

THE DANGEROUS CRISIS IN GEORGIA

Introduction

Focus

This *CBC News in Review* story focuses on the bloody conflict between Russia and Georgia that broke out in August 2008 and its implications for stability in the troubled Caucasus region and relations between Russia and the West.

Update

As this story was being prepared, seven Russian peacekeepers were killed in South Ossetia in a bombing incident, on October 4, 2008. Both sides blamed the other for this tragic and unsettling incident.

On August 8, 2008, heavy fighting broke out between Russia and Georgia, a country located south of the Caucasus Mountains that once formed part of the former Soviet Union. Russia claimed that its decision to invade Georgia had been provoked by the shelling of the city of Tskhinvali, the capital of the breakaway region of South Ossetia. This enclave bordering Russia on Georgia's northern border had long claimed independence from Georgia and is home to a majority of Russian-speaking people. But Georgia alleged that Russian troop movements in South Ossetia and Abkhazia, another breakaway area to the west, were in fact part of a plan to invade, and that their actions were taken in self-defence. Georgian troops actually advanced on Tskhinvali on August 7, only to be met with stiff Russian resistance in the days that followed. Within less than a week, the advancing Georgian troops were forced to retreat in the face of superior Russian military firepower and organization. After that, the Russians continued their assault into Georgia itself, attacking on two fronts—one from South Ossetia and the other from Abkhazia in the west. Russia's intention was to cut the road between the Georgian capital, Tblisi, and the important Black Sea port cities of Batumi and Poti. At one point Russian forces were within striking distance of Tblisi, and Georgia's embattled president, Mikheil Saakashvili, sent out an urgent appeal to Western countries—especially his closest ally, the United States—for help.

After demonstrating their military strength and willingness to use it in defence of strategic interests and Russian-speaking minorities in former Soviet states, Russia's leaders, President

Dmitri Medvedev and Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, called a halt to their troops' advance into Georgia. Agreeing to a French-brokered ceasefire, Russia withdrew its combat forces from Georgia but insisted on maintaining a troop presence in the two enclaves of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, which it recognized as independent states at the end of August. Russia's moves met with strong denunciation from the leaders of the United States and the European Union, who accused it of unprovoked aggression against a democratic country and of destabilizing peace in the region.

The short but violent clash between Russia and Georgia resulted in a number of casualties. Many civilians were uprooted from their homes and forced to become refugees from the conflict. Ethnic Georgians fled en masse from South Ossetia, while ethnic Russians claimed to have been subjected to brutal treatment by the Georgian forces that entered the region prior to the Russian invasion. During and after the fighting, each side accused the other of provoking the war, and the suspicions both held of the motives underlying the other's actions remained strong and festering.

The conflict in Georgia evoked memories of the Cold War, the period from the end of the Second World War to the fall of communism when the Soviet Union and the United States were in a constant state of tension and mutual distrust. During this time both countries had not hesitated to use military force to thwart the ambitions of their rival—for example in the U.S.-led war in Vietnam and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Since the end of the Cold War, the United States and other Western countries had not taken post-communist Russia very

seriously as a military power, believing that the world had entered a “unipolar” world where U.S. strength remained unchallenged. But Russia’s decision to invade Georgia and assert its new-found military confidence in a region it once dominated was a signal that perhaps the world was about to enter yet another period of sustained tensions and hostilities. For their part, Russia’s leaders were anxious to demonstrate to their

own people and neighbouring countries that they would not be intimidated by Western plans to expand NATO (www.nato.int), a military alliance originally set up to counter the Soviet Union, right up to Russia’s borders. On the other hand, U.S. President George W. Bush and other Western leaders accused Russia of aggression against a peaceful, democratic state and warned that further such actions would lead to serious consequences.

To Consider

1. Why did conflict break out between Russia and Georgia in August 2008?

2. Why did each side accuse the other of starting the fighting?

3. What are South Ossetia and Abkhazia and what role did they play in the conflict?

4. What was the Cold War? Why does Russia’s invasion of Georgia seem like the opening of another stage in this conflict?

5. In your view, is there any role that Canada can play to reduce tensions in the area? Explain.

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Video Review

After viewing the video, answer the following questions in the spaces provided.

Part A

1. What is the name of the President of Georgia?

2. What is the population of Georgia? Where is it located?

3. What two countries are neighbours of Georgia?

4. What country ruled Georgia from 1921 to 1991?

5. What two parts of Georgia have close ties to Russia?

6. What international event was attracting most attention at the time the conflict between Russia and Georgia broke out?

7. What are the names of the President and Prime Minister of Russia?

8. What is the capital city of Georgia?

9. What country is Georgia's most important ally?

10. What body dispatched monitors to observe the ceasefire after fighting between Russia and Georgia came to an end?

11. What decision did Russia make after the fighting ended that caused some to fear the outbreak of a new Cold War?

12. What military alliance does Georgia want to join? What country strongly opposes this move?

Part B

Responding to Statements

Form groups with your classmates to read, discuss, and respond to the following statements. Indicate how they relate to the main topic of the video and whether or not you agree with them and why.

"We are dealing with a clear attempt to annex and appropriate even a small part of another country's territory. Doesn't Russia have enough territory of its own?" — Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili

"We will not allow our people to be killed like this. And those who are responsible will get the punishment they deserve." — Russian President Dmitri Medvedev

"The United States is working with our European partners to launch international mediation with the parties to restart their dialogue. Russia needs to support these efforts so that peace can be restored as soon as possible." — U.S. President George W. Bush

"[The war] has been started by the irresponsible decision of the Georgian president. The West has to understand that it should be blamed and we should find a way out of the situation. Otherwise the disaster will grow." — Russian deputy foreign minister Grigori Karasin

"We have to convince [the Russians] to withdraw, to stop the fighting, stop the bombing, and second, to withdraw." — French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner

"President Bush does think the Russian response has been disproportionate. We respect Georgia's territorial integrity and we expect the Russians to do the same." — White House Press Secretary Dana Perino

"To put it bluntly, the United States is not willing to go to war with Russia to protect Georgia's control over South Ossetia." — Richard Weitz, Hudson Institute

"If the two sides remain entrenched in their positions, then the Russians actually have the upper hand because they've already got what they want." — Christopher Langdon, International Institute for Strategic Studies

Assessing Responsibility and Consequences

Form groups with your classmates to discuss the following questions based on the information and viewpoints presented in the video. Summarize and report your responses to the rest of the class.

1. Who do you think was more responsible for the outbreak of the conflict: Russia or Georgia? Why?
2. Do you think that Russia's response to Georgia's military intervention in South Ossetia was "disproportionate"? Why or why not?
3. Do you think that the response of the United States, the EU, and other Western countries to Russia's invasion of Georgia was appropriate? Why or why not?
4. Do you think that the Russia-Georgia conflict represents the first round of a new Cold War between Russia and the West? Why or why not?
5. Should Canada, as a leading member of NATO, encourage the admission of Georgia into the alliance? Explain carefully.

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A Timeline of the Russia-Georgia Conflict

Here is a list of important dates in the history of Georgia and its relationship to its large and powerful neighbor, Russia. In your view, which events are most significant? Why?

1801-04 Georgia becomes part of the Russian Empire under Czar Alexander I. Prior to this it had been ruled by Persians, Arabs, and Turks.

1918 After the collapse of the Romanov dynasty at the end of the First World War, Georgia enjoys a brief period of independence.

1921 Soviet leader V.I. Lenin orders the Red Army to occupy Georgia during the Russian Civil War and establishes the Transcaucasian Soviet Republic.

1936 Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, a native of Georgia, dissolves the Transcaucasian Republic and grants Georgia full status as one of the 15 republics composing the Soviet Union.

1972 Edvard Shevardnadze becomes the head of the Georgian Communist Party. He will later play a major role in world affairs as the last Soviet foreign minister under Mikhail Gorbachev, and also as president of independent Georgia.

1989 Soviet troops fire on a pro-independence demonstration in the capital, Tblisi, killing 19. Later that year, violent clashes erupt between ethnic Russians and Georgians in South Ossetia, and Russia dispatches troops to the region.

1990 In the first free elections following the collapse of the Soviet Union, a nationalist coalition gains power in Georgia, led by former dissident Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

1990-91 More violence breaks out in South Ossetia as ethnic Russians try to break away from Georgia. Hundreds are

killed, and thousands are forced to flee from their homes.

1991 Georgia's parliament declares full independence from the collapsing Soviet Union and asserts its rights over Abkhazia and South Ossetia, two border regions with ethnic Russian majorities.

1992 Gamsakhurdia is deposed in a coup after fighting in Tblisi. Shevardnadze becomes Georgia's new leader. Fighting between ethnic Russians and Georgian forces in Abkhazia takes tens of thousands of lives.

1993 Georgian forces are driven out of Abkhazia, paving the way for the arrival of Russian peacekeepers. A comeback attempt by Gamsakhurdia is crushed, and Shevardnadze consolidates his hold on power.

1994 A ceasefire between Georgia and Abkhazia is negotiated, and both parties sign an agreement not to use force against each other.

2001 Tensions erupt again in Abkhazia after Russia accuses Georgia of harbouring rebels from neighbouring Chechnya.

2001 Demonstrators take to the streets of Tblisi in protest over Shevardnadze's crackdown on media criticism of his regime.

2002 U.S. counterterrorism training forces arrive in Georgia to work with the Georgian army.

2003 Work begins on an important oil pipeline to run from Azerbaijan through Georgia to Turkey. The pipeline

is completed in 2006. In November, Shevardnadze's increasingly corrupt and unpopular government is toppled in the bloodless "Rose Revolution."

2004 Mikheil Saakashvili, a popular opponent of Shevardnadze, is elected president, and his party, the National Movement-Democratic Front, wins a huge majority in the Georgian parliament. But elections in South Ossetia and Abkhazia, not recognized as legitimate by Georgia, show a strong desire for independence among the regions' ethnic Russian majorities.

2005 U.S. President George W. Bush receives a tumultuous welcome in Georgia and proclaims it a "beacon of liberty" in the region.

2006 Tensions between Russia and Georgia increase over issues such as the bombing of oil pipelines, Georgian exports of wine and mineral water, and the demand that Russian troops in South Ossetia have valid visas. Later that year, Russian forces fire on a helicopter carrying Georgia's defence minister over South Ossetia.

2007 Following accusations from former cabinet ministers that his government is

corrupt, President Saakashvili proclaims a state of emergency and cracks down on protesters. He calls a snap election and returns to power, despite opposition claims that he rigged the vote.

2008 A NATO summit in Romania considers Georgia's request to be allowed to join the military alliance, a move strongly opposed by Russia.

August 2008 Following months of rapidly increasing tensions along the border enclaves of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, full-scale fighting erupts between Russian and Georgian forces. Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin claims that it is acting in defence of ethnic Russians, but Georgia accuses Russia of unprovoked aggression. The conflict lasts for two weeks and ends when both sides accept the terms of a French-brokered ceasefire agreement. However, the underlying tensions that provoked the fighting remain unresolved. Russia recognizes the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, a move strongly denounced by Georgia, the United States, and the European Union.

Source: "Timeline Georgia," BBC News Online, <http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk>

Inquiry

1. From the information above, explain the importance of the following in the history of Georgia and its relationship with Russia: Czar Alexander I, V.I. Lenin, Joseph Stalin, Edvard Shevardnadze, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Abkhazia and South Ossetia, "Rose Revolution," Mikheil Saakashvili, George W. Bush, NATO, and Vladimir Putin.
2. After studying the timeline, discuss what seem to be the main themes in the history of Georgia, especially in terms of its domestic political situation and its relationship with the two majority-Russian enclaves and with Russia itself.
3. Why do you think that prior to the August 2008 war with Russia, Georgia was a little-known country whose history was unfamiliar to many people in Canada and elsewhere in the world?
4. What important natural resource flows through Georgia? What role do you think it might play in the conflict?
5. In your opinion, should Canada be involved in any way in this crisis? Explain fully.

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A Profile of Georgia



Why do you think Georgia is such an important country to Russia and the Western powers? Why might Georgia be difficult to defend from Russian attack?

Georgia is a country located just south of the Caucasus mountain range that forms a natural border between it and its large northern neighbor, Russia. It also borders Turkey, Armenia, and Azerbaijan to the south and east, as well as the Black Sea to the west. Along with all of its neighbours except Turkey, Georgia was once a part of the former Soviet Union, which emerged after the 1917 Russian Revolution and then dissolved following the collapse of the Soviet Communist regime in 1991. Its capital city is Tblisi, and its population is approximately five million. Its total land area is 69 700 square kilometers. The predominant religion is Christianity, which gained a foothold in Georgia in the first few centuries after Jesus Christ. Most of

the country's inhabitants are ethnic Georgians, and 71 per cent of its people speak Georgian as their main language. However, the country also has significant Russian (9 per cent), Armenian (7 per cent), and Azeri (6 per cent) minorities. The two regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, bordering Russia, are both home to Russian-speaking majorities, many of whom resist Georgian rule and want to rejoin Russia or gain full independence.

Georgia's main industries are steel, aircraft, machine tools, appliances, and mining. However its major exports are agricultural products, especially wine. During the Soviet era, Georgia was one of the more prosperous and privileged parts of the USSR, but since it gained independence in 1992 its economy has

Definition

Client-state refers to a situation where one nominally independent country is at least partly directed or controlled by another richer, more powerful nation.

declined dramatically. Well over 50 per cent of its people now live below the poverty line, and the cost of living has skyrocketed. Georgia previously enjoyed low prices for oil, natural gas, and other resources that it obtained from Russia, but as tensions between the two countries have escalated since independence, these economic benefits have practically disappeared. At the same time, it has been very difficult for Georgia to diversify its economy and find new markets for its products, especially in Western Europe. This is one of the reasons why its leaders would like to gain membership in the European Union (EU: http://europa.eu/index_en.htm).

Georgia is located at a strategically important position where Europe meets Asia. Although it does not possess important natural resources itself, it lies between major oil-producing countries, like Azerbaijan, and Black Sea ports in Turkey, from which this valuable commodity can be shipped to Europe and elsewhere. The construction of the Baku-Tblisi-Ceyhan (BTC) Pipeline, which began in 2003 and was completed in 2006, was designed to ship oil from the Caspian Sea to Turkey via Georgia. It is capable of pumping 1.2 million barrels of oil per day, most of it destined for markets in oil-thirsty nations in the European Union. In addition, a smaller oil pipeline along with natural gas pipelines are currently under construction. European nations want to diversify their energy sources so they are not overly dependent on oil shipped directly from Russia. As a result, Georgia has found itself at the centre of one of the world's most coveted resource supply chains.

Georgia is also militarily significant for Western interests in the region, especially those of the United States. The pro-U.S. government of President Saakashvili has strongly supported the

“war on terror” led by President George W. Bush after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks and has sent troops to Iraq to back the U.S. war there. It has also permitted the U.S. to establish military bases in the country that could be used in the event of a military strike against Iran. Georgia would like to become a full member of NATO, the anti-Soviet, U.S.-led military alliance that was formed in 1949 and since the fall of communism has expanded its membership to include a number of former Soviet client states in Eastern Europe. Russia strongly opposes this move, which would place a NATO member state right on its borders.

Georgia is renowned for its beautiful scenery, its ancient Christian churches, its fine cuisine and wine, and the hospitality of its people. After independence, its leaders hoped to attract Western tourists to the country to bolster its flagging economy and raise its profile on the international stage. But ongoing clashes between Georgian troops and ethnic Russian inhabitants in the two border enclaves of Abkhazia and South Ossetia have created instability and the impression that the country is a dangerous place to visit. Since independence, it has been ruled by three leaders, all of whom came to power on a wave of popular support, only to see their regimes called into question for corrupt practices and a heavy-handed approach to the media and opposition groups.

The current president, Mikheil Saakashvili, rose to power as a result of the “Rose Revolution” in November 2003 that saw his supporters topple the unpopular Edvard Shevardnadze, a holdover from the Soviet era. Under this dynamic young leader, Georgia has tried to portray itself to the world as a democratic, modern state that is open to Western influences and seeks to turn

a page on its history, especially the decades of communist rule under Soviet domination. But to its neighbor Russia, Georgia's aspirations are a major irritant. Relations between the two countries, never good since independence, have deteriorated markedly over the first decade of the 21st century. Russia's leaders, especially Vladimir Putin, have been outraged over what they view as Georgian mistreatment and abuse of ethnic Russians in Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

Georgia's other historical claim to fame is perhaps its most famous native son, Joseph Vissarionovich Djughlashvili, or Stalin, who rose from obscurity as a seminarian in Tbilisi to become the ruler of the USSR from 1929 to his death in 1953. Georgians have an ambivalent, love-hate relationship with this major figure of the 20th century

who modernized the Soviet economy, defeated the invading Nazi forces during the Second World War, and made the USSR a power to contend with on the world stage. At the same time, Stalin was a brutal tyrant who killed millions of his opponents and exiled many more to Siberia, including a number of his fellow Georgians. He never showed any great sympathy for his compatriots' desire for independence from Russia, preferring instead to integrate them into the Soviet Union where he believed they would benefit economically and socially. To many Georgians today, who are suffering from severe economic difficulties and an unstable, often corrupt political system, the Stalin years, for all their harshness and lack of political freedom, sometimes appear to be a "golden age" of relative prosperity and security.

Activities

1. Why does Georgia occupy such an economically and militarily strategic position in the south Caucasus region?
2. Why are Georgia's aspirations to become more westernized and pro-American such an irritant to Russia?
3. Why do many Georgians look back fondly on the Stalin era, despite the brutality of his dictatorship?

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Toward a New Cold War?

Quote

"The Georgian people have suffered before, and they suffer today. We must help them through this tragedy, and they should know that the thoughts, prayers, and support of the American people are with them. This small democracy, far away from our shores, is an inspiration to all those who cherish our deepest ideals. As I told President Saakashvili on the day the ceasefire was declared, today we are all Georgians. We mustn't forget it." — Senator John McCain (*Wall Street Journal*, August 14, 2008)

Archives

To learn more about the Cold War and Canada's position in it, consider a visit to the CBC Digital Archives at www.cbc.ca/archives and explore the audio-visual files "Cold War culture: The nuclear fears of the 1950s and 1960s," "NORAD: Watching the skies," "One for all: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization," and "The rise and fall of the Berlin Wall."

The outbreak of hostilities between Russia and Georgia in August 2008 aroused great international concern and fear that the world might be entering a new Cold War between Russia and the West. Leaders in the United States and Europe strongly denounced the Russian invasion, claiming that it was an unprovoked aggression against a peaceful, democratic neighbor. U.S. President George W. Bush condemned the attack as "an illegitimate, unilateral attempt to change the country's borders by force." Vice-President Dick Cheney, who had just completed a visit to Georgia, warned that Russia's actions had cast grave doubts on its reliability as a partner within the international system. The conflict even emerged as an issue in the U.S. presidential election race, with both leading candidates, Republican John McCain and Democrat Barack Obama, strongly criticizing Russia's actions.

The Cold War was a period of sustained global tensions that began shortly after the Second World War when the United States and the Soviet Union, allies against Adolf Hitler's Nazi regime, began to quarrel over the terms of the postwar settlement. Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin's main goal was to prevent another invasion of his country, which had caused over 30 million deaths and untold economic damage. In order to make the Soviet Union secure, he was determined to establish friendly regimes in the countries of Eastern Europe that bordered the USSR. This meant the imposition of communist governments that could be counted on to back the Soviet line in international affairs, whether or not the people of these countries actually wanted them in power.

Stalin's goal was security for his country, but to the United States his actions were proof of a vast worldwide

communist conspiracy to spread this ideology across Europe and the rest of the world. The U.S. emerged from the Second World War in a much more powerful position than the USSR, and for a few years was the sole power to possess nuclear weapons. It was determined to block any further Soviet expansion into Western Europe or anywhere else in the world. To this end, it established the North American Treaty Organization (NATO), an alliance of pro-American countries, including Canada, committed to blocking the further spread of communism. The Cold War, which began in Europe, then spread to the rest of the world, with many countries finding themselves forced to choose between the U.S. and the USSR for their allegiance.

The Cold War cast a dark shadow over international affairs from the late 1940s till the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union itself from 1989 to 1991. The danger of a full-scale nuclear war, which would have resulted in catastrophic destruction for the entire planet, was never far from the horizon. In the post-Cold War era, most of the former communist states in Eastern Europe sought to ally themselves with the United States and also sought membership in the European Union (EU). With the break-up of the former Soviet Union, 14 of the 15 ex-Soviet republics became independent states, and many of them also began to look to the West for military and economic support. Georgia is a particularly good example of this trend, especially since the rise to power of its current pro-U.S. president, Mikheil Saakashvili. His government has strongly supported President Bush's "war on terror" and has dispatched a small contingent of troops to Iraq. It has also permitted the U.S. to establish military

Quote

"Moscow has acted brutally in Georgia. But when the United States and Britain backed the independence of Kosovo without UN approval, they paved the way for Russia's defence of South Ossetia, and for the current Western humiliation." — Sir Ivor Roberts, former British ambassador to Yugoslavia (*Import News*, September 3, 2008)

Quote

"In the long run, August 8, 2008, could become more widely recognized as a turning point in international affairs than September 11, 2001." — Gareth Evans of the International Crisis Group (*Toronto Star*, September 23, 2008)

bases on its territory that would provide a strategic advantage in the event of any confrontation with Iran. In 2008, Georgia made a formal application to join NATO.

Russia's response to Georgia's actions was predictably hostile. Its leaders, President Dmitri Medvedev and Prime Minister and former president Vladimir Putin, have been struggling to restore Russia's influence in world affairs following the fall of communism and the resulting serious decline in the country's military and economic position. Putin has actually stated that, in his view, the collapse of the USSR was a great tragedy for his country and the world. Neither leader wants to restore a one-party, totalitarian regime in Russia, but both are determined to show the West, and especially the United States, that their country cannot be taken for granted in world affairs. Russia will take a stand when it believes its security or national interests are being threatened, as was the case in Georgia.

Along with the Georgia situation, there are a few other irritants that Russia has responded to in recent years. Among them was the decision of the United States and much of Western Europe to approve the unilateral declaration of independence of the former Serbian province of Kosovo. This move redrew the map of Europe, something both sides were on record as opposing. From Russia's point of view, if the West can give a green light to the independence of Kosovo in order to protect the ethnic Albanian minority there from Serbian attacks, then why can't Russia take the same steps to defend ethnic Russians in the Georgian enclaves of Abkhazia and South Ossetia?

Russia's fear of encirclement by hostile powers has grown in the past few years as more and more of its former communist allies in Eastern Europe have been admitted to membership in NATO and the EU. It is especially concerned

about Ukraine and the three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. In all of these countries there are significant minorities of ethnic Russians who have in many cases been reduced to the status of "second-class citizens" following their independence from the Soviet Union. Russia strongly opposes their admission into NATO, fearing this would bring potentially hostile countries right up to its borders. It has warned the United States that it will not permit this to happen.

The original Cold War was more than just a traditional struggle for supremacy among the world's major superpowers. It also had a strong ideological component as a global confrontation between two different economic and political systems: democratic capitalism and communism. The United States and its Western allies emerged from the Cold War as victors over communism. But Russia's traditional suspicions of the West, and in particular its fears of encirclement and invasion, continue to drive its leaders' foreign policy decisions today. Russia has emerged from a long period of military and economic stagnation and is now flexing its muscles on the world stage. It has modernized and revamped its armed forces, and its economic influence has grown dramatically as a result of its possession of vast supplies of oil and natural gas. Because of these new realities, its leaders are determined to prove to the United States and the world that their country is a major player on the world stage again, one whose viewpoints and strategic interests must be respected if international peace and stability are to endure.

Sources: "Russia: Potential flashpoints," "Testing for a new 'Cold War' in Crimea," and "Putin defends Georgia offensive," BBC News Online, <http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk>, and "Georgia and the balance of power," by George Friedman, *New York Review of Books*, September 25, 2008

Analysis

1. What was the Cold War? What caused it? Why was it such a dangerous time in world history? How did it end?
2. What are Russia's main concerns regarding its neighbours and their relations with Western Europe and the United States?
3. Why does Russia oppose the expansion of NATO to include former Soviet republics?
4. How has the economic and military position of Russia changed since the fall of communism in the early 1990s?
5. What are the main similarities and differences between the Cold War and the current problems between Russia and the West?
6. Do you think that Russia's fears of Western intentions and its determination to show off its new confidence and power on the world stage are justified? Why or why not?

