

How far do Sources A to E support the view that the Cold War enhanced the ability of the UN Secretary General to maintain international peace and stability?

Sources	L2/3 (Analysis)	L4/5 (CK/CR)	L4/5 (Tone/Provenance/Purpose/usefulness)
<b>A- From an essay by an American professor of law, published in 1995.</b>	S – “It was the institutional paralysis created by the Cold War which gave the Secretary-General the elbow room for bold initiatives” such as Trygve Lie used the communist infiltration in Greece to establish a legitimate and impartial role for his office. By mid-eighties, “the office of the Secretary General had gained in stature in relation to other UN organs.”	<p>CR – Source C Role of Sec-Gen expanded through the dispute settlement role “that was clearly separate from other UN political organs”. Source C mentioned about the creative interpretations of his role and expansion of his scope of responsibility, which can be seen in Source A’s Trygve Lie using the dispute settlement role in Greece.</p> <p>CK – the time of 1995 can be said to be the post-Cold War period and thus a period of optimism under the ‘new world order’ especially for US. Being American, the writer might be reflecting the mood of his time, due to the expansion of the role of the United Nations and the closer relations between US and UN during this time as well, with its scope enlarging to humanitarian efforts as well. This can be further seen in the fact that the author described how the UN and the Security Council was “constrained by Cold War politics” even up</p>	<p>Provenance: As a professor of law, he would have done in depth research and would thus be accurate in his analysis.</p> <p>Usefulness: However, being in 1995, it is also known that the UN had largely failed in the African region, for example in 1994 the Security Council passed a resolution to withdraw troops from Rwanda. In Somalia two UN operations broke down in failure such that Boutros Boutros-Ghali called for a new division of labour between UN and regional forces. Thus this source is limited by its time in showing the subsequent failures of the UN Sec-Gen.</p>

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		till the mid-eighties, thus Cold War having ended by the time this source was written, the 'constraints' would no longer be there.	
<b>B- From a book written by a retired British ambassador to the United Nations, 1995.</b>	C – The Secretary-Generals did not receive the “minimal support” they needed such as Dag Hammorsjkold who if he had not died in 1961, would have been a cause for failure attributed by the Soviet Union. The source mentioned that subsequent Secretary-Generals “went out of their way to avoid giving offence to major UN players, in particular the two superpowers.”	CR – Source B mentioned that U Thant went out of his way to avoid offending the superpowers. However, Source E counters this in showing that due to U Thant’s mediation, Khrushchev accepted his proposals to stop shipping missiles to Cuba and US agreed to suspend its blockade. This could however, explain that the success for U Thant in this case was less due to his credibility but due to the willingness of Kennedy and Khrushchev to avoid a nuclear war during the Cuban Missile Crisis.	Provenance: Being a former British ambassador to the United Nations, the author would have had the relevant experience and expertise to share his views and analysis on the role of the Secretary General during the Cold War. Furthermore, the source being in 1995 which was the end of the Cold War, the author would no longer have the vested interest to defend the United Nations and could thus be relating his opinions on hindsight.
<b>C- From a book written by a UN administrator, 2006.</b>	S- In spite of the problem of deadlock in the Security Council, the Secretary Generals could overcome this “through creative interpretations of his role” and thus played an essential role in being “the only channel of communication between the parties concerned”.	CR – Source A similarly talked about the “peaceful settlement of disputes” which was used by the Secretary General to expand his role, and this can be seen in Source A’s “Past UN Secretary-Generals created a dispute settlement role that was clearly separate from other UN political organs”.  Source D similarly talked about the constraints of deadlock and “paralysis” of Cold War politics when “powerful states	Provenance: Being from a book written by a UN administrator, the author would thus be biased towards defending UN and past Sec-Gens. The source would also have vested interest to defend in light of the fact that the book is meant to be read by public audience.  Tone: The positive portrayal can be backed up by the tone of the source which emphasised the very significant role of the Sec-Gen through phrases such as “undefined good offices role of the Secretary-General.” And being “the ONLY channel of communication”.

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		increasingly put the UN in the periphery of their foreign policy.” Thus D contradicts Source C in saying that the Sec-Gens were not able to overcome the constraints placed by Cold War antagonisms after all.	
<b>D- From an article written by an academic from the United Nations University at Tokyo, 2007.</b>	The source described the multitudes of problems faced by past Secretary Generals such as U Thant, Kurt Waldheim and Javier Perez de Cuellar, as a result of powerful states putting UN “at the periphery of their foreign policy”, meaning that the UN was constantly put under a quagmire due to the differing national interests of the various states whether great power or Third World.	<p>CR – Source B also mentioned the issue of great power politics in hampering the effectiveness of the Sec-Gen in the example of Dag Hammarskjold’s relationship with the Soviet Union. Due to this therefore, Sec-Gens were forced to acquiesce to major UN players.</p> <p>In fact Source D, though supporting the hypothesis, reflects this issue of UN Sec-Gen being subjected to the whims of major players, as seen in the Cuban Missile Crisis where U Thant’s proposals could only work when the superpowers felt that it was in their own domestic interests to cooperate to avoid a nuclear fallout.</p>	<p>Provenance: Being from an academic at the UN university in Tokyo, the source can be relied on to be impartial and credible in having done in depth research to provide accurate analysis. Furthermore, the author is in no way affiliated to the United Nations and thus can be counted on to be academically objective. The year 2007 also places some historical distance between the Cold War and the time of the source.</p> <p>Tone: Tone of the source can be said the quite criticising of the UN Sec-Gen, using words such as “quagmire of paralysis” “hampered” and “thwarted”. However, this could simply be the opinion of the author and has nothing to do with vested interests.</p>
<b>E – From a newspaper report written at the time of the CMC, 1962.</b>	The superpowers could be seen cooperating and agreeing to U Thant’s proposals “under which the US would suspend its blockade for two or three weeks, while the Soviet Union stopped shipping its missile to	CK – Based on Contextual Knowledge, we know that the resolution of the Cuban Missile Crisis at this time was largely a result of the two superpowers separate negotiations with each other	<p>Provenance: Being a newspaper report from during the Cuban Missile Crisis itself, the source is merely reporting the events that had happened and was thus not indicating any signs of vested interests or bias.</p> <p>Tone: The way that the source</p>

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	<p>Cuba". Khrushchev also wrote to U Thant that he agreed with the proposal which "meets the interests of peace".</p>	<p>through the exchange of letters. Khrushchev for instance wrote to Kennedy on that same day that he urged for US to respect the sovereignty of Cuba and in return USSR would dismantle the missiles in Cuba. Thus the agreement to U Thant's proposals was of no consequence due to the fact that Kennedy and Khrushchev had already negotiated with each other on their own, each side wanting to avoid a nuclear war in the first place. Thus it cannot be said that the Cold War enhanced the role of the UN Sec-Gen bcos U Thant's role in this crisis was inconsequential.</p> <p>CR – Source B further showed that U Thant had in fact gone out of his way to avoid giving offence to the superpowers, thus highlighting that the Sec-Gen did not play a very significant role nor did he act boldly and independently of the superpowers.</p>	<p>is written is also simply factual, merely detailing the accounts of negotiations between Kennedy, Khrushchev and U Thant.</p> <p>Usefulness: The source being produced during the time of the crisis, is limited in utility as it failed to show how the conclusions of the negotiations and the resolution of the agreement was more due to Kennedy and Khrushchev's own back channel communications rather than U Thant, as can be surmised from contextual knowledge.</p>

## 2. Why did historians differ in their analyses about the origins of the Cold War?

This question requires students to examine the differences between the various schools of thought, traditionalist/orthodox, revisionist, post-revisionist and post-post revisionist as well as analyse the reasons behind these differences, for example due to the context within which each school of thought was produced, the historians writing and the types of sources of information they had access to. Students can approach this question by explaining the different schools of thoughts in a chronological order first followed by an evaluation of their differences.

Students may state that the traditional/orthodox interpretation, which was dominant from the mid-1940s to the 1960s, and suggested that responsibility lay with Stalin and the USSR. Such interpretations cite the Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe and the Berlin Blockade Crisis. In support of the argument candidates may cite contextual information such as the Marxist-Leninist idea of spreading communism across the globe. They may also cite the revisionist interpretation which tended to lay responsibility with the USA and, in particular, President Truman. Students may mention Truman's aggressive/abrasive manner in dealing with Molotov, which contrasted with FDR; the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan and the creation of NATO. This is followed by the post-revisionist interpretation which suggests the Cold War began because of misperceptions and misjudgements by both the USA and USSR. They may mention divisions over Germany, German reparations, the creation of Bizonia, the Greek Civil War, the defensive nature of Soviet policy in Eastern Europe. Finally, students may mention that since the collapse of the USSR evidence has come to light which reinforces the traditional/orthodox interpretation. In the 1990s, a post-post revisionist school emerged. Its arguments were similar to those of the traditional school in that the outbreak of the Cold War was seen as being primarily the responsibility of Stalinist authoritarianism.

To account for the differences in the above schools of thought, students may bring up the different contexts within each analysis. The orthodox school of thought came about in the context of the height of the Cold War and much of the view was shaped by the personal experience of the US diplomats turned historians like Herbert Feis and Louis Halle. As a result the orthodox explanation of the Cold War origins closely reflected the view projected by the US government. In contrast, the revisionist argument which emerged during the 1960s and early 1970s, came about in the context of the Vietnam War which forced some historians not only to reconsider the American attitude towards communism in general but were also ready to take a more sympathetic view of the difficulties Stalin had found himself in at the end of the Second World War. Some of the moderate revisionists even went to the extent of blaming personalities like Truman and the red baiters around him for the Cold war. Consequently the "revisionist" interpretation produced a critical reaction of its own and gave rise to a new genre of historians called the Post-Revisionist historians, who developed a more historically balanced approach by showing both the superpowers were at fault for the origin of the Cold war. Instead of blaming either side for the Cold War, the post- revisionist historians took a more objective standpoint by trying to analyze accidents, misconceptions and underlying forces which shaped the Cold war. With the collapse of communism in 1991 and the opening up of Russian archives, historians were able to have greater insight into USSR's foreign policy which thus shifted their view back towards the orthodox side, which was to hold Stalin more accountable based on his fanatic belief in Communism and his personal faults. Russian historians too evaluated Stalin's role in causing the Cold War, which was a sharp deviation from the previous three schools of thought which were more dominated by American and Western European scholars.

### **3. How far did the end of the Cold War result in a more peaceful international system?**

Students are required to provide evidence for and against the assertion. In order to do so, students need to compare changes in international politics before and after the Cold War to assess whether the end of Cold War did result in a more peaceful international system. In the initial period after the Cold War the level of tension was reduced in many ways, as evident from the new world order based on a combination of US military power, collective action by all the major powers and an enhanced role for the UN. Also, the post-Cold war world was more united as seen from the benign security consequences of global capitalism which fostered greater cooperation between countries. However, this was short-lived as stability decreased. It can be argued that the post-Cold War world was a more unstable and violent can be seen in the rise of virulent new conflicts based on religion and ethnicity, the destabilisation of international politics and the persistence of conflicts which arose during the Cold War.

#### **More peaceful international system**

In the initial period of optimism and under the apparent new world order as coined by Bush, the 1990s saw almost three times as many UN peacekeeping missions as were initiated during the previous 40 years. This growing number reflected greater reliance on the United Nations to address domestic upheavals. Following apparent peacekeeping successes in Namibia, the world was confident that the United Nations could intervene effectively in disintegrating states, not only to restore peace but also to undertake state building. A new era of political and economic cooperation emerged, where Bush described as peace dividends, could be reaped with less focus on military defense and more focus on raising social living standards and welfare. US and Western multinational corporations (MNCs) exploited a greatly expanding web of international inter-firm alliances during the 1980s and 1990s to increase their opportunities for technological innovation and reduce the risks and difficulty associated with Research and Development (R & D). With the end of bipolarity as well, it could lead to the prominence of multilateral institutions such as 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.

#### **More instability and less peaceful**

While the Cold War ended, old conflicts did not necessarily end as well but in fact became more intractable. Students could bring up the 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. Not only that, with the end of bipolarity and the Soviet Union, this led to chaos and violence in the breakaway states of USSR and Eastern Europe. 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. Students could 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. With that, virulent new conflicts in the form of ethnic civil wars emerged. Furthermore, a new type of threat

emerged in the form of the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and the upsurge of terrorist attacks such as on US embassies in Kenya.

**4. “Japan’s economic growth had been nothing less than an economic miracle.” Discuss the validity of the statement from 1945-2000.**

This question requires students to evaluate both the growth and problems of the Japanese economy. In saying that its growth had been “nothing less” than an economic miracle, it gives room for students to argue otherwise, by saying that the Japanese economic miracle did not last as the very factors that led to its growth also led to its problems later.

**Nothing less than an economic miracle**

Students could argue for the roles of internal and external factors to explain the Japanese economic miracle before 1990s. The role of government could be seen in the role of MITI which held primary responsibility for formulating and implementing international trade policy, although it did so by seeking a consensus among interested parties, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Finance. MITI also coordinated trade policy, on issues affecting their interests, with the Economic Planning Agency, the Bank of Japan, and the ministries of agriculture, construction, forestry and fisheries, health and welfare, posts and telecommunications, and transportation. In 1951, MITI and the Ministry of Finance established the Japan Development Bank, a bank with access to the resources of the country’s postal savings system and which offered inexpensive capital to selected industries, thereby bankrolling long term growth. Government funded banks, especially the Japan Development Bank, played a critical role in supplying government funds to strategic industries by means of long term, low interest loans. The role of US could also be mentioned in encouraging Japan’s protectionist policies. US tolerated Japanese protectionism against American products to protect its domestic industries and allowed its industries to grow without competition from American businesses and this further aided the growth of the Japanese economy. Furthermore the US also let out its Marshall plan to Japan and opened the US market to Japanese imports in order to enhance Japan’s role as a bulwark against China’s communism in East Asia. Other than that students could also mention the social factors such as their work culture of frugality and lifetime employment. One very important form of savings is the postal savings system, which offers tax-free savings accounts, and by 1980 this system held deposits 4 times larger than the Bank of America, the world’s biggest commercial bank. The savings of Japanese families have proved to be a powerful engine of economic growth and the banking system has an efficient means to channelling these savings into corporate investments. During the high growth era, much of that invested wealth went into improving the capacity of Japan’s manufacturing equipment. The Japanese labour market had been characterized by its so-called ‘Japanese-style employment practices.’ These practices consist of long-term employment (or ‘lifetime’ employment).The concept of lifetime employment forced employers to view their workers differently. Knowing that their core workers are likely to be with them for many years, the company’s managers are willing to invest quite substantially in training. Workers are usually rotated from one position to another in the factory so that they gradually gain skill and experience in a range of productive tasks. The rotation of jobs throughout the factory also allowed the company to be flexible in responding to market changes and to increase productivity more effectively. Therefore, instead of treating labour as a cost of production to be hired and fired as the company’s fortunes rose and fell, workers were treated as human capital, a valuable resource to be developed.

## **Less than an economic miracle**

Students could argue that the initial factors that led to the Japanese economic miracle would also explain its lost decade. For instance, 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. Japan's yen which was initially doing very well but pegged low, would later also become a burden. After the Plaza Accord of 1985 where Japan had to devalue its currency, Japan had to lower interest rates to encourage spending thus driving Japan into a 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. Students could also 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.

## **5. “Give peasants the power to make money.” To what extent is this policy responsible for the rise of China as an economic power from 1978-2000?**

This question is asking students to evaluate whether the rise of China as an economic power was due to its agricultural reforms, as indicated by the terms “peasants” and “power to make money” which could thus refer to the household responsibility system. For counter arguments students will thus need to bring up other factors such as industrial reforms, its open door policy and increase in privatisation.

### **Giving peasants power to make money**

Students can discuss the adoption of the household responsibility system in agriculture. The Commune system was changed as the team was reorganized by distributing its land to individual households to farm separately, each getting the additional reward for additional labor after delivering a fixed amount of output to the team for delivery to the government procurement agencies. Agricultural output increased rapidly in China. The farmers became richer. The success of reform in agriculture served as the foundation of reform in other sectors not only by increasing the supply of food but also by changing the ideological thinking of Communist Party members in support of a market economy. However, there were also limitations in this due to the neglect of the rural sector after the initial spurt of reform. The dismantling of the commune resulted in a progressive neglect of large projects formerly serviced by the commune, such as the mechanized pumping of the irrigation system and the use of heavy tractors for preparation of the land. Social services, healthcare and primary education also suffered. Decline in collectivization resulted in deferred maintenance of irrigation, reduction of mechanization and greater use of low grade chemical fertilizers. The ability of the farm units to deal with natural calamities had been vastly reduced. The state incurred a heavy new burden because it paid higher prices for farm products but could not raise commodity prices in the city for fear of inflation and public anger. The tight government finances limited government investment in agriculture and productive power stagnated.

### **Other factors**

Students can discuss industrial reforms, which thus showed the provision of more power to the state owned enterprises as well as private firms to make money rather than just the peasants. The government gave state enterprises some autonomy in production, marketing and investment decisions rather than simply carrying out the decisions under a system of central planning. The industrial enterprises that were allowed to make such autonomous decisions produced about 45 percent of the total output of all state industrial enterprises. After paying a fixed tax to the government having jurisdiction over it, each state enterprise was allowed to keep the remaining profit for distribution to its staff and workers and for capital investment. However, there was little improvement in the efficiency of the enterprises due to investment policy that might not be optimal, lower quality of manager in enterprises, corruption practices in selection of managers caused by the industrial reforms.

Students can also discuss the influx of FDI that was a result of Deng’s open-door policy or the gaige kaifang. To encourage foreign trade and investment in an improved investment climate, the Special Economic Zone was established along the China coast where foreign firms set up industries or established joint ventures with Chinese firms and could operate with a degree of economic freedom. The zones offered China foreign capital, technology, expertise and ideas. They give foreigners tax incentives and plenty of cheap labour. The SEZs have also been important bridges over which foreign capital, technology, goods, managers and ideas have crossed into the hinterland and over which

the products of the hinterland have access to world markets. By 1990, the SEZs had attracted over \$4 billion and set up 5700 projects; their exports during the last decade (1980-1990) accounted for a tenth of China's exports and earned China \$3.85 billion in foreign exchange.

## **6. To what extent was the Kashmir conflict the result of a territorial dispute between India and Pakistan between 1945-2000?**

The question requires students to consider causes of the Indo-Pakistani conflict. Students should avoid using particular events, but instead bigger issues of which the events are examples of that which the bigger issues, such as territorial, ideological and economic.

### **Territorial dispute**

Students will argue that the root cause of the I-P conflict was the territorial feud brought about by the Partition of India. Under British colonial rule, The British crown directly ruled British India, while the princely states were notionally independent as long as they recognized the British as the "paramount" power in the sub-continent. In June 1947, the British accepted partition and the creation of two separate sovereign states as inevitable. Lord Mountbatten, the last viceroy, decreed that with the end of British rule, the rulers of the princely states could join either India or Pakistan. Thus since Kashmir was not allowed to seek Independence, Nehru's position was that Kashmir should remain within India's control since it had originally been part of India prior to British rule. Pakistanis often say Kashmir is the unfinished business of Partition and that it should be settled on the same principle: Muslims are a separate nation and Muslim-majority areas of the subcontinent ought to constitute Pakistan. Thus, Kashmir was a territorial issue to both India and Pakistan who felt that it should rightfully come under their own State. Furthermore, Kashmir was a physical manifestation of the entire conflict in that Kashmir was to a certain extent, more arable land meant for the side that would be able to gain it. In this, the gaining of Azad Kashmir by Pakistan at the end of the Pakistan invasion in 1948 resulted in gaining of the more arable Mirpur district. Furthermore, the Pakistani invasion in 1965 in the attempt to shift the agreed Line of Control further, demonstrated an attempt to further gains in Kashmir, hoping that more would be granted when the superpowers intervened. This would fail when America stepped in to assure Pakistan that would not be the case, and therefore the invasion AND retreat by Pakistan demonstrated the territorial nature of the conflict with regards to Kashmir.

### **Other forms of dispute**

Students will cite the basis of Pakistan's claim to Kashmir that the State of Kashmir had a Muslim majority population and was contiguous to Pakistan, the two basic criteria to determine the accession of the princely states to India or Pakistan. They will illustrate how Pakistan has consistently demanded a plebiscite to determine the wishes of the people of Kashmir, which it claims would have been decisively in favour of Pakistan all along. Students will also state that according to Pakistan's interpretation; a plebiscite would be solely on the issue of accession to India or Pakistan. It would not include the choice of Kashmiri independence, a choice that many Kashmiris themselves have demanded. Thus Pakistan believed that Kashmir should belong to it on religious grounds.

The role of ideological differences could also be mentioned in the form of competing visions of nationalism. For Pakistan, Kashmir is symbolic of the impossibility of secular nationalism in the region and thus of the need for a Muslim homeland in the north-western corner of the Subcontinent. Indian and Pakistani competition over Kashmir has resulted in two wars (1948 and 1965) and was the scene of fighting in the 1971 war over East Pakistan. Thus, the two sides considered that their political orientation is irreconcilable. Other than that, role of superpowers was not a direct cause for the Indo-Pakistan War but it contributed to the extension of the conflict beyond the initial 1948 War and therefore can be considered a cause of the conflict. This includes the participation of the superpowers, and the countries involved in the SEATO and CENTO alliances, of which Pakistan was a party to. Third-party involvement with Pakistan led to India seeing itself at a disadvantage as compared to Pakistan, leading it to put on hold its promise to grant Kashmir a plebiscite, and decide for itself its political future. While India had been amenable to the superpowers brokering peace talks and agreements between the two sides, it was not agreeable having them involved in the situation, in which the political balance between the two could be affected; India felt threatened by CENTO, which it saw to be a promotion of Pakistan's position and a threat to their own, which would subsequently reduce its bargaining power or ability to determine what it considered to be a fair plebiscite, or one at least not disadvantaged to itself. In this, the conflict was dragged on beyond the initial phase due to India's fear of external interference.