

Answer Scheme for 2015 Promotional Examination II PU3 H2 History Paper 1

SECTION A: The United Nations Peacekeeping in the Post Cold War Era

Question: How far do Sources A –E support the view that UN Peacekeeping efforts in the post-Cold War era was largely effective?

Support –B, C, E

Challenge –A and D

Sources	L2/3 (Analysis)	L4/5 (CK/CR)	L4/5 (Tone/Provenance/Purpose/usefulness)
Source A – Extract from an academic's university dissertation, 2012	Challenge – “the UN is faltering in its most crucial post-Cold War task”, “although the peacekeeping missions has expanded since 1993, much remains to be done”. Ineffectiveness of UN peacekeeping missions declined because of lack of financial support and manpower resources and low level of preparedness.	CK: Students can refer to the “loss of superpower balance” was due to the end of Cold War. Since then, there was increase in the number of cases brought to the UN because of the less likelihood that the superpowers would veto any UN's decisions. This supports the claim made in Source A. CK: Students can make reference to the knowledge of the operations in handling the local populations in during the civil war that occurred in Rwanda and Somalia.	<u>Tone/Reliability:</u> Author was highly critical of the UN based the negative tone and language used in most parts of the source – “faltering”, “much remains to be done” etc but it was based on the opinion of “diplomats and experts outside the UN”. In this case, US did not portray itself as a country that favours the UN, despite being UN Permanent Member in its Security Council. It does not mince its words when evaluating the effectiveness of the organization. It provides a truthful account, thus, it is reliable to a large extent. <u>Provenance/Reliability:</u> -Author is writing for the New York Times, a leading US newspaper – it is highly critical against the UN. It was published by a reputable newspaper; has to produce a reliable and trustworthy article, to maintain the reputation of the news publication. Hence, it is a reliable source. Written mostly for American readers and <u>useful</u> in Reflecting the contemporary opinion of the time in which the Cold War had already ended and the time in which UN was facing an influx of operations
Source D – Commentary by a Turkish	Challenge – “overly ambitious, given the financial and	CR to A: mentioned the challenges faced by the UN included the lack of	<u>Tone/ Reliability:</u> Tone of the source was overtly negative and

Ministry in Foreign Affairs official, in Journal of International Affairs, 2000.	political constraints placed by the UN. Besides its structural problems, UN's failure was partly due to unwillingness of the US (member of the Security Council) to "authorise, implement or finance" new operations.	much-needed resources as can be seen in the fact that "money is short, integrated training is scant".	critical against the UN. It was produced by a third-party observer, have no vested interest to be biased; thus most likely to be a reliable source. <u>Provenance/Reliability:</u> Since it is an academic journal article, written by the Turkish representative who must be well-versed in the subject matter and have analysed the development in international foreign affairs, the source is highly reliable. Source is <u>useful</u> because it provides a third party perspective of the issue and is written in a current publication, The Journal of International Affairs, and most likely benefit readers who are interested in current affairs.
Source B – Extract from academic's university dissertation, 2012	Supporting – there was a "striking increase in the number of peacekeeping operations" – implies that members have greater confidence in UN's ability in the peacekeeping department. With the advent of globalization, the peacekeeping operations has evolved over time – especially with respect to issue of sovereignty and policy of non-interference - to stay relevant.	CR to Source A: It also mentions how the number of peacekeeping missions had increased since the end of Cold War. However, Source A had elaborated how the UN was still cursed by various structural problems such as being short of money and lack of training. CR to Source E: the expansion of UN peacekeeping was met with some successes as seen in "Namibia, Cambodia, Mozambique, El Salvador and South Africa."	<u>Provenance/Reliability:</u> The commentary is based on author's extensive research on the development of international affairs, and relying on secondary information available on the subject matter – somewhat reliable.

Source C – Extract from an academic publication, 2008	Supporting – Although UN is challenged by various problems, UN will remain a “significant aspect” because of the “moral assurance” they provide and working toward securing a lasting peace in the region. This implies that its peacekeeping efforts were highly valued, and hence largely effective. Author emphasizes that UN peacekeeping department continues to be “an important and relevant” facet of the organization in the future.	CK: Students can bring up failures of the UN as seen in its reduced presence in Rwanda and the breakdown of UN operations in Somalia to counter the source’s claim that they provide moral assurance.	<p><u>Tone/Reliability:</u> The source provides an objective view regarding the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping – how operations were not effective all the time. The source attempts to provide both the achievements and limitations of UN as even though they became more “entwined in more areas of the society and were no longer able to handle post-Cold War crises single-handedly, they were still significant after 60 years at least as a moral assurance.</p> <p><u>Provenance/Reliability:</u> Since the source was extracted from an academic publication, it was most likely based on extensive research, secondary findings and author’s observation of the subject matter – hence the source is reliable.</p>
Source E – an extract from a interview with ex-UN Secretary General Kofi Annan in Financial Times in 2011	Supporting – Kofi Annan declared that UN successes in countries like Namibia, Cambodia, Mozambique, El Salvador and South Africa. He wanted to impress on readers that the UN knew what they were doing – besides as peace advocates, humanitarian aid providers in countries they have been assigned to.	<p>CK: Students can refer to any of the peacekeeping case studies that is mentioned in the source that demonstrated the effectiveness of the UN peacekeeping missions.</p> <p>Eg. UN Operation in Namibia (UNTAG) was considered a success because of the far-reaching mandate given to the Secretary-General by the Security Council. UNTAG's principal function was to be deeply involved in the whole political process of Namibia's transition from illegally occupied colony to sovereign and independent State. UNTAG thus had to play its part in monitoring and implementing a</p>	<p><u>Tone/Reliability:</u> Kofi Annan sounded defensive, seems to be shielding UN peacekeeping operations from further criticism. Most likely to provide a biased opinion and favour the organization, and portrays the UN in a positive light – hence less reliable.</p> <p><u>Provenance/Reliability:</u> Being the former Secretary General, he would have vested interest to portray UN peacekeeping in a positive light.</p>

		<p>ceasefire, the withdrawal and demobilization of troops, monitoring a local police force, managing a political "normalization" process, supervising and controlling the resultant elections and assisting the transition to independence.</p> <p>Eg. UN Mission to Cambodia – In August 1990, the five permanent members of UN announced agreement on the main elements of a political settlement to end the conflict in Cambodia. The plan called for the control and/or supervision by the United Nations of the country's administrative structures, followed by United Nations -- supervised elections. The plan was accepted by all Cambodian parties and by Viet Nam.</p> <p>CR to D to show failures of UN peacekeeping in Rwanda and Somalia.</p>	
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SECTION B

2. “Cold War historiography on the origins of the Cold War has undergone major changes since 1991.” How far you do agree with the above statement?

Students have to critique the earlier debates on origins of the Cold War. Students have to argue whether the end of the Cold War has caused major changes in the historical debate on the origins of the Cold War. Besides explaining the nature of the change, better student explains the reasons for the changes in the interpretation of the origins of the Cold War.

Stand: The historical debate on the origins of the Cold War has undergone major changes since 1991 ie the end of the Cold War. It marked a shift from the previous interpretations that blamed either Russia or US solely for the conflict. With new evidences and documents being uncovered, it was clear that it was Stalin and the USSR that was the main cause of the Cold War.

Introduction of the post-post revisionist perspective: The end of the Cold War led to the opening of Soviet archives, which followed from the complete collapse of communist power in Russia and the resulting flow of new evidences revived the controversy over the origins and evolution of the Cold War. Students should note that as a result of the new sources, the post-post revisionist interpretation was introduced into the debate on the origins of the Cold War. It was represented by John Gaddis, who was originally a post-revisionist. Gaddis wrote in a 1997 essay, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*: Soviets should be held clearly more accountable for the ensuing problems. According to Gaddis, Stalin was in a much better and favourable political position to compromise than his Western counterparts. Followed by the successful implementation of the Great Purge in Russia in between 1936-1939, Stalin consistently applied the same tyrannical methods to secure Soviet control over its new empire that he used to secure his own position from potential party rivals and domestic threats. As a result Stalin enjoyed a much broader arena of power within his own regime than Truman, who was not elected by the people but was appointed only as a successor of Roosevelt after his sudden demise. Truman was often undermined by vociferous political opposition at home from his people, who were highly influenced by the rise of Mc Carthyism with its anti-communist hysteria. Therefore, Truman was not left with any other option but to pursue a hard-edged policy towards Russia. In this way, the post-post revisionists blame Stalin for the origins of the Cold War. The post-post revisionists actually re-appraised the traditionalists' thesis, but using the instruments and concepts from the various approaches that emerged in more than 50 years of historiographical discourse on this topic.

Diversification in the backgrounds of the historians: The end of the Cold War and the collapse of Soviet power produced a real and effective internationalization of the history of the Cold War, both in terms of available documentation and the active historians alike. Numerous researchers coming from the former Soviet Empire enriched the Cold War historiography with sound perspectives and descriptions. For example, Stalin's role in causing the Cold War was further evaluated by the Russian historians Vladislav Zubok and Constantine Pleshakov in their work, 'Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: from Stalin to Khrushchev (1997)'. They used the de-classified Soviet document to analyze Stalin's part in causing the Cold War.

Use of Russian sources: The end of the Cold War and the opening of the Russian archives in 1992 provided American researchers with the opportunity to complete their analyses of the origins of the Cold War with sound studies on Soviet foreign policy, which could provide definitive answers to a whole series of new questions, most particularly the extent to which Russians were responsible for the outbreak of the Cold War. The early orthodox scholars tended to see the conflict much as American officials of the time did, because they had only limited access to classified documents from various departments and governmental

agencies involved in the US Cold War policy making. Consequently, they tended to rely on public papers, unclassified materials and personal experiences. While the revisionists were able to benefit from the huge quantity of documents on American foreign policy that emerged in the early 1970s, neither of the two schools grounded their studies on Soviet archives, still unavailable at that moment. Post-revisionism was an attempt to integrate both the domestic and international dimensions of American diplomacy and was still based on American sources. Hence the post-post revisionist differed much from the previous three schools of thought in terms of the range of sources being used.

Role of ideology: The end of the Cold War saw the tendency to re-evaluate the role and importance of ideology and perceptions in the analysis of the Soviet foreign policy making processes. Post-post revisionist historians such as Gaddis critiqued past debates on origins of Cold War for focusing on interests, which it mostly defined in material terms – what people possess or wanted to possess and for overlooking ideas – what people believed or wanted to believe. Because of the final outcome of the Cold War and in light of the new evidences emerging from Soviet archives, Gaddis found reasons to criticize the ‘old’ historiography stating that despite the fact that both superpowers were strongly ideological states, insufficient attention were given to the comparative content of these two ideologies, or the extent to which they elicited support from the people who had to live with them.

No conclusive interpretation: Despite the ends of the Cold War and the new interpretations that it generated, scientific efforts have yet to reach a consensus. The archival opening from the former Soviet Union and from ex-satellite states such as Poland, Hungary, Romania and Czechoslovakia fuelled a new debate, this time on Stalin’s policies and motivations.

**3. “The end of the bi-polar world by 1991 has created an inevitable era of instability.”
How accurate is this assertion?**

Students have to discuss whether the end of the Cold War has created an era of instability or era of stability, progression and peace. Besides explaining the reasons why the end of bipolarity led to the destabilization of international politics, better students argue that the end of the bi-polar world brought both positive and negative consequences to international politics.

Stand: The end of the bi-polar world led to the destabilization of international politics and created chaos and violence in breakaway states of USSR and Eastern Europe, as they coped with economic changes from a command economy, fuelled by their nationalist sentiments. Furthermore, there was change in the nature of conflict since 1991 – from one that was based on Cold War relations to one that was based on ethnicity and religion. On the other hand, we saw the creation of era of peace and progress as interstate relations throughout the world have improved as evidenced by the creation of a new world order – that was monitored by the combined efforts of the US and UN. Furthermore, we also witnessed a more integrated economic network, which gave rise to regionalism – which ensures an era of greater stability.

The end of bi-polar world by 1991 has created an inevitable era of instability.

Chaos and violence in the breakaway states of USSR and Eastern Europe: Students will argue that the end of Cold War meant that the new international order was unstable as a result of what had happened in Eastern Europe after 1989. Students will cite the example of the conflicts in the former Soviet republics took various forms, from ethnic tensions and ideological disputes that resulted in civil wars, to border disputes between the newly independent states. There were numerous disputes of short duration and some potentially serious border claims. They will also use evidence from Chechnya and Nagorno-Karabakh to argue that bipolarity had produced stability after WW2: its collapse could only generate new problems, such as further nuclear proliferation and civil wars.

Rise of virulent new conflicts based on religion and ethnicity revealing that an era of instability was created after the collapse of the bipolar world. Students will argue that the ethnic mosaic in Eastern Central and South Eastern Europe remained despite the traditional communist stress on secularism and proletarian internationalism. These old tensions, previously hidden in the Cold War complex, re-emerged as new conflicts based on religion and ethnicity. They will cite evidence of Yugoslavia, Bosnia- Herzegovina to conflicts based on ethnicity, as well as the evidence of Khomeini in Iran and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism to assert that conflicts based on religion also became more apparent after the Cold War. Students will state that while conflicts based on religion and ethnicity were nothing new; it marked a new form of conflict, which was largely civil and internal, as compared to the wars that occurred during the Cold War, which were largely between states bringing about greater divisions in the world.

Persistence of conflicts in Asia which arose during the Cold War: Students will argue that in Asia, there has been little open warfare, **but** at least three dangerous crises persist. They will provide evidence of the Kashmir dispute, China's claim over Taiwan, the continued existence of the conflict between North and South Korea and the Arab-Israeli dispute to illustrate this point that Asia remains divided rather than united.

The end of bi-polar world created a new world order that usher in period of stability, peace and progression

New world order was based on a combination of US military power, collective action by all the major powers and an enhanced role for the UN signalling era of stability: Students will argue that US 'victory' in the Cold War created a new era of peace in international cooperation, with all the major powers collaborating to take collective actions

against hostile adversaries threatening international peace and stability. Students can provide evidence of the Gulf war, which was considered an achievement by the US, its allies and the UN. It seemed that collective security had succeeded and the international community had come into its own. As a result of the end of the Cold War, USSR and US cooperated with each other diplomatically, so that USSR did not use its veto on behalf of Iraq, as it would most certainly have done in earlier circumstance, dramatically illustrating the transformed international climate. The UN tried to act as the guardian of a world order in ways that were not conceived of when it was founded in 1945. Between 1991-1995, no fewer than 20 peacekeeping operations were undertaken, which was more than all the previous 45 years of the UN's existence. The UN helped end conflicts in Namibia, Mozambique and El Salvador, and the organization tried to moderate conflicts in Angola and in Cambodia.

Benign security consequences of global capitalism: Students will argue that the post-war world was rich in multilateral institutions, including the UN, NATO, the IMF, the World Bank and the EU. While the institutions served the particular interests of the states, they also performed the larger function of binding different states together and getting them to abide by similar, non-conflictual norms, so contributing to greater cooperation and unity. As world trade grew, as the financial ties between different geographical zones deepened, and countries invested more heavily in each other's economy, each state would develop a powerful set of material incentives to get on with their neighbours. The possibility of war remained, but in an increasingly integrated world system, the likelihood of it actually occurring would diminish rapidly.

4. Evaluate the reasons why the USA was able to dominate the international economy between 1945-1991.

Students must explain the various reasons for US dominance in the global economy from 1945-1991. Better students are able to evaluate those reasons, and provide the arguments that explain why its dominance declined since the 1970s.

Stand: US dominance in the global economy can be attributed to a number of factors. However, by the 1970s, American was unable to sustain their economic dominance because of the economic crisis it was facing which affected the international economic system and trading relations. Drastic changes to the existing system and global trading environment ensued. In the absolute sense, the United States was still in a dominant position but not as dominant as it had been in the 1945 to 1970 era. Besides, what the United States suffered in the 1970s and 80s was merely an economic slowdown.

Reasons for the US dominance in the global economy since 1945

Emergence of USA after the WWII: USA's emergence as one of the two superpowers with the stronger economy made it a huge influence in the Bretton Woods system, which guided the international economy. USA's undeniable leadership in the Bretton Woods gave it huge influence within the IMF as well. With its power to veto any changes or policies that it decided will not be useful or against the US interest. This gave it the boost it needed to continue its war-time economic boom. Along with the power it received in Bretton Woods, USA was able to oversee and somewhat manipulate international economic activities thus allowing it to dominate the international economy.

American political will to dominate the global economy: USA also had the political will to develop trade and industries in the international economy at the same time strengthening its position in the Cold War. Besides its economic capacity to do so, USA also had the political will to assist mainly developing countries in the industrialization process. These developing countries usually were in need of technical assistance, economic and financial policies and advice and a lot of capital. The US with its experience and predominant economic capabilities was able to provide all of the above to developing countries such as those in Latin America. Thus USA was able to expand its political and economic influence and make its presence felt in the economies of countries where it had never been felt before. Not forgetting the background of the Cold War, where USA was fighting to make its position stronger than that of the USSR. Due to the expansion of Cold War into Asia through the Korean War, America made huge purchases in Japan which further spread its influence in South Asia. In this way USA was able to have its influence spread in South Asia, Latin American and Western Europe around the globe which aided its international economic supremacy.

Cold War Context: The Cold War helped American domination of the global economy by providing a kind of discipline for the system and creating the dependence of its allies on American defence industries. The US was able to dominate the international economy through its own efforts mainly, but one must not forget the post-war economies of most of its allies and the rest of the world at this period in time. They were shattered and needed help badly to rebuild their economies. At this time, without US's aid in hoping to recreate the success of the war-time boom in its economy, many of these countries, their economies would have taken much longer to recuperate. The international economic situation thus aided the American economy in making its presence more dominant in the international economy. Moreover, American interests in Eastern Europe due to its strong intentions of stopping the spread of communism by USSR gave it the motive and edge to find ways to further spread its economic influence by targeting the war-torn economies of Eastern Europe.

through its Marshall plan. Therefore the Cold War also played a big part in helping the US to somewhat subconsciously further extend its economic supremacy in the international arena.

American economic weakness limited US dominance since the 1970s.

This relate to the problems in the international economy in the 1970s and impact on USA at large. Furthermore, the impact of declining US dominance on international economy – e.g. devaluing dollar 1971 and partial collapse of the Bretton Woods System posed a limitation to US dominance. US dominance was affected by the recovery of West Germany, Japan and the rise of the EEC. By the 1970s the Bretton Woods system was collapsing and the US was adversely affected by the oil crises of the 1970s. Also, in the 1980s, US dominance was affected by the rise of the Asian Tigers in manufacturing. However, in 1991, with the US economy entering its tertiary stage it was still in a dominant position, but not as dominant as it had been in the 1945 to 1970 era. Despite the problems which the USA faced after the 1970s, by 1991 it was still in a dominant position, though not as dominant as in the period 1945-70. For example, the dramatic fall in US share prices in 1987 led to similar falls world-wide, followed by world-wide trade recession in 1980s.

5. The oil crises of the 1970s or the decline of the US economy – which brought about more problems that affected the growth of the global economy?

Students are required to discuss the negative consequences of oil crises of the 1970s and the decline of the US economy. Better students compare these 2 problems and evaluate the significance of the problems by explaining how the former factor led to latter; the oil crises can be seen as more problematic by affecting the growth of the global economy more adversely as it is seen as the root cause of the 2nd problem. To challenge the assumption of the question, students might argue that growth of the global economy was unaffected by economic difficulties mentioned in the question as they were able to be overcome and global economy continued to grow beyond the early 1970s.

Stand: The impact of the oil crisis on US economy should not be exaggerated. Although oil crisis disrupted American efforts to promote the growth of the global economy in the early postwar years by establishing a stable financial system through the BWS, not all American efforts were interrupted by the oil crisis, as USA continued its efforts to promote the growth of the global economy through provision of foreign aid and its MNCs.

Oil Crisis brought more problems:

The oil crisis contributed to the creation of the debt crisis; and also interrupted American efforts to promote the growth of the global economy through a stable financial system and an international trade regime. As a result of the drastic hike in oil prices during the oil crisis, the OPEC countries could not spend their vastly increased wealth in the short run, so much of it returned to the West as petrodollars. Consequently, the higher cost of oil widened current-account deficits throughout the developing world. Following the second oil price increase in 1979-80, USA decided to fight inflation by raising interest rates, which had serious implications for the stability of the international financial system. This greatly increased the interest charges to developing states on their international loans and hence caused the onset of the debt crisis.

Oil crisis weakened American economy to the extent that USA lost the political will to lead the capitalist world in the promotion of free trade. The increase in prices of oil during the oil crisis badly affected US economy and weakened its will and economic capacity to maintain free trade. At that time, US was importing one-third of its oil supplies and was dependent for its survival on imported oil. American automobile industry was also affected by the hike in oil prices. Industrialized countries reacted to the oil crisis by selling manufactured goods and services to OPEC at sharply rising prices (thereby exporting their inflation). As international trade shrank, competition for markets intensified, imports threatened domestic industries, and a worldwide withdrawal into protectionism began. The United States responded by adopting a more aggressive trade policy and increasingly relied on bilateral initiatives and regularly threatened to deny access to the American market to force changes in other countries' trade policies.

On the other hand, despite the decline of the US economy, the growth of the global economy was sustained by continued American aid to developing countries. Despite the global economic problems of the 1970s and 1980s, US continued to provide financial support for World Bank's developmental programmes due to its Cold War agenda. During the 1980s debt crisis, US-led IMF and World Bank played an important role in the finance of debt reduction programmes. As a result of its operation, a number of debtor countries – including Mexico – substantially reduced their external debt, and by the early 1990s the world debt problem as a whole began to appear manageable.

Decline of US economy also affected the global economy:

Other than the oil crisis, **US efforts to maintain international monetary stability through**

the Bretton Woods System was also disrupted by trade imbalances between US and its trading partners. In the early postwar years, US sought to maintain international monetary stability through the Bretton Woods System. The core of the Bretton Woods system was the US dollar which was fixed to gold at a rate of \$35 to an ounce of gold. This dollar-gold system provided a stable exchange base that contributed significantly to the distribution of trade between 1945–1971. By 1971, US economy was badly weakened by deficit financing for the Vietnam War and the Great Society, American decision to end the Bretton Woods System was the result of its trade imbalances and was meant to restore the competitiveness of the US economy. When the Bretton Woods system collapsed in 1971, the role of the IMF also collapsed resulting in major industrialized countries failed to find a way to coordinate their exchange rate policies within the IMF framework.

The decline of the US economy led to new protectionism: Students could discuss how the declining ability and willingness of the leader to enforce the rules of a liberal world economy resulted in increasing trade protectionism and violations of the regimes governing trade, monetary and other forms of international commerce. Examples could include mid-1970s damaging effects of international competitions and concerns over the relative decline of American economy led to New Protectionism, as formal tariffs were reduced through trade negotiations. US erected non-tariff barriers, as those embedded in the Multi-Fiber Agreement, in which many nations were assigned quotas and imposed voluntary export restraints on Japanese automobiles.

Despite the oil crisis, US continued to contribute to the growth of the global economy through its MNCs. In the early post-war years, American MNCs expanded very quickly and by mid-1970s, American investments abroad totalled more than \$133 billion. By 1989, the hundred largest companies were employing 12 million people outside the borders of their country. The inflow of US capital to Europe and elsewhere was welcomed in the recipient countries for the benefits that it generated—technological transfer, tax revenue, employment generation—so that countries and regions competed for it.

6. Discuss the impact of religious fundamentalism on regional security in the Middle East and South Asia in the period from 1970 to 2000.

Students are required to discuss of the impact of religious fundamentalism on regional security in these 2 regions. Better students can further argue that consequence of religious fundamentalism also influences international developments; hence affect global security. They can elaborate further on the extent of impact of RF on either region and explaining the criteria used.

Stand: The rise of religious fundamentalism in the Middle East and South Asia threatened regional stability because it made existing conflicts more difficult to resolve. In addition, the rise of religious fundamentalism led to the use of violence and globalization of terrorism, thus threatening regional, as well as global stability.

The immediate consequence of the religious phenomenon would be that religious fundamentalist groups attempted to remould their own society after their own image. This was most likely felt in the Middle East.

In the Middle East: In Algeria, Islamic militants fought to eradicate all vestiges of France in Algeria including ending all foreign language education and French models of administration, health, management, consumer patterns, military organization, and law enforcement—all ingrained in the fabric of Algerian life as a result of more than a hundred years of French colonial control. In Egypt, Members of Muslim Brotherhood fire-bombed cinemas and restaurants frequented by unbelievers. They attacked and scarred women who were not veiled. And they sought power by assassination. The Brothers killed two prime ministers; a third escaped three attempts on his life. They murdered a chief of police, an interior minister, a chief justice and scores of other officials. In Iran, women who had taken the veil as a revolutionary political statement against the Western orientation of the Shah found themselves forced by law to wear it. Such laws were enforced by the Revolutionary Guards, formed in May 1979. In Afghanistan, The Taliban advocated a return to 'pure Islam', a doctrine understood as functioning in opposition to the fighting and factional conflict that characterized the early post-war period. Exploiting the lack of social cohesion and the experience of decades of conflict, the group quickly gained strength, and eventually seized power in this devastated country. Hamas seeks the liberation of Palestine and its transformation into an Islamic state. Unlike the PLO's definition of Palestine, which is based on historical claims and thus allows a two-state compromise in which Israel and Palestine can co-exist, Hamas' definition of Palestine is based on Islamic wafq (endowment). In simple terms, this means that as the land is endowed by God, man has no right to give it away, effectively ruling out compromise. The strategy adopted to achieve this aim involves armed struggle, including suicide bombings, to secure its territorial ambitions, and socio-political activity to secure Islamization.

The second most significant consequence would be that religious fundamentalist groups retain the capability to engage in protracted conflict within their own society because it made existing conflicts more difficult to resolve. Students should refer to examples of the Arab-Israeli and Indo-Pakistani conflict.

The consequence of religious fundamentalism made the Arab-Israeli conflict more difficult to resolve, thus precipitating further instability. The rise of religious fundamentalism transformed the struggle from a temporary territorial and national conflict between Palestinians and Israelis that could be resolved by political negotiations and compromises, into an eternal and absolute religious war between Islam and Judaism in which compromises are not permitted. On the one hand, Jewish fundamentalist groups in Israel, including Gush Emunim are characterized by utter unwillingness to negotiate with Palestinians over what they see as holy land.

Students can provide case of South Asia: the loss of Bangladesh led to programme of

Islamisation and a search for an Islamic identity in Pakistan. Pakistan's General Zia-ul-Haq prioritised and promoted the issue of Indian "occupied" Kashmir as primarily a religious issue of Muslims under Hindu rule with the help of the Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) Islamic extremist forces in Jammu and Kashmir encouraged the politicisation of Islam around symbolic ideas of a jihad. Religious schools encourage their graduates, who often cannot find work because of their lack of practical education, to fulfill their "spiritual obligations" by fighting against Hindus in Kashmir or against Muslims of other sects in Pakistan. On the other hand, the BJP-led coalition contains Hindu nationalist forces that would see any compromise on Kashmir as a sell-out, a variant of so-called Muslim appeasement.

The impact of religious fundamentalism led to the use of violence and globalization of terrorism, thus threatening regional stability. Both RF groups in Middle East and South Asia resorted to use of violence and acts of terror, in order to express their displeasure while opposing the changes that was introduced in the society. They perceived political upheaval in their countries as a threat to their ethnic/religious identities.

Members of Muslim Brotherhood fire-bombed cinemas and restaurants frequented by unbelievers. They attacked and scarred women who were not veiled. And they sought power by assassination. The Brothers killed two prime ministers; a third escaped three attempts on his life. They murdered a chief of police, an interior minister, a chief justice and scores of other officials. Gush Emunim revenged Arab attacks on the settlers in the occupied West Bank. In 1980 Jewish fundamentalists crippled several Arab mayors of West Bank towns by car bombs to leave them as enduring reminders of Israeli power.

Al-Qaeda gained prominence through the 1992 attempt to kill American soldiers in Somalia, the 1993 attempt to blow up the World Trade Center, the 1995 Riyadh car bombing, the 1995 assassination attempt on Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, the 1998 bombings of US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, the 2000 attack on the USS Cole in Yemen.

Religious fundamentalist groups also retained the capability to influence international developments, hence destabilizing global security and at times adversely affecting international attempts at peace negotiations.

In Israel, religious fundamentalist groups encouraged simmering religious opposition to the peace plan with PLO, involving giving autonomy to the Gaza Strip and to an area around Jericho reached tragic levels in February 1994 when a religious zealot, Baruch Goldstein murdered a number of people during a dawn attack on a mosque in the occupied West Bank town of Hebron. After the 1994 massacre by the Islamic Fundamentalists, the Oslo Accords, brokered by the international players, were effectively irrelevant.

In India, The BJP embarked on policies aimed at building India's national strength. One of which focused on the development of nuclear weapons, a goal long espoused by the BJP as a necessary step in protecting the Hindu nation from external threats, and in particular from Pakistan. As part of this effort, the government tested a series of nuclear devices in 1998 and announced its intention of eventually supplying the Indian military with nuclear weaponry. The nuclear tests sparked widespread international criticism and provoked Pakistan into carrying out similar tests to demonstrate its own nuclear capability.

In 1979, followers of Ayatollah Khomeini seized the American embassy in Tehran, sparking off the Iranian Hostage Crisis. The UN Security Council was gravely concerned with the hostage crisis, seeing it as a serious threat to international peace.