

Change in Christian Missionary Attitude Towards Islam: A Case Study of Madras Missionary Conference (1938)

Ubaib Ahmad Khan*

Hafiz NaqibUllah**

ABSTRACT

In the first half of the twentieth century, Christian missionaries held several Missionary Conferences, which can be considered as one of the major developments in Christian missionary history. Interestingly, some of these conferences became known after the name of important cities of the Muslim world, where these conferences were held, such as Cairo conferences (1906), Lucknow conference, (1911), Jerusalem conference (1928), and Madras conference (1938).

The objectives of these conferences were to ponder over different problems in missionary fields and to figure out proper solutions. This article is the study of Madras Missionary Conference (1938) with complete details of its background, proceedings, themes, and resolutions. In this conference Christian missionaries started to re-evaluate and change previous aggressive and polemical missionary attitude towards other religions particularly Islam. The reason behind this move were political changes which appeared and had great impact on Christian missionary enterprise like, World War I, the rise of nationalism and communism and the revival of other religions which resulted in the decline of western political dominance. So at the time of Madras conference (1938) the Christian mission was in a critical situation due to inward and outward crises, which compelled Christian missionaries to change their missionary strategy and missionary attitude towards other religions particularly Islam, to adjust Christian mission with the new emerging political situation. In this regard Christian mission moved from polemical and controversial approach towards realization of values in non-Christian religions. Later on, this approach developed into the Christian dialogùe with other religions in the second half of twentieth century.

Key Words: Madras, Missionary, Christian, Conference, India.

BACKGROUND OF THE CONFERENCE: THE JERUSALEM MISSIONARY CONFERENCE (1928)

The Madras Missionary Conference was held in (Tambaram) Madras, in 1938. To understand the historical background of Madras Conference, it is necessary to refer to the International Missionary Conference of Jerusalem 1928, because this conference had great significance and impact on Christian missionary thinking of that period, especially regarding the Christian approach towards other religions.

It is a historical fact that the political situation and colonialism had a great role in the progress of Christian mission. At the time of General Missionary Conference

* Dr., Chairman, Assistant professor, Department of Islamic Learning,
University of Karachi. Email: dr_ubaidkhan@hotmail.com

** Lecturer Government Degree College Pishin , Baluchistan.

Email: hafiznaqib@yahoo.com

Date of Receipt: 12-01-2015

21. Owens, J. E. & Pelizzo, R. (2010). *The 'War on Terror' and the Growth of Executive Power? A comparative analysis*. London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, p. 4
22. Pfiffner, J. P. (2009). *Torture as Public Policy*, Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, p. 34
23. Retrieved from: <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm>
24. Gunaratna, R. (2002). *Inside Al- Qaeda: Global Network of Terror*. Lahore: Vanguard, p. 3
25. Doran, M. S. (2002). *Somebody Else's Civil War*. *Foreign Affairs*. 81(1), pp. 28-29
26. Lutz, J. M. & Lutz, B. J. *Op. cit.*, p. 94
27. Arpita, A. eds. (2012). *Non-State Armed Groups in South Asia: A Preliminary Structured Focused Comparison*, New Delhi: Pentagon Security International, p. 295
28. Hassan, A. (2009). *Pakistan's Troubled Frontier*. Washington DC: Jamestown Foundation, pp. 32-33
29. Perry, M. (2010). *Talking to Terrorists: Why America Must Engage with Its Enemies*, New York: Basic Books, p. 143
30. "Drug trafficking also provides support to other terrorists, such as Hizballah." Director of National Intelligence, Dennis C. Blair, "Annual Threat Assessment of the Intelligence Community for the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence," February 2, 2010
31. U.S. Department of State. *Country Reports on Terrorism – 2009*, August 5, 2010
32. Hroub, K. (2000). *Hamas Charter art, Hamas Political Thought and Practice* app, p. 272
33. Salih, Abdelrahim. (2007). *HAMAS: An organization working towards the goals of the Palestinian people militarily, socially and politically*, P. 6, Retrieved on March 2007, from: http://search.yahoo.com/search;_ylt=A0oG7iOWVnxQkh0A_xZXNy0A?p=HAMAS+pdf&ei=UTF-8&fr=yfp-t-701&pstart=1&b=31
34. *Op. Cit.*, White, J. R., p. 298
35. *Op. Cit.*, Arpita, A., p. 232
36. Benjamin, D. "The Obama Administration's Counterterrorism Policy at One Year," CATO Institute, Retrieved on 13/1/2010, form: <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/rm/2010/135171.htm>
37. Susan Schmidt and Siobhan Gorman, "Lashkar-e-Taiba served as Gateway for Western Converts Turning to Jihad," *Wall Street Journal* Retrieved on 4/12/2008 form: http://online.wsj.com/article/SB12283497072777709.html?mod=googlenews_wsj.
See also Bobby Ghosh, "Beyond Times Square: The Threat from Pakistan," *Time Magazine* (May 6, 2010) available at <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1987395,00.html> (explaining that "At least one of the plotters of the 2005 London subway bombings was an LeT trainee, and British investigators believe the group has been connected to other plots in the U.K.").
38. Dressler, J., Retrieved from: <http://www.understandingwar.org/report/haqqani-network>
39. Curtis, Lisa., Retrieved from: http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/112/HHRG-112-FA18-WState-CurtisL_20120913.pdf
40. McDonald, M. "Taliban Rages over U.S. Decision on Terrorist Group," *International Herald Tribune*, Retrieved on 9/9/2012, from: <http://rendezvous.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/09/09/taliban-rages-over-u-s-decision-on-terrorist-group/>
41. Gareau, F. (2004). *State Terrorism and the United States: From Counterinsurgency to the War on Terrorism*. London: Zed Books, p. 15
42. *Op. Cit.*, Robertson, A. E., p. 60
43. Zalman, A., Retrieved from: <http://terrorism.about.com/bio/Amy-Zalman-Ph-D-2117.html>
44. Ahmad, I., p. 17, Retrieved from: http://www.ishtiaqahmad.com/downloads/State_Sponsored_Terrorism.pdf,
45. Green, J.D. (1995). *Terrorism and Politics in Iran*, in Crenshaw, M (ed.) *Terrorism in Context*, University Park. PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, p. 594
46. *Ibid.*, p. 17

to generate internal unity and a sense of purpose in societies that are no longer afraid of the “communist threat”. According to this view, ruling elites, in democratic and authoritarian societies, strengthen their positions by creating myths about threatening ‘others’. In 21st Century this role may be filled by global terrorism especially when linking it with WMDs and the phantom of nuclear terrorism can bolster fear about terrorism.

Lastly, global security appears as the new world order for the entire world. It raises the ideology that security provision is the duty of all. Despite the fact that these security threats largely jeopardized the poor and underdeveloped world, they were considered as the source of all malpractices. Thus those who are provoked most are less victimized such as the rich global north and those who were victimized most are also charged with the most provocation. A distance was created between developed and underdeveloped countries as well as between the Muslim and non-Muslim world which generated the anti-American feelings all over.

REFERENCES

1. Rapoport, D. C. (Sep 1984). Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious traditions, *American Political Science Review*. 78(3), pp. 658-659
2. White, J. R. (2012). *Terrorism and Homeland Security*. USA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, p.11
3. Goodin, R. (2006). *What's Wrong with Terrorism*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 7
4. Lutz, J. M. & Lutz, B. J. (2nd ed 2008) *Global Terrorism*. London & New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis, p. 9
5. Long, D. E. (1990). *The Anatomy of Terrorism*. New York: Free Press, p. 5
6. Chalk, P. (1996). *West European Terrorism and Counter Terrorism: The Evolving Dynamic*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 13
7. Badey, T. J. (1998). *Defining International Terrorism: A Pragmatic Approach*. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 10(1), p. 93
8. Hoffman, B. (1995). *Holy Terror: The Implications of Terrorism Motivated by a Religious Imperative*. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 18(4), p. 281
9. Op. Cit., Rapoport, p. 660
10. Robertson, A. E. (2010). *Terrorism and Global Security*. New Delhi: Viva Books, p.4
11. Heywood, A. (2011). *Global Politics*. New York: Palgrave Foundation, p. 283
12. Op. Cit., Robertson, A. E., p.4
13. Ford, F. L. (1985). *Political Murder: From Tyrannicide to Terrorism*. Cambridge M.A: Harvard University Press, pp. 208-209
14. Drake, C. J. M. (1998). *The Role of Ideology in Terrorist' Target Selection*. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 10(2), p. 71
15. Hoffman, B. (2006). *Inside Terrorism*. Revised and Expanded Edition. New York: Columbia University Press, p. 70
16. Beutel, A. J. “Perils of Empire: Islamophobia, Religious Extremism and the New Imperialism”, Amss 36th Annual Conference, The Department of Government and Politics University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland October 26 – 28. 2007, p. 2, [http:// www.minaret.org](http://www.minaret.org)
17. Rapoport, (2003). “The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism,” pp. 46-73, http://www.international.ucla.edu/cms/files/Rapoport-Four-Waves-of-Modern_Terrorism.pdf, (Accessed on 20 December, 2012)
18. Op. Cit., Beutel, A. J., p. 3
19. CNN, 15th Sep, 2001, 8:45 p.m.
20. Op. Cit., White, J. R., p. 81

terrorist's ties. US State Department believes that its revolutionary leadership has sponsored a number of terrorist organizations such as Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in Palestine, and its intelligence agents have undertaken a number of terrorist assassinations abroad. In the reports on Terrorism 2008, Iran's involvement in the planning and financial support of terrorist attacks throughout the Middle East, Europe, and Central Asia had a direct impact on international efforts to promote peace, threatened economic stability in the Gulf, and undermined the growth of democracy⁴⁶. United States believes that if there is one country that can equip the terrorist organizations with WMD, it is Iran because of its leadership's clear support to the terrorist organizations and its publically admitted desire of Israel's destruction.

CONCLUSION

Terrorism has been very severe and devastating especially in the 21st Century, as it has frightened the world completely. It is because of three reasons: first, modern terrorism is by nature difficult, and may be impossible, to defend; for how can protection be provided against such attackers who are willing to sacrifice their own lives in order to kill others? This contributes to the idea that, although it may be possible to reduce the likelihood of terrorist attack, the threat can never be eradicated. Second, the potential scope and scale of terrorism has greatly increased as a result of modern technology and particularly the prospect of WMDs falling into the hands of terrorists. Since September 11, governments have been trying to plan a strategy if chemical or biological weapons play into the hands of terrorists, and the prospect of nuclear terrorism can no longer be dismissed as a fanciful fear. Third, some people believe that modern terrorists not only have easier access to WMDs but also a greater enthusiasm to use them. This, allegedly, is because they may be less constrained by moral or humanitarian principles than others.

However, there are other analysts who argue that the threat of terrorism, whether new or global has been greatly overstated, because there are doubts about the military effectiveness of terrorism. Though, terrorists' attacks have a devastating impact but this impact is different from systemic destruction wreaked by mass warfare among states. Although, Islamist terrorism has played a significant role as part of insurgent war in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere, it does not, and cannot, pose a serious threat to Western societies. Fear about Islamist terrorism may also be exaggerated because it is based on questionable assumptions about a civilizational conflict between Islam and the West. There is very little evidence that Muslim populations generally are aggressive towards Western values like human rights and democracy. Critical theorists, indeed, have gone further and argued that the war on terror, and the overstated fear of terrorism on which it is based, serve both to legitimize US attempts to maintain its global supremacy (in particular, helping to justify the US presence in the oil-rich Middle East) and to promote a wider politics of fear. Therefore, the war on terror is primarily an ideological construct, which has been created by the US and other Western states

attacks against them inside Pakistan that have though not proved very effective; hence the US has put a reward of 5 million US dollars on capturing the ruling elite of the network such as Sirajuddin Haqqani.

STATE SPONSORED TERRORISM AND ROGUE STATES

United States, in 1979, formed a list of countries that were giving either direct or indirect support to terrorist groups, which was later compiled in the Export Administration Act under the Secretary of State's authority. The annual list is declared in the Code of Federal Regulations and in Country Reports on Terrorism. States sponsoring terrorism have also been named 'rogue states' or have been identified with other similar terms such as the 'axis of evil' by President Bush⁴². US believe that state sponsored terrorism provides crucial support to non-state terrorist groups. Terrorist groups would have faced much more difficulty to attaining the funds, weapons, materials, and secure areas for their plans and operations without state sponsors. The list of State Sponsors was revisited in 2007 and has included five countries: Cuba (as of March 1, 1982), Iran (January 19, 1984), North Korea (January 20, 1988), Sudan (August 12, 1993), Syria (December 29, 1979). The three countries that were previously on the list that are Iraq, Libya and South Yemen have been removed. President Bush removed the name of North Korea from the list, in June 2008 in exchange for disclosure of its nuclear activities. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, or "South Yemen," was placed on the list in 1979, and removed when it was merged with the Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen). Libya, which was put on the list in 1979, was removed in 2006. Libya took responsibility for the explosion of Pan Am flight 103 in 1988. The explosion over Lockerbie, Scotland killed 270 people. Libya agreed to compensate families of the flight's victims and to cooperate in the investigation and trial of the event. Libya also agreed to abandon its fledgling WMD program. Perhaps most important, Libya agreed to cooperate with the United States in new anti-terrorism efforts. On May 15, 2006, Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, announced that normal diplomatic relations would resume⁴³. The inclusion of other states on the list is based on the cooperation with US goals in its global war on terrorism. Cuba, for example, remains on the list despite the judgment of the CIA in 2003 that, "We have no credible evidence that the Cuban government has engaged in or directly supported international terrorist operations in the past decade, although our information is insufficient to say beyond a doubt that no collaboration has occurred."⁴⁴ Cuba's resistance to the American "war" is undoubtedly an important factor in its continued presence on the list. Syria also continuously holds a place in the respective list. According to the State Department's Country Reports on Terrorism 2008, Damascus continued to provide political and material support to Hezbollah and allowed Iran to use Syrian territory as a transit point for assistance to the Shiite militia group in Lebanon. Hamas, Palestine Islamic Jihad, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the PLFP-GC, among others, have based their external leadership within Syria's borders⁴⁵. Syrian President Bashar al Assad's views on the support for Palestinian terrorist groups also strengthen US perception regarding its

in 2002 and black listed by United States in April 2006. Lashkar was designated as a foreign terrorist organization by the United States in 2001 and banned in UK³⁶. Many people believed that it was the brainchild of Pakistani Inter-service Intelligence (ISI), and funded by wealthy donors from the Persian Gulf states. It was involved in bombing of London subway on 2005. According to Daniel Benjamin, a counterterrorism official with the United States' State Department, "Lashkar e-Tayyiba has made it clear that it is willing to undertake bold, mass-casualty operations with a target set that would please al-Qaida planners. Very few things worry me as much as the strength and ambition of LeT, a truly malign presence in South Asia."³⁷ Lashkar and al-Qaida began their relation in mid 1990s and it developed further after 9/11 and the succeeding American crackdown on al-Qaida in Afghanistan. US officials believe that Lashkar has a capability to fill the gaps left by Osama bin Laden's organization because it has a clear command-and control structure, with its top leader Hafiz Saeed operating openly from Pakistan. Indian Government claimed that Mumbai attacks on 2008 were done by Jammāt- ud-Dawa (JuD) that was also created by Hafiz Saeed after the banning of Lashkar. These allegations are yet to be proved. The Westerners who have passed through LeT's training camps include an Australian-born al Qaida operative named David Hicks, convicted "shoe bomber" Richard Reid, and the mastermind of a failed gas-cylinder bombing in London, Dhiren Barot³⁸. US administration believes that the dismantling of Lashkar-e-Tayyiba is as necessary as of al-Qaida for global security and peace.

Haqqani Network

The Haqqani group is the most fatal fighter group active in Afghanistan having close ties with al Qaeda and other regional insurgent groups, such as the Quetta Shura Taliban, Pakistani Taliban, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba (LeT) and others. Jalaluddin Haqqani, a prominent freedom fighter of Afghanistan against Soviet invasion, established it. The Haqqanis maintain considerable sanctuary and support nodes inside Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and use these Pakistani bases as training areas for multiple terrorist groups, including Lashkar-e Tayyiba, the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, and Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan³⁹. Haqqani fighters were responsible for the storming of the Serena Hotel in Kabul during a high-level visit by Norwegian officials in January 2008, a suicide attack against the Indian embassy in Kabul in July 2008 that killed two senior Indian officials and over 50 others, a suicide attack on a CIA base in Khost Province in December 2009 that marked the most deadly attack on the CIA in 25 years, an attack on the US Bagram Air Base in mid-May 2010, a multi-hour siege of the US embassy in Kabul in September 2011, and a complex and coordinated attack on Salerno, a US base camp in Khost Province on June 1⁴⁰. According to the estimate of American government 15% of casualties of coalition forces in Afghanistan are due to the attacks of Haqqani network. Former US Ambassador to Afghanistan, Ryan Crocker, recently called the Haqqani fighters "the worst of the worst, a group of killers, pure and simple."⁴¹ Since 2004, United States has used drone

Hamas

Hamas was formed in late 1987 with the beginning of first Palestinian Intifada (uprising). It originated from the Palestinian branch of Muslim Brotherhood, and it is supported by a vigorous social and political configuration inside the Palestinian territories. According to its charter, Hamas's goal is to liberate Palestine and return it to its rightful place. It strives to liberate Palestine by resisting the Israeli occupation, and seeks to serve and spread Islam³². The group's manifesto is to establish an Islamic Palestinian state in place of Israel and it refuses all settlements made between the PLO and Israel. It has recently publicized willingness to obtain a long-term cessation of war, if Israel agrees to recognize a Palestinian state based on the 1967 borders with Jerusalem as its capital. Hamas's strength is concentrated in the Gaza Strip and areas of the West Bank. It has a paramilitary-armed force known as the Izz-al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, which was formed in the 1990s and has conducted many anti-Israeli attacks in Israeli and the Palestinian territories³³. In 2004, Israel assassinated Hamas's spiritual leader, Sheik Ahmed Yassin. As soon as Hamas appointed a new leader, the Israelis killed him too³⁴. In early 2006 Hamas won legislative elections in the Palestinian territories that ended the secular Fatah party's hold on the Palestinian Authority (PA) and challenged Fatah's leadership of the Palestinian national movement. Although the League of Arab States has only recognized the PLO as a national liberation movement, and does not recognize Hamas, but this does not undermine its importance as a national liberation movement. While the international community has recognized the Palestinian right to self-determination and endorsed the idea of a Palestinian state, Hamas has not gained international recognition because of its militant tactics. While Hamas is a representative organization capable of negotiating with the international community, the international community is not ready to negotiate with Hamas. Instead, US Government has declared it as a Foreign Terrorist Organization.

 Jaish-E- Mohammad (Jem)

The Jaish-e-Mohammed ("Army of Mohammed", JeM in short) is a relatively new terrorist organization, which came into existence on January 31, 2000³⁵. It is chiefly based in Peshawar and Muzaffarabad and operates in Jammu and Kashmir, Balakot, Rawalpindi, Karachi and Islamabad and it heavily depends on Fedayeen (suicide bombers) suicide attacks. JeM was involved in abduction and murder of Daniel Pearl in 2002, a Jewish reporter working as a South Asian bureau chief for Wall Street Journal. It attempted to assassinate President General Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan in December 2003. It has been alleged as a terrorist organization by USA, UK, Canada and Australia.

 Lashkar-E-Tayyiba (Let)

Lashkar-e-Tayyiba (LeT) was formed in 1993 as an armed wing of Markaz-ud-Dawa-wal-Irshad (MDI), which was a religious organization of Sunni sect based in Pakistan under the leadership of Professor Hafiz Mohammad Saeed, an instructor at the University of Lahore. The organization was banned by Pakistan

The war in the tribal areas has become very important in the perspective of both Pakistan's national security and US foreign and national security policy objectives. Most of the Afghan Taliban have moved away from al-Qaeda and their aims linger in Afghanistan, but the Pakistani Taliban have moved in the opposite direction due to their affiliation with al-Qaeda and its affiliated groups. Al-Qaeda has been involved in several attacks inside Pakistan and, with the nomination of Ayman al-Zawahiri as the new leader, has pledged to continue fighting against the US. Both United States and Pakistan cannot afford safe havens of al-Qaeda in the tribal areas and therefore, both the countries launched an armed operation in tribal areas of Pakistan. Pakistani Army has fought on ground; the US targets locations and fighters that Pakistan is either unwilling or unable to tackle militarily. These operations increase the innocent casualties in tribal areas especially by the drone attacks and the killing of common people has developed immense hatred against the US and Pakistan Army not only in affected areas but also in the entire country. Yet, the long-term challenge for Pakistan and the US remains the execution of a complex strategy through which the Pakistani Taliban can be significantly weakened.

Hezbollah

Hezbollah is a Shiite Islamist militia, declared as a terrorist organization by US. It has traditionally defined itself and justified its paramilitary actions as a legitimate resistance force to Israeli occupation of Lebanese territory in response to the relative weakness of Lebanese state security institutions. It is one of the most ambiguous organizations in the Middle East due to the manner in which it was formed, its historical transformation and its desire to execute a leading role in Lebanon's politics. It grew out of the Iranian Revolution (1978–1979) and still maintains close links with Iran. Some analysts argue that it is an instrument of Iranian foreign policy, but others insist that Tehran does not and cannot control the organization²⁹. The United States government holds Hezbollah responsible for a number of kidnappings and high-profile terrorist attacks against US, European, and Israeli interests since the early 1980s. Hezbollah continues to define itself as a resistance movement and remains viscerally opposed to what it views as illegitimate US and Israeli intervention in Lebanese and regional affairs. According to the Director of National Intelligence Dennis Blair, it is the largest recipient of Iranian financial aid, training and weaponry, and Iran's senior leadership has cited it as a model for other militant groups³⁰. In August 2010, the Obama Administration reported that it is "the most technically capable terrorist group in the world" and stated that the group has "thousands of supporters, several thousand members, and a few hundred terrorist operatives."³¹ Americans recognize that it is not directly targeting them and their interests today and they are aware that things could change if tensions increase with Iran over that country's nuclear program.

that al-Qaeda remains existing with its networks spread all over the world, plus, a number of affiliated groups have gained prominence in recent years.

Taliban

The Taliban movement was formed primarily in response to the failure of the Mujahedeen to establish a stable government following the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan in 1989 and the collapse in 1992 of the Najibullah government. It was the group of Madrassa teachers and students led by Mullah Muhammad Omar that came forward to put an end to the ongoing power struggle of the Mujahedeen warlords and establish a pure form of Islamic regime in 1996. This regime fell down in 2001 after the attack of US and its allied NATO forces²⁷. The Taliban's rural-based Pashtun ethno-tribal association produced great support to its network in Afghanistan and Pakistan. A very large section of Taliban was based in Pakistan and they gathered significant support from Pashtun of Khyber Pakhtun Khwa (KPK) and Baluchistan. Basically they were freedom fighters and not the terrorists, and it was the ideological and tactical bindings with Al-Qaida, which presented them as terrorists. They became the subject of US counterterrorism policy only when they started a counter insurgency against US troops and NATO forces in spring 2002. They conducted wide variety of attacks against US, coalition and Afghan security forces. They used the tactic of yielding population centres to US and Afghan forces, operating from rural areas. In a response to the Taliban insurgency the transnational counter insurgent states (US and NATO forces) assimilated strikes and local operations with Afghan forces, but these actions have not achieved their task and they are still active against Hamid Karzai's Afghan regime and NATO allied forces. Afghan Taliban influenced the tribal people of Pakistan and they emerged as Pakistani Taliban in FATA (Federally Administrated Tribal Area).

Pakistani Taliban

They are organizationally different from the Afghan group and emerged in 2002 in retaliation to the Pakistan army's foray into the tribal area for a militant hunt down. The Taliban tried to impose Islamic Shariah law; they beheaded opponents, kidnapped and terrorized government officials, bombed girls' schools, outlawed entertainment and operated a war against the state. The insurgency, which was at the beginning limited to North and South Waziristan only, extended throughout FATA in a few years. Moreover, several insurgent militias emerged between 2002 and 2006. On December 13, 2007 these militant groups formed the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP; Student Movement of Pakistan) to coordinate their activities against the American and NATO forces in Afghanistan and against the Pakistan Army in FATA and Khyber-Pakhtun Khwa (KPK)²⁸. By 2007, the Swat district had also fallen under rebel control and within two years the Pakistani Taliban controlled towns situated mere sixty miles away from Islamabad. The fight between Pakistan armed forces and pro-Taliban militants was going on when government signed a ceasefire in February 2009 in Swat under the term of imposition of Shariah in the region.

Al-Qaida along with its worldwide network is the most advanced, well equipped, self-sufficient and religiously motivated organization of the 21st century. After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, Bin Laden saw the West, especially the US, as the greatest threat to Islam because of its negative policies for the Middle East. Members of Al-Qaida network see themselves as fighting against the evil influence made by the secular culture of West; they see the United States as being responsible for attacks on Muslim populations in many parts of the World, including Bosnia, Lebanon and Chechnya²⁵. According to them, United States involvement in Bosnia allowed Christian Serbs to attempt brutal violence against local Muslims. They are also concerned about US policies that favour Israel over the Palestinians, but the trigger point for them was the Persian Gulf conflict that arose after the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, turning bin Laden against the US. He criticized the UN sanctions against Iraq as well as the presence of Western troops on Saudi Arabia where the holy cities of Makkah and Medina are situated. Bin Laden believed that all of these activities were a part of Christen-Judeo conspiracy. According to US officials Bin Laden led Al Qaida supported the Somali groups that attacked US forces in 1993, although there was no significant evidence of its direct role in those attacks. It apparently had some role in the bombing of the US barracks in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia in 1996 that killed nineteen US service personnel and wounded over 500, and it was clearly involved in the suicide attack on the US destroyer Cole in 2000 in Aden harbour that killed 17 service personnel and wounded thirty-nine others. Bin Laden network was also responsible for the attacks in 1998 on the US embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dares-Salaam in Tanzania, which resulted in the death of over 200 people and the wounding of thousands, most of whom were the nationals of these countries²⁶. But 9/11 attacks gained major attention of the world and after these attacks, the United States launched a war in Afghanistan to destroy its bases there and overthrow the Taliban, the country's Muslim rulers who harboured bin Laden and his followers.

Most of the analysts believed that Bush responded against this challenge not only in a radical but also in an incompetent way. He not only addressed the issue aggressively but also went on offensive to reform the world. He convinced the world that the United States confronted an unusual threat and needed support by other states. The extreme emotions of Bush administration against Al-Qaeda fighters and their supporters brought two wars in 21st century. Like his predecessor, Barack Obama has perused the same strategy of destroying al-Qaida's safe havens in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region, and limiting the group's ability to strike on US targets. In July 2007, US intelligence agencies found that despite the targeted killings of senior al-Qaeda leaders that shrank its command and control capabilities, organization was regrouping and regaining strength in the tribal areas of Pakistan located along the border with Afghanistan. The killing of al-Qaida's top leader Osama bin Laden by US forces in Pakistan on 2nd May 2011 served a severe blow to the organization, but analysts still believed