

13/10/14

What is Cold War?

Relations betⁿ Russia and West upto the disintegration of USSR are defined as Cold War. Perhaps the term was first used by George Orwell. He held that because of nuclear weapons, there will be limited possibility of hot war betⁿ USA & Russia.

It was popularised by Walter Lippman through series of his articles. Its origin is also linked to the famous speech of Winston Churchill known as 'Eulton speech' where he talks about the 'Iron Curtain' (from Baltic to Adriatic).

Features of Cold War

- It was a state which was neither the state of peace nor the state of war between the 2 superpowers. It represents very high level of distrust and antagonism between the 2 superpowers & it is believed that in certain circumstances non existing (nuclear weapons not existing) it would have resulted into direct military confrontation betⁿ the 2 superpowers & the WWII.

- Cold War was not entirely cold. There were direct confrontations e.g. betⁿ Iran & Iraq but no direct confrontation betⁿ the 2 superpowers. World witnessed many 'proxy wars' which can be clearly linked to East-West conflict.

Nazi: Gleichschaltung
Salamitaktik

Russia's insecurity
not understood by US

communist international - comintern

Who was responsible for Cold War?

Diffe

- Traditional / Orthodox Schools

From this point of view, USSR was responsible.

- Revisionist View

They have held that USA was responsible.

- Post-revisionist view

They believe that both of them had hegemonic ambitions & hence both were responsible.

Whether Cold War was inevitable? or whether it could have been avoided?

- It was inevitable, according to realists.

Reason of inevitability was the rise of 2 superpowers competing to establish the sphere of their dominance.

- The 2 superpowers had ideological incompatibility.

Hence, Cold War was inevitable.

Alternative View

- It could have been avoided. Cold War

was not because of bipolarity or ideological antagonism, but miscalculations, misinterpretation, misperceptions & thus they have missed opportunities.

& Stages

Evolution of Cold War

- Pre-Cold War Phase (1917 - 1945)

- Cold War Phase I (1945 - 1962)

Salami Strategy: divide & conquer, eliminate the opposition slice by slice
piecemeal strategy until one realizes

- Detente Phase (1962 - 1979)
- New Cold War (1979 - 1989)
- Post Cold War (1989 - till date)

Pre Cold War Phase

- Socialist Revolution in Russia threatened the Capitalist countries & they supported counter revolutionary forces but were unsuccessful. This has convinced Lenin that Soviet Union surrounded by hostile Capitalist encirclement is never safe. Hence he formed Communist International for expansion of Communism which has increased the sense of insecurity among the Capitalist countries.
- Stalin's foreign policy

Stalin was also concerned with the geographical vulnerability of Russia. Historically Russia has suffered invasion from the West.

Stalin wanted buffer states. He wanted to replace capitalist encirclement with Socialist line of defense. Stalin did make efforts to assure the countries of West by proclaiming "Socialism in one country". However it was not enough to address insecurity of the Capitalist countries. After this

Stalin started "Salami Strategy".

establish our line of defence.

Stalin entered into Non-aggression pact (Molotov - Ribbentrop Pact) with Germany & neutrality pact with Japan to address Russian insecurity. However these pacts convinced West that Hitler & Stalin will work together to destroy democracy.

communist philosophy - Russia's domestic policy.
not ideological spread of comm. in world.
Megalomania
too big-madness.

Conclusion:

Sense of insecurity of Russia & lack of understanding of Russian concern by West had laid the foundation of Cold War. It

During WW II

Cold War Phase I

- Russia joined the War after Hitler's aggression on Russia. Russia & other countries of West, so called United Nations or Allies were nothing more than an opportunistic alliance. It was anti-Hitler alliance rather than United Nations.
- The Wartime Conferences like Tehran, Yalta Conference have shown that the mutual suspicion continues & United Nations failed to develop consensus.

Major issues which emerged in these conferences were w.r.t. the future of Germany, Poland, the amt. of reparation to be paid by Germany to Russia, etc., Also w.r.t. the forms of govt. in Eastern Europe.

- Stalin's View

For Russia's safety, Stalin wanted Socialist govts in these countries. Stalin was in a position to influence formation of govt in these countries. Russian forces were present in East European countries.

- View of West

West insisted on Rights of People to freely determine the type of the political system they wanted for themselves. West insistence was on democracy.

West has unnecessarily delayed the opening of Second Front against Hitler to release pressure on Soviet Army on Eastern front. It has convinced Stalin that West is not interested in genuine alliance & would like that Hitler & Stalin destroy each other.

- Manhattan Project / Secret development of Nuclear Weapons

USA had informed UK & Canada but did not inform USSR. This convinced Stalin that West aims to take distinct advantage over Russia & is not willing to treat Russia in equal terms. This forced Russia to develop its own nuclear weapons & nuclear arms race between the 2 superpowers became the most defining feature of Cold War.

- Stalin was surprised with the use of nuclear weapon by USA to end the war in Asia-Pacific. Quite contrary to previous agreement where Russia was to open the Second front against Japan. Russia was convinced that US would not like to see Russian presence & influence in Asia-Pacific.

These developments during war made Stalin more convinced for establishing Communist govts in periphery (Poland, ^{Slovakia} Czech, Hungary, Romania). These acts of Stalin led to the evolution of USA's policy of "containment of USSR/Russia"

Cold War Phase I

- In Feb 1946, US Embassy official George Kennan sent the "Long Telegram" communicating the mood of USSR and suggesting that growing power of USSR had to be stopped.
- In Mar 1946, Churchill also confirmed the Cold War in his 'Fulton Speech'.

- President Truman of USA started containment actions

Truman Doctrine

- It marks the end of isolationist foreign policy of USA. (Munro doctrine) & started an active policy of intervention. Truman described the core objective of US foreign policy is to support free people anywhere attempting to resist subjugation by armed minorities.

Immediate context of Truman Doctrine

- This was to protect Greece & Turkey from coming under USSR.

• USA announced Marshall Plan, A\$17 billion aid as Europe Recovery Plan, to contain export of Communism.

• Russia responded by Molotov Plan asking East European countries not to take aid from West.

• USA proposed Baruch Plan for nuclear disarmament.

Russia did not accept Baruch Plan.

US proposal was all countries suspend the nuclear weapon programmes. Committee of international experts will inspect. After being

assured USA will surrender/destroy its nuclear weapons whereas Russia demanded us to first surrender its nuclear weapons & expressed apprehensions against the neutrality of UN Commission.

With the failure of Baruch Plan, Truman had gone for acquiring & nuclear deterrence, second strike capacity/improving its nuclear deterrence.

- On 4th April 1950, NATO, a collective defence pact came into existence. It gave a permanent military presence to USA in Europe. Art 5 of NATO guaranteed that armed attack against any of its members will be considered as an attack on all members & NATO will respond with armed attack.

• Russia responded by formation of Warsaw Pact in 1955, 5 yrs after NATO.

Occasion of Warsaw Pact:

West Germany's membership in NATO alarmed USSR.

Thus world has witnessed not only ideological bipolarity but also strategic bipolarity. Later on USA also proposed similar defence pacts for other regions e.g. Baghdad Pact, Middle East Defence Organisation, Manila Pact, South East Asia Treaty Organisation. (Phillip, Thai).

Key events of 1st Phase of Cold War.

- Berlin blockade 1948

First & last confrontation in Europe & it gave

advantage to us. After this the theater of Cold War shifted to East Asia, Middle East & Latin America. After this event, USA's containment policy had only limited success.

Other Events

- In Asia

- Victory of Communism in China. USA supported KMT Party of Chiang Kai Shek KummTang which had to take refuge in Taiwan.
- Korean Crisis

By the time Truman was replaced by ~~Isen~~ Eisenhower. Eisenhower's administration suggested active containment. John Foster Dulles gave the concept of "Domino Theory". As a part of ^{extreme containment /} Domino Theory US administration announced ^{communism.} doctrine of massive retaliation, changed its approach towards Japan & had adopted the policy of active 'rollback Communism'.

• Korean Crisis of 1950

It was to roll back communism. It was partial success of USA, war dragged till 1953. In 1953, armistice agreement which divided the Peninsula into 2 parts & created a demilitarised zone of 2 kms. This is still continuing & the war continues.

• War in Vietnam

It started in 1954 and continued for 20 yrs & USA didn't have even partial success.

Analysis of USA's containment policy / Domino Theory.

- USA could not get similar success as in Europe because countries had colonial background & USA

was supporting colonial masters like France.
US commitments for S.E Asia were not at par with that of Europe.

- Domino theory lacked rational basis. The objective of communism in Korea & Vietnam was not the export of communism.

- Entire region had not gone for communism.

Singapore & Philippines formed association with West. Indonesia gone for NAM

Cold War in Middle East

Suez Crisis 1956

After this crisis Egypt came under influence of USSR. Egypt being the leader of Arab World also brought other Arab countries under influence of USSR. Gulf monarchies remained under the influence of USA.

Cold War in Latin America

Cuban Missile Crisis 1962

Cold War entered into 2nd phase, i.e., Detente phase as world came under the fear of nuclear war.

USA failed to contain communism in its own backyard. Cuban Crisis though projected as victory of USA but it also benefited USSR.

- USSR could force USA to remove Jupiter missiles from Turkey. USSR took guarantee from USA that it will not interfere in the domestic affairs of Cuba.

Pacts Americana Peace in world can be established only with USA's approach.

14/10/14

Detente Phase (1962/1969 - 1979).

1969 - NPT

Meaning of detente

Detente is a French word for relaxation of tensions. The term was used to explain the nature of relations betⁿ the 2 superpowers.

Key developments of this phase

- Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) 1963
imposed in 1964
- NPT (Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty)
Came into force in 1969

} multilateral

Bilateral

- SALT (Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty) 1972
- ABMT (Anti Ballistic Missile Treaty) 1972

- Formation of Council for Security & Cooperation in Europe in 1972

Significance was to create more inclusive security architecture for Europe qualitatively different from that of NATO. However, this platform remained ineffective throughout the Cold War. It has got new lease of life with the end of Cold War. It has been renamed as Organisation for Security & Cooperation in Europe. The present agenda includes protection of human rights, strengthening of democracy, ensuring free & fair elections. One of the important achievement of platform is Helsinki Accords of 1975.

US - China
reapprochement

US - approaching China

Significance of Helsinki Accord

- Both sides agreed to accept the status quo & no attempt shall be made to change it.
- Recognition of civil & political rights by Eastern bloc.

Nature of detente period

Detente was continuation of Cold War. It has not resulted into dilution of the fundamental differences / antagonisms. However, detente reflects better management of relations betⁿ the two.

Reasons for detente

- Tensions reached to a height that it was necessary to cool these tensions, otherwise it could have resulted into MAD (Mutually Assured Destruction).
- Both countries had domestic concerns to be addressed.

Detente was also pursued in the form of reapprochement

Nixon - Kissinger

Ostpolitik was started by Germany towards the Eastern bloc.

End of detente & beginning of new Cold War

- From 1979 till 1989/91

Change of govt. in USA & Ronald Reagan

Obama
reset policy.

Afghan - graveyard of superpower
Even a fool won't enter it

coming to power had brought change in detente. Many of his advisors had no faith in detente, believed that detente will actually give upper hand to USSR in nuclear deterrence. His advisors also suggested that there is no need to deal with USSR at parity when USA can decisively win even the nuclear war. They suggested SDI, Strategic Defence Initiative, popularly known as Star Wars. The impact of beginning of new Cold War was the 2 countries could not ratify SALT 2. The trigger event for new Cold War was Soviet invasion in Afghanistan.

The re

The re^l betⁿ 2 superpowers were also impacted by some intermediate events.

- 1971 War betⁿ India and Pakistan.
- Revolution in Iran

Iranian revolution made USA insecure w.r.t. Middle East & USA pronounced Carter Doctrine

Carter Doctrine: Any attempt by outside forces to attain control over Persian Gulf shall be considered as threat to US ~~its~~ vital national interest & any such action shall be repelled by all means.

- Ronald Reagan called USSR as evil empire.

The new Cold War was supposed to be more dangerous than the earlier Cold War. The main theater of new Cold War was 3rd world.

Fortunately new Cold War could not continue for long & quite surprisingly it came to an end

within 10 yrs with fall of Communism in Eastern Europe. The destruction of Berlin Wall in 1989 marks the end of Cold War. The construction of Berlin wall in 1961 was concrete manifestation of Iron Curtain.

Cold War finally ended with the disintegration of USSR in 1991. In 1991, USSR was disintegrated & CIS - Commonwealth of Independent States came into existence.

Factors responsible for end of Cold War.

Disintegration of communism in Eastern Europe & disintegration of USSR.

Regarding the end of Cold War, there is a debate among scholars as to what factors played the role, whether it was due to the structural weaknesses of communist economic

& political system or policy initiatives of the then President Mikhail Gorbachev or because of natural factors or sustained propaganda, ^(coloured revolutions) covered operations by the West ^{covert}

Structural weaknesses of Communist systems.

Economic system

Communist economy which is supply driven rather than demand driven became unsustainable.

There was focus on basic industries, production of heavy machinery, defence equipments at the cost of consumer goods. The natural disasters like earthquake & famines added to the misery.

Ultimately it was not possible for USSR to sustain its economic ~~moral~~ model.

britainhead
institution

It had overstretched itself to maintain its superpower status as it had to give grants & loans to the countries of third world.

Political weaknesses of the system

Communist system did not allow participation of the people. There was no scope for ventilation of grievances in the political system. This was the reason that ultimately system could not absorb the protest by the people. The so called democratic centralism of communist party was only centralism & undermined democracy.

Ethnocentrism of Russia

Russians remained dominant in USSR and they had not given enough respect to other nationalities & cultures.

Gorbachov factor

In Russia, Gorbachov is primarily considered as responsible for disintegration of USSR which present president of Russia calls major Geo-political disaster. Gorbachov initiated

3 policies

• Perestroika / Restructuring

Economic & Political Restructuring

• Glasnost / Openness

• Sinatra Doctrine in place of Brezhnev Doctrine

Frank ?
Sinatra

strong control to
relaxed control

Gorbachov's intension was the revitalisation of USSR rather than disintegration of USSR. However, his reforms had unintended consequences & result

To quote Alex De Tocqueville : "Most Dangerous

(Book: Democracy in America)
influenced J.S.M.

law of unintended consequences.

moment for bad govt is generally when it set out to reform "

Besides above factors, the growth in communications technology, astpolitik of Germany, progress of Europe in Western Europe & covert operations by USA had also worked for disintegration.

Expt Teleological explanation for disintegration of USSR

It was provided by Francis Fukuyama through his End of History concept. He has established that history has proved that western liberal democracy is the endpoint of human ideological evolution. We can't have any idea better than that of liberal political & economic system. End of history also proclaimed the beginning of new world order.

Post Coldwar world order.

o Examine the debate on the nature of post Cold War world order.

✓ The nature of new world order remains a matter of intense debate among the political analysts. There are 2 types of opinions

• Optimistic view

It is guided by liberal school of thought & represented by Francis Fukuyama.

Liberals explained the new world order through

concept like "Global Village" or "Borderless World".

They talked about the end of political & ideological conflicts, Geopolitics have been overshadowed by Geoeconomics. There is no competitor of western values & western political systems. There were many facts on ground to support the liberal theory.

e.g. strategic partnership betⁿ USA & Russia, improvement in relⁿ betⁿ India & China, conclusion of WTO agreements & emergence of WTO, regional integration, etc.

Liberal viewpoint about the new world order could be defended strongly upto the year 2000.

Development since then show that liberal explanation has not been realistic, rather it explains the ~~ext~~ anxiety of liberals to show the superiority of liberalism.

• Alternative View

By realists.

For realists there was nothing new nor order in the so called new world order. Rather realists predicted that we have entered into a more dangerous phase. According to them, world is going to witness clash of civilizations, ethnic movements, tribal politics. It has been held that we have killed the python but given rise to numerous poisonous snakes.

Thesis of clash of civilizations

Context of the theory

Criticism of Francis Fukuyama's end of history theory.

Fukuyama's end of history thesis has been criticised by many scholars. They held that the thesis does not take into account the power of new contradictions like ethnic loyalties, religious fundamentalism, rise of radical Islam as a counter to liberal & western values.

In 1992, Benjamin Barber talked about the contradiction between radical Islam & secular, liberal, corporate friendly western values in his article titled 'Jihad vs. McWorld'.

In 1993, Samuel P Huntington produced 'Clash of Civilizations' thesis. Clash of Civilizations thesis predicted the nature of future world order which is going to evolve. It has generated lot of interest since 11th Sept. 2001. 11th Sept. 2001 incident was proclaimed as "End of end of history" by Farid Zakaria, "Return of history and end of dream" by Robert Kagan, "History returned from vacation" by George Will.

Salient features of Clash of Civilizations

- Primary source of conflict since beginning has been cultural & religious. The age of ideology was a very short abnormal period. Clash of Civilizations will always remain permanent source of conflict. He mentions following civilizations & also types of countries
 - Western civilization (N. America, W. Europe)
 - Latin American civilization

In Latin America there is not so much consciousness about their identities & do identify with the western civilization.

• Orthodox Eastern Civilization (Russia)

community, nationalism.

• Eastern Buddhist Civilization (Bhutan, Tibet, Japan)

Though Japan can be called as hybrid civilization.

• Chinese Civilization (China, S.E. Asian countries).

• Hindu Civilization (Nepal, India)

He mentions India as a cleft country (internal divisions within civilizations)

• Jewish Civilization

Samuel Huntington

He predicts war among civilizations. 2 types of war

• War on faultlines

• War between core countries on faultlines
(local & global)

Major conflict will be betⁿ Islamic & Non-Islamic civilization which he mentions as 'Bloody Borders' & that too betⁿ Christian & Islamic Civilization.

Why prominent clash betⁿ Christian & Islamic Civ

- Both are missionary religions (seeking expansion, conversion)

- Both believe in all or nothing, means only their faith is correct.

- Both are teleological (believe there is one purpose).

Reasons why civilizations will clash

- Civilizations are different from ideologies.

Civilizations & cultures are product of centuries.

We are born in a culture & we adopt an ideology.

Influence of culture will not disappear. There can

syria, Russia, Ind.
Cleft

criticism: both teleological.

be temporary suppression.

- Globalisation has also strengthened such consciousness. (more interaction). As world is becoming smaller consciousness is increasing.
- He also holds West responsible for strengthening of this consciousness. West at the peak of its power have desire to shape the world.
- According to their value system which will impose & strengthen the identities
- Growth of regional organisation also reimpose these identities.
- It is easy to resolve political & economic differences but it is not easy to resolve cultural clashes.

Realists are not very optimistic about the nature of new world order. Above 2 explanations are more teleological. Keohane & Nye have presented Complex Interdependence model to explain the ~~more~~ realistically the nature of world order.

Impact of Cold War in International Politics.

- It divided world in rival blocs.
- It promoted arms race
- It undermined United Nations.
- It resulted into establishment of military blocs.
- It led to emergence of Non-aligned movement.
- Many of Coldwar conflicts are still continuing.
- Third world countries have been the worst sufferers.
- There has been lot of intervention in domestic affairs

- & also responsible for the fact that democracy could not take roots in third world countries
- It has undermined Westphalian world order, & specially Westphalian notion of sovereignty as states became satellite states.
 - Some local regional issues assumed international dimension.

Impact of the end of Cold War

- Impacts are still unfolding. There is no agreement among scholars whether Cold War has really ended or not. The end of Cold War has shown following developments
- Rise of nontraditional security threats.
 - Complex interdependence.
 - Promotion of regional integration
 - It has questioned relevance of NAM.
 - Reorientation of foreign policies
 - Greater economic integration.
 - Rise of ethnic & tribal conflicts

Whether Cold War has really ended or not ?

Cold War term was used to explain the nature of relations betⁿ USA & USSR from end of WWII till disintegration of USSR. Presently it has been used to explain the nature of relations betⁿ USA & Russia, the successor state of USSR. This word is coming in frequent use in context of recent crisis in Ukraine & the ambition of present President of Russia

Russia is not only revival but resurgence.

15/10/14

to ^{regain} ~~remain~~ the lost glory of Russia.

Analysis of relations betⁿ Russia & USA
Since end of Cold War.

In nutshell we can say that there has been a change in nature of relation betⁿ 2 countries as the frame of reference has changed from Cold War state to post-Cold War scenario. But we do not see any qualitative change in US - Russia relations. Many times the way they interact with each other do remind us about the Cold War & provide scope for political scholars for flirtations with Cold War idea.

Position of Russia in intⁿ politics &
Importance of Russia

- Russia is located in heartland of intⁿ politics. Russia has been great power historically. It later on became superpower. Russia is the successor of superpower.

- It is strategically located.

- It posses abundant natural resources & presently largest supplier of natural gas & second largest supplier of oil.

The only country in the world that has comparable resources with that of USA.

- It also has strong technological & industrial base.

- Russia also has the soft power.

It has been the centre of orthodox civilizations.

Russia resurgence
USA decline.

- Russia is the only country in the world that can destroy USA in 4-5 min.
- Today Russia is in a position of resurgence & Russia is able to redevelop coalition among countries like China, India, Brazil & has emerged as a new pole in intⁿ politics.

However Russia also faces certain challenges

- Religious fundamentalism, extremism in some of its provinces like Chechnya.
- Russia has been historically vulnerable to external invasions and thus always seek a line of defence.
- It may have to use hard power to address its security concerns.
- Russian economy is commodity based economy & vulnerable to external shocks & needs diversification.
- * At present the growth of Russian economy is too much linked to European Union with which it has differences in political & strategic sphere. Russia may look for other markets like China, India, etc. As far as China is concerned, there is a limitation of Rus-Chi cooperation. (boundary conflicts).
- Demography is not in favour of Russia. In coming times ethnic Russians may be minority. Maybe other minorities in Russia will get numerical superiority. It may impact its cohesiveness.

Why Russia is important for USA?

Many of USA's political & strategic objectives

Cryogenic entry
denied.

- e.g. war against terrorism, in resolution of Palestinian issue, in dealing with N. Korea, Iran.
- - Russia's support is critical for USA's non-proliferation objectives.
- - Russia has economic importance for USA. Their economies are complementary. Russian economy needs expertise in many areas like food processing, IT where US has comparative advantage.

Status of USA

- - It is a military superpower.
- But today US hegemony is in the state of decline & its economy is passing through troubled phase.

US-Russia relation is a relationship of global consequence.

1st Phase of relations

- Yelstein was Russian President & George H.W. Bush was US President.

- - During this phase, USA-Russia entered into strategic partnership. Russia assumed distinctly pro-West orientation.
- - Russia has gone for shock therapy for its economy.
- - US & Russia entered into cooperative threat reduction programme. ~~Nunn~~ Nunn-Lugar Agreement.

NI = NPP - nuclear weapons

Putin - authoritarian

2nd Phase

Yeltsin - Russia

Bill Clinton - USA

- Tensions started developing betⁿ USA & Russia.
Main reason was NATO action in Balkans or Yugoslavrian crisis.
- Economic problem: shock therapy had not helped Russia rather resulted into the drain of wealth from Russia.

3rd Phase

Putin - Russia

George Bush (Tr) - USA

- During this phase relations further deteriorated.
Reason:

- Nationalisation of oil & natural gas sectors of Russian economy.
- USA's intervention in the domestic affairs of Russia, mentioning Russia moving towards authoritarianism & Putin's approach as authoritarian.
- George Bush plan of stationing of missiles in Poland & Czech Republic. and target Iran
- Attempts for expansion of NATO eastward Ukraine, Georgia against agreement betⁿ USA & Russia.
- Recognition of independence of Kosovo by West.
(others may also demand chechnya)
- Russian intervention in Georgia in 2008 & recognition of independence of South Ossetia & Abkhazia.

- 2008 event of Georgia had been compared with Cold War (seen as beginning of new Cold War).

④th phase.

Obama - USA

Medvedev - Russia.

- Obama started his RESET with Russia.

Why reset?

- To end the war in Afghanistan, Russia's support was critical.

Outcome of reset

- Russia's cooperation in Afghanistan.

Russia permitted the use of Northern Distribution network for NATO ISAF (Intⁿ secu. Assistance forces)

- Establishment of a Presidential Commission.

- New start Treaty

- Russia's entry into WTO

- Permanent Normalization of Trade Relations (PNTR) with Russia

However, during reset phase, tensions betⁿ Russia & USA also emerged.

- USA has accused Russia of spying

- USA has passed Magnitsky Act.

- Russia responded by passing a law banning adoption of Russian children by US citizens.

5th Phase Obama - Putin Era.

- Crisis in Syria & use of veto by Russia & China.
- Crisis in Ukraine & integration of Crimea in Russia.

There is a disagreement among scholars whether we should consider that the present nature of relations point towards the beginning of new Cold War.

The arguments in favour of the idea that new Cold War has started are basically because the present state of relations remind us the tit-for-tat actions against each other during Cold War.

However, scholars believe that it is too early to call the present state of relations as the beginning of new Cold War. In fact, academic community

should stop flirtations with such ideas. These types of academic flirtations may impact real relations, may contribute to misunderstanding.

Any such misunderstanding is not in the interest of the world. It may impact the global fight against terrorism. It may impact efforts for in dealing with Iran, N. Korea, nuclear non proliferation. If anything like new Cold War happens, it will be more destructive. Those who do not agree that the present state of relations can be compared with Cold War give following arguments.

- Nature of world order has changed. World is no more a bipolar. There
- There is a growth of complex interdependence among the nations. USA can't avoid Russia nor

Russia can avoid USA.

Mark Kramer ~~is~~ (director of Cold War studies at Harvard University).

- We have to put cold water on the idea of Cold War.

This is not a global military & ideological struggle.

It is just a regional dispute. Stakes are entirely different.

- Today Russia is not a superpower. Russia does not have military might of USSR. Its military forces are significantly smaller than that of USA.

- Many Warsaw Pact countries are members of NATO.

- Russia does not have any such ideology with global reach like that of Marxism.

- Russian economy is integrated in European Economy.

However we can't say that all is well in the relations. As for a crisis in Ukraine is concerned it is one of the repercussions of disintegration of USSR.

Vasily Kashin (Moscow based Analyst with ~~the~~ Moscow based centre for analysis of strategies & technologies)

- Nature of today's conflict is different. It is more like a conflict betⁿ 19th century great powers, imperial struggle betⁿ British & Russian empires.

It is an attempt by the rising powers to resist dominant influence of USA. However it can be said that it is beginning of difficult period in relations.

Robert Leg Vold in his article titled "Managing the new Cold War" suggests that we should not casually apply the label of Cold War to the current confrontation. The crisis does not match the depth & scale of the Cold War.

However it is true that Europe, US & Russia won't return to business as usual. Hope of reset has gone. Russia & West are now adversaries.

If it will evolve into a Cold War, it will be fundamentally different from the original Cold War.

Bipolarity is not possible. New players like China, India will also come in. It will bring security crisis in Europe. USA has to act smartly. Present challenge of USA is not Russia but China.

According to Robert de Kaplan it seems USA has forgotten the ABC of intⁿ politics.

They have to understand the insecurity of Russia.

USA & UK can talk about liberty, human rights & democracy because they are island notions, securely placed. But as far as Russia is concerned, Geography will remain pivot of its foreign policy.

Archie Brown

- US should think what would happen for example if Canada or Mexico start considering joining the Warsaw Pact. What will be the reaction of USA?