

Abstract

The paper clearly shows that Russia has been diversifying its export routes during past 20 years, in order to by-pass third countries and to avoid paying additional transportation fees. The overall Russian export capacities of oil and gas are increasing, but in the same time the export volumes are stagnant. In case of oil transportation, pipelines are progressively substituted by sea transport, which enables Russia to participate on the world market. Situation with gas is different. Despite increasing export capacity Russia nowadays export almost the same amount of gas to the same locations as it did in 1990. It means that if there is any political or economical pressure it is laid against transition countries, which can be substituted, rather than against importing countries. Russian economical gains from export are following increasing oil and gas prices. To make the gains even higher, Russia initiated transition to world gas prices in the CIS countries as well as at the domestic market.

To support the hypothesis of this thesis that primary goal of Russia is to increase its economical gains rather than to strengthen its political leverage, it is important to mention that majority of energy disputes of past twenty years were ignited by quarrel over prices and were settled by trade agreement. The only dispute with significant governmental participation and political solution was that one between Russia and Ukraine in 2009/2010.

The “increasing” fear of the EU about energy insecurity is not based on increasing dependency on Russian energy resources, because the dependence is decreasing. The real initiator is the EU itself. It realized higher dependence on Russia along with its east enlargement in 2004, or better said, the newly accessed states were forced to implement new rules of energy security and the media misinterpreted the events. The notion of insecurity was increased by the disputes between Russia and Belarus/Ukraine. In fact not much has changed during past 20 years in the matter of energy security of the newly accessed states. And if there were any changes, they rather improved energy security of these states. Based on data analysis presented in this thesis, it is obvious that Russia prefers its economical rise to political one. On the other hand Russia does not abandon idea of creating political pressure derived from its energy hegemony, if it is economically reasonable. But economy seems to be first.