

## **Energy policy of the Russian Federation considering Belarus and Ukraine in the years 2000-2012.**

The dissertation consists of four chapters preceded by the introduction and ending, each chapter contains sub-chapters. The dissertation also contains the specific literature that was used when writing the dissertation.

The first chapter is a description of the theoretical layer of the process and the phenomenon of security as well as the answer to the question about what energy security is. It is extremely important to present the genesis of the process which is energy policy and its development over the changing historical realities, change of meaning and the manner of implementation. The chapter presents the multidimensionality of energy security, which must be analyzed and tested in three dimensions. The chapter also indicates issues related to the mining of the reserves and the level of reserves in terms of energy resources. It is impossible to omit the issues related to the European Union in the chapter as the largest recipient and consumer of natural gas supplied by the Russian Federation.

The second chapter deals with the creation of the foundations of modern energy policy conducted by the Russian Federation. It presents the genesis and historical background of changes that shaped the current image of this sector from the 1950s until the end of the first decade of the 21st century. It is necessary to bring closer the situation related to the change of the political system and the end of the functioning of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the takeover of activities by a legal successor in the international arena in the form of the newly formed Russian Federation. The chapter presents the significance of the reforms that took place in the transformed, from the Ministry of Gas Industry, a monopolist and giant in the international arena in the form of Gazprom. Not without significance are the names of dissidents of the Russian economic sector, through which the "reformat" resulting in transformations on the foundations of a free market economy took place in the Russian Federation. The chapter describes the beginning of the latest history of the Russian Federation, which began with the election of Vladimir Putin to the resident office. Specific centralization activities strengthening the energy and economic sector under central governments were indicated. In the next part of the chapter, the Northern Gas Pipeline project is described, which is a description of an extremely important, as well as not necessarily beneficial for all interested parties, investments. The sub-chapter raises and emphasizes the terms of agreement and project implementation. A very important aspect is the omission of transit states for the purpose, as indicated by the Russian Federation, to ensure uninterrupted, uninterrupted and continuous supply of gas to Western Europe. The implementation of the investment may be described as the victory of Vladimir Putin considering the scale of the difficulties and the cost associated with the

project. The fact that it is necessary to eliminate the fears and reservations of the state that did not express any optimism related to the investment is also significant. On the basis of the sub-chapter, the process of diversifying the source of natural gas transit is finalized, excluding transit states, such as Belarus and Ukraine. On the basis of the Energy Strategy of the Russian Federation, by 2020 the realities of conducting energy policy by the Russian Federation are described, it is presented in an overview of how Russia defines, shapes and receives energy security issues. The chapter is an attempt to develop the threads presented in previous chapters, an attempt to concretize and demonstrate differences or convergences between the way and style of conducting energy policy by President Vladimir Putin and the successor Dmitry Medvedev. As the practice of change shows, if it occurred, rely on the image modification of the ways of acting and warming the image while continuing the line outlined when establishing Gazprom together with the following system change in 1991.

The third chapter describes the political relations with the Republic of Belarus as one of the main recipients and consumers of fossil fuels exported by the Russian Federation. Geopolitical conditions related to the location of Belarus and the causes and course of conflicts that took place between the Republic of Belarus and the Energy Federation on the basis of energy policy were described. The role of Belarus as a transit state and the associated challenges and threats are presented. The rhetoric of the client's attitude and its impact on the economy, political power and possibilities of influence by the aforementioned state and organization are presented. The situation related to the long rule of the President of Belarus, Alexander Lukashenka, and the realities governing the relations between states as well as the internal conditions of the energy and natural gas market in Belarus have been described. The chapter also describes the process associated with the takeover of transmission and transit networks belonging to the state Beltransgaz by the Russian Federation.

The fourth chapter is an attempt to describe bilateral relations between the Russian Federation and Ukraine. Not without significance is the fact of the specific conditions of government in Ukraine and complicated relations related, similarly as in the previous chapter, to contracts signed, which are not always equal in nature and the client position of the recipient states. This situation is related to the fact that the recipient, by skillfully playing energy policy using the weapon owned by the producer, is disciplined with its help and targeted in order to realize the interests of the supplier, which is often associated with losses on the part of the recipient. It is also worth noting the fact of an intermediary system in trade and trading in fossil fuels, which finds its source in the domestic market of Ukraine. This chapter attempts to answer the question of whether the recipient countries can be referred to as hostages of the energy game.

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