



Russia's energy weapon

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Past experiences

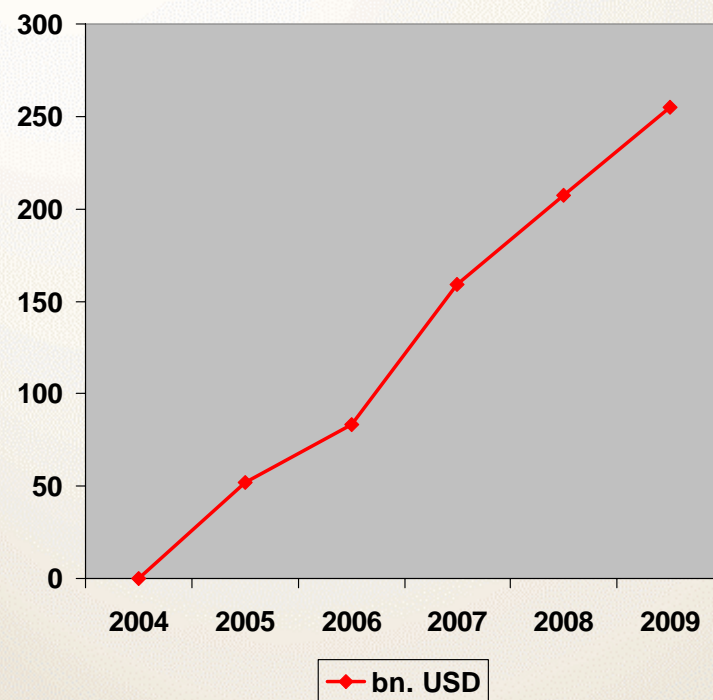
- Ukraine
- Belarus

Not so simple

- Rational actor perspective
- Gas pipelines always a two-way flow
- Mutual dependency
- Last leg of a painful and protracted divorce

The real energy weapon?

The "Stabfond"



How the weapon can be used

- Chubais: Liberal empire
- Vehicles of empire-building: juicy assets
- Direct and indirect routes to liberal empire:
Payment in cash or in kind

The relativity of rationality

- This analysis builds on assumptions about rational actors
- What if Russia is not a rational actor?
- What if Russia shoots itself in the foot?
- Rational for whom?
- Assumptions about states as unitary actors
- Cuts both ways