

Specifics of Gas Relations between the Czech Republic and the Russian Federation.

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Abstract.

The issue of the commercial gas relations between the European Union and Russia remains one of the most discussable topics, especially taking into consideration the fact, that such relations are regulated by the bilateral treaties between each EU member state and Russia. Even though the recent legal trends of the EU in the gas sector are directed to cover bilateral relations between each member state and Russia as a gas –exporter, however each EU member state has its own history of relations. The article analyzes the case of the Russian-Czech gas relations, the issue of interconnection between the monopolist gas producer and supplier from the one side, and the state- receiver and transit-state from the other.

Keywords.

Russian Czech gas relations, EU energy sector, gas sector, EU-Russia energy cooperation, CEE gas market, VVVI

Introduction.

The issue of regulation of energy relations on the international level occurred and lasts for more than a half of century. It is arguably the most relevant and at the same time unclear issue in the international law among various politicians, lawyers and scholars. All of them are debating about the future legal perspectives of such sensitive issue as energy commercial relations. Energy interdependence is not limited by the state-supplier and state - receiver, in that chain, is also important but sometimes neglected links as state-producer, state-transit, state-distributor.

The scope of this article related to analyzing the case of the Russian-Czech gas relations, the issue of interconnection between the monopolist gas producer and supplier from

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the one side, and the state- receiver and transit-state from the other. Interconnection of each is clear, but unstable and could be deformed or even destroyed due to the political situation by one of the actors, and therefore harm the welfare of the final individual consumer. As any other international legal relation between the states, the relations in the energy sphere have the direct impact on the citizens.

The energy area is a strategic field of the state power, and business with energy requires not just financial means, knowledge and certain position on the market, but also the credibility of the involved participants. Thus, it is not surprising, that only a few companies became dominant leaders in this market. Although there is always a threat, that the dominant company will abuse its power. The author will attempt to analyze possible opportunities and alternatives for the Central Eastern European state, as the Czech Republic, through discussion on the legal framework and historical background of the existing commercial relations in the gas sector with the Russian Federation. The aim of this paper will thus concentrate on characterizing the legal framework of commercial gas relations between the Czech Republic and Russian Federation.

The Russia and EU, particularly Czech, commercial gas relations are developing dynamically, at the same time interdependence between gas exports and gas importers is growing too. Thus, there is a need for adequate and covering all requirements, of both actors, legal rules, in order to effectively enhance the EU-Russia energy relations. To achieve the completeness of research will be implemented the epistemological methodology.

The structure of the article is following: the first chapter will analyze the mutual cooperation in the energy sector between the European Union and the Russian Federation. Will be discussed the aims of the European energy policy, and historical background of energy cooperation of mentioned representatives. Then will be evaluated the situation on the gas market of the Central Eastern European states – EU members.

The second chapter will be analyzing the specifics of the gas relations between the Czech Republic and the Russian Federation, including the position and experience of the Czech Republic, through its presidency in different organizations, in the issue of the energy security, and its success as the mediator. Further will be an observation of legal framework and importance of the bilateral gas relations with Russia provided. Then, in two final sections would be offered the opportunities brought by existing gas relations to the Czech Republic and alternatives it can rely on.

It needs to be stressed that in this paper the political aspect is excluded.

1.1. EU – Russia mutual cooperation in the energy sector.

The attempts to regulate energy relations inside the European region, particularly predecessor of the European Union – European Coal and Steel community - has started in the early 1950s, and still continues. In 2007 in the Treaty of Lisbon was included a new section on the regulation of energy. In the year 2016 was established the Energy Union. The principles of the EU energy law are based on the Energy Charter Treaty. Primary law within the EU in the field of energy regulates the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU (TFEU), part III, title XXI, article 194, the Energy Policy. It includes three major dimensions of the EU common energy policy, outlined in the White Book on energy policy in 1996:

1. Security of supply;
2. Competitiveness,
3. Environmental protection. [1]

The proved gas reserves on the territory of the European Union are only 4% out of the world reserves. It needs the EU satisfies by buying gas from state-producers. According to the European Commission, 53% of the EU consumption depends on imports. At the same time, the EU's import dependency on natural gas is up to 66% [2] Eurostat' data provides following information about the natural gas supply in EU: besides supplied gas from Russia Federation - over30%, gas supplied through the pipeline 28% - from Norway, also liquified natural gas supplied by spot transactions13% - from Algeria, 11% - from Qatar, 5% from Nigeria, and 13% from the other states. It should be mentioned, that these data are for the whole European Union, for its 28 member-states.[3] States of Central and Eastern Europe are gas-deficit.

Being a major gas supplier, through its state-owned company Gazprom, the Russian Federation, following its economic interest, attempts to dictate its conditions and prices for the state-receivers. Functioning as a single entity the European Union on the other side is looking the ways not to be dependent only on one unstable supplier, by creating the field for alternative suppliers, alternative energy sources, and adopting its legislation in order to fulfill its aims of the competitive energy market.

Therefore - binding the participants on the EU market to follow the regulations, in order to stay there. The situation is deepened by the factor that legal relations in the energy,

particularly gas sector lie in two levels: in the level of bilateral agreements between RF and each EU member-state on energy, particularly gas, supplies, and the bilateral framework agreement with the EU as a single entity.

The first agreements with the EU, as a single block, were signed in the 1990s, after the disintegration of the USSR. Some scholars allure the Energy Charter Treaty, however as it is not ratified by the Russian Federation, and provisions of the treaty are mostly used as the frame rules in energy commercial relations, and mostly by the side of the EU, in opinion of the author it can be hardly recognized as an adequate legally binding basis. The first and only one legal approved long-term cooperation between Russia and the EU is bilateral agreement – Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation (PCA) signed in 1994 (entered into force in 1997).[4] However, this agreement is obsolete and does not cover the energy sector.

On the international level in bilateral energy relations contributes soft law represented by the Energy Dialogues, which take place since the year 2000, and aim on enhancing the energy security and closer relationship, Energy Charter Treaty 1994, its article 29 which mandates the performance of the WTO provisions for trade in the energy sector [5], legislation of the European Union [6], the Treaty establishing Energy Community 2005 (ENCOM)[7], Energy Roadmap 2050 [8] and Energy strategies [9] of both actors. Also since 2005 the following bodies have been contributing to the relations in the energy area - Permanent Partnership Council and Gas Advisory Council which are responsible for the development of the long-term EU-Russia cooperation.

The relations with particular European Union member state have started far before. For more than half a century USSR and then Russia has been an efficient gas supplier to the Europe. The latter was politically and economically divided in two blocks till the 1990s, and before that time to the comradely block to the Soviet Union were included countries of Central and Eastern Europe, moreover Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia were the part of the USSR.

The first contracts on gas supply between the Russian Federation, respectively its historical and legal predecessor – the Soviet Union, with the European states were signed with the Central Eastern European states, which at that time were members as “Eastern Block” of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Export deliveries of Russian gas began in the mid-1940s to Poland. The agreements with western European states followed signing the “contract of the century”, also called as “deal gas-pipelines” between the USSR and German

company Ruhrgas in 1970, under which was paved the way for the Soviet gas to Europe. Thus was laid the framework for cooperation “infrastructure and money in exchange for gas”.

1.2. CEE gas market.

The Central European gas market is especially important to Russia due to its geographical proximity. Russian gas accounts about 3/5 of gas consumption in this region. In 2009, Gazprom export exported 36 billion m³, and major importers are Poland – 9,02 billion, Hungary – 7,6 billion, the Czech republic – 6,44 billion, Slovakia – 5,43 billion m³. To these countries are being exported more than 70% of the Russian gas exports to central Europe [10].

However, the price these states should pay for Russian gas is one of the highest in the whole EU. According to the data of European energy portal, only Bulgaria and Baltic states⁷ are buying Russian natural gas at higher prices. The logic is based on the existence, or in that case absence of alternatives or competitors in that level of the market. Gazprom, as a company, put to the aim the maximization of profits and dictated the price policy in the states of the Central Eastern Europe.

In 2012 European Commission initiated an investigation against Gazprom, as it may breach the article 102 of the Treaty of Functioning the European Union, after receiving a claim from eight EU member-states – Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Czech Republic, Slovak Republic, Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria, has started the investigation against Gazprom. The Russian company is suspected anti-competitive practices in Central and Eastern Europe. First, Gazprom may have divided gas markets by hindering the free flow of gas across the Member States. Second, it may have prevented the diversification of supply of gas. Finally, a company may have imposed unfair prices on its customers by linking the price of gas to oil prices.

There is no issued a decision yet, but if violations will be proven, Gazprom will be fined 10 percent of annual turnover. But what are the consequences for those states themselves? Will be any change for the prices in the future? Will the Russian company in order to restore its loss put other costs on the initial price? Should be noted that even now due several factors and an auspicious situation in the gas market as increased LNG supplies, and therefore competitiveness, developing of the internal EU market with the Third energy package regulation, and including above mentioned investigation by European Commission, Gazprom has already reviewed its pricing policy.

On the other hand, this investigation had a significant impact on the business relations between Gazprom and European companies - gas importers. A wave of arbitration processes has launched between Gazprom and Czech branch of RWE Transgas, or Austrian Erdgas Import Salzburg in International Chamber of Commerce in Vienna, with Polish company PGNiG in Arbitration Institute of the Stockholm Chamber of Commerce, and also with German E.ON.[11]

Those undertakings were and are claiming against the take-or-pay clauses. This obligation stipulates that consumer should pay the contracted amount of gas, even if this amount was not taken.

Despite the principle *pacta sunt servanta* or the fact of fulfilling the provisions written in the contract, namely “clauses forbidding unilateral termination of a contract (except for prolonged force majeure)”, European arbitration courts take the “non-Gazprom” side.

Being a pioneer in these arbitration processes, the Czech company RWE Transgas in 2012 won a lawsuit with Gazprom on² the obligation take-or-pay in the International Arbitration Tribunal of the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) in Vienna. Arbitration decision found valid part of the amendment of the gas supply contract between RWE and Gazprom export, in which was indicated that the company may reduce its obligations on the taking gas on the volumes, to which the Gazprom will sell gas on the Czech market directly. RWE Transgas should not have to pay a fine.

This decision influenced the similar claims by Gazprom partners. Based on this and further decisions, due to a recalculation of contracts Gazprom had to return about 2 billion euros to its European partners. However, Gazprom export appealed to the Commercial Court of Vienna in 2013, than Supreme Land Court of Vienna in 2013 and Supreme Court of Austria in 2015, claiming the decision of the court of the first instance was contrary to antitrust legislation of the EU and demanding to pay the fine on contracted payments over 500 million USD on not selected gas in the period from 2008 to 2011, however, all appeals were denied. [12]

2. Specifics of gas relations between Czech Republic and Russian Federation.

2.1. Czech Republic in issue of energy security.

With the entry into the European Union in 2004, the Czech Republic had amended important laws in the field of energy so as it will match with the EU laws. The Czech legislation nowadays responds the EU policy, by implementing and adopting EU regulations to the national law. Also, reflecting the EU energy policy, the Czech State energy concept defines the aims and priorities for the state energy and provides a long-term perspective on objectives.

The energy policy in the Czech Republic is a competence of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, its subordinate body State Energy Inspection, and Energy Regulatory Office, which function is to coordinate the price regulation, care of consumer protection and condition of competition in the energy sector, as well as the rule of entry and operation in the energy market. Ministry of Industry and Trade of Czech Republic also provides an energy policy and strategy, through the document State energy concept of the Czech Republic, which also ensures compliance with international agreements. Besides the mentioned, the Ministry of Environment is monitoring the energy sector in the state.

During the presidency in the Council of the European Union in the beginning of 2009, the Czech Republic the first issue it should face was the gas crisis between the Russian Federation and Ukraine and connected with its importance of the energy security. The Czech Republic was successful in the role of mediator, initiating debates and dialogues in order to resolve occurred problem. The crucial edge of the energy relations again raised a question of energy insecurity due to the unreliable supplier Russia and unreliable transit state Ukraine. Interest to the formation of the common European energy policy, search for alternative suppliers and negotiations on diversification of transit routes anew occurred.

For the Czech Republic – the energy security of gas supplies is an aim of its economic prosperity or even an economic goal. The Czech Republic is not only state-receiver and consumer, where Russia is a main exporter of gas, but also as a transit state, through which Russian gas goes further to the west – to Germany. Therefore, it was repeatedly discussed by Czech analysts on the increasing energy dependence on Russia on one hand, and necessity of strengthening the policy of energy security on the other hand.

The Czech presidency in Visegrad Group in 2015-2016 was aimed at the main aspects of energy security, particularly the implementation of the Energy Union project and

cooperation within the EU, improving the internal gas market by removal legislative and regulatory barriers preventing the commercial integration of the V4 gas markets.

2.2. Legal framework of Czech-Russian gas relations.

Legal base of Russian-Czech bilateral relations counts more than 80 interstate [13], intergovernmental and interdepartmental documents, including projects on encouragement and mutual protection of investments [14], or cooperation in the field of supply and transit of Russian energy resources, signed on behalf of the USSR, the RSFSR and the Russian Federation, which is legal successor of the above mentioned on the one side and Czechoslovak socialist republic and Czech republic, as its successor on the other side.

Particular interest in the cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Czech Republic is based not only long-term stable economic relations and strategic geographical position of the last, but also the mutual orientation of the commodity export and import. The Czech Republic as more developed in the stage of finished products or equipment, whereas Russian economy is still based on the export of the natural resources.

The first gas export pipeline “Brotherhood” in 1967 was held in socialist Czechoslovakia, the Russian natural gas supplies to and through Czechoslovakia began in 1967.

Thus, beside the few agreement on the natural gas transportation through the territory of the Czech (Czechoslovak Socialist) Republic to the Western Europe from the 1970, was also agreements on the condition of stay and activity of the Czechoslovak contractor in the USSR – for the construction the objects of the gas industry (1984)[15], and on cooperation in the development Yamburg gas field and construction the main gas pipeline Yamburg [16].

Gazprom Export presently has two long-term contracts for supplying natural gas to the Czech Republic. Monopoly gas supplier to the Czech republic is the RWE Transgas , a.s., and it is the main partner of Gazprom Export in the Czech republic. A long-term contract with RWE Supply & Trading CZ a.s. (RWE Transgas) was signed in1998 and runs through to the end of 2035. Czech RWE Transgas owns RWE Gas Storage and also owned until the year 2013 an operator of gas transmission system Net4gas. Thus, the RWE is a vertically integrated structure and acts not only in the field of imports of natural gas, but also its transportation, distribution, sale in large and small volumes, and also in storage. However, it

is important to mention, in 2013 RWE sold company Net4Gas to the German insuring company Allianz and Canadian investment group Boreas.

The second supplier, in the Czech gas market since the year 2006, is VEMEX, s.r.o.,[17] with that company Gazprom export has a short-term contract relations, with a possibility of its extension up to 5 years.

Vemex can hardly be called reliable, moreover, in July 2016 it faced the investigation from the side of Czech tax authorities as it is suspected of the tax fraud, on the company bank account were frozen 0,5 billion Czech crowns.

Other gas supplier companies are settled in the Czech market in a whole account of less than 4% of all suppliers.

The operator of the gas transmission system is NET4GAS, s.r.o. – which is exclusive holder of the license of gas supply to the Czech state. This company is not just supplying gas from abroad, but also transits gas through the territory of the republic.

Should be also mentioned that Russia supplies to the Czech Republic not only natural gas via pipelines, but also liquefied natural gas, and compressed natural gas. Vemex is also a leader in the field of introducing and utilizing CNG filling stations in the Czech Republic. As of July 2016, the Czech Republic had 120 public CNG stations, 15 stations among them are owned by Gazprom Group. CNG is used as a fuel instead of gasoline, diesel, and propane. Moreover, in 2013 was established Czech - Russian consortium CNG CZ.

Russia attempts to diversify its transits. The route through the Ukraine is not the only one. As in January 2013 was put into operation the pipeline GAZELLE, with length 166 km, connecting the Czech Republic with the pipeline Nord Stream passing under the Baltic Sea, and in a north pipeline is connected with the German pipeline OPAL, which is the extension of the NordStream. In the south, this pipeline is connected to the gas system MEGAL, through which Russian gas will be supplied to the southern Germany and to France. Thus, Gazelle de facto opens the way to the north Russian gas to the South and South-East Europe. According to the Gazprom CEO, this will enhance the energy security of the Czech Republic and other European countries. The other opinion expressed representative for energy Bartuška, who claimed that any shutdown of the transit route east-west could mean also a reduction of income from transit for the Czech side, as the newly built transportation route is shorter than the previous one – means less revenue. [18]

Should be stressed that the interest of Russia in the geographical position and in the economic partner does not end on the mentioned factors of the Czech Republic being consumer and transit state, but also the field of the underground gas storage (UGS) is lucrative for the supplier. In that relation Gazprom Export, Ltd was looking for opportunities to build gas storage in the territory of the Czech Republic, and in July 2016 the first UGS was put into operation in Dambořice, the terminal in South Moravian Region. The operator of UGS is a joint venture of Gazprom export, Ltd, and company MND Ltd - Moravia Gas Storage, a.s. It is expected that this UGS will take about 12% of the gas storage capacities of the whole Czech market. Moreover, the storage is supposed to support the gas delivery to the market of Austria and Germany.

2.3. Opportunities in the gas relations with Russian Federation for the Czech Republic.

The gas relations between Russia and Czech Republic could be called special, as the cooperation is based not only on commercial transactions, but also on the integration of financial investments and direct participation in the development of infrastructure and activity of the partner.

Notwithstanding with few cutoffs (only three during the almost 50 years long-term stable Russian-Czech commercial gas relations), the Russian Federation remains the reliable partner for the Czech Republic since the 1960s. Although there are perspectives of development and enhance existing relations, what we can observe: as a construction of the new diversification routs, flexible pricing policy, new look at the old contracts, developing gas products. Although there still remains rather an uncertainty, then insecurity, in energy relations with Russia, such threats could also bring opportunities.

The Czech Republic as a transit state is not using all the privileges this status gives to it. Probably it could influence the pricing policy. On the one hand, due to asymmetric interdependence (TICHY, 2013), in the Czech-Russian relations, where the Czech Republic has less power, the influence on gas prices seems suicidal, but on the other hand, there is a potential for development.

How to use the new diversified routs which bypass the territory? Strategic position gives the possibility of entry alternative gas suppliers. Following the Energy union strategy the Czech Republic can analyze the necessity of the gas storages. Deepen cooperation inside

the Visegrad Group, especially with Poland, by using its USG and develop interconnector Strock. The renewable sources of energy are the perspective alternatives for the existing resources.

Purchase of the assets in the Czech companies by the Russian side arguably could be called as transparent, and in order to build reliable long-term relations with mutually beneficial economic cooperation, there is a need of careful analysis of the existing situation. To follow the entry of energy actors on the gas market – to avoid un-predictabilities and unfavorable conditions provided by the Russian-owned Czech companies, as Vemex. In that connection, there is also a need to develop the educational program for specialists in that sector, in order to be aware and more skillful in the market with energy.

2.4. Alternatives in the gas relations with the Russian Federation for the Czech Republic.

In 2014 occurred the gas-cutoff to the Ukrainian market, what had an impact on the whole European market. Pipeline Gazelle on the Czech-German border and gas inter connector Storck on Polish-Czech border enhanced the energy security. In order to avoid such temporary disruptions through the Ukraine, should be used the rout Nord Stream – Opal through Germany, or pipeline Jamal through Belarus and Poland.

In order to reduce dependence on energy supplies from Russia, the Czech Republic in the framework of Visegrad Group (V4) supported the completion of Southern Gas Corridor pipeline construction, by which to Europe will be supplied natural gas from Azerbaijan. This still remains one of the most undesirable international partners for the EU due to the situation on the field of human rights.

The other alternative for the states of V4 is Qatar LNG from the side of Italy. In 2016 was completed the construction of USG in Poland, Swinouscije, moreover, company PGNiG has signed a twenty-year contract with Qatari gas producer Qatar gas, and now is discussing the construction of two inter connectors from Italy to Hungary. The other potential LNG supplier is Iran.

Shale gas revolution in the USA has not remained behind, the states of V4 requested the US to expand the supply of shale gas to the Central Europe.

Conclusion.

The article examined the case of the Russian-Czech gas relations, the issue of interconnection between the monopolist gas producer and supplier from the one side, and the state- receiver and transit-state from the other. Also, characterizing the legal framework of commercial gas relations between the Czech Republic and Russian Federation

It was demonstrated, that even without adequate legal background between the European Union as a single block and Russian Federation can be effectively functioning long-term cooperation.

The section about the gas market in the Central Eastern European region analyzed the challenges and threats the states face. Also, was discussed the way of influencing the pricing policy of the company monopolist, which aim is the maximization of profits, through the provision of the antitrust investigation of the Gazprom and particular arbitration dispute with the RWE.

The section on the specifics of the Czech-Russian gas relations provided the understanding of the long-term legal background, the opportunities and the recent development of the gas sector between Russia and the Czech Republic, suggesting the alternatives for growth and enhancing energy security, even in such asymmetric interdepending reality as between mentioned actors. Also, were analyzed the experience of the Czech presidency in different organizations, and state's credibility as a member of Visegrad Group.

Even though there is a place to develop and grow, it was showed that Russia and the Czech republic are connected not only as exporter-importer of raw resource, but also as long-term partners orienting same way, and cooperating in the deeper level than just seller-buyer.

The author believes that the consumer welfare, which also depends on the stability and security of supplies, will not be used as a tool in the political clash of the parties. The author considers that this is the case when the possible political threats could be immolated, as the social costs could exceed the positive effect of the market mechanisms activity.

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