

A Bipolar World: The Poisoning of Sergei Skripal and Anglo-Russian Relations

The Cold War was a bitter ideological and military rivalry which dominated the international system for the latter half of the twentieth century. Both the Soviet Union and the West competed to shape international politics; with communism and capitalism pitted against one another. The Cold War possessed an element of inevitability, a necessary conflict between the East and West, which encompassed other countries, requiring them to choose a side. Today, throughout the media, and even official government statements, the narrative of a ‘New’ or ‘Second’ Cold War is emerging, comparing present day tensions to this rivalry of the late twentieth century.¹ This is a mutual rhetoric, with the Russians also labelling the current conflict through analogy with the Cold war. In 2016, the Prime Minister of Russia, Dmitry Medvedev stated, “we have slid into a new period of Cold War”, adding, “sometimes I wonder if it’s 2016, or if we live in 1962”.² Later, in response to the Skripal poisonings of March 2018, the British Russian Embassy tweeted an image of a thermometer captioned, “The temperature of Anglo-Russian relations drops to -23 °C, but we are not afraid of cold weather”.³ Anglo-Russian relations are in a state of extreme

deterioration due to various events over the past few years including the Georgia-Russia War, the Ukrainian Crisis, and Russia’s disruption of Western democracy. However the poisoning of Sergei Skripal, former Russian military agent and double agent for the British intelligence agencies in 2018, incited an escalation of ‘Cold War 2.0’ narratives. The British press ran headlines such as, “Britain is braced for Cold War II” and, “The Makings of a New Cold War”, while the official government response was to take immediate action.⁴ Furthermore, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Select Committee, Tom Tugendhat, argued that Moscow was conducting, “a form of soft war against the West”. Events of the past few years do echo the bipolar relationship of the Cold War, exposing Russia’s expansionist ambitions and determination to destroy the liberal international order, yet it is not directly comparable.⁵ Making such comparisons suggests, “not only a tremendous threat, but also an overarching struggle”, with the world divided between two camps in a geopolitical and ideological confrontation.⁶ The scale of the current confrontation certainly does not match that of the Cold War, nor is it a matter of two belief systems pitched

¹ Salisbury Poisoning a ‘war crime by Russia’, *The World Tonight*, 5 July, 2018, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/b0b85m-fm> [Accessed 12/01/2021]; G. Evans, ‘Cold War: How do Russia tensions compare to Soviet era?’, *BBC News*, 26 March, 2018, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-43546340> [Accessed 13/01/2021], See *Daily Mirror Newspaper*, Thursday March 15, 2018.

² ‘World has slipped into a ‘new Cold War’: Russian PM, *Al Jazeera*, February 13, 2016, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/2/13/world-has-slipped-into-a-new-cold-war-russian-pm> [Accessed 12/01/2021].

³ See Figure One: Russian Embassy, UK Tweet showcasing the Second Cold War, 14 March, 2018, Twitter, <https://twitter.com/russianembassy/status/973993379024556032?lang=en> [Accessed 24/03/2021].

⁴ ‘Britain is braced for Cold War II’, *The Times*, 16 March, 2018; ‘Russia v the West: Vladimir Putin’s new cold war’, *The Irish Times*, 29 December, 2018 <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/europe/russia-v-the-west-vladimir-putin-s-new-cold-war-1.3731720> [Accessed 24/03/2021].

⁵ A. Lieven, ‘The Dance of the Ghosts: A New Cold War with Russia Will Not Serve Western Interests’, *Survival*, Vol. 60, Issue 5, (2018), p. 118.

⁶ *Ibid* p. 117.

against one another.⁷ Regardless of the complexities of labelling the current confrontation a ‘New’ or ‘Second’ Cold War, it is undeniable that the current relationship is fraught with tension. The question that remains is whether the use of this analogy reflects a return to a bipolar world order or, at least if not in reality, a shared *mentality* of a bipolar world from the British perspective.



Figure 1: Russian Embassy, UK Tweet showcasing the Second Cold War

Academic Perspective

The answer to this question can be summarised rather succinctly according to Legvold – “the world is no longer bipolar”.⁸ If we are to believe Legvold then a fuller consideration of today’s world order is due. From an academic perspective the conclusions drawn regarding the current international order vary to some degree. These include multi-polar, uni-multipolar, non-polar, but almost never

bipolar.⁹ Supporting evidence often cites a lack of ideological underpinnings, the disproportionate military and economic capacities of either side and, most markedly, the quantity of competing contemporary threats to the West – of which Russia is by no means the greatest. Whilst affirming that the current international system is not bipolar, academics have extended this, and suggested that the world has not reflected a bipolar model since the cessation of the Cold War. In fact, some historians, most notably Odd Arne Westad, have also looked back to the Cold War and posited a different model than bipolarity.¹⁰ Various theories regarding the emerging international system include one of a ‘New World Order’, a ‘Multipolar World’ or a ‘Unipolar World’.¹¹ Those supporting a ‘New World Order’ believed power would not dictate international relations, the role of the state would cease, and international organisations and economic entities would dominate. Such a neo-idealist mentality is often referred to as ‘neo-Wilsonian’ or ‘neo-liberalism’.¹² Although NATO is a crucial player in Anglo-Russian relations, this clearly does not represent today’s reality. Alternatively, a more pessimistic view that has been prominent is the ‘Multipolar World’. This label aptly sums up its own argument of an increasing number of poles, and the rise of Japan and the EU are often cited as evidence in support of this theory.¹³ This is closer to the present-day international order in which power is distributed across the globe. While economic and military power may be widely dispersed, this does not mean that Britain’s blinkered outlook has expanded to appreciate them as equal to the threat of Russia. Finally, the concept of a ‘Unipolar World’ stresses the replacement of bipolarity with hegemony – specifically, the hegemony of America. Sometimes, this view has been encapsulated in sentiments such as Pax Americana

⁷ R. Legvold, ‘Managing the New Cold War. What Moscow and Washington Can Learn from the Last One’, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 93, Issue 4, (2014), p. 74.

⁸ *Ibid* p. 75.

⁹ L. Gaiser and I. Kovač, ‘From Bipolarity to Bipolarity: International Relations Repeating Again’, *J Glob Policy Gov*, (2012), pp. 49-50.

¹⁰ See, O. A. Westad, *The Cold War: A World History*, London (2018).

¹¹ *Ibid*.

¹² See J. M. Grieco, *Cooperation among nations: Europe, America, and non-tariff barriers to trade*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca (1990) and J. Nye, ‘Neorealism and neoliberalism’, *World Politics*, 1988, pp. 235-25.

¹³ See J. Mearsheimer, ‘Back to the future: instability in Europe after the cold war’, *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 1., (1990) pp. 5-56.

or American Hegemony.¹⁴ As a reflection of the present-day international order, a number of academics have observed a shift from unipolarity to non-polarity. Richard Haas observes, “the principal characteristic of twenty-first-century international relations is turning out to be non-polarity: a world dominated not by one or two or even several states but rather by dozens of actors possessing and exercising various kinds of power.”¹⁵ Although the replacement of the Cold War international system seems to be up for discussion, the end of a bipolar world is irrefutable in academic circles.¹⁶ It appears to be concrete in the minds of academics that bipolarity is a phenomenon of the past. This is not just an academic perspective, but a true reflection of the contemporary international system. The West is plagued by a number of threats, Islamist fundamentalism in particular. This alone further renders bipolarity an inaccurate assessment of international relations, not simply because alternative threats can be observed, but also that Russia has aligned itself with the West in the struggle against Islamist terrorism and extremism.¹⁷ How can a bipolar relationship exist between Russia and the West when they are fighting a mutual threat? Furthermore, Russia does not possess the economic nor military strength that Soviet Russia once did. Its nuclear capacity is balanced by the American, British, and French capacity to destroy Russia, and even the strength of its army has been sneered at.¹⁸ In the Defence Intelligence Agency Report on Russia’s Military Power in 2017, Russia’s military threat was surmised in a patronising statement: “It is a military that can intervene in countries along Russia’s periphery, or as far away as the Middle East.”¹⁹ Such clear limitations of the

Russian military, together with an economy one tenth the size of the European Union and American economies combined, makes the current conflict an unfair match to say the least.²⁰ Given the diminished state of Russia as an international force, it is indisputable that suggestions of a ‘New’ or ‘Second’ Cold War are inaccurate and misplaced. As Daniel Patrick Moynihan said, “Everyone is entitled to his own opinion, but not of his own facts”, and by this logic, the world is no longer bipolar.²¹

Popular Perspective

Meanwhile, the more popular perception of the international order amongst Britons lends itself to a more simplistic view than scholars would like; favouring a narrative of continued bipolarity between Russia and the West. News outlets have contributed to this narrative considerably. Articles at the time of the Skripal poisonings were headed with titles such as, ‘Cold War Two’, branding the content with an overt link to bipolarity.²² The British tabloid *The Daily Mirror* led this charge with, “Cold War II: Putin vows revenge as PM kicks out 23 Russian spooks in poison storm”, followed with, “Britain is braced for Cold War II after Prime Minister Theresa May expelled 23 Russian spies.”²³ The *Daily Mirror* was not alone, nor was this front-page branding confined to the tabloids. Broadsheets soon joined; *The Times* stated, “West unites to confront Russia over poisonings” alongside a photograph of President John F Kennedy, who led the US during perhaps the most dramatic phase of the actual Cold War.²⁴ In addition, *The World Tonight* on BBC Sounds declared the incident a, “war crime by Russia.”²⁵ Although academics are increasingly visible in news

¹⁴ See J. Muravchik, ‘At last, Pax Americana’, *The New York Times*, January 24, 1991, Section A, p. 23 and C. Layne, B. Schwarz, ‘American hegemony: without an enemy’, *Foreign Policy*, No. 93, (1993), pp. 5-23.

¹⁵ R. N. Haass, ‘The age of non-polarity, what will follow US dominance?’, *Foreign Affairs*, 2008. <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/63397/richard-n-haass/the-age-of-nonpolarity> [Accessed 12/01/2021].

¹⁶ L. Gaiser and I. Kovač, ‘From Bipolarity to Bipolarity’.

¹⁷ A. Lieven, ‘Dance of the Ghosts’, p. 124.

¹⁸ *Ibid* p. 115.

¹⁹ United States, Defence Intelligence Agency, *Russia Military Power*, (2017), p. 13.

²⁰ Gross Domestic Product, World Bank, 2019 <https://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/GDP.pdf> [Accessed 12/01/2021]

²¹ As referenced in A. Lieven, ‘Against Russophobia’, *World Policy Journal*, Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, 1 January, 2001, <https://carnegieendowment.org/2001/01/01/against-russophobia-pub-626> [Accessed 24/03/2021].

²² See *Daily Mirror*, Thursday March 15, 2018.

²³ *Ibid*.

²⁴ See *The Times*, 16 March, 2018.

²⁵ ‘Salisbury Poisoning a ‘war crime by Russia’, *The World Tonight*, 5 July, 2018, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/b0b85mfm> [Accessed 12/01/2021].

articles, such as ‘Russia v the West: Is this a new Cold War’, alarmist slogans and brandings of bipolarity dominated the front-page and people’s minds.²⁶ These fear-mongering statements were not confined to the often sensationalist media, but were also used in official government and intelligence organisation speeches. Giving a public speech at the University of St. Andrews, Alex Younger - the head of MI6 - differentiated between Russian and British values and methods, creating a distinct separation: “We will do this in our way, according to our laws, and our values”.²⁷ The distinct repetition of ‘our’ insinuates that ‘their’ way is of course different and opposite to the ‘British way’, and therefore a narrative of bipolarity is established. Furthermore, Jeremy Fleming, the head of GCHQ, declared, “they work in a parallel universe where the normal rules of international affairs are inverted”.²⁸ Although the poisoning of the Skripals brought good reason for the British government and authorities to publicly chastise Russia, the narrative of bipolarity is overwhelming, and signifies a continuation of a Cold War mentality. The narrative of bipolarity is not just one which dominated politics from the top-down. It can also be found in many variations of popular culture, such as films and even computer games. Popular culture played a significant part in the perpetuation and justification of Cold War mentalities at the time of the conflict. According to Paul Bleton, spy fiction was a central instrument in anchoring and perpetuating the Cold War mentality in popular culture, as it spread a political message through dramatized entertainment.²⁹ During the course of the Cold War, authors like John le Carré, or titles like the James Bond series, reinforced the

ideological polarity through the depiction of the Russians as the ‘bad guys’ while the British were inevitably the ‘good guys’.³⁰ Furthermore, Christoph Classen shows how film and television played perhaps an even greater role in creating Cold War mentalities.³¹ Through the pretended realism, audiences were drawn into the excitement of an attention-grabbing plot and could visualise the enemy. This continues today. For instance, *The Game* (2014) features Odin, the stereotypical Russian villain; a cold, merciless character, whom even the Soviets are known to fear.³² The British character, Joe spends the series tracking down his adversary and seeking revenge for Odin murdering his love Yulia. The clarity and certainty embodied in the characters of Joe and Odin reinforces the binary of good versus bad, of which Britons can place themselves on the good side. The computer game *Call of Duty* is also evident of this Cold War mentality continuing to permeate popular culture.³³ *Call of Duty* has been criticised for promoting ‘anti-Russian propaganda’ in a scenario called ‘Highway of Death’.³⁴ In this scenario, the player, embedded as a CIA operative overlooking a Middle Eastern desert, is told how, “The Russians bombed it... killing the people trying to escape”.³⁵ This resembles an incident from the 1990-2 Gulf War, also called the ‘Highway of Death’, when America and its allies attacked a retreating Iraqi convoy on Highway 80, resulting in mass casualties and later accusations against the American military for undue force. To blame Russia, rather than America, in the context of this game attaches moral baggage to the East-West divide which renders Russia the ‘bad guys’ regardless of the facts. *Call of Duty* is not the only example of contemporary culture

²⁶ J. Marcus, ‘Russia v the West: Is this a new Cold War?’, *BBC News*, 1 April, 2018, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-43581449> [Accessed 13/01/2021].

²⁷ ‘MI6 Boss on Novichok Poisoning’, *BBC News*, 3 December, 2018, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-46429651> [Accessed 12/01/2021].

²⁸ ‘Salisbury Novichok poisoning: Threat from Russia is ‘real’ – GCHQ’, *BBC News*, 7 September, 2018, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-45444080> [Accessed 12/01/2021].

²⁹ P. Bleton, ‘Machiavelli’s Angels Hiding in Plain Sight: Media Culture and French Spy Fiction of the Cold War’ in Konrad H. Jarausch, Christian F. Ostermann and Andreas Etges (eds.), *The Cold War: Historiography, Memory, Representation*, pp. 134-151.

³⁰ K. H. Jarausch, C. F. Ostermann, A. Etges (eds.), *The Cold War: Historiography, Memory, Representation*, p. 10.

³¹ Classen, ‘Enemies, Spies, and the Bomb’ in K. H. Jarausch, C. F. Ostermann, A. Etges (eds.), *The Cold War: Historiography, Memory, Representation*, pp. 152-176.

³² *The Game*, Written by M. B. Akil, S. Akil, S. V. Finney, K. Barris, BBC, November 2014.

³³ *Call of Duty: Modern Warfare* [Computer Game], 2019, Infinity Ward.

³⁴ J. Wills, ‘Is Call of Duty really promoting anti-Russian propaganda?’, *The Conversation*, November 8, 2016, <https://theconversation.com/is-call-of-duty-really-promoting-anti-russian-propaganda-126459> [Accessed 12/01/2021].

³⁵ Ibid.

which furthers the polarisation between Russia and the West, attempting to recreate the fear, or at least suspicion, of Russian adversaries. The trope of the British hero, versus the Russian ‘baddie’ is almost universal in the entertainment industry. Some examples include *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, the film (2011), *The Game*, TV series (2014), and *McMafia*, TV series (2018).³⁶ Despite the reality of a world inundated with threats, popular culture remains fixated on the enemy from the East in a narrative of bipolarity and ‘othering’. Though there are clearly other major threats vying for British attention, the British psyche remains preoccupied with the Russian enemy. Therefore, something more significant than the evidence and facts must be at play in the minds of Britons. Schlesinger talks of a ‘conception’ of one’s past.³⁷ One of the points which he grapples with is that historical truth is not an active agent in our understanding of the past, instead we have a ‘conception’, and a mythologised form. In the context of the Skripal poisonings, I would purport that this could be extended to include the present day too. Truth does not appear to be an important aspect in our understanding of the world today. Instead, the past, and our conception of it, provides the framework for our understanding. Thus, as of Call of Duty demonstrated, reality possesses little pertinence. Instead, Russia was villainised for a crime they had not committed. Bipolarity provides a framework for Britons to make sense of the world, yet this means Russia often becomes the victim of a ‘blame game’.³⁸ This is because the power of historical truth has a difficult time competing with the power of the right story at the right time even though, or perhaps precisely because, the latter has been adulterated by myth and legend. Both the academic and popular view, as well as an appreciation of memory’s role in Britain’s perception

of a bipolar world, can perhaps be reconciled through an understanding of ‘Enemy Deprivation Syndrome’ - a theory initially asserted by Lyle Goldstein.³⁹ It has been observed by academics of many disciplines that as a society we have a psychological need for an enemy. In the words of Finlay, Holsti and Fagen, “It seems that we have always needed enemies and scapegoats; if they have not been readily available, we have created them”.⁴⁰ Goldstein furthers this, and attests that many in the West seem, “to have succumbed to ‘enemy deprivation syndrome’ after the Cold War”, as a number of national security specialists seem to yearn for a, “simple threat that is easily characterised”.⁴¹ In short, although the world is not bipolar, is it perceived as such, because ironically, Russia is considered a *safe* enemy. Threats and concerns now exist throughout the globe, including Iran, North Korea, as well as ISIS and other forms of radical Islamist extremism. Looking back to the Cold War, a time when conflict was restricted to East v West, provides comfort and security as there was a clear understanding of the threat. It also reassures the West that the world has not really changed, and therefore neither should their policies. Historian Max Hastings observed this before the Skripal poisonings, in 2015: ‘we’re still coming to terms with the problem of non-state enemies... In the old days we knew who the enemy was’.⁴² Furthermore, Whithouse, director of *The Game*, comments that a nostalgia originates from remembering when, “the bogey man wasn’t the suicide bomber or the EDL [English Defence League] thug, but glamorous and ruthless Russian spies”.⁴³ Such a remark comes close to handing some respect to the ‘old enemy’, as the words ‘glamorous and ruthless’, in juxtaposition with ‘suicide bomber’ and ‘thug’, credit the Soviet enemy with an air of sophistication when compared to modern threats and extremists. Forgetting

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 2011, Tomas Alfredson; *The Game*, Written by M. B. Akil, S. Akil, S. V. Finney, K. Barris, BBC, November 2014; *McMafia*, Directed by James Watkins, Written by James Watkins and Amini Hossein, BBC, 2018.

³⁷ A. Schlesinger Jr., ‘Folly’s Antidote’, *New York Times*, 1 January 2007 <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/01/01/opinion/01schlesinger.html> [Accessed 24/03/2021].

³⁸ D. Basulto, *Russophobia: How Western Media Turns Russia Into the Enemy*, The Druzhba Project, (2015), p. 21.

³⁹ As quoted in J. Marcus, ‘Russia v the West: Is this a new Cold War?’, *BBC News*, 1 April, 2018, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-43581449> [Accessed 13/01/2021].

⁴⁰ D. J. Finlay, O. R. Holsti, and Richard R. Fagen, *Enemies in politics*, (Chicago, 1967), p. 7.

⁴¹ As quoted in J. Marcus, ‘Russia v the West: Is this a new Cold War?’

⁴² M. Hastings, Comment on *Question Time*, 19 November 2015.

⁴³ ‘The Game Press Pack’, BBC, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/mediapacks/the-game> [Accessed 13/01/2020], pp. 4-5.

is as crucial a part of memory as remembering.⁴⁴ By depicting Russia as the prime enemy of Britain and extending the narrative of the Cold War into contemporary conflicts, Britain, and the West, are once again creating a 'simple' threat out of Russia and ignoring the complexities that the Cold War brought in reality. Through this misremembered version of the past, a form of escapism is sought from the turbulent present. As the present reality is one of, "YouTube beheadings and drone warfare", the Cold War has been fashioned to appear quaint in comparison.⁴⁵ This serves as an explanation for the animosity, and prevalence of 'Cold War 2.0' statements in the media, government statements, and culture, despite the reality of Western interests.

A New Phenomenon?

The question that remains, is whether Britons have continued to frame conflict with Russia in terms of bipolarity ever since the end of the Cold War, or whether it is a newer phenomenon. This can be observed most clearly in a comparison between the British response to the Litvinenko poisoning in 2006, and the Skripal poisoning in 2018. Alexander Litvinenko was poisoned drinking a cup of tea, laced with the radioactive metalloid Polonium-210 in the Pine Bar of London's Millennium Hotel. Litvinenko, unlike Skripal, died three weeks later as a result of the poisoning. On his deathbed, he was adamant that, "the world know that he has been poisoned by the Kremlin", yet the British response served little in the way of retribution.⁴⁶ The failed extradition of Andrei Lugovoy in 2007, and the delayed execution of the Litvinenko Enquiry (2016) did little to address the scope of the crime and deter its repetition. Then, in 2018, with the attempted poisoning of Skripal in Salisbury, Britain responded by expelling twenty-three Russian diplomats. Following this, British allies, including America, most EU member states, Australia, Canada,

as well as NATO, co-ordinated an expulsion of over 100 Russian accredited diplomats.⁴⁷ This was a much bigger display of retribution, but also a display of the collective power and support behind Britain. A further differentiation can also be observed in the media rhetoric surrounding the two incidents – not just in the state-level response. As previously discussed, the rhetoric dominating the media response to the Skripal poisoning was one of a 'Second' or 'New' Cold War beginning with Russia. However, at the time of the Litvinenko poisoning, headlines did not reflect the same rhetoric, instead they summarised the events: 'Poisoned former KGB man dies in hospital', for example, from the Guardian.⁴⁸ Through this comparison of the British response to the Litvinenko and Skripal poisonings, it is clear that the mentality of Britons towards Russia had shifted in the interim period. In 2006, there was a muted response, and significantly less evidence that would suggest a common perception of the world as bipolar. By 2018, however, a Cold War mentality had been recreated to frame the conflict with Russia. The phrase 'New' or 'Second' Cold War, used in 2018, implies that there was an end to the first Cold War, thereby suggesting Britons' binary perception of their relationship with Russia was based on some newfound reason. Between 2006 and 2018, Anglo-Russian relations had worsened; Putin had solidified his authoritarian power and had begun to pursue a more assertive foreign policy – clearly demonstrated through the Ukrainian Crisis. While continuity can be observed, the ensuing crisis between Russia and Britain reinvigorated Cold War memory and birthed the narrative of a 'New' or 'Second' Cold War.



Emily Glynn

Durham University Undergraduate

⁴⁴ L. Noakes, Juliette Pattinson, *British Cultural Memory. and the Second World War*, London, (2014).

⁴⁵ M. McNamara, 'Cold-War Thriller "The Game" at the Top of Its Spy Game', *LA Times*, 5 November 2014, <http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/tv/la-et-st-bbc-the-game-review-20141105-column.html> [Accessed 13/01/2021].

⁴⁶ R. Owen, *The Litvinenko Enquiry: Report into the death of Alexander Litvinenko*, HC 695, 2016, p. 42.

⁴⁷ J. Borger, P. Wintour, H. Stewart, 'Western allies expel scores of Russian diplomats over Skripal attack', *The Guardian*, 27 March, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/mar/26/four-eu-states-set-to-expel-russian-diplomats-over-skripal-attack> [Accessed 13/01/2021].

⁴⁸ I. Cobain, J. Vasagar, L. Glendinning, 'Poisoned former KGB man dies in hospital', *The Guardian*, 24 November, 2006, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2006/nov/24/russia.world> [Accessed 13/01/2021].

Bibliography

Secondary Sources

- Basulto D., *Russophobia: How Western Media Turns Russia Into the Enemy*, (The Druzhba Project, 2015).
- Evans, G., 'Cold War: How do Russia tensions compare to Soviet era?', *BBC News*, 26 March, 2018, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-43546340> [Accessed 13/01/2021].
- Finlay, D. J., O. R. Holsti, and Richard R. Fagen, *Enemies in politics*, (Chicago, 1967).
- Gaiser L., I. Kovač, 'From Bipolarity to Bipolarity: International Relations Repeating Again', *J Glob Policy Gov*, 2012, pp. 49-63.
- Grieco J. M., *Cooperation among nations: Europe, America, and non-tariff barriers to trade*, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca: 1990).
- Haass R. N., 'The age of non-polarity, what will follow US dominance?', *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2008 <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/63397/richard-n-haass/the-age-of-nonpolarity>[Accessed 12/01/2021].
- K. H. Jarausch, C. F. Ostermann, A. Etges (Eds.), *The Cold War: Historiography, Memory, Representation*, (Berlin, 2017).
- Layne C., B. Schwarz, 'American hegemony: without an enemy', *Foreign Policy*, 1993, No. 93, pp. 5-23.
- Legvold R., 'Managing the New Cold War. What Moscow and Washington Can Learn from the Last One', *Foreign Affairs*, 2014, Vol. 93, Issue. 4, pp. 74-84.
- Lieven, A., 'The Dance of the Ghosts: A New Cold War with Russia Will Not Serve Western Interests', *Survival*, 2018, Vol. 60, Issue. 5, pp. 115-140.
- Lieven, A., 'Against Russophobia', *World Policy Journal*, Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, 1 January, 2001, <https://carnegieendowment.org/2001/01/01/against-russophobia-pub-626> [Accessed 24/03/2021].
- Marcus, J., 'Russia v the West: Is this a new Cold War?', *BBC News*, 1 April, 2018, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-43581449> [Accessed 13/01/2021].
- Mearsheimer J., 'Back to the future: instability in Europe after the cold war', *International Security*, 1990, Vol. 15, No. 1., pp. 5–56.
- Muravchik J., 'At last, Pax Americana', *The New York Times*, January 24, 1991, Section A.
- Noakes, L., Juliette Pattinson, *British Cultural Memory. and the Second World War*, (London: 2014).
- Nye J., 'Neorealism and neoliberalism', *World Politics*, 1988, pp. 235–25.
- Schlesinger A. Jr., 'Folly's Antidote', *New York Times*, 1 January 2007 <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/01/01/opinion/01schlesinger.html> [Accessed 24/03/2021].
- Westad O. A., *The Cold War: A World History*, (London, 2018).

Primary Sources

- Borger J., P. Wintour, H. Stewart, 'Western allies expel scores of Russian diplomats over Skripal attack', *The Guardian*, 27 March, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/mar/26/four-eu-states-set-to-expel-russian-diplomats-over-skripal-attack> [Accessed 13/01/2021].
- Cobain, I., J. Vasagar, L. Glendinning, 'Poisoned former KGB man dies in hospital', *The Guardian*, 24 November, 2006, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2006/nov/24/russia.world> [Accessed 13/01/2021].
- McNamara, M., 'Cold-War Thriller "The Game" at the Top of Its Spy Game', *LA Times*, 5 November 2014, <http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/tv/la-et-st-bbc-the-game-review-20141105-column.html> [Accessed 13/01/2021].
- Owen R., *The Litvinenko Enquiry: Report into the death of Alexander Litvinenko*, HC 695, 2016.

- J. Wills, 'Is Call of Duty really promoting anti-Russian propaganda?', *The Conversation*, November 8, 2016, <https://theconversation.com/is-call-of-duty-really-promoting-anti-russian-propaganda-126459> [Accessed 12/01/2021]
- Salisbury Poisoning a 'war crime by Russia', *The World Tonight*, 5 July, 2018, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/b0b85mfm> [Accessed 12/01/2021].
- 'World has slipped into a 'new Cold War': Russian PM, *Al Jazeera*, February 13, 2016, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/2/13/world-has-slipped-into-a-new-cold-war-russian-pm> [Accessed 12/01/2021].
- 'Britain is braced for Cold War II', *The Times*, 16 March, 2018; 'Russia v the West: Vladimir Putin's new cold war', *The Irish Times*, 29 December, 2018 <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/europe/russia-v-the-west-vladimir-putin-s-new-cold-war-1.3731720> [Accessed 24/03/2021].
- 'MI6 Boss on Novichok Poisoning', *BBC News*, 3 December, 2018, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-46429651> [Accessed 12/01/2021].
- 'Salisbury Novichok poisoning: Threat from Russia is 'real' – GCHQ', *BBC News*, 7 September, 2018, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-45444080> [Accessed 12/01/2021].
- The Game Press Pack', *BBC*, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/mediapacks/the-game> [Accessed 13/01/2020].
- United States, Defence Intelligence Agency, *Russia Military Power*, (2017).
- Gross Domestic Product, World Bank, 2019 <https://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/GDP.pdf> [Accessed 12/01/2021].
- Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, 2011, Tomas Alfredson.
- The Game*, Written by M. B. Akil, S. Akil, S. V. Finney, K. Barris, BBC, November 2014.
- McMafia*, Directed by James Watkins, Written by James Watkins and Amini Hossein, BBC, 2018.
- Call of Duty: Modern Warfare* [Computer Game], 2019, Infinity Ward.

List of Figures

- Figure One: Russian Embassy, UK Tweet showcasing the Second Cold War, 14 March, 2018, *Twitter*, <https://twitter.com/russianembassy/status/973993379024556032?lang=en> [Accessed 24/03/2021].