

# ECONOMIC AND TRADE RELATIONS OF ESTONIA AS A EU MEMBER STATE, INCL. WITH RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

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## Abstract

This paper examines the economic relations of Estonia and trends in its exports and imports with the most important countries globally in 2008–2014, and presents its export and import transactions in the main commodity groups in 2009–2014.<sup>2</sup> Considering the many different tensions that have appeared in world economy and in politics in the recent years, the aim of this paper is to describe their possible impacts on the Estonian economy. The research tasks set are studying of economic and trade relations with Ukraine as one of the largest countries in the EU Eastern Partnership Programme. Also the range of problems and developments related to signing the association agreement between Ukraine and the European Union, as well as the new complicated trade relations arising from economic policy, and developments both in the European context and that of other countries are examined. Also economic and trade relations with Russia are discussed. All this is treated on the background of the relations between Ukraine and Russia in the recent years and their impact on the behaviour of Estonia, the EU, USA and other Western countries. The above-mentioned issues are also viewed in relation to imposing economic sanctions due to relations between Ukraine and Russia.

**Keywords:** economic and trade relations; Estonian export-import turnovers with EU Member States, also with Ukraine and Russia; attitude of the USA and the European Union towards the Russian-Ukrainian conflict and relations; economic sanctions.

**JEL:** F, FO2, F13, F2, F21, F4, O.

## Introduction

Economic and trade relations of Estonia with other countries, above all with geographically closer countries and also larger countries of the world depend above all on the economic situation of these countries themselves. After the accession of

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<sup>2</sup> The statistics are partly limited to 2013 as statistics on all parts studied had not been published yet for the full year of 2014 at the time of writing this paper (such as Estonian export-import with Ukraine; also economic relations with Russia – trade, investments, tourism).

Estonia to the European Union in 2004 its economic, including trade relations with all EU Member States have increased. The objective of this paper is to provide an overview of trends in the economic and trade relations of Estonia by comparing the situation before the economic crisis with the situations during the crisis and after overcoming the crisis. In parallel, it is important to consider the development of economic relations of the EU, including Estonia, with Eastern Partnership countries, particularly with its largest partner – Ukraine. Proceeding from the complicated relations between Ukraine and Russia it is also important to examine economic and trade relations with Russia. These relations have an impact also on the economic relations of Estonia, the whole European Union and many other countries in comparison with 2014 and earlier years, particularly 2013. After all, 2013 (particularly its second half) was a critical turning-point to relatively unexpected non-positive and rather ill-omened economic and political communication between countries.

This paper covers the following research tasks and central problems, in order to:

- Examine trends in Estonian exports and imports with countries of the world, incl. with Ukraine and Russia.
- Examine Estonian export and import transactions in the most important commodity groups.
- Examine the steps taken by the EU and Ukraine on their way to signing the association agreement.
- Examine the relations of the EU and other Western countries with Russia in connection with the events in Ukraine in the recent years.
- Examine the economic relations between Estonia and Russia.

This paper has above all an empirical orientation and is based on both Estonian and EU statistics, also on the evaluations of several other researchers and experts. The role of both Ukraine and Russia but also that of other countries in the development of Estonian economic and trade relations is characterised on the background of general economic communication and political behaviour. It should also be noted that some of the information on 2014 was unavailable as it had not always been published yet and also the Statistical Yearbook of Estonia 2015 had not been published yet.

## **1. Trends in Estonian imports and exports**

In the Statistical Yearbook of Estonia 2014 the Estonian export volumes for 2013 have been presented for 50 countries, among which Singapore ranks the 50th with 10.4 million euros. The top ten countries accounted for 9379.2 million euros, i.e. 76.4% of the Estonian export volume. The volume of exports to other countries (167 countries) was 2895.6 million euros, incl. 148.8 million euros to countries unspecified in the yearbook (Statistical Yearbook ...2014; calculations of the author). 2014 can be regarded as a year of decline and slowing down for Estonia in several areas of economic activities largely particularly because of relations with Russia.

Estonia's most important trading partner in 2013 was Sweden (table 1). In 2013 Estonia exported goods to 177 countries and imported goods from 122 countries. A positive foreign trade balance was recorded in case of 133 countries. The biggest surplus was recorded in trade with Sweden (679 million euros), followed by Russia (617 million euros) and Norway (347 million euros). The biggest deficit was recorded in trade with Germany and Poland (883 and 877 million euros, respectively). A large deficit was also registered in trade with Lithuania (503 million euros) and China (360 million euros). Sweden accounted for the biggest share of Estonia's total exports (17%). Exports to Finland accounted for 16% and exports to Russia for 11% of total exports. Compared to 2012, there was an increase in exports to several important partner countries. The largest increase was recorded in exports

**Table 1.** Exports to main partner countries, 2008 – 2014 (million euros) \*

		2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
1.	Sweden	1169,5	816,5	1364,8	1876,4	1997,8	2060,9	2173,6
2.	Finland	1557,9	1201,4	1487,6	1811,3	1823,3	1979,6	1848,1
3.	Russian Federation**	880,4	601,1	844,4	1312,5	1515,4	1404,1	1187,3
		10,4%	9,3%	9,7%	10,9%	12,1%	11,4%	9,8%
4.	Latvia	843,9	613,3	776,8	957,8	1096,8	1273,3	1294,7
5.	Lithuania	479,9	308,4	437,2	549,6	675,3	717,4	636,9
6.	Germany	429,1	395,4	454,6	550,5	565,9	560,2	589,7
7.	Norway	279,9	205,8	299,8	360,8	419,7	447,5	469,3
8.	USA	407,4	274,0	330,9	750,0	584,6	358,3	452,3
9.	United Kingdom	226,6	131,2	171,9	241,6	263,8	294,7	285,0
10	Denmark	275,3	225,4	217,7	306,9	297,7	283,2	316,8
	Total Top 10		4772,5	6385,9	8717,4	9240,3	9379,2	9259,7
	Total Top 10, %		73,6%	73,0%	72,6%	73,6%	76,4%	76,6%
18	Ukraine (2013)***	141,0	72,3	88,4	105,7	118,6	101,4	...
		1,7%	1,1%	1,0%	0,9%	0,9%	0,8%	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL	8470,1	6486,9	8743,0	12013,9	12549,6	12274,8	12084,9

\* Statistical Yearbook ... 2013: 250; Statistical Yearbook ... 2014: 254; Eesti eksportis ... 2015; Eesti ja ÜK suhted ... 2015; compiled by the author.

\*\* In addition to the volume of exports the calculation also shows the proportion of exports to Russia in Estonian total exports in percentages in the respective years.

\*\*\* Ukraine ranked the 18th in 2013. Besides the volume of exports this calculation also shows the proportion of exports to Ukraine in Estonian total exports in percentages in the respective years. There was no information on 2014 concerning Ukraine at the time of writing this paper.

to Latvia (up 170 million euros or 15%) and Finland (up 162 million euros or 9%). The largest decrease was recorded in exports to the USA, Nigeria and Russia. (Statistical Yearbook ... 2014: 242)

Although Russia has been on the important third position in Estonian exports for years, its proportion has still considerably declined in 2013 and 2014 (Table 1). This was surely largely influenced by the attitude and behaviour of Russia in Ukraine and towards the opinions of Western countries on Ukrainian-Russian relations.

In 2013, Ukraine ranked the 18th among Estonian export partners by volume among all countries of the world (Table 1), which was less than in 2008, 2011 and 2012, however. Compared to 2008, which was before the start of the economic crisis, the volume in 2013 accounts for only 71.9% of volume of Estonian exports to Ukraine. Only during the years of crisis, 2009 and 2010, the volume of exports was lower than in 2013. Time will show what will happen next, although preconditions for increasing the volume of exports from Estonia to Ukraine should be rather realistic (considering also the events between Russia and Ukraine, and the responses of the EU, USA and other countries to Russia, also counter-reactions of Russia to Western countries).

In 2014 the value of goods exported from Estonia was 12.1 billion euros in current prices and the value of imports to Estonia was 13.7 billion euros. The balance of trade deficit was 1.6 billion euros, which was 126 million euros more than in 2013. The export of goods decreased 2% in 2014 compared to 2013 and the import of goods decreased 1%. The annual comparison of trade flows was influenced most by a single transaction with vessels performed in 2013, and leaving this out of trade volumes, the trade levels of 2014 remained on the same levels as in 2013. (Eesti eksportis ... 2015)

The main countries of export destinations in 2014 were Sweden (18% of total Estonian exports), Finland (15%) and Latvia (11%). Mainly electrical equipment and timber and timber products were exported to Sweden, mainly electrical equipment and metals and metal products to Finland, and mainly agricultural and food products and mineral products to Latvia. Exports to Russia decreased most (by 216 million euros), followed by Finland (by 138 million euros) and Lithuania (by 81 million euros). The export of mechanical machinery and agricultural and food products to Russia decreased. Fewer vehicles were sold to Finland and less mineral products to Lithuania. Exports to Sweden and to the USA increased most. (Eesti eksportis ... 2015)

Also the statistics on import volumes have been presented in the 2014 Yearbook for 50 countries for 2013, among which Vietnam ranks the 50th with 6.5 million euros. The top ten countries accounted for 10,729.3 million euros, i.e. 78.6 % of the Estonian import volume. The total share of the remaining countries (112 countries) was 2,919.5 million euros. In total, goods were imported to Estonia from 122 countries in 2013. (Statistical Yearbook .... 2014: calculations of the author)

The biggest share of goods imported to Estonia came from Finland which accounted for 15% of Estonia's total imports (table 2). Finland was followed by Germany (11%), Sweden (10%) and Latvia (10%). Compared to 2012, the biggest increase in 2013 was recorded in arrivals from Poland (up 202 million euros or 23%) and Lithuania (up 61 million euros or 5%). The largest decrease occurred in imports from Russia, Belarus and Ukraine. (Statistical Yearbook ... 2014: 242)

In 2013 European Union (EU) countries accounted for 71% of Estonia's exports and for 83% of Estonia's imports. The trade deficit with EU countries totalled 2.7 billion euros – compared to 2012 the deficit decreased by 119 million euros. The trade with EU countries increased: exports by 5% and imports by 3%. The trade balance with non-EU countries was in surplus in 2013 – exports to those countries exceeded imports by 1.3 billion euros. The trade with non-EU countries decreased – exports by 692 million euros and imports by 556 million euros. Exports to the euro-area countries accounted for 30% of Estonia's total exports in 2013, while imports from these countries made up 38% of Estonia's total imports – these figures are bigger than in 2012.

The trend of exports in Estonia was similar to the EU average. According to Eurostat, the growth rate of exports fell in all EU countries in 2013 and the average growth rate was 1%. Export growth started to slow down in 2012, when the exports in EU countries grew only 3%. 2011 was the last time that there was a big increase in exports – 12% on average in EU countries (37% in Estonia). (Statistical Yearbook ... 2014: 242)

According to Eurostat, the biggest increase in exports occurred in non-euro-area countries: the United Kingdom (11%) and Romania (10%). In the euro area, the decrease in exports was the biggest in Malta, Luxembourg and Ireland. The slower growth rate of exports in the euro area and EU as a whole was related to the economic slump in big countries. In Germany and Italy, exports remained at the level of 2012. Exports decreased in the Netherlands (-2%) and France (-1%). Belgium (2%) and Spain (4%) were the only industrial superpowers where exports increased. (Statistical Yearbook ... 2014: 242)

The average decrease in imports compared to 2012 was -3% in EU countries (-2% in Estonia). Imports decreased in most EU countries. The biggest increase was in Lithuania (7%). Among euro-area countries, imports increased only in Ireland (1%), Portugal (1%), Slovenia (2%) and Slovakia (2%). Among the most important euro-area countries, imports decreased in Germany (-1%), Belgium (-1%), France (-2%), Spain (-3%), the Netherlands (-3%) and Italy (-5%). The biggest decrease occurred in Cyprus (-18%) and Malta (-14%). Among non-euro-area countries, imports decreased the most in the United Kingdom (-8%) and Sweden (-6%). In Estonia, exports amounted to 9,261 euros and imports to 10,318 euros per capita in 2013. These values are higher than the EU average (9,037 and 8,787 euros per capita, respectively). Exports per capita were the smallest in Cyprus, Croatia and Romania. Exports include not only the country's own output but also the mediation of goods produced in other Member States through the given country (i.e. re-exports). This has the biggest impact on trade in Belgium and the Netherlands, where exports per

capita were among the highest in the EU (31,668 and 29,798 euros, respectively). Imports per capita were the biggest in Luxembourg, Belgium and the Netherlands, and the smallest in Romania, Bulgaria and Croatia. (Statistical Yearbook ... 2014: 242)

The countries with most important Estonian import volumes in 2014 were Finland (15% of the total Estonian imports), Germany (12%) and Sweden (11%). Mainly mineral products and electrical equipment were imported from Finland, mainly mechanical equipment and vehicles from Germany and mainly electrical equipment and vehicles from Sweden. Imports of goods from the United Kingdom decreased most (by 136 million euros), followed by Latvia (129 million euros) and Lithuania (91 million euros). Import of goods from Germany and Sweden increased most. (Eesti eksportis ... 2015)

**Table 2.** Imports from main partner countries, 2008 – 2014 (million euros)\*

No		2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
1.	Finland	1540,1	1047,2	1378,1	1605,9	1981,1	2034,2	2094,7
2.	Germany	1455,7	774,3	1046,3	1306,6	1410,1	1443,6	1583,3
3.	Sweden	1091,1	610,7	1007,5	1332,2	1400,1	1381,8	1475,5
4.	Latvia	987,6	764,7	1012,2	1363,1	1315,6	1298,7	1172,6
5.	Lithuania	966,1	792,9	725,0	1038,3	1182,8	1220,0	1133,7
6.	Poland	497,5	410,5	586,7	852,6	868,6	1084,2	1043,4
7.	Russian Federation**	832,4	597,4	762,8	1044,2	933,2	787,3	852,2
		7,6%	8,2%	8,2%	8,2%	6,7%	5,7%	6,2%
8.	United Kingdom	315,9	162,4	199,2	436,6	525,0	571,1	442,3
9.	China	232,3	145,4	281,6	454,8	479,4	458,9	486,5
10.	Netherlands	362,2	257,4	308,5	466,1	526,1	449,5	486,7
	Total Top 10		5562,9	7307,9	9900,4	10622,0	10729,3	10770,9
	Total Top 10, %		76,5%	78,8%	77,8%	76,5%	78,6	78,5
23.	Ukraine (2013)***	116,5	45,5	71,7	102,1	197,0	87,3	...
		1,1%	0,6%	0,8%	0,8%	1,4%	0,6%	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL	10896,4	7269,9	9268,3	12 728,8	13 877,8	13 648,8	13725,4

\* Statistical Yearbook ... 2013: 251, 255; Statistical Yearbook ... 2014: 254; Eesti eksportis ... 2015; compiled by the author.

\*\* In addition to the volume of imports the calculation also shows the proportion of imports from Russia in Estonian total imports in percentages in the respective years.

\*\*\* Ukraine ranked the 23rd in 2013. Besides the volume of imports this calculation also shows the proportion of imports from Ukraine in Estonian total imports in percentages in the respective years. There was no information on 2014 concerning Ukraine at the time of writing this paper.

With respect to Russia it is shown (Table 2) that it fell to the 7th position in the ranking of countries in 2013 and 2014 (Russia ranked the 6th until 2012). The decline in the proportion of imports has taken place already since 2012, however. The main reason was again related to the Ukrainian-Russian relations and to their impact on the attitude of many countries towards that.

The Estonian import volumes from Ukraine have generally tended to decline among other countries of the world, except in the years of crisis – 2009 and 2010 (Table 2). Although in 2012 the volume of imports from Ukraine to Estonia considerably increased, even more than 4-fold compared to 2009 and approximately 3-fold compared to 2010 (ranking even the 16th among countries), in 2013 the volume of imports from Ukraine to Estonia declined by 2.3 times and Ukraine fell to the 23rd position among countries. Hopefully the trends with Ukraine will increase after all in the future.

In 2014, EU Member States accounted for 72% of the exports of Estonian goods and 83% of imports, in terms of exports the proportion remained the same compared to the previous year but decreased by 1% in terms of imports. The largest surplus was in trade with Sweden and Norway and the largest deficit with Germany and Poland. (Eesti eksportis ... 2015)

## **2. Estonian export and import transactions in the most important commodity groups**

In 2013 exports of goods from Estonia totalled 12.3 billion euros and imports to Estonia totalled 13.6 billion euros at current prices (tabel 3 and table 4). Annual turnover of trade in 2013 decreased (in 2012 exports were 12.5 billion euros and imports were 13.9 billion euros). Compared to 2012, exports and imports decreased by 2% (at current prices) in 2013. In the years following the world-wide economic crisis, both exports and imports grew significantly, but in 2013 the growth was replaced with a downward trend. The decrease in trade started in the second half of 2013 and was caused by economic uncertainty in the main countries of destination. The annual trade deficit in 2013 was 1.4 billion euros, which is almost the same as in 2012. The annual deficit has increased in the years after the economic crisis. (Statistical Yearbook ... 2014: 241)

The biggest deficit in 2013 was registered in trade with transport equipment and the biggest surplus in trade with wood and products of wood and in trade with miscellaneous products (incl. furniture). In 2013 machinery and equipment were the most frequently exported commodities, comprising 28% of Estonia's total exports. They were followed by mineral products, including motor spirits, oil shale and electrical energy (11% of total exports) and agricultural products and food preparations (10%). The decreased exports in 2013 compared to 2012 were mostly caused by the fall in the exports of mineral products (-31%), metals and products thereof (-14%) and machinery and mechanical appliances (-12%). The biggest increase was recorded in the dispatches of transport equipment (32%), wood and products thereof (14%) and textiles and products thereof (17%). The biggest share in imports was also held by machinery and equipment – 28% of Estonia's total

imports. Similarly to exports, they were followed by mineral products (13%) and agricultural products and food preparations (11%).

The biggest decrease was registered in the arrivals of mineral products (–20%) and machinery and equipment (–4%). The biggest increase in imports compared to 2012 was registered in the arrivals of transport equipment, including vehicles, ships and railway rolling stock (11%). There was also an increase in the arrivals of agricultural products and food preparations (9%). Exports of consumption goods increased the most. Based on end-use, goods can be classified as capital goods, intermediate goods and consumption goods. By this classification, the biggest share in Estonia’s total exports in 2013 was held by intermediates (i.e. inputs for the production of other goods) with 54% of total exports. Compared to 2012, exports of intermediate goods decreased by 5%, which had a significant impact on the fall in total exports. In 2013 capital goods accounted for 21% of Estonia’s total exports – this is one percentage point more than in 2012 (their share was 15% in 2010 and 20% in 2011). An improvement in the quality of exports is indicated by the fact that, instead of intermediate goods, exports include a bigger share of capital goods and consumption goods (i.e. final-use products). Consumption goods accounted for 20% of Estonia’s total exports in 2013. At the same time, dispatches of consumption goods increased the most (7%), compared to capital goods and intermediates. Exports of other goods (incl. motor spirits, motor cars) decreased by 22%. (Statistical Yearbook ... 2014: 241)

**Table 3.** Exports by main commodity sections, 2009-2014 (million euros)\*

		2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
1.	Machinery and equipment	1 268,6	1 978,1	3 295,4	3 593,0	3 468,8	...
2.	Mineral products	1 083,5	1 375,9	2 061,4	1 873,4	1 287,9	1 337,3
3.	Agricultural products and food preparations	659,9	832,8	1 012,0	1 174,1	1 335,1	1 221,8
4.	Metals and products thereof	559,2	793,9	1 030,5	1 041,3	884,0	872,3
5.	Wood and products thereof	561,4	792,7	926,2	930,7	1 064,9	1 110,5
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	<b>TOTAL</b>	6 486,9	8 743,0	12 013,9	12 549,6	12 274,8	12 084,9

\* Statistical Yearbook ... 2013: 241-244; Statistical Yearbook ... 2014: 245- 248; Eesti eksportis ... 2015; compiled by the author.

In 2014 the most important Estonian exports were electrical equipment (22% of the total Estonian exports), mineral products (11%) and agricultural and food products (10%). Decrease in exports in 2014 in comparison to 2013 was mainly caused by the decrease in exports of vehicles (decrease by 161 million euros), raw materials and products of chemical industry (decrease by 99 million euros) and mechanical



machinery (decrease by 76 million euros). The export of electrical equipment and timber and timber products increased most. (Eesti eksportis ... 2015)

Intermediates also held the biggest share (54%) in total imports, followed by consumption goods (21%) and capital goods (18%). The large share of intermediate goods in imports shows that Estonia's manufacturing industry is strongly dependent on imported components. Imports of consumption goods are a good indicator of internal demand. In 2013 imports of consumption goods increased by 7% compared to 2012, which means that internal demand in Estonia is showing a good trend. Imports of intermediates decreased by 5% (for comparison, Estonia's total imports decreased by 2%). Imports of capital goods grew the most in 2013 (9%), largely due to increased arrivals of industrial equipment. The share of capital goods in total imports grew by two percentage points and was 18% in 2013. The biggest decrease occurred in the imports of other goods (-19%). (Statistical Yearbook ... 2014: 241-242)

**Table 4.** Imports by main commodity sections, 2009-2014 (million euros)\*

		2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
1.	Machinery and equipment	1 399,8	2 199,2	3 511,1	3 921,9	3 788,6	...
2.	Mineral products	1 420,5	1 614,5	2 277,2	2 137,2	1 708,6	1 767,1
3.	Agricultural products and food preparations	938,6	1 022,7	1 260,6	1 360,8	1 502,7	1 479,5
4.	Transport equipment	451,1	656,1	1 032,7	1 267,5	1 436,8	1 182,9
5.	Raw materials and products of chemical industry	693,6	734,9	964,1	1 130,6	1 086,3	1 110,1
6.	Metals and products thereof	560,3	825,0	1 109,5	1 068,9	1 023,3	1 091,5
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	<b>TOTAL</b>	7 269,9	9 268,3	12 721,2	13 761,8	13 648,6	13 725,4

\* Statistical Yearbook ... 2013: 245-249; Statistical Yearbook ... 2014: 249-253; Eesti eksportis ... 2015; compiled by the author.

In 2014 the most important Estonian imports were electrical equipment (19% of the total Estonian imports), mineral products (13%) and agricultural and food products (11%). Decrease in imports was caused most by the decrease in the import of vehicles (decrease by 264 million euros), mechanical machinery (decrease by 140 million euros) and agricultural and food products (decrease by 30 million euros). On the other hand, the imports of electrical equipment and mineral products increased. Export prices decreased by 2.6% and import prices by 2.2% in 2014 compared to 2013. (Eesti eksportis ... 2015)

Estonia is a small country, nation and economy and therefore very many products cannot be manufactured or the whole comprehensive range of services provided in Estonia. Therefore it is rather natural that the Estonian balance of exports and imports is in favour of imports and the balance is negative. The reason is that many different products, including production technologies, machinery, equipment, apparatuses and many other goods and services have to be purchased from other, neighbouring countries, often also from larger countries.

### **3. Steps taken by the EU and Ukraine on their way to signing the association agreement**

With the exchange of goods and services in the recent decades and particularly in the recent years, free trade, i.e. liberalisation of trade in international markets has become a topical issue. It is a part of economic policy pursued with the objective of removal or reduction of restrictions, customs duties and additional fees and non-tariff barriers, such as quotas and other requirements, obstructing free trade. The European Union, including Estonia, is continuing its efforts in that direction, bearing in mind multilateral economic benefit for all interested countries, certainly also for Ukraine.

Before the EU Summit on EU Eastern Partnership in Vilnius on 28–29 November 2013 the former Estonian Foreign Minister Urmas Paet expressed his hopes that the association agreement, including free trade agreement would be signed then with Ukraine. However, at the meeting of EU foreign ministers in Luxembourg there was no consensus concerning Ukraine because of the obscurity of the case of the former Prime Minister of Ukraine Yulia Tymoshenko who was convicted in 2011 to imprisonment for abuse of power. The European Union considered it biased administration of justice in Ukraine, i.e. removal of the political rival by President Viktor Yanukovich. On the other hand, some of the EU Member States were also not satisfied with the progress of changes and reforms in Ukraine which the EU had set as the condition for signing the association agreement. It was planned to approve association agreements also with Moldova and Georgia at the Vilnius Summit to sign them in 2014. (Rank ... 2014)

Also Russia has been making efforts for a long time to get Ukraine to join the competing Eurasian Union instead of the EU. Russia is trying to build up its union and does not like the developments between the EU and Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia. President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin has invested a lot of political capital in the Eurasian Union but only Belarus and Kazakhstan have joined the customs union created by Russia. Also the pressure of Russia on the countries of Eastern Partnership had considerably and visibly increased during the second half of 2013. In September 2013, Armenia decided to join the union with Russia instead of the EU as the security and energy supplies of the Armenia depend on Russia. Russia does not require reforms to join the Eurasian Union. Russia blocked the import of wines and agricultural products from Moldova and imposed a more stringent customs control on Ukrainian goods. President Vladimir Putin justified it in September 2013 with the need for Russia to protect itself with a

stronger customs wall if Ukraine facilitates the access of EU goods to its market. A general import ban was also imposed, for instance, on the confectionery of the Ukrainian chocolate producer Roshen. At the same time, during the EU Presidency of Lithuania, also the export of Lithuanian dairy products to Russia was at risk. (Rank ... 2014)

Before the Vilnius Summit, the Government of Ukraine had adopted the decision to sign the association agreement with the EU as they could not belong to two unions at the same time. The free trade part of the agreement would have come into force already before the ratification of the full text of the agreement by all 28 Member States and by the Ukrainian Parliament and the European Parliament. For Ukraine, free trade with the EU would have meant opening of a large market, on the one hand, but growing competition for domestic producers, on the other hand. The closer was the time of signing the association agreement, the lower the sovereign rating of Ukraine fell. Moody's cut the rating in September 2013 by seven steps from the earlier investment grade level, pointing out the negative impact of deteriorating relations with Russia on the economy as the reason. The agreement with the EU would have helped Ukraine to carry out its economic reforms. In mid-2013, for instance, the Ukrainian economy ranked 137th between Lesotho and the Philippines by the ease of doing business in the comparison of 185 countries drawn up by the World Bank. During II quarter of 2013 the GNP of Ukraine decreased 1.3% from the same period in the previous year, after a decline of 1.1% in I quarter of 2013. At the same time the Government of Ukraine forecast the recovery of the economic growth to the level of 3–3.5% by 2014. The financial situation of Ukraine was complicated at the same time because the negotiations that had been going on for more than a year to obtain an assistance package from the IMF had not reached a new agreement. Particularly during the last weeks before the Vilnius Summit, Ukraine had made efforts to introduce the necessary amendments in legislation. The European Union hesitated, however. There were mainly doubts about whether Ukraine actually wanted to change. While the importance of bringing Ukraine closer to Europe was understood, it seemed too early to open access for Ukraine to the wealthiest market in the world, by rewarding it for uncompleted reforms. (Rank ... 2014)

The Vilnius Summit was considered to have strategic importance. Failure to sign the agreement was regarded as a disadvantage also for the EU: on the one hand, from economic aspects – Ukraine is after all a market with more than 45 million consumers, and on the other hand, politically – everybody wants to have as democratic and stable countries as possible in the neighbourhood of the EU. Without Ukraine also the EU Eastern Partnership Programme would dry up. The Estonian Foreign Minister Urmas Paet was convinced that the EU would have considerably more opportunities for having a positive impact on the processes in Ukraine in case of a contractual relationship with Ukraine but without that the positive impact would remain considerably weaker (Rank ... 2014). Unfortunately, the EU did not sign the free trade agreement with Ukraine at the Vilnius Summit; it failed because the then President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich did not sign the association agreement in Vilnius.

The Government of the Republic of Estonia approved EU free trade and association agreements with Georgia and Moldova during its meeting on 19 June 2014. The agreement to be signed with Ukraine had already been approved earlier. The objective of the association agreements signed with the EU is to accelerate the development of deeper political and economic relations of Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine with the EU. The main objectives of creating a free trade area is to eliminate high customs tariffs, remove technical barriers to trade, liberalise the market of services, protect the geographical indications of the EU, open markets of public procurements, implement professional and environmental protection standards and establish effective and fast procedures for the settlement of disputes. The agreements also serve as a basis for the reform plans of Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova, in order to contribute to the establishment of principles of rule of law, democracy, human rights and free market economy. Negotiations with Moldova on signing the association agreement started in January 2010. Negotiations on the association agreement between the EU and Georgia started in May 2010. The EU association agreements with Georgia and Moldova were initialled at the EU Eastern Partnership Summit in Vilnius in November 2013. The free trade and association agreements between the EU and Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine were signed at the European Council in Brussels on 27 June 2014 (Uudised ... 2014). In the light of all these activities, Russia has responded with aggressive behaviour and supporting it on the Crimean Peninsula and in the Eastern regions of Ukraine. This is like continuation of the earlier aggression of Russia against Georgia on 7–15 August 2008 (the so-called Georgian War).

#### **4. Relations of the EU and other Western countries with Russia as a consequence of the events in Ukraine**

The international political and economic situation in Europe is complicated and the joint efforts of the EU to remind Russia of democratic values have led to rather nervous responses in Russia. Strange enough, the opinion of Russia (like also that of the Soviet Union at its time) is that a large number of countries are against it and are its enemies. Actually, Russia forces and exerts pressure on the countries which are ready for friendly cooperation with it – to form a joint front and impose sanctions against it. Russia should lay aside its ambitions, fears and aggression plans and focus only on building up and developing its nation state within the borders of Russia. Certainly also all peace-loving and democratic countries, among them the EU, including also Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania would support that. It should be clear in the world that the time of colonies is over! It is not possible to achieve trust and ensure development with violence, lies and threats.

However, on 6 August 2014 The President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin signed the decree “on special economic measures to ensure the security of the Russian Federation” to prohibit the import of most food products for one year from Western countries on which Russia had imposed sanctions. On 7 August 2014 the Government of the Russian Federation approved the list of import bans. This list includes many basic food products and agricultural products from the EU Member States, USA, Canada, Australia and Norway. For instance, vegetables and fruits,

pork and beef, chicken and the respective meat products, fish and fish products, milk and dairy products, incl. cheese were banned for one year (Aktuaalne ... 2014). This was the response of Russia to the many sanctions imposed by the USA, EU, Canada, Norway and Australia for the annexation of Crimea by Russia and its support to separatists and terrorists in Eastern Ukraine and to the aggression. This prohibition accounts for 43.5% of the agricultural imports of Russia in the volume of 32.1 billion euros in 2013. The trade in agricultural products with Russia was as follows in 2013 (in billions of euros): EU – 11.8 (i.e. 9.9% of the total exports to Russia); USA – 0.97 (i.e. 11.7%); Norway – 0.7 (i.e. 7.6%); Canada – 0.4 (i.e. 3.3%) and Australia – 0.08 (i.e. 1.0%) (Statistical ... 2014). For Estonia, Russia was the largest export destination country for food products, to which approximately one-fifth (19.2%) of exported food products were sent in 2013. Drinks, above all alcohol, account for more than a half of that volume, being mostly re-export, i.e. resale of goods and raw materials purchased from elsewhere (Hansalu ... 2014).

Above all Brazil, to some extent also Argentina and Chile were ready to increase the import of their products to Russia. On the other hand, it should be taken into account that it was winter in the Southern hemisphere in the middle of 2014 (when the problems became more acute) and it was also not possible to increase agricultural production fast in Russia in 2014 as it was harvesting time soon and autumn and winter were close.

In Estonia the decision of Russia hurt dairy and fish producers most. Although there is nothing new about prohibitions for Estonia. Most of these producers have had to look for new markets already since the beginning of 2014 as the Service for Phytosanitary Surveillance of Russia had prohibited the exports of almost all Estonian dairy and fish processing plants to the Russian Customs Union. Although some of these prohibitions had already been cancelled, new and additional prohibitions were imposed now. Estonian politicians believe that the experience of staying out of the Russian market will only benefit Estonian enterprises. In total, Estonian companies may lose 75 million euros due to the restrictions but Finnish companies more than 400 million euros. Latvians have taken Russian sanctions into account and make additional preparations for their alleviation. While the then Estonian Minister of Agriculture Ivari Padar admitted the seriousness of the situation, he assured optimistically that Estonia has “become tough against all kinds of Russian policies, whether they are called restrictions to pork exports or excluding many Estonian companies from Russian exports. We have become very tough“ (Hansalu ... 2014).

CNN cited a representative of the U.S. administration: “a ban in imports will only deepen Russia's international isolation and work against the country's own economic interest ... Russia's Central Bank pointed out that that bans on imported food will push up Russia's already high inflation rate, eroding the purchasing power of Russian citizens.“ (Kaldoja ... 2014). Journalist Bernd Johann of *Deutsche Welle* commented based on the analysis that “Like during the Soviet period, Russia can do without products again. The Kremlin wants to punish the EU and other countries but Russian consumers are suffering most of all. According to the analysis of *Deutsche Welle*, sanctions hurt both Russians and Europeans. That is why the EU hesitated so

long before finally imposing the sanctions. Shooting down the Malaysian airplane led to the adoption of that decision, however (Kaldoja ... 2014). Certainly all EU Member States should be unanimous and decisive about these sanctions as otherwise no country can be sure in the future about the unpredictable and uncivilised actions of Russia. The history and relations with Russia, particularly those of the Baltic States have shown that, and everybody should learn from this experience. Many European politicians are gradually reaching such an understanding – for instance, the Swedish Foreign Minister Margot Wallström wrote that „Russia could have been an important partner for Sweden and the EU in many areas. Instead, we are facing an opposite reality.“ (Wallström ... 2015). She added that Russia had reopened the most sombre chapters of European history. This had preceded by Russian occupation and illegal annexation of Crimea, and Russian aggression in Eastern Ukraine where it supported separatists.

Considering the unpredictable behaviour of Russia both in the recent years and during the whole period after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, it would be important for countries and enterprises, politicians and business practitioners to learn something. It is probably not worthwhile to contribute as much to relations and economic contacts with Russia as it was done until now. It is necessary to look for new markets actively and act in a more modest scale in economic relations with Russia. According the old folk wisdom – do not keep all your eggs in one basket but keep them in many different baskets as much as reasonably possible. Then the failures/falls, i.e. economic recessions and setbacks will not be very significant but minimal.

## **5. Economic relations between Estonia and Russia**

This brief (5.1; 5.2; 5.3) overview is based on information available to the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Eesti ... 2014) and also on information available to the Bank of Estonia, Estonian Ministry of Economic Affairs and Communications, Statistics Estonia and the Commercial Register, and on the research and analysis performed by the author. The overview is focused on three important areas in the economic relations between Estonia and Russia: trade, investments and tourism. The objective of the overview is to describe the dynamics in the development of these areas, above all in the years 2012–2013.

### **5.1. Trade in goods**

In 2012 Russia became the third important trade partner for Estonia. The role of Russia in the total trade volume of Estonia was 9.3% in 2012 and 12.1% in exports. In 2012, the total amount of trade with Russia was 2.45 billion euros, of which exports accounted for 62%, i.e. 1.52 billion, and imports 0.93 billion euros. The commodity groups exported most by Estonia to Russia were machinery and equipment (36% of exports), followed by chemical products (14%) and food products (9.5%) (information on the 9 months of 2013).

Also the sale of goods from EU Member States to Russia through Estonia increased during these years. Such intermediation was included also in the volume of Estonian

exports and can be regarded as re-exporting. Re-exported goods accounted for already more than 50% of Estonian exports to Russia in 2012.

The volume of trade with Russia decreased by 15% in the first 9 months of 2013 compared with the same period in 2012. The proportion of Russia in the total trade volume of Estonia was 8.2%. Exports to Russia decreased by 7.6%. The reason for this was the weaker than expected economic situation in Russia which had considerably decreased the demand for imports. Machinery and equipment contributed most (-17%) to this decrease in exports but re-export accounts for three-thirds of that group. Also the export of chemical products decreased by the same order of magnitude. The proportion of ground transport equipment (tractors, cars) decreased in the export of transport equipment. On the positive side the increased export of dairy products and fish and fish products in the recent years could be mentioned.

Imports included mineral products (51%), timber and wood products (14%) and chemical products (12%). The import of fuels (oil products purchased for processing) and chemical products decreased by more than one-third but the import of timber slightly increased.

## **5.2. Investments**

According to the information of the Bank of Estonia, 4.9% of the direct foreign investments made in Estonia were from Russia during the first 6 months of 2013, in the total amount of 735 million euros. 29% of that were made in wholesale and retail trade; 16% in financial intermediation; 13% in transport and warehousing; 11% in professional and research activities; 7% of power and gas supply and 4% in real estate. Russia ranked 4th among countries which had invested in Estonia.

According to the information of the Commercial Register, 2349 companies with Russian participation had been registered in Estonia by the end of the first 6 months of 2013, which was 77 companies more than at the beginning of the year. Russia ranked second after Finland in the ranking of companies with foreign participation registered in Estonia.

The direct foreign investments from Estonia to Russia were 219 million euros as at the first 6 months of 2013, which accounted for 4.8% of total investments to foreign countries. 16% of that was invested in trade; 14% in financial intermediation; 10% in professional and research activities; 9% in processing industries.

## **5.3. Tourism**

In 2012, 266 000 guests from Russia stayed in Estonian accommodation establishments, which was 31% more than a year ago, accounting for approximately 15% of the total number of foreign tourists accommodated.

During the first 10 months of 2013, 241 000 Russian tourists used the services of accommodation establishments. Their number increased by 14% compared to the same period in 2012, the number of their overnight stays was 554 000 (+14% compared to the same period in 2012). The proportion of Russian tourists among the

total number of foreign tourists who visited Estonia in that period was 14.4%. In comparison with the earlier years, more visits also included Tartu and Pärnu in addition to Tallinn, the increase in both cities was 18% from the previous year.

The number of tourists from Russia particularly increased in the Lääne-Virumaa County (+85%), with AQVA Spa in Rakvere as the main centre of attraction, and also the medieval fortress in Rakvere and the Sagadi, Palmse and Vihula manors were popular sights. In the Valga County in South Estonia the number of Russian tourists increased by 30% compared to the previous year, and in the Ida-Virumaa County and in the Harju County surrounding the capital Tallinn the increase was around 10%.

The visitors of the border city Narva (the city received the title of the Autumn Capital of Estonia in 1999 and Narva has had that title every year since 2009) in Northeast Estonia and the resort town Narva-Jõesuu had often been mostly from St. Petersburg. However, both the Värskä Spa and Water Park in Southeast Estonia have been popular among the visitors from the Pskov and Pechora areas.

Among the visitors of the resort town Pärnu (former Hanseatic Town, Pärnu has also the title of the Summer Capital of Estonia since 1996)<sup>3</sup> in Southwest Estonia, the proportion of people from Moscow, St. Petersburg and other places in Russia has increased from year to year next to visitors from Finland, Sweden, Norway, Germany and other countries.

According to the results of the survey „Estonia as holiday destination“ conducted in December 2012 by Enterprise Estonia (EAS) among the populations of Moscow and St. Petersburg, the people visiting from Estonia were tourists from Moscow at the age of 25 to 34 years, with a higher income level, who travel for several times every year and have visited Estonia also earlier. Existence of friends or relatives in Estonia has always been a factor influencing the probability of their taking the trip. People from Moscow often prefer to visit Estonia within a joint visit to Sweden and Finland or Lithuania and Latvia, and visits by car or organised bus trips have been popular. Transport connections have a very important role in travelling from Moscow to Estonia. Three airlines are flying to Tallinn from Moscow – Estonian Air, UtAir, and Aeroflot which started flights in 2012. In addition it is possible to come to Estonia by train and by bus.

According to the survey of the World Tourism Organization, the Russian tourism market had a very high growth potential globally and an increase of even 20% had been forecast by 2014. Nature tourism, health and medical tourism, ecological tourism and shopping tourism have been the areas of tourism which ensured the growth.

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<sup>3</sup> In 2005 the British newspaper *The Independent* chose the Pärnu Beach as one of the most attractive beaches in Europe. Sometimes the Pärnu Town is also called the Summer and Beach Capital.



## Conclusion

There have not always been particular growth trends in Estonian trade in the recent years. The reasons for this were both the economic crisis and economic uncertainty of export destination countries. Also the political activities and economic policy of Russia both in direct relations with Estonia and other EU Member States and in relations with Ukraine have had an impact on the situation. Unfortunately, economic contacts of Ukraine with Estonia have decreased in the recent years but hopefully the trend will reverse itself in the future. Unconstructive activities of Russia are certainly one of the reasons for that. It is surprising (although there is actually nothing to be surprised about) that Russia considers its whole aggressive and uncivilised behaviour towards other countries and nations right, and the positions and counter-reactions of others to such activities as unfair and unjustified. Democratic countries are obliged to respond in an adequate and constructive manner to such activities and such a situation.

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# EESTI KUI EUROOPA LIIDU LIIKMESRIIGI MAJANDUS- JA KAUBANDUSSIDEMED, SH UKRAINA JA VENEMAAGA<sup>3</sup>

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## Sissejuhatus

Eesti majandus- ja kaubandussuhted teiste, eeskätt suuremate maailma riikidega sõltuvad eeskätt sellest, milline on nende riikide eneste majanduslik olukord. Pärast Eesti ühinemist Euroopa Liiduga 2004. aastal on suurenenud majandus- ja sh kaubandussidemed kõigi Liidu riikidega. Käesoleva artikli eesmärgiks on anda ülevaade Eesti majandus- ja kaubandussidemete tendentsidest, võrreldes majanduskriisi eelset, selle aegset ja aega kriisi leevendumise järel. Selle kõrval on oluline, kuidas arenevad majandussuhted Euroopa Liidul ja sealhulgas Eestil idapartnerlusriikidega, antud juhul just selle suurima partneri Ukrainaga. Tulenevalt Ukraina-Venemaa viimaste aastate keerulistest suhetest on oluline uurida majandus- ja kaubandussuhteid ka Venemaaga. Nimetatud suhetest on mõjutatud ka Eesti, kogu Euroopa Liidu ja paljude teiste riikide majandussuhted 2014. ja eelnevate, eriti aga 2013.<sup>5</sup> aastaga võrreldes. Artiklis tegeletakse järgmiste uurimisülesannete ja sõlmprobleemidega, et:

- uurida Eesti ekspordi ja impordi tendentse maailma riikidega, sh Ukraina ja Venemaaga.
- uurida Eesti ekspordi ja imporditehinguid olulisemate kaubagruppide osas.
- uurida Euroopa Liidu ja Ukraina teed assotsiatsioonilepingu sõlmimiseks.
- uurida Euroopa Liidu ning teiste lääneriikide suhteid Venemaaga seoses Ukraina sündmustega viimastel aastatel.
- uurida Eesti ja Venemaa majandussuhteid (esitatud täisartiklis).

Artikkel on eeskätt empiirilise suunitlusega ning siin tuginetakse nii Eesti kui Euroopa Liidu statistilistele andmetele, samuti mitmete teiste uurijate ja ekspertide hinnangutele. Üldise majandussuhtluse ja poliitilise käitumise taustal tuuakse välja nii Ukraina kui ka Venemaa, aga paljude teiste riikide koht Eesti majandus- ja kaubandussidemete arendamisel.

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<sup>3</sup> Täisartikkel inglise keeles (sh viited kasutatud allikatele), on loetav käesoleva publikatsiooni niga kaasas oleval CD-l. Full text article can be found on the CD attached.

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<sup>5</sup> Osaliselt piirduvad artikli andmed 2013. aastaga, kuna kirjutamise ajal ei olnud kõigi käsitletavate osade kohta andmeid kogu 2014. aastaks avaldatud (näiteks, Eesti eksport-import Ukrainaga jmt).

## 1.Eesti ekspordi ja impordi tendentsid maailma riikidega

Eesti Statistikaameti 2014 aastaraamatus on Eesti ekspordimahud 2013. aasta puhul esitatud 50 riigi kohta, neist nn pingereas 50. kohal on Singapur 10,4 miljoni euroga. Kümme esimest riiki hõlmasid Eesti ekspordimahust 9379,2 miljonit eurot ehk 76,4 %. Ülejäänud riikidesse (167 riiki) eksporditi 2895,6 miljoni euro eest, sh ekspordimahuga 148,8 miljonit eurot on konkreetne riik aastaraamatus esitamata. Võib väita, et 2014. aasta oli Eesti jaoks võrreldes 2013. aastaga mitmetes majandustegevuse valdkondades languses ja pidurdumises suures osas just tulenevalt suhetest Venemaaga.

Ukraina oli 2013. aastal Eesti ekspordipartnerina maailma riikide seas mahtude poolest 18. kohal, mis siiski oli madalam kui aastatel 2008, 2011 ja 2012. Majanduskriisi eelse 2008. aastaga võrreldes moodustas Eesti ekspordimaht Ukrainaga 2013. aastal koguni ainult 71,9%. Vaid kriisiaastatel 2009 ja 2010 oli ekspordimaht madalam kui aastal 2013. Mis edasi toimub, näitab aeg, kuigi eeldused ekspordimahtude suurenemiseks Eestist Ukrainasse peaksid üpris reaalsed olema (arvestades sealhulgas ka Venemaa ja Ukraina vahelisi sündmusi ning Euroopa Liidu, USA ja teiste riikide reaktsioone Venemaa suunal, samuti Venemaa vastureaktsioone lääneriikidele).

2014. aastal eksporditi Eestist kaupu jooksevhindades 12,1 miljardi euro väärtuses ja imporditi Eestisse 13,7 miljardi euro eest. Kaubavahetuse puudujääk oli 1,6 miljardit eurot, mis oli 126 miljonit eurot suurem kui 2013. aastal. Kaupade eksporditakse 2014. aastal 2013. aastaga võrreldes 2% ja kaupade import 1%. Kaubavahetuse aastavõrdlust mõjutas enim 2013. aasta jaanuaris toimunud üksiktehing laevadega. Kui see kaubavahetusest välja jätta, siis jäi 2014. aasta kaubavahetus 2013. aasta tasemele.

Peamised ekspordi sihtriigid olid 2014. aastal Rootsi (18% Eesti koguekspordist), Soome (15%) ja Läti (11%). Rootsi eksporditi enim elektriseadmeid ning puitu ja puittooteid, Soome elektriseadmeid ning metall ja metalltooted, Läti põllumajandussaadusi ja toidukaupu ning mineraalseid tooteid. Enim vähenes ekspord Venemaale (216 miljoni euro võrra), Soome (138 miljoni euro võrra) ja Leetu (81 miljoni euro võrra). Venemaale eksporditi vähem mehaanilisi masinaid ning põllumajandussaaduseid ja toidukaupu. Soome viidi vähem transpordivahendeid ning Leetu mineraalseid tooteid. Enim suurenes ekspord Rootsi ja USA-sse.

Ka impordimahtude osas on 2014 aastaraamatus andmed 2013. aastal 50 riigi kohta toodud, neis 50. kohal oli Vietnam 6,5 miljoni euroga. Esimesed kümme riiki hõlmasid Eesti impordimahust 10 729,3 miljonit eurot ehk 78,6 %. Ülejäänud riikide (112 riiki) osa oli kokkuvõttes 2919,5 miljonit eurot. Üldse imporditi 2013.aastal kaupu Eestisse 122 riigist.

2014. aastal oli Euroopa Liidu riikide osatähtsus kaupade ekspordis 72% ja impordis 83%, võrreldes varasema aastaga jäi näitaja ekspordi puhul samale tasemele, kuid

impordi puhul vähenes 1% võrra. Suurim ülejääk kaubavahetuses oli Rootsi ja Norraga ning suurim puudujääk Saksamaa ja Poolaga.

Kõige rohkem imporditi 2014. aastal kaupu Soomest (15% Eesti koguimpordist), Saksamaalt (12%) ja Rootsist (11%). Soomest imporditi enim mineraalseid tooteid ja elektriseadmeid, Saksamaalt mehaanilisi seadmeid ja transpordivahendeid ning Rootsist elektriseadmeid ja transpordivahendeid. Enim vähenes kaupade sissevedu Suurbritanniast (136 miljoni euro võrra), Lätist (129 miljoni euro võrra) ja Leedust (91 miljoni euro võrra). Kaupade sissevedu suurenes enim Saksamaalt ja Rootsist.

Impordimahtude poolest maailma riikide hulgas on Ukraina suhetes Eestiga olnud viimastel aastatel üldiselt kahaneva tendentsiga, välja arvatud kriisiaastad 2009 ja 2010. Kuigi 2012. aastal kasvas impordimaht Ukrainast Eestisse oluliselt, võrreldes 2009. aastaga isegi rohkem kui neli korda ja võrreldes 2010. aastaga ligi kolm korda (olles riikide järjestuses koguni 16. kohal), siis 2013. aastal langes impordimaht Ukrainast Eestisse 2,3 korda ning Ukraina langes riikide järjestuses 23. kohale. Loodetavasti on tulevikutrendid Ukrainaga siiski kasvavad.

## **2. Eesti ekspordi- ja imporditehingud olulisemate kaubagruppide osas**

2014. aastal eksporditi kõige rohkem elektriseadmeid (22% Eesti koguekspordist), mineraalseid tooteid (11%) ning põllumajandussaadusi ja toidukaupu (10%). Ekspordi vähenemine 2014. aastal võrreldes 2013. aastaga oli peamiselt tingitud transpordivahendite (langus 161 miljonit eurot), keemiatööstuse tooraine ja toodete (langus 99 miljonit eurot) ning mehaaniliste masinate (langus 76 miljonit eurot) väljaveo kahanemisest. Enim kasvas elektriseadmete ning puidu ja puittoodete välja-vedu.

2014. aastal imporditi Eestisse kõige rohkem elektriseadmeid (19% Eesti koguimpordist), mineraalseid tooteid (13%) ning põllumajandussaadusi ja toidukaupu (11%). Impordi vähenemist mõjutas enim transpordivahendite (langus 264 miljonit eurot), mehhaaniliste masinate (langus 140 miljonit eurot) ning põllumajandussaaduste ja toidukaupade (langus 30 miljonit eurot) sisseveo kahanemine. Samas suurenes elektriseadmete ja mineraalsete toodete import. Ekspordihinnad langesid 2014. aastal võrreldes 2013. aastaga 2,6% ja impordihinnad 2,2%.

Eesti riik, rahvas ja majandus on väikesed ning seetõttu pole Eestis väga paljusid tooteid võimalik ise toota ega kogu teenuste ulatuslikku skaalat pakkuda. Seetõttu on üsna loomulik, et Eesti ekspordi ja impordi suhe on impordi kasuks ning bilanss negatiivne. On ju vaja palju erinevaid tooteid, sealhulgas tootmiseks vajalikke tehnoloogiad, masinaid, seadmeid, aparatuuri ja palju muid kaupu ning teenuseid teistest, naaberriikidest, aga sageli ka suurematest riikidest sisse osta.

### 3. Euroopa Liidu ja Ukraina tee assotsiatsioonilepingu sõlmimiseks

Kauba- ja teenustevahetusega viimastel aastakümnetel ning eriti viimastel aastatel on aktuaalseks muutunud vabakaubandus ehk kaubanduse liberaliseerimine rahvusvahelistel turgudel. See on osa majanduspoliitikast, mille eesmärgiks on vabakaubandust takistavate piirangute, tollimaksude ning lisatasude ja mittetariifsete tõkete nagu kvootide ja muude nõuete eemaldamine või vähendamine. Selles suunas jätkab tegevust nii Euroopa Liit ja sealhulgas Eesti, pidades silmas mitmepoolset majanduslikku kasu kõigi huvitatud riikidega, seda kindlasti ka Ukrainaga.

Eesti endine välisminister Urmas Paet avaldas enne 28.–29. novembril 2013 Vilniuses toimunud Euroopa Liidu idapartnerluse tippkohtumist lootust, et siis sõlmitakse assotsiatsioonileping Ukrainaga, mis hõlmab ka vabakaubanduslepingut. Samal ajal ei olnud Euroopa Liidu välisministrid Luksemburgis toimunud kohtumisel üksmeel Ukraina suhtes, kuna polnud selgust Ukraina endise peaministri Julia Tõmošenko juhtumise osas, kes mõisteti 2011. aastal vangis võimuvolituste ületamise eest. Euroopa Liidu tõlgenduses oli tegemist valikulise õigusemõistmisega Ukrainas ehk president Viktor Janukovitši poolt poliitilise rivaali kõrvaldamisega. Teiselt poolt ei olnud osa Euroopa Liidu riike ka rahul muudatuste ja reformidega Ukrainas, mille Euroopa Liit oli seadnud assotsiatsioonilepingu sõlmimise tingimuseks. Vilniuse tippkohtumisel oli kavas assotsiatsioonilepingud kinnitada ka Moldova ja Gruusiaga, et need 2014. aastal allkirjastada.

Jõupingutusi on pikka aega teinud ka Venemaa, et Ukrainat Euroopa Liidu asemel konkureeriva Euraasia Liidu liikmeks saada. Venemaa püüab oma liitu ehitada ning arengud Euroopa Liidu ning Ukraina, Moldova ja Gruusia vahel ei meeldi Venemaale. Vene Föderatsiooni President Vladimir Putin on investeerinud Euraasia Liitu palju poliitilist kapitali, kuid Venemaa loodud tolliliiduga on liitunud vaid Valgevene ja Kasahstan.<sup>6</sup> Samuti oli Venemaa surve 2013. aasta teises pooles idapartnerluse riikidele oluliselt ja nähtavalt kasvanud. Armeenia otsustas septembris 2013 Euroopa Liidu asemel liidu kasuks Venemaaga, kellest sõltub Armeenia riigi julgeolek ja energiatarned. Venemaa Euraasia Liiduga liitumiseks reformideks tingimusi ei sea. Venemaa blokeeris Moldovast veinide ja põllumajandussaaduste impordi ning karmistas tollikontrolli Ukraina kaupadele. President Vladimir Putin

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<sup>6</sup> Eurasian Economic Union (EAU) on Venemaa algatusel loodav riikidevaheline liit seni Venemaa, Valgevene ja Kasahstani vahel. Hiljem soovitakse ka Armeenia, Kõrgõzstani ja Tadžikistani liitumist. Tulevikus loodetakse ka teiste, eriti endise Nõukogude Liidu riikide ühendamist ühtsesse poliitilisse, majandus-, tolli-, humanitaarsesse ja kultuuriruumi.

18. novembril 2011 kirjutasid Valgevene, Kasahstani ja Venemaa presidendid alla lepingule, mis seadis eesmärgiks Euraasia Liidu loomise 2015. aastaks. Lepingu juurde kuulus ka kava riikide tulevaseks integratsiooniks. Lepinguga loodi Euroopa Komisjoniga analoogne Euraasia Majanduskomisjon ning Euraasia Majandusruum, mis alustas tegevust 1. jaanuaril 2012.

2013. aasta augustis esitas Ukraina tollase presidendi Viktor Janukovitši eestvedamisel taotluse saada Euraasia Liidus vaatlejastaatus. 29. mail 2014 kirjutati alla leping Venemaa, Valgevene ja Kasahstani vahel kaubandusliidu loomiseks. Kaubandusliidu kolm suurt funktsiooni jagunesid Venemaa pealinna Moskva (jääb Liidu keskuseks), Valgevene pealinna Minski (energia küsimused) ja Kasahhi pealinna Astana vahel (rahanduse problemaatika).

põhjendas seda septembris 2013 sellega, et kui Ukraina hõlbustab Euroopa Liidu kaupade turulepääsu, tuleb Venemaal oma turu kaitseks tollimüür tugevamaks teha. Ka näiteks Ukraina šokolaaditootja „Roshen maiustused“ sai üldise impordikeelu. Samal ajal oli löögi all on ka tollase Euroopa Liidu eesistujariigi Leedu piimatoodete ekspord Venemaale.

Enne Vilniuse kohtumist oli Ukrainas valitsuse tasandil otsustanud, et tahetakse sõlmida assotsiatsioonileping Euroopa Liiduga, sest kahte liitu ühel ajal kuuluda ei saa. Lepingu vabakaubanduse osa oleks jõustunud veel enne, kui lepingu täistekst on kõigis 28-s liikmesriigis ning Ukraina ja Euroopa parlamendis kinnitused saanud. Ukrainale oleks vabakaubandus Euroopa Liiduga tähendanud ühelt poolt suure turu avanemist, ent teisalt kasvavat konkurentsi kodumaistele tootjatele. Mida lähemale jõudis assotsiatsioonilepingu allkirjastamise aeg, seda madalamale kukkus Ukraina riigireiting. Agentuur Moody's kärpis reitingut septembris 2013 seitsme pügala võrra varasemast investeerimisjärgu tasemest, tuues põhjuseks Venemaaga halvenenud suhete negatiivse mõju majandusele. Leping Euroopa Liiduga oleks aidanud Ukrainal oma majandust reformida. 2013. aasta keskel oli Ukraina majandus näiteks äritegevuse lihtsuselt Maailmapanga 185 riigi võrdluses 137. kohal, Lesotho ja Filipiinide vahel. Teises kvartalis 2013 kahanes Ukraina SKP aasta baasil 1,3%, pärast 1,1% suurst langust esimeses kvartalis 2013. Samal ajal prognoosis Ukraina valitsus 2014. aastaks majanduskasvu taastumist 3–3,5% tasemel. Ukraina riigi rahandus oli samal ajal keerulises seisus, kuna enam kui aasta väldanud kõnelused IMFi abipaketi saamiseks ei toonud uut kokkulepet. Eriti viimastel nädalatel enne Vilniuse kohtumist oli Ukraina pingutanud, et seadustes vajalikud muudatused sisse viia. Kuid Euroopa Liit kõhkles. Tooni andsid kahtlused, kas Ukraina ikka tahab tegelikult muutuda. Saadi küll aru, et oluline on Ukraina Euroopale lähemale tuua, teisalt aga kardeti, kas Ukrainale ei anta maailma jõukaimale turule juurdepääsu ennatlikult, premeerides poolikuid reforme.

Vilniuse tippkohtumist peeti strateegiliselt tähtsaks. Oldi seisukohal, et kui lepingut ei sünni, on see kahjulik ka Euroopa Liidule: ühelt poolt majanduslikult – Ukraina on ikkagi enam kui 45 miljoni tarbijaga turg ning teisalt poolt poliitiliselt – kõik tahavad, et Euroopa Liidu naabruses oleksid võimalikult demokraatlikud ja stabiilsed riigid. Ilma Ukrainata kuivaks kokku ka Euroopa Liidu idapartnerlusprogramm. Eesti välisminister Urmas Paet oli veendunud, et Euroopa Liidu võimalus Ukraina protsesse positiivselt mõjutada on oluliselt suurem siis, kui Ukrainaga on lepinguline suhe, vastasel korral jääb positiivne mõju oluliselt nõrgemaks. Paraku ei sõlminud Euroopa Liit Vilniuse kohtumisel Ukrainaga vabakaubanduslepingut, see ebaõnnestus, kuna Ukraina tollane president Viktor Janukovitš ei kirjutanud Vilniuses assotsiatsioonilepingule alla.

Eesti Vabariigi Valitsus kiitis 19. juuni 2014 istungil heaks Euroopa Liidu vabakaubandus- ning assotsiatsioonilepingud Gruusia ja Moldovaga. Ukrainaga sõlmitav leping oli juba varem heaks kiidetud. Euroopa Liiduga sõlmitud assotsiatsioonilepingute eesmärk on kiirendada Gruusia, Moldova ja Ukraina poliitiliste ja majandussuhete süvendamist Euroopa Liiduga. Vabakaubanduspiirkonna loomise peamised eesmärgid on kaotada kõrged tollitariifid, kõrvaldada tehnilised kaubandus-

tõkked, liberaliseerida teenuste turg, kaitsta Euroopa Liidu geograafilisi tähiseid, avada riigihangete turud, rakendada töölaseid ja keskkonnakaitse standardeid ning seada sisse tõhusad ja kiired vaidluste lahendamise menetlused. Lepingud on ka Ukraina, Gruusia ja Moldovaga reformikava aluseks, et aidata kaasa õigusriigi, demokraatia, inimõiguste ja vaba turumajanduse põhimõtete juurdumisele. Moldovaga alustati assotsiatsioonilepingu läbirääkimisi 2010. jaanuaris. Euroopa Liidu ja Gruusia vahelise assotsiatsioonilepingu läbirääkimised algasid 2010. aasta mais. Euroopa Liidu assotsieerimislepingud Gruusia ja Moldovaga parafeeriti 2013. aasta novembris Vilniuses toimunud Euroopa Liidu idapartnerluse tippkohtumisel. Euroopa Liidu ning Gruusia, Moldova ja Ukraina vahelised vabakaubandus- ja assotsiatsioonilepingud allkirjastati 27. juunil 2014 Brüsselis Euroopa Ülemkogul. Kõige selle tegevuse valguses on Venemaa reaktsiooniks olnud agressiivne käitumine ja selle toetamine Krimmi poolsaarel ning Ukraina idapiirkondades. See on justkui jätkuks Venemaa varasemale Gruusia vastasele agressioonile 7.-15. augustil 2008. aastal (nn Gruusia sõda).

#### **4. Euroopa Liidu ning teiste lääneriikide suhted Venemaaga tulenevalt sündmustest Ukrainas**

Nii rahvusvaheline poliitiline kui majanduslik olukord Euroopas on keeruline ning Euroopa Liidu ühispuudlused Venemaale demokraatlikke väärtusi meelde tuletada, on Venemaal kutsunud esile üpris närvilised reageeringud. Venemaa on kummalisel kombel seisukohal (nii kui omal ajal Nõukogude Liit), et suur hulk riike on tema vastu ja vaenlased. Tegelikult sunnib ja surub Venemaa just need riigid, kes on valmis temaga sõbralikuks koostööks, hoopis tema vastu ühisrindena ja sanktsioonidega tegutsema. Venemaa võiks oma ambitsioonid, hirmud ja agressori-kavatsused kõrvale heita ning keskenduda tegelikult vaid Venemaa piires oma rahvusriigi ülesehitamisele ja arendamisele. On kindel, et sellele aitaksid kaasa ka kõik rahuarmastavad ja demokraatlikud riigid, nende seas ka Euroopa Liit, sealhulgas Eesti, Läti ja Leedu. Maailmas peaks vist selge olema, et asumaade ja kolooniate aeg on läbi!? Vägivalla, valetamise ja ähvardamisega pole võimalik usaldust saavutada ja arenguid tagada.

Aga siiski, 6. augustil 2014 allkirjastas Vene Föderatsiooni president Vladimir Putin nn ukaasi „spetsiaalsetest majandusmeetmetest Vene Föderatsiooni julgeoleku tagamiseks“, et keelata üheks aastaks enamiku toiduainete sissevedu Venemaa sanktsioonide alla pandud lääneriikidest. 7. augustil 2014 kinnitas Vene Föderatsiooni Valitsus sisseveokeelu nimekirja. Selles nimekirjas on paljud peamised toidukaubad ja põllumajandussaadused Euroopa Liidu riikidest, USA-st, Kanadast, Austraaliast ja Norrast. Aastase keelu alla pandi näiteks juur- ja puuviljad, sea- ja veiseliha, linnuliha ning neist valmistatud lihasaadused, kala ja kalatooted, piim ja piimasaadused, sh juust. See oli Venemaa vastus paljudele USA, Euroopa Liidu, Kanada, Norra ja Austraalia sanktsioonidele Venemaa poolse Krimmi annekteerimise ja Ida-Ukrainas sealsete separatistide-terroristide tegevuse toetamise ning agressiooni eest. Keeld moodustab 43,5% Venemaa 32,1 miljardi euro suurusest põllumajandussaaduste impordist aastal 2013. Põllumajandussaaduste kaubavahetus Venemaaga oli 2013. aastal järgmine (miljardites eurodes): Euroopa Liidul – 11,8 (ehk 9,9%

kogueksportidist Venemaale); USA-l – 0,97 (ehk 11,7%); Norral – 0,7 (ehk 76%); Kanadal – 0,4 (ehk 33%) ja Austraaliale – 0,08 (ehk 15,4%). Eestile on Venemaa suurima toidukaupade eksportriik, kuhu 2013.aastal viidi ligi viiendik (19,2%) eksporditud toidust. Üle poole sellest moodustavad omakorda joogid, eelkõige alkohol, mis aga on enamasti re-eksport ehk mujalt sisseostetud kauba ja tooraine edasimüümine.

Venemaale oli valmis oma toodete sissevedu suurendama eeskätt Brasiilia, mingil määral ka Argentiina ja Tšiili. Samas tuli arvestada, et 2014. aasta keskel (siis teravnesid probleemid) oli lõunapoolkeral talveperiood ning ka Venemaal ei olnud 2014. aastal võimalik kiirelt põllumajandussaaduste tootmist suurendada, kuna olemasolevad saagid olid juba valmimas ning lähenesid sügis ja talv.

Eestis tabas Venemaa otsus kõige valusamini piima- ja kalatootjaid (kuigi kaugeltki mitte kõiki). Samas, keelud pole Eestile midagi uut. Neist enamik tootjaid on aga juba aasta algusest pidanud uusi turgusid otsima, kuna Venemaa fütosanitaaramet keelas peaaegu kõigi Eesti piima- ja kalatöötlejate ekspordi Venemaa tolliliitu. Vaevalt jõuti mõni neist keeldudest tühistada, kui kehtestati uued ja täiendavad keelud. Eesti poliitikud ja ka osa majanduspraktikuid ning majandusteadlasi usuvad, et Venemaa turult eemalolekukogemus tuleb Eesti ettevõtetele ainult kasuks. Ühtekokku võivad Eesti firmad piirangute tõttu kaotada 75 miljonit eurot, Soome ettevõtted aga enam kui 400 miljonit eurot. Lätlased on Venemaa sanktsioonidega arvestanud ja teevad täiendavaid ettevalmistusi nende leevendamiseks. Tollane Eesti põllumajandusminister Ivari Padar tunnistas küll olukorra tõsidust, kuid kinnitas optimistlikult, et Eesti on „karastunud juba igasugustes Venemaa poliitikates, olgu selle nimi siis sealihä ekspordipiirangud või paljude Eesti ettevõtete väljajäämine Venemaa ekspordist. Karastust on kõvasti“.

CNN tsiteeris üht USA administratsiooni esindajat: „Impordikeeld vaid suurendab Venemaa rahvusvahelist isolatsiooni ja töötab nende enda huvide vastu ... Vene keskpank tõi välja, et imporditud keeld lööb üles Venemaa niigi kõrge inflatsiooni, õhnestades Vene kodanike ostujõudu.“ *Deutsche Welle* ajakirjanik Bernd Johann arvas analüüsile toetudes, et „Nagu Nõukogude ajal võib Venemaa taas läbi ajada toodeteta. Kreml tahab karistada Euroopa Liitu ja teisi riike, kuid kõige rohkem kannatavad vene tarbijad. *Deutsche Welle* analüüsi järgi teevad sanktsioonid halba nii venelastele kui eurooplastele. Just seetõttu Euroopa Liit kõhkleski kaua, enne kui lõpuks sanktsioonid kehtestas. Malaisia reisilennuki allatulistamine otsustas aga selle käigu. Kindlasti peaksid kõik Euroopa Liidu liikmesriigid olema sanktsioonide osas aga ühtsed ja kindlameelsed, sest vastasel juhul pole edaspidi ühelgi riigil kindlustunnet Venemaa ettearvatute ja tsiviliseerimata tegevuste osas. Seda on näidanud ajalugu ning suhted Venemaaga, eriti Balti riikide oma, ja nendest kogemustest tuleks kõigil õppust võtta. Pikkamisi jõuavad need arusaamad ka paljude Euroopa poliitikuteni – nii kirjutas Rootsi välisminister Margot Wallström, et „Venemaa oleks võinud olla paljudes valdkondades Rootsil ja Euroopa Liidule tähtis partner. Selle asemel oleme silmitsi vastupidise reaalsusega.“ Lisades, et Euroopa ajaloo süingeimad peatükid on Venemaa poolt uuesti avatud. Sellele on eelnenud Vene okupatsioon ja Krimmi illegaalne annekteerimine ning Vene agressioon Ida-Ukrainas, kus on toetatud separatiste.



Arvestades Venemaa ettearvamatuid käitumisi nii viimastel aastatel kui kogu Nõukogude Liidu lagunemise järel, peaksid riigid ja ettevõtted, poliitikud ja majanduspraktikud ka midagi õppima. Ilmselt pole mõtet nii suuri panuseid kui seni suhetesse ja majandussidemetesse Venemaaga teha. Tuleb aktiivselt teisi turge otsida ning Venemaaga majandussidemete puhul tagasihoidlikumates mastaapides teutseda. Ehk nagu ütleb rahvatarkus – kõiki mune ei tohi vaid ühes korvis hoida, vaid neid tuleks hoida mõistlikult ja võimalikult paljudes korvides. Siis ei ole ebaõnnestumised-kukkumised ehk majanduslangused ja tagasilöögid väga suured, vaid suhteliselt minimaalsed.

### **Kokkuvõte**

Kaubavahetus ei ole Eestis viimastel aastatel alati kasvutrendis olnud. Selle põhjuseks on nii majanduskriis kui ekspordi sihtriikide majanduslik ebakindlus. Olukorda on mõjutanud ka Venemaa poliitiline ja majanduspoliitiline tegevus nii otsesuhetes Eesti ja teiste Euroopa Liidu riikidega kui ka suhetes Ukrainaga. Kahjuks on Ukraina majandussidemed viimastel aastatel Eestiga kahanenud, loodetavasti on see siiski edaspidi mõõduv trend. Kindlasti on üheks eelnimetatu põhjuseks Venemaa ebakonstruktiivne tegevus. Paneb imestama (kuigi imestada pole siin tegelikult midagi!), et Venemaa peab kõiki oma agressiivseid ja mittetsiviliseeritud käitumisi teiste riikide ja rahvaste suhtes õigeks ning teiste seisukohti ja vastureaktsioone sellisele tegevusele ebaõiglaseks ning põhjendamatuks. Demokraatlikud riigid on kohustatud sellisele tegevusele ja olukorrale adekvaatselt ning konstruktiivselt reageerima.