

Is energy politics security politics? Is the green transition?



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How did we get here?

- Russia has for long considered energy export a part of the foreign policy tool box. In 1994 Primakov stated that because Russia lacked military strength energy would have to be considered a weapon.
- Building long distance gas pipes started after the 2nd World War in the Soviet Union. After the end of the Cold War, this trend continued.
- Gazprom became the first state-owned company in Russia. They are responsible for all international gas exports today.
- Twenty years ago, Putin put a close collaborator in charge of Gazprom. He still holds that seat today.
- In 2006, 80% of all Russian gas exports to Europe were transited through Ukraine. But the relationship between the two countries was turbulent.

What had been at stake in Europe?

- Countries like Germany considered gas trade with Russia an economic issue.
- Natural gas had been given the role of "bridge fuel" in the green transition.
- Germany was phasing out coal and nuclear energy at the same time => natural gas became the solution
- The US entered the gas market in 2019 as a net exporter. Many saw the US opposition to Nord Stream 2 as a way to sell more gas. It was probably part of the reason, but security reasons were stronger.

=> seeing natural gas as a security issue has not played a central role for most (western) European countries

=> the nature of piped gas contra LNG was not fully understood by the same group of countries

BSR under the Magnifying Glass

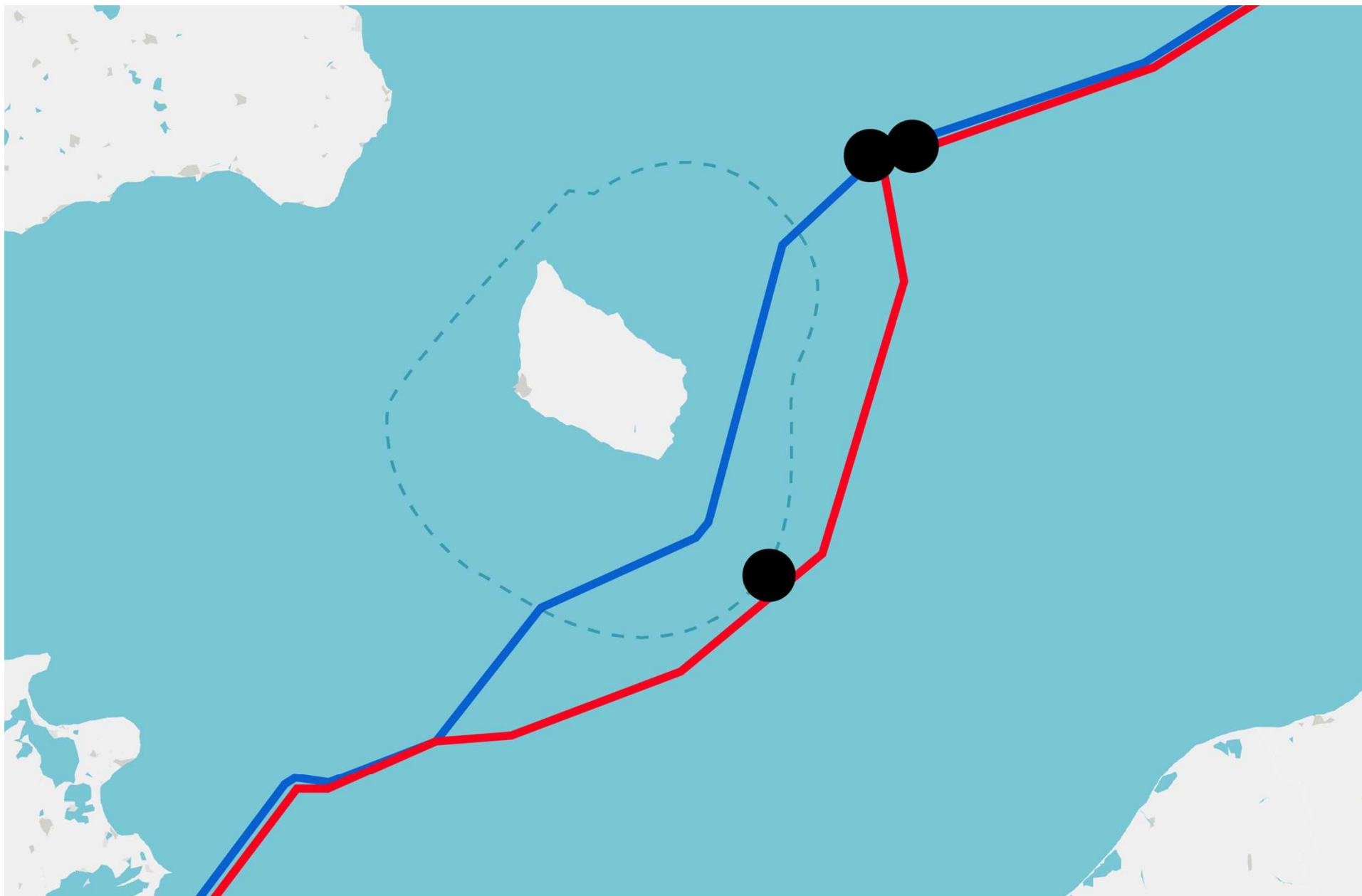
Prior to the outbreak of war in Ukraine

- Different perceptions of energy security
- Emphasis on green transition
- Russia as an economic partner

• After to the outbreak of war in Ukraine

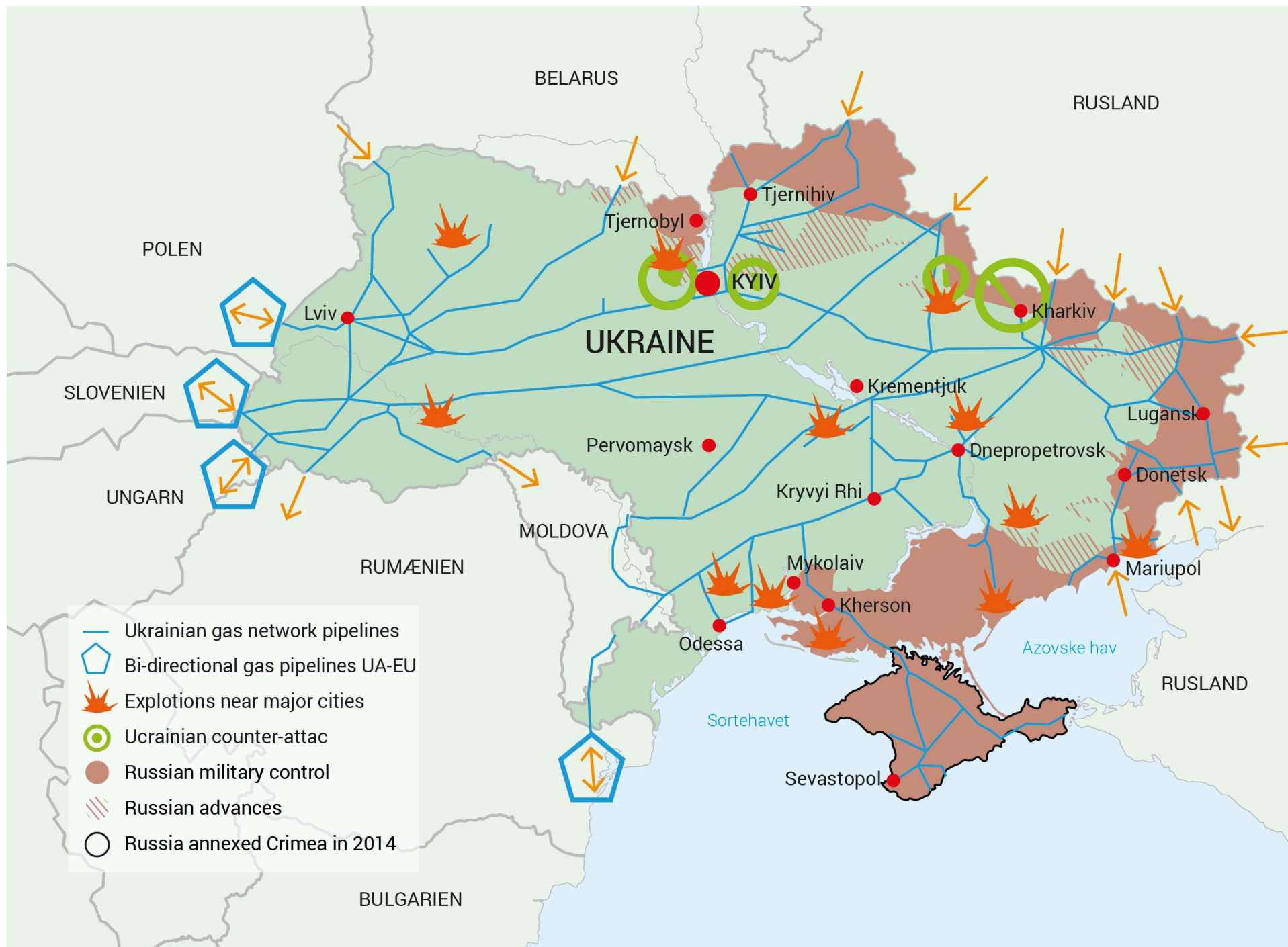
- Alignment of what energy security entails
- Double energy-climate crisis





— Nord Stream Rute — Nord Stream Rute 2 ● Lækage

Kort: Google Kilde: Søfartsstyrelsen Grafik: Morten Fogde Christensen



What to do?

Other forms of energy

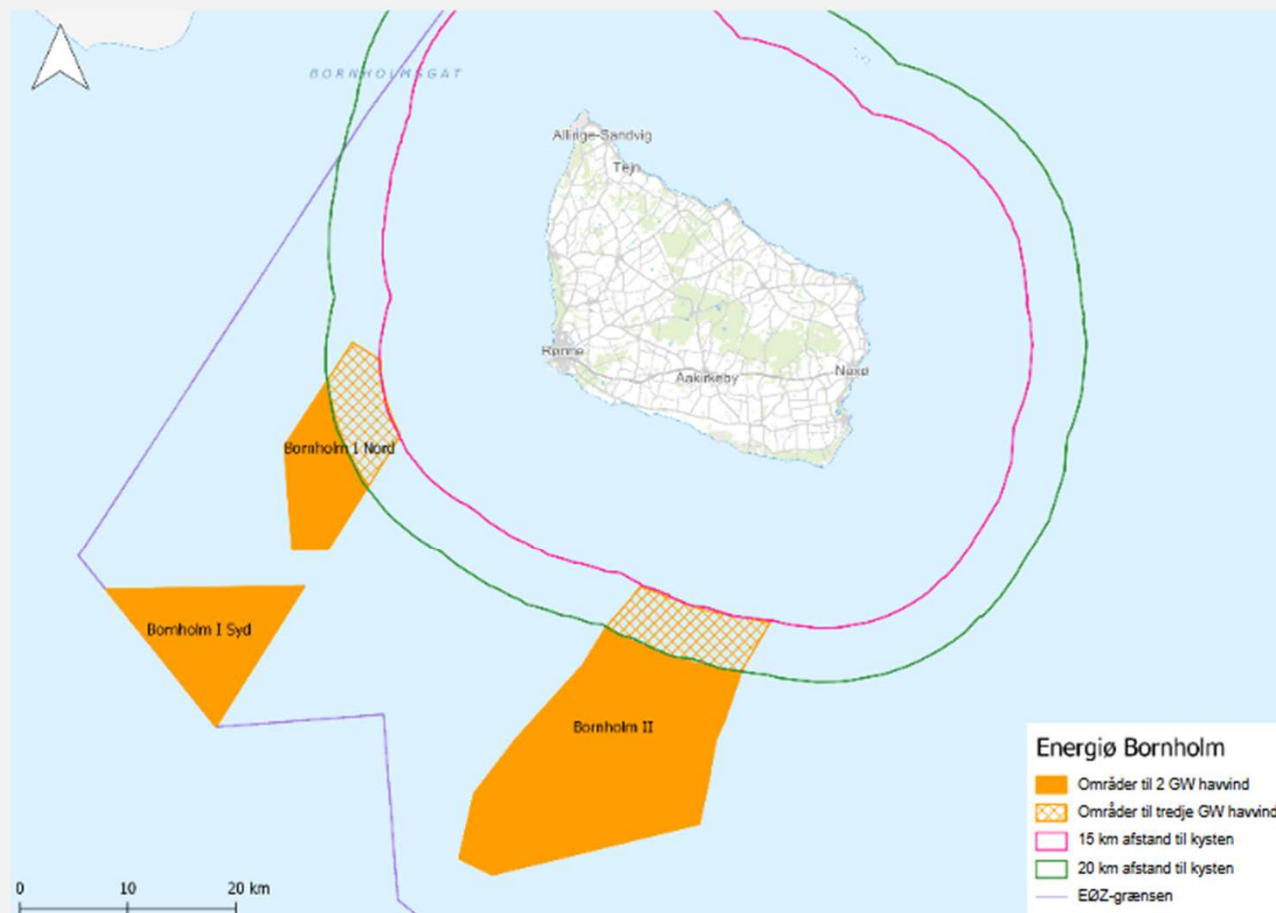
- Wind/Solar
- District heating
- Heat pumps
- Biogas (30%)
- LNG
- Energy islands
- Nuclear energy

Other tracks

- Energy efficiency
- Isolation
- Windows
- Export of energy administration
- Common energy policies

Figur 1

Placering af 3 GW ved Energiø Bornholm



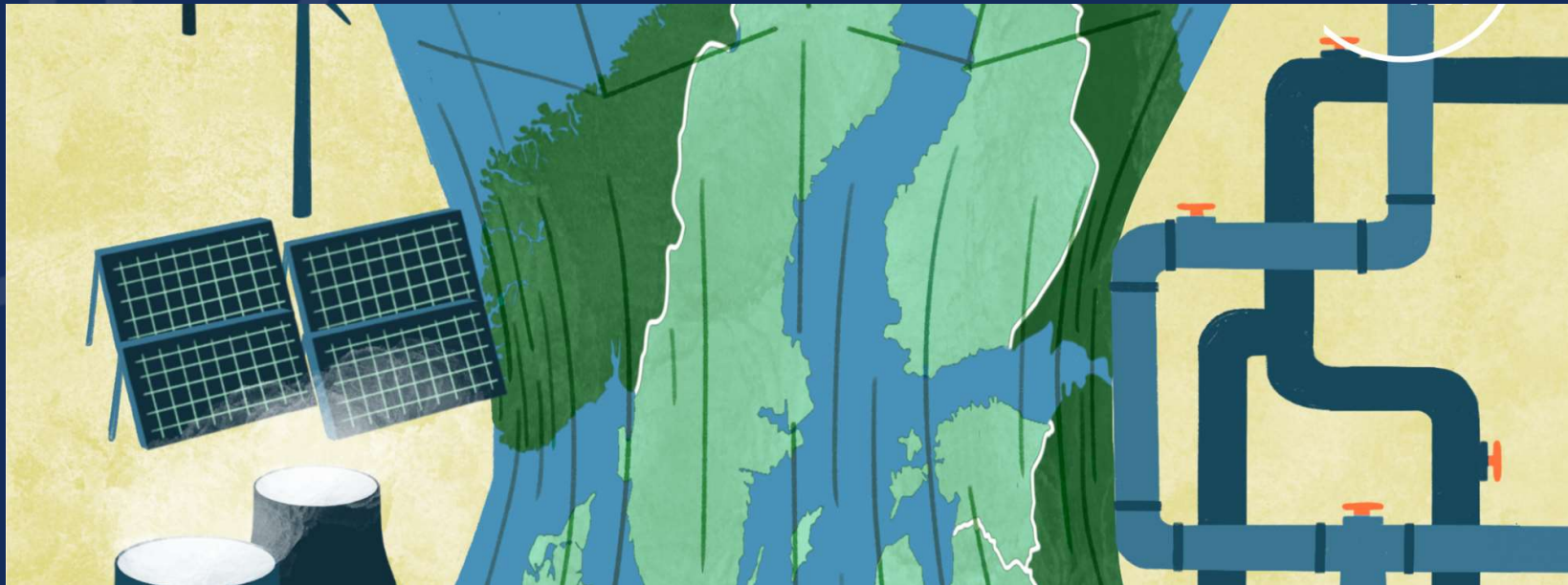
Kilde: Energistyrelsen

Summing up

- The region is caught in a dual crisis: Energy and climate
- Both diversification and the green transition are "need to have";
"not nice to have"
- The region has been divided on the view of energy as security
- We need to embrace our vulnerabilities: hybrid attacks included
 - We need to do it all – together. Not separately!

Energy Security in BSR: Transition within Geopolitical constraints

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