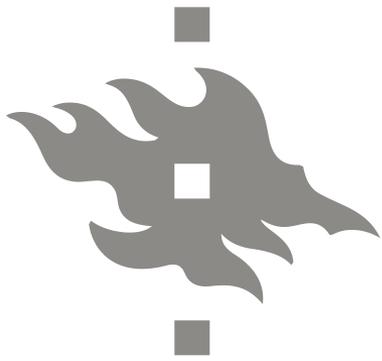


Russia's War in Ukraine – An Imperial, Colonial and Ecological Battle against Energy Transition

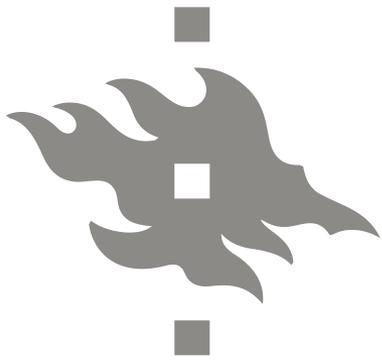
Veli-Pekka Tynkkynen

Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki



Geopolitical Discourses of Putin's Russia

- Eurasia: not an European state
- Arctic: expansive Great Power
- Cosmos: spiritual (conservative) and space-race (high-tech)



An Imperial, Colonial and Ecological Battle against Energy Transition

- Colonial and imperial Russia: the culture, language and sovereignty of Ukraine (and Belarus) are not possible
- Democracy in Ukraine as an anti-Russian model that cannot be
- Russia as an authoritarian empire and *Hydrocarbon Culture*: $1 + 1 = 3$
- “Fossil Russkii Mir”: 19th century geopolitics, 20th century means of production -> against political & technological modernization, energy transition and climate action



The Energy of Russia

'With a geographer's eye for the importance of space and an eclectic theoretical toolkit, Tynkkynen provides fresh insights into the workings of hydrocarbon culture in Russia.'

'This book's analyses of the relationships between Russia's dependence on fossil fuels and the science of climate change is especially interesting, not least because Tynkkynen offers his own perspectives—and concrete recommendations—on what it will take for Russia to move beyond hydrocarbon culture and embrace a renewable energy future.'

Douglas Rogers, Yale University, USA

'This fascinating journey through Russia's energy politics is a great read for those interested in Russia's political developments and priorities. The book offers carefully documented insights into energy politics.'

'At the same time, the broader picture – foreign policy consequences, challenges in the Arctic, prospects of climate change mitigation and adaptation, and the country's future "green economy" – is always clearly and engagingly in view.'

Elana Wilson Rowe, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), Norway

'In this book, Veli-Pekka Tynkkynen provides a well-informed perspective on Russia as an energy superpower. Russia presents a formidable obstacle to efforts to tackle climate change, since its dependence on fossil fuels has become deeply entrenched in its domestic political institutions and foreign policy. However, by pointing to Russia's forestry resources and potential as a "green superpower", Tynkkynen does show a possible way forward.'

Peter Rutland, Wesleyan University, USA

This timely book analyses the status of hydrocarbon energy in Russia as both a saleable commodity and as a source of societal and political power. Through empirical studies in domestic and foreign policy contexts, Veli-Pekka Tynkkynen explores the development of a hydrocarbon culture in Russia and the impact this has on its politics, identity and approach to climate change and renewable energy.

Cogent and compelling, this book demonstrates how the Russian state leverages its oil and gas reserves in order to create and maintain power both domestically and internationally. Tynkkynen uses empirical studies of key topics such as the national gas programme of Gazprom, the Arctic, climate discourse and anthropogenic climate change denial, and the Russia-Finland energy trade to critically examine the situation. The book concludes with a convincing argument for the potential of renewable energy to build a more resilient and sustainable future for Russia and how this might be achieved.

This will prove crucial reading for scholars and students of Russian and Eastern European studies and energy and environmental studies, as well as geographers, anthropologists and political scientists. Those working in governments, international organizations and corporations with an interest in Russian energy will also find its insights useful.

Veli-Pekka Tynkkynen is Associate Professor in the Aleksanteri Institute at the University of Helsinki, Finland.

Veli-Pekka Tynkkynen

The Energy of Russia

Veli-Pekka Tynkkynen

The Energy of Russia

Hydrocarbon Culture and Climate Change



Edward Elgar

PUBLISHING

The Lyptatts, 15 Lansdown Road, Cheltenham, Glos GL50 2JA, UK
Tel: + 44 (0) 1242 226934 Fax: + 44 (0) 1242 262111 Email: info@e-elgar.co.uk

William Pratt House, 9 Dewey Court, Northampton, MA 01060, USA
Tel: +1 413 584 5551 Fax: +1 413 584 9933 Email: elgarinfo@e-elgar.com

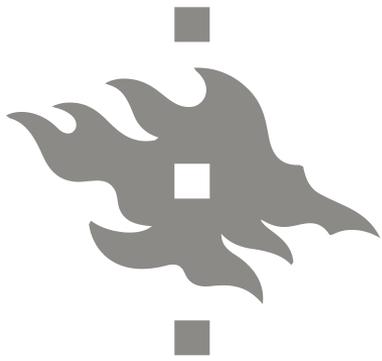
www.e-elgar.com www.elgaronline.com

ISBN 978-1-78897-859-0



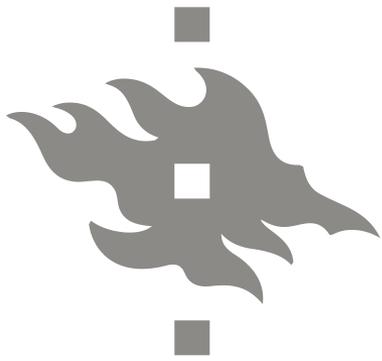
9 781788 978590





Hydrocarbon culture: binary, diverging narratives

- High dependence on oil and gas pushes the Putin regime to build hydrocarbon culture & identity to legitimize the very dependence
- 'Hydrocarbon culture' (vs. EU's *alienation*) is intertwined with:
 - Arctic as an energy reserve and a direction for the great power to expand (vs. "Territory of Cooperation & Peace")
 - Great power position via hydrocarbons; Energy Superpower (vs. "only economy")
 - Energy as a power tool in domestic politics (vs. "eradicating energy poverty")
 - Climate denialism: "Western imperialistic project that is directed against Russia's sovereignty and identity" (vs. "we are responsible in Climate Policy")

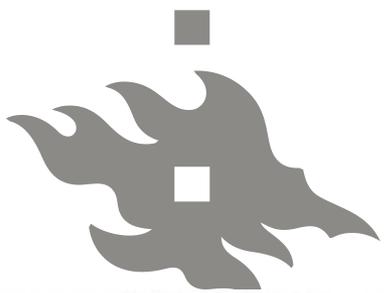


#StopRussia #StopPutinsWar

Getting rid of Russian energy

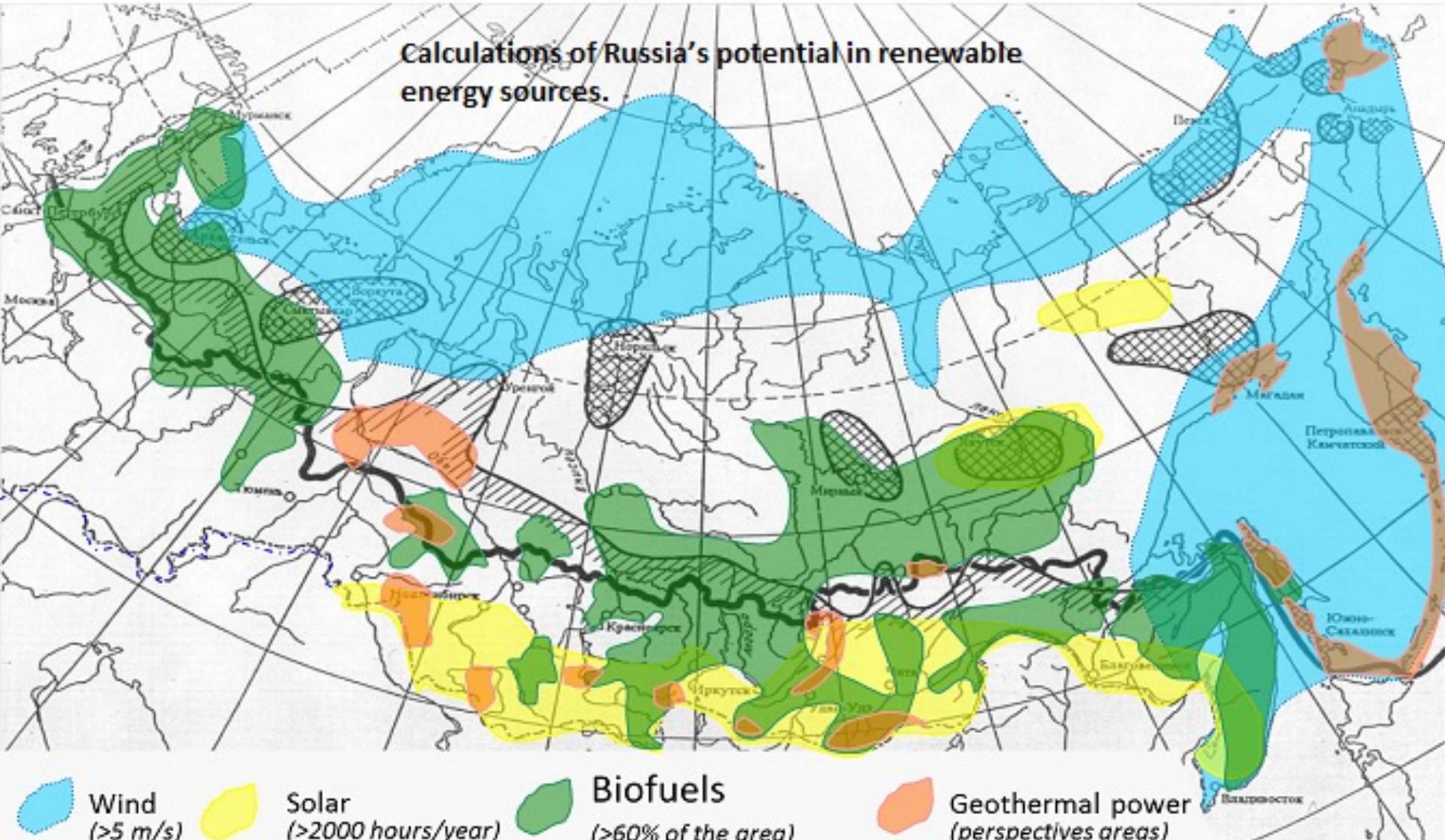
- Techno-economic: 1/3 of EU's energy from Russia -> difficult, but not impossible to exit (gas, oil, uranium, coal + electricity, bio)
- Political: Breaking away from *Ostpolitik* is painful, and energy trade has been at the heart of relations with Russia
- Social (resilience): exit costs -> supporting the weakest (otherwise: gas to the populists' flames)
- Moral: European energy industry has accumulated enormous funds via Russia trade -> earnings since 2014 earmarked to compensate for the exit / transition

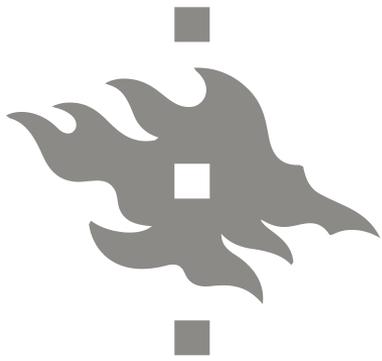
	Wandel durch Handel	Russland isolieren
RUSSIA	Interdependent & peaceful (1991 – 2006)	Omnipotent & violent (2006 -)
Finlandization of EU (->2022)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ostpolitik; atomized / weak EU • Increase energy trade and dependency unilaterally • GER: IIWW guilt; FIN: fear of RUS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No courage to demand change despite Russia's violence (esp. 2014-2022) • Slow to impose sanctions & embargo in 2022
Geoeconomic power of EU (After the war / Putin)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ostpolitik 2.0; united / strong EU: Russia Strategy • EU Energy Union: (energy) security from business -> to political institutions • Conditional trade based on democracy, sustainability and climate mitigation • Eternal sanctions on oil & gas -> RUS strategic rare-earth metals for Energiewende 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rapid EU-level reaction to any violence • Maximal sanctions • Trade embargo



What Russia is also

Calculations of Russia's potential in renewable energy sources.





Research group on the Russian Environment

**Team of 12: PhD students, postdocs, journalists, artist
3 M€ external funding**

FLOWISION project: flowision.fi

***RQ: What are the societal effects of and responses to
environmental change in the post-Socialist space?***