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**Trump, Putin, and the New Cold War: What the Future might Hold
for the US-Russia Relations?**

Case Study: Ukraine Crisis

**A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Letters and English Language in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master in Language and Culture**

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to:

My twin Sarra who supported me in every step

My parents who were always there for me

My best friends Merriam and Wafa for their encouragement

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Abstract

The world witnessed a Cold War that changed many political and economic issues. Both the US and Russia sought an absolute control through the invasion and intervention in other countries. In 1991, the US won the war, however, this did not stop Russia from entering a new challenge to recover its power as during the Soviet Union times. Furthermore, after invading Crimea, Putin's Russia wanted to take control over Ukraine. For this reason, the US imposed sanctions against Russia. This punishment did not prevent Putin from destroying the 2016 US election credibility. Spying was a tool for him to destroy Clinton who was sure that she would win the presidency. This whole conflict is called the New Cold War, there is a debate about whether this war has already started or it will start. In addition, the US is against the seizure of Ukraine into Russia instead of the Association Agreement. The annexation of Crimea, the intervention in Ukraine crisis, and Putin's meddling in the US election are what makes the current relations between them worse. These events, especially Ukraine crisis, might negatively influence their relations.

ملخص

شهد العالم حرب باردة أدت الى تغيير الكثير من الأطر السياسية والاقتصادية، سعت كل من روسيا والولايات المتحدة الأمريكية الى تحقيق السيطرة المطلقة عن طريق الغزو والتدخل في شؤون البلدان الأخرى. انتهت هذه الحرب في 1991 بفوز الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، ولكن هذا لم يمنع روسيا من خلق صراع جديد قائم على استرجاع ما كان لها خلال العهد السوفياتي. بعد السيطرة على جزيرة القرم، وجهت روسيا بزعامة بوتين انظارها نحو أوكرانيا، مما أدى بالولايات المتحدة الأمريكية الى فرض عقوبات ضد روسيا. هذه العقوبات لم تمنع بوتين من المساس بالنظام السياسي الأمريكي عن طريق التدخل في انتخابات أمريكا التي جرت في 2016. هيلاري كلينتون كانت ضحية التدخل الروسي. القرصنة كانت من الوسائل التي استعملها الرئيس الروسي من اجل الإطاحة بكلينتون التي كانت متأكدة من فوزها. سمي هذا الصراع بالحرب الباردة الجديدة التي أحدثت ضجة كبيرة حول إمكانية او أسبقية حدوثها. إضافة الى ذلك فان أمريكا ضد ضم أوكرانيا الى روسيا عوضا عن اتفاق الشراكة بينهما. ضم القرم، التدخل في أزمة أوكرانيا والانتخابات الأمريكية هي ما يجعل العلاقات الحالية بينهما أسوأ. هذه الأحداث وخاصة الأزمة الأوكرانية يمكن أن تؤثر سلبيا على علاقتهم.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AA	The Association Agreement
EU	European Union
CFE	Conventional Forces in Europe
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
DHS	Department of Home security
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FSB	Federal Security Service
ISIS	Islamic state in Iraq and Syria
IISS	The international Issues for Strategic Issues
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NWO	The New World Order
NSA	National Security Agency
ODNI	the Director of National Intelligence
R-NC	Republican National Committee/Convention (US)
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet socialist Republics
WW II	World War Two

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Introduction

There have been many political, economic, and social problems between the US and the Soviet Union. The conflict between socialist and capitalist ideologies represented the core of the struggle of the Cold War era. This tension was unstable. Russia did not win the Cold War because of its weak economy, but it did not stop and accept the failure easily. The US won the war, however, this did not stop Russia from entering a new challenge to recover its power as during the Soviet Union times. Putin has entered in a new challenge that may have unpredictable consequences for both Russia and the US. Furthermore, the confrontation between the west and Russia becomes obvious, but the question is who will win this new conflict ? The US was and is the dominant power, Russia has done and is doing its best to win this new conflict. Since the old and new cold conflicts include the same opposing parts, the debate about whether they are the same or various differences exist between them becomes a subject to be discussed and analyzed.

After the Cold War, a New World Order appeared to set various rules and principles to be followed. This universal order aimed at achieving the balance of power and keeping all nations equal. However, Russia wanted to break this order through seeking the total control. The Ukraine crisis is one of the most important events that describes the current race between Russia and the United states. No surprise if the new cold war happens eventually, because this crisis is a clear reason for a war to happen. Sanctions that were imposed on Russia did not prevent it from making more efforts to prove that the old Cold War was just an old story, failure can be the first step for a great victory.

The intervention of Putin in the US election can be a turning point to Russia's benefit. Clinton's campaign was the main target, but Putin claimed that his country was not responsible for such actions. Furthermore, the American new president denied the

interference of Russia in the process of election. This new issue might lead to a new global Cold War. Russia's intervention in Ukraine and the US election was a courageous step that not anyone can do.

The main concern of this study is to provide answers to these questions: whether this is really a new cold war or it is a continuation of the old one. Do the new tensions between Russia and the US have similarities with those during the original Cold War? Has the Ukraine Crisis decreased the tension between Russia and the United States, and how does this crisis threaten the EU? In addition, why had Russia interfered in the 2016 US presidential election? Finally, would this interference affect the future relationship between the two countries?

In attempt to know the importance of this topic, it is necessary to state a kind of literature review by considering some of the major scholarly works. In his research paper "A 'New Cold War'? Abusing History, Misunderstanding Russia", Andrew Monaghan writes: "First, if the 'new Cold War' narrative is part of an appeal by some to prioritize the threat from Russia, the wider security landscape and core challenges facing the West are substantially different from those of the Cold War"(10).

In his book "West-Russia Relations in Light of the Ukraine Crisis", Riccardo Alcaro explains how Russia challenged the European Order, and how a new conflict emerged because of this competition. In addition, he talks about Russia's place in the world, taking into account Ukraine as a special case. Furthermore, Alcaro writes: "West-Russia relations have so dramatically deteriorated that talk of a new Cold War has become routine" (14). Thus, this new confrontation is linked to Russia's intervention through various ways, in addition to the US attempts to prevent it. Furthermore, he makes a comparison between the New Cold War and the Old Cold War.

In the article entitled "Trump, Putin, and the New Cold War: What Lay Behind Russia's Interference in the 2016 Election-and What Lies Ahead". Evan Osnos, David Remnick, and Joshua Yaffa explain in details how Putin was responsible for hacking Clinton's campaign. They write: "Five years ago, he blamed secretary of the state Hillary Clinton for the anti-Kremlin protests in Moscow". This was a reasonable cause for his meddling.

At first, before talking about the New Cold War and to make the comparison more clear, the history of the Cold War should be mentioned. In addition, various events of the old Cold War are mentioned briefly, because the major concerns of this study are the 2016 US presidential election, Russia's intervention in Ukraine, and how they could invoke the New Cold War. The aim of this work is to examine the reasons behind Russia's intervention and to gain better understanding of different views concerning this topic. The research requires the use of both historical and qualitative methods aiming at examining past events, draw conclusion and make prediction about the future when it comes to the New Cold War, in addition to describing the US-Russia relationship with more focus on the Ukraine Crisis as a case study.

This work is composed of three chapters. The first chapter "A New Cold War?" deals with the current confrontation between the US and Russia. It studies the possibility of the New Cold War to happen if not already started. This part discusses and clarifies the differences and similarities between the old Cold war and the new one after mentioning the historical background of the Cold War. "The New Cold War and the New World Order" is the title of the second chapter. It aims at explaining the relationship between Ukraine, Russia, EU, and NATO. In addition, it sheds light on the Ukraine crisis and its effect on the future of the US and Russia. Another important part is about the New World Order.

The last chapter is about “The 2016 US Election and Russian Interference.” It focuses on how social media played a major role in this election. This section talks about Russian hacking of private information, to affect the credibility of the US democratic system and the credibility of American political institutions. Next, after having dealt with Russian meddling, there is the additional question about whether Russia’s interference really affected the election or not. Furthermore, this part discusses the Future of the US and Russia’s relations, and the New Cold War.

Chapter One

A New Cold War?

At the late of 1991, the Cold War ended, many people thought that it would be the last war. Since Vladimir Putin took office in 2000, his decisions effected Russia's position and made his country's relationship with the US worse during Obama's presidency. However, Trump and Putin's relationships are far better than during Obama's times. Nowadays, the New Cold War is the most common subject, it refers to the struggle between the U.S and Russia over nowadays affairs. Many scholars and analysts tried to study this concept since it is considered as potential path to a nuclear war. Furthermore, the beginning of the New Cold War becomes a point of focus. This chapter provides a historical background of the original Cold War, a comparison between the old Cold War and the new one, and it answers the following questions: is the New Cold War a continuation of the old one if one exists or it is a new separate war? And has a New Cold War really begun?

1. The Original Cold War

WW II was a war that the history has written about for a long time. This conflict changed the world's policies and order.¹ In his book which is entitled "Cold War: A Very Short Introduction", Robert McMahon writes, "Approximately 60 million people lost their lives as a direct result of the war, fully two-thirds of them noncombatants. The war's losers, the Axis states of Germany, Japan, and Italy, suffered more than 3 million civilian deaths" (1).² In other words, it was the most destructive event in human history.

¹ For more information about World War 2, see the article of John graham Royde- Smith, and Thomas A. Hughes "World WarII."

² For more information about the Axis states of Germany, they are the countries who are opposed the Allied powers. It includes Germany, Italy, Japan, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria. Germany was the Principle head of this coalition. Other writers write about this term such us Richard L. Dinardo in his book "Germany and the Axis Powers: from Coalition to Collapse."

The end of WW II made the whole world wondering whether there will be another war or not. Truman, the US president, commented “We have emerged from this war the most powerful nation in the world – the most powerful nation, perhaps, in all history” (McMahon 6). In this sense, the US won world war two after making a lot of plans and policies, however, it did not enjoy its victory because another war has begun.

Since the Cold War was an international affair, it had a global impact on both the US, USSR and the rest of the world. During this period, America used the Truman doctrine to limit the Soviet Union expansion.³This foreign policy deeply affected the role of the US, it aimed at helping countries that are threatened by the Soviet Union. Many years ago, both of USSR and US did not use direct conflict, however, they used indirect ways across different places. The proxy wars were safer ways for both of them. The US and the Soviet Union were competing to be the dominant power.⁴ As a result, the rest of the world became victims of their clash. During this period, many countries suffered from various crisis such as: the Berlin blockade Crisis, the Suez Crisis and Cuban missile Crisis.

For several reasons, the Cold War took place and became increasingly global in scope. Both the US and USSR tried to spread their domination without taking into consideration various destructive results. Their greed to get more power and to have the strongest nations made them blind. The increasing conflict between them was the main feature of the cold war (Jervis 564). Political and military disputes played a major role,

³ For more information about the Truman Doctrine, see the article of “The Truman Doctrine and Manifest Destiny”, Freda Kirchwey; the article of “The Truman Doctrine: Containing Communism and Modernity.” <https://researchgate.net/publication/227782903-the-Truman-Doctrine-containing-communism-and-Modernity/amp>.

⁴ For more information about proxy wars, see the article of “What is Proxy wars”. <https://googleweblight.com/i?u=https://www.https://thevietnamwars.inf/proxy-war/&grqid=tRa8iPQ7&s=1&hl=en-DZ>

and the ideological differences were a principle reason for the cold war (J. Llwellyn et al), in addition to the nuclear program of America.

The destructions of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were considered as the main reason of the cold war.⁵ Truman was expecting that using the bomb will shorten the war, however, it made it worse. The Soviet Union could not accept the domination of America over many European countries. At the same time, America could not accept the spread of communism and the decrease of capitalism. Robert McMahon states that The American purpose was to limit the spread of communism in Europe (6).

Since the Cold War happened over many years, it passed through many phases. There were three phases of the Cold War, each phase had its main events. In the early phase, between 1945 and 1947, Poland was the point of focus. The Soviet Union saw Poland as a big problem because it was considered as a gateway for the invasion of it from the west. The Capital of Germany was a target for France, US, the Soviet Union and Britain. They divided it into four zones. In the book “The Cold War: A New History”, John Lewis Gaddis writes: “The idea was to preserve as much of Germany as possible under western rule rather than to risk the danger that all of it might come under Soviet control.”

The first phase was the most dangerous one. A nuclear war was so close, and China became communist country after being in the side of the US. Even before the beginning of the cold war, the Soviets were thinking how they would control the world. After that, the tension between the two super powers decreased. The Soviets quickly

⁵ For more information about Hiroshima and Nagasaki, see the article entitled” Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.” https://googleweblight.cpm/i?u=http://www.history.com_topics/world-warii/bombing-of-hiroshima-and-nagasaki&grqid=ypzmFB8h&s=1&hl=en-DZ.

closed the way that was considered as a gateway to West Berlin for several purposes. Furthermore, Berlin, the capital of Germany, was divided into four parts.

The Soviet Union wanted to control the whole Germany, while the United States tried to stop it from spreading and invade more lands. Berlin Blockade was an action implied by the Soviet Union to control roads and other ways going into West Berlin zones.⁶ The purpose was to separate western Berlin from the western allies. The Soviet Union would do what was necessary to win the conflict. Berlin Blockade was a strong plan that no one can destroy. Russia hoped for a total control over Germany, but this Blockade remained just for one year, it did not last for a long time. However, it decreased the tension between countries during this period.

The Soviet Union made the first step by closing the transit to Germany. As a result, the Western allies created the Berlin airlift that carried supplies to people in western Berlin.⁷ The airways is used as a gate to Germany, Russia thought that this way would never succeed. However, the opposite happened, this solution proved that the Soviet Union did not take into consideration its enemy's power seriously. In other words, if Russia took into consideration the air roads, Germany would never get its supplies, and The Cold War may take another direction.

The blockade ended on May 1949, the result was the separation between the Eastern and Western Germany. Many people was wondering whether this separation would influence Germany as whole or would influence other countries. The US was sure that the Soviet Union would not accept this defeat easily .The appearance of more crisis during this period was no longer a surprise for any one. The US wanted to gain as much

⁶ See the article entitled "The Berlin Blockade". <https://googleweblight.com/i?u=https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin-Blockade&grqid=ZP-QE5g6&s=1&hl=en-DZ>.

⁷ About the Berlin airlift, see the article of "The Berlin Airlift". <https://googleweblight.com/i?u=http://www.spiritoffreedom.org/airlift.html&grqid=mOrdp-PF&s=1&hl=en-DZ>.

as possible the support of other countries, and the Soviet Union was working to make the US plans as just failed attempts. The western powers did not think that the airlift would succeed. They just did the only solution that may be effective in a way or another.

No doubt, the Soviet Union loss during the cold war did not stop it from trying to compete with the US in the next years. The two super powers made the Whole world as a land of their clash. Proxy wars was the most important Policy during this period .The end of the Berlin blockade was for the benefit of the US, but who knows? Maybe the end of the cold war did not mean a lasting peace between the two super powers.

As the Berlin Blockade ended, the Soviet Union started to look for various plans to defeat its enemy. The US looked for policies that would guarantee its winning. In the following years, it showed its cleverness to the rest of the world through the airlift. Truman doctrine was the policy of the United States during the cold war, it was a way to determine the spread of communism in East Europe that was considered as threat to the US. The idea was to get more power and to have domination over more countries. In addition, The United States used pressure policies, hoping for the spread of capitalism ideology.

Briefly, keeping nations from communism domination helped the United State to win the support of many countries. This doctrine was the main reason for the appearance of NATO. The organization aim was to build and gain trust between the United States and the European countries. Since security is the purpose of any country, NATO made it as one of its main aims. Nowadays, the aim of NATO moved from protecting European countries from the Russian invasion, make the European countries as one unite, and the protection of its member to managing crises.

The strategy of containment was the most important strategy during the war. The US took into account the limitation of communism in every step.⁸ George C. Marshall, the US secretary of the state, proposed Marshall Plan, this European program aimed at helping the European economy.⁹ America transferred more than ten billion dollars to Europeans to create a stable Europe. It was also believed that stable Europe would prevent communism from spreading, and would make the European countries more strong.

The second phase (1949 -1953) of the cold war was during Stalin- Truman era. It was after Cuban missile crisis in which Korea was divided into two parts. The US controlled South Korea, and the Soviet Union controlled North Korea. The first one was under capitalist ideology, however, the second one was under communist domination. In June 1950, South Korea invaded North Korea, but the world did not expect this war to happen. The US and other western countries were shocked. Finally, the war ended with the withdrawal of South Korea from North Korea. At this point, with the outbreak of the Korean War, the conflict expanded.

The final phase of the Cold War was during 1980 and 1990. During this period, the US and China relations improved, and the level of understanding between the two super powers increased. After the fall of the Berlin wall and the communist party, the cold war ended, Gorbachev reforms policies perestroika and Glasnost failed.¹⁰ The World order has changed, and a third world was created.

⁸ For more about the strategy of containment, see the book of Jhon Lewis Gaddis “Strategies of Containment”.<http://googleweblight.com/i?u=http://global.oup.com/ushe/product/strategies-of-containment-9780195174472&grqid=7XE6u8XW&s=1&hl=en-DZ>.

⁹ See the article of “History of the Marshall Plan”.www.marshallfoundation.org/marshall/the-marshall-plan/history-marshall-plan&grqid=3XHtiwv9&s=1&hl=en-DZ.

¹⁰ A detailed account can be found in “Perestroika and Glasnost”.<https://googleweblight.com/i?u=https://.historycrunch.com/perestroika-and-glasnost.htm1&grqid=fLlr7qde&s=1&hl=en-DZ>.

3. The New Cold War and Its Manifestations

The New Cold War is a new term that has appeared recently. It refers to the struggle between the US and Russia over nowadays affairs. In reality, this war is not confirmed yet, but various events can be a direct or indirect ways for it to occur. Russia and Ukraine's relationships become the most important point during this period, a fact that becomes obvious is that Russia would do everything to achieve its goal, controlling Ukraine becomes one of its priorities. There is a debate about whether Ukraine belongs to Russia or not, but Putin considers it as his own right to take control over Ukraine.

A New Cold War brought the world into a new phase. The US new president seems to be very different from the previous president. Obama was totally against Russian aggression. However, no one knows what is in Trump's mind and what his plans are. After his winning, the future of the US becomes unknown. Briefly, the new cold war policy is unknown too. Almost nothing stays the same, the US and Russia relations have been changed from the cold war era to the present days, different era and different presidencies means that everything can be different. Whether the new cold war will have the same impact, as the old one, is still a point to be studied from different perspectives.

Unsustainable New Cold War made Ukraine a land for huge disputes. Russia and the US new confrontation is a continuation process that started before decades until nowadays. For Susan B. Glasser, "the New Cold War is not just a 2017 catchphrase, it is already been the subject of more than a decade's debate, cropping up every few months with each new round provocation and recommendation between Russia and the U.S". She writes: "But Trump himself still does not seem to be fighting it". In this sense, just one side is ready to fight and to start this new conflict. "Moreover, the global context means that the United States and Europe may sometimes be pulled between the need to deter and contain Russia on the one hand and the desire to cooperate with it on the other" (Alcaro

36). In this sense, the US and Russia's cooperation will be either a nightmare or a beautiful dream for both of them.

In his research paper, "A 'New Cold War'? Abusing History, Misunderstanding Russia", Andrew Monaghan, a senior research fellow in the Russia and Eurasia Programme at Chatham House, comments "though it came to prominence in 2014, the new Cold War' debate is not, in fact, new. It has been a recurrent feature of the mainstream Western discussion for a decade" (4). Thus, for him the New Cold War is a continuation of the old one.

If the new cold war is really happening due to various reasons, its impact will be very different from the original cold war. "The Cold War ended without a nuclear exchange did, to a degree, reflect effective statesmanship and well-crafted policy" (Charap and Shapiro 41). However, for sure the New Cold War if it really exists is a path to an inevitable nuclear war. In addition, according to Zeliko Ivanis, Irica Lj Dordevic and Zoran Jeftic, "The problem is that the United States require for itself absolute rights to make decisions and evaluate all the others, while others are obliged to comply with US view of the world"(45). America wants total control over everything. It will not share its dominant power with anyone, even if it requires a nuclear war to keep its position.

2. Similarities and Differences between the Old Cold War and the New One

The New Cold War is a myth for most of people, the writer Ionela Maria Clonal has used this term as an absolute thing that the world cannot run from. The term became famous, "not only Western outlets are using this concept, but what even more is challenging is that also high officials from Russia started to refer to it in public discourse" (626). It is obvious that the Cold War and the new one are not the same term, but there are many similarities between them. Far more, Samuel Charap and Jeremy Shapiro write:

“A new Cold War, and the tensions it would introduce into the international system, would likely return us to the levels of nuclear danger of the old Cold War” (42). In addition, it is obvious that the opposing parties during the original cold war are the same sides during the new conflict, Russia and the U.S were and are still competing to be the dominant power.

It is also becoming apparently that the preparation of both wars took the same way. Robert Logvald, a Professor Emeritus at Columbia University, writes: “First, Russian and Western leaders have already begun framing the standoff in unforgiving terms - much as their predecessors did at the start of the first Cold War” (76). As already noted, the Soviet Union was always blaming the US, it focused on destroying its reputation. Also, he argues that Russia accused the US for using the law illegally under the name of their exceptionalism, not to be with the U.S means that you are against it. This was a kind of defense to recover Russian annexation of Crimea (76). In addition, he explains how revenge played a major role during both the old cold war and the new one. At different periods, Washington and Obama, presidents of the U.S, used various ways to break down the Soviet Union. The former put an end to the missile defense negotiation, and the later has stopped exports to the Soviet Union (77).

The New Cold War dominated the press. The rest of the world has been the scene of the competition between America and Russia. Obviously, the race for development of nuclear power existed in both periods. Before, a nuclear war was so close. Now, a nuclear war may happen if Russia does not stop its aggression. For this reason, Robert Logvald has stated that to avoid what happened before, the two super powers have to look into what happened during the Cold War. In other words, they have to discover that they should not do what they have done again (75). Concerning nuclear powers, before there

was an agreement not to use it under any condition. Nowadays, there is no agreement that obliges a country not to use such weapons.

More to the point, Charap and Shapiro write: “A New Cold War would be very different in its specifics, but hardly more salutary. Ukraine, as we know it today, would be finished. Its economy is already in tatters” (42). In other words, Russia may help the Ukrainian if they surrender under its control. In addition, many countries have changed their support from being in the side of the USSR to supporting the US, “all the non – Soviet states that were once members of the Warsaw pact are now members of the U.S” (Lind).

4. Has a New Cold War Really Begun?

President Vladimir Putin made various plans to make Russia the most powerful country. Most of the time his decisions were aggressive, controlling other countries was his focus. Both Russia and the US took steps to go on, but those steps may cost a lot. The crisis over Ukraine, after invading Crimea, was a special case for Russia and the US. Obviously, Russia alone cannot handle all this issues, but with the help of china, everything can be done easily. Michael G. Roskin writes: “The New Cold War will be long and deep only if the current Sino Russian entente turns into an alliance. A hostile Russia alone can cause mischief” (5).

In coming days, if Russia and China stand beside each other a New Cold War may happen, the US and china relations are not good, Michael Lind confirms it when he writes: “Relations between the United States and China have become increasingly conflictual, in the military, diplomatic, and economic realms alike.” He added, “At the same time Russia has allied itself loosely with China. The two Eurasian powers, with

other countries, have formed their own Eurasian alliances.¹¹ A more to the point, Putin wanted Russia to be treated as a super power, and with china's support, everything will be easy. If Russia continued its aggression, what will happen? The answer to this question is still under investigation. According to Susan B. Glasser,

For much of Putin's rule it has often been hard to tell whether we were still burying the cold war, or already busy resurrecting it. . . . But while they were busy ending the cold war all over again years after it had actually sputtered to a close a long with the Soviet Union collapse in 1991, others worried about its premature return.

This new conflict is an important event that everyone is talking about. Nothing is absolute since everything may change. Obama has denied that such term exists or will exist, and it is just a misunderstanding that will disappear through time, no recent cold war will emerge if the right procedures are done. In their article "Consequences of the New Cold War", Samuel Charap, a Senior Fellow for Russia and Eurasia at the IISS, and Jeremy Shapiro, a Fellow in Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution, write: "Obama's instinct to avoid a new Cold War is clearly the right one."

However, recent events proved the opposite. "Neither side can make the concessions necessary to resolve their current differences and prevent relations from deteriorating even further", both Andrej Krickovic and Yuval Weber comment. In this sense, if the two opposing countries will not surrender under any conditions, a New Cold War will be inevitable. They also states that Russia's interference in Syria made things worse.

¹¹ See the article of "A Key Shift of Eurasian Alliances Boosts Russia", Dilip Hiro. <https://googleweblight.com/i?u=https://www.Realclearworld.com/articles/2017/12/12/russia-iran-turkey-qatar-eurasian-alliances-112658.htm&grpId=3vH-OAe&s=1&hl=en-DZ>.

Compared with the old cold war, the new one is or will be a revenge for Russia to change its previous history, to have a second chance, and to show that everything may change through time. Moreover, nowadays events are a strong argument that if the new cold war is really happening or will happen, it will be a continuation of the original one since both sides are the same as the original war. Furthermore, Trump's nowadays policies and decisions are a proof that the US will not stand for a long time as a super power, what makes things hotter is that without Russia's intervention in the US election, trump would not win the presidency and things would take another direction.

In summary, the New Cold war as a new emerged term or as a continuation of the old one is what symbolizes the competition between Russia under Putin's control and the US under Trump's leadership. Over the years, each side has been working to achieve individual benefits and to gain more support. Many events can lead to the confirmation of this war such as Ukraine Crisis. This crisis is a treasure for Russia and a threat for the US and the European Union. Moreover, Russia's intervention in nowadays affairs and its willingness to change the New World Order is due to the fact that Putin will be no longer in the margin.

Chapter Two

The New Cold War and the New World Order

Up to the present day, the tension between Russia and the west is in progress. The efforts to improve this relation have become nonsense. The ongoing conflict between them affects other countries, Ukraine crisis can be seen as one of the most important events in today's conflict. The current political debate has gone from being a local conflict to a confrontation between Ukraine, Russia, the US, and EU. Russia has deployed its new form of policies and involvements in Ukraine to take total control over it. To Putin, the post-cold war order should be broken, and this what happened in 2014. This chapter aims at explaining what is Ukraine crisis, providing a clear image about how Ukraine may have negative impact on Europe , and a discussion about the New world order . All these events can be a reason for what is called the New Cold War.

It was essential to talk about Ukraine crisis when the term New Cold War has emerged. Russia will not give up easily until it includes Ukraine as one of its properties, this country is an important piece for it to restore its status as a super power, What lies ahead is linked to the suggested solutions that the US and Russia will offer to solve Ukrainian's problems under nowadays conditions.

1. The Ukraine Crisis

1.1 Origins of the Ukraine Crisis

Russia's relationships with Ukraine and the emerging of public problems within this country determined the reasons behind this ongoing crisis. In his thesis, "the Russian-European Union Competition in Ukraine". Sullivan, Kyle A writes: "Both Russian and European Union policies in the Ukraine Crisis have been shaped by two and a half decades of interaction conducted in the geopolitical landscape of former communist

regimes”(2). Furthermore, the fact that Ukraine as a free country has the right to determine its fate made Russia adopting many measures to prevent it from joining the Association agreement. Obviously, the ongoing crisis was the result of both the Ukraine’s president and Russia’s obsession about controlling other countries. The US is blaming Russia for its criminal actions and it proposed many sanctions against it, however, it used the most violent ways in Iraq. Thus, to blame others for their actions and forget your immoral ways of treating others is what the mind cannot absorb.

The confrontation between Ukraine and Russia over Crimea was about a part of Ukraine that Russia wanted to regain. Its old history can be a good argument for Putin to take control over this land. After Russia’s success in invading Crimea, its interests focused on controlling other countries. As with the old Cold War, the new one is characterized by various crises, for example, the Color Revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine, Gas Crises in 2006 and 2009, the Russia-Georgian war in 2008 (Vrsanska 96).¹ Russia’s decision to regain this part of Ukraine is a proof that it wants to build what has been demolished. At this point, it considered it as its own right to take what are from its properties from decade. Looking for various ways to interfere in Ukraine issues was its next target.

Ukraine was under Russia’s domination, but in “The 1918 treaty of Brest-Litovsk created for the first time an independent Ukraine” (Sullivan 1).² After that, it was divided into two parts, the western and Eastern ones, the former speak Ukrainian language and the later speak Russian language. Russia was claiming that it wanted just to find solutions

¹ For more information about the Color Revolution, see the book of Lincoln A. Mitchell “The Color Revolutions”. <http://googleweblight.com/i?u=http://upenn.edu/pennpress/book/14990.html&griqid=irP-N7IZ&s=1&hl=en-DZ;>; for more information about the Russian Georgian war, see the article entitled “2008 Georgia Russia conflict fast facts.” <https://amp.com/cnn/2014/02/13/world/europe/2088-georia-russia-conflict/index-html>.

² For more information about the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, see the article “Treaties of Brest-Litovsk” www.britannica.com.

to improve Ukraine's situation after announcing that the Ukrainian language would be the only spoken language in the country. The local conflict seemed to be characterized by the competition between Russia and EU (Sullivan³). In addition, Jorge Torre Sospedera commented that the whole conflict could be summarized as "Russia against the West and NATO" (10). In this sense, Ukraine is a victim of the greed of both Russia and America.

Ukraine Crisis began on November 2013, for decades, difficult conditions experienced by Ukrainians. Amanda Paul, a Policy Analyst at the European Policy Centre (EPC), writes: "Ukraine's leadership is in a weak position. This is not simply a consequence of the crisis but stems from the past 22 years of Ukrainian history." The Eastern Ukraine asked to be a separate part from the western Ukraine, this protest began in countries such as Dsnetsk, Luhansk, and Kharkiv. In addition, Their government was obliged to ask for help from other countries (EU and US), because protesters were everywhere and it was not an easy issue to be handle alone, all of western and eastern Ukraine in addition to Crimea were a target for such protests (Ramicon et al. 5).

In his research paper, "A 'New Cold War'? Abusing History, Misunderstanding Russia", Andrew Monaghan says, "History thus becomes myth or scared tale". At this point, for Russia old history was not something to be proud of, however, nowadays history is very different since Ukraine may be a part of Russia. For Putin, Ukraine is his winning card in the twentieth century. Far away from the current confrontation, "If you look back, since the Second World War all US presidents have tried to" reset "relations with Russia" (qtd. in Sospedera 2). At a specific period, between 1990 and 2008, their relations were improved (Sospedera 3). However, Putin did not focus on making his relations with the US better. At this point, these conflictual relationships may lead to a new war. In addition, the senior research fellow in the Russia and Eurasia Programme at

Chatham House writes: “Putin is resurrecting the USSR” (4).³ Therefore, Russia will be more powerful, and Ukraine will be a small mission for it to solve.

Local problems had appeared in Ukraine because of their president own decisions and Putin’s interference. The president himself did not want to resign under any condition. Thus, Ukrainians’ efforts to finish Yanukovich presidency faced many obstacles. As a result, force was the only available solution to solve this issue.

Furthermore, NATO’s expansion and US aids will prevent Russia from taking Ukraine as its own properties as it did with Crimea. Obviously, Ukraine’s future depends on the election and adopting many reforms.

2.2 Causes of the Ukraine Crisis

Behind any crisis, there are several reasons. For Ivana Vrsanska, Ukraine crisis is “a clash of western and Russian perceptions of the geopolitical direction of Eastern Europe” (94). She comments that the whole conflict was the result of Russia’s willing to regain its power. At this point, the history played a major role for this crisis to happen in 2008. In addition, Ukraine’s president regime failed because of the public refusing of their president’s decisions (3). At another point, she explains that Ukraine is a gateway for Russia’s enemy and keeping its borders far from the EU and US expansion is one of its priorities (96). In his article entitled “The Ukraine Crisis is Not What It Seems”, Robert Wade writes: “The strategic imperative of Black Sea access makes the Ukraine situation quite different, in Russian eyes, from other territories” (1-2). This was one of the main reasons for Russia’s ambition to invade it.

³ For more information about the USSR, it is the official name of the former Soviet Union, it is founded in 1922 and dissolved on 26 December 1991. See the article “Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics”. <https://googleweblight.com/i?u=https://www.encyclopedia.com/places/commonwealth-independent-states-and-independent-states-and-baltic-nations/cis-and-baltic-nations/cis-and-baltic-political-geography/union-soviet-socialist-republics&grqid=hHRTKMNx&s=1&hl=en-DZ>.

On May 2014, in their research paper entitled “The Ukrainian Crisis a Disputed Past and Present”. Ramicon and others introduced their work by writing, “The protests in Ukraine as well as the Russian intervention in the country are events constantly in a state of flux. That said, they are also pertinent to American foreign policy as well as the relationship between the West and Russia” (3).⁴ Briefly, west and Russia conflictual relation can be an ongoing path behind Ukraine crisis. Obviously, without the expansion of NATO, Russia would not do many procedures against Ukraine to save its borders from the West involvements. As a result, both of the two mentioned countries are responsible for what is happening nowadays. They added, “clashes between Ukrainian police and protestors erupted and within 48 hours, at least 88 people were killed in Kiev” (qtd. in Ramicon et al. 4). In other words, Clashes’ victims were a new disaster for Ukraine.

In his article, “Revisiting the Ukraine Crisis: Realist Reflections on Causes and consequences”, Vasif Huseynov writes: “Ukraine is a country without which Russia’s plans to re-integrate the post-Soviet countries under the Eurasian Union would lose most of its value.” In this sense, Russia needs Ukraine as a part of it to continue its plans. He added, “Without Ukraine, Russia ceases to be an empire, but with Ukraine suborned and then subordinated, Russia automatically becomes an empire” (586). The interference of Russia in Ukraine is a reason for why the crisis is going worse, the more the crisis becomes complicated, the more Russia acts as the only solution for Ukrainians to end this hell.

From the previous explanations, outside intervention may lead any country to its end, especially if it is suffering from local crisis. Western Ukrainians want to join the EU

⁴ To have a better understanding of US foreign policy decisions see Walter Lippmann, “U.S foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic”, <https://googleweblight.com/i?u=https://www.amazon.com/u-s-foreign-policy-Republic/dp/B000LG4K08&grqid=iC2P4FQz&s=1&hl=en-DZ>.

instead of Russia (McCloskey 1). However, Eastern Ukrainians want to join Russia since they speak Russian language. Briefly, this is the principle reason of this crisis. Robert Wade comments, “The first act of the Ukrainian parliament was to revoke the legal status of Russian as a national language, more broadly, to prevent regions from allowing the use of any other language than Ukrainian” (3). He added, “The Kiev government wanted the whole Ukraine as one Nation, one Language, one People” (3). In fact, giving up the Russian language would not be in Russia’s benefits.

2. Ukraine Crisis and NATO Russia Relation

The Ukraine Crisis is a recent crisis that appeared during the new conflict between Russia and the US. “Russia’s annexation of Crimea and attempts to further dismember the Ukrainian state pose a challenge for Russian neighbours and potentially for the wider European security order” (Allison 1225). He added, “In autumn 2013 Putin’s hopes grew that Ukraine’s potential participation in at least a customs union, in place of an EU Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement, could be the key to unlock his plans for a substantive Russia-led Eurasian regional order”(qtd. in Allison 1256). The decision about either to join Russia or the European Union is what makes things worse. Victor Yanukovich, Ukraine’s president, was totally against Ukraine’s enrollment to the European Union instead of Russia, many protests happened because of his decisions. However, John Marsheimer stated that not only the Russian aggression was the main reason for the Ukraine crisis, but also the US and its European allies are responsible too (1).

Rosa Balfour, a Senior policy analyst and head of the Europe in the world programme at the European Policy Centre, introduced her article “Will Crimea Herald a New Post-Cold War era World?” by saying, “It increasingly looks like Crimea is just the beginning of yet another sad chapter in the history of Eastern Europe.” For Amanda Paul,

“This crisis can still be resolved but only if the West is resolute in its support of Ukraine and ready to take the necessary actions to counter Moscow. Failing to do this will signal that the West is allowing Moscow to revert back to the Cold War era.” She added, “If we do not act today, we are certain to pay the price tomorrow.” Previous confrontation is back but with different conflicts.

To empower the European and non-European countries relations and to achieve economic and political cooperation, The Association agreements were established.⁵ This free trade agreement contains reforms that will help Ukraine’s situation through influencing various sides of its economy in addition to its governing matters (Wolczuk). “The increasing dissonance between Russia and Euro-Atlantic organizations (NATO and the European Union), caused by Russia’s Suspension of its participation in the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE)” (Monaghan 4). Keeping Ukraine far from EU and NATO influence is an obligatory mission for Putin to do his plans without any obstacles. According to Ricard Jozwiak, “Russia’s interference in Ukraine has led the United States, the European Union and other countries to impose sanction on Moscow, whose ties with the west have deteriorated to levels unseen since the cold war.”

The Russian nightmare is that Ukraine and Georgia both join NATO (Wade 1). Putin have to take control over Ukraine before anyone else will do. For Russia’s president, The European Union and NATO should stay away as far as possible from Ukraine’s policies and agreements. To understand more, Russia without Ukraine is like a country without defense since it is gateway for it.

⁵ For more information about the Association Agreement, see the article “Association Agreement”. <https://googleweblight.com/i?u=https://Ukandeu.ac.uk/explainers//association-agreements/&grqid=-x3SRTHW&s=1&hl=en-DZ>.

According to Robert Wade, in order to put end to this whole conflict, and to solve Ukrainians problems, it is necessary for all sides to overcome the idea that Ukraine has no right to decide which part it will be involved in. Furthermore, Unlike the Ukrainians disputes, the spoken languages in Ukraine, Ukraine and Russia's languages, should be accepted equally (6). Despite all these problems, Ukraine is a free country and whether to join EU or Russia is related to just the Ukrainians themselves.

3. Ukraine Crisis and EU

As expected, the intervention of many countries in Ukraine Crisis has made things look like it will end only through a New Cold War. As discussed before, Ukraine is suffering from a debt complex problem, this crisis threatens Europe as whole. The country's neutrality is what has become a target for America and Russia ("How Ukraine's Debt").

As already mentioned, Ukraine crisis is from the EU concerns which "rejected the use of force as an instrument for settling conflicts" (Alcaro 18). Obviously, Russia's annexation of Crimea and its intervention in Ukraine was against the EU order. Many non-western countries did not make any efforts to help Ukraine, and to support west's sanctions against Russia's interference. In other words, these countries have not an interest about keeping the European postmodern order such as China, India, and South Korea (Alcaro 21). The previous mentioned countries consider this conflict as a local European crisis. The European order was not for the benefit of the majority because it was not universally applicable, China took a benefit from the unstable relationships between the two super powers, and turned it into a gateway to be more close to Putin's country (Alcaro 19-20).

4. New World Order

After the end of the cold war, a New World Order was established. The balance of power was the main aim of this order, providing separate military powers would prevent any state from the total domination over other countries.⁶ Putin was trying to destroy this aim. He is working to prevent Ukraine from self-determination. Russia with Ukraine as a part of it will give it a privilege and more power. Briefly, the NWO focused on allying against any threat such as what is happening in Ukraine. Furthermore, “the European Union is a threat to Russian interests” (Krastev 2). The joining of Ukraine into the EU will destroy Putin’s plans.

In his essay “What New World Order”, Joseph S. Nye, Jr writes: “a New World Order with new ways of working with other nations . . . peaceful settlements of disputes, solidarity against aggression, reduced and controlled arsenals and just treatment of all people”. At this point, this order aimed at achieving global peace, but many obstacle appeared because of Russia’s willing to break it, and to ignore self-determination. The continued opposition to the New World Order has led to its collapse.

Consequently, the New World Order was good but not anymore. Firstly, it was challenged by external powers. Secondly, Europe noticed that this order does not satisfy the needs of their states any more (Alcaro 17). Finally, nowadays disputes proves that its principles are not effective. In the article entitled “the crisis of the post-Cold War European order”, Ivan Krastev writes: “Vladimir Putin has turned Russia into a powerful international player” (1). But the west did not give up at this point; it imposed many sanctions to prevent Russia from the intervention in other countries. Ironically, Russia

⁶ See “The Balance of Power”, <https://googleweblight.com/i?u=https://www.britannica.com/topic/balance-of-power&grqid=Q3le0D-c&s=1&hl=en-DZ>.

has been able to interfere in the dominant powerful country itself during the 2016 presidential election. This part will be discussed in the next chapter clearly.

In addition, Evan Krastev introduced his article by saying “Russia’s Reliance on Western Credits Has Turned into Europe’s Reliance on Russian Gas.” Russia’s military budget has increased six-fold since the beginning of the century, and Russia’s intelligence networks have penetrated all corners of Europe”(1). Soon, Russia will dominate almost everything either directly (Ukraine crisis) or indirectly (the US presidential elections), this events may lead to a New cold war.

The fact that Ukraine Crisis can be a direct reason for the New Cold War, makes a confusion about the suggested solutions for this crisis. According to McCloskey, “the current conflict between and among Ukraine, Russia, the United States, and international organizations represents a new Cold War” (3). In addition, “Putin’s speech at the Munich Security Conference in February 2007 was taken by many as a declaration of a ‘new Cold War’” (Monaghan 4). Clearly, Putin is supporting this new conflict unlike the previous president of the US. The balance of power that the NWO is insisting on may disappear through time.

Today, expanding Russia’s military and economic influence, In addition to supporting outside intervention influenced the New World Order security and credibility. From the point of view of Pyotr V. Gladkov, “in this future international system, there will no longer be any super-power in either the scale of the past or the present. Instead, the United States and Russia . . . will be relegated to the status of mere regional powers , but still remaining the two most prominent world leader”(23). The intervention of Russia and other countries in Ukraine and each other businesses harmed the international peace. Nevertheless, whatever happens, America will remain one of the most powerful countries in history.

The annexation of Crimea and Ukraine Crisis make Russia as a great player, this crisis is considered as both local and national problem since it effected the Ukrainian themselves and threatens the European economy. A different period emerged, the European order ended, and Russia is fighting to empower its position. If the right procedures and strategies did not take place against Russia, the confrontation between Europe, west, and Russia will lead to a New Cold War. Strategically, Russia's attempts to effect the US's credibility succeeded.

In addition, Putin is focusing on rebuilding the strength of Russia using any available ways. As it becomes obvious, the Ukraine Crisis and the Russian intervention in the election are the first step for a new emerging conflict. Ukraine Crisis is a direct reason for the New Cold War, and the conflict over it represents the beginning of a war similar to the original Cold War. The 2016 US Election was a proof that Russia was using Technology to control and influence other countries. Ukraine and the US election was both a target for Russian president.

Chapter Three

2016 US Election and the Russian Interference

The election is an important step to any country, the selection of the country's president provides an image about how the country's issues will be solved. The Russian government interfered in the 2016 US presidential election in order to increase political instability in the United States and to damage Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign by bolstering the candidacies of Donald Trump, Bernie Sanders and Jill Stein (Shane and Mark; Feldman; "Assessing Russian activities"). A January 2017 assessment by the Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI) stated that Russian leadership favored presidential candidate Trump over Clinton, and that Russian president Vladimir Putin personally ordered an "influence campaign" to harm Clinton's chances and "undermine public faith in the US democratic process"("Assessing Russian activities").

On November 2016, the election started, each side worked so hard to win the presidency. During the process of the 2016 election, Russia interfered through hacking and spying. Trump, the US new president, denied Russia's interference and considered it as just a kind of jealousy. The US Leadership under Obama Administration was very different from the leadership of Trump, his speeches may give a look about these differences. This chapter aims at clarifying the US presidential election, how both sides prepared for it, and for what reasons Russia had interfered. In addition, it focuses on the process of the election, and if Russia meddling made a difference. At another point, it sheds light on Donald Trump and the New World Order.

1. The 2016 US Presidential Election

1.1 The Preparation for New Presidential Election

The United States presidential election is a quadrennial one. Obama, the US previous president, was a model for the majority of Americans. However, voters should vote for new candidates. The competition between Hilary Clinton, the secretary of the state, and Donald Trump, who was ready for this confrontation, determined the next president of the most powerful country in the world (William). As usual, in a shape of promises the nominee provided an image about what they will do, if one of them wins the election.

In addition, The United states presidential election is determined through both popular vote and Electoral College.¹ In most cases, the one who wins the popular vote is the one who wins the electoral vote. But the case of W. Bush was different, he lost the popular vote but he won the electoral vote as Donald Trump situation (Desilver). Conditionally, the president should be 35 years old or more, he or she should be a US resident at least for 14 years old (“Requirements for the president of the united states”). Clinton, the first woman who won the popular vote, has lost the electoral votes (Klaine).

With the goal of choosing a new leader, the election started. The question is who was more responsible for such position. Donald trump had no prior experience in government; as a result, he was not responsible enough for enduring such big responsibility. For this reason, Russia as an enemy to the US tried to interfere and spread rumors and fake news as it did before. The Soviet Union accused the US for the assassination of Martin Luther king (Osnos, Remnick and Yaffa).

¹ See the book “A History of American Presidential Elections: From George Washington to Barak Obama.” Marc J Schulman. <https://www.amazon.com/history-American-Presidential-Elections-washington/dp/18885881193>.

In their article entitled “Trump, Putin, and the New Cold War. What lay Behind Russian Interference in the 2016 US Election, and What Lies Ahead”, Evan Osnos, David Remnick, and Joshua Yaffa commented that Trump was always praising Putin for his ways of thinking and controlling others using professional ways. Moreover, making Russia great again and rebuilding it to be strong as before are what make Putin more powerful. For sure, “free societies are often split because people have their own views, and that is what former Soviet and current Russian intelligence tries to take advantage of” (Osnos, Remnick and Yaffa). Americans are free to take their own decisions, for this reason, it was easy to effect the US election. This point made them a target for Putin to influence Clinton’s campaign.

Remarkably, the 2016 US election was special, outside interference made it not reliable. “According to US intelligence officials, Russian hackers made repeated attempts before this year’s election to get into major US institution” (Harding). In this sense, Russia intended many times to effect the US politics and rules. Furthermore, to deny its interference in the election is like to believe that there is a smoke without fire.

1.2 Russian Meddling in the 2016 US Election

In 2014, Russia started its plans to interfere in the US election by preparing a fake newsroom. It aimed at starting a warfare against the United States (Smith). After 3 years, the election ended and Trump won the final vote after losing the popular vote. Many researchers such as Alex Ward argues that Russia was in a way or another responsible for changing the results. He writes:

Our staff concluded that the (intelligence community’s) conclusions were accurate and on points”, Sen. Mark Warner (D-VA), the top Democrats on the intelligence committee, said in joint statement with the Panel’s chair, Sen. Richard Burr (R-

NC). The Russian efforts was extensive sophisticated, and ordered by president Putin himself for the purpose of helping Donald Trump and hurting Hillary Clinton.

When it comes to Trump's speeches, "There is the additional question of whether his words should be taken literally as well as seriously" (Pollack 2-3). Dr Peter Van Aelst, an associate professor of political science at the University of Antwerp argues that the election's results was not what make Americans wondering, however, Donald Trump's mistakes during delivering his speeches was catastrophic when it comes to counting mistakes (16).

After a lot of investigation, at the early year of 2017, the US Intelligence agencies outcome proved that Putin in a way or another helped Trump to win the presidency (Ward). Furthermore, Russia used fake accounts with a true public American information (Smith). What opened the door for a New Cold War was Russia's interference in Ukraine, as a reaction, Obama's administration imposed many sanctions against Russia's aggression (Harding). Eventually, "Mr Putin called it an "unfriendly act" and he responded by banning American couples from adopting Russian children" (Bevan).

An incident that changed the political path of America and eroded its credibility was represented in the fact that Russia has succeeded to hack Clinton's e-mails, this hacking "involved stolen identities, fake social media account" (Smith). In addition, the content of stolen emails was Putin's only hope to achieve his plans. Mckew writes: "all it was designed to look like it was coming from authentic American voices and interest groups". Therefore, effecting the US election using fake Americans opinions and accounts looked like it was a fair election. On 24 April 2018, Jeffrey Toobin in the article entitled "the D.N.C's Lawsuits against Russia and the Trump Campaign Isn't Bad Idea" commented that because of Russia's policies to disturb the US political system, the Democratic National Committee accused it for its interference. Personal and political

issues were behind this disturbing political plan. As a result, several cases are under investigation.

After hacking Clinton's emails, Russia turned it to WikiLeaks website. The aim was to publish and spread it before the election (Harding). In his journal article entitled "What we Know about Russia's Interference in the US Election". Harding explains that the "Security experts believe two Kremlin –connected groups were behind the hacks. One was from the FSB spy agency, the other from Russian military intelligence." In addition, "the Russian also targeted state and local officers responsible for administering the elections" (Wilkie). The previous president of the U.S, Barack Obama, described this hacking as "violation of international law" (Ohlin).

On 25 April 2018, in the article entitled "How the Kremlin May Have Helped Trump Win the Catholic vote". Zachary Fryer-Biggs writes: "When Podesta was running Hillary Clinton presidential campaign, Russian hackers broke into Podesta's email account and passed thousands of messages to WikiLeaks." Obviously, this hacking aims at harming Clinton, and prevent her from being the next president of the US. Publicly, Social media played a major role in the 2016 presidential election, "it is now much more difficult to separate what is "Russian" or "American" information" (Mckew), this what makes the U.S presidential election unreliable.

1.3 Why was Clinton Targeted?

Russia's interference in Ukraine and 2016 US election open the door for a New Cold War. Americans was wondering whether Putin's meddling made any changes. On 13 July 2018, in his article entitled "Trump Invited the Russians to Hack Clinton Were They Listening". Michael S. Schmidt writes: "in a new conference in July 2016, Donald J. Trump made a direct appeal to Russia to hack Hillary Clinton emails and make them

public”. To be more clear, how Trump denied Russian interference if he talked about the hacking publicly. He comments, “The indictment did not address the question of whether the Russian’s actions were actually in response to MR. Trump. It said nothing at all about MR. Trump’s request for help from Russia.”

Putin preferred Trump for many reasons. Firstly, “he blamed secretary of the state, Hilary Clinton, for the anti-Kremlin protests in Moscow’s Bolototannaya” (Osnos, Remnick and Yaffa).² Clinton as the next U.S president was a nightmare for Putin, he worked so hard to prevent such action to take place. Secondly, Trump was an easy target to take benefits from, his admiring and praising to Putin was obvious during his speeches. The secretary of the state was a victim for Putin’s obsess about abusing and controlling. Farther more, “Hilary Clinton has never been afraid to call out Vladimir Putin, but she never expected Russia’s vengeance to be so damaging” (Bevan). She was sure that whatever Putin did, he would not able to influence the 2016 presidential election. Nevertheless, hacking her e-mails was more than enough to prove that Putin is dangerous.

Thirdly, what made Clinton as Putin’s enemy was her criticizing of him because of the annexation of Crimea, and his interference in Ukraine. Finally, she insulted him by saying that “Mr Putin does not have a soul, she called him a tough guy with a thin skin, and she compared his annexation of Crimea in 2014 to the actions of Adolf Hitler” (Bevan). However, this does not give Russia’s president the right to do what he did. For him, “attacking the woman who has been standing in his way for so long” (Bevan) is

² About the anti-Kremlin protests, see the article of “Fading Away into Oblivion”, Stanislav Kuvaldin. <https://googleweblight.com/i?u=https://www.rbth.com/politics/2013/05/13/fading-away-into-oblivion-24905&hl=en-24905&hl=en-DZ&tg=45&pt=2>; the book review of “Protest in Putin’s Russia by Mischa Gabowitsch”. <https://googleweblight.com/i?u=https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/lsereviewofbooks/2017/03/20/books-review-protests-in-putins-russia-by-mischa-gabowitsch/&graid=M7-ex85Q&s=1&hl=en-DZ>.

considered as a sign of dominant power. What makes a powerful leader is his destroying of the threats that he will face, and that what Putin did in 2016.

2. Social Media in the 2016 US Presidential Election

Social media can be unstoppable weapon if it is used with the right way. Putin knew how to attack and how to use the right news in the right time. Dan Kennedy writes: “Journalists have an indispensable role in our political system. They have the responsibility to provide us with the information we need to govern ourselves in a democratic society.” Therefore, social media may change many opinions unconsciously. In the article entitled “Did Social Media Ruin Election?” Sam Sanders writes: “Zuckerberg also pointed out studies showing that increasingly, more young people are getting their news primarily from sites like Facebook, and that young people have said it helps them see “a larger and more diverse set of opinions”. In other words, controlling social media means controlling the most important aspects of life.

Nowadays, social media dominated our daily life and consumed most of our time. Websites played a major role in Trump’s winning. Therefore, using it as a pressure weapon was a clever idea. According to Dan Kennedy, Trump as a TV celebrity was not something that give him a privilege over an experienced governor. Unfortunately, someone who had no prior experience won the presidency. Trump denied Russian meddling, in contrast, “Back in May, however, Sens, Burr, and Mark Warner (D-VA), the intelligence” committee’s top officials , previewed today’s finding by announcing they agreed with the intelligence community’s conclusions” (Ward).

Clinton was sure that she would win under any condition. The scandal of Clinton campaign effected the 2016 US credibility. According to Jennifer Stromer-galley, using Twitter and Facebook by Trump and Clinton helped them during their campaign. More

important, she explains how she used Facebook and Twitter messages to compare between the two candidates. As a result, Clinton's use of Social sites was more than Trump's use. To know more, "While Clinton's Campaign was overall more active on its social media accounts, it did not receive the same amount of attention and support on social media compared with Donald Trump"(Galley) because of Russian hacking and spreading fake news.

Morghan Wright, in the article entitled "Trump and Putin Should Be Talking about Cyber Attacking and Social Media instead of Nuclear Weapons" describes the situation during the elections as "digital cold war fought via social media, networks and mass media". Indirectly, a new war using modern technology is happening because of Russia's actions and Putin's ambitions. However, "the only thing Putin respect is power" (Wright), his hacking was just the beginning of the New Cold war against the United States. "Maybe the first thing to do, to counter Russian influence in future elections, is have NSA, DHS, and the FBI read more British newspaper. There are nothing fake about their news on Russia" (Wright). Without a doubt, something related to Putin and Trump's relationships is still hidden.

3. Did Russia's Interference Really Effect the Election?

For a while, there has been a conflation of issues - the hacking and leaking of illegally obtained information versus propaganda and disinformation; cyber-security issues and the hacking of elections systems versus information operations and information warfare; paid advertising versus coercive messaging or psychological operations—when discussing "Russian meddling" in the 2016 US elections. The refrain has become: "There is no evidence that Russian efforts changed any votes" (Mckew).

But the bombshell 37-page indictment issued Friday by Robert Mueller against Russia's Internet Research Agency and its leadership and affiliates provides considerable detail on the Russian information warfare targeting the American public during the elections.³ And this information makes it increasingly difficult to say that the Kremlin's effort to influence the American mind did not succeed.

The indictment pulls the curtain back on four big questions that have swirled around the Russian influence operation, which, it turns out, began in 2014: What was the scope of the Russian effort? What kind of content did it rely on? Who or what was it targeting, and what did it aim to achieve? And finally, what impact did it have? Most of the discussion of this to date has focused on ideas of political advertising and the reach of a handful of ads—and this discussion has completely missed the point.

Clearly, the scope of Russian meddling included the political election of the US, aiming at harming Clinton's campaign through hacking the DNC files. The reason was to destroy her reputation and to harm the US credibility. Furthermore, Putin succeeded to spread rumors and fake news using specialists and social media. The hacking of the US documents files decreased the US political credibility.

The investigator Robert Mueller blamed 12 Russian intelligence officers for fraud and destabilizing the US politics via hacking and spying (Ward). Russia's interference made a confusion about whether its interference effected the results or it is just failed attempt. Nevertheless, "Trump so far has said that he believes Putin denial that his country interfered in the election in anyway" (Wade). Increasingly, the tension between Russia and the U.S. during Russian meddling has increased. For what reasons Russia has

³ For more information about the bombshell 37-page indictment, see the article "Bombshell Indictment Details Russian Election Interference Operation." Casey Michel. <https://thinkprogree.org/indictment-doj-tump-clinton-7105e89df9be/amp/>.

interfered is still ambiguous that “Putin neither denied nor confirmed the hacking efforts” (Osnos, Remnick and Yaffa). In addition, “CIA and FBI had “high confidence” that Russia was trying to help Trump win” (Ward).

The Election’s results was playable for most of Americans. For Molly Mckew, an expert on information warfare and the narrative architect at New Media Frontier, in her article entitled “Did Russia Affect the 2016 Election? It is Now Undeniable”, argues that the aim of Russian hacking was “targeting the American public during the elections”. She added, to say that Russia meddling did not succeed, is something that is hard to be believed. Furthermore, Russia’s aim for decades was to destroy the US credibility, it focused on the election process since it is related to the public and government at the same time. To know more, Mckew writes: “The indictment mentions that the Russian accounts were meant to be embedded with and emulate “radical groups”. The content was not designed to persuade people to change their views, but to harden those views.”

It was not simply easy to lose after being sure from winning. Unfortunately, Clinton’s good image has been destroyed because of Russia’s fake news (Silver). Many questions remain stuck in the mind when it comes to Clinton’s campaign. Logically, she lost many votes since Russia focused on changing the public’s opinions. In Nate Silver view, “it is hard to prove anything about Russian interference, it is equally hard to disprove anything. The interference campaign could easily had chronic, insidious effects that could be mistaken for background noise”. The problem is that Trump is supporting the one who worked to affect the 2016 US credibility.

4. The Future of the US and Russia Relations, and the New Cold War

Jonathan D. Pollack introduced his research paper “Donald Trump and the Future of U.S. Leadership: Some Observations on International Order, East Asia, and the Korean

Peninsula”, by commenting that Trump who has no prior experience in government is very different from the US previous presidents standards (1). The Senior Fellow and Interim SK-Korea Foundation Chair in Korea Studies has stated that nobody can predict Trump’s next step (2). When it comes to Trump-administration, “There is the additional question of whether his words should be taken literally as well as seriously” (Pollack 2-3). In addition, “They see in Trump someone that finally tells the truth. Trump tells it like it is and calls problems by their name. He is not afraid to tell the public that the US has become a loser” (Van Aelst 16). The majority of Americans were against Trump as the president. Nowadays, unnoticed and indirect interference of Putin in the US exists.

Farther more, despite the willing of the majority, Donald Trump won, and now he is responsible for the U.S matters legally. Instead of punishing Russia, “Trump delighted in saying that Putin was a superior leader who had turned the Obama administration into a “laughing stock” (Osnos, Remnick and Yaffa). Conditionally, Putin’s support of the US new president will improve his relationships with the US, his plan to influence Trump’s opinions has succeeded.

Trump as a president of the most powerful country has almost a total control over everything, but the question is how he will make the US more powerful? Moreover, what he will do with his rights as the U.S leader? (Pollack 5). The last question is what make Putin’s next target is to support Trump against Clinton. Because of Russian meddling, “The Trump victory surprised many political pundits and American voters, who immediately began to wonder what role, if any, rumored Russian interference in the election played in Trump’s victory” (“Russian Meddling”).

Clearly, Russia under Putin’s rule becomes a strong empire. In 2012, Steven Pifer in the article entitled “The Future Course of the U.S.-Russia Relationship” describes Russia and US relations by “a mix of issues in which the two countries can cooperate and

issues where their position conflict”. After the end of the original cold war, their relationship did not break up totally, their ties were good but not as two friend countries, various disputes still exist such as Ukraine Crisis and Russia’s interference. Obama was against what happened in Ukraine, but what trump is thinking about concerning this crisis is not known. A New Cold War between Russia and the United States will determine what is coming.

On 24 November 2016, in his article entitled “Donald Trump and the New World Order”. Scott Gilmore argues that the international stability is the desire of every country. He writes: “Russia is a different place but the ideology of the New World Order held that there are no different places that all reasonable people behave in the same reasonable way.” As was the case, this order was against Russia’s demands. Therefore, destroying it is a necessary step for Russia to overcome this obstacle. On the surface, Russia’s interference in the US election and its intervention in Ukraine is just the first step for a great victory.

It is hard to prove that Russia’s use (Cohan) of phony trolls and social media and its theft of email messages from prominent Democrats is what elected Trump. In an election as close as the 2016 balloting, many factors are always at play, and tactical errors by the Hillary Clinton campaign, her own shortcomings as a candidate and rogue public criticism (Cohan) of Clinton by FBI Director James Comey all figured in Trump’s victory.

Obviously, Russia’s intervention was so clear even if Putin and Trump are denying it. Clinton accused Russia and blamed it for using spies and hackers aiming at targeting her campaign. After announcing the results, Trump’s rule seems very different from the previous presidents. He supports Putin in almost every decision and considered him as a great leader who deserves respect and honor. In this sense, their relations

improved after what happened in the election. But for most Americans, the results were unsatisfying. No one imagined that the secretary of the state would lose in front of Donald Trump. However, if this war is happening or will happen is still under discussion, because when it comes to politics everyone has its own opinion.

Conclusion

When the Soviet Union disintegrated, Ukraine became an independent country with a free rule. However, it did not mean that Russia would not interfere in Ukraine anymore. Ukraine Crisis began on November 2013 when the president Victor Yanukovich refused to be involved in the Association Agreement with the European Union. Putin's fear from Ukraine accession to the EU made him more violent concerning his political decision. In addition, Russia with Ukraine will be a strong empire. This reason is what makes Ukraine an important country for Russia.

Ukraine may change the path of the confrontation between the US and Putin. Big attention has been paid to the new world order and its implication as a universal one. Indeed, the 2016 US election described the important points, which was the reason behind the US federal investigation. This has limited the ability to increase the US-Russia relations to a better level and to keep the balance of power.

The New Cold War as a new concept made a big confusion. Mainly the US and Russia are competing as the old days during the cold war. This confrontation is similar to the old one since proxy wars did not end yet. Furthermore, Trump's winning of the election was not expected. For him, Russia had no role during the election, and that Clinton loss was because of her unpopularity as he claimed. Robert Mueller investigated Russia's involvement in Trump's campaign.

Moreover, the emergence of various conflicts raised many questions about which order would be more effective. Nevertheless, the needs for rules do not mean that any order should be accepted. It is important to look for a universal applicable and successful one. However, perhaps both of US and Russia are totally against the balance of power since they seek total domination over everything. Russia's interference in the 2016 US

election through Hilary Clinton's e-mails hacking and spying using modern technology put Putin under investigation.

The New Cold War between the US and Russia is happening in the shape of modern technology war using various tools that are different from the old Cold War. Nevertheless, its impacts can be decreased, if Putin seeks peace and leave Ukraine to decide its own path. Furthermore, this new conflict is inevitable as the old Cold War, but what makes a difference is that Putin was lucky because the new US president was his choice. Talking about the US and Russia relations becomes highly debatable, their future relations will not be stable since history has known many improvements in addition to various crises. Moreover, the possibility of their partnership and agreement is still far away.

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