Statement on European Energy Security and Siemens Turbines

<u>The International Working Group on Russian Sanctions</u> disagrees with the recent decision taken by the Government of Canada to <u>return six Siemens turbines to Russia</u> via Germany, by granting an exemption to existing export controls regimes limiting the transfer of certain energy technologies to the Russian Federation.

The export controls waiver sets an unacceptable precedent that will only embolden the Putin regime to continue to weaponize its energy leverage over the European continent by exercising energy blackmail under the guise of dubious technical justifications. Moreover, the decision undermines existing technology export controls restrictions in place against the Russian Federation, telegraphing to the Kremlin that using energy pressure against Europe is an effective strategy to yield sanctions relief.

The Putin regime's proclivity to use energy resources as an implement of geopolitical pressure against European democracies has been ongoing for decades, reaching fever pitch over the past year. In 2021, the <u>Kremlin created EU-wide gas scarcity</u> by intentionally limiting natural gas volumes exported to European storage facilities, many of which were owned by Russian state-controlled Gazprom. Furthermore, since the onset of hostilities in February, Russia has continued to pressure the European Union via politically motivated energy restrictions, including the partial or total natural gas cutoff of a dozen EU member states.

In early June 2022, Kremlin-controlled Gazprom announced a 60% reduction in gas volumes from the Russian Federation to Germany via the Nord Stream 1 pipeline, citing technical issues that it claimed, <u>according to the Financial Times</u>, were associated with the lack of Nord Stream 1 gas turbines that had been undergoing "maintenance and repairs in Montreal but could not be returned to Russia because of Canadian sanctions against Gazprom."

In response to this claim, the German Federal Energy Regulator (<u>Bundesnetzagentur</u>) stated that it could not "identify any causal connection between the missing gas compressor on the Russian side and the big reduction in supplies." <u>On 15 June</u>, Germany's Minister of Economic Affairs and Climate Action, Robert Habeck, furthermore undermined Gazprom's claim of technical issues justifying the reduction in gas flows via Nord Stream 1, stating that "Russia's reason [for reducing gas supplies] is just a pretext…their strategy is obviously to unsettle [people] and drive up prices," characterizing Russia's gas cuts as "political."

Despite this assessment, <u>reported German government pressure</u> ultimately resulted in a <u>decision by the Government of Canada</u> that "Canada [would] grant a time-limited and revocable permit for Siemens Canada to allow the return of repaired Nord Stream 1 turbines to Germany." Moreover, a statement <u>issued on 11 July by the U.S. Department of State</u> offered "support" for

the decision, stating that "in the short term, the turbine will allow Germany and other European countries to replenish their gas reserves, increasing their energy security and resiliency and countering Russia's efforts to weaponize energy."

In the wake of the decision, <u>Reuters reported that on 18 July</u>, Germany's economy ministry "said that the turbine was a replacement part that was meant to be used only from September, meaning its absence could not be the real reason for the fall-off in gas flows prior to maintenance."

Also on 18 July, Reuters reported the <u>text of a letter</u> issued by Gazprom to customers in Europe on 14 July that "it cannot guarantee gas supplies because of 'extraordinary' circumstances" saying that "it was retroactively declaring force majeure on supplies dating from 14 June."

The statements before and after Ottawa's decision provide significant doubt that even with the return of the allegedly technically necessary Siemens turbine, Russia will resume full gas flows to Europe via Nord Stream 1.

In light of Russia's long history of explaining previous gas cutoffs to the European continent with false technical justifications, along with statements by German government officials and technical offices characterizing the current cutoffs in this same manner, the simultaneous decision by Berlin to pressure Ottawa to undermine its own export controls policies against the Putin regime is particularly baffling.

Rather than "countering Russia's efforts to weaponize energy," the turbine transfer decision in fact sets a troubling precedent that Russian energy pressure can coerce Western leaders to accede to unjustified demands of the Putin regime.

Even if Gazprom's dubious technical justification were merited, the Kremlin could easily restore gas deliveries to Europe right now via the other routes where it is currently limiting exports, such as the Ukrainian gas transmission system where ample spare capacity exists. Therefore, Moscow's decision not to do so illustrates clearly that its true motivation is to simply use energy to pressure Europe.

The decision also gives Moscow a playbook on how to weaponize energy and other natural resource dependencies to weaken Western technology sanctions against Russia. This is particularly concerning as technology export controls are reportedly having a significant impact on a wide range of Russian sectors, <u>including limiting the supply</u> of components and subsystems vital for Moscow's ability to wage war against Ukraine.

Now more than ever, the Transatlantic community needs to remain united in maintaining uniform and increasing energy sanctions to slash funding to Putin's war machine, while taking a war time level of effort to advance urgent energy diversification projects. Doing so will eliminate the Kremlin's ability to limit Europe's foreign policy latitude when it comes to supporting Ukraine. Berlin's pressure on Ottawa to undermine Western unity on Russia export controls restrictions through the Siemens turbine waiver only degrades the Transatlantic sanctions consensus.

In light of the above, we call on the Government of Canada, backed by political endorsements from the German and United States' governments, to reverse this sanctions waiver decision. Furthermore, we call on Germany to block the transfer to Russia of the first of the Siemens turbines already delivered from Canada to Germany this week.

Doing so will send a strong message to the Putin regime that its pattern of linking political demands to energy pressure will not result in concessions by European democracies, and that Russia's hybrid threats won't erode Western support for Ukrainian sovereignty.

Since the onset of Russia's full-fledged invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022, <u>The International Working Group on Russian Sanctions</u> has worked to advance analysis aimed at addressing two strategic objectives with respect to Russia's role in the global energy system.

First, given the significant role that Russian hydrocarbon revenues – particularly oil and gas sales – play in funding Putin's war-making capability, the Group has focused on proposals to increase sanctions on Russian energy resources, as well as those technical and financial industries that support Russian energy exports worldwide.

Second, given the strategic vulnerability that many regions of Europe face given an over-reliance on Russian energy resources, the Group has also published proposals to increase the independence and resilience of the European energy sector. These include measures that would help Europe identify global suppliers and increase infrastructure throughput capacity to support the import of non-Russian hydrocarbon resources in the shortest possible term. Importantly, proposals also include steps for future reductions in reliance on Russian energy through the deployment of renewable energy technologies, as well as ending ownership of European critical energy infrastructure by Russian state-owned-enterprises as soon as possible.

More details regarding these energy security and sanctions policy proposals can be found throughout our work, especially our <u>Action Plan on Strengthening Sanctions</u>, our <u>Energy Sanctions Roadmap</u>, and our <u>Statement on the Sixth EU Russia Sanctions Package</u>.

Note: The inclusion of affiliations is for identification purposes only and does not represent an endorsement of shared views with the co-signer.

Dr. Anders Åslund, Senior Fellow, Stockholm Free World Forum.

Tania Babina, Assistant Professor of Finance, Columbia Business School, Columbia University; Co-organizer of the Economists for Ukraine group.

Tetyana Balyuk, Assistant Professor of Finance, Goizueta Business School, Emory University; Co-organizer of the Economists for Ukraine group.

Olga Bielkova, Corporate Affairs Director, Gas Transmission System Operator of Ukraine, and former Member of Ukrainian Parliament.

Anne L. Clunan, Associate Professor of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School, and Faculty Affiliate, Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), Stanford University. *The views here are my own, and not those of the U.S. Navy, Department of Defense, or Government.*

Anastassia Fedyk, Assistant Professor of Finance, the Haas School of Business, University of California - Berkeley; Co-organizer of the Economists for Ukraine group.

Eddie Fishman, Senior Research Scholar, Columbia University Center on Global Energy Policy.

Francis Fukuyama, Director, Susan Ford Dorsey Masters in International Policy (MIP) Program, Olivier Nomellini Senior Fellow, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI) and Professor, Stanford University.

Yuriy Gorodnichenko, Quantedge Presidential Professor of Economics, Department of Economics, University of California - Berkeley; Co-organizer of the Economists for Ukraine group.

John E. Herbst, Former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine; Former U.S. Ambassador to Uzbekistan

James Hodson, Chief Executive Officer, AI for Good Foundation; Co-organizer of the Economists for Ukraine group.

Eric Johnson, Former Managing Director, Cambridge Associates, and Former National Security Council Staff, White House Situation Room.

Bronte Kass, Program Manager, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI), Stanford University; Assistant Coordinator, International Working Group on Russian Sanctions.

Sergiy Leshchenko, Deputy Head of the Supervisory Board of Ukrainian Railways.

Michael McFaul, Director, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI), Professor of Political Science, and Hoover Institution Senior Fellow, Stanford University; Coordinator, International Working Group on Russian Sanctions.

Dinsha Mistree, Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution and Stanford Law School.

Sergey Makogon, General Director, Gas Transmission System Operator of Ukraine.

Benjamin Moll, Professor, London School of Economics and Political Science.

Richard Morningstar, Former Ambassador to the European Union, Ambassador to Azerbaijan, and Special Envoy for Eurasian Energy.

Tymofiy Mylovanov, President of the Kyiv School of Economics; Associate Professor, University of Pittsburgh.

Olesksandr Novikov, Head of the National Agency on Corruption Prevention, Ukraine.

Steven Pifer, William Perry Fellow, Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), Stanford University, and Former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine.

Andriy Pyshnyy, Former Deputy Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council, Former CEO of Oschadbank, and Former Member of Ukrainian Parliament.

Lukasz Rachel, Postdoctoral Research Fellow, Department of Economics, Princeton University.

Dr. Benjamin L. Schmitt, Project Development Scientist, Harvard University; Senior Fellow for Democratic Resilience, Center for European Policy Analysis; Rethinking Diplomacy Fellow, Duke University Center for International and Global Studies.

Moritz Schularick, Professor, Sciences Po Paris, and University of Bonn.

Natalia Shapoval, Vice President for Policy Research, Kyiv School of Economics.

Maria Snegovaya, Postdoctoral Fellow at Virginia Tech, Adjunct Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security and Visiting Scholar at the Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies and the Illiberalism Studies Program, George Washington University.

Ilona Sologub, Scientific Editor, Vox Ukraine; Co-organizer of the Economists for Ukraine group.

Daria Sofina, National Agency on Corruption Prevention, Ukraine.

Dr. Kathryn Stoner, Mosbacher Director and Senior Fellow, Center for Democracy, Development and Rule of Law (CDDRL), and Professor, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI), Stanford University.

Yuriy Vitrenko, CEO of Naftogaz of Ukraine.

Vladyslav Vlasiuk, Secretary of Ukrainian Sanctions Group on Russian Sanctions, PhD Energy Law.

Denys Yatsyshyn, Director, Corporate Relations, U.S.-Ukraine Business Council (USUBC).