



Parahyangan Catholic University
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
Department of International Relations

Accredited Excellent

SK BAN –PT NO: 1598/SK/BAN-PT/AK-ISK/S/III/2022

**Asymmetrical Interdependence and Energy Statecraft:
Russia's Usage of Energy as a Foreign Policy Tool
towards Ukraine and Belarus**

Undergraduate Thesis

By

Adzraa Shaffa Andira

6091901047

Bandung

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Hereby state that this undergraduate thesis is the product of my own work and has not been previously proposed by any other party(ies) to attain an academic degree. Any work or opinion from other parties are cited and written with a valid writing method.

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Bandung, 18 June 2023



Adzraa Shaffa Andira

ABSTRACT

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Title : Asymmetrical Interdependence and Energy Statecraft: Russia's Usage of
Energy as a Foreign Policy Tool towards Ukraine and Belarus

Since the dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), Russia started to lose its sphere of influence in the near abroad – including in Eastern Europe, where countries alike Ukraine and Belarus started to display closer relations with the EU-NATO alliance. To rebuild their sphere of influence, Russia deployed energy statecraft – the usage of energy as a foreign policy to exert power on parties dependent on the very resource. However, this became an anomaly since despite both Ukraine and Belarus' dependency on crude oil and natural gas, Russia need these two countries as revenue-generating agents and transit states towards the larger European market. To answer this anomaly, this thesis uses the energy geopolitics analytical framework to examine the factors allowing the usage of energy statecraft, which includes the concept of asymmetrical interdependence. The thesis compares the case study of two Eastern European countries, namely Ukraine and Belarus, to qualitatively see the enabling factors of asymmetrical interdependence that enhances the usage of energy as a foreign policy tool. The analysis shows that the combination of primary resource concentration, state of international energy markets, accessibility of infrastructure, and condition of end-users had become a leverage for Russia to exercise influence on Belarus and Ukraine. The aforementioned were then manifested into four main policies: control of price, control of supply, planning of distribution routes, and infrastructure development plan; to allow positive and negative inducements to happen – creating a carrot-and-stick mechanism to ensure Ukraine and Belarus would succumb to Russia's interest.

Keywords: *Energy geopolitics, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, asymmetrical interdependence, energy statecraft.*

ABSTRAK

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Judul : Intedependensi Asimetris dan Tata Negara Energi: Penggunaan Energi
Rusia sebagai Instrumen Kebijakan Luar Negeri terhadap Ukraina dan
Belarusia

Sejak pembubaran Uni Soviet, Rusia mulai kehilangan pengaruhnya di luar negeri - termasuk di Eropa Timur di mana negara-negara seperti Ukraina dan Belarusia mulai menunjukkan hubungan yang lebih dekat dengan aliansi UE-NATO. Untuk membangun kembali sphere of influence Rusia, negara tersebut menerapkan tata negara energi – penggunaan energi sebagai instrumen kebijakan luar negeri terhadap pihak-pihak yang bergantung pada sumber daya tersebut. Hal ini menjadi anomali karena meskipun Ukraina dan Belarus bergantung pada komoditas energi Rusia, di saat yang bersamaan Rusia membutuhkan kedua negara ini sebagai sumber pendapatan nasional dan negara transit menuju pasar energi regional Eropa. Untuk menjawab anomali tersebut, penelitian ini menggunakan kerangka analisis geopolitik energi untuk mengkaji faktor-faktor yang memungkinkan penggunaan energi sebagai instrumen kebijakan luar negeri – yang turut mencakup konsep interdependensi asimetris. Tesis ini membandingkan studi kasus dua negara Eropa Timur, yaitu Ukraina dan Belarusia, untuk melihat secara kualitatif faktor penyebab terjadinya interdependensi asimetris yang meningkatkan penggunaan energi sebagai alat kebijakan luar negeri. Analisis menunjukkan bahwa kombinasi konsentrasi sumber daya primer, keadaan pasar energi internasional, aksesibilitas infrastruktur, dan kondisi pengguna memungkinkan Rusia untuk mempengaruhi Belarusia dan Ukraina melalui energi. Hal tersebut kemudian diwujudkan dalam empat kebijakan utama: pengendalian harga, pengendalian rantai pasok, perencanaan jalur distribusi, dan rencana pembangunan infrastruktur; untuk memberikan dorongan positif dan negatif guna membujuk Ukraina dan Belarusia untuk tunduk pada kepentingan Rusia.

Kata kunci: *Geopolitik energi, Rusia, Ukraina, Belarusia, interdependensi asimetris, tatanegara energi.*

PREFACE

Russia's effort in rebuilding its sphere of influence after the dissolution of the USSR were manifested through various efforts. During the early years of its independence, national political and economic instability debilitated the country from taking a more assertive stances upon ex-USSR States. However, the situations altered in the early 2000s.

This undergraduate thesis aims to provide an insight on the determining factors behind a state's decision upon using energy as a tool to exercise power, even towards actors it has interdependent relations with. The author approach the subject by firstly providing a background explanation on the root of Russia's ambitions to rebuild its sphere of influence within Eastern European countries. The discussion then proceeds by identifying the energy geopolitical factors allowing energy statecraft to be deployed and contextualizing it to the notion of asymmetrical interdependence. Lastly, the implementation of energy statecraft through both negative and positive inducement in Russia's foreign policy towards Ukraine and Belarus within 2000-2017 is elaborated.

This undergraduate thesis serves as a requirement of obtaining the Bachelor degree in International Relations from Faculty of Social and Political Sciences in Parahyangan Catholic University. In spite of the formality, the author's determination in partaking within the wider discourses of energy statecraft and its implementation is not undermined. Nonetheless, as the author acknowledges that this thesis is far from perfect, any input and corrections are welcomed to further improve its quality.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organizations
EU	European Union
PfP	Partnership for Peace
CEE	Central and Eastern European
BCM	Billion Cubic Meters
CM	Cubic Meters
MAP	Membership Action Plan
TCF	Trillion Cubic Feet
BPD	Barrel Per Day
PARP	Planning and Review Process
CFE	Conventional Forces in Europe
IPCP	Individual Partnership and Collaboration Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
US	United States
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research Background

After the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was dissolved in late 1980s, 15 states gained their independence from the longstanding tyrant reestablished as the Federation of Russia. This opportunity was utilized by both the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU) to implement their grand strategy: the Eastern enlargement – done by reconciling states across Central and Eastern Europe (CEE).¹ EU-NATO alliance started building their influence by promising a safe security umbrella and a simpler set of accession procedures for aspirant countries (*acquis communautaire*) while doing massive outreach to CEE states.^{2,3} The EU-NATO alliance then established the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) and Partnership for Peace (PfP) in 1991 and 1994 as a vessel of knowledge-sharing as well as military and democracy consultation between the alliance and the CEE aspirants.⁴ Such convinced CEE states that partnership with the EU-NATO alliance could fulfill their aspiration of security, stability, and European integration -- resulting in 12 aspirant states completed their accession to the EU between 2004-2007.^{5,6}

¹ Ronald D. Asmus, “Europe’s Eastern Promise: Rethinking NATO and EU Enlargement,” *Foreign Affairs* 87, no. 1 (2008): 95–106, pp. 96-97.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Acquis communautaire* refers to the EU’s sets of institutional regulations that has to be incorporated within the conduct of Member States governance.

⁴ NATO, “A Short History of NATO,” North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO, June 3, 2022).

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ European Union, “History of the European Union 2000-09,” European Union, accessed June 12, 2023.

The EU-NATO enlargement leaves Russia at resentment. In the beginning, the relations between Russia and the western bloc were harmonious. Such is seen through recurring exchange of visits, Russia's participation in the PFP, and Foreign Minister Kozyrev's statement that NATO is 'Russia's natural ally'.⁷ However, the relations deteriorated after NATO renewed its strategic doctrine though the Washington Summit in 1999, signifying their interests in maintaining military superiority across Europe with 'obvious bias to use force' (according to Russia).⁸

The bitterness towards the EU-NATO alliance's eastern expansion was more nuanced during Vladimir Putin's leadership. After several alarming movements in ex-Soviet states –ranging from NATO's involvement in Russo-Chechnyan conflicts to their increasing effort in facilitating pro-democratic initiatives in Ukraine– Putin was assured that Euro-Atlantic's maneuver would mean a miserable future for Russia's status as a regional power.⁹ Since then, Putin put rebuilding of Russia's sphere of influence at the forefront of his agenda by deploying more assertive measures during the initial period of his leadership.¹⁰ In attaining this objective, Russia deployed various means, including through the usage of energy as a foreign policy tool – supported by numerous energy geopolitical advantages.

1.2. Problem Identification

⁷ Tuomas Forsberg and Graeme Herd, "Russia and NATO: From Windows of Opportunities to Closed Doors," *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 23, no. 1 (January 2, 2015): 41–57, pp. 44-45.

⁸ Boris Kazantsev, "NATO: Obvious Bias to the Use of Force," *International Affairs (Moscow)* 45, no. 4 (1999), pp. 38-42.

⁹ Murat Sofuoglu, "Russia Could Have Joined NATO. But Why Didn't They Do It?," TRT World, 2022.

¹⁰ George W. Breslauer, "Observations on Russia's Foreign Relations under Putin," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 25, no. 4 (October 2009): 370–76, pp. 372-373.

In Eastern Europe, Russia attempted to rebuild its sphere of influence by using energy as a tool of foreign policy. Moscow carried out this idea through several strategies, taking place as early as in 1998-1999 in a form of change of price and debt calculation. An example could be spotted occurring in Ukraine, when in 2014 Russia pushed the price from \$268.5 per thousand cubic meters (mcm) to \$385.5 per mcm and ultimately to \$485 per mcm, while also increasing the cost of gas deliveries to the country.¹¹ Same occurrence happened in Belarus, when Russia spiked its gas price and threaten to halt supply if Minsk could not pay its debt when its due in 2004.¹² Intrestingly, this occurred just within months after Belarus refused to fulfill its promise of selling 50% of Beltransgaz' (Belarusian gas company) share to Russia.¹³

The usage of energy could be seen as an anomaly due to Russia's **interdependent** relations with both Ukraine and Belarus. One could see how Moscow relies on profits from its oil and gas trade within its national income – with Ukraine and Belarus being one of its significant consumers. In addition, both countries serve as crucial transit states – bridging Russia's energy commodity to the larger European market, and even to its other western consumer. Hence, not only Belarus and Ukraine depend on Russia to fulfill its energy security, Russia also counts on them for timely transit and revenue. Seeing that both countries needs are interlinked in the sector of energy –

¹¹ Gabriel Collins, "Russia's Use of the 'Energy Weapon' in Europe," *Baker's University Rice Institute of Public Policy*, 2017, 3.

¹² Katja Yafimava, "Belarus: The Domestic Gas Market and Relations with Russia," in *Russian and CIS Gas Markets and Their Impact on Europe* (Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹³ Judy Dempsey, "Gazprom Wins Belarus Victory," *The New York Times*, December 29, 2005, sec. Business.

meaning that if Belarus and Ukraine ever cut off their demands off Russia and/or vice versa it will bring grave consequences for both parties– it became questionable why is energy used as a foreign policy tool to leverage Russia’s position towards Ukraine and Belarus and how is it implemented in the case of both countries. In addition, It is noteworthy that interdependency has been long associated with the maintenance of peace through states’ tendency of fostering cooperations, due to: (1) how states tend to take one another’s interest into account, (2) common understanding that conflict will affect the fulfillment of all actors’ interests, and (3) states recognize the consequence of its policies towards others.¹⁴ Thus, utilization of interdependency as a motivation to rise conflict goes against the aforementioned norm.

1.2.1. Scope of Research

This research will primarily discuss the usage of crude oil and natural gas as a foreign policy tool by Russia towards Ukraine and Belarus.

The actors' sampling was decided in reminiscence of the regional nature of the theoretical framework used, and the context of the research that focuses on Eastern European States as a case study. Additionally, the two countries were chosen due to several factors that explain its interdependent relations with Russia. First, both are highly dependent on crude oil and natural gas from Russia, which at the same time caused Russia to rely on both to support its energy-intensive national income –

¹⁴ Michiel de Vries, “Interdependence, Cooperation and Conflict: An Empirical Analysis,” *Journal of Peace Research* 27, no. 4 (1990): 429–44, 1.

as the sector contributes to 22.5% of Moscow's GDP.¹⁵ Second, both serve as consumer and transit states that bridge Russia and its wider European energy importers. Since the early 21st century, almost 80% of Russian gas passed through Ukraine, and approximately 19% were transitted from Belarus.^{16,17} Lastly, both have highly-dynamic relations with Russia – especially reminiscing their status as ex-Soviet states in Eastern Europe, which makes them both immediate neighbors that could either be perceived as ally or enemies depending on their tendency to side with Russia or the Euro-Atlantic alliance.

Moreover, this research will outline the trend of Russia's usage of energy as a foreign policy from the year 2000-2017, though the timeframe spanning after the USSR dissolution is also incorporated when relevant. The timespan was chosen due to the availability of data, enabling clearer analysis.

In addition, while attempting to analyse Russian foreign policy trend, this research inclines to focus more on the discourse on energy geopolitics, rather than foreign policy analysis.

1.2.2. Research Question

1. Why is energy chosen as a foreign policy tool to achieve Russia's geopolitical objectives in Ukraine and Belarus?

¹⁵ "Russia: Oil & Gas Sector Share of GDP Quarterly 2022," Statista, 2023.

¹⁶ "EU Reaches Gas Deal with Ukraine," *BBC News*, August 1, 2009.

¹⁷ "Belarus as a Gas Transit Country," *Research Center of the Institute for Privatization and Management* (ETH Zürich, 2004), 7.

2. How does Russia implement energy as a foreign policy tool in Ukraine and Belarus?

1.3. The Purpose and Utility of Research

1.3.1. Purpose of the Research

This research aims to answer the research question by elaborating Russia's usage of energy as a tool of foreign policy within its relations with Ukraine and Belarus. In advance, this research also seeks to discover the methods Russia chose in implementing the energy statecraft to exert power and restore its sphere of influence in Eastern Europe. Additionally, this research intends to enrich the discourse of energy geopolitics with the focus on the rationale behind energy's usage within a resourceful countries' international statecraft.

1.3.2. Utility of the Research

This research aims to contribute in the study of energy geopolitics, specifically on the role of energy in shaping international dynamics in Eastern Europe. By explaining the geopolitical nature of energy as an enabling factor of its usage to exercise control towards others through foreign policy, this research affirms the narratives that the token of power in contemporary geopolitics had extended further than just military instruments and means - as it also includes the weaponization of energy interdependency and its manifestation in a form of positive and negative inducement in foreign policies enacted by the resourceful states.

1.4. Literature Review

There are several literatures that have discussed the topics of energy geopolitics and energy statecraft prior to this research. In summary, most of the literatures present in the discourse of energy geopolitics stresses more on the impact of energy geopolitics towards target states' policies as well as the implementation of energy statecraft by resourceful states. However, very little coverage were found upon the reasoning behind the deployment of energy as a foreign policy tool towards some countries. Hence, this research will enrich the discourse of rationale behind state's usage of energy as a foreign policy. Additionally, one can see there is an existing debate regarding the significance of geopolitical factor in determining the course of energy statecraft, as well as prevalence of the statecraft's usage as a punitive tool. This research will contribute to the debate by siding with those affirming the role of geopolitics in affecting state's likeliness of using energy as a foreign policy tool, and explore both possibilities of energy statecraft's implementation as positive and negative inducements.

The first literature is titled *The Politics of Energy Dependency: Ukraine, Belarus, and Lithuania Between Domestic Oligarchs and Russian Pressure* by Margarita Balmaceda.¹⁸ Balmaceda argues that the acute dependency of these states towards Russia has motivated Moscow to expand this condition even further by influencing domestic decisionmakers through patron-client relations. Not only this creates easy access for Russia, but also a binding

¹⁸ Margarita M Balmaceda, *Politics of Energy Dependency: Ukraine, Belarus, and Lithuania between Domestic Oligarchs and Russian Pressure* (University of Toronto Press, 2014).

condition for these post-independence states to comply with Russia's will.

Second is *The Role of Power in the EU–Russia Energy Relations: The Interplay between Markets and Geopolitics*.¹⁹ In this research, Marco Siddi found that Russia is more prone to be accommodative in responding to European countries. In addition, he also concluded that geopolitical factors are no longer the main factors that drive Russia's maneuvers towards other states, but rather Russia's state of regulatory power and market forces.

Next is an article by Giedrius Česnakas under the title of *Energy Resources as the Tools of Foreign Policy: The Case of Russia*.²⁰ The study examines how energy resources as a tool to pressure Eastern European states through punitive means. The article focused more on how the extensive usage of energy instruments impact both Russia and target countries in Post-Soviet states.

Lastly, there is *Energy as a tool of foreign policy of authoritarian states, in particular Russia* by Rem Korteweg.²¹ Korteweg looks at the methods Russia uses to extract political dominance through their abundance of energy resources. He later finds that Russia, uses its gas supplies to exert power, affecting both transit states and end-consumers. This study explores the responses of affected states towards supply disruptions and price manipulations – finding that apart from complying, they responded by diversifying their

¹⁹ Marco Siddi, "The Role of Power in EU–Russia Energy Relations: The Interplay between Markets and Geopolitics," *Europe-Asia Studies* 70, no. 10 (November 21, 2018): 1552–71.

²⁰ Giedrius Česnakas, "Energy Resources as the Tools of Foreign Policy: The Case of Russia," *Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review* 35, no. 1 (June 1, 2016): 9–40.

²¹ Rem Korteweg, "Energy as a Tool of Foreign Policy of Authoritarian States, in Particular Russia," *Directorate General for External Policies of the Union* (European Parliament, 2018).

energy portfolio to reduce Russia's control in the future.

1.5. Theoretical Framework

In general, geopolitics is understood as the 'science of state,' examining the effect of states' geographical characteristics towards its political conduct.²² Despite referring mainly to military aspects, the definition expands into the study of power relation dynamics between different political postures in any relevant currency of power deemed important for states' strategy – including energy.²³ Hence, energy geopolitics can be defined as an analysis of the strategic geopolitical aspects impacting energy reserves, infrastructure, and usage of resources.²⁴

There are four factors affecting the likeliness of a country to use energy as an instrument of power towards others, even in interdependent relations.²⁵ The first is primary resource concentration, emphasizing that energy has an asymmetrical nature. This caused energy resources to be abundant locally, but scarce globally – creating a relations where most states are in constant struggle to obtain and control its energy possession. In short, the more resources a state has, the larger their likeliness is in using that to exert power. Resource concentration is usually seen through the mapping of regional reserves, when centralization could be spotted.

Second is the state of international energy markets. This feature stresses

²² Ana Campos and Carla Fernandes, "The Geopolitics of Energy," in *Geopolitics of Energy and Energy Security* (Lisbon: Instituto da Defesa Nacional, 2017), 24-25

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid, 27.

²⁵ <https://sci-hub.se/http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2014.10.004>, 112.

on how the availability of other exporters in the market and their export capacity affect the likeliness of resourceful states to use energy as a tool of power. The lower the market diversity is, the more likely will resourceful states weaponize its energy.

Third is the accessibility of infrastructure, which highlights how the denser spatial concentration of energy distribution means are, the more likely a resourceful state to use it to influence others.

Lastly is the condition of end-users, which assess other states' capacity to survive through disruption. The parameter highlights how vulnerable countries might not be able to navigate through disruption for a longer haul, which increases their probability to succumb to the will of the resourceful state.

If noticeable within inter-state relations, the four aforementioned factors increase the probability of **asymmetric interdependence** to occur. The concept operates under the notion of interdependence, understood as a situation where intensive transactions happening between cross-border actors impact them through a gain-and-loss mechanism.²⁶ However, the impact is not always equally felt.

There are three prerequisites for asymmetric interdependence to take place. First is that the resourceful states has to possess high degree of control over the provision of commodity(ies) dependants value. This could include control of price, supply, and/or distribution among others.

Second is that the dependants' need of the provision must be intensive,

²⁶ Randall Newnham, "Oil, Carrots, and Sticks: Russia's Energy Resources as a Foreign Policy Tool," *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 2, no. 2 (July 1, 2011): 134-43, 135-136.

emphasizing of the unavailability of other sources that compares to the provision of the resourceful states.

Lastly is that the dependants' compliance has to cost less than their resistance - stressing that without the provision from the resourceful states, it is less likely that dependants could ensure its survivability.²⁷

The asymmetric interdependence creates a suitable environment for **energy statecraft** to take place. Energy statecraft is a practice where energy is used as a tool to extend states' political aims done by exploiting the other party's struggle for resources. Energy statecraft stresses on the use of a resourceful state's domestic energy resources to get other international actors to do what they would otherwise not do by manipulating other actor's instability of energy security.²⁸ There are two possibilities of how states translate this situation into power. First is by giving **negative inducement**, done by directly threatening availability of resources to apply pressure (making the other party politically influenced because of external pressure due to economic deprivation from severed trade). Second is by **positive inducement**, politically influencing a state to take the desired action voluntarily due to certain proposed benefits.²⁹

Moreover, to carry out positive and negative inducement in energy statecraft, states would implement four main maneuvers.

²⁷ R. Harrison Wagner, "Economic Interdependence, Bargaining Power, and Political Influence," *International Organization* 42, no. 3 (1988): 461–83, 477.

²⁸ Klaus Dalgaard, "The Energy Statecraft of Brazil: Promoting Biofuels as an Instrument of Brazilian Foreign Policy, 2003-2010," (London School of Economics and Political Sciences, June 1, 2012).

²⁹ Albert O Hirschman, *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade* (Berkeley, L.A.: University Of California Press, 1980), 31.

First is through the control of price, as the dependants could end up in a condition where they would value the price reduction or be forced to buy energy commodities at soaring rate – provoking them to take compliant behavior towards the resourceful states.

Second is control of supply, where resourceful states could expand or deplete the amount of commodity allocated for its dependants. Usually, supply control occurred in tandem with price alteration, though in some cases the method is used solo.

Third is planning of distribution routes, where resourceful states could include or exclude certain countries into the dispersal points of its energy commodity – taking dependant countries' accessibility at leverage or risk.

Lastly is infrastructure development plan, embodying the same logic as the previous, but stresses on new infrastructure establishment instead of cutting routes of the existing ones. The aforementioned approaches were deployed in reminiscence that the goal of energy statecraft is threaten or foster other actors' energy security to exercise power over their actions.

1.6. Methodology

This research will try to build new understanding on how energy became a tool affecting Russian-Eastern European relations through qualitative research methods. Qualitative method is deemed suitable since it tries to elaborate the construction of social realities, with a deeper focus on values and actors' interactions rather than seeing them as standalone variables.³⁰

³⁰ Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 5th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 379-381.

Qualitative method also puts research into contexts, hence requiring the analysis to be thematic and focus into a limited number of cases.³¹

Moreover, this research was conducted under explanatory qualitative nuance, implying that it will focus on finding the cause-and-effect factor of a phenomena.³² Comparative case study will be used to complete this research, with the main aim to showcase varying outputs based on similar conducts embodied within the same practice: Russian incorporation of energy in foreign policy practiced towards Ukraine and Belarus. On data collection mechanism, this research will be built based on non-numerical data to better contextualize the values within the phenomena.³³ Furthermore, this research relies on secondary data collected through literature. Sources such as news outlets, previous studies, official state documents, and books are used to build the narratives of this research.

1.7. Research Structure

Attempting to elaborate the underlying factors behind Russia's usage of energy as a tool of foreign policy towards Ukraine and Belarus, this research will use the existing analytical framework under the notion of energy geopolitics and parameters that entails with them under the following structure:

Chapter 1 provides general overview of the research by showcasing the research background, problem identification, scope of research, literature review, theoretical framework, research method, and the thesis structure.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Luigi Curini and Robert Franzese, "The SAGE Handbook of Research Methods in Political Science and International Relations," SAGE Publications, June 7, 2023.

³³ Ibid.

Chapter 2 probes upon the international relations involving Belarus and Ukraine in post-Soviet realm. Such will cover the dynamics occurring between the two and EU-NATO alliance, as well as with the Russian Federation.

Chapter 3 focuses on the analysis of energy as a tool of Russian foreign policy, by disclosing the four energy geopolitics enabling factors (namely the primary resource concentration, state of international energy markets, accessibility of infrastructures, and condition of end-users). Additionally, this chapter will also translate the finding from those parameters into the three prerequisites of asymmetrical interdependence to occur. Lastly, the chapter discloses Russia's practice of energy statecraft of Russia in Ukraine and Belarus.

Chapter 4 summarizes and concludes the research by relinking the finding to the research questions. This chapter also discusses the limitations of the outcome of the research.