakistan, India and Afghanistan in the fight against the Al-Qaeda.

Pakistan

On November 27, Pakistan Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani condemned the attacks, and said Pakistan and India will continue their joint struggles to counter the actions of terrorists. In addition, a statement on behalf of Foreign Minister Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Qureshi condemned the attacks, saying

that terrorism was a menace threatening humanity and that Pakistan itself has suffered because of terrorism and sacrificed much in fighting this threat."

Likewise, President Zardari also strongly condemned the attacks. He stressed the need for strict measures to eradicate terrorism and extremism from the region. He promised "strong" action against any Pakistani elements found involved in the Mumbai attacks following his meeting with US Secretary of State Rice who asked the government here to act with "urgency" to bring the perpetrators to book. President Zardari telephoned Congress leader Sonia Gandhi, to condemn the terrorist attacks in Mumbai. He termed the killings of innocents as a detestable act and said both countries need to cooperate in eliminating this menace.

However, the Defence Minister Ahmed Mukhtar said that Pakistan should not be blamed like in the past. He said this will destroy all the goodwill we created together after years of bitterness and will say in very categorical terms that Pakistan is not involved in these gory incidents. He said that Pakistan has no role in the Mumbai attacks. Earlier too, India had acted like this but later it proved wrong.

The Foreign Minister Qureshi, who was in India at the time of the Mumbai terror attack, proposed a hotline between the intelligence Chiefs of India and Pakistan for information sharing. He said that India should refrain from any "knee-jerk" reaction and the two countries should jointly combat the scourge. The Samjhauta incident, he said indicated that "we have to be cautious in our expressions". He said he had no knowledge about the arrest of any Pakistani in connection with Mumbai attacks and asked India to furnish concrete evidence in this regard. He also asked the Indian media to show restraint and denied reports of existence of any training camps in Pakistan.

Following the attacks, and mounting international pressure, PM Gillani, on Nov.28, had readily agreed to send the Inter Services Intelligence (Pakistani Intelligence) Chief to New Delhi to discuss the Mumbai terror attacks when Indian Prime Minister, Man Mohan Singh called him over the phone. However, after a meeting of Pakistan's Army Chief Ashraf Pervez Kayani, the President, PM and the Pakistani establishment realized that the ISI Chief was too senior a person to be sent to India for this purpose and decided to send another representative of ISI in his place.

The political leaders in Pakistan, too, joined hands to condemn the Mumbai terrorist attacks but rejected "hasty allegations" made against their country. The

resolution concluded a meeting of the leaders of nearly all Pakistan's parties and was a rare example of unity among fractious politicians. The resolution said they shared India's grief after the Mumbai attacks but took strong exception to "unsubstantiated allegations made in haste against Pakistan". The parties, several dozen in number, said they all firmly supported the government and the armed forces in defending Pakistan's security interests.

Pak envoy to US, Hussain Haqqani urged India not to jump to conclusion over the Mumbai attacks. He said, terrorists hatched a conspiracy to derail the peace process between the two countries. He suggested that Afghanistan, Pakistan and India should jointly deliberate on this issue. Information Minister, Sherry Rehman while addressing a news conference in London hoped that Mumbai attacks would not be a setback to Indo-Pak relations and both countries will continue their dialogue on confidence building measures.

Former ISI Chief, Hamid Gul viewed that this kind of operation, so meticulously planned and executed can only be an insider's job. Investigations into the Samjhauta Express and Malegaon blasts have revealed, he said, that the Indian army and intelligence were involved in creating situations where they can blame Pakistan. The Indians have gone to the extent of saying that the ISI should be disbanded altogether. The former ISI Chief, Asad Durrani said this was the first time both the countries have decided to use the joint anti-terrorism mechanism signed two years back rather than level allegations. He said Pak technical team should analyse the evidences first and then decide what kind of cooperation was required.

The Chief of Jamaat-e-Islami, Qazi Hussain Ahmed said the Mumbai attack was a conspiracy against Pakistan. In Lahore, he said that the decision to send ISI Chief to India and then backtracking has brought a bad name to the country. He said several incidents of terrorism occurred in Pakistan but no demand was ever made to call the Chief of Indian intelligence service. He said RAW was behind whatever was happening in the tribal areas, but `` we never called the Chief of RAW``.

Likewise, the Opposition leader in the Pak National Assembly, Choudhary Nissar blasted the government's decision to send an ISI operative to Delhi terming it as ill advised and ill timed. He said that the government has no right to barter national interests and push around its premier security agency at the behest of foreign powers.

Pak Interior Minister, Rehman Malik ruled out action against Jaish -e-Mohammad chief, Maulana Masood Azhar, until concrete evidence of his involvement in Mumbai attacks was furnished by India. He said in the absence of an extradition treaty between Pakistan and India, cooperation in this regard could be extended as part of the global 'War on Terror'. He said the both the Indian and Pakistan government is seriously examining steps to deal with the aftermath the Mumbai attacks. He said both India and Pak don not want war and they are cooperating with each other in the ongoing investigations.

Amidst strong international pressure and Indian allegations, the Pak Cabinet Defence Committee outlined the country's strategy and stated that Pak want peace and stability in the region and want to defeat divisive forces which want to violate this peace.

Meanwhile, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Turkey vowed to evolve a joint strategy to combat terrorism and work for regional peace, stability and security In a joint declaration during a trilateral summit, President Zardari, President Karzai and President Abdullah Gul in Istanbul condemned the terror attacks in Mumbai and expressed the determination of the three countries to confront the scourge of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. Pakistan and Afghanistan also agreed to develop a joint comprehensive strategy for combating terrorism.

China

Chinese official media reaction to the terrorist strikes in Mumbai reflected the nuance implicit in the absence of any initiative by the Chinese leadership to convey any expression of sympathy telephonically to the Indian counterparts. Chinese official media reporting the attacks generally commented either factually on the attacks or pointed to the sectarian strife in India. An article referred to the disaffection in various sections of Indian society exemplified by farmers committing suicide etc., alluding thereby to the possibility that the perpetrators of the terrorist attacks could have been others.

China urged India and Pakistan to settle the matter through diplomatic channels. An article by the Delhi-based correspondent of the official mouthpiece of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), 'People's Daily' on the 28th November '08 was more pointed. This article referred to the activities of the right-wing Hindu elements and claimed that they were angered by the Indo-US Civilian Nuclear Agreement. It added that the terrorists wore red threads on their wrists which are worn by Hindus and concluded that the terrorists were, therefore, Hindu extremists. The article has evoked a response and the

External Affairs Ministry called in the Political Counsellor in the Chinese Embassy and the People's Daily correspondent in Delhi to convey its displeasure. China's reaction to the terrorist attacks reflect Beijing's attitude towards India. The latter is visible in the inconclusive border negotiations between the Special Representatives of the two countries and the various articles posted on PLA-approved Chinese websites. Many of the articles question the Chinese leadership's decision on Sikkim and urge the leadership to recover Chinese territory, mainly Arunachal Pradesh, presently in India's possession.

At a daily press briefing, Qin Gang, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman, said that the Chinese people offered their deepest condolences to those who died. Likewise Prime Minister Wen Jiabao said the Chinese government "strongly condemned" the attacks and that China was "firmly opposed to terrorism of any form." 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."

At a press briefing in Beijing on December 2, the Foreign Ministry Spokesperson said, China is all set to cooperate with the international community including India to strike fatal blow to terrorism. He said, the attack on Mumbai was shocking. The spokesperson said that India and Pakistan would step up cooperation and hold dialogue to safeguard peace and stability in the region.

China also ruled out the possibility of Indo-Pak war following the Mumbai attacks. Talking to media in Islamabad, the Chinese envoy to Pakistan, Lu Xiong Hui said that there is no possibility of a war between the two countries. He said, China would continue to cooperate with Pakistan in defence related field despite the ongoing crisis.

Dr Gao Zhikai, Director, China's National Association for International Studies says that all evidence points to the direction of some extreme religious factions, with strong hate against the US and UK. He added, whatever policies adopted by the US and UK or other western countries as a whole, which will impact upon the Muslim population in the world will have its echoes among the Indian Muslim populations. However, the Mumbai attacks have no direct relations to the Kashmir issue.

Russia

Russia reacted strongly to the incident and the Russian President Dmitry Medvedev said that Russia is 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 said "The monstrous crimes of terrorists in Mumbai arouse our wrath, indignation and unconditional condemnation. The inhuman terrorist attacks are crimes directed against the very basis of civilized society. Those guilty of them should be severely punished. Russia fully supports resolute actions of the Indian government to cut short terrorist actions, he said.

The Russian Parliament also voiced indignation at the incident and called for early approval of an India-drafted anti-terrorist convention. "There can be no justification for the atrocities committed by terrorist outfits, no matter what ethnic and religious disguise they don," the Duma, Lower House, said in a statement unanimously adopted. The Duma statement expressed concern over the deadlocked discussion at the United Nations on the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism tabled by India and called for its adoption at the earliest to provide "the main legal basis for fighting terrorism." The Russian Parliamentarians also criticised the US, without naming it, for diverting resources from fighting terror to an arms race. "It is impermissible to waste resources and efforts by creating and deploying weapon systems against mythical and hypothetical threats at a time when thousands of innocent people are dying from a real evil, it said."

United Kingdom

British Prime Minister Gordon Brown condemned the attacks, saying that the incident was shocking and outraged the tragic destruction of innocent lives. He said, "We will do everything we can to help the Indian government and our first duty is towards British citizens caught up in this terror in Mumbai. 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 we have offered support to the Indian establishment and 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 condemned the attacks, stating them as 'an attack on the whole world and not just India'. He said the attacks bore the hallmark of Al-Qaeda but it is too early to pinpoint finger on certainty at the terrorists.

The British High Commissioner to India, Richard Stagg called the attacks "appalling" and said there was a need to work together closely to deal with

this threat. He said the Indian police and intelligence officials have been very helpful with terrorism in the UK and ``we are offering the same collaboration to the Indian authorities at the moment.`` The Head of Counter-Terrorism Operation in the Foreign Office in London will be visiting Delhi to assist in the investigation.

Germany

The German Chancellor Angela Merkel wrote to India: "I was appalled to hear the shocking news about the terror attacks on your country. Germany strongly condemns these criminal acts and would like to express deepest sympathy to the people of India.

Saudi Arabia

The Saudi Press Agency quoted an official source in the Kingdom saying that Saudi Arabia strongly condemns and denounces this criminal act, and offers condolences and sympathy to the friendly government and people of India. The Saudi Foreign Ministry said that their embassy in New Delhi and Saudi Consulate in Mumbai have formed a working committee to monitor situation in Mumbai aiming to provide help to Saudi citizens. Issuing a statement, King Abdullah proposed to set-up an international centre for combating terrorism.

Iran

Iran also condemned the attacks. The Foreign Ministry spokesperson Hassan Qashqavi said that Iran is also a victim of terrorist attacks and is ready to fight against such evil acts on all levels. He expressed sympathy of the Iranian people and government toward the India and the families of the victims. The Iranian President Ahmadinejad condemned terrorist attacks saying that they aim at destabilizing the region, and added, "I am sure that the sinister phenomenon [terrorism] cannot hinder the development of the nations of the region". The Speaker of Iranian Parliament, Ali Larijani warned India and Pakistan against falling into a trap hatched by some western countries. He termed the Mumbai attacks a heinous crime and said there was conspiracy to embroil the region in new conflicts.

Nepal

Nepal condemned the terrorist attacks in Mumbai that killed several people and left over 200 hundred injured. In a message to the India President Pratibha Patil on Thursday, the Nepali President Ram Baran Yadav said, "Nepal strongly condemns this cowardly attack and killing of innocent peoples." Similarly, Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal said, "These attacks, directed against innocent people and to terrorise the industrial and commercial centre of India,

deserve unequivocal condemnation from all over the world." In the message issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA), Dahal further said that the government and people of Nepal completely deplore the cowardly terrorist attacks and expresses full solidarity with the government and people of India at this hour of distress.

Bangladesh

The Bangladesh Foreign Minister Iftekhar Ahmed Chowdhury strongly condemned the terrorist act in Mumbai. He said, "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."

In a message sent to the Indian President, Pratibha Patil, Bangladesh President, Iajuddin Ahmed said, Bangladesh stands firmly by the side of its friendly neighbour. The BNP Chairperson, Khaleda Zia and Awami League President, Sheikh Hasina condemned the terror attacks and expressed deep grief over the killing of innocent people.

Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka President Mahinda Rajapaksa condemned the brutal terrorist acts carried out in Mumbai. He expressed deepest sympathies to the families of the deceased and wish a speedy recovery to those injured and the safe and early release of hostages. He said that 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 destabilize Indian democracy.

Japan

Japanese Prime Minister Taro Aso said that this kind of terrorism is unforgivable, extremely despicable and vicious and 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, he said.

Australia

The newly elected Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd condemned the atrocious attacks and said "We are deeply concerned by these developments, deeply concerned by the potential impact on Indian citizens and other citizens and will have further to say about this during the course of the day. He said that whichever group has perpetrated this attack are cowards, absolute cowards, and murderers. This cowardly attack on India's stability, peace and democracy reminds us all that international terrorism is far from defeated and that we must

all maintain our vigilance. The former Prime Minister John Howard said that he has no doubt that the terrorists planned it to say to President -elect Obama: 'Don't you imagine because you're replacing President Bush who we despise that we're going to like you ... we're not.'"

Australia also lauded Pakistan's role in keeping the tension down in the region by adopting a constructive approach said that the Australian Foreign Minister, Stephen Smith.

Afghanistan

Afghan President Hamid Karzai said that 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.

Canada

Canadian Foreign Minister Lawrence Cannon condemned the terrorist attacks in Mumbai. He said that these cowardly attacks are truly appalling." People in east-end Toronto's Little India neighbourhood expressed shock and disgust at the news. He confirmed that two Canadians had been killed in the attack on the Taj Mahal Hotel and offered his sympathies for the families.

Israel

Israeli Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni condemned the Mumbai terror attacks and said that it is another painful testimony that terrorism is the main challenge that Israel and the International community are dealing with. She said, "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." She offered aid, saying "if they need us we will help where needed".

The Israeli Foreign Ministry twice, on November 28, directly and strongly accused the Indian forces of mishandling the counter-terror operations in Mumbai. conducting operation Mumbai without gathering enough intelligence. Expressing their dissatisfaction at the operation, it said the action had resulted in the death of many people.

Magen David Adom also dispatched a team of paramedics, medics and other professionals to Mumbai on November 27 to assist in rescue efforts. The delegation helped to treat casualties and locate missing persons in coordination with the Foreign Ministry of Israel the Joint Distribution Committee and the International Red Cross.

Israel offered all possible help to deal with the Mumbai terrorist attack. The Israel embassy spokesperson in Delhi said Israel was concerned with the situation and sad news of loss of lives. ``But we have complete faith in the Indian security forces and the government to deal with the situation ``. However, officials from Israel's security forces told The Jerusalem Post that the Indian counter-terrorist forces were well trained but had failed to gather sufficient intelligence before engaging the terrorists. The report said ``the forces showed up at the scene and immediately began exchanging fire with the terrorists instead of first taking control of the area.”

On the other hand, the Israeli 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.” Meanwhile, Israeli newspapers reported that India had turned down an offer by Israeli Defence Minister Ehud Barak to send counter-terrorist units to help fight the attackers.

Norway

Norwegian Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg condemned the terrorist attacks that took place in Mumbai. He denounced the attacks and expressed condolences and sympathies to the Indian people. He also expressed to extend support to the Indian government to help the injured and what has happened and apprehend those responsible for the terrorist attack.

France

French External Affairs Minister Bernard Kouchner does not find any direct role of Pakistan government in the Mumbai attacks. He said that Pak government is facing the same problem, since the assassination of Benazir Bhutto. These Pakistani suspects have been placed everywhere, in Iraq and other countries. They are trained at various terrorist centres. They are not Pakistani: even the Indian government has not made such claims so far. Everyone thinks that these are people linked to Al-Qaeda. However, we can admit that they could be groups trained by Pakistani army which has links with Taliban and others but Pak government could not have planned such act.

However, the French government appreciated the level of maturing the Pak leadership displayed in dealing with the situation arising aftermath the Mumbai incident.

Singapore

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Singapore condemned the attacks. The official press statement said the Mumbai attacks underscored the common terrorist threat that the world continue to face today. Singapore stands firmly behind the Indian Government in its fight against terrorism. Later, in a letter to India's Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong said: ``I was shocked to learn of the series of terrorist attacks in Mumbai on 26 Nov 08. However, Singapore stands ready to assist the Indian authorities in any way to root out terrorism. The Mumbai attacks are another reminder that terrorism continues to be a common threat to all of us and we strongly support your government's efforts in fighting the scourge of terrorism``.

Turkey

Turkey said "Terrorism is a crime against humanity. The Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan said an effective fight against terrorism was possible only by the help of international cooperation and solidarity. "The attacks in Mumbai once again showed that terror has no religion, nationality and country while President Abdullah Gul said that Turkey, as a country wishes to strengthen relations with India in the fight against terror and share the pain of the friendly Indian people.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

United Nations

The UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's spokesperson's statement stated, "The Secretary-General condemns the shootings and blasts in Mumbai. Such violence is totally unacceptable. He reiterated his conviction that no cause or grievance can justify indiscriminate attacks against civilians and called for the perpetrators to be brought to justice. The 15 members of the United Nation Security Council issuing a statement 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. It said that all acts of terrorism are criminal and unjustifiable, regardless of their motivation." The Council reiterated in its statement that the Mumbai attacks are just the latest in a series of acts of terrorism to strike the South Asian nation over the course of the past

year. The north-eastern state of Assam and the cities of Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Jaipur and Delhi have all fallen victim to the scourge.

European Union

The French President Nicolas Sarkozy, in his role of both President of France and President of the European Council strongly condemned the indiscriminate violence that took place in India. The EU condemned the terrorist attack in the strongest possible manner. The French Presidency of the Council of the European Union condemns with equal force the hostage taking which still continues in a hotel in Mumbai. The Presidency also recognised the Indian people's attachment to democracy, which has been directly targeted by these terrorist acts and joined the mourning of the Indian Nation and stands beside it during this distressing trial. Likewise, the European Union - High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana also condemned the heinous terrorist attacks in Mumbai. He said that these acts show once again the need for the international community to stand united against terrorism and fight it with determination.

Organization of the Islamic Conference

A spokesman of the OIC condemned the Mumbai incident and 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 also stressed that such violent acts run counter to human values and that they can not be justified.

NATO

The NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer condemned in the strongest possible terms the mindless and indiscriminate terrorist attacks in Mumbai. He said that attacking innocent people, tourists and patients in hospitals is despicable and cowardly. On behalf of the Alliance, he expressed solidarity and sympathy to the Indian authorities, to Indian people and especially families of the victims. He said that the 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.

Interpol

Interpol sent a team to India to assist in the investigation. Interpol Secretary General, Ronald Nobel headed the eight member team. Interpol compared the names, fingerprints and DNA of suspected terrorists killed or captured with the global database to find out their linkage to international terrorist organisations.

CORPORATE REACTION

DR WILFRIED AULBUR, MANAGING DIRECTOR & CEO, DAIMLERCHRYSLER INDIA PVT LTD:

"This will not have a major impact on foreign direct investment in India. India remains a very positive FDI location and we hope that the incident will be investigated and dealt with in a calm and fact-based manner. We will continue to do our business as usual but definitely everybody will be advised to be careful."

SHANKAR NARAYANAN, MD, CARLYLE INDIA ADVISORS PVT LTD, CARLYLE GROUP:

"The country is strong and resilient. Nothing has changed fundamentally. The country will emerge stronger out of it. We are committed to investing in India. We are very optimistic about the future of India. The fundamentals of the country don't change."

SUSHIL GUPTA, MANAGING DIRECTOR (WEST), ASIAN HOTELS LTD. :

"We have beefed up security in all our hotels. It is early to say exactly how this would affect the hotel industry. There will be some effect which we can't quantify at the moment, but I hope things would improve in a few days once the government comes up with a concrete plan of action".

AKHIL GUPTA, CHAIRMAN, BLACKSTONE INDIA :

"Mumbai is a very very resilient city. The last time we had terror attack, the city was up and running within 24 hours. I don't think business confidence or any investment outlook will be hit much."

V. ANANTHA NAGESWARAN, CHIEF INVESTMENT OFFICER FOR ASIA PACIFIC AT BANK JULIUS BAER IN SINGAPORE:

"I don't think the impact (on business) should be big, should be short-lived if there is one. Things have already become difficult anyway before this from a macro perspective. That is what will dominate more than this as an issue."

"Attacks in Bali did not have a big impact on Indonesian markets or business confidence because things were good. I think this time around also additional impact coming from this is not going to be long-lasting"

NARAYAN MURTHY, CHIEF MENTOR, INFOSYS TECHNOLOGIES

"Given the fact that all Indians will regroup quickly, given the fact that the government will fight it and we will take necessary precautions, I am not at all worried that this would have any permanent effect in terms of business flow into India."

RAHUL BAJAJ, CHAIRMAN, BAJAJ AUTO LTD

How it affects the business, corporates, the financial situation, I repeat, is secondary. The government must provide security whether by law, whether by quota, whether by something I am not an expert... Some people just have to change.

VIJAY MALLYA, CHAIRMAN, KINGFISHER AIRLINES

"The government needs to really start acting tough. In our political system we soft peddle issues many times... but this kind of national disgrace needs to be dealt with a very firm hand." As far as Kingfisher Airlines is concerned we have put everybody on high alert and we are reviewing the flights schedule in and out of Mumbai."

PAUL DE VOIJS, MD, VOLVO CAR INDIA:

"It's too early to say (whether it will have an impact on foreign investment). At the moment, I would say, we are much concerned about what is happening in Mumbai. But for us that, it doesn't mean any... no it doesn't have any influence so far. I think it certainly sends the wrong signals, but most of all its bad its happening, doesn't matter if its for foreigners or anyone."

RANU VOHRA, MANAGING DIRECTOR, AVENDUS ADVISORS PVT LTD: "In the short term it does not mean well for us. What has been under siege are business landmarks. In the short term, will have an impact. It will take time to heal.

"I don't think it will have an effect on portfolio investments in the country. I do not anticipate any change in portfolio investment levels from where we are."

AMAR LULLA, JOINT MANAGING DIRECTOR, CIPLA LTD

"It is a total breakdown of the security system in India. In terms of international business, the fear and uncertainty which was already there in the minds will be exaggerated. Business sentiment will be affected. It doesn't bode well for business."

RAJEEV CHANDRASHEKHAR, FICCI PRESIDENT

“It is time we all join this debate on terrorism and demand stronger and firmer leadership and approach to this threat of terrorism, including better laws.” He said the Indian business has so far been “mute and very detached from this debate on terrorism and tougher approach to terrorism and terrorists, including anti-terror laws”.

CHANDRAJIT BANERJEE, DIRECTOR GENERAL CII

The Confederation of Indian Industry said there was a need for an administrative and organised mechanism to deal with terror and have in place a coordinated response mechanism to counter such terror attacks. It said that these terrorist acts would not affect India’s business and industry in the long run.

CII PRESIDENT and ICICI BANK CEO and MANAGING DIRECTOR
K.V. KAMATH

The attacks “clearly show that our institutions could be vulnerable whether institutions of commerce such as hotels or any institutions doing any sort of business”.

ASSOCHAM PRESIDENT SAJJAN JINDAL

The Government should take steps to “prevent recurrence of such incidents”. He said security should be tightened at sensitive places, including business hubs.

VENU SRINIVASAN, CHAIRMAN, TVS MOTORS

The Mumbai crisis had severely dented India’s image as a favourable place to live in and do business. “It has created a great sense of insecurity within any part of the country right from trains to hotels.”

RC BHARGAVA, CHAIRMAN, MARUTI SUZUKI

“This is a horrendous act that would impact different sectors including tourism. It will also affect the visit of foreigners to India. We need to be more proactive than reactive. The Government will have to beef up security and build confidence among the people.”

SOM MITTAL, NASSCOM PRESIDENT

“It is a ghastly act, and we strongly condemn it. We have seen similar instances in London and Madrid in the past, and now in Mumbai. These cities that have been targeted in the past have shown resilience, and Mumbai too will spring back.”

ONGC CHAIRMAN AND MANAGING DIRECTOR RS SHARMA

“We have increased securities and surveillance in the area and even at our offshore installations. We have been telling our people that there is no need to panic. We are taking adequate measures to safeguard life and property and have reinforced security.”

RATAN TATA, CHAIRMAN, TATA SONS

"The terrible wanton attacks last night on innocent people and the destruction of prominent landmarks in India deserve to be universally condemned. My sympathies and condolences go out to all those who have suffered, been injured, and those who have lost their loved ones in this terrible act of hatred and destruction..."We cannot replace the lives that have been lost and we will never forget the terrifying events of last night, but we must stand together, shoulder to shoulder as citizens of India, and rebuild what has been destroyed. We must show that we cannot be disabled or destroyed, but that such heinous act will only make us stronger. It is important that we do not allow divisive forces to weaken us. We need to overcome these forces as one strong unified nation.

MEDIA REACTION

International

US

New York Times

NYT said India must share with Pakistan its intelligence reports about the Mumbai attacks. In its editorial, NYT advised India to limit its demand from Pakistan, and clarify its intervention in Afghanistan. The newspaper advised Indian Government to arrest those persons who are directly involved in the Mumbai attacks instead of making allegations against Pakistan. It advised India to resolve all outstanding issues including Kashmir with Pakistan immediately for long lasting peace in South Asia. The newspaper also urged Pakistan to cooperate with India in the investigations of Mumbai attacks if India provided it with concrete evidence. On November 29, correspondent NYT correspondent Nicholas Kristof wrote: The educated guess is that the terrorists behind the Mumbai attacks were from Lashkar -e-Taiba or Jaish-e-Muhammad, both Pakistani groups that have focused on Kashmir. The result is that we face a real danger of escalating tensions that will be bad for India and bad for Pakistan and Afghanistan. The risk is that Indian nationalists, such as the hot-headed chief minister of Gujarat, Narendra Modi, use the Mumbai attacks to gain ground and be more confrontational toward Pakistan. That in turn would empower Pakistani nationalists and radicals, and we would see more terror attacks in Pakistan and India alike. Moreover, since Afghanistan is one of the fields of competition between India and Pakistan, Afghan's future would be compromised as well.

The Washington Post

In its editorial dated Nov. 29, the Post said: Many things about the savage terrorist attacks on hotels, restaurants and other `soft targets` in Mumbai are not fully known: the group or groups responsible; their links, if any, to Pakistan or other outside forces such as al-Qaeda. But morally, the relevant facts are perfectly clear. The assaults cost the lives of at least 145 people. The vast majority were civilians, Indian and foreign, including two visitors from Virginia and an American-born rabbi whose crime, to the terrorists, seems to have been helping Jews passing through Mumbai. Whatever its ostensible ideology, this was murder. And it is a stark reminder, if any were needed, that, even when governments are properly busy fending off a global financial crisis, they cannot neglect the threat of terrorism. Before these awful raids, news from South Asia

had been encouraging. The central problem remains pacifying Afghanistan, where U.S. and other NATO forces struggle to stamp out Taliban and al-Qaeda elements. Resurgent terrorist groups enjoy havens in Pakistan's tribal areas as well as alleged protection or support from elements of Pakistani military intelligence. For Pakistan's army, Afghanistan is a traditional sphere of influence that must be denied to India, whose ties with Kabul have grown since the United States ousted the Taliban from power. In Washington, however, the Pakistani army's cooperation in fighting terrorism.

Newsweek

Newsweek said the attacks were perpetrated by an indigenous group, the Indian Mujahideen. The article says the attacks have some significant indigenous connection, not necessarily from Pakistan or Bangladesh or anywhere else, but from Indian soil. The US magazine said the Mumbai attacks "may have heightened fears among voters over their own safety, the politics of a considerable swath of the country could lurch rapidly to the right—with big implications for the growing tensions between Hindus and Muslims. These local elections could set the stage for a similar shift in national elections to be held sometime before May 2009. The recent violence is a boon to the right-wing Hindu dominated Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). Even before the latest violence, a series of blasts across the country claiming at least 200 lives this year had already helped the BJP, which has flagged terrorism as an issue in the campaign."

Time

On Nov 29, the US weekly said: The Mumbai operation that killed more than 150 people over two days in the heart of India's commercial capital marks the emergence of an unprecedented hybrid of terror tactics. "This didn't involve suicide bombers and booby-trapped cars that we commonly see in Islamist terror attacks — ones which usually end with the explosion-deaths of the kamikazes carrying them out," notes French terrorism specialist Roland Jacquard. "This is essentially a small army sent into the heart of society with orders kill and keep killing as long as possible. And they're technically capable of creating a lot of damage and death before they can be killed. So this is more like terrorism fused with insurgency and guerrilla warfare."

UK

The Times

Correspondent Jeremy England writes: "Last night's attacks also appear to fit into a new campaign to hit busy urban targets, popular with foreigners and wealthy Indians, to cause maximum damage to India's economy and

international reputation. "He suggested Deccan Mujahideen could be an offshoot of the Indian Mujahideen, an Islamist group unknown until it said it was behind multiple bomb attacks on Indian cities in the past year.

Guardian

A growing narrative within India and outside emotively describes the recent terror strike in Mumbai as "India's 9/11". On Thursday, the scion of Nehru - Gandhi dynasty called the Mumbai attacks assaults on the nation's sovereignty, while the editorials in two of India's largest newspapers, the Times of India and the Hindustan Times carried the 9/11 comparisons forward by describing it as an act of war. A clear subtext of these comparisons is to respond to the attacks in the same way as the Americans responded by waging a "war on terror". Pakistan's involvement is being cited again in popular media and the political establishment. Clearly, the ongoing peace process between India and Pakistan is at risk, given the increasingly hawkish tone set by the Hindu nationalist groups. For these reasons, the 9/11 narrative needs to be challenged now.

The Independent

Peter Cockburn wrote: In the immediate aftermath of the murderous attacks in Mumbai much of the analysis has a familiar ring, but now it is the West which is downplaying foreign involvement. Indian allegations about `external linkages` of the terrorists is wearily reported as an unfortunate resumption of Pakistani-Indian finger pointing. Television and newspaper commentary on terrorist outrages is frequently provided by self-appointed `terrorist experts` whose credentials remain mysterious. These supposed experts now emphasise the alienation of Indian Muslims and suggesting that the origin of the terrorist assault on Mumbai is home grown, the fruit of the radicalisation of Indian Muslims by systematic discrimination against them by the Indian state. Exactly who was behind the bloody mayhem in Mumbai is still unclear. The Hindu newspaper was yesterday reporting that three of the suspects captured by the police were members of Lashkar-i-Taiba (the Army of the Pious), which has several thousand members in Pakistani-controlled Kashmir, and the gunmen had arrived in Mumbai by ship from Karachi in Pakistan.

Saudi Arabia

Al Hayat/Al Madina

The Saudi-owned Daily *Al Hayat* voiced suspicion over India's strategic relationship with the US. It reported that India have mandated the US to launch war in the subcontinent, whose management will be in India's hand. In its editorial Saudi Arabia's daily *Al Madina* said: "Terrorism also threatens Pakistan's very existence, and harms its sovereignty over its territory, every time

the US attacks what Washington claims is a ‘terrorist’ target within Pakistan. Similarly, the Saudi daily Al-Jazirah blamed the US policies in Afghanistan as the deeper cause of the current tensions in South Asia. It said, “The terror attacks in Mumbai were extremely serious and gave rise to serious political and military tension between India and Pakistan, which may even lead to a war. Such a war would be a war between two nuclear powers whose security has been fundamentally undermined by the U.S strategies in the region”.

Iran

Kayhan/al Hayat

The hardliner Iranian daily, *Kayhan*, accused the US, Britain and Israel for the attacks and said neither the al Qaida nor the Pakistan government was involved in the incident. *Al Hayat* pointed out that repeated references to 9/11 in the wake of the Mumbai attacks only bring back “the atmosphere of the US 9/11”. Iran’s state-run *Islamic Republic New Agency* (IRNA) said the Americans were going to great lengths to connect the group which perpetrated the 9/11 attacks with terrorists who struck in Mumbai. It cited the visit by US Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice to New Delhi, where she reportedly stated that those who attacked Mumbai and those blamed for the 2001 terror attacks in New York were from the same circles. It reported that if there is any connection between the Mumbai attacks and those of September 11 it is to be found in the US response. Thereby, the US now sees a similar opportunity arising from the Mumbai carnage to pursue its interests in South Asia.

Iranian newspapers prominently published Pakistan’s view on Mumbai terror attacks. *Kehan International* says , terrorists were trained by CIA and MOSSAD . *Iran Daily* writes that during the last few years , Governments changed attitude towards Muslims has led to crisis. *Daily* further writes treatment to Kashmiris is unjustified and security forces biased attitude towards minorities has resulted in such aggressive attitude. *Iran news* stated that India always neither blames Pakistan and Bangladesh for terrorism but could not prove it. The daily writes that the BJP may be behind the Mumbai Attacks to gain mileage in coming elections. *Kehan International* writes that without any doubt it can be said that MOSSAD and CIA trained the terrorists who were behind Mumbai Attacks.

Syria

Al-Thawra

On November 30 a columnist Hassan Hassan wrote an anti -Semitic column about the events in Mumbai for the Syrian paper *Al-Thawra* . It attacked the United States and Zionism which, he claimed, were responsible for global

terrorism. Islam, according to the article, is a religion of peace, not violence, and religious extremism is common to all nations and not just Islam. The article also claimed that accusing Islam of responsibility for global violence and terrorism was "anti-Islamic aggression" and bore the fingerprints of Zionism. That proved that the international community, led by the United States, was not serious about dealing with the problem of terrorism, despite the claim that it was waging a war against it. The article ended by saying that "the problem of terrorism will remain as long as Zionism stirs things up behind the scenes, everywhere, with complete liberty, especially in view of the lack of international law and order, and the lack of balanced political standards, which have led to anarchy and the collapse of countries..."

Al Jazeera

Al-Jazeera TV said the terrorists who targeted Mumbai on 26th November, did not differentiate between Hindus, Muslims and Christians as their target was India with all its religious and ethnic elements. The famous Muslim populated area Mohammad Ali Marg is barely a kilometre away from the CST railway Station and there were at least 30 Muslim casualties apart from tens of others who were injured in the attack. The Al-Jazeera TV spoke to several Muslims recuperating from their injuries in Mumbai Hospitals as they narrated their story of facing the horror.

Pakistan

The Daily Times

In its November 29 editorial, the newspaper said: The Mumbai standoff with the terrorists went into its third day on Friday with remnants of the attackers ensconced in the buildings they had occupied along with hostages, including symbolically the Nariman House Jewish centre. The death tally had gone up to 125 with 9 foreigners killed too. India is jolted and commentators are calling it India's 9/11, the same way Pakistan called the attack on the Marriott Hotel in Islamabad Pakistan's 9/11. In the middle of this the Indian prime minister, in a nation-wide address, said that 'neighbouring nations would have to face a cost if they allowed their territory to be used to launch attacks on India', a thinly veiled reference to Pakistan. This shows the domestic pressure he has to face, especially from the BJP and other rightwing groups who have already accused his government of being soft on the Muslims. But the statement does threaten to throw a spanner in the works of the normalisation process. For its part Pakistan has already condemned the attacks and warned that 'jumping to a conclusion' won't help either side. It is clear that Pakistan has not 'allowed' its territory to be used by Al Qaeda. In fact, it is under attack from Al Qaeda and its many affiliate groups

The News International

New Delhi would do well to desist from childish finger-pointing antics. If indeed it comes up with evidence of any kind of cross-border involvement, this must be shared with Pakistan. The two nations have, after all, already agreed to step up cooperation against terror while Pakistan's foreign minister, currently in India, offered all possible assistance in the Mumbai violence probe hours after the mayhem that engulfed that city broke out. This is despite the fact the current government in Pakistan clearly has no sympathy for terrorists. New Delhi is also, quite blatantly, attempting to swing world opinion to its side with its accusations. Pakistan's response so far has been mature and well-planned. It has instantly condemned the tragedy in uncompromising words and stressed the need for the two South Asian neighbours to act together in ending a terrorist menace that has greatly damaged both nations. It must, at this moment in crisis, remind India of the risks inherent in raising tensions or pushing forward the distrust and suspicion that exists in either country. Doing so amounts to playing into the hands of the extremists and to the hawks on either side of the border, who oppose a more peaceful future for the region. As it struggles to recover from a terrible act of terrorism, that has left people shaken and bewildered, India must focus first of all on putting its own house in order. It must face up to the fact that dangerous extremist outfits operate within its territory as do some of the world's most notorious mafias and underworld gangs. As the saying goes, people who live in glass houses should not throw stones. This is something India needs to keep in mind in the aftermath of the events it has seen unfold in Mumbai. The tragedy is bad enough. Foolish actions will only make its aftermath worse.

Pakistan Television

PTV said the Indian Government and the Indian Media always accuse Pakistan for terrorist activities in India. However the investigation always has proved that the roots of terrorists are in India only. In March 2000, Indian Agents attacked a Sikh village in Anantnag and beheaded 36 Sikhs. Indian Government blamed Pakistan for the incident. Later, Indian Army killed five Kashmiri youths claiming they had roots in Pakistan. The Sikhs of Chhitisinghpura dismissed the Indian version of events and declined the Indian Army's offer of security, but welcomed Hurriyat leaders who came to show unity. Justice Pandian Committee formed to probe the incident said the innocent people in Pathribal were killed by the military in fake encounter.

Other television channels ran panel discussions and special shows devoted exclusively to the coverage of the Mumbai attacks by the Indian media. On talk shows about the impact of the attacks on the relations between the two countries, among the first questions that anchors shot off were: "Do you think the India media should have pointed a finger at Pakistan within such a short time, and without any evidence? Why do we see this knee-jerk response every time some terrorist incident takes place in India?"

Top Pakistani journalists are asking why the Indian media, more specifically the electronic media, have been so willing to accept the government theory that the attackers came from Pakistan. They dismissed reports in the Indian press that the terrorists had links with Lashkar-e-Tayyeba, or that they landed in Mumbai in a boat from Karachi. Instead, they are asking why these reports are not demanding the government for evidence of these allegations.

On Dawn News, three top guns of the Pakistani media – anchors Hamid Mir, Talat Hussain and Nasim Zehra – dissected the coverage in an hour-long programme that was aired both on Saturday and Sunday. Their scathing conclusion – Indian media are "too nationalistic", "smug", they told "lies" or at best "half-truths", "did not ask questions", resorted to "clichés" and have perfected the art of projecting Pakistan as the enemy.

A similar programme aired on Geo TV on November 30. "[The] Indian media is overcommitted to projecting India as a success story. They are not used to reporting state failures. They are used to reporting India as a country where nothing bad happens, its Army as the best thing in the world. It projects its heroes as supermen, taller than the Himalayas...So the gap between what the Indian media are committed to reporting, and the crass state failure they had to do report [in Mumbai], they ended up filling it with lies," Mr. Hussain, a top-rated anchor with Aaj TV, told Dawn News.

On the same programme, Mr. Hamid Mir, who anchors Geo's flagship show Capital Talk, asked why the Indian media were not asking hard questions of the Indian government. "When Pakistani forces say they have killed five Al-Qaeda, when they say Rashid Rauf has been killed in a drone attack, Pakistani media are asking them questions — show us the bodies. But Indian media are not asking important questions.

JIHADI REACTION

Chat rooms were flooded by complimentary messages for LeT with some even describing it as a force on par with Al Qaeda in waging global jihad, according to the Washington based SITE Intelligence Group. Not surprisingly, many of those who have exchanged such messages in online debating rooms had no qualms about describing themselves as wannabe LeT terrorists and exhorted the outfit to carry out more such attacks. These messages were also marked by anti-US, UK and Israel views. Some of the message writers gave information on how to join LeT, urged the outfit for similar strikes in the US and UK. They called Ajmal Amir Kasab and the nine others involved in the Mumbai attack as heroes.

US-based *Terrorism Monitor*, in an assessment, said jihadi forum members were eager to learn anything about the Mumbai terror attacks, hoping for clues that al-Qaeda had perpetrated, in a jihadi perspective, these "great and admirable attacks." In response to this interest, the jihadi forums have circulated an analytical article about the Mumbai attacks by the Kuwaiti Salafi cleric Hamid al-Ali (h-alali.org, December 1). Al-Ali is on the U.S. list of terrorism supporters and financiers and is best known for his early 2001 fatwa (religious ruling) approving the use of suicide attacks, including flying an aircraft into a building. Al-Ali's article received over fifteen hundred hits in one day and was reposted in major jihadi forums and websites (muslm.net, December 2; alboraq.info, December 2; hanein.info, December 2).

In an article entitled, "The Secret Behind India's Joy over the Mumbai Incident," Hamid al-Ali alleges that the attacks came right after a training exercise for U.S. officials in which a map of Pakistan was included in the training scenario showing Pakistan dismantled into smaller states. The Mumbai attacks followed this conspiracy by the United States and India, says al-Ali, claiming that the end objective is to dismantle the only Islamic country armed with nuclear weapons.

According to al-Ali, India sides with the Zionists, occupies Pakistani Kashmir against the will of its Muslim majority and commits heinous crimes against Kashmiris. Al-Ali reminds his readers that India also backed Bangladesh against Pakistan in the 1971 war of Bengali secession. India's Hindus were alarmed when the Taliban began to exert power and influence in nuclear-armed Pakistan and began supporting Kashmiri Muslims' aspirations for

independence. Therefore, the hidden agenda of India aims to penetrate Afghanistan under the U.S. umbrella, with Israeli cooperation, to eliminate jihad and the Islamic movements.

Secondly, India is endeavoring to dismantle Pakistan under the pretext that Pakistan is the springboard for all global jihadi movements. Al-Ali reiterates India's role in instigating the West against Pakistan. India's argument, says al-Ali, is that the "Taliban movement sprung from Pakistan, where the most dangerous terrorists reside in Pakistan's Waziristan. Pakistan is overloaded with religious schools filling Muslims' minds with Takfiri ideology. Pakistan is the only Islamic nuclear state vehemently interacting with Islamic issues." Al-Ali goes on to elucidate the many services and favors India rendered to Israel to win the support of the West against Pakistan. Finally, al-Ali predicts Indian escalation and possible all out war, backed by the United States, against the mujahideen in Kashmir with the collusion of the corrupt president of Pakistan, Asif Zardari.

Al-Ali's analysis received many comments from jihadi forum members. Although corroborating al-Ali's conspiracy theory in general, some jihadi forum chatters raised three main arguments on the Mumbai attacks. The majority of forum members are convinced that al-Qaeda was involved in the attacks one way or another, pointing to a video by al-Qaeda delivered to news agencies in the Indian city of Srinagar last year. In the alleged al-Qaeda video a man calling himself Abu Abdulrahman al-Ansari claimed to be a high ranking member of al-Qaeda and threatened to wage holy war against India (abrar.org June 8, 2007). Whether the Pakistani army decides to track down Islamic movements in Kashmir or is forced into a confrontation with the Indian army, it will ease Pakistani pressure on the tribal areas where the Pakistani Taliban operates.

Hamas

Opinions opposing the official stance could be found on the Internet sites of Hamas and the Qatari Al-Jazeera TV, whose editors gave a forum to surfers wishing to identify with the terrorists in Mumbai. Talkbacks on those sites expressed support for the attacks and identification with the attackers and their goals, expressing hope that such acts of violence would be carried out against Israel and the United States .

Surfers on Hamas' PALDF Forum , which appears on the Palestine-info website (Hamas' main website), expressed support, their remarks shown next to pictures of those in killed in the attacks. The forum did not post any talkbacks criticizing the terrorist attacks .

An op-ed article in Hamas' organ *Felesteen* (December 2, 2008) accused Israel of responsibility for the terrorist attacks in Mumbai. Dr. Issam Shahwar, in his column "Free Zone," claimed that the captive in Indian custody 1 had said that the objective of the attack was to kill as many Israelis as possible in retaliation for the "barbaric crimes" Israel has committed against the Palestinians. Thus, he claimed, Israel bears responsibility for international terrorism and for the dangers faced by many countries around the world.

Hizbollah

The Lebanese militant group, Hizbollah, said India was part of the western alliance in war against terror. In a statement, Sayyid Nawwaf al -Musawi, Hizbollah's head for international relations, said India has never succumbed to international pressures since its independence. However, these attacks will be an opportunity for the US to blackmail both Pakistan and India and infringe on their sovereignty. Hizbollah warned India against the pitfalls of depending on Israeli intelligence. It said Israel sets this "additional trap to inundate states with misleading intelligence and infiltrate their security and military establishments". It said that the Mumbai perpetrators were of the Takfiri ideological persuasion. Takfiris are extremists who view the entire non-Muslim world as a battleground, with the majority of Muslims also being termed infidels.

Commenting on how it envisaged its relations with India, Hizbollah said that it desires to consolidate dialogue and friendship with the Indian people of various groups in order to uphold freedom of mankind and confront the forces of arrogance, Takfir, and Zionism, because these forces cooperate and stand together to reap the fruits of their common work.

Jamaat-ud Dawa or Lashkar-e-Tayyeba

Jamaat-ud-Dawa blamed Hindu extremists groups for the Mumbai attack. Talking to the media, the JuD spokesperson said that Muslims cannot kill people in hotels and public places. However, Hindu extremists, who killed hundreds of innocent people in Samjhauta Express and thousands in Gujarat riots can commit more heinous crimes. The JuD accused the Indian authorities of trying to shift the blame to LeT.

The Jamaat-ud-Dawa Chief, Hafiz Mohammad Saeed condemned the Mumbai incident and said that the organisation does not believe in killing innocent people. He said jihad was an important component of Islam but terrorism and jihad cannot be linked together.
