

Ukraine's Energy Security: Making Progress?

Ukraine's Quest for Mature Nation Statehood Special Edition Roundtable:
Providing a Pre 2012 Parliamentary Elections Report Card

Washington, D.C., September 20, 2012

Jonas Grätz, Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich

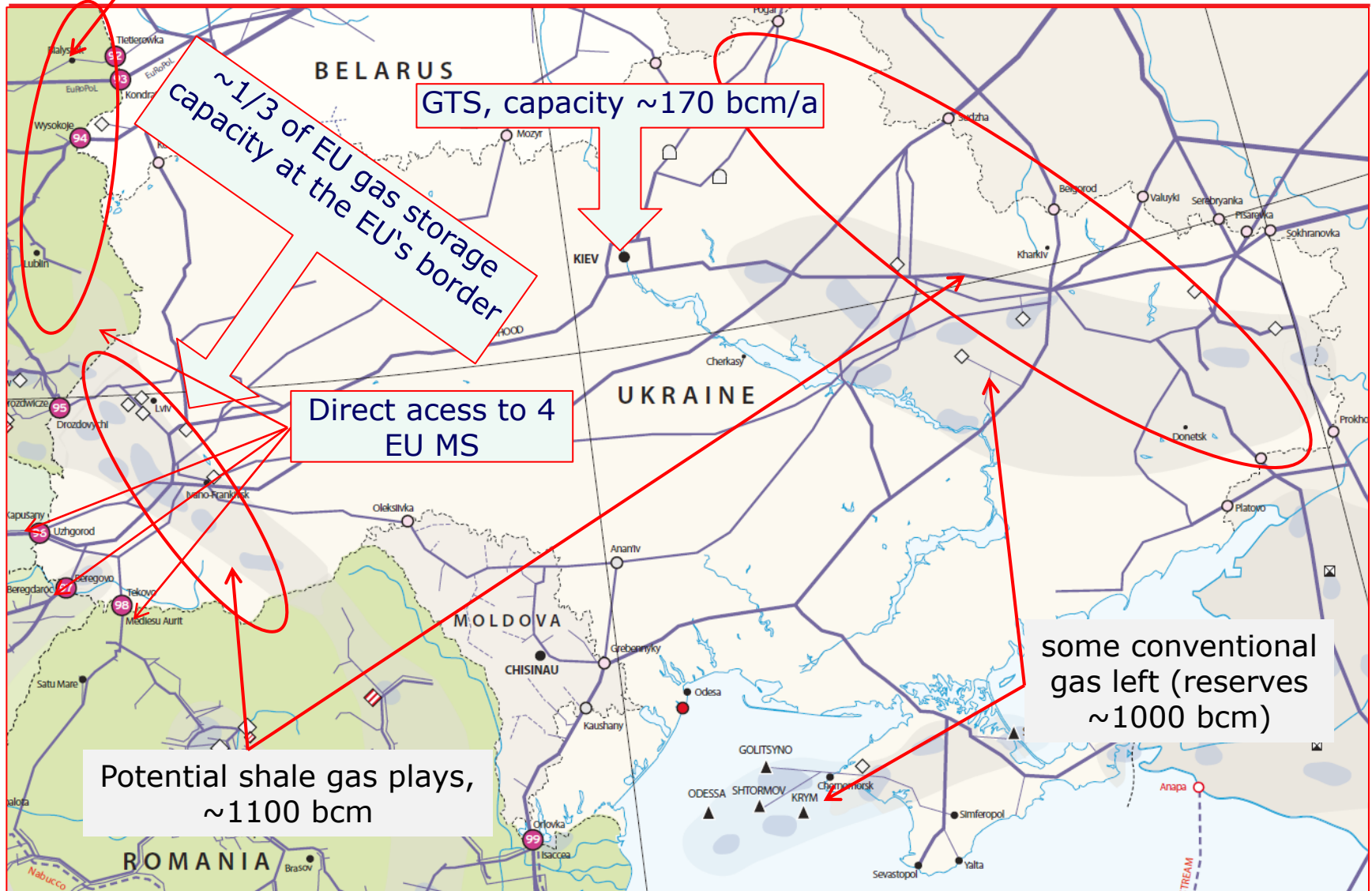
1. taking stock:

- ! what are Ukraine's assets and vulnerabilities?
- ! Russian strategies and vulnerabilities

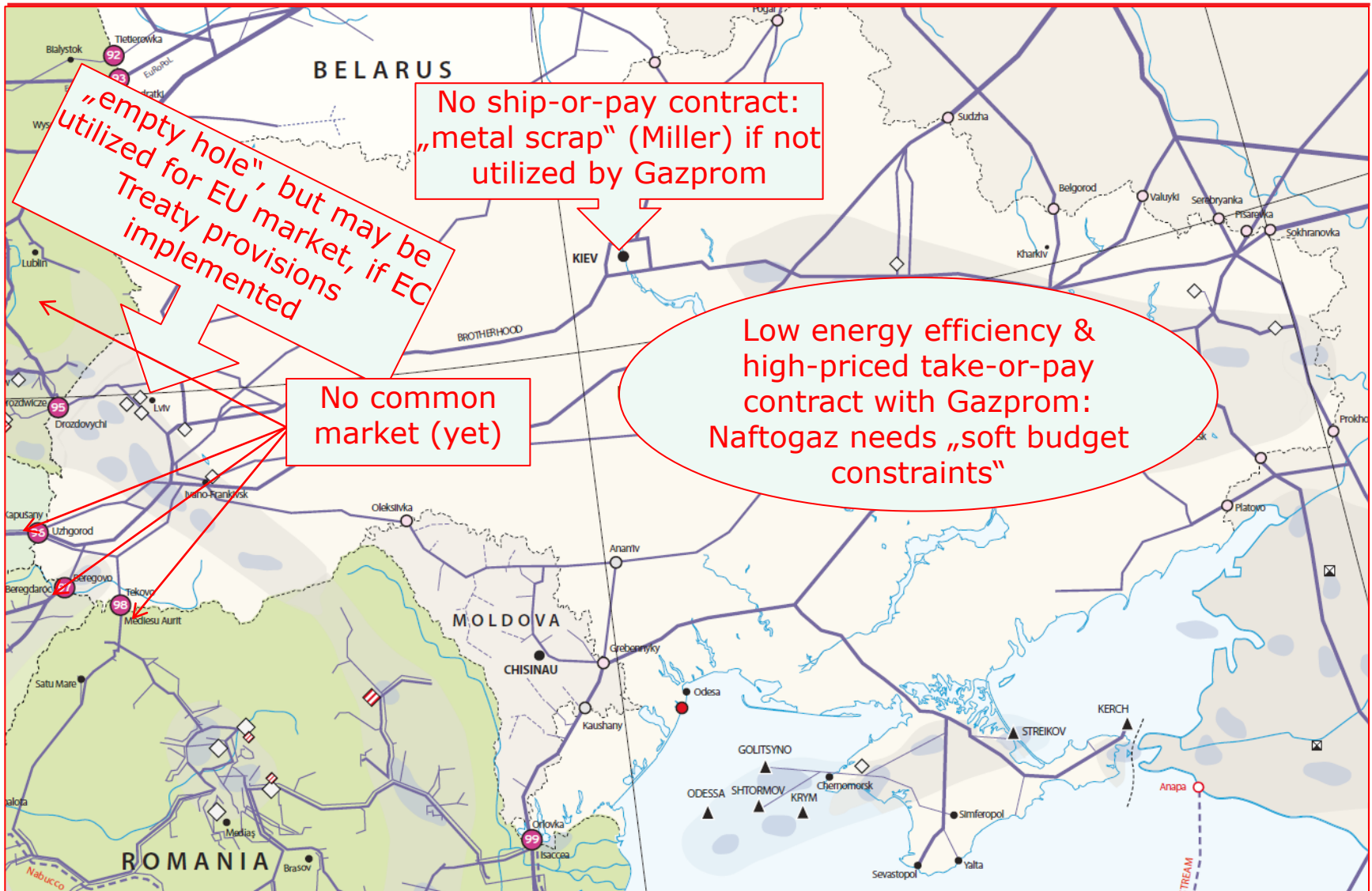
2. What has been done by Ukraine under Yanukovich?

Polish shale gas?

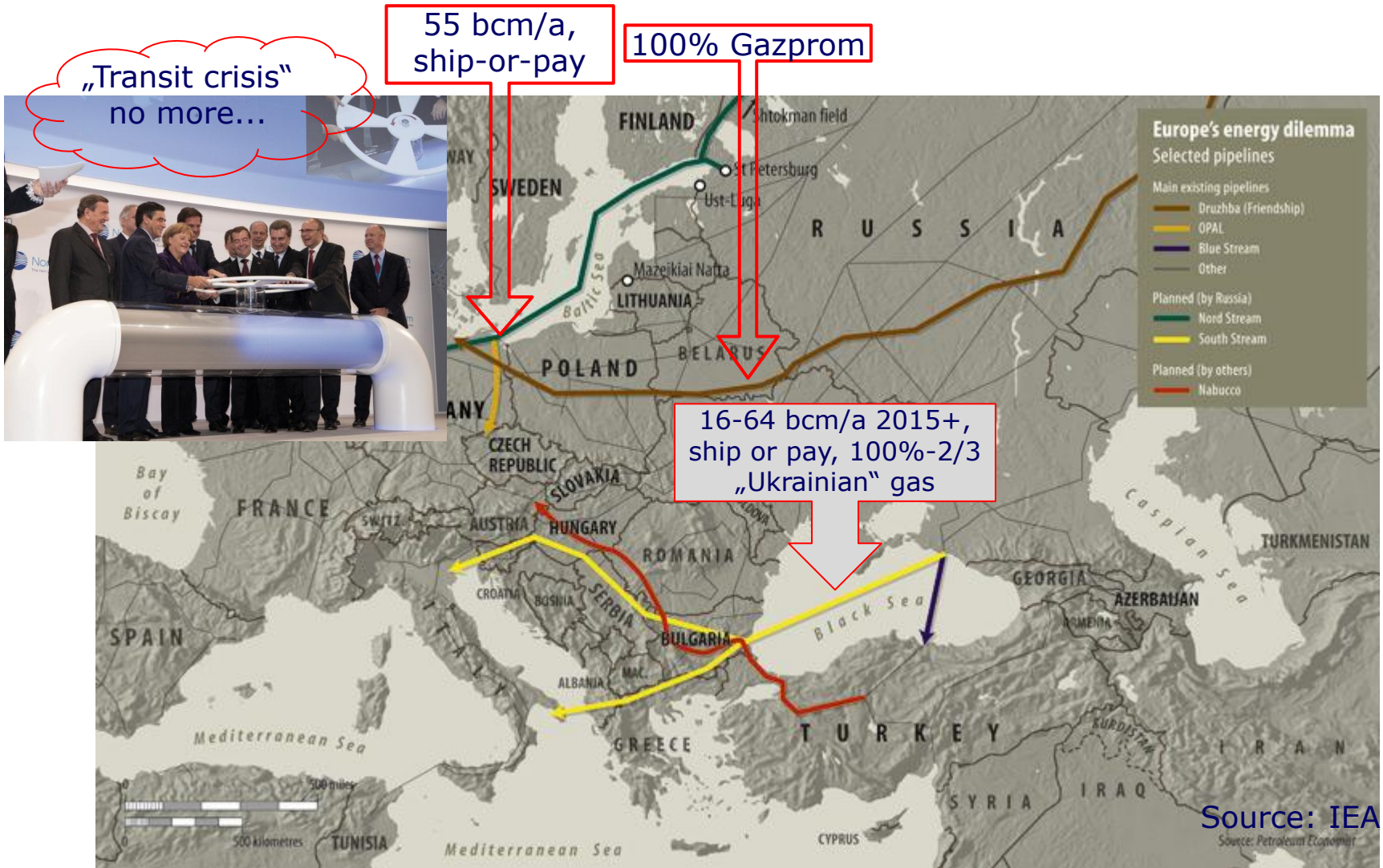
Ukraine's assets



Ukraine's vulnerabilities: dependence on Russia



Russian incentives / manipulation of context

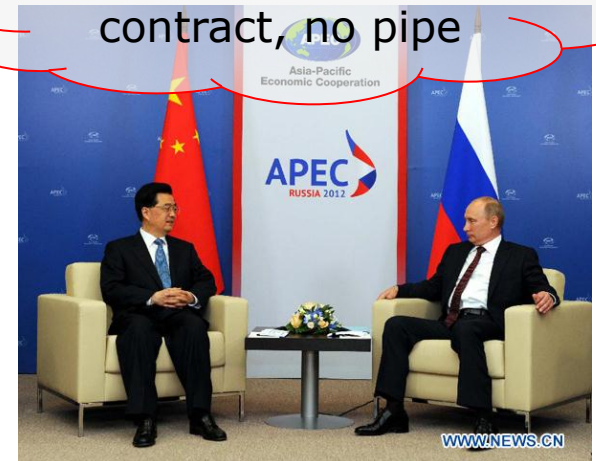


But: Russia is also vulnerable

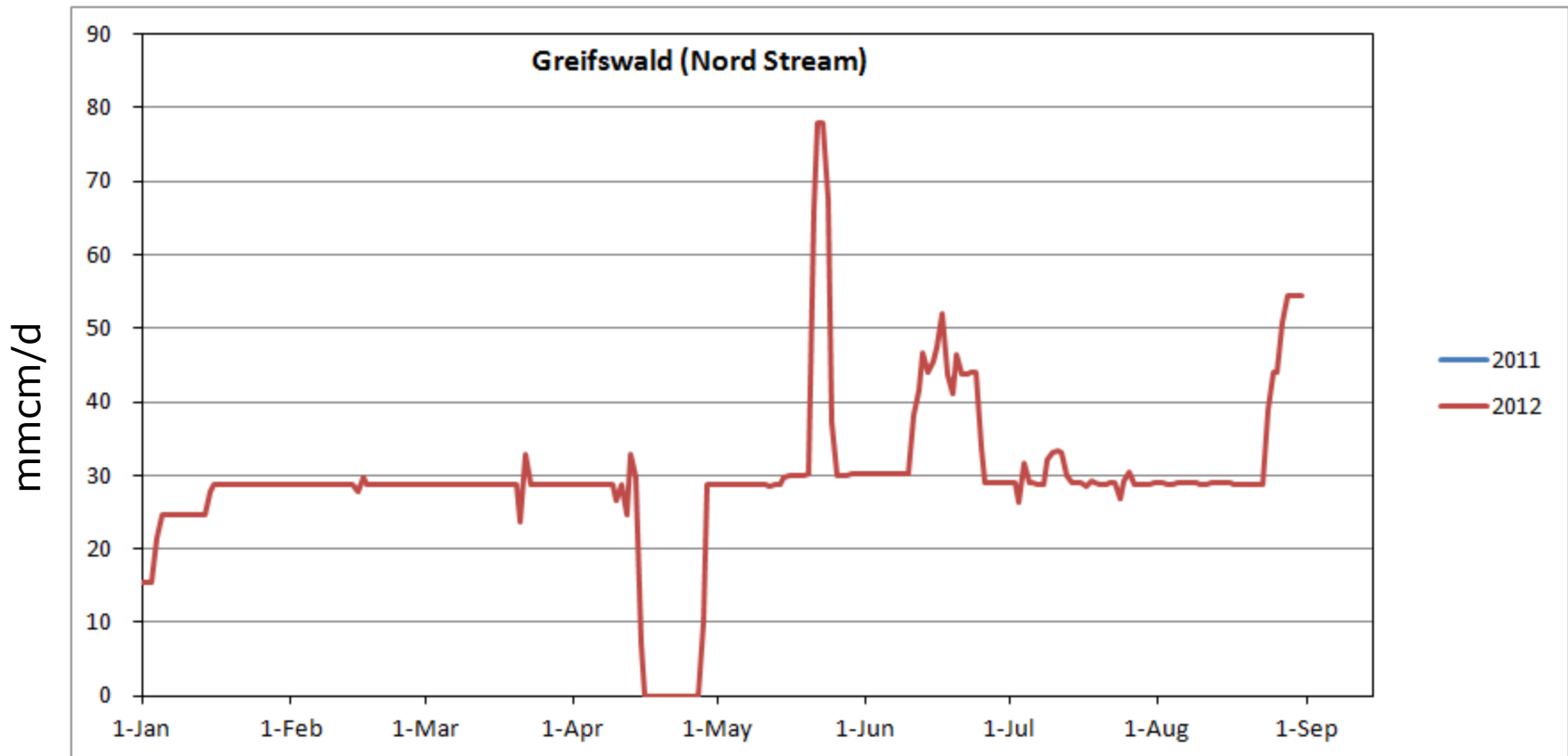
Depression/recession
EC competition law
Unbundling and gas
markets



Nice, but still no gas
contract, no pipe



Misinvestments: 1st Nord Stream pipe is being utilized at 1/3 of capacity



Ukraine's steps: 1) Reducing gas imports



- ! Gas imports y-o-y down 34% in Jan-Aug 2012
- ! This year approx. 33 bcm
- ! Gazprom contract establishes minimum ToP level of 33 bcm
- ! Who is importing? Naftogaz 27 bcm, Firtash (Ostchem) about 8 bcm (also from Gazprom, same price)
- ! Next year, Naftogaz plans to import 24,5 bcm, how much will Firtash import?
- ! If Russia invokes ToP provision, Ukraine should buy more gas, export it to EU at discount to damage Gazprom

Ukraine's steps: 2) increasing gas production

! Production did stay flat, but progress underway



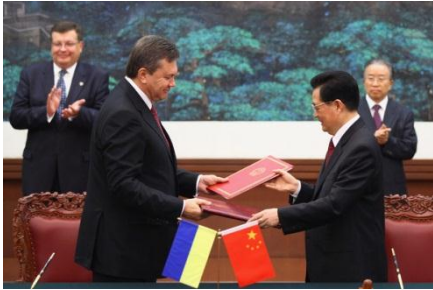
- ! 2 „Boyko towers“ (jack-up-rigs) have been bought, will produce in 4q 2012 (about 1,15 bcm) from Storm and Archangel-fields
- ! Shale gas development is progressing fast:
 - ! Brought in IOCs, but PSA still to be negotiated; production start by 2018
 - ! Olesk area (Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk) → Chevron
 - ! Juzovsk area (Donetsk) → Shell
 - ! Eni took over majority in a range of licenses in Western Ukraine
 - ! Small-scale production (about 0,24 bcm) takes place by Polish Kulczyk in Eastern Ukraine
 - ! Slobozhanska area in Kharkiv region to be put up for tender



Ukraine's steps: 3) diversifying imports

- ! Implementation of Energy Community Treaty progresses
- ! Signed framework agreement with RWE in May 2012
 - ! Virtual reverse flow desirable (UKR keeps part of Gazprom's gas destined westward for RWE, pays RWE for this amount of gas)
 - ! BUT: gas contracts of EU utilities envisage sale of gas at contractually specified EU border points! Ukraine does not own gas that goes through its pipes and hence cannot withhold it
 - ! Slovak Eustream held Open Season for reverse flow capacity from June until yesterday, results still open
 - ! Slovakia's Fico sceptical towards ensuring reverse flow
- ! LNG plant – pre-feed by Spain's Fenosa endorsed by govt.
 - ! 1st phase FSRU, 5 bn m³, 2nd phase stationary plant, 10 bn m³/a
 - ! Confidentiality agreement with Qatar reached
 - ! Turkey will cause problems with LNG going through straits
 - ! Negotiations with Turkey, Azerbaijan on LNG plant in Georgia

Ukraine's steps: 4) Fuel substitution and efficiency



- Secured US\$ 3.6 bn loan from China Development Bank to convert heating power plants to coal-firing (with Chinese equipment)
 - Initially, 4 state-owned power plants to be converted, total cost ~500 mln
 - Plan to save 4-5 bn m³ annually with this measure
 - What will happen with the rest of the money?

- Inefficient small heating plants shall be closed

- ! Implementation of Energy Community Treaty is progressing – but still problems with unbundling
- ! Still no arbitration case in Stockholm – negotiations ongoing
- ! Gas price for population and heating still very low – expected to rise after elections
- ! Gas Transit System modernisation still not on track

Thank you for your attention!

graetz@sipo.gess.ethz.ch

