

## UN INVOLVEMENT IN BOSNIA - HEZERGOVINA

How far do sources A-E show that the United Nations efforts in Bosnia-Herzegovina were doomed to fail?

Sources	L2/3 (Analysis)	L4/5 (CK/CR)	L4/5 (Tone/Provenance/Purpose/usefulness)
A	C- The 1997 UNSC Resolution shows actions taken by UN to ensure that the International Police Task Force can carry out its tasks in Bosnia, such as increasing the staff strength of UNMIBH.	B: Shows that even when the UNSC resolutions were passed, it does not mean that the necessary actions were taken by member states to enforce the resolution.	<p>The Resolution merely stated the plan of action recommended by the UNSC. It did not show the outcomes of the actions taken, so it is not sufficiently useful for us to evaluate of the efforts were doomed to fail.</p> <p>Purpose of the resolution is to express the will and opinion of the Security Council members, so it is likely to be a reliable source of information about the efforts made by the UNSC to ensure that the earlier efforts of the UN (its mandate set out in 1996 resolution 1088) would be successful</p>
B	S- Despite the UN Resolutions and invocations of Chapter VII, there was little improvement to the situation because the European powers and the US did not provide the necessary additional troops to make the operation effective	C- Support B's claim that there were inadequate troops provided to make the operation effective: there was inadequate troops to defend the Bosnian Muslim "safe area" of Srebrenica and other towns	<p>Academic journal- likely to have the relevant expertise to assess the contributions of UN in Bosnia, vested interest to tell the truth in order to protect his professional reputation</p> <p>Article is meant for an academic audience and is likely to go through rigorous fact-finding and checking</p>
C	S- UNSC allowed political considerations to colour their military decisions, which is seen in the inadequate support providing in enforcing peace in the safe areas for Bosnian Muslims	<p>B- Biasness of C further highlighted when CR with B, which shows that it was the European powers and US' reluctance to provide the necessary additional troops that made the operation effective</p> <p>E- supports C's claim that the fall of Sebrenica was a damaging symbol of UN's failure at peacekeeping in the era of civil wars, such that even from UN's perspective, Sebrenica was one of "its worst stumbles"</p>	<p>News article written from US perspective</p> <p>Article is biased in favour of US and European powers by highlighting the contributions of US, such as the "American-sponsored Dayton peace agreement" and "NATO-led international military force" and laying the blame on the UN despite the fact that the report that it is writing about is distributed the blame widely</p> <p>Sensationalised the news: "damaging symbol" of UN's failure, sarcastic tone which noted how self-examination by UN "breaks new ground" it admitted that the tendency to try to remain neutral in a civil conflict is the main cause of failure</p>

D	S- Doomed to fail because prolonged military intervention was required to effectively suppress the fighting but not carried out	B- Biasness of C further highlighted when CR with B, which shows that it was the European powers and US' reluctance to provide the necessary additional troops that made the operation effective. D totally laid the blame on the UN and ignored the fact that it was the member states, particularly the US, who refused to provide the necessary means required for UN to achieve the ends	Written from US perspective and is likely to be biased in favour of US, given that he was a former US Army officer and is likely to have strong loyalty to the state Research scholar: have relevant expertise to perceive the situation, given that it was written for a public policy research organization, the audience is likely to be policymakers and scholars, thus the extract is likely to be factually accurate Evaluation of UN is too harsh and shows hints of sarcasm: calling UN intervention as "may-work" which is "certainly more than doing nothing"
E	S- Doomed to fail because the unarmed peacekeepers had no peace to keep and ended up as hostages	C- supports C's claim that the fall of Srebrenica was a damaging symbol of UN's failure at peacekeeping in the era of civil wars  D, B: supports the harsh judgment of the UN peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia-Herzegovina	Online magazine on current affairs: purpose is inform public on developments in current affairs so likely to be factually accurate Tone is however exaggerated and overly harsh, probably to attract readership: "worst stumbles", "meddling was worse than useless"

2. How important was the Sovietisation of Eastern Europe as a cause of the Cold War?

Topic: Origins of the Cold War

Assumption:

1. It was the Sovietization of Eastern Europe that caused the Cold War

Students will be expected to show knowledge and understanding of the causes of the Cold War in Europe 1945–49 and to deploy this in order to reach a conclusion regarding the validity of the hypothesis. Essentially, the question supports the traditional school.

Define: Cold War: The Cold War is the term given to the conflict that existed between the USA and USSR after the Second World War, which involved economic measures, non-cooperation and propaganda but no direct armed fighting between the two sides.

Sovietization of Eastern Europe: Sovietization of Eastern Europe refers to the attempts by Stalin to strengthen Soviet hold over Eastern Europe and was carried out through the creation of Cominform (1947) and Comecon (1949).

Sovietization of Eastern Europe: Students could refer to the traditional perspective and note how Stalin's takeover of Eastern Europe was evident of Soviet imperialism and how the Sovietization of Eastern Europe through Cominform and Comecon contributed to the division of Europe in 1949. Students could argue that Stalin and the Soviet leadership had plans to expand communist influence across Europe beyond the boundaries of the USSR and that their motives were expansionist (e.g. his breaking of the Potsdam promises, his actions in Eastern Europe, the Berlin Blockade etc.). Thus, Stalin deliberately provoked tension with the US through his policies. Coupled with earlier events such as Stalin's breaking of the Potsdam promises and his actions in Eastern Europe, it was natural that the USA saw the occupation and Sovietization of Eastern Europe as clear evidence of Soviet expansionism, which needed to be checked by initiatives such as the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan.

Long term causes: Students could argue that the Cold War had effectively started before the Sovietization of Eastern Europe in 1947 and that Sovietization was merely a confirmation of the trend. Students could note the historically uneasy relationship between America and Bolshevik Russia, such as the hostile responses of the Western allies during Russian Revolution and Civil War, and lingering suspicions from the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Given the long-term problems between capitalism and communism (temporarily disguised during WWII) and the fact that the US-Soviet friendship during WW2 was an alliance of convenience, it was no wonder that the wartime alliance broke down due to suspicion, distrust and conflicting interests, once the common enemy, the Germans were defeated.

Wartime conferences and breakdown of the alliance: Students could note that in addition to the long term causes, Soviet-US competition which emerged during the wartime conferences also set the stage for the conflict. Students could argue that while Yalta conference saw an atmosphere of conciliation and cooperation in which each nation gained what it sought most and made compromises on matters of vital interest to the others, the compromises, to a large extent, were based on mutual needs. The West depended on the Red Army (against Germany and Japan) and the USSR needed economic and military aid from US. After Yalta, the Soviets did not conduct free elections in Poland. The USSR's new borders with Poland also remained in place. Stalin's one concession was the inclusion of some London Poles to the mainly communist Polish government. In addition, the Potsdam conference also ended without complete agreement on issues regarding postwar Europe, especially Germany and Poland.

Role of Truman: Students could argue that Sovietization of Eastern Europe merely escalated the Cold War, because the Cold War was largely the result of Truman's inexperience and strongly anti-communist views, which led US to misinterpret the defensive gestures of USSR as expansionistic and to take unnecessarily provocative actions, such as the use of the atomic bomb in Japan, without prior consultation with the USSR, the ending of Lend-Lease, the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. Students could argue that the decision to drop the atomic bomb, whether intended or not to warn the USSR, had the effect of causing a deterioration in US/Soviet relations. Truman's handling of Soviet leaders, such as Molotov, also caused a worsening of relations. Truman's decision to sit by Churchill when the latter made the Iron Curtain speech in 1946 also acts as evidence of Truman's ability to confront the USSR. This was shown most clearly in the Truman Doctrine from March 1947.

Truman Doctrine: Rather than the Sovietization of Eastern Europe, Truman Doctrine was the most important cause of the Cold War. Students could argue that the Truman Doctrine was the first openly antagonistic action of the Cold War and was an open declaration that USA intended to contain communism and had no intention of returning to isolationism. Truman Doctrine also led to Marshall Plan and was the cause of Soviet attempts to consolidate their control over Eastern Europe through Cominform. Given the context behind the formation of Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan could be seen as a form of economic warfare directed against the Soviet Union. The Soviets referred to it as 'Dollar Imperialism' and believed that America was trying to make Europe economically dependent on the USA to the detriment of the USSR and its allies. In so doing, it forced the Soviet Union to form its own economic group, thereby causing defined rival blocs. Thus, Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan spurred the Soviets into a comprehensive shift in their own foreign policy from one of collective action to isolationism. Stalin had no plans to sovietize Eastern Europe before 1949. However, when Stalin saw the correlation of forces turning against him as a result of the Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan and the Anglo-American initiatives in Germany, any form of collaborative actions with the West ended. In these ways, Truman Doctrine significantly

changed relationships between superpowers, and was a key factor in subsequent problems – e.g. Berlin, NATO etc.

2. To what extent do you agree that international relations were deeply affected by the Cuban Missile Crisis?

Topic: Consequences of Cuban Missile Crisis

Assumption:

1. The crisis changed relations between states.

Students are expected to analyse the consequences of the Cuban Missile Crisis and its impact on international relations. Students also need to discuss their criteria for evaluating the term “deeply”, before analysing the Crisis to see if the criteria have been met.

**Define: Cuban Missile Crisis:** The Cuban Missile Crisis was a confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1962 over the presence of missile sites in Cuba. The Soviet premier, Nikita Khrushchev, placed Soviet military missiles in Cuba, which had come under Soviet influence since the success of the Cuban Revolution three years earlier. President John F. Kennedy of the United States set up a naval blockade of Cuba and insisted that Khrushchev remove the missiles, which the Soviet Union finally did.

**Détente:** The threat of nuclear war during the Cuban Missile Crisis led to a relaxation of tensions between the two superpowers, as their relations entered a new phase. In this way, the crisis is usually seen as deeply affecting international relations, because it helped bring about the transition from an era of confrontation to one of détente, usually symbolised by the installation of a telephone hot line between the White House and the Kremlin. In addition, the two superpowers began to discuss the idea of ‘peaceful coexistence’ by moving towards a treaty to limit the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere. Some examples of bilateral arms control agreements signed after the Cuban Missile Crisis were the Limited Test Ban treaty of 1963, the Outer Space Treaty of 1967, and the ABM Treaty of 1972. Analysis of US-Soviet relations before and after 1962 shows how far the former period was a time of confrontation, the latter one of improved relations.

**Superpower relations with allies:** Students could argue that the Cuban Missile Crisis badly affected the superpower relations with their allies, who increasingly pursued an independent line. Kennedy lost credibility with some Allies such as France because the French government of de Gaulle was worried about the aggressiveness of the USA. As a result, de Gaulle eventually pulled France out of NATO and tried to pursue an independent line. On the other side, the Chinese were not impressed by the Soviet performance. They felt that Khrushchev had mishandled the crisis and looked cowardly when he removed the missiles. This further encouraged the Chinese to follow an independent line of their own in world politics.

Students could argue that while there were some changes in international relations after the Cuban Missile Crisis, the developments after Cuban Missile crisis were nothing new and its effects were more temporary than permanent. Thus, international relations were not really deeply affected by the crisis.

Period of continual tensions: Students could question the influence of the crisis on international relations, by noting how in the 1960s and 70s there were continual tensions over a range of issues, e.g. Vietnam, Eastern Europe and the Middle East, despite détente. In addition, after the crisis, between 1965 and 1970, Soviet military spending rose by around 40 per cent. The new generation of ICBMs that began to be deployed in large numbers after 1965 gave the Soviet Union virtually certain capability to inflict heavy damage on the United States in a retaliatory strike.

Cuban missile crisis did not cause the change in relations between the superpowers; it simply coincided with that change: Limits on nuclear weapons testing (1963) and proliferation (1968) had been discussed for some time and could well have been a consequence of the USSR's economic problems. The same generation of politicians was in power in both states after 1962; their attitudes were unlikely to have changed significantly. In addition, the superpowers continued in their quest for arms superiority. They may have stopped the spread of nuclear arms, but they have not stopped producing and developing their nuclear arsenal. This shows that a degree of mistrust continued to exist between the Soviet Union and US.

Cuban missile crisis did not cause the change in relations between the superpowers and their allies: Students could note that the Sino-Soviet split began in the wake of Khrushchev's rejection of Stalinism way back in 1956 and was nothing new. The Sino-Soviet split was the result of ideological differences, competition for geopolitical rivalries in East Asia, the quest for leadership in the communist world, the emergence of China as a leading Asian power and the personalities of Mao Tse-tung and Khrushchev. Even without the Cuban Missile Crisis, China would still have pursued an independent line.

US and Soviet relations with Cuba: Instead of limiting Soviet influence in Cuba, US actions during the crisis actually pushed Cuba towards communism. Students could study early American attempts at containing communism in Cuba, such as closing US markets to Cuba's main source of income, the export of sugar cane, the severing of diplomatic ties, etc and how it led Castro to turn to USSR for economic, political and military aid. Students could also look at American promise not to invade Cuba in the future and how it solidified the alliance between Cuba and USSR as USSR proved capable of protecting members in its camp.

3. Assess the role of American economic leadership in the development of the global economy in the years 1945 -2000?

Topic: Reasons for growth and problems in the global economy

Assumption:

1. American economic leadership affected the development of the global economy

Students could discuss the role of the US in the development of the international economy, especially in terms of American leadership role in the BWS, role of American MNCs and American aid to Western Europe and Japan. In evaluating the role of US, students could point out the limitations of US contributions, such as the US unilateral moves to end the BWS, rise of New Protectionism due to US economic decline, etc. Students could also evaluate the role of US vis-a-vis the role of other critical factors, such as the role of international economic institutions, which were no doubt created by US, but were able to acquire a life of their own to aid the development of the international economy, as seen in the role of World Bank and IMF in containing the debt crises of the 1980s. Lastly, students could also evaluate the role of US, by tracking the rise and relative decline of the American economy, and its impact on the international economy.

US leadership in the BWS: Students could show how US critical leadership role at the end of WW2 created an open international trade system based on GATT and stable monetary system founded on the BWS. American hegemon played a crucial role in establishing and managing the world economy after WW2 with the strong cooperation of its Cold War allies. The existence of a liberal international economy required a political leader like US that could and would use its influence to create the international economic system and subsequently, to perform a number of essential economic functions to keep the system working efficiently. Students could discuss US leadership role in the creation and maintenance of a liberal trade regime (e.g. GATT), establishment of international monetary system (IMF, BWS) and in playing the role of lender of last resort to prevent financial crises (IMF)

Marshall Plan: Marshall Plan was symbol of US global leadership and created the conditions necessary for the steady economic growth experienced by the industrial countries up to the 1970s and the rapid development of countries such as Japan and South Korea.

Relative economic decline of the leader (US) led to a weakening of the regimes governing a liberal world economy: Students could highlight the critical role of US by showing how its relative decline weakened the international economic regimes. 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.

In evaluating the role of American leadership in the development of the global economy, students could point out that the contributions were not always positive.

Negative contributions of US: However, American role in the development of the global economy was not always positive, as can be seen in the 1960s and early 1970s when American economy experienced a decline with the rise of economic competitors. Examples could include the rise of protectionist sentiments within US, how the stability of international currency markets was disrupted by American behavior, how inflation in the US was exported abroad because of dollar's role in international exchange, the erosion in the dollar's value as world's reserve currency and US abandonment of the BWS and the rise of more volatile era of floating exchange rates

Other factors: Role of international institutions: Although hegemony might be necessary for the creation of such institutions, once begun, they take on a life of their own and states come to see them as worth preserving, e.g. IMF, World Bank, WTO. Students could discuss the benefits of the international institutions, such as reducing cost of negotiating agreements, exposing or punishing violations of agreements by states, etc. Without these institutions, the international economy would be much more unstable and less open. In evaluating this factor vis-à-vis US role, students could argue that the role of US was still the most critical because the influence of institutions is derived from the actions of the states within them and thus, these institutions have little independent effect. Students could also argue that most international institutions are controlled by the US and thus reflect its interests, e.g. World Bank, IMF

Role of non-state actors such as MNCs: Students could discuss the role of US vis-à-vis the role of nonstate actors such as MNCs in the development of the global economy. Students could point out the importance of MNCs by highlighting how MNCs account for the majority of the global production structure and 50% of world trade. The largest MNCs have annual sales greater than the GDP of most countries. This results in the investment decision of the MNC having great impacts upon the economic fortunes of particular states. Students could evaluate the contributions of American MNCs by pointing out how initially, MNCs were mostly American corporations, but subsequently, the firms of all the industrial and some industrialising countries would join the growing ranks of the multinationals.

4. "The problems of the post-1945 Japanese economy were Japanese in origin." Discuss.

Topic: problems with the Japanese economy

Assumptions:

1. Internal factors caused the problems with the Japanese economy

Students are expected to analyse the problems with Japanese economy in the postwar period and to argue if these problems were Japanese or external in origin. When arguing that the problems were Japanese in origin, students must clearly explain how the problems were the results of Japanese policies or cultural characteristics.

**Define:** Japanese economy was at the brink of collapse by the 1990s. Japan suffered from prolonged recession, decline in loans and investments, a banking crisis in 1997-98 and persistent deflation. In fact, the decade after the bursting of the bubble is now called the 'lost decade' in post-war Japanese development history

Japanese policy of protectionism: Students could argue that while protectionism has enabled Japan to build up its domestic sectors in the early postwar years, it led to low productivity in the non-manufacturing sector by the 1970s. Students could note that the original intent of MITI's protectionist policies was to facilitate the early development of major industries by providing protection from import competition. However, while protectionism did enable Japanese manufacturing sectors to grow, from the 1970s, it was the nonmanufacturing sector that led Japan's economy for the next 30 years. Government protectionism of the non-manufacturing sectors meant that most of the works orders placed by local government bodies, which account for 70% of all public works, were knowingly given to local firms that have no construction capabilities. This led to a long-term shift of production resources from high productivity to low productivity industries. This became one of the main problems facing the Japanese economy ever since the 1970s. Consequently, the Japanese economy suffered significant stagnation in the 1990s, and the decade after the bursting of the bubble is now called the 'lost decade' in post-war Japanese development history.

Socioeconomic factors: Students could argue that socio-economic factors such as the lifetime employment system and the high savings rate of the Japanese became a huge burden for the Japanese economy by the 1970s. Under the practice of long-term employment and seniority-based internal promotion, companies were compelled to try to ever expand their size in order to offer a sufficient number of posts in their company hierarchy. As a result, Japanese companies became burdened with employees that cannot be laid off, thus facing costs that caused great disadvantage in international competition. In addition, while encouraging loyalty and hard work, the seniority system tends to discourage innovation and risk taking, the very qualities that are vitally needed in hi-tech and service industries. In addition, the inability to downsize due to Japan's aversion to layoffs has made technological advances not only unnecessary but also unwelcome, and this has become

increasingly debilitating as the share of knowledge-based industry, such as IT and life-science industries, has expanded rather quickly. Moreover, by the late 1970s, 'excess' savings meant that lack of domestic consumption proved an obstacle to continuing economic growth. Japanese preference for savings over spending sapped the core strength of the domestic economy since capital was not reinvested into productive new businesses. When recession began to hit Japan in the 1990s, the government could not make the classic response of cutting taxes in order to stimulate demand, because the Japanese people already had money to spend but were choosing instead to save it.

Development of the bubble economy: The development of the bubble economy in the 1980s also contributed significantly to Japanese economic collapse by the 1990s. Competition among firms seeking an expansion of their company size, competition in the banking sector to expand the loan supply and other investments without due consideration of credit risks, and economic stimulus measures taken by the Bank of Japan and the government in the face of the Yen's rapid appreciation after the Plaza Accord drove the Japanese into the speculative boom. When Bank of Japan raised interest rates sharply, the speculative machine went into reverse. On December 29, 1989, stock prices nosedived and land prices began to plunge the following year. The economy slowed dramatically. As a result of the accumulation of non-performing loans and the plunge in the market values of equities, some major financial institutions (e.g. Hokkaido Takushoku Bank, Yamaichi Securities, both in 1997) went bankrupt for the first time in the history of post WWII development of the Japanese economy.

Role of external factors, such as access to US markets: Students could argue that the rise of protectionism in the 1970s and trade frictions with its trading partners meant that Japanese dependence on access to foreign markets would serve as a threat to its continuing prosperity. Students could argue that the Japanese export-oriented industrialization has helped to intensify competition and fuel the growth of trade friction with the US and other industrialized economies. By 1980s, Japan was increasingly forced to open its economy, while its trading partners tried to constrain Japanese exports. As a result of trade conflicts with the United States in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, the opening of the Japanese economy through the promotion of imports began to be emphasized at the expense of exports. For example, starting in 1981, Japan was forced to establish voluntary restraints on automobile exports to the United States to allay criticism from American manufacturers and their unions. In the 1990s, the Japanese economy suffered significant stagnation, but could not rely on its export markets, particularly in the US, to fuel growth.

Role of external factors, such as the external economic environment: Students could argue that Japanese dependence on the external economic environment has made Japan extremely vulnerable to external shocks. The postwar economic environment shifted by the 1970s with the oil crises, which led sectors like steel, non-ferrous metals, and shipbuilding, which had been

the flagships of industry during the period of growth in Japan, to go into long-term depression. In 1985, the implementation of the Plaza Accord and the subsequent appreciation of yen led to an immediate collapse in business profits. With the high value of the yen becoming permanent, many industries transferred their parts-production bases to Southeast Asian countries like Thailand and Malaysia where labour costs were lower. As manufacturing sectors shifted overseas, the unemployment rate that used to be only one to two percent until the early 1980s steadily rose to 5% in 2000.

5. "Extremism from both sides contributed significantly to the protracted nature of the Indo- Pakistani conflict." Assess the accuracy of this statement.

Topic: Obstacles to peace in the Indo-Pak conflict

Assumptions:

1. Both India and Pakistan contributed to the longevity of the conflict

Students should discuss multiple obstacles to peace between India and Pakistan, such as the desire of the disputants to take advantage of each other's perceived weaknesses, the role of ideology such as the "Two Nation Theory", extremism and cross-border terrorism, the refusal to allow international mediation, the misrule of Kashmir, and foreign aid to the disputants. Students should evaluate the extent in which the local agents played a role in the longevity of the conflict, as opposed to local/regional/international circumstances and the role of external players.

Define:

Extremism: the holding of extreme political or religious views; fanaticism.

Extremism from Pakistan: Pakistan was the side most ready to adopt a military solution to take advantage of what the Pakistanis perceived to be "weaknesses" in their adversaries. In 1947, when the partition of British India occurred, the Dogra ruler of Jammu and Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Singh, postponed his decision to join either India or Pakistan in the hope of securing a deal that would give Jammu and Kashmir some degree of independence. The Pakistanis made use of the Maharajah's political isolation as a signal for an invasion. The Pakistanis also initiated the 1965 War because of their perception of Indian military weakness. In the spring of 1965 the Pakistani army succeeded in forcing Indian forces to withdraw from Rann, allowing the Pakistanis to take over 40 miles of marshland. The Indian army had in the 1960s acquired the reputation of losing border clashes with the Chinese in the Himalayas.

Extremism from Pakistan: Pakistan sponsored cross-border terrorism into Kashmir. Pakistan's support for cross-border insurgency was aimed to force India to the negotiating table. In 1987, both the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) and the Jamaat-e-Islami received authorization for an offensive with the full support of Pakistan. Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence believed, from experience in Afghanistan, that hardline Islamists made more efficient fighters than their more moderate counterparts. Jammu and Kashmir's political system became a major target of jihadist assault. Starting from August 1989, National Conference cadre began to be assassinated. Jihadi groups prohibited voters from participating in by-elections to India's Parliament, which were held in November 1989. The Hizb-ul-Mujahideen soon became the largest jihadist group with the support of the Jamaat-e-Islami and Pakistan's ISI and it began a full-scale war with the JKLF and other competing pro-Pakistan Islamist groups such as the Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen. More Pakistan-based groups joined in the fray, such as the Lashkar-e-Taiba, Harkat-ul-Jihad Islami, Harkat-ul-Ansar and Harkat-ul-Mujahideen. They

organized mass killings of Hindu and Muslim communities in rural Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan's approach has failed to gain any tangible concessions from India and has been counterproductive, as India insisted that no substantial dialogue with Pakistan is possible until cross-border terrorism ceases and Pakistan dismantles the infrastructure that sustains this activity.

Intransigence, rather than extremism from India: Students should discuss India's resistance to third party mediation during the 1947 War, 1965 War and 1971 War, which limited UN's attempts to resolve the conflict. Reasons behind India's resistance, such as dissatisfaction with UN's failure to condemn Pakistan's aggression and to obtain the withdrawal of Pakistani troops during the 1947 War, as well as Cold War considerations should be discussed. Students should highlight the differing stance of India and Pakistan and how India's preference for bilateralism was in contradiction to Pakistan's preference for multilateralism. The best students would note how the principle of bilateralism was not consistently upheld by India, as can be seen from Soviet mediation in the Tashkent Conference and India's acceptance of a US role in defusing crisis with Pakistan, especially during the Kargil conflict of 1999.

Intransigence, rather than extremism from India: India's unwillingness to hold elections in Kashmir: Students should discuss the changes in domestic and international context that led Nehru to withdraw his offer of plebiscite in 1956, as well as explain how this decision led to discontent amongst the Kashmiris, contributing to the Kashmiri insurgency in 1989. Students should also explain how this unwillingness to conduct the referendum, against the promises made during the time of accession has led Pakistan to contest the legality of Indian claims over Kashmir.

Role of superpowers: Students should discuss the role of superpowers in the conflict and how UN's efforts to mediate in the conflict were blocked by the Cold War between the superpowers through the use of veto power in the Security Council. Students could also discuss how American use of Pakistan as a frontline state to funnel aid to the mujahideens in Afghanistan allowed wider sections of the Pakistani population to gain access to arms and to new religious militancy. The rise of an organized and assertive religious right in Kashmir and Pakistan then kept the Kashmir issue at the heart of policy. Students could evaluate the role of superpowers as obstacles to peace in the conflict by pointing out that superpowers sometimes acted as important mediators in the conflict. This can be seen in US role during the Kargil conflict and Soviet role in the Tashkent Conference. Students could highlight how the acquisition of nuclear weapons has drawn American priorities to the region, even though their stance was previously non-committal.

Conflicting ideologies: In concluding their essay, students could discuss the overall role played by ideology, which led to zero-sum claims to Kashmir which are fundamentally irreconcilable with each other. In each of the 3 Indo-Pak wars, the leaders resorted to force to preserve the legitimacy of their ideals. Indian and Pakistani competition over Kashmir has resulted in two wars (1948 and 1965), while the Bangladesh crisis can be seen as an attempt

of one nation to wipe out the possibility of a secular movement within its own borders, with the other aiding and encouraging that movement. Students could discuss how the conflict ideologies underlaid their approaches to the conflict and contributed to their intransigence.