International Journal of Applied Social Science *REVIEW ARTICLE*
Volume 2 (5&6), May & June (2015) : 216-226 ISSN : 2394-1405 (Print)
Received : 28.06.2015; Revised : 08.07.2015; Accepted : 15.07.2015

Climate change negotiation and Russian foreign policy : Post Kyoto challenges

SANGRAM SINGH
Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies, School of International Studies,
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi (India)
(Email:sangram.jnu@gmail.com)

ABSTRACT

"Climate change is one of the major international problems of the 21st century, which goes beyond the scope of being a scientific problem. It represents a complex interdisciplinary problem that covers environmental, economic, and social aspects of the sustainable development of the Russian Federation (Climate Doctrine of the Russian Federation 2009). Climate change has serious implications like increasing global temperature, rising sea level, ecological imbalance etc. The global comity of nations has been trying to deal with the issue through multilateral forum of UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change). The first serious negotiations for climate change started in Stockholm in 1972. Soviet Union along with 130 other country participated in it. An important milestone was reached when Kyoto protocol came into effect in 2005. Russia showed its full commitment to combat this menace. Since then Russia has shown its commitment and extended its full cooperation to every global summit and forums. It became party to historic Rio Convention on climate change (1992) and contributed in framing famous "AGENDA 21"- a comprehensive action plan for developing planets sustainability.

Key Words : Climate change negotiation, Kyoto protocol, Rio convention, AGENDA 21

INTRODUCTION

The most important and historic land mark step by Russia was to sign Kyoto Protocol. The negotiation started on 1997 and the Act came in force on 16 February 2005. The act envisaged collective reduction of green house gases (GHG) by the signatory countries to 5.2% of the 1990 levels. Russia under the act has committed to keep its green house emissions at the 1990 levels. Russia has taken concrete steps which have lead to decrease in its green house emissions to 36 % of its 1990 levels. This proved that Russia is seriously engaged to bring down its emission level. It has taken concrete steps in mitigation action plans like promoting clean development mechanism, joint investment and emission trading. It has framed stringent laws and commissions for monitoring the emission level and mitigating climate change.

The first commitment period is over and world is grappling to strike a deal for second commitment period. The deadline for which will be decided in coming conference of party (COP) 2015 to be held in Paris. The second Kyoto commitment will commence from 2020. The post Kyoto talks have taken dynamic shifts as Russia has shown reluctance to take any binding emission cuts. This move is seen as a tactful strategic maneuvering to compel America to take binding emission cuts. There are many

How to cite this Article: Singh, Sangram (2015). Climate change negotiation and Russian foreign policy : Post Kyoto challenges. *Internat. J. Appl. Soc. Sci.,* **2** (5&6) : 216-226.

challenging issues for Russia in post Kyoto negotiations.

The Kyoto has, to an extent successful in bringing the emission level down. The total Green House gases level by the Annexure I countries have come down. Weather sectoral or gases categories, both of them have shown improvement. The biggest fall out of Kyoto was that it was not able to bring America in binding cut emission regime. Countries are trying to bring America in binding emission cut regime. It is vital to bring America as it is the largest emitter of green house gases. Russia recently tactfully tried to pressurize the biggest emitter countries like USA and Australia when President Putin said "We will move out of Kyoto-2 unless other bigger countries take binding emission cuts". Similar sentiments are expressed by Japan. Canada, has in fact opted to pull itself out from Kyoto 1 itself.

Under such circumstances the biggest emitter of green house gases – USA, Australia including developing countries like China and India are under immense pressure to join the port Kyoto arrangements. All these development has made Kyoto 2 much more relevant. Russia is a key contributor to reduction of emission in Kyoto I and its involvement in Kyoto-2 arrangement is must. Its importance increases manifold as 21% of global forest cover, a huge carbon sink source are located there. It has tremendous capacity to absorb carbon dioxide, thereby making Russia an "environmental donor" country.

The world community is going through dynamic changes as no common ground has been reached on many of the contentious issues relating to climate change e.g. Technology transfer, fund transfer, binding emission cuts, monitoring mechanism, adaptation funding etc. These are the issues without tackling which controlling climate change would be a distant dream. Still many issues remain unresolved and need greater understanding and cooperation among the countries. The recent move by European Union to link trade, intellectual property rights and WTO issues with climate change talks has made the talks more complex. The most vulnerable, small island nation groups are most vocal against it.

Russia could act as a deal maker in such circumstances. It has huge forest reserve. Moreover it has shown full commitment in fulfilling Kyoto protocol. It has brought its vision energy in its energy policy of 2035. It has made huge investments in improving consuming its forest reserves which makes it's a committed partner. So in many of the controversial issues like fund transfer, technology transfer, etc Russia has come up with transparent policy. The climate change negotiation has gone a long way till now. The recent Lima summit of conference of party could not do much in resolving all the issues.

In the present context when cut off year for the finalising Kyoto 2 framework is near, the world community is struggling to decide the future course of action. It is imperative that certain concrete step must be taken. Russia has shown interest in finalising the contentious issues but on basis of equality. It has shown reservation on procedural aspects of future deal. Earlier Russian has vowed to take voluntarily reduction of 25% carbon emission of 1990 levels. Russia is known for its cogent and open policy on fund transfer, technology transfer. Both developed and developing country countries have shown faith in Russian commitments. The developing countries especially see Russia as their leader, who always stands by them to safeguard their interest in any future climate negotiations. Russia has not only participated but also provided leadership to other countries.

Looking at the enormity of the issue, the present study will explore various dimensions of climate change and challenges for Russia.

Kyoto Protocol: A brief description :

The Kyoto Protocol was adopted in Kyoto, Japan; on 11 December 1997. Federation ratified the treaty. Though it was adopted in 1997 but was finally ratified in February 2005 when Russian adoption of the protocol "operationalized" the Convention. There are two types of countries in the protocol which are categorized in two groups- Annexure 1 and Annexure 2 countries. It commits the industrialized countries to stabilize greenhouse gas emissions to the 5.2 % of the1990 level. There is some leniency

provided to few countries. There are six gases committed in the protocol; Carbon dioxide, Methane, Nitrous oxide and group of three gases Perflourocarbon, Chlorofluorocarbon and Sulfur hexafluoride. In the convention Russia has committed to stabilize the green house emission to 1990 level. The base year is taken as 1990 for Carbon dioxide, Methane and Nitrous oxide. The base year for group of three gases is taken as 1995. The Kyoto protocol is signed by 192 countries. Annexure 1 includes 37(at present) which are developed countries and countries of economy in transition. Russia is one of them and is counted in annex-I economy in transition category. Overall, these targets add up to an average 5% emissions reduction with reference to 1990 levels over the 5 years period from 2008 to 2012.

Kyoto Protocol was structured on the principles of the Convention. It sets binding emission target for developed countries only as they are mainly responsible for the current high levels of GHG emissions, which are the result of more than 200 years of industrialization. Under Kyoto Protocol, heavier binding emission cuts have been assigned to the developed countries under the principle of 'common but differential responsibility' (CBDR).The principle of CBDR recognizes the fact that all the countries have common responsibility for the emission but advanced countries shall have to take the lead. As they are more responsible and capable of reducing the green house gas in comparison to the poor weak and under developed and developing countries.

Role of Russia in Bringing Kyoto Protocol :

Russia has very important Role in bringing the Kyoto Protocol into effect because of the conditionality of its coming into force. As per Kyoto initial talks it was decided that for Kyoto Protocol to enter into force to basic requirement are must

- At least minimum 55 countries should ratify the Protocol and
- These countries should contribute minimum of 55 percentage of total emission of the world.

This 55 percentage will be counted on the base year 1990.So, Russian federation, which accounted for 17% of the global emission of the world, became very crucial for the Protocol to enter into the force. The importance of Russian Federation is crucial because the biggest emitter of the world the United States of America had denied taking any binding emission cut. "The US and Australia appears to be working in tandem in both their domestic and foreign climate change policy" (Robyn Eckersley,2005) The total emission reduction of United State is about 34% of the 1990 level. So, without the US cooperation it was only Russia which could help in striking the deal. Given the fact that European community and Japan has shown positive response in joining the treaty, it was easier for Kyoto to come into effect if Russia would not have joined it. The US President Bush had already rejected the Protocol as "fatally Flawed". Also in United State, some quarters were skeptical of need of high investment for buying the carbon credits which will prove detrimental to their economy. Also, Russia would gain windfall sum of money by selling carbon credits. Russia, along with Ukraine will be the biggest carbon credit seller. This was a point of worry for united state as they thought that this could leads to monopolized behavior of Russia and Ukraine. Both the parties were antagonistic to its ideology and had been former cold war enemies. With the United States in the protocol, estimates of international trading price with optimal monopolistic behavior, by Ukraine and Russia was in order of 38% (Burniaux, 1998) to 43% (Burn stain *et al.,* 1999). Further studies (Manne and Richels, 2001; Bohringes 2001; Blanchard and cirqui, 2002) have of the same view regarding the monopoly of Russia on withdrawal of United States.

Under these circumstances the key issues which was the pillar for Russian policy to enter into Kyoto protocol were- Firstly, the benefits and welfare that will accrue to some countries due to the trade generated by the climate change mechanism. And the main trading thing that will come is from fossil fuels trading.

"In an interesting reversal of roles, after Russia's accession to the Kyoto Protocol in 2004, seven OPEC countries were inspired to follow and ratify Protocol, demonstrating Russia's newfound

role as catalyst for international environmental cooperation."(Jessica Tipton, 2008).

Russia could easily force other Annexure B countries to reduce their energy use by taking the price of oil and natural gas. This can help Russia to gain huge profit by both declining oil requirements and high energy price. "Russia's economy needs fundamental reform to reduce greenhouse gas emissions," President Dmitry Medvedev said at the international meeting in Brasilia in April 2010, saying the country could then meet its target of a 25% cut by 2020.Secondly, the banking of emission certificates could be in interest of Parties, keeping it for future use and such banking was allowed in the protocol. This could have enabled Russia to bank its emission certificate to be sold on future date. All its permits may not sell within the commitment period due to raising price of the permits. And lastly, Russia was apprehensive that though they would gain a monopolistic position in certificate of emission reduction but still the other "flexible mechanism" like "Joint Implementation", "clean development Mechanism" could offset its power to gain monopoly in the climate change carbon trade. Several studies have found more or less the same result.

The position of Russia in Ratification was much strong though there were some irritants. The main amongst them was non-inclusion of land use, land use change forestry in accounting of the reduction of the emission. This led Russian think tank to keep away from the protocol. Russia has huge amount of forestry, if that is not included in reduction of emission, it would have been a great loss to Russia. So Russia pressed for the inclusion of land use, land use change and forestry in the accounting of GHG. As of May 2003, the Kyoto Protocol required only Russian federation to sign the pact. The Russian president Putin was in favor of Russia joining Kyoto Protocol. He personally was in favor of Kyoto protocol. "He bargained from European Union to give Russia support in joining World Trade Organization in link of joining Kyoto Protocol"(Roman Lokhov and Heinz Welsch,2008). After the deal with European Union, Russian President on may 2004 for the first time said that "we are for the Kyoto process" and "we will speed up the process Russia's more towards ratifying the protocol". He was even criticized for giving in for economic gains to environment. Green Price spokesman Tim Hollo said "Putin's comments are major inroad for environmentalist and will have an impact on global efforts to reduce green house emission".

Moreover, in joining Kyoto, Russia was going to have double benefit. Firstly it bargained on membership of WTO and secondly it is going to get benefited from the calling of carbon credit. It will benefit from selling of huge carbon credits. So the "main attraction for Russia was "hot air" which it is going to sell" (report on Russia's role in Kyoto protocol by global science policy change, 2003). The total amount of this hot air for Russia was estimated about 65 mtc. The value for Eastern European countries was 300 mf. So even if all the eastern European countries march towards European Union still Russia along with Ukraine will have bargaining power. All these things led Russian government to go for the deal and it passed the Protocol on 16 February 2005.

What Is Climate Change All About? :

Climate change refers to the increase in the mean temperature of earth's atmosphere. The change in the normal temperature may be due to natural or anthropogenic causes. The earth's average temperature has gone through change many times historically but the present rise in the temperature is due to human interference. Ever since the Industrial Revolution began about 150 years ago, human activities have added significant quantities of GHGs to the atmosphere. The atmospheric concentrations of carbon dioxide, methane, and nitrous oxide have grown by about 31%, 151% and 17%, respectively, between 1750 and 2000 (IPCC report 2000).).

"Annual global growth rates of CO2 emissions are expected to be around 1.8% from now to 2030 which is comparable to those of Russia, with two thirds of that growth attributable to the developing countries"(Renat Perelet, Serguey Pegov and Mikhail Yulkin,2007) 0.

The major cause of worry is the rise in the temperature is basically due to the green house effect.

The earth's atmosphere behaves as an envelope which does not allow the terrestrial radiation to go back from the earth. Thus, the increase in concentration of the gases increases the temperature. The increase in temperature has serious physical, social and political implication on the planet. The polar ice will melt, which in turn increase the sea level, leading to submergence of the low-lying coastal areas of the world. The biodiversity will deteriorate; ecological imbalance will create anomalies on the earth system.

"The human dimension of climate change emissions is revealed more vividly if they are calculated not only in physical levels but with the reference to the gross national product (GDP) of a country often referred to as carbon intensity."(Renat *et al.,* 2007).

The general system of the earth will fail. The global economy will have to bear huge loss in mitigation and adaptation plans. It will create chaotic social unrest in the marginalized and the vulnerable sections of the society. Climate change also throws a political challenge to the countries. It has created a great diplomatic and political rift over the issue of bearing the responsibility for mitigation and adaptation.

Green Houses Gases mandated for reduction in Kyoto 1 :

The increase in the normal temperature is due to the green house gases. The gases do not allow the terrestrial radiation to escape from the earth's atmosphere. These green house gases are carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous oxide, sulfur hexafluoride, Hydrocholoroflorocarbons (HFCs), perflourocarbons(PFCs), water vapor etc. These are the gases which trap the terrestrial radiations and increase the temperature of the earth. This increases the atmosphere's temperature. These six gases are therefore taken into consideration in Kyoto protocol.

Climate Change Science :

Climate change can be natural or anthropogenic. It is general rise in normal temperature of earth's atmosphere. The normal temperature is referred as the average temperature over the period of 30 years. The temperature rise in this average is measured and compared. The temperature rise is due to green house effect. The earth is enveloped by the gaseous covering called atmosphere. This atmosphere behaves as a semi permeable membrane due to presence of unique gases. The incoming solar radiations (insolation) are in short wave (short wavelength form). These waves pass through the atmosphere without any hindrance. But, the terrestrial waves which flow from earth to atmosphere are in form of long waves. These long waves are entrapped by certain gases of the atmosphere and thus the temperature of the earth increases. These green house gases are carbon dioxide, water vapor, methane, nitrous oxide, hydroflourocarbon (HFCs), perflourocarbon (PFCs), sulfur hexafluoride (SF6), carbon tetrachloride (CCl_4) etc. Out of these gases water vapor is not considered as green house gas as its concentration is highly variable and its concentration cannot be directly affected. The UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) and Kyoto Protocol takes only 6 major gases. This are-

- Carbon dioxide (CO_2)
- Methane (CH_4)
- Nitrogen dioxide (N_2O)
- Hydroflourocarbons (HFCs)
- Perflorocarbon (PFCs)
- Sulphur hexafluoride (SF_6)

Out of these gases carbon dioxide is the main gas responsible for the global warming. Since the industrial revolution its concentration has seen multifold increase. This is due to increase in transport activities, industrial activities and numerous household activities such as burning of fossil fuels etc. It is found that agricultural activities are also responsible for emission of green house gas that is

methane, which is released from paddy fields or cuddling of cows and buffaloes.

Under UNFCCC convention the Global Warming has also been taken into consideration. The Green House gas warming potential is taken in reference to CO_2 value. Taking CO_2 value as one the other gases are compared for their potential value. In this context SF_6 has highest Global Warming potential while CH_4 has least as compared to the carbon dioxide.

Russia's Performance in Kyoto Protocol (2008-2012) :

Irrespective of many crumbling issues Russia has done a lot to bring some tangible results. According to Russia's Ministry of Economic Development (MEDT), Russia has not only met the Kyoto targets but also generate surplus equal to over 3 billion tons of CO_2-equivalent. Russia has established AAU (Assigned Amount of Unit) registry. Russia Federal Service of Hydrometeorology and Environment monitoring, Ministry of Natural Resource of Russian Federation and other related departments have brought normative acts and regulations. Russia has registered more than 50% of world's Joint Implementation (JI) amounting to the reduction of 79.2 mln tons of GHG. These are some institutional changes brought by the Russian governments. On analysis of Reports of UNFCCC like- "National greenhouse gas inventory data for the period 1990-2009", "Annual compilation and accounting report for Annex B Parties under Kyoto Protocol for 2011", "Annual status report of the annual inventory of Russian Federation" and GHG Data interface of UNFCCC website, many findings have come out. After analysis of these reports and data many precise and concrete finding about the implementation progress of Russia have surfaced.

Russia has reduced 53.82 percentage of GHG emission from 1990 level. It had to keep the GHG emission level to 1990.The GHG share of Russia has come down from 17% of world in 1990 to 5 percentage in 2005. It has world's highest "Joint Implementation" (JI) registered amounting to about 79 million tonnes of Carbon dioxide equivalent. As per Kyoto requirement the emission has decreased in each category of sectors and gases both domestically and in comparison to other Annex-I countries. The reduction in energy sector is 33%, in industrial process sector is 33% and in agriculture is 59%. There are the percentage decrease between 1990 and 2010. Clearly Russia has shown more than expected in comparison to Turkey, Canada, Spain, Portugal and United Kingdom where overall greenhouse emissions have increased. On analyzing the individual gases the reduction is more than the required as per the Kyoto Protocol. Excluding Nitrous Oxide (N2O) where the emission level has increased, it has come down drastically for other gases. The reduction in Carbon dioxide from energy sector is 39%, from Industrial process it is 26%. The most important reduction of Carbon dioxide is from land use, land use change and forestry category (LULUCF). The total reduction of Carbon dioxide from LULUCF between 1990 and 2010 is 1200%, which is exceptional. This has led Russia to earn huge carbon credits. So we find Russia has done well in each and every category of inventory requirement and exceptionally well in few areas. This is possible because of its serious commitment for reducing the emission level. This has raised high credentials for Russia in world. Though few scholars like Elena Liobimtseva of Grand Valley State University have criticized on the basis that Russia was given an easy target that has lead for its better performance. But even if this argument is accepted then too Russia has reduced its emission far more than the required limits. Thus one cannot cast doubts on the Russian willingness to contribute to the climate change challenge. Russia unlike Canada has not pulled itself out from Kyoto Protocol. Countries like United States of America, which is the highest emitter of greenhouse gases in the world, have not taken any binding emission cut. Russian efforts under such circumstances becomes more important as it has not only provided leadership but also strengthened the notion that strong commitment is must for taking up for such important and serious challenge.

Whether Kyoto Protocol is a success or a failure is a debatable issue. But for Russia certainly it is beneficial both strategically and economically. Alain Bernard and Sergey Palstev in their paper in

Global Science Policy Change conclude by writing that Kyoto Protocol has produced a situation where Russia and Ukraine have acquired windfall surplus in terms of carbon credit. Under such situation Russia can go for business as usual for decades to come. In fact, Kyoto Protocol has make Russia a dominant supplier of carbon credits which can be exercised to increase permit revenue.

Guiding principles of Russia in climate change negotiation :

The core interest of Russia is based on social, economical and political interests. From Rio to Lima, Russia has shown very responsible behavior in every climate change negotiations. With time on its stand has matured. Later after the formation of United Nation Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and Convention of Biological Diversity, Russian minister of environment made it clear that the core interest of Russia in the trade talks is welfare of its own people along with the welfare of world community as a whole. Russia put high stress on the core aspect of climate change like

- Conservation
- Sustainability
- Protection
- Inclusiveness
- Equality
- Adaptation and Mitigation
- Time frame
- Procedural transparency

Russian foreign policy is guided by these principles in climate change negotiations. In the Kyoto Protocol too, Russia favored the welfare approach by not letting the poorest countries to take binding emission cuts. On the other hand it was very vocal to bring USA into legally binding emission cut regime. Russia strongly favors the idea of CBDR under which differentiated responsibility has to be taken by different countries as per their historical background. In this context in the recent Lima Summit too, Russia was in favor of the cause of small Island Nation Group. It is strongly in favor of creating some structure which could fasten the process of verification and mitigation procedure under UNFCCC. Also it is of the view that a strong committed step has to be taken by each and every nation of the world. This problem can only be solved on the basis of family approach where each country is the member of the family and work together to fight against a common threat.

So overall it can be said that Russian approach and interest as well, is justified and based in both scientific and human principal. In a way, Russia is one of the leaders in the climate change talks which have worked with diverse and different kind of countries to take some stringent step for the welfare of the world as a whole.

Post Kyoto Challenges For Russia :

Many of the Kyoto issues still remains unresolved. These are fund transfer from developed to developing and poor countries, technology transfer for adaptation, procedural transparancy and base line for fixing the emission cuts. Apparently in mitigating the challenge every nation is neither capable nor responsible to contribute on equal footing. Russia has to take tough call for asking developing countries to take binding emission cuts. It will be challenge to keep its "economy in transition" intact in Kyoto 2. The stand, which America and other western countries refutes vehemently. Also, they are wary of the huge carbon credits surplus of Russia. Russia wants its Kyoto 1 credit surplus to carry forward in future negotiation. This will give boost to its economy. Russia will in any case want to carry forward its carbon credit surplus earned in first commitment period. Europe and other western countries are wary of this as the carbon credit surplus of Russia is in the tune of $ 40 billion to $ 60 billion. It will give a windfall gain to the Russian economy. The obligation of binding

emission cut is a major hurdle. This is a cause of concern for America. So, it is against any such carry forward method. Russia has argued that the present economic downturn has led to huge economic losses and Russia is still trying to push its economy high. So, it cannot be put under developed countries. The western lobby is not willing to take exclusive binding cut emissions. But the issue is developed part of the world have shown reluctance. And even in recent Lima Summit 2014, they tried to link technology transfer with WTO Intellectual Property right and patent negotiations. Russia along with developing countries has opposed it. There is huge domestic pressure on Russia to not to transfer technology to third world. In fact Russia has demanded technology transfer with certain responsibility. So that misuse of "free Access" could be checked in. A balance of approach is must to have better relations with both developed and developing countries.

Taking binding emission cuts is another challenge for Russia. The Kyoto countries like Japan, Canada are not willing to take any further commitment until and unless United States of America and China take some binding emission cut. Canada has already left Kyoto which is a great setback for Kyoto success. Western scholars like Elina Lioubimtseva have argued that any such model which does not include developing countries like China and India is not going to be successful. A post 2012 agreement without them cannot be functional. Even United States of America has to come on board. This is well articulated by scholars Bjorn-ola Linner and Merle Jacob in their paper.

For Russia's point of view Kyoto Protocol has been a game changer, both economically and strategically. Any future multilateral climate negotiation could not be thought of without the involvement of important players like Russia. The position of Russia in this whole discourse of present and future climate change can be summarized in following presumptions.

- The future carbon credit allocation for Russia.
- The baseline for measuring the emission trends
- Assessment and monitoring of carbon stores, sinks and sources

The impact of climate change in Russia's economy and environment

- Vulnerability and adaptation capabilities of Russia to climate change
- Status of carbon surplus in Kyoto 2
- Russian status of "economy in transition" in post Kyoto commitment period.
- Further assessment of impacts of climate change on the Russian economy and environment, vulnerability, and adaptations to climate change
- Procedures adopted for finalizing emission cuts.
- Domestic pressure of energy companies to join Kyoto 2.

Why Russian Involvement in Kyoto 2 Is Must? :

Russian contribution in post Kyoto is inevitable for various reasons. Firstly Russia is third largest emitter of green house gases (GHG) after United States of America and china. It is responsible for about 5 percentage green house emission of the world and 6 percentage of carbon dioxide emission of the earth. Secondly Russia has seventeen percentage of the world forest area. That is highest in the world. This huge pool of forest could act as "carbon sinks' to capture the atmospheric carbon dioxide. Hence beneficial in curbing the level of carbon dioxide level from the atmosphere there by helping in bringing the average temperature of the earth down. Thirdly Russia has huge share in world fossil fuel resources. Russia is the biggest producer of the natural gas in the world at present. The annual production of the natural gas in Russia is about 3177 giga metric cube natural gas annually. This is huge in any scale. Not only this Russia is second largest oil producer in the world after Saudi Arabia. It has twelve percentage share of the world oil production. The emission level from the fossil fuel is very high so Russia could be an important and strategic player in any future climate change if the fossil fuel production is limited. It have the potential of escalating the oil prices. So it also holds a strategic asset in future climate dialogue.

In this context Kyoto 2 negotiations for climate change cannot be successful without Russia's involvement for dealing the menace of climate change.

Conclusion:

Keeping these above points in mind and future political circumstances and Russia's relationship with its key partners will be decisive. Russia will have to deal with the challenges keeping its core priorities intact. The climate change doctrine 2009 will form the bedrock over which it will negotiate. It has strike a balance between global demand and domestic pressure to join Kyoto 2. Russia also, has to satisfy the need and demands of developing countries. The biggest challenge will be to bring United States of America on board. Russia at the same time has to bring structural changes at domestic level to adapt and mitigate the sustainable development strategies. Russia has been cooperative and serious global partner for combating the challenge of climate change. In fact it has proved itself by implementing Kyoto commitments. International politics is very dynamic and malleable, it is only time which is going to give answer that how this kaleidoscopic political matrix will emerge in the whole gamut of climate change negotiation. But, certainly, Russia will hold pivotal position in any future discourse.

REFERENCES

Afionis, Stavros and Loannis Chatzopoulos (2010), "*Russia's Role UNFCCC Negotiations Since The Exit of the United States In 2001*", International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law And Economics, Vol 10, Issue 1, P 45-63.

Aggarwal, A. and S. Narain (1996), "*Global Warming in an Unequal World*", Centre For Science And Environment, New Delhi.

Arrow, K.J. (2007), *"Global Climate Change: A Challenge Policy",* Stanford University, Vol. 4, Issue 3.

Bjorn-ola, L. and Jacob, M. (Dec. 2005*), "From Stockholm to Kyoto And Beyond: A Review of Globalization of Global Warming Policy and North-South Relation"*, Linko Globalization, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 403-415.

Buchner, Barbara abs Silvia Dal'olio (2005*), "Russia and Kyoto Protocol: The Long Road to Ratification,"* Transitional Studies Review, pp349-382.

Chasek P. (2005) *"Global Challenges: Furthering the Multilateral Process for Sustainable Development"*, Environment Economics and Policy Studies, Vol.5, Issue 3., pp.34-47.

Cumming, Paul and Adira Scharf (2005), *"After Kyoto"*, Dollars and sense, Issue 260, p 17-29.

Dagoumas, A.S., G.K Papaganis and P.S Dokopoulous (2006), *"An Economic Assessment of Kyoto Protocol Application"*, **34** (1) : 26-39.

Freestone, David (2010), *"From Copenhagen to Cancun: Train Wreck or Paradigm Shift",* opnion, [online web] Accessed on to Dec 2011 URL: http:\\www.worldbank.org

Gautam, D. (2009), *"Climate Change and Beyond 2012",* Economic and Political Weekly, Vol.15, No. 45.

Grover, V. (2004), *"Climate Change: Five Years after Kyoto"*, Science Publishers

Gupta, J. (2010), *"A History of International Climate Change Policy"*, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 1, Issue 5.

Gupta, J. (1997). *"The Climate Change Convention and Developing Countries: From Conflict To Consensus?"* , Dordrecht and London.

Henry, L.A. and Sundstrom, L.Mcintosh., *"Russia and the Kyoto Protocol: Seeking an Alignment Of Interest And Image",* Global Environment Politics, Vol.7, Issue 4, pp.47-59.

Henry, Laura (2010). *"Russia's Dual Approach to Climate Change: Domestic and International Priorities"*, International Studies Association.

Kanth, D.R. (2010). *"Climate Finance: Already in Trouble"*, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol.14, No. 38.

Lioubimtseva, Elena (2011), *"Russia's Role in the Post-2012 Climate Change Policy: Key Contradiction and Uncertainties"*, Forum on Public Policy.

Michaelovia,A., Butzengeiger, S., Jung, M. and Dutschke, M. (2003). *"Beyond 2012:Evolution of the Kyoto Protocol Regime",* [online web] Accessed on 2 July 2012 URL:http://www.wbgu.de/wbgu-Sn 2003-ex 02.pdf

Misslees-Black, Novcic, J.N., Grubb, M., Korppoo, A. and Newberry, D. (2004). *"Costs and benefits to the Russian Federation of the Kyoto Protocol"*, Cambridge Economic Policy Associate, London.

Matysek, Anna, Melanic Ford and Vivek Tulpule (2004), *"Alternative to Kyoto Protocol: A new climate Policy Framework?"* International Review of Environment Strategies, Vol 5, Issue 1, P 179-197.

Mitchell, R.B. (2003), *"International Environmental Agreement: A Survey Of Their Features, Formation And Effect"*, Department Of Political Science, Vol. 28, Issue 1

Moc, Arild and Kristian Tangen (2000), *"The Kyoto Mechanisms and Russian Climate Politics",* Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Mortinot, E., Sintan J.E. (1997), *"International Technology Transfer for Climate Change Mitigation and the Case of Russia And China"* Annul Review of Energy Environment, vol.22.Issue 1, pp.357-385.

Najam, A. (2005), *"Why Environment Politics Looks Different From South"* Global Environment Politics, Vol.9, Issue 4,pp. 3-13.

Najam. A, Hug S. and Y. Soknae (2003), "*Climate Negotiations Beyond Kyoto: Developing Countries Concerns and Interests"* Climate Policy, pp 221-239.

Nakicenovic, Nebojsa and Nadejda Victor (2001), *"The Kyoto Protocol Emission Allocations: Windfall Surplus for Russia and Ukraine"*, Climate Change, vol49, Issue 3.

Ott, H.E. (2002), *"Climate Change: An Important Foreign Policy",* Global Environment Politics, Vol. 77, Issue 2.

Paul,R., Portney And N.Stavins (2000), "*Public Policies For Environmental Protection",*Resources for The Future [online web] Accessed on 28 June 2011 URL:http: \\books. Google.co.in/ books

Tipton, J.E. (2008), *"Why Did Russia Ratify the Kyoto Protocol? Why the Wait? An Analysis Of Environmental, Economic And Political Debate"*, Autumn, Vol. 20, No.2, pp. 67-96.

Victor G. David Nakicenovic Nebjso and Nadejda Victor (1998), *"The Kyoto Protocol Carbon Bubble'. Implications for Russia, Ukraine and Emission Trading"*, Indian Institute for Applied System analysis.

Williams, Gegory (2009). "*Has Putin Gone Green? Moscow and Kyoto Protocol*", International Studies Association

Yilkin, M.A. (2005). *"Russia and Kyoto Protocol : How to Meet the Challenges And Not to Mess Challenges"* [online web] Accessed on 1 July 2012 URL: http://www.eel.nl/documents/cms-eel-105-kyoto%20Article.pdf.

****