

RUSSIA-UKRAINE CRISIS: COLD WAR REVISIT

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ABSTRACT

The cold war rivalries between united states of America and Soviet Union after the second world war till 1991 had divided the entire world into two blocs with extreme hostilities against each other on ideological lines. America and its allies formed NATO defence bloc to promote and protect liberal democratic ideology. While Soviet Union and its allies formed Warsaw pact defence bloc to promote liberal-democratic ideology. These organizations started counter strike each other to fulfil their interests and animosities all over the world. This generated arms race and development of nuclear weapons of mass destructions by them which could destroy the entire world. Russian leader Gorbachev's reforms of glasnost and perestroika led to the end of communist rule and abolition of Warsaw pact in 1991. There was a reduction in cold war animosity. Measures were adopted for disarmament of nuclear weapons. People all over the world felt relief and hoped that the cold war had ended but it emerged again but now between NATO and Russia after Russia's invasion on Ukraine because of Ukraine's desire to join the Western defensive alliance NATO. The main aim of Russia was to demilitarise and de-nazify Ukraine. Russia refused to call it a war or invasion rather they coined it as 'Special military operation'. The relation between two countries became hostile after 2014 Ukrainian revolution which followed by Russia's annexation of Crimea from Ukraine. This present paper tries to study and explore the dimensions of new Cold war and its impact on the globe.

Keyword: NATO, Cold War, Nationalism, World War.

CONTENT ANALYSIS

Russia and the west became increasingly estranged from one another even before the events of Maidan. Each saw their interests in the region infringed with the object of their interest led off into the sphere of the other, and each became more radical and reckless in the methods adopted to prevent the other winning out. Yet the reality is far more complex and, on the international stage, this confrontation has had and continues to have far more harmful consequences for millions of people than merely a new cold war squabble. Indeed, it has already led to death of over 8000 people in Ukraine as officially counted, the most dramatic deterioration of Russia-European relations and tensions with Euro-Atlantic community since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The situation did not improve with the Ongoing sanctions imposed on Moscow, growing militancy within Russia, mobilisation in Ukraine and resumption of fire power in the east pf the country. For many, this leaves few doubts that the world may be sleepwalking not merely into a new cold war but another hot war.

AFTERMATH OF WWII AND FORMATION OF NATO

The aftermath of WWII saw much of Europe devastated in a way that is now difficult to envision. Approximately 36 million Europeans had died in the conflict, around 19 million of them civilians. Refugee camps and rationing dominated daily life. In some areas, infant mortality rates were one in four. Millions of orphans wandered the burnt-out shells of former metropolises. In the German city of Hamburg alone, half a million people were homeless. In Addition, communist aided by the Soviet Union were threatening elected governments across Europe. In February 1948, the communist party of Czechoslovakia, with covert backing from the Soviet Union, overthrew the democratically elected government in that country. Then, in reaction to the democratic consolidation of west Germany, the soviets blockaded Allied-controlled West berlin in a bid to consolidate their hold on the German capital. The heroism of the berlin airlift provided future allies with some solace, but privation remained a grave threat to freedom and stability. Fortunately, by then the US had turned its back on its traditional policy of diplomatic isolationism. Aid provided through the US funded Marshall Plan and other means fostered a degree of economic stabilisation. European states still needed confidence in their security, however, before they would begin talking and trading with each other. Military cooperation, and the security it would bring, would have to develop in parallel with economic and political progress. With this in mind, several western European democracies came together

to implement various projects for greater military cooperation and collective defence, including the creation of the western union in 1948, later to become the western European union in 1954. In the end it was determined that only a truly transatlantic security agreement could deter soviet aggression while simultaneously preventing the revival of European militarism and laying the groundwork for political integration. Accordingly, after much discussion and debate, the North Atlantic treaty was signed on 4TH April, 1949. In the Treaty's renowned Article 5, the new allies agreed "an armed attack against one or more of them, shall be considered an attack against them all" and that following such an attack, each Ally would take such action as it deems necessary including the use of armed force in response. Significantly, Article 2 and 3 of the Treaty had important purposes not immediately germane to the threat of attack. Article 3 laid the foundation for cooperation in military preparedness between the allies, and article 2 allowed them some leeway to engage in non-military cooperation. With the benefit of aid and a security umbrella, political stability was gradually restored to western Europe and the post war economic miracle began. New allies joined the alliance; Greece and turkey in 1952, and west Germany in 1955. During this time NATO adopted the strategic doctrine of "Massive Retaliation" – if Soviet Union attacked, NATO would respond with nuclear weapons. The intended effect of this doctrine was to deter either side from risk taking since any attack, however small, could have led to a full nuclear exchange. Simultaneously, Massive Retaliation allowed alliance members to focus their energies on economic growth rather than on maintain large conventional armies. The alliance also took its first step towards a political as well as a military role.

NATO AND WARSAW PACT

After second world war the power rivalry, ideological differences and animosity between the US and Soviet Union [USSR] led to the emergence of cold war. NATO was founded during the beginning of cold war on 1949 by the US, Canada, and ten West European countries – UK, France, Belgium, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, and Portugal, who were the original signatories of NATO. In 1952, Greece and Turkey joined NATO. West Germany joined NATO in 1955. The NATO agreement was for collective self-defence. Its need was immediately felt by US and western Europe countries after the blockade of west berlin by

Soviet Union. In fact, the creation of NATO was a part of broader effort to serve three objectives: deterring soviet expansionism, forbidding the revival of nationalist militarism in Europe through a strong North American presence on the continent, encouraging European political integration. Against NATO, Soviet Union formed Warsaw pact with East European states in 1955 to create a rival group. They started intense power rivalries and animosities between NATO and Warsaw pact countries. NATO kept on growing and after the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991 even some Warsaw pact countries joined NATO. Ideologically USA and its NATO countries stood for protection of democracies and liberalism. Soviet Union and its Warsaw pact bloc were communist controlled countries believed in tight state control under the Marxist communist philosophy. Large scale nuclear and non-nuclear armaments were developed by both the power blocs. The two power blocs developed and deployed atom bombs, nuclear bombers, inter-continental ballistic missiles [ICBMS], sub marine launched ballistic missiles [SLBMS] and large number of nuclear warheads which threatened the survival of the world. Though USA and Soviet Union avoided direct wars but got engaged in proxy wars. They supported countries and rebel forces opposed to rival bloc all over the world.

COLD WAR

World war II destroyed much of Europe. During the war, the United States and the Soviet Union worked together. However, the partnership turned to a 50 year long conflict. This conflict is called Cold War. The two powers never directly engaged in combat or a hot war. The cold war came down to some basic differences in world views. The United States believed in a capitalist system of free markets and multiple political parties. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union was founded on a communist system. It was controlled by a centralized state. It had a single political party. Communist societies believe in taking from the rich and giving to poor. They have state run economies. The US capitalist system let free markets determine the production and distribution goods. Both sides used propaganda. They tried to paint a negative picture of their enemies. Three key features defined the cold war. The first was the threat of nuclear war. The second was competition over loyalty of newly independent nations. The third was the military and economic support of each other's enemies around the world. The cold war was a lengthy struggle between the US and Soviet Union that began in the aftermath of the

surrender of Hitler's Germany. In 1941, the Nazi aggression against the USSR turned the soviet regime into an ally of the western democracies. But in the post war world, increasingly divergent viewpoints created rifts between those who had once been allies. The us and USSR gradually built up their own zones of influence, dividing the world into two opposing camps. The cold war was therefore not exclusively a struggle between the us and USSR but was a global conflict that affected many countries, particularly the continent of Europe. Indeed, Europe divided two blocs, became one of the main theatres of war. In western Europe, the European integration process began with the support of the us while the countries of the eastern Europe became satellites of the USSR. From 1947 onwards, the adversaries, employing all the resources at their disposal for intimidation and subversion, clashed in a lengthy strategic and ideological conflict punctuated by crisis of varying intensity. Although the two great powers never fought directly, they pushed the world to the brink of nuclear war on several occasions. Nuclear deterrence was the only effective means of preventing a military confrontation. Ironically this balance of terror actually served as a stimulus for the arms race. Periods of tensions alternated between moments of détente or improved relation between two camps.

DISSOLUTION OF USSR

The end of cold war resulted in several changes in the international relations. The concept of bipolar system, which brought the world to fall under the influence of two powerful blocs, was the first victim. It also followed by weakening of Non – Aligned Movement [NAM]. The fall of Berlin wall in 1989 marked the beginning of the end of cold war. Soon after that USSR was dismantled in 1991, marking new era in the history of international relations. The collapse of the USSR led to the death of Warsaw pact. Many countries took birth in the Baltic, Eastern Europe and central Asian regions either through civil war or peaceful means. All these events resulted in emergence of the US as the sole super power; and the world became a unipolar system for a while in the 1990s. the international relations in the post-cold war period have taken a new shape, order and spirit. New actors have emerged, new priorities are identified and new world has begun. Multiple changes have happened at economic and political fronts at multiple levels that is from global to local level.

With the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991, Ukraine became an independent state, formalised with a referendum in December 1991. On 21 January, 1990 over 300000 Ukrainian's organized a human chain for Ukraine independence between Kyiv and Lviv. Ukraine officially declared itself an independent country on 24 August, 1991, when the communist supreme soviet [parliament] of Ukraine proclaimed that Ukraine would no longer follow the laws of USSR and only the laws of the Ukrainian SSR, de facto declaring Ukraine's independence from Soviet Union.

RUSSIA'S INVASION ON UKRAINE

The cold war has ended with the dissolution of USSR but its shadow still remains in global politics. We can see the cold war environment between US and Russia and between US and China. The US leaders are always concerned about its hegemony for that reason they intervene in global politics. Basically, we can see the shadow of the USA and emerging hegemonic power China and reviving hegemon Russia. Russian invasion on Ukraine echoes of cold war. In October 2021, Russia began moving troops and military equipment near its border with Ukraine, reigniting concerns over a potential release of intelligence from November and December 2021 showed armour, missiles, and other heavy weaponry moving toward Ukraine with no official explanation, in the mid-December 2021, Russia's foreign ministry issued a set of demands calling for the US and NATO to cease any military activity in eastern Europe and central Asia, to commit against further NATO expansion towards Russia and to prevent Ukraine from joining NATO in the future. The US and other NATO allies rejected these demands and warned Russia they would impose sanctions if Russia would invade Ukraine, including ammunition, small arms and other defensive weapons. Early in February 2022, US president Joe Biden ordered roughly 3000 US troops to Poland and Romania, both NATO countries bordering Ukraine, to counter Russian troops stationed near the Ukrainian border and reassure NATO partners. The largest deployment of Russian troops to the Belarusian border since the conclusion of the cold war, according to the satellite image. The US, Russia and European nations including France and Germany were unable to reach an agreement. While Russia claimed to have reduced the number of troops on its border with Ukraine, but reports emerged of a growing Russian force presence. In late February 2022, the US warned that Russia intended to invade Ukraine, citing Russia's growing military presence at the Russia-

Ukraine border. Russian president Vladimir Putin then ordered troops to Luhansk and Donetsk, in eastern Ukraine partly controlled by Russian backed separatists, claiming the troops served a ‘‘peacekeeping’’ function. The US responded by imposing sanctions on the Luhansk and Donetsk regions and Nord stream 2 gas pipeline a few days later. On February 24, during a united nations security council meeting to dissuade Russia from attacking Ukraine, Putin announced the beginning of a full-scale land, sea, and air invasion of Ukraine targeting Ukrainian military assets and cities across the country. Biden declared this attack as unprovoked and unjustified and has since issued severe sanction in coordination with Europe allies including sanctions that target four of Russia’s largest banks, its oil and gas industry, and the financial assets of Putin and Russian foreign minister Sergey Lavrov. The US continues to commit military assistance to Ukraine following Ukrainian president Volodymyr Zelensky address to the US. The war in Ukraine isn’t just a conflict between Moscow and Kyiv, Russian foreign minister recently declared it as a proxy war in which the worlds most powerful military alliance, NATO is using Ukraine as a battering ram against the Russian state. Proxy wars are long standing tools of great power rivalry because they allow one side to bleed the other without a direct clash of arms. During the cold war, the Soviet Union bled the US by supporting communist proxies in Korea and Vietnam. Ukraine has used drones, anti-tank weapons and other tools provided by the US and European countries to chew up Russian units. Although these figures are not exact, it appears that Moscow has suffered over 10000 deaths and lost at least 3500 vehicles in this war. Western governments have delivered the money to keep Kyiv in business and intelligence it has used to spoil Russia’s attacks and even reportedly to target its general. US officials have denied that they are providing Ukraine with intelligence with the express purpose of killing Russian generals but they have confirmed that they are providing Ukraine with a wide range of information that it decides how to use. Political, social, economic, ideological, informational and military tension between the US and Russia in 21st century is called new cold or second cold ar or cold war revisit. Russian invasion on Ukraine and Chinese support to Russia clear to us that again the world is diving into two polar, that one is with the US and another is with Russia and china. The US Russia trade war is also considered as cold war behaviour. China is also emerging as a super power. Chinese economy has already been crossed US economy. The emergence of China as a super power possesses security threat and hegemonic challenged to the USA. Before Russian invasion on Ukraine polarization of world

is seen but after invasion, it clears that Russia is trying to come back to soviet era by redrawing iron curtain and engaging war to its neighbouring country to compel not to join NATO or EU.

CONCLUSION

The invasion of Ukraine has rapidly returned echoes of cold war mentality between US and Russia. Once again US president sees a pitched ideological battle ‘we will save democracy and freedom’ says president Joe Biden. Russia invasion on Ukraine is a crisis that pits two nuclear super power on opposing sides, history is repeating in other ways. The cold war is innately connected to the crisis in Ukraine. The Ukraine crisis, it was remarked, has resulted in the first land grab in Europe since 1945 and an unprovoked civil war in the Donbas; it has seriously damaged west- Russia relations and has perhaps put an end to a European post-cold war order based on pooled sovereignty, multilevel governance, rule of law based multilateral interactions and a continuous focus on dialogue and process. Europe’s nascent political security outline is likelier to be more in line with the wider world order, which is strongly shaped by power politics and interstate competition and conflict, and in which multilateralism is entirely state-determined and interest- driven. Actually, the cold war never really went away. The shadow of cold war still remains in present world. From the beginning of Ukraine Russia crisis USA and its allies did proxy war. So, the Russian invasion seems sure to be the cold war’s revisit.