

中文摘要

委內瑞拉為世界第五大的石油輸出國，且同為石油輸出國家組織的創始會員國之一。石油是委內瑞拉最為重要的產業與經濟活動，而委內瑞拉因石油而富，亦因石油而貧，委內瑞拉所依賴的石油一直以來猶如兩面刃般深刻的影響委內瑞拉的政治、經濟與社會。

1992 年政變失敗的陸軍中校查維茲打著激烈改革的口號，於 1998 年贏得委內瑞拉總統大選，終結支配委內瑞拉政治長達 50 年的「協定民主」，為委內瑞拉的歷史打開了新的一頁。對於查維茲而言，委內瑞拉的石油不但是國家主權獨立的象徵，同時亦應用於國際政治中重要的地緣政治武器。因此，查維茲上台後，便積極展開石油改革計畫，強化對國內石油產業的控制權，重整委內瑞拉國營石油公司，並利用石油收入進行社會發展計畫。此外，配合近年來國際油價的高漲，查維茲在區域與國際政治舞台上，運用委內瑞拉豐富的石油蘊藏與龐大的石油收入，進行合縱連橫，攏絡盟友並且試圖削弱美國的影響力。

本研究採用 K. J. Holsti 所提出的個人、國家、體系與全球四個分析層次作為主要分析架構，以求對於查維茲政權能源政策做出全面性的探討。此論文假設查維茲政權能源政策的發展，決策者為核心因素，藉由在個人層次上，透過決策者個人研究，以求對查維茲個人政治理念有通盤的了解，並探討如何影響委內瑞拉能源政策之發展。再者，選取在國內、體系中對委內瑞拉能源政策影響較深的因素，解釋查維茲政權在這些因素影響下，產生何種政策輸出？最後，探討近年來全球能源環境的變遷與重要的發展趨勢，作為影響查維茲政權能源政策的重要中介因素，解釋全球能源環境的變化與發展對查維茲能源政策有何影響？

關鍵字：分析層次；委內瑞拉；查維茲；玻利瓦主義；玻利瓦任務；委內瑞拉國營石油公司；奧里諾科石油計畫；拉丁美洲區域整合；拉丁美洲左派。

Abstract

Venezuela is the fifth-largest oil exporter in the world, also, one of the founding members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. In Venezuela, most industries and economic activities are dominated by Petroleum sector, a “double edged sword” which brings both positive and negative effects, and deeply influences the political, economic and social conditions in Venezuela.

In 1998, the former lieutenant colonel, Hugo Chávez, who had organized an unsuccessful coup in 1992, seized the power as president in the election with the claim of “radical reformation”. The result in 1998 presidential election terminated the nearly fifty-year long “pacted democracy” and create a unprecedented prospect on Venezuela’s history. To Chávez, the oil is not only the symbol of independence of national sovereignty, but also a useful geopolitical weapon in the field of international politics. Therefore, Chávez began his oil reformation: strengthen the state control to the oil industry, reorganize the national oil company, Petroleos de Venezuela, SA, PDVSA, and use the income to facilitate the social policy. Moreover, due to the reason of oil price surging in recent years, the abundant oil reserve and its’ enormous output value enable Chavez to expand his power base and also to put his intention of striking the influence of United State in both regional and international stage to practice.

This study adopts K. J. Holsti’s four levels of analysis – individual, state, system and global, as the analytic framework to this research. In this study, the individual level is assumed as the core factor of the energy policy development under the Chávez regime. Chavez’s political ideas and how it influences Venezuela’s energy policy would be examined through the study of his leadership. Furthermore, taking important factors influencing energy policy in both domestic and international level into account, what policies output related to the above factors had Chavez made? Last but not the least, a discussion of global energy environment change in recent years would be made for explaining how it acts as the intermediary factors which influence the energy policy of Chávez regime.

Keywords: level of analysis, Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, Bolivarianism, Bolívar mission, PDVSA, Orinoco project, Latin American regional integration, Latin American left.