Introduction

Chapter I
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INTRODUCTION

Indian population is composed of multiple religions and the religions govern people’s basic life to advanced spiritual life. Religion has become an important component in the lives of Indians, especially in rituals that are done during childbirth, marriages, and death ceremonies. Even food and clothing are according to the religious understanding and dogmas (Shah, 1998; Jaishankar, 2009). The Indian religious distribution is as follows: Hindus 80.5%, Muslims 13.4%, Christians 2.3%, Sikhs 1.9%, Buddhists 0.8%, Jains 0.4% and others 0.7% (Census of India, 2001). Even though the majority of the population comprises of Hindu religion, the cultural set up of India is on the ethos “Unity in Diversity”. India is a secular nation. Ironically, over the years, the religious freedom and religious tolerance have not reached the appropriate levels of understanding. Even before the advent of British, the levels of religious tolerance in India were only to a less extent. This intolerance led to severe conflict between religions, especially the Hindus and Muslims (Hewstone & Voci, 2003). This conflict has led to various riots and violence and it has currently transitioned to Terrorism (Jaishankar, 2009).

Several historians are in conflict with the starting dates of violence between Hindus and Muslims in India. Though one can perceive that it could have been medieval phenomena, Sarkar (1983) argues that such violence would have started
in the modern era as he emphasizes that the communal violence incidents started in 1880's. Another historian Brass (2003) agrees with Sarkar (1983) that Hindu Muslim conflict is a modern problem. However, it can be strongly emphasized that the victimization aspect of religious conflict would have started only during the medieval period, especially by the invaders from Arabic, Persian and Turkish regions (Ghosh, 1987).

Ghosh (1987) further expands the issues of invasion and victimization:

In 712 AD, Mohammad Bin al Q'asim overran Sind. The Arabs, the Turks, the Afghans and the Mughals invaded India in hordes from 1206 onwards, reducing temples to rubble putting hundreds of thousands of Hindus to the sword, and forcibly converting the survivors to Islam. Later during the Mughal period, relations between Hindus and Muslims were not cordial during the regimes of Babur, Jehangir, Shah Jehan, and Aurangzeb. Among the Mughal emperors, Aurangzeb reversed the enlightened policy of Akbar, the Great, and he was determined to make India a strictly Muslim empire. Under his orders, several Hindu temples were destroyed (p. 24).

Mahajan (1993) advanced the analysis of the victimization of Hindus and Muslims:

In 1669, a circular order was addressed to all appropriate officers in the Mughal Empire directing them to destroy all newly built temples and forbade the repair
Thousands of temples at Prayag, Kasi, Ayodhya, Hardwar, and other Holy places were destroyed. When these temples were destroyed, there were disturbances at many places on account or resistances of the Hindus against the demolition of temples. There was a prolonged fight between the Hindus and Muslims around the Mosque built on the ruins of the Veni Madhava or Bindu Madhava temple at Banaras. The rioters destroyed some mosques in retaliation and when the Muslims got reinforcements, they destroyed all temples whether new or old (p. 45).

From the above analysis, it is evident that violence and victimization based on religion and community started after Aurangzeb came to power during the late 1600's. He was the first person to aggravate the tension between the two communities by imposing a tax called ‘Jizya’, which is imposed on Non-Muslims, especially the Hindus. After the rule of Aurangzeb, the Mughal Empire declined and was taken over by the British, who, followed the policy of ‘Divide and Rule’, and created further animosity between Hindus and Muslims. The British rule gave further impetus to the conflict created by the Mughals and the British period saw many communal riots (Girdner, 1998).

Eh Din (2002) argues about the role of British in conflagrating violence:

The British organized communal violence because it provided them a pretext to further suppress the people and declare that it was not the colonial rule that was the cause of the problems of the Indian people, but that religion was the problem. They blamed the victims and their religions for the situation created by the colonial rule, and said that it is the policy of the British to be fair and pursue a
Secular policy to "do justice to all religious communities" …… Thus communal violence was institutionalised in the state structures, used to weaken the unity and resistance of the people and used as a pretext to further attack them and cause diversions (para 35, 36).

Sections of Indian politicians and British rulers perceived that the conflict between Hindus and Muslims would be solved once India is divided into two, whereby there will be a separate Islamic state, which will keep all the Muslims together. Ironically, this did not work out (Shah, 1998). Riots broke out during the partition and several hundreds were killed, as there was exodus of Hindus and Muslims from various parts of Pakistan and India. Interestingly more number of Muslims migrated from the region of Pakistan to India compared to the Hindus. Apart from the occasional riots that would occur with the minority communities such as Christians and Sikhs, predominantly Hindus involved in communal riots with Muslims and vice versa, since the independence of India. Even before Independence, there were serious communal riots in Varanasi (1809), Bareilly (1871), Lahore and Delhi (1825), Kolkata (1851), Azamgarh (1893), Ayodhya (1912), Kolkata and Dhaka (1926). Ahmedabad and Mumbai (1941) and of course, the horrendous countrywide riots of 1946 and 1947 (Dhar, 2002; Jaishankar & Haldar).

The partition of India and Pakistan has created an international problem called Kashmir issue, which, is the root cause of major contemporary terrorist
incidents in India. When Pakistan became independent, they attacked Kashmir, a princely state, on 20th October 1947, which was not united either with India or Pakistan. At that time, the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir had not decided on his accession of the state with India and the India did not intervene immediately. However, on 26th October, 1947 the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir sought the help of India and acceded the state to India, in spite of the fact that the majority of Jammu and Kashmir preferred to join with Pakistan. However, a part of Kashmir was occupied by Pakistan and it is now called as Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK) from where terrorists are trained to attack India with the support of the Pakistan’s intelligence Agency ISI (Inter services Intelligence). Since 1947 Pakistan wants Kashmir to become an integral part of their nation. This international dispute between India and Pakistan is not yet resolved. Day by day terrorists’ attacks are growing in India because of Kashmir issue. The Kashmir issue and its subsequent terrorist attacks did added fuel to the existing communal problem in India. Many of the fundamental organizations which are actively involved in communal riots and violence, get support from Kashmir based Terrorist organizations (Jaishankar, 2009; Jaishankar & Haldar, 2004).

1.1. Demolition of Babri Masjid: Changing the Scenario of Communal Violence to Communal Terrorism to Terrorism

Notably, major terrorist incidents did not disturb India before 1992, though there were gory violence and riots between sections of Hindus and Muslims in
On December 6, 1992, a sixteenth-century mosque in Ayodhya, in the north Indian state of Uttar Pradesh was demolished. During the preceding months, a movement of political parties, religious groups, and cultural organizations, including the BJP, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and Shiva Sena, had called for the construction of a temple on the site of the mosque as an integral move in their struggle for Hindutva, or Hindu rule. Over 150,000 supporters known as kar sevaks (voluntary workers) converged on Ayodhya, where they attacked the three-domed mosque with hammers and pick-axes and reduced it to rubble (Human Rights Watch, 1996, para 8 cited in Jaishankar, 2007). The destruction touched off Hindu-Muslim rioting across the country that has killed thousands in the past few years. Within two weeks of the destruction of the mosque, 227 were killed in communal violence in Gujarat, 250 in Bombay (Maharashtra), 55 in Karnataka, 14 in Kerala, 42 in Delhi, 185 in Uttar Pradesh, 100 in Assam, 43 in Bihar, 100 in Madhya Pradesh, and 23 in Andhra Pradesh (Week, 1992, p. 21, cited in Jaishankar, 2007).

1.1. a) History of Babri Masjid

The Babri Mosque (also Babri Masjid) was a mosque constructed by order of the first Mughal emperor of India, Babur, in Ayodhya in the 16th century. Before the 1940s, the Mosque was called Masjid-i Janmasthan. The mosque stood

\[1 \text{ Mosque of the birthplace}\]
on the Ramkot.² It was alleged that Babur destroyed an existing temple at the site, which Hindus believe was the temple built to commemorate the birthplace of Rama, an incarnation of Vishnu and ruler of Ayodhya. The Babri Mosque was one of the largest Mosques in Uttar Pradesh, a province of India with some thirteen million Muslims. Although there were several older Mosques in the city of Ayodhya, with a substantial Muslim population, including the Hazrat Bal Mosque constructed by the Shariqi kings, the Babri Mosque became the largest. Still, it is commonly believed by some of the Hindu fundamentalist organisations, that the Babri Mosque was built on an ancient Hindu Rama temple (Jaishankar, 2009).

The date of the construction of the Babri Mosque is disputed. It is presumed that Babur built the mosque, based on an inscription. Although we have a detailed account of the life of Babur in the form of his diary, the pages of the relevant period are missing in the diary (Thackston, 1996). But it is possible that the mosque had already existed between 1194 and 1528 before Babur, who may only have renovated the building. Hindus were worshipping and celebrating Ramanavami³ at the site of the mosque. The Hindus of Ayodhya never lost the tradition to worship Rama on the Ramkot hill, and always returned to the site. According to British sources, Hindus and Muslims used to worship together in the Babri Mosque complex in the 19th century until about 1855. Carnegy wrote in 1870: "It is said that up to that time [viz. the Hindu-Muslim clashes in the 1850s]

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² Ram's fort hill, also called Janamsthan ("birthplace").
³ Birthday of Lord Ram, a incarnation of Vishnu
the Hindus and Mohammedans alike used to worship in the mosque temple. Since the British rule a railing has been put up to prevent dispute, within which, in the mosque the Mohammedans pray, while outside the fence the Hindus have raised a platform on which they make their offerings" (Jaishankar, 2009)

However, the Babri Mosque was not used by Muslims since 1936. In 1949, the Hindus took over the unused mosque. A court ruling on March 3, 1951 by the Civil Judge of Faizabad states: “it further appears from a number of affidavits of certain Muslim residents of Ayodhya that at least from 1936 onwards the Muslims have neither used the site as a mosque nor offered prayers there... Nothing has been pointed to discredit these affidavits.” Of the 26 mosques in the region, only half of them were used for offering namaz[^1] in the early 1990s. On November 2, 1989 the first stone for the planned new temple was laid. The events of November 2 1989 led to riots in Bangladesh and Pakistan, which left 50,000 Hindus homeless in Bangladesh. 245 Hindu temples were demolished in Pakistan. More than 200 Hindu temples were demolished in Bangladesh (Bajaj, 1993; Rajaram, 2000).

Lal Krishna Advani[^2] began a *rathayatra[^3]* in 1990, to build support for a Rama temple at the mosque site. During demonstrations by Karsevaks, many Karsevaks and other demonstrators were arrested and killed by the police. The official death toll is 45, although this is disputed. The BJP estimated that 168 were killed. The VHP alone cremated 76 bodies. In connection with the Ayodhya

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[^1]: The form of worship of Muslims
[^2]: a high-ranking member of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)
[^3]: Chariot-journey or campaign tour by using a vehicle symbolising the chariots of Mythology.
debate, at least forty temples were demolished in November 1990. A government-sponsored discussion platform for the two parties (VHP and Babri Masjid Action Committee/BMAC) was organized for January 24, 1991. The BMAC then demanded that their historians would get special privileges and be recognized as independent scholars who could pass a verdict on the case (this demand wasn't granted). The BMAC team didn't show up on the day of the meeting and claimed that they weren't prepared for the discussion, although shortly before that day they signed a public statement that stated that (according to them) there would be absolutely no evidence for an ancient temple on the disputed site (Rajaram, 2000).

1.1. b) Demolition of Babri Masjid

On December 6 1992, over a million Hindutuva activists brought in by the Hindu nationalist Vishwa Hindu Parishad and BJP, gathered at the Babri Masjid, in the pretext of building a temple near the mosque and razed down the mosque sparking nationwide riots between Hindus and Muslims that killed more than 2,000 people in the worst sectarian violence since Partition. On December 6 1992, at about 12.30 pm some half an hour after the mosque had been stormed, water began to be pumped into small, crude, tank-like, brick-and-mud structure. This was to mix the cement that was later used to build the platform and wall of the temple on the rubble of the mosque. Soon after the Karsevaks started tearing the mosque down, journalists and cameramen covering the events became victims of planned attack. Most cameramen and photographers had their equipment smashed
to pieces. Journalists were beaten up and a few were fatally injured. Their notebooks were torn and tape recorders were broken. One group of Karsevaks blocked all entry points into Ayodhya to keep out central security forces, while another began to loot and burn the homes of the Muslims of the city and destroy Masjids and idgahs. The last of the domes of the Babri Masjid came crashing down at 5.45 pm, of December 6, 1992 making a historic turn in the scenario of communalism in India (Nandy et al., 1995).

1.2. Communal Violence and Terrorism in the Post Babri Masjid Demolition Period

The demolition of Babri Masjid was a major event, which seriously dented our commitment to secularism. The demolition also created a serious crisis of identity for Indian Muslims and resulted in earth-shaking riots in Mumbai and number of other places in India (Engineer, 2001). The demolition of Babri Masjid touched off Hindu-Muslim rioting across the country that had killed thousands in the past few years. Within two weeks of the destruction of the mosque, 227 were killed in communal violence in Gujarat, 250 in Mumbai (Maharashtra), 55 in Karnataka, 14 in Kerala, 42 in Delhi, 185 in Uttar Pradesh, 100 in Assam, 43 in Bihar, 100 in Madhya Pradesh, and 23 in Andhra Pradesh (The Week, 1992). The demolition of Babri Masjid was followed by outburst of communal violence throughout India particularly in Mumbai, Ahmedabad, Surat, Calcutta, Kanpur, Malegaon, Bhopal, Delhi and several other places in which hundreds of people
lost their lives. In fact the whole decade of eighties and early nineties was a period of great communal crisis (Engineer, 2001; Jaishankar, 2009).

The post-Babri riots witnessed the growth of communal terrorism and the spread of communal virus to the southern part of India in Tamil Nadu in 1997 by the way of Coimbatore communal riots. Violence escalated terrorism to kill innocent citizens. It is also interesting to note that the number of major communal riots in post-Babri Masjid demolition period went down considerably with exception to Gujarat communal riots 2002. Four major riots took place in this period, besides several small riots in which 2 to 6 persons were killed. These four major riots are Coimbatore in Tamil Nadu in 1997, Kanpur in U.P. in March 2001, Malegaon in Maharashtra in October 2001 (Engineer, 2001) and major places of Gujarat in 2002 (Jaishankar, 2009).

The Mumbai blasts of March 1993 were a sequel to demolition of the Babri Masjid and what followed later. It was the first planned and proven terrorist attack by a group of Indian Muslims. The target of attacks was Mumbai stock exchange. More than 300 people were killed and hundreds injured. The country suffered huge financial losses (Haque, 2000). Coimbatore was subjected to the most devastating attack of terrorist bombings on February 14, 1998 in which 58 persons were killed. The attack, by Al-Umma, a Muslim fundamentalist group, came barely three months after 18 Muslims were killed in the city in November-

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7 Al-Umma is a Muslim fundamentalist organization started by S.A. Bashu a Muslim fundamentalist in Coimbatore, India. After the arrest of S.A Bashu and other fundamentalists in connection with the Coimbatore bomb blasts 1998, this organization was banned.
December 1997 in a pogrom unleashed by a section of the police in concert with Hindu militants following the killing of a police constable, allegedly by three Muslim youth (Jaishankar, 2009; Subramanian, 1998).

If Babri masjid demolition is a landmark in the 1990's for raising Islamic fundamentalism, it is Gujarat pogrom (2002), which is considered as genocide of Muslims, the main reason for the terrorist attacks in 2000's.

The violence in Gujarat began after a Muslim mob in the town of Godhra attacked and set fire to two carriages of a train carrying Hindu activists. Fifty-eight people were killed, many of them women and children. The activists were returning from Ayodhya, Uttar Pradesh, where they supported a campaign led by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (World Hindu Council, VHP) to construct a temple to the Hindu avatar Ram on the site of a sixteenth century mosque destroyed by Hindu militants in 1992 (Human Rights Watch, 2002, para 3).

Between February 28 and March 2, 2002, a three-day retaliatory killing spree by Hindus left hundreds dead and tens of thousands homeless and dispossessed, marking the country's worst religious bloodletting in a decade. The looting and burning of Muslim homes, shops, restaurants, and places of worship was also widespread. Tragically consistent with the longstanding pattern of attacks on minorities in India, and with previous episodes of large-scale communal violence in India, scores of Muslim girls and women were brutally raped in Gujarat before being mutilated and burnt to death. According to the official records, since February 27, 2002, more than 850 people have been killed in communal violence.
in the state of Gujarat, most of them Muslims. Unofficial estimates put the death toll as high as 2,000 (Human Rights Watch, 2002, para 4).

1.3. Trends of Terrorism in Post Babri-Masjid Era

The post Babri Masjid demolition period proved to be fatal to the peace of the nation and since then terrorist attacks became a day to day phenomenon. Due to these terrorist attacks several millions of persons including women and children were victimized. There is an important difference in the scenario of terrorism in the Post-Babri Masjid era. In this context, Jaishankar (2009, p. 24) explored eight important trends of terrorism in the Post-Babri Masjid era:

1. The first trend is the transition of communal violence to communal terrorism. The communal riots that occurred before Babri-Masjid issue were not planned. However, the post Babri-Masjid scenario has changed the facets of communal violence in India. Most of the riots are well planned and spontaneous violence has been overtaken by planned terrorism. Brass (2003), argues that a communal riots in contemporary India are ‘organised’ and ‘produced’ by a network of known persons in the city or town. Earlier, during the eighties and before a number of major communal riots had taken place, but, no such bomb explosions took place right up to the period Babri Masjid, However, now, planned execution of bomb explosions have become a part of the communal terrorism scenario in various parts of India (Engineer, 2003).

2. Though those riots took place in Post-Babri demolition period are not as horrendous as those took place in Eighties, they are still a shame for the secular India. In eighties of twentieth century the average number of deaths used to be more than 250 to 300 in
these riots, after demolition of Babri Masjid average death has been around 25-30
(Engineer, 2002).

3. South India which was relatively free of communalism and communal violence
began to experience outburst of communal violence. The Coimbatore communal riot
and subsequent bomb blast there during February 1998 is symptomatic of this
(Engineer, 2001).

4. There was rise and decline of Muslim fundamentalist organizations like Jihad
Committee, Al-Umma, and Islamic United Front was seen in the post Babri period.
The Bombay (1993) and Coimbatore (1998) bomb blasts are telltale examples of the
orgy left behind by the Muslim extremism.

5. It is interesting to note that the number of major communal riots in post-Babri Masjid
demolition period went down considerably with an exception of Gujarat riots (2002).

6. Blasts against Muslims in 1993 were a "business objective" for the Bombay
underworld dons. However, August's (2003) blasts in Mumbai launched new intent
from terrorists who commit crimes against Hindus. Islamic militants "Gujarat
Revenge Group" are growing active in Bombay, and work hand-in-hand with a
banned militant students organization Students Islamic Movement in India (SIMI)
(Paul, 2003).

7. Infiltration of religious terrorists such as Lashkar-e-Toiba is seen in the Mumbai
(2003) and in the Delhi bomb blasts (2005).

8. In the data released by the ministry of Home affirm that prior to the Babri
demolition, the percentage of Muslim victims in these riots had been 80%. (In the

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* Jihad Committee was a banned Muslim fundamentalist organization
* Islamic United Front was a banned Muslim fundamentalist organization
* The Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI), proscribed under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, 2002
(POTA), is an Islamist fundamentalist organization, which advocates the “liberation of India” by converting
it to an Islamic land. The SIMI, an organization of young extremist students, has declared Jihad against
India, the aim of which is to establish Dar-ul-Islam (land of Islam) by either forcefully converting everyone
to Islam or by violence.
total population Muslims are 12.6%). Post Babri demolition the ratio might have become more adverse to Muslims (Puniyan, 2005).

1.4. Major Terrorist Attacks in the Post-Babri Masjid Period (Breaking news online, 2008)

The major terrorist attacks are:

- March 12, 1993 - A series of bomb blasts, alleged to be planted by Muslim underworld figures, rock Mumbai killing some 260 people and injuring 713.
- February 14, 1998 - 46 persons were killed and more than 200 injured when 13 blasts ripped through Coimbatore.
- December 24-31, 1999 – Pakistani militants hijack an Indian Airlines flight from Kathmandu to New Delhi with 189 people aboard, kill one passenger and force the release of three jailed Muslim militants in exchange.
- October 1, 2001 - At least 21 people were killed in a suicide bomb explosion and gunfire at the assembly in Kashmir in an attack.
- December 13, 2001 - Heavily armed Islamic militant group opened fire in Parliament complex, killing several people in an unprecedented attack on the seat of power in the world’s biggest democracy.
- January 22, 2002 - Four people were killed in an attack on the American Center, Kolkata allegedly by Lashkar-e-Taiba militants.
• May 14, 2002 - More than 30 army men were killed in a terrorist attack on an Army camp near Jammu.

• September 24, 2002 - 35 people were killed when 2 terrorists attacked the Akshardham temple in Gandhinagar, Gujarat.

• December 6, 2002 - Twenty-five people were injured in a bomb blast by members of the Students Islamic Movement of India at McDonalds fast food restaurant at Mumbai Central railway station.

• January 27, 2003 - At least 30 people were injured when a bomb planted on a bicycle went off throwing splinters of sharp nails outside Vile Parle railway station in Mumbai.

• March 13, 2003 - A powerful bomb blast shattered a bogie of a local train at Mulund railway station in Mumbai during peak hours killing 11 people and injuring more than 65.

• August 23, 2003 - Two bombings at the Gateway of India and the Mumba Devi temple in Mumbai killed 52, injured 167.

• October 29, 2005 - 67 people were killed and 224 injured in serial bombings in major Delhi markets on Diwali (biggest festival, like Christmas) eve. A Pakistani group, Islamic Inquilab Mahaz, claimed responsibility for the attack. The group is linked to Lashkar-e-Taiba.
• March 7, 2006 - At least 20 persons were killed and over 101 injured when two blasts rocked Varanasi. The first blast took place at the Sankat mochan Hanuman temple, the second at the Varanasi railway station.

• July 11, 2006 - Seven explosions ripped through crowded commuter trains and stations in Mumbai, killing at least 200 people and leaving 700 more bloodied and injured.

• The popular tourist destination and the pink city of Jaipur, capital of Rajasthan State faced seven bomb (left in bags hanging on the bicycles) blasts on the evening of May 13, 2008. These explosions took place within a span of 12 minutes during the peak evening 7 PM time at various locations in the down town busy religious and shopping places. An eighth bomb was found and was defused. There were about 65 dead and 150 people injured.

• The Ahmedabd city, the commercial hub of Gujarat State was bombed by a series of 21 bomb blasts that hit on July 26, 2008, within a span of 70 minutes, killing 56 people and injuring over 200 people. The blasts occurred just a day after the blasts in Bangalore.

1.5. Terrorist attacks in Mumbai City

Mumbai, the business capital of India is one of the most terrorist affected cities in India. The 26/11 attacks in 2008 is the culmination of various coordinated
attacks that occurred during the post Babri Masjid demolition period (Jaishankar, 2007). The following statistics shows the account of terrorist attacks in Mumbai:

- 12 March 1993 - Series of 13 bombs go off killing 257
- 06 December 2002 - Bomb goes off in a bus in Ghatkopar killing 2
- 27 January 2003 - Bomb goes off on a bicycle in Vile Parle killing 1
- 14 March 2003 - Bomb goes off in a train in Mulund killing 10
- 28 July 2003 - Bomb goes off in a bus in Ghatkopar killing 4
- 25 August 2003 - Two Bombs go off in cars near the Gateway of India and Zaveri Bazaar killing 50
- 11 July 2006 - Series of seven bombs go off in trains killing 209
- 26 November 2008 to 29 November 2008 - Coordinated series of attacks killing at least 172 (Jaishankar, 2007).

Though there were many terrorist attacks on Mumbai City, this study will focus only on terrorist attacks that occurred in 1993, 2006 and 2008.

1.5.1. Bombay blasts, 1993

On March 12, 1993, ten bombs exploded across the city of Mumbai (then known as Bombay). This blast was well planned and occurred within a period of about two hours. This explosion was controlled by a timer and was caused because of huge loads of RDX explosive. The explosive was placed strategically in a number of cars and two wheelers. This terror attack was meticulously planned and
the bombs were placed strategically in regions where there was maximum impact. The venues chosen were crowded markets, important city landmarks and hotels. Each explosive went off within 15-30 minutes of one another. The pattern of blasts followed a north south geographic trajectory. This began with an explosion in the basement of the Bombay Stock Exchange and ended with explosion of grenades in the runways of airports in SantaCruz (Jaishankar, 2007, 2009; Marika 2007; Subramaniam, 1999).

1.5.2. Mumbai blasts, 2006

More than ten years after the bomb blasts which shook the city of Mumbai terror again struck when blasts occurred in July 2006. This time the bombs were placed in the metro railway lines as Mumbai often sees more than one lakh people who travel every day by train. These bombs went off within minutes of each other. In the space of eleven minutes, seven train compartments had been destroyed killing hundreds of commuters.

The bombs were set of in pressure cookers and were placed on the western line of the suburban network. The attacks were sequential and happened within a space of a quarter of an hour at about six in the evening when there was maximum number of travellers on the train. There were a total of 209 people who were killed and over 700 people injured. The Student Islamic Movement and the Lashkar-e-Taiba were named as the organizations responsible for this terror by the Indian
1.5.3. Mumbai terror attacks, 2008

On 26th November 2008, there was a high profile attack in Mumbai. The well trained militants entered the city via the Arabian Sea using small fishermen boats to avoid suspicion. The attacks began on November 26, 2008 and lasted till November 29, 2008, killing at least 173 people and wounding at least 308. Eight of the attacks occurred in the prominent places of South Mumbai, including the Oberoi Trident Hotel, the Taj Mahal Palace and Tower Hotels, and Chatrapati Shivaji Railway Terminus. Ajmal Amir Kasab, the only attacker who was captured alive, disclosed that the attackers were members of Lashkar-e-Taiba, the Pakistan-based militant organization, considered a terrorist organization by India, the United States, and the United Kingdom, among others.

Lashkar-e-Taiba (Lashkar-e Tayyiba; literally means Army of the Good, translated as Army of the Righteous, or Army of the Pure) — also pronounced and spelt as Lashkar-i-Tayyaba, Lashkar-e-Tayyaba, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba, Lashkar-i-Taiba, or LeT — is one of the largest, most active and lethal militant organizations in South Asia. Lashkar-e-Taiba — "The Army of the Pure" is a militant offshoot of Markaz-ud-Dawa-wal-Irshad (MDI), an Islamic fundamentalist organization. Markaz-ud-Dawat-ul-wal- Irshad has since been renamed as Jamaat-ud-Dawa. It was founded by Hafiz Muhammad Saeed and Zafar Iqbal in the Kunar province of Afghanistan in 1989. It has its headquarter at Muridke near Lahore, Pakistan. It operates numerous training camps in Pakistan occupied Kashmir as well as in other parts of Pakistan. Lashkar has forged cooperative and operational ties with religious militant groups throughout the Middle East, South East Asia and also in other parts of the world. The Militant group's defining objective is to Islamicise South Asia with its main aim being freedom for Muslims in India-administered Kashmir (Final Report / Charge Sheet, Mumbai Attacks 2008, (2009).
1.6. Victimology of Mumbai Terrorism

Of all the terror attacks post Babri masjid demolition period, terrorist attacks on the Mumbai City had a wider transition. Mumbai Blasts in 1993 were based on "business objective", 2006 terror attacks were done as retaliation to the situation in the Gujarat and Kashmir regions, possibly referring to the alleged oppression of Muslim minorities in certain parts of the region, by Lashkar-e-Taiba and Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) (Paul, 2003). However, the 2008 attack on Mumbai is quite different from the earlier attacks. Infiltration of Pakistan-based Lashkar-e-Taiba, is seen in a smaller scale in 2003 attacks, however, their fullest infiltration is seen in this 2008 attack and earlier they were attacking only Kashmir, but now every part of the country is vulnerable to their attacks. Almost every terror attacks were followed by Communal Violence which took lots of Innocent lives. Very significantly, this terror attack is not followed by any communal violence, as this is no more an internal conflict between Hindus and Muslims of this country but, an international issue, which has to be viewed in a larger spectrum (Jaishankar, 2009).

Thus, about thousands of victims are affected due to terrorist attacks that occurred post Babri Masjid demolition period in Mumbai. The impact of such victimization and policy decisions to provide compensation to such victims needs to be analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The present study aims to quantify the impact of victims of Mumbai bomb blasts in the post Babri Masjid
demolition period and provides policy suggestions to the governments on compensation to such victims.

1.7. Significance of the Present Study

This study focuses on discussing the importance of the study of victimology in the ongoing battle against terrorism. The study of victimology and in depth research can offer solutions to fight terror attacks and victimological studies can also shed light on the effects of large scale victimisation in general. The research on terrorism in India has so far focused on the roots, factors of terrorism and counter terrorism measures. There is very less literature available on looking at terror attacks from the point of view of victims of terror. The present study attempted to determine the financial, physical, psychological and other costs of victimization to the victim rather than focusing on victimization per se. In addition the study will also fill the gap in the literature of studies on terrorism in India done on victimological perspective. The study of victims of Mumbai terror attack may lead to establishment of theories and patterns of behaviour of the victims which can later be used to study the victim profile in other areas of the country.
1.8. Definition of Concepts used in the present study

1.8.1. Terrorism: From a Victimological Perspective

While the definition of terrorism was once commonly debated, the number and magnitude of incidents in recent years have sufficiently familiarised professionals and the public to establish a consensus of understanding about the term (Jenkins, 2001) and have raised numerous other issues to occupy the time and attention of experts. Defining the term deserves some attention, however, as it influences the information that is compiled and how it is used, the response to events, and attitudes about individuals, groups and governments.

Virtually all definitions of terrorism recognise key elements: (1) the use or threat of violence, (2) to create fear and intimidation, (3) in an audience of indirect victims, and (4) to effect changes in ideology, attitudes and behaviour. Wilkinson (1990) defines terrorism as ‘coercive intimidation’ using violence or the threat of violence ‘to create a climate of terror, to publicize a cause, and to coerce a wider target into submitting to its aims’ (p. 27). Stern (1999) defines it as ‘an act or threat of violence against non-combatants with the objective of exacting revenge, intimidating, or otherwise influencing an audience’ (p. 11). Terrorism is further characterised as ‘unpredictable’ and ‘indiscriminate’ (Wilkinson, 1990, p. 28). It is designed to communicate (Hoffman, 1988) and uses publicity to accomplish its goals.

Terrorism is distinguished from other forms of violence by two characteristics (Stern, 1999). First, the intended target of terrorism is
noncombatants, and second, violence is used for ‘dramatic’ purposes to instil fear (Stern, 1999, p. 11) in a larger class of indirect victims (Wilkinson, 1990). Even war is governed by rules that give immunity to civilian noncombatants, prohibit the taking of civilians as hostages, regulate the treatment of prisoners of war and recognise neutral territories (Hoffman, 1988). While specific targets are the intended victims of the acute harm inflicted, terrorism is indiscriminate with respect to indirect victims (Wilkinson, 1990). The apparent randomness of an act creates a sense of vulnerability in a larger class of indirect victims (Wilkinson, 1990) who identify with the direct victims. This ‘vicarious dimension’ generates and spreads apprehension and alarm (Hoffman, 1988, p. 138).

1.8.2. Victim of Terrorism

There is no clear-cut definition of who is a “victim of a terrorist act” in international treaty law. However, a definition of “victim” can be found in the UN General Assembly Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power (the 1985 UN Declaration hereinafter), at Article 1:

1. “Victims” means persons who, individually or collectively, have suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights, through acts or omissions that are in violation of criminal laws operative within Member States, including those laws proscribing criminal abuse of power.

2. A person may be considered a victim, under this Declaration, regardless of whether the perpetrator is identified, apprehended, prosecuted or convicted and
regardless of the familial relationship between the perpetrator and the victim. The term "victim" also includes, where appropriate, the immediate family or dependants of the direct victim and persons who have suffered harm in intervening to assist victims in distress or to prevent victimization.

3. The provisions contained herein shall be applicable to all, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, age, language, religion, nationality, political or other opinion, cultural beliefs or practices, property, birth or family status, ethnic or social origin, and disability (United Nations, 1985).

The definition is wide enough to include victims of terrorist acts. The first paragraph of the 1985 UN Declaration is clearly recalled in the definition of victim contained in the 2001 EU Council Framework Decision on the Standing of Victims in Criminal Proceedings, according to which “victim shall mean a natural person who has suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering or economic loss, directly caused by acts or omissions that are in violation of the criminal law of a Member State.”

A number of provisions regarding the rights of victims may be found in international law, both at the universal and regional level. The issue of “victims of terrorism” is not addressed specifically by all of them; nonetheless, some principles do not allow for differentiation among classes of victims. The following catalogue culled out of UN declaration is not definitive; rather, it is a starting point for discussion of possible best practices at the domestic level:
• States should ensure appropriate assistance to victims of terrorist acts, including medical, psychological, social, material and spiritual assistance.

• The assistance should be provided in the immediate aftermath of the act of terrorism, as well as in the period following the emergency. In case the victim is not a citizen of the State where the terrorist act occurred, that State should co-operate with the State of residence of the victim.

• Compensation: Victims should receive fair, appropriate and timely compensation for the damages suffered. States must contribute to compensation for victims where confiscation of property of perpetrators of terrorist acts is not sufficient or available. Compensation should not depend on the nationality of the victim.

• Investigation and prosecution of terrorist offences must respond to the criteria of effectiveness and promptness. Victims should not need to file a complaint in order to be involved in the investigation and safeguard their legitimate interests. Victims should be able to ask for the review of a judicial decision not to take action to prosecute a suspected perpetrator of a terrorist act.

• States should bring suspected perpetrators of terrorist acts to justice in order to obtain a judicial decision in a reasonable amount of time. Particular consideration is due to victims in criminal proceedings. Victims should be granted effective access to law and justice, including
access to courts to file civil actions and free access to counsel in appropriate cases.

- States should try to infringe the privacy of victims as little as possible in investigations and proceedings. While respecting freedom of expression, States should encourage the adoption of self-regulatory measures by the media in order to respect the victims' right to private life.

- Dignity and security: the rights of victims and accordingly their inherent dignity should be taken into consideration at all stages of the proceedings. The identity of victims should be protected where appropriate, such as when they appear as witnesses in court.

- Right to information: essentially regarding information on the violence the victims experienced and information on their rights to assistance and to access to proceedings.

- States should encourage training for persons responsible for assistance to victims of terrorist acts.

1.9. Organization of the Thesis

This Thesis is organized in to five major chapters. In chapter one the concise background of the analytical problem and background on terrorism occurrence in India including the communal violence and the Victimology of terrorism in Mumbai City is discussed. The chapter two reviews the literature pertaining of the relevant to previous studies on terrorism and communal violence,
victims of terrorism and impact of terrorist victimization. The chapter also rationalizes the need for victimological studies on terrorism. In chapter three the research methodology is discussed. This includes the research study design, pilot project development, data collection techniques, validation and reliability assurance of data. In addition, the chapter also sets the aims and objectives, outlines research questions which are discussed through the course of this thesis presentation. Chapter four of the thesis focuses on data analysis, results and discussion and summary of major findings. Both descriptive and inferential statistical analysis was done and the findings are presented in the form of tables and figures along with the interpretation of the results in comparison with other studies. Chapter five, the final chapter concludes with recommendations, and limitations of study.