



# Some reflections on the expansion of NATO and the causes of the Russian invasion of Ukraine

*Dr David Rees. 2022*

Yalta Agreement. February 1945. Yalta is in the Crimean peninsula

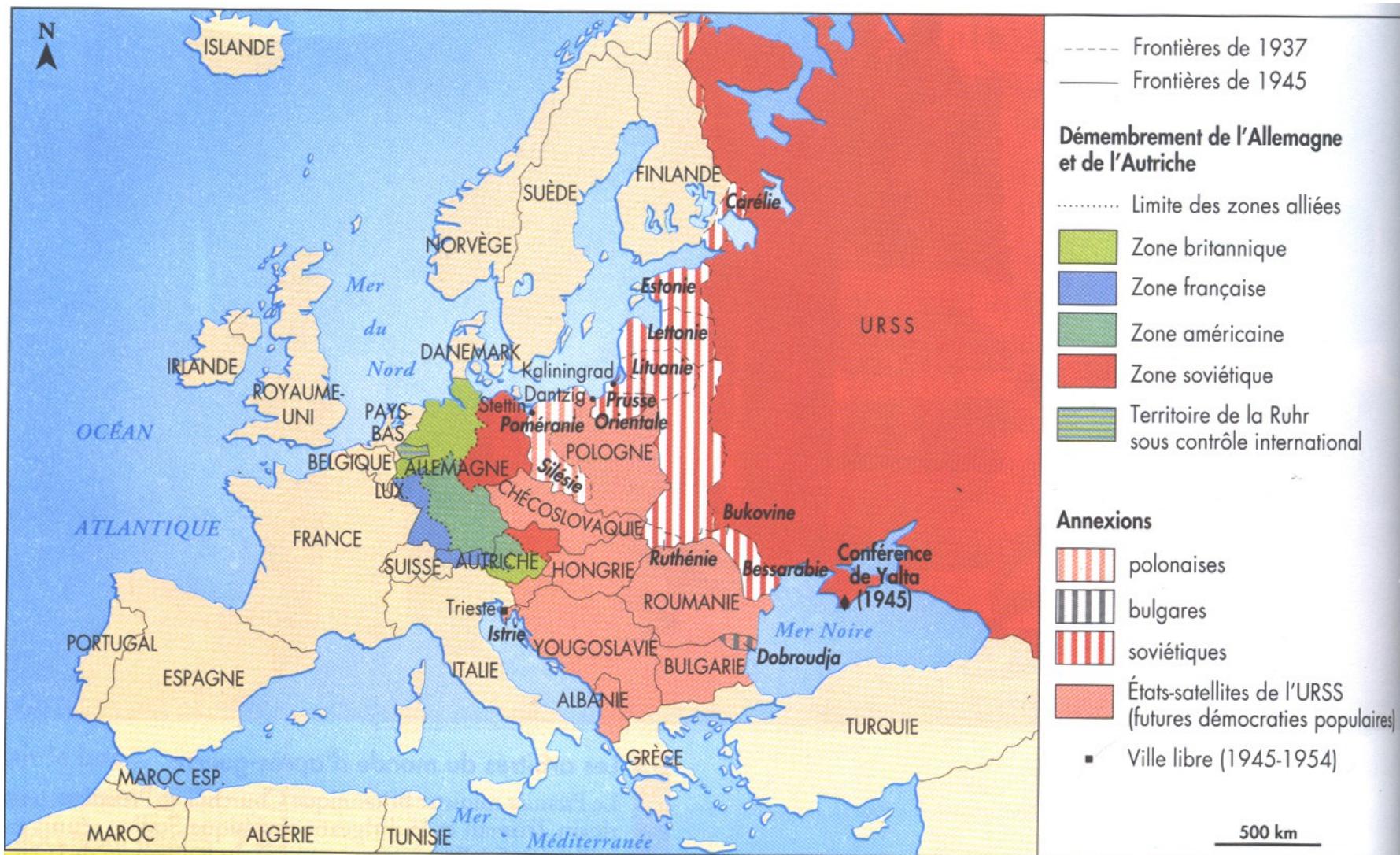


UK. Winston Churchill

USA. Franklin D. Roosevelt

USSR. Stalin

# Yalta Agreement. February 1945.



# NATO and the Warsaw Pact. 1983

Video

. The causes of the Ukraine  
war(Vox)



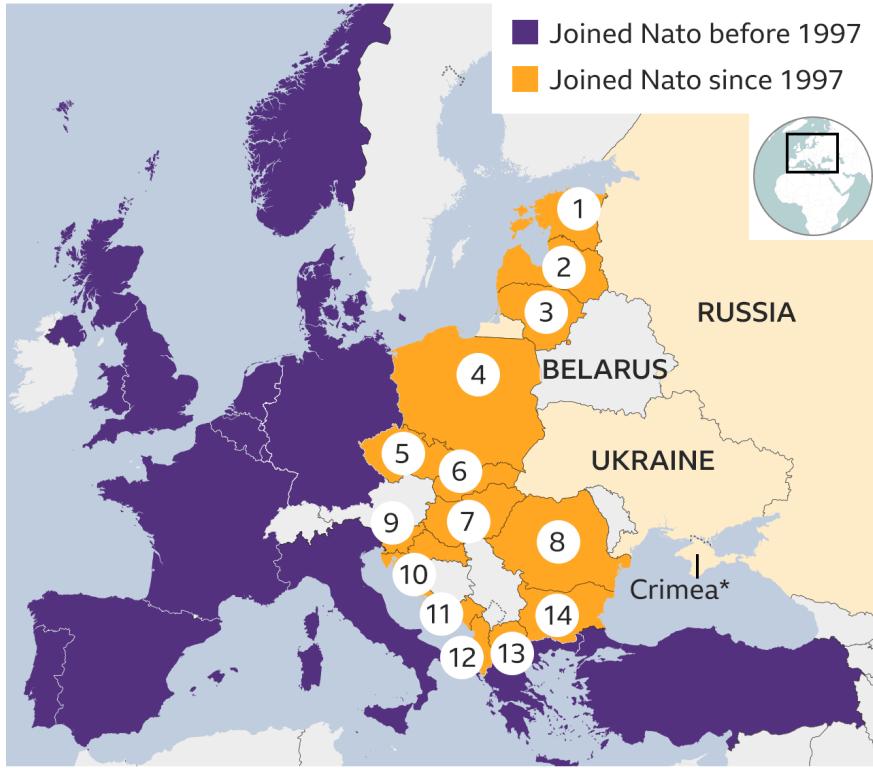
## After the fall of the USSR

### Post-Soviet states

1. Armenia
2. Azerbaijan
3. Belarus
4. Estonia
5. Georgia
6. Kazakhstan
7. Kyrgyzstan
8. Latvia
9. Lithuania
10. Moldova
11. Russia
12. Tajikistan
13. Turkmenistan
14. Ukraine
15. Uzbekistan



## Nato's expansion since 1997



- |             |                  |              |                   |
|-------------|------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| ① Estonia   | ⑤ Czech Republic | ⑨ Slovenia   | ⑬ North Macedonia |
| ② Latvia    | ⑥ Slovakia       | ⑩ Croatia    | ⑭ Bulgaria        |
| ③ Lithuania | ⑦ Hungary        | ⑪ Montenegro |                   |
| ④ Poland    | ⑧ Romania        | ⑫ Albania    |                   |

\*Russia annexed Crimea in 2014

## Potential new members of NATO

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Georgia

Ukraine

**Joining soon (waiting for ratification)**

Finland

Sweden

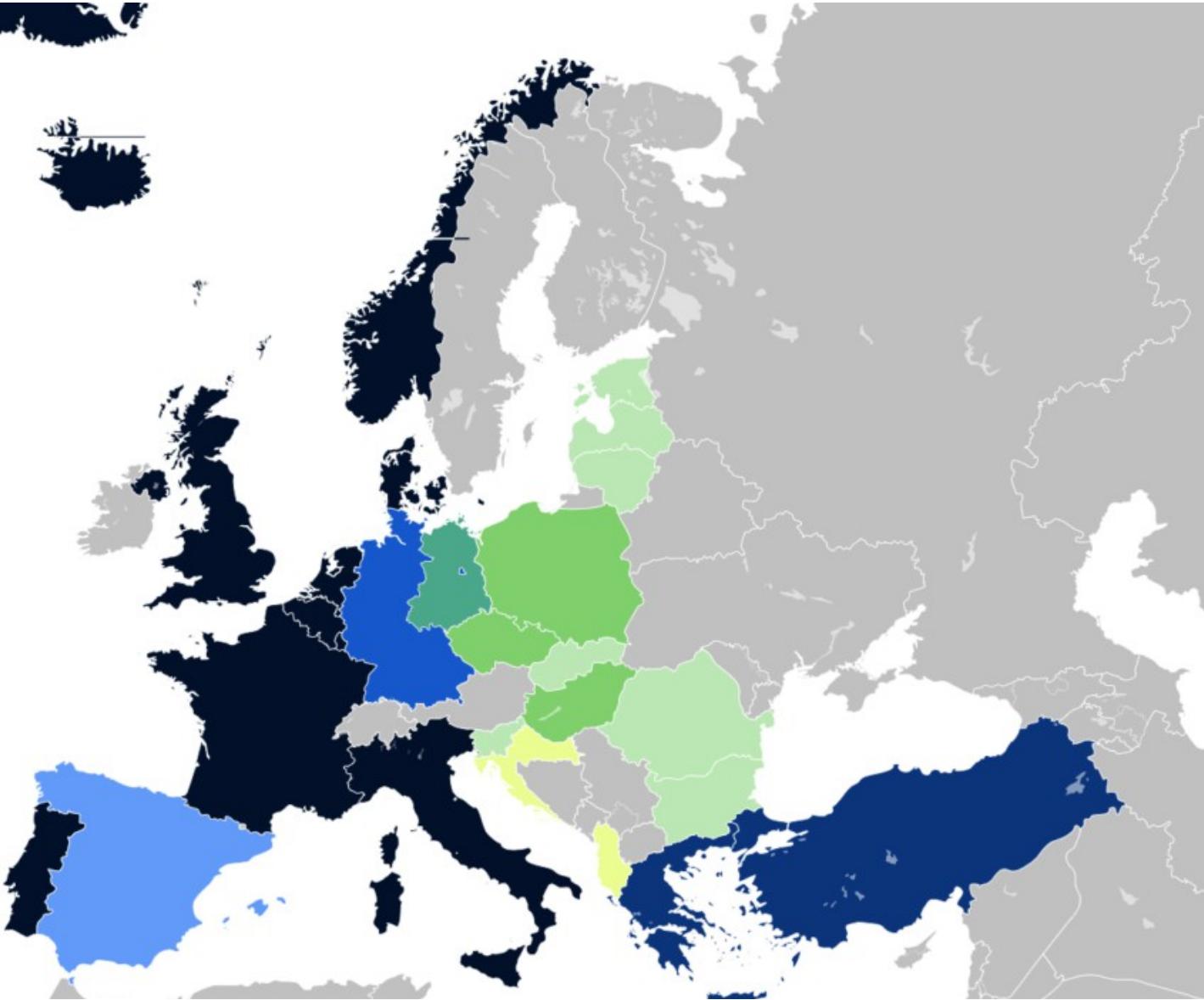
# Western Provocation

- The USA expanded NATO over a thousand miles eastward in disregard of assurances given to Moscow
- The USA unilaterally withdrew from the Antiballistic Missile Treaty and placed anti-ballistic launch systems in newly joined NATO countries.

NATO  
expansion

Source:  
GeoAwesome

1949  
1952  
1955  
1982  
1990  
1999  
2004  
2009



# Ukrainian anti-Russian language law

- In 2019, a new law makes the Ukrainian language compulsory for working in the public sector. All citizens should be able to speak Ukrainian. TV has to be 90 % Ukrainian. Paper media and books – 50 % Ukrainian.
- The result is that certain Russian-speaking areas, such as the Donbass, want autonomy (not independence)

# Munich Security Conference

- Treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe (NTI)
- Video on the TCAFE (26m) (Audioversity)
- Treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe at the Munich Security Conference (start 7m30 to 1m12 of video 3)
- Russia requests a limit to NATO expansion, especially to not include Ukraine
- NATO provocation of Russia (The Conversation)
- US and NATO military build-up in Eastern Europe (WorldBeyondWar)
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## Missile defence: Nato's interim capability, 2012

NATO Missile  
sites 2012  
See  
Interactive Missi  
Map

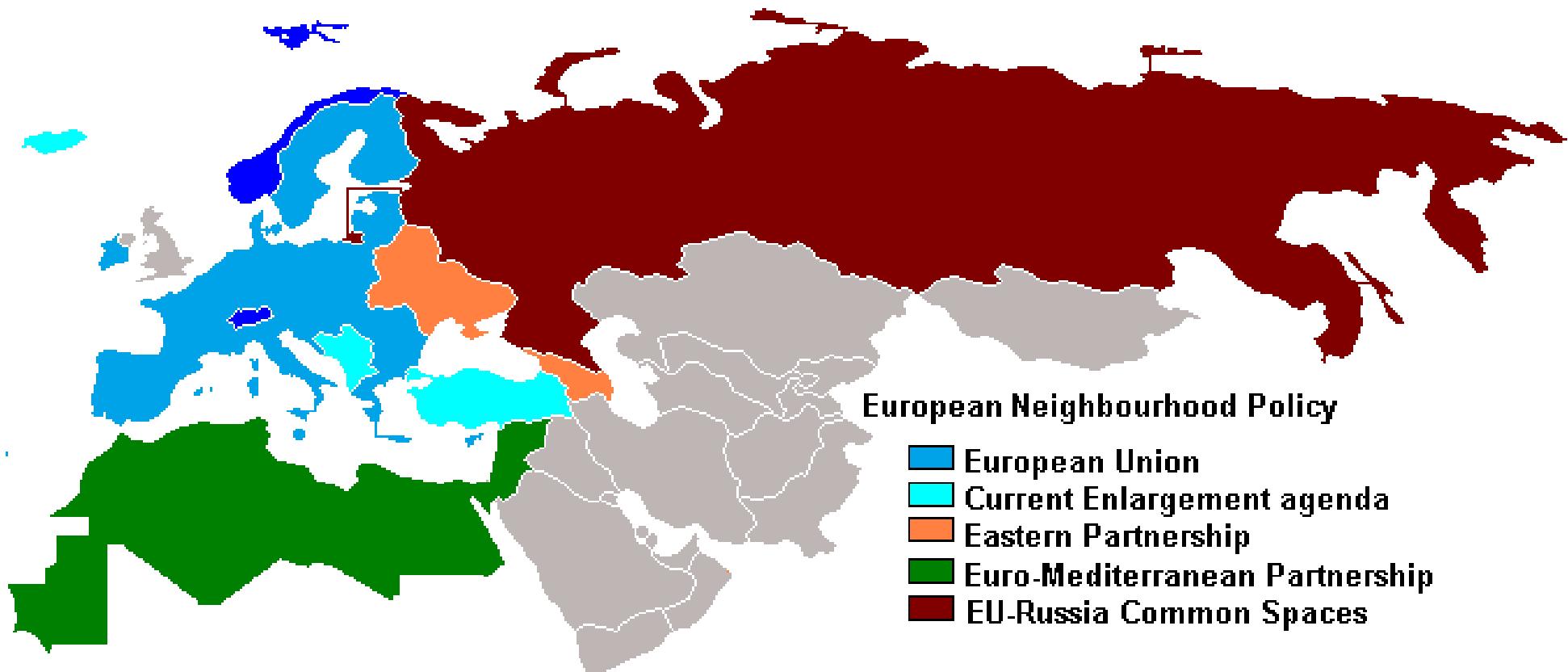


## Missile defence: Further Nato capabilities, due by 2018

### NATO Missile sites 2018



\*Linked in to US early warning satellite network



European Eastern Neighbours. Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus (suspended),  
Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine

# Ukraine signs Neighbourhood agreement with the EU in 2013

- Ukraine's pro-Russian democratically-elected government refuses to renew EU Neighbourhood agreement (helped by Putin offering a 30% rebate on Russian gas and a 15\$bn aid package)
- Protests in the streets to demand that the agreement be signed (suspicion of US aid to support demonstrations)
- More than 100 people killed in crack-down
- February 2014, pro-Russian leader flees Ukraine
- Russia occupies the Crimea

## 2014 Russian annexation of Crimea, Transnistria, Abkhazia and South Ossetia.



# Russia needs access to warm-water ports (Sebastopol)



# Sovereignty and territorial waters for sea access and fossil fuel exploitation.

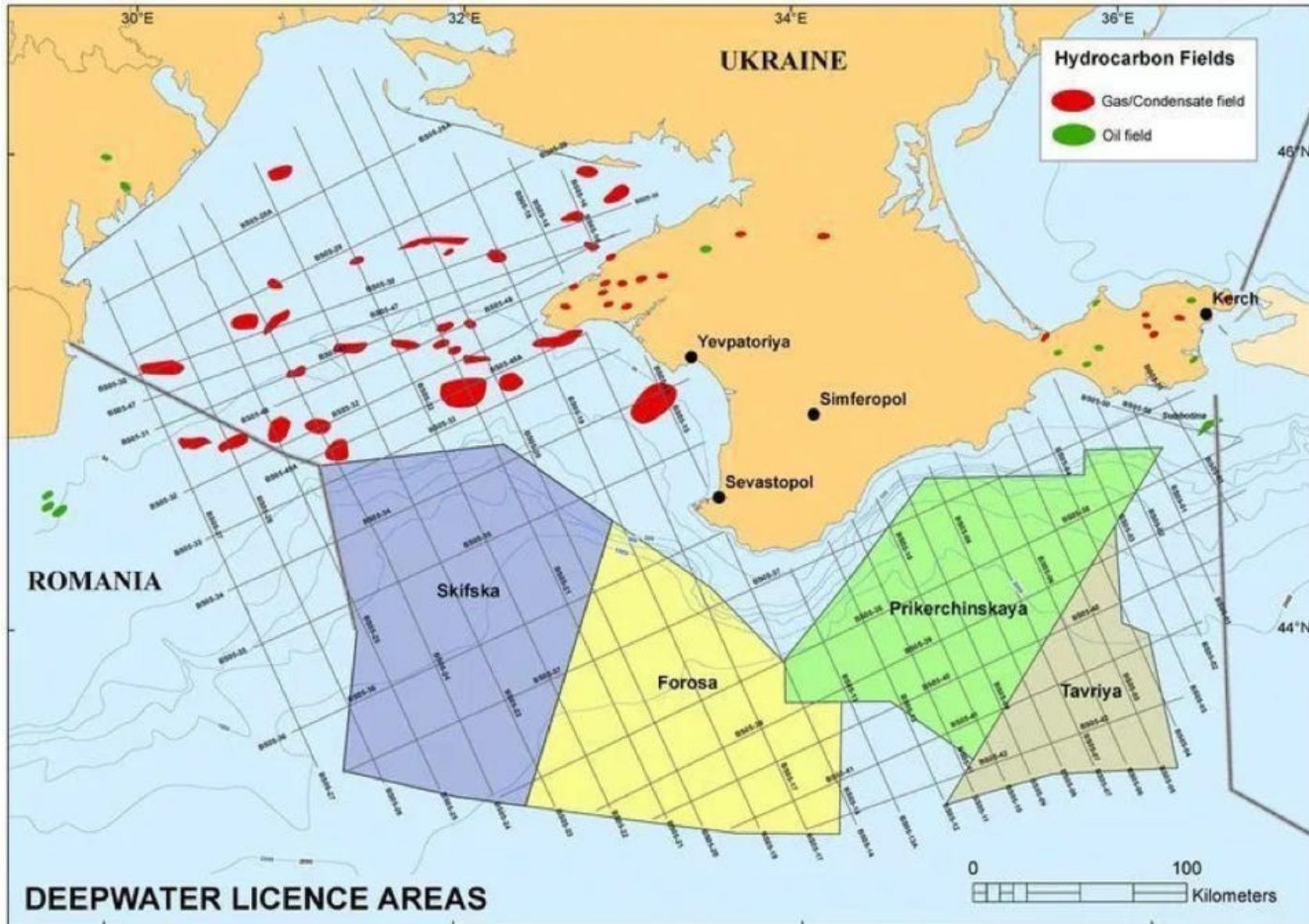
Source: Forbes



Gas and oil fields off the Ukraine and Crimean coast.

Source: Forbes

See also this video from RealLifeLore on the geopolitics of energy supplies from Russia, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan (39m)



From Jacques Baud, April 2022. (Jacques Baud is a former colonel of the General Staff, ex-member of the Swiss strategic intelligence, specialist on Eastern countries.)

Let's try to examine the roots of the conflict. It starts with those who for the last eight years have been talking about "separatists" or "independentists" from Donbass. This is not true. The referendums conducted by the two self-proclaimed Republics of Donetsk and Lugansk in May 2014, were not referendums of "independence" (независимость), as some unscrupulous journalists have claimed, but referendums of "self-determination" or "autonomy" (самостоятельность). The qualifier "pro-Russian" suggests that Russia was a party to the conflict, which was not the case, and the term "Russian speakers" would have been more honest. Moreover, these referendums were conducted against the advice of Vladimir Putin.

*For the rest of this excellent report – follow the link*

*<https://www.thepostil.com/the-military-situation-in-the-ukraine/>*

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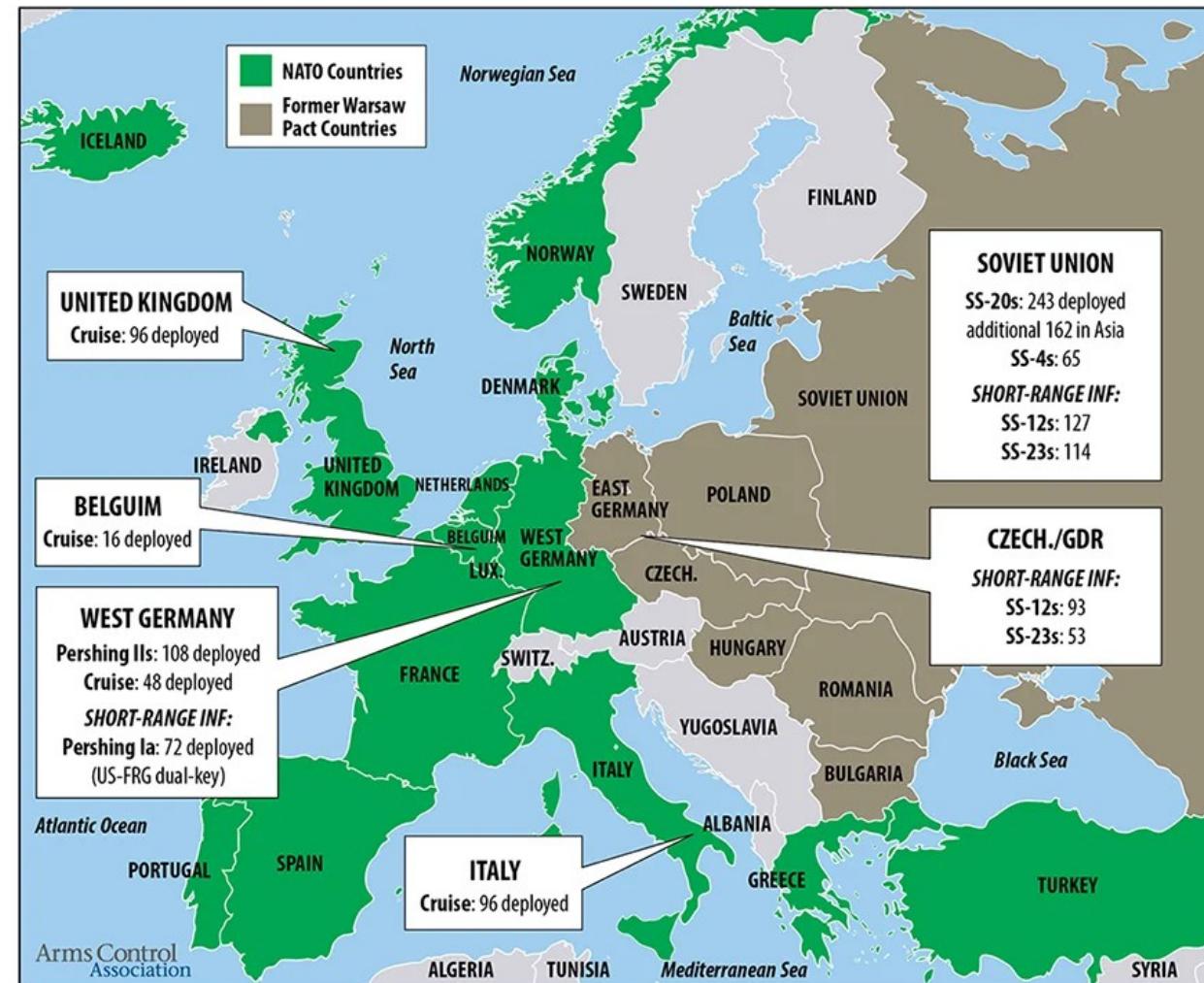
# Minsk Agreements 2014 and 2015

- Russian occupation of the Crimea. [video](#) (5m) ABC News
- [Video](#) on the Minsk agreements (1.5m. The Print)
- Donbass. Ukraine uses right-wing militias (such as the Azov regiment) to fight against 'autonomists' in the Donbass region. Violations of human rights. February 2021, Ukraine forces bomb Donbass areas.
- 15/02/2021. Putin refuses to recognise the independence of the Donbass regions.
- March 2021. Zelensky issues decree to recapture the Crimea
- NATO carries out (provocative) military exercises along the Ukraine / Russian border.
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-

The INF Treaty prohibited all U.S. and Soviet missiles with ranges \*between 500 and 5,500 km. The official figures show missiles deployed November 1, 1987, shortly before the INF Treaty was signed. The treaty also required destruction of 430 U.S. missiles and 979 Soviet missiles which were in storage or otherwise not deployed. The treaty prevented the planned deployment of an additional 208 GLCMs in the Netherlands, Britain, Belgium, Germany, and Italy.

Source: Armscontrol.org

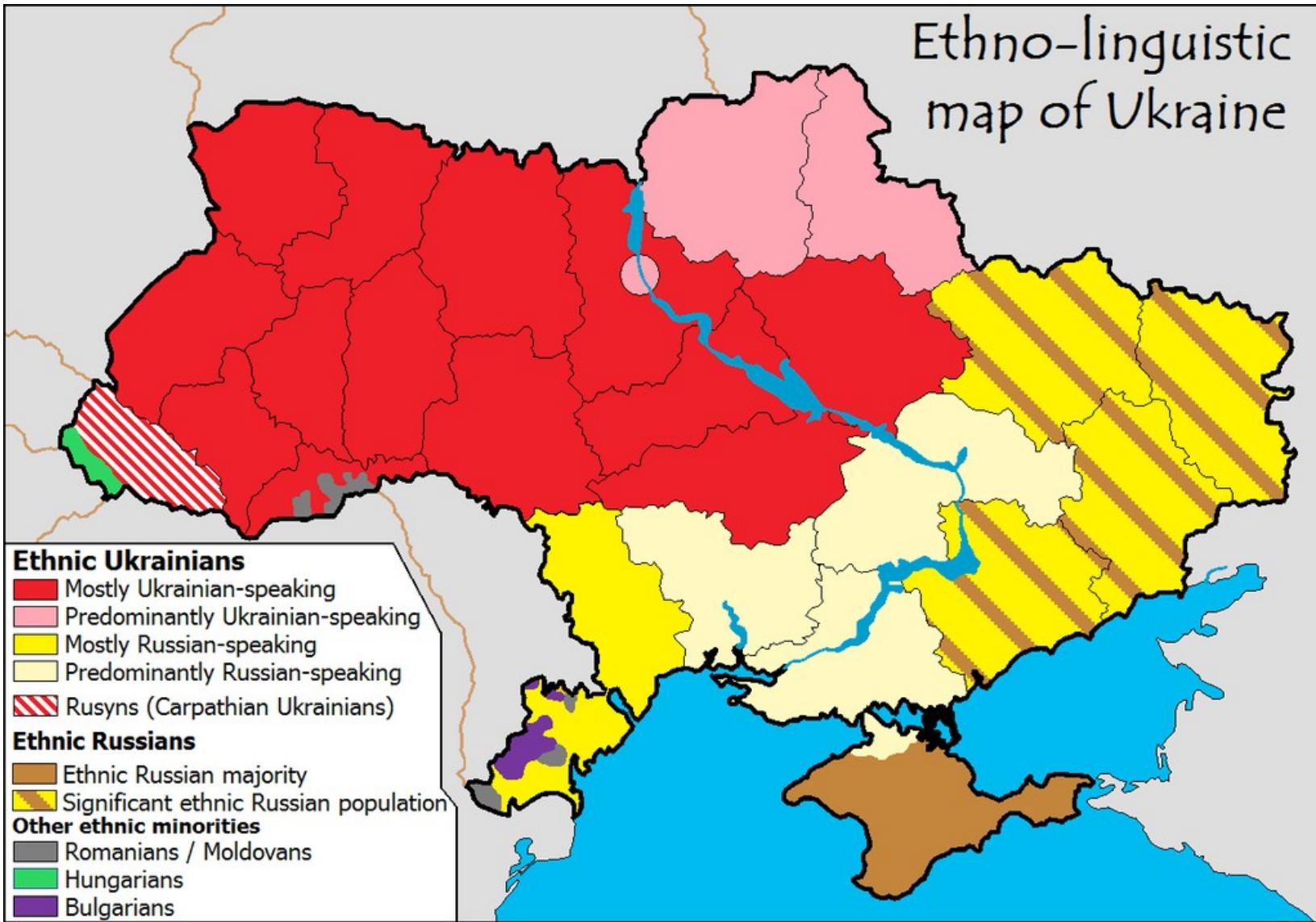
## Missile Deployments Eliminated by the INF Treaty



# Minsk Agreement (2014) to create a ceasefire in the Donbass area

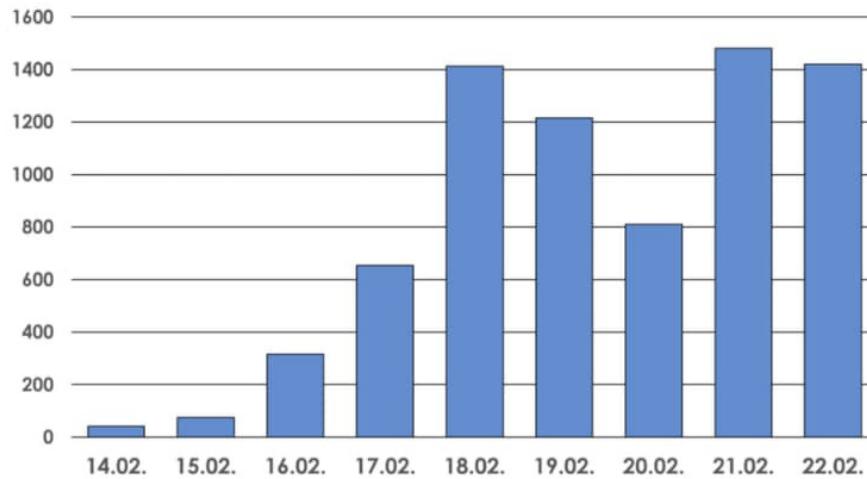


# Ethno-linguistic map of Ukraine



# Ukrainian attacks against autonomists in the Donbass area

## Number of Explosions in Donbass (19-20 February 2022)



The massive increase in shelling against the population of Donbass on February 16 told the Russians that a major offensive was imminent. This is what led Putin to recognize the independence of the Republics and to consider an intervention under Article 51 of the UN Charter.

(Source: OSCE SMM Daily Reports)

February 21 2022. Putin, under pressure, accepts the status of ‘independent states’ of the Donbass.

February 24 2022. The Donbass regions, under attack by Ukraine, request Russian assistance.

February 24 2022. Putin starts ‘Special Military Operation’

February 28 2022. Ukraine applies for EU membership. Given ‘Candidate Status’ by the EU Commission.

See ‘EU Neighbourhood Programme and Enlargement Negotiations’ for Ukraine (EC)

23 – 27 September 2022. Referendums in Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson and Zaporizhzhia

30 September 2022. Russia annexes four Ukrainian oblasts (15 % of Ukraine’s territory)

For more detailed information, see ‘Ukraine in Maps : Tracking the War with Russia’ (BBC News)

# **Putin reminds the West of the Red Line**

- January 2022. 100,000 troops on Ukrainian border. Putin demands that NATO stop expanding and remove its borders to those of 1997.
- Western leaders reject the proposal and increase military forces in Eastern Europe.
- 12 CIA bases in Ukraine on the Russian border since the EuroMaidan protests in 2013-2014 (report [here](#))
- February 24 – full-scale Russian invasion

# Enemies on all sides. Zelenskiy uses war to attack workers' rights

In the midst of the ruination of millions Ukrainians' lives as a consequence of the Russian invasion, the Ukrainian parliament has been pushing forward the harshest cuts to workers' rights in the country's history. On 1 July the parliament passed law #5371, which – among other things – increases the working week to 60 hours, and permits bosses with less than 250 employees to fire workers in the event of property damage caused by military actions or the absence from the workplace for a period of more than 4 months. This came on the heels of several other laws, which curbed trade union rights, legalised zero-hour contracts, and removed the obligation to pay the salaries of workers mobilised into the armed forces.

Marxist Tendency Ukraine 04 October 2022

# • Is the Western narrative correct ?

- The Ukraine Crisis: A Clash of Narratives?(University Consortium)  
**The Ukraine conflict is a war of narratives – and Putin's is crumbling.**  
. (The Conversation)
- Ukraine - the narrative the West doesn't hear (BBC News)
- 
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# Provocation

- Helped ferment an armed pro-European coup and replaced a democratically-elected pro-Russian president with an unelected pro-Western one.
- Countless NATO military exercises near Russia's border.
- Asserted that Ukraine would become a member of NATO

# Provocation

- The US withdrew unilaterally from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty of 1987 that had led to the destruction of 2,692 US and Russian nuclear weapons (Donald Trump, August 2019)
- (see Arms Control Association on the IRNFT)

# Questions

What diplomatic ‘compromise’ is possible to stop the war?

- Will Ukraine join the EU?
- Will Russia continue its Ukraine war into Moldova?
- Will the invasion of Ukraine push countries (Ukraine, Georgia, Finland, Sweden) into NATO membership?
- Will this war remind us of why we should prevent war (origin of the EU) or lead to increased militarisation and potential for war?

# Bibliography

- Benjamin Abelow. How the West brought war to Ukraine
- Stephen Cohen. Failed Crusade. Amercia and the tragedy of post-communist Russia.
- Other references after each link.