

Natural gas dispute between Ukraine and Russia

烏克蘭與俄羅斯之天然氣爭議

2006-02-13 / Taiwan News / Edited by Tina Lee 編輯李美儀 Translated by Steven Marsh 英文翻譯馬強

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At the end of last year, Russia raised the price of natural gas it piped into Ukraine, setting off a dispute between the two nations. The dispute involved the supply of Russian natural gas other European nations receive through Ukraine as well as the western leanings of that nation's new president, who felt that the price increase involved the question of Ukrainian independence. That is why international mediation was called for to quell the Russian-Ukraine energy source dispute. This quarrel has once again brought the strategically important country situated between Russia and the European Union to the world's attention.

去年底俄國欲調升輸往烏克蘭之天然氣價格而引發的兩國爭議，由於波及俄羅斯輸往歐洲各國天然氣供應與烏克蘭新任總統之親西立場，以及其認為此次天然氣價格糾紛涉及烏克蘭國家獨立問題，並呼籲國際介入調停，使得俄國與烏克蘭之間的能源爭議，再次挑起國際間對於這個位於歐盟與俄羅斯間，深具地緣政經意義與特殊性的國家之關注。

The dispute raised concerns in many circles, but Russia and Ukraine finally announced an agreement on natural gas prices on January 4. There was still, however, plenty to contend with afterwards. The Ukraine parliament was not pleased with the negotiated price settlement with Russia and passed a vote of no confidence against the current government that negotiated it. EU member states, well aware that there is need for more diversified energy sources, began looking for alternatives to Russian natural gas in order to lessen their reliance on imports and lower potential risks. Poland, one of the EU's biggest nations, has already begun negotiating with Norway to supply new sources of energy. This seems to indicate that the natural gas price dispute has begun to spur other issues related to the problem of energy sources.

儘管此次爭議在各界的關切下，最終在今年一月四日由俄羅斯和烏克蘭宣佈，兩國就天然氣價格糾紛達成協議後落幕。然而，事實上卻還在餘波盪漾，例如：烏克蘭國會由於不滿政府與俄羅斯就天然氣價格問題所達成之協議，通過

了對現任政府的不信任案；歐盟各國意識到能源供應多元化之重要，開始尋找除俄羅斯之外的能源供應來源，以茲降低進口依賴和分散風險，如：歐洲最大國家之一波蘭，已經開始向挪威的能源供應商接洽談判。故此次天然氣價格爭議所引發之相關能源議題才該開始發酵。

Key to Ukrainian economic development?reliance on energy source imports

烏克蘭經濟發展之關鍵--能源依賴進口問題

Whether the Russian natural gas company Gazprom raised prices for the reasons the Ukrainian government is accusing it of, or for the reasons the U.S. State Department is saying, the move by Russia to raise prices and cut off supplies has many people believing Moscow is using energy to exert political pressure. Russia's motivation here is not merely economic in hopes of raising natural gas prices to a level equal to that on the international market, there is more of a political background to its objectives. Moscow wants to punish the winners of the Orange Revolution in Ukraine that toppled the government that was friendlier to Russia with one that chose a more western-leaning policy. Most certainly there are some discrepancies in prices that Russia is offering the independent nations that broke away from the Soviet Union. As Ukraine has pointed out, Belarus, the country still within Russia's system with the closest ties to Moscow, gets its natural gas from Russia for US\$46 per thousand cubic meters, with Georgia and Armenia receiving similarly low prices. In contrast, like Ukraine, Moldova leans toward western alliances and, due to the fact that it refused to pay US\$160 for the same 1,000 cubic meters of natural gas, also had its supplies cut off. Based on this obvious disparate treatment, it is no wonder that many circles are harboring suspicions about Russia's behavior.

無論俄羅斯國營天然氣公司的此波漲價是否如烏克蘭政府所指控或美國國務院所解讀的：俄國一次調高價格及切斷供應之決定，令人聯想到其是在利用能源來施加政治壓力。俄國的目的並非單純地僅是經濟動機，希望將天然氣價格調至與國際市場價格相當之價位，而是有其政治背景，即是在對烏克蘭橙色革命推翻親莫斯科政府，而選擇親西方政策的一種懲罰。的確，由於俄國目前供應從原蘇聯獨立出來的各國之天然氣價格是相當分歧，例如：烏克蘭指出，與俄羅斯整合程度最深，關係最密切之盟友白俄羅斯，其購買俄羅斯天然氣的價格是每千立方米 46 美元，而格魯吉亞和亞美尼亞也是付出較低價格。相反的，同烏克蘭一樣，較具親西方色彩的摩爾多瓦，亦因為拒絕支付每千立方米 160 美元的價格，其天然氣供應也被截斷。基於這種明顯性的差別待遇，難怪會引來各界對俄國此次行為的質疑與猜測。

Whatever Russia's motivation, this natural gas price dispute only accentuates Ukraine's excessive reliance on Moscow for its energy supply. The energy problem, however, is just one in the long list of many Ukraine has with Russia. There are the problems of national defense, foreign debt, the Black Sea Fleet and nuclear weapons that have been points of contention between the two sides since Ukraine became independent. This has led to the Ukrainian government looking into ways to find a more ideal economic plan through some policy changes. Vladimir V. Dem'yanov, an economic aid to the former Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma, set forth the first guidelines that have become specific expressions of this ideology. The plan stated that Ukraine should avoid relying on economic cooperation with members of the former Soviet Union and should especially rid itself of reliance on economic cooperation with Russia. The plan also called for better utilizing the economic resources Ukraine has within its own borders, including abundant natural resources, a developed industrial base and its limitless technological potential. The hope is to establish a completely autonomous economy that could exert its power internationally.

不過，事實上無論俄國的動機如何，此次天然氣價格糾紛證明出烏克蘭能源供應過分依賴俄羅斯之現實與問題。烏克蘭的能源問題其實是其來有自，自從其獨立初期，由於在國防、外債、黑海艦隊、核武等問題與莫斯科嫌隙不斷，促使政府在研擬經改政策之際，即出現一種經濟理想主義的憧憬。前總統克拉夫楚克的經濟助理杰梅利亞諾夫所提出的第一個經濟綱領，就是這種理想主義的具體表現。這個方案旨在強調烏克蘭應當避免依靠過去蘇聯加盟共和國間的經濟合作關係，特別是要脫離對俄國的經濟依賴；善用烏克蘭境內的經濟資源：豐富的自然資源、發達的工業、無窮的科技潛能等，來建立起國家完整的自主經濟體，對外爭取經濟自主和表現自己的經濟實力。

This idealism, however, has all but broken Ukraine off from the economic cooperation system in place among the newly independent nations of the former Soviet Union. Now the economic order is in chaos; factories are no longer supplied with cheap minerals and energy sources, which have led to higher production costs and lower production output. The Ukrainian economy has taken a substantial downfall that has resulted in reduced tax revenues for the government as well. The industries inherited by Ukraine from the Soviet era require massive amounts of energy. Consequently, due to the structure Ukrainian industry and its enormous need for energy, the nation has incurred increasing amounts of foreign debt, as it is unable to meet demands domestically and turns to the outside to fulfill them. Ukraine's energy sources come mainly from Russia and Turkmenistan. Thus, while Ukraine goes through the process of establishing a new economic system, pursuing economic autonomy and developing

national industry, it has been facing the problem of insufficient energy sources. In undergoing an economic paradigm shift, Ukraine has tried to lessen its reliance on importing natural gas to avert an energy crisis by increasing oil and natural gas drilling, but the results have been mixed. Since Ukraine has become independent, the dependence on energy sources from the outside has been a hindrance to economic development.

然而，此理想主義卻使烏克蘭和原蘇聯各共和國間的經濟合作體系幾乎完全中斷，經濟秩序紊亂，工廠因失去了廉價的礦物和能源供應，導致生產成本提高，生產每況愈下，經濟大幅衰退，政府稅收也因此減少。加上烏克蘭從蘇聯時代繼承下來的工業部門多是些能源需求量大、動力消耗量大的產業。工業結構偏向能源動力需求量的產業，在能源消耗量大自給率又低的情況下，能源供應的對外依賴性越來越高，引發能源外債節節高升。能源主要來自俄羅斯及土庫曼。因此，烏克蘭在建立新經濟制度，追求經濟自主，發展民族工業的過程中，就曾經面臨能源動力不足的窘境。雖然，烏克蘭在其經濟轉型過程中，亦曾試圖增加石油天然氣開採，以解決烏克蘭依賴天然氣貿易之能源危機，但成效不彰。故從烏克蘭獨立以來，能源依賴進口問題就是其經濟發展上一個既存的障礙與關鍵。

This natural gas price dispute might be considered the impetus for Ukraine to face up to the problem it has with economic development energy sources. According to the new agreement, Ukraine will pay US\$95 per thousand cubic meters of natural gas from the Rosukrenergo Company, which will provide supplies from Russia and Central Asia. Ukraine will receive an extra 47 percent fee, though, for Russia to use its pipe system to continue supplying natural gas to Europe. This helps Russia to ensure stable supplies to Europe and is the major reason for Russia made a concession on price after initially insisting on US\$230 per thousand cubic meters. The price originally charged before the dispute was US\$50. Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko described it as a victory for his country because Ukraine did not act according to Russia's demands. So on the surface, it seemed that Ukraine had used its geopolitical advantage of being situated between Russia and Europe to resolve the dispute. In point of fact, however, Ukraine still has ended up paying nearly double the original price for imported Russian natural gas, which is of course to its disadvantage.

此次天然氣價格調升的爭議，可說是再次逼迫烏克蘭去正視和面對其經濟發展的能源問題。根據新協議，烏克蘭今後將以每千立方米 95 美元的價格，從「俄烏天然氣公司」購入俄羅斯與中亞混合的天然氣。雖然與此同時，烏克蘭亦將額外獲得 47% 的費用，作為俄羅斯使用其管道輸送天然氣到歐洲之收費。這也

是俄羅斯為了確保對歐洲供應的穩定，因而從原本堅持的天然氣價格由每千立方米 50 美元提升到 230 美元，作了退讓的關鍵因素。表面上，如同烏克蘭總統尤申科所表示的：「這是烏克蘭的勝利，因為烏克蘭未按照俄羅斯的要求去做」。烏克蘭似乎又再次成功地善用其位於歐俄間之特殊地緣政經優勢化解了這次的爭議。不過，事實上，烏克蘭仍然是以原來近兩倍的高額價格從俄羅斯進口天然氣，這使烏克蘭處於不利地位。

Preliminary estimates have Ukrainian gross domestic product dropping 5 percent overall due to the price hike, which could bring about severe inflation of over 30 percent. As Ukraine's major industrial base is located in its southern and eastern regions, the drastic increase in natural gas prices will most likely lead to large-scale unemployment in the nation's chemical and steel industries. This means that the energy source problem will continue to plague Ukraine's overall employment and related industrial development.

因為，首先，一般預估烏克蘭的國家生產總值將因此下降 5%，並可能引發高達 30% 的嚴重通貨膨脹。烏克蘭主要工業基地都位於南部和東部地區，天然氣價格飆升將在這些地區的化工業和鋼鐵業企業造成大規模的失業，故能源問題勢必仍繼續影響烏克蘭的就業和相關工業發展。

A third of Ukraine's annual natural gas is still supplied by Russia. The likelihood of natural gas prices rising again in six months is very high, which means another dispute could also very likely play out. Recent surges in global energy prices, however, mean that the terms of trade aren't likely to become any more attractive elsewhere. This in turn will necessitate that Ukraine will still have to pay a heavy price even if it wants to diversify energy source imports. Consequently, it seems that Ukraine has no alternative but to continue relying on Russian energy supplies, at least in the short term. The present solution could be to cut down on consumption or substitute coal for oil to reduce energy demands. In the long run, Ukraine still must accelerate the pace of improving on its economic structure by reducing the reliance the overall economy has on industries that consume a great deal of energy. Efforts should be directed toward developing other industries that can benefit economic development and help Ukraine get to the root of its energy reliance problem.

其次，烏克蘭每年三分之一的天然氣，仍然是由俄羅斯供應。天然氣價格半年後再次上漲的機會相當高，能源價格飆漲爭議很可能再次重演。不過，最近世界能源價格的上漲，使得貿易條件惡化，烏克蘭想要分散能源進口來源，其所必須付出的代價亦不低，故對烏克蘭而言，短期間依賴俄國能源供應似乎是別

無選擇之決定，現在烏克蘭唯有儘量節流；或改以煤來替代石油，以茲減少對能源之需求；但長期而言，烏克蘭仍需加速改善其經濟結構，減少耗能源產業佔其國家總體經濟之比重，另闢有利於其經濟發展的比較優勢產業，才是根本解決之道。

This stalemate between the Ukraine and Russia has served to stir deep consideration in all circles of Ukraine over its energy source problem and economic development. It has also shown the fragile state European nations are in regarding their natural gas supplies, as the continent relies on imports from Russia as well. Presently, one-fourth of natural gas supplies for Western Europe come from Russia, with most being piped through Ukraine and future supplies seen as rising sharply. As stated above, although the dispute between Ukraine and Russia has been shelved for the time being, it could very well play out again some time soon. This is causing worry in Europe over future energy supplies. European Union officials are hoping to force member nations to establish a natural gas reserve after a similar measure failed three years ago due to a lack of consensus. In the case of need, they then could sell their reserves to other member nations. This would only be a stopgap measure, however, as the only way to permanently deal with the problem would be for the EU to diversify its energy supply sources. Although Russia is presently the EU's primary channel for energy supplies, this dispute has raised even more vigilance on the continent toward its giant neighbor to the east. EU member nations are worried over the long-term stability and security of their supplies, especially Germany which relies on Russia for 30 percent of its natural gas. Consequently, talks between Ukraine and EU member states are presently centered around how to secure long-term natural gas supplies for Europe and energy-related issues.

此次俄羅斯與烏克蘭的能源僵持與爭議，除了讓烏克蘭各界深思其國家之能源問題與經濟發展議題外，亦突顯出歐洲國家現階段天然氣供應方面之脆弱，以及歐陸對俄國提供的進口天然氣依賴之事實。目前西歐國家的天然氣供應有約四分一來自俄羅斯，而其中大部分需經過一條橫跨烏克蘭的管道供應，未來有關的供應仍將急劇提高。然而，如上文所述，此次俄羅斯和烏克蘭之天然氣價格糾紛，雖暫時化解，但能源價格爭議很可能再發生，因此，歐洲國家對未來能源供應仍感憂心。故歐盟官員重提三年前因各成員國意見不和導致失敗的儲備計畫，再次希望能夠強迫各成員國設立天然氣儲備，在有必要的情況下可以將儲備出售給其他成員國。但這僅是治標的處置，治本之道仍必須促使歐盟能源供應來源多元化。雖然俄國能源供應是歐盟各國現階段較有利的來源途徑，但此次俄國與烏克蘭之能源爭議讓原本對俄國就存有戒心的歐盟，更無法確認來自俄國的能源供應之穩定性、長久性與安全性，特別是依賴俄羅斯供應三成

天然氣的德國。因此，如何推出有關保證歐洲需要能源供應的長期策略、能源供應安全問題等相關的能源議題，勢必成為近期歐盟各國及烏克蘭各界討論重點之一。

This dispute has shown that energy supplies are not a simple one-item economic matter, as they involve the overall economic security of a nation. Any nation should search for ways to avoid uncertainty through diversifying its energy sources. Moreover, recent increased international demand for energy supplies has brought about a new geopolitical order that is largely decided on which way the oil and natural gas pipes flow and no longer on traditional treaties and diplomatic relations of the past. Battles today are fought commercially instead of militarily. Consequently, even though Russia has not been in the international market place a long time, the former military hegemon has already found a new strategy to exert its influence. Russia is showing its importance within the international economy, especially regarding the world energy source market. This makes it hard to overlook the new rise of Russia.

總之俄羅斯和烏克蘭此次的天然氣價格爭議，使人們意識到：能源供應並不是一項簡單的經濟議題，它還牽涉到一國之經濟安全。任何一個國家都應當儘量尋求能源來源之多元化，和避免能源供應之不確定性。此外，近年來國際能源需求之提升，使得新的地緣政經版圖在很大程度上取決於石油天然氣管線的具體走向，而非過去傳統的條約和外交關係。現在的爭奪多傾向於商業手段，而不是軍事手段。因此，融入國際市場才不久，但因擁有豐富資源的過去軍事霸權 - 俄羅斯，已經在國際間找到其發揮影響力之新策略，在國際經濟上，特別是在世界能源市場的地位日益凸顯出其重要性，俄國重新崛起之發展趨勢是不容忽視的。