



**Doctoral School
of International
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COLLECTION OF THESES

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Az The External Energy Policy of the European Union
Import-dependence, security of supply and integration

Ph.D. dissertation

Consultant:

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Department of International Economics

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1. Preliminary research and justification for the topic

Integration of the European Union's energy policy is characterized by slow organic development along with halting surging fits and starts. Member states with different interests are especially vigilant in preserving their sovereignty in the highly strategic energy sector so that establishing community competencies as compared to other areas is slower and more difficult to achieve. Currently however, the EU is facing challenges (economic/financial, environmental and energy crises) that may force it to pick up the pace and cooperate on stalled energy affairs. As Delors points out, these crises also present an opportunity to break out of and find a way out of the crises, as the new industrial revolution founded on sustainable development and the technologies of the third millennium may present a leading role for Europe.¹ Energy policy, therefore, can be an important area for Europe's socio-economic revival.

The energy policy interests of the European Union exceed its geographic boundaries; all the issues pertaining to energy supply, such as dependency on imports, sustainability and competitiveness involve international relationships, which lead to fostering the dimension of foreign relations. Through cooperative efforts over energy affairs – based on the unfolding regulatory market, institutional and infrastructural achievements – the Union's external energy policy, its need for a “common voice” has come to be articulated. Articulation of the concept of external energy policy came to pass not long after the Ukrainian-Russian gas dispute was made public within the framework of the March 2006 Green Paper, subtitled, “*A European strategy for sustainable, competitive and secure energy*” (henceforth, the 2006 Green Paper).² The principles stated in the document determine policy-making with respect to foreign relations in energy affairs to this day. The intent for a coordinated solution, nevertheless, goes back several decades into the past: having determined to be import-dependent, the European Commission's documents reveal from the 1960s onward that development of the foreign relations dimension of energy

¹ Jacques, Delors: A Call for a European Energy Community in: Andoura-Hancher-van der Woude: Towards a European Energy Community: A Policy Proposal, Notre Europe, March 2010.

² COM(2006)105

affairs (foreign economic and foreign policy) was slow.³ Strengthening of the *foreign economic dimension* was caused primarily by increased dependency on imports, the volatility of world market prices and that this trend was accelerating, resultant risks in the ability to be competitive, unresolved problems of investment, issues of transit in connection with imports, the Union's liberalization of electrical energy and natural gas markets, as well as asymmetry in the tendency toward centralization among exporters.⁴ Strengthening of the *foreign relations dimension* came about as a result of uneasiness over energy security and the resultant security measures taken in energy matters. At the same time, cooperation over energy policy – due to its strategic significance – has always been an important part of the relationship among nations, extending beyond that of economic cooperation.⁵

The objective of this dissertation, presuming dynamic development in integration, is to provide an overview of the cooperation over energy matters in foreign relations. In consequence of the particular nature of the given conditions – whether we examine issues of international economics, foreign policy or sphere of influence – a framework is unfolding for a new cooperative model that rests on a complicated multi-layered system of competencies and which require unique tools.

1.1. The subject of the research

Historically, energy policy has been subject to three priorities: cheap energy supply that meets the demands of production and consumption; security of supply; as well as environmental requirements.⁶ Actualization of these parameters entails serious contradictions⁷ and under given circumstances the relationship that exists among them may

³Pálfiné Sipőcz Rita [2010a]: Az EU külső energiafüggősége, mint kohéziós erő? Európa Újragondolása Műhelytanulmányok, 2010.

⁴Pálfiné Sipőcz Rita [2010b] Importfüggőség és integráció az Európai Unió energiaügyi együttműködésben. *Európai Tükör* 2011. április

⁵E.g. See Vajda György[2005] Energiaellátás és globalizáció *Energiagazdálkodás* 2115. 46. évf. 2. sz. 3-8. on the correlation between history and international policy in the strategic role of energy policy.

⁶Palánkai Tibor [2004]: Az Európai integráció gazdaságtana, Aula Budapest 159.

⁷Hegedüs Miklós [2007]: Energiapolitika: az Európai Unió és Magyarország, *Az Elemző* 2007/1. 65.

result in priorities of various importance. EU energy policy must strive to strike a balance among these objectives, namely, a more sustainable energy-mix, while improved security of supply and prices are determined by market conditions (although increasingly factors exist that disrupt this balance in the latter).⁸ It seems these days that the Union and its member states must address increasingly more difficult challenges in all three areas. The course of the energy market in the last few years indicates that the era of cheap energy is over – at least in the area of hydrocarbons. The volatility of prices is paired with an ongoing tendency toward escalation in which the growing cost and risks involved in tapping into available resources play a significant part – as the disaster in the Gulf of Mexico demonstrates. Climate change and an energy sector based on fossil fuel carries significant environmental risks the long range sociological expenses of which are inestimable and bring to bear an increasingly wider spectrum of social pressure on policy makers. With the hydrocarbon resources of industrially developed nations at near exhaustion and the concentration of reserves in areas that are politically more at risk and geographically harder to reach energy security is deteriorating. The European Union’s Energy Policy (EEP) is a community policy to *supplement* the policies of member states, however, the aforementioned energy policy objectives also affect the Union and each of its members differently. Assurance of energy security is under the jurisdiction of member states, while sustainability is one of the fundamental elements of the European socio-economic model and is actualized through the implementation of typically common objectives on the level of member states.⁹ The three disparate energy policy objectives, implemented through shared common member state endeavors, are inseparable from external third-country and global challenges. Secure energy supply must be guaranteed by EU countries that rely increasingly on outside resources while – in the longer range – they wrestle with competitiveness and sustainability challenges.¹⁰ Today, half of the 27-member European Union’s energy consumption comes from imports, by 2030 it is expected to be

⁸Coby Van der Linde [2008]:Turning a Weakness into a Strength, IFRI

⁹ Sipőcz Rita [2008. a]: Az európai integráció, mint új típusú gazdaság- és társadalomszervezési modell, *Grotius e-könyvtár*

¹⁰EU energy policy is developing in the triangle of Lisbon, Moscow and Kyoto, which symbolize the viewpoints of competitiveness, security of supply and sustainability. See Bas R. Percival: The Risk of Energy Securitization on the Eurasian Continent, *Clingendael briefing papers*, July, 2008

two-thirds – natural gas at 84% and crude oil at 93%. Import dependency and the supply-led re-politicized hydrocarbon market of necessity lead to the increased value of foreign relations in energy affairs. Endeavors in support of sustainable development, issues of global regulation, and curbing import dependency as an alternative measure all entail a dimension of foreign relations. With respect to the issue of cheap energy supply it is not only the EU as a macro-region but also the domestic market as an agent in the ability to be competitive bear with the foreign relationship dimension. In the same way that the three energy policy endeavors are closely related, their foreign relations impact also affect one another. However, articulation of the need for a *European External Energy Policy* (EEEP) – in the absence of common foreign policy or energy policy – may be regarded as a unique phenomenon of integration, the examination of which may present an important addition to understanding the multi-layered process of European integration. This dissertation undertakes to present the main aspects of the EEEP, its institutionalization and the factors affecting its communalization.

The selection of the subject is very opportune from several perspectives. In part, parallel with the oft-mentioned stall in integration, the global economic constraints affecting energy policy influence the integration process and according to my conjecture contribute to its expansion, deepening, and the increased significance of the EU as an international player. The unfolding of a common external energy policy may be part of this process also. In another respect, because of Hungary's import vulnerability, the effect of a "common voice" on energy supply urged by the EU is especially important. Thirdly, treatment of the EU's external energy policy in domestic publications is meager so that a comprehensive introduction of the subject is warranted.

In view of the fact that external energy policy is a special frontier that touches upon the areas of foreign, security, energy, environmental, research and development policies, it is closely tied to matters of international economic and political cooperation, including equally their international legal background and actual processes; it is also connected to the activities of international organizations as well as multinational energy companies in a way that a comprehensive introduction of developments pertaining to them exceeds the framework of this doctoral dissertation. Despite this restriction, I strive to present a

comprehensive view of the development of the EEEP, its internal and external system of provisions, the position it fulfills in energy policymaking and European integration, and the tools that serve these objectives.

In presenting the communalization of external energy policy this dissertation undertakes an overview of the following topics:

1.1.1. The concept of external energy policy, explanation of its concept of integration

1.1.2. History of the development of external energy policy

1.1.3. Structural (energy-economic) system of provisions

1.1.4. Cooperation in energy affairs within the EU's system of foreign relations

1.1.5. External energy policy as a model for cooperation

2. Methods of utilization

The manner in which the communalization of the EEEP is taking place and the influence of particular circumstances causing it may be traced back to one of the fundamental issues of the concept of integration, namely, to what are the moving forces of integration.

In view of the fact that the concept of external energy policy has been part of the EU's discourse agenda since 2006, our research directed specifically to this area also pertains fundamentally to the period following the turn of the millennium. Nevertheless, a dynamic approach to the EEEP we outline based on change in external economic and energy-economic requirements necessitates in one part a retrospective introduction of the energy-economic system of provisions and on the other, the policy-making stages concomitant with it, as well as an overview of the development of the relevant international legal framework that pertains to them. The *developmental history perspective in approaching* the subject serves not only to examine events after the turn of the millennium in a historical context so that we can present a more realistic view of the role external energy policy plays but also offers an appropriate – flexible – framework through which to view the territorial expansion of European integration, in the course of which the preferences, interests and challenges of the energy policy are continually changing. The developmental history overview came about decidedly as a result of document analysis from the very beginning to the present, taking into account relevant community documents.

In order to outline the framework conditions for policy-making I reviewed the system of provisions in global economics that provides the framework for understanding the policy and energy-economic signifiers of the EU and its member states, the context of foreign policy, as well as the institutional and regulatory background of the region. A prerequisite for the examination of the assumed effects a change in import-dependency has on integration – one that promotes the incentive to establish an external energy policy – requires an overview of the energy-economic signifiers and within this context the EU's and its member states' relevant foreign relations. The foregoing has fundamentally come to fruition through a secondary analysis of statistical data from 1951 to the present.

In presenting the field of activity for external energy policy I used the participant-centered and structuralist approach to foreign policy analysis equally. A means of accomplishing this is to outline the energy-profile of member states and that of the community first and foremost through *a secondary analysis of statistical data* as well as presenting the external economic correlations in the integration of the energy market. In order to compare the energy security characteristics and commitment toward cooperation by member states I applied a supplemental analysis of the expected security of supply based on the CIEP model's results.

In analyzing foreign relations in the energy affairs of integration utilization of *the analytic method in connection with the concepts inherent in the main schools of international relations* provided another dimension to our examination. Realism in energy supply (import), the appearance of liberalism in foreign relations in the regulatory system of internal markets, preferences in foreign relations by participants, constructivism as a European model, and development of sustainability all help in examining the subject of discourse. These issues provide the other conceptual framework for the examination of the EEEP. I also investigated the forces that bear on cooperation and its practical potential for development. I wished to make certain relationships more encompassing and as part of this effort specifically by introducing a detailed analysis of EU-Russian relations where I relied fundamentally on document analysis and information garnered from in-depth interviews, as well as a secondary analysis of foreign relations and investment statistics.

Finally, I attempted to delineate a formation model of the policy, its fundamental principles, objectives, tools, moving forces and dilemmas. The EU as an international player is not

homogenous, the presence of member states and the community as well as non-governmental participants results in a multi-layered structure of interests. In other respects the member states-community division of the sphere of influence is also divergent in certain objective areas of energy policy. In connection with these issues I reviewed the *competencies* of the community and member states as well as their economic and political relationships of interests, presupposing that in the final analysis the interests of economic and other non-governmental organizations emerge in the activities of the international players.

Based on document analysis of the written material on the EU I use the terms external energy policy and foreign policy on energy matters synonymously. My analytical unit is the European Union with a look at member states and global economics as necessary in order to elucidate the subject.

3. Results of the dissertation

3.1. The hypothesis and its evaluation

3.1.1. The “common voice” in the community’s strategy and practice

H1. The foreign energy policy of the European Union in fact already exists in part in certain aspects of foreign relations. The communalization of energy-affair relations is successful in areas where solid cooperative standards have been established. The external energy policy of the European Union, based on the development of secondary rights, manifests in its expansion to neighboring regions (export standard).

External energy policy is revealed in the community’s preliminary material for decision-making, analyses of strategies and legal issues, in a formulating quasi-policy-making sense, a characteristic of which is the attempt to guarantee a “common voice.” This attempt is not new, it has been an adjunct to the history of western European economic integration from the dependence on hydrocarbons that escalated in the 1960s to this day. At the same time analyses of the developmental history and competencies of foreign relations with respect to energy affairs makes clear that in certain areas of the Union’s foreign relations *an external energy policy is already operating*. Actualization of an external energy policy on the level of the Union can take place where solid internal standards have developed and where the

EU wishes and can bring these regulations into force in its foreign relations. The most characteristic example of the EEEP is the Energy Community Treaty signed in 2005 enlarging the Community's achievements in energy affairs to the southern-European nations, which in its own right was the first to guarantee that the EU as shareholder independently accepts international responsibility in the name of its member states. As partner to the Treaty the EU took on an independent legal role and tempered its dependency by expanding its system of standards to important transit countries. The role of the development of solid internal standards as a fundamental condition to a unified foreign relations approach is also confirmed in an indirect fashion by a retrospective analysis of community strategies. As far back as the first half of the 1960s attempts to decrease import dependency that had escalated by leaps and bounds existed, along with modification of the energy-mix, elevating negotiations with transporters to the level of the community, and coordinating a foreign relations position. No unified foreign relations position was achieved despite consistent import dependency, rocketing oil prices and turmoil in supply until internal markets and regulations on competition created a common platform to address the issue. Another factor in assuming a unified position is also being outlined at the same time: development of the Union as an independent political formation, which as a result of a spillover phenomenon created an ever-widening basis for the EEEP. In terms of strengthening its policy the EU can be well tracked in the course of the unfolding of the EEEP (international treaties, establishment of strategic partnerships, etc.).

3.1.2. Limitations of export standards – the latitude of external energy policy

H2. The EU's foreign relations follow the principle of concentric circles in which the EU's system of standards is effective with disparate intensity. Divergent interest structures on the part of partners impose limits on the success of the export standards. While the EU as a center of modernization was able to establish a common regulatory region with the surrounding transit countries there is no hope of achieving the same with most of exporters for the time being.

The EU bears the traces of change in its system of foreign relations in its geopolitical relationships of interest over the past five decades. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union the eastern boundary in the unfolding integration of a bipolar world order, practically

speaking, is “in motion.” It is in this changing system of provisions that a coherent flexible foreign relations framework must be constructed taking into account the signifiers and geopolitical characteristics of particular regions and countries, which at the same time integrate the EU’s foreign economic and specialized political viewpoints. Based on the thesis of “the logic of development”¹¹ the need for the appearance of a common foreign policy and the element of foreign relations can be assessed as a natural component of the unfolding of integration.

The EU’s foreign relations may be grasped along concentric circles in which the Union’s system of standards prevails with disparate intensities. This is also apparent in the area of energy affairs. Countries of the European Economic Area (EEA) have all nearly completely adopted the common system of standards. Application of the Union’s energy policy and market regulations is typical in the case of the southeastern European states that comprise the Energy Community, while harmonization of legal regulations among neighbors to the east positioned in the “outer circle,” as well as Russia, is a matter of negotiation.¹² Among the countries – primarily transit – with direct interest in European integration, which view the EU as a center of modernization, the exportation of standards is working successfully. The process of integration of energy affairs that span the political boundaries of the Union also alludes to a certain modernization spillover effect manifest toward candidate countries. In relation to transits, in addition to attempts at the exportation of standards, fostering foreign relations (structured dialogue) built on mutual advantage and built on complementariness characterizes the systematized tools of the Union’s external energy policy. Perhaps the most significant element of the first is the EU-Russian energy dialogue about development of a trans-European network in the course of which the possibility of bringing about cooperation with third countries exists, attempts in connection with the peaceful utilization of atomic energy, and endeavors in developmental policy. The EU is striving to play a key role in establishing multilateral international agreements and in international organizations and forums. However, consolidation of the Committee’s and member states’ position still raises numerous questions.

¹¹ See Gazdag [2005]

¹² Westphal [2007.] 206., cited by Joób [2007]

Limitation of export standards is confirmed by the example of the original ECT community initiative signed in 1994. The treaty based fundamentally on WTO standards, reflecting the interests of exporters minimally, bogged down in the grips of the EU's most important hydrocarbon transporters such that expanding it to Russia, Algeria and other countries of the Gulf region was unsuccessful. The EEEP, therefore, appears as the "continuation" of internal cooperation in the system of the southeastern European energy community, while development of the primarily security of supply-centric EU-Russian cooperation aptly characterizes the enduring presence of the duality of member states-community competencies. The exporters wish to adhere to their own rules of the game in the energy sector and the EU is not equipped with the necessary political force with which it could bring about a substantial change.

3.1.3. Framework conditions of the external energy policy – the dual requirements of security of supply and the European model

H3. The EEEP, as a model of cooperation under formation, is the unique product of the integration process: it must reflect both the values of the EU's socio-economic model as well as that of the security of supply for member states.

Development of cooperation in foreign relations over energy affairs – as well as the whole of European integration – accompanies throughout the dilemma of inter-governmentalism and supranationalism. The result of our examination so far confirms that in certain segmented areas the EEEP's energy affairs are working – where solid community standards have been established, in a geographically limited circle, and where the EU functions as a center of modernization and sphere of attraction. Independent community competencies have developed that reflect what has become a creative element of the development of a system of standards in the European socio-economic model's common and community policies. The present hypothesis calls attention to the EEEP's sub-category that falls under the *intergovernmental* sphere of decision-making, that is, to the challenges of coordination that stem from this. Establishing a coherency within the EEEP is made difficult by the objectives of energy policy and the tools that aid policy, the multi-layered nature of the decision-making patterns and spheres of influence in connection with it, as well as the mixture of member states and community competencies. In order to establish a more

transparent framework for policy-making this dissertation proposes a three-fold demarcation of goals and means along the lines of the three classic energy policies. On the basis of the division of competencies activities the various *sub-category areas* require different levels of foreign relation activities such that *a framework of three foreign relations activities unfolds*: (1) Among the *member states' spheres of influence* in areas stated as energy policy objectives those functions relating to security of supply (determination of the energy-mix and its defense). Improvement in the security of supply among the member states' sphere of influence comes into play by way of the Community's supportive efforts. (2) Competitive cheap energy supply to neighboring countries within the framework of regional market expansion is realized on the basis of community competencies. (3) Representation of sustainable energy policy on a global scale functions based on a multilateral regulatory system and its own system of standards.

The “common voice,” a uniform foreign relations position, with respect to foreign and security policies and energy-mix of necessity represents the greatest challenge to the authority of member states in the area of security of supply. A compromise to preserve the options of the EEEP may be provided in part by intergovernmental mechanisms that enable faster and more flexible decision-making in energy affairs. In another part, establishing the framework for a common position on external energy affairs already in progress can continue along common policies, and as such built on internal market competition and the empowerment behind trade policy – along the tracks of exportation of standards. Thirdly, The ECT and the framework of international law in sustainable development assure comprehensive regulation. The EEEP through the validation of the fundamental principles of the European model is connected in a broader context to the EU as an international player as well through its exportation of standards activities. The chief elements of the model are unencumbered competition, economy based on non-discrimination, sustainable development and within this context an emphasis on environmental protection, the social dimension that places the individual at the center, as well as its primary legal consequences (e.g. Charter of Fundamental Rights). From the perspective of the EEEP framing all the above and establishing coherence among them is yet to be accomplished.

3.1.4. Energy import dependence as a moving force of integration

H4. At the level of the Union energy import dependency – as a result of the supply risks involved – affects the process of integration: it becomes an external moving force toward integration in articulating common break-out strategies. Development of external energy policy may be part of the community's efforts to increase security of supply and may at the same time be a result of it.

The import-dependency of the European Union is such a structural characteristic that it fundamentally determines the objectives, forms and possibilities of cooperation in energy affairs. The Community's energy import dependency is equipped with characteristics that fundamentally influence the EEEP's field of activities. These are: (1) the tendency toward increase, (2) the asymmetric interdependency of buyer-transporter relationships, (3) the dynamics of geographic expansion. The EU's aggregate import-dependency – in course of the exhaustion of its own resources and the lack of success so far in switching to alternative sources of energy – may grow continually, which may make the EU increasingly vulnerable as a socio-economic entity and lead to global competitive disadvantage. *In terms of transport relations, import dependency is mutual, in tandem with complementary interests.* The EU's hydrocarbon transporters are typically equipped with unilateral export-product structures and the EU's clout in relation to their export structure is outstanding. Connected to mutual dependency is the *dilemma of interdependence*, which alludes to the problems of the ideal status in buyer-transporter relationships. Mutual dependency is asymmetrical and carries a different nature of risk at different spans of time for exporters and importers. Along with import dependency, international relations on the level of member states as well as the Community have appreciated seemingly automatically such that the need for an external energy policy has come to the forefront as a new area of cooperation. From the perspective of dependency *efforts at institution building* can be pinpointed in formulating external energy policy, in accordance with observed neo-liberal institutionalism and neo-functionalism integration concepts. The framework system intended to regulate international cooperation in energy affairs is continually developing, encompassing the Union's bilateral and multilateral international relationships – already introduced in part. In addition to the ECT and the Energy Community Treaty efforts directed at the security of energy supply are gaining increasing significance in the Union's bilateral and inter-regional

relationships, which are built on contractual cooperation case by case in association with a given region. The EU-Mediterranean and EU-African energy partnerships, as well as the EU-Russian dialogue have been established, along with the eastern partnership and numerous other forms of cooperation.

Although it is indisputable that the internal market and foreign relations aspect of liberalization are closely aligned, a fundamental condition of internal market liberalization is a successful external one. We have validated in our dissertation that in the unfolding of the EEEP one must take into account the effects of external challenges that affect energy policy (import, price of raw materials, competitive ability, security of supply, and the ecological risks thereof), which demand an *independent* reaction in energy foreign relations from the pace of unfolding internal markets and consequently in the integration of energy affairs. The Union's energy dependency, in addition to encouraging the creation of individual strategies based on member state competencies, makes it necessary as a result of its wider competitive abilities and foreign relation associations to position the reduction of risks at the level of the community, whether in terms of crisis management mechanisms or through the development of the legal-institutional framework for international cooperation. It brings to the fore cooperation in research that leads to a more economic use of energy and technological development, encouraging the endeavor that the EU dictate the pace toward a new global industrial revolution. It contributes to market integration through network infrastructural programs that we can also experience in the present as well as increasing the security of supply.

3.1.5. Divergence in member states' external energy policy and security of supply

H5. The primary obstacle to the further unfolding of a "common voice," a uniform comprehensive external energy policy, is the difference in the present and future energy-security characteristics and interests of member states. To the extent that cohesion in the security of supply does not increase and a community response is not found in the matter of energy security the continued development of the EEEP becomes doubtful as well.

The energy-economic, geographic and infrastructural characteristics of the EU-27 member states show marked divergences that also result in divergence in their security of energy interests. The circumstance fundamentally affecting the issue of external energy policy is

the *Union's gradual expansion*, especially the eastern expansions. Unilateral dependence on Russian eastern block energy was never eliminated, nor the deficiencies in connections among various energy systems formerly tailored to opposing political camps such that the Union remained divided from an energy affairs perspective. The fact that the security of energy supply remained under the sphere of influence of member states played a significant role. As our analysis highlights we are still *talking about two Europes* today from the *perspective of energy security*. While the security of supply for the Community's economically most developed countries grouped among the EU-15 is relatively favorable – disregarding a few special cases – and according to expectations will continue to remain balanced in the coming 10-15 years, the majority of eastern member states can count on considerably more unfavorable security of supply circumstances and a worsening outlook. A strong correlation may be found in the economic production capacity and future energy supply security of the most developed European countries – between the EU-15's 2005 per capita nominal GDP and the expected energy security coefficient (S/D index) of 2005 for 2020 ($r=0.815488$). In the case of member states that joined the Union in 2004 no such correlation exists. Eastern expansion resulted in the growth of heterogeneity and a weakening of cohesion in the Union's energy security, and it seems this duality for the time being will remain, making the creation of common policy more difficult.¹³

The problem of the “common voice” generally gets to be on the agenda in connection with divergent energy characteristics and interest on the part of member states. At the same time within the framework of the European socio-economic model, intergovernmental coordination and community mechanisms directed at assuring security of supply are unfolding, such as the requirement for announcing investment projects for the development of energy infrastructure, directives on the security of natural gas supply, and support in establishing network connections. The recognition that *the energy security of member states*

¹³ I started from the position that in addition to the present security of supply and strategies in foreign relations efforts by member states they are determined by their *expectations* of the future in connection with these. Finding a common voice depends primarily on whether shared interests can be outlined in the area of security of supply as well – in addition to sustainable development and market integration. In order to demonstrate the foregoing I used data from the ECN-CIEP model comprising a complex index for the security of supply of member states and the EU. The work by De Jong, Maters, Schepers, Seebregts [2007]: *EU Standards for Energy Security of Supply* gives a numerical system of indices for the energy security of supply of the EU-27 and member states. The most complex – quantitative – indicator is the Supply/Demand Index (SDI), which undertakes an exhaustive delineation of a given country's supply-demand processes that have a bearing on their balance of energy.

*is interdependent*¹⁴ is slowly gaining ground, that as a result of the growing uniformity of internal market regulations and energy networks the energy policy of member states influence one another. In my view the mutual dependency of member states within the community can be an important factor in further developing competencies in external energy policy.

3.2. Further findings and conclusions

In total it can be determined that the emergence of the need for an external energy policy is a result of the organic development of integration – especially in the unfolding of common policies. Particular emphasis should be taken on the neo-functionalism, as the evolution of the EEEP also highlights the emergence of spillover effects, which are extorted by the Community's energy supply problems and the need of their solutions, promoting the integration of energy policy. Among the signifiers of energy related external relations one can discern intergovernmental realist–neo-realist features (security of supply) that rest on following self-interests, features of the concepts of integration that rest on liberal foreign policy concepts (e.g. establishing an internal market, or the policy-shaping role of “national champions), its system of institutions, features of neo-functionalism (spillover effects indicating the institutionalization of the EEEP) as well as a standards-centric approach to constructivism (environmental and social issues). It can at the same time be determined that in the development of the EEEP, external impulses played a decisive role including energy import-dependency, as well as increased risks in supply stemming from the re-politicizing of international energy economics and the security measures taken.

Two main efforts on the part of the EU are delineated supporting the EEEP's standardization of technique and mechanisms. The first brings to the fore the legal-institutional framework for establishment of the common voice. The EU is examining the possibilities available between the EU and the region covered by the European neighbor-policy for establishing a legal framework that satisfies common interests in connection with the security of supply, transit and demand, as well as whether it is necessary to establish

¹⁴ See European Council's March 8-9, 2007 Presidency Conclusions

such a *general legal framework that applies universally to production, transit and consumer countries*.¹⁵ Such an impact study may contribute significantly to improving coherence. The second objective of the strategic review of energy policy is the *establishment of planning and coordination on the level of member states and the community*, the instrument of which is to identify concrete mechanisms that guarantee the transparency of the system of relationships between member states and the EU.

Development of policy and establishing coherence is obstructed by numerous contradictions and dilemmas. A constant dilemma on the part of the EEEP is the predominance of geopolitical and internal market viewpoints, the alignment of which to date has so far not really met with success among the EU's foreign relations activities. The scope of the EU's achievements in the energy market is limited, the chances of exporting standards diminish with geographic distance. Asymmetries between unresolved investment and transit problems in connection with imports, the Union's liberalization of electrical energy and the natural gas market, and the tendency to centralize the energy markets of exporters, as well as contradictions in the support of national champions by member states are expected to characterize the prerequisites for the EU's relationships in energy affairs for an extended period. On this basis it seems expedient to adjust the framework of foreign relations activities in connection with the three objectives of energy policy to the endeavors on behalf of external energy policy.

In foreign relations over energy affairs the EU strives to establish cooperation that is flexible and guarantees appropriate freedom of action, the result of which is a dynamically developing although labyrinthine system of relationships that is difficult to fathom. Overlaps indicate that the system of foreign relations established by the EU in the majority of instances is unable to handle energy matters cohesively and effectively. Energy agreements often stress to the breaking point the traditional framework of foreign relations – in part because energy exporters are not necessarily contiguous with the Union and in part because the EU does not handle the coordinating and competency issues as a result of *expanding the spectrum of foreign relations* properly for the time being, which makes the system of relationships not only less transparent and coherent but also makes articulation of interests and finding a common voice among member states more difficult. From the

¹⁵ COM (2007) 1 final

perspective of Hungary's energy strategy the communalization of external energy policy provides positive returns. Essentially, our country is struggling with all the energy supply challenges that appear most urgently at the EU level. As a result of its geographic position, and the product and relational structure of its imports, its import vulnerability is taking shape unfavorably. In addition to attempts aimed directly at the security of supply, expanding the Union's regulations on energy affairs to neighboring regions serves the energy security interest of the EU's internal markets as well as Hungary's as a member state situated on the EU's southeastern border. Import diversification infrastructure projects in the east also improve Hungary's energy security directly. Fostering cooperation in energy affairs on the level of the European Union guarantees an extended playing field that also promotes Hungarian foreign relations interests. At the same time it is of key importance that future endeavors on the part of the EEEP coincide with Hungarian interests. The example of the EEEP also confirms that conforming to the Union's energy policy – as guarantee of energy supply continues to remain under the sphere of influence of member states – cannot replace articulation of a national energy strategy based on the idiosyncrasies and possible points of departure on the part of member states, which however, must also constitute an integral part of the EU's efforts in mapping out external energy policy and adapted it to the level of member states.

It is an increasingly accepted conjecture that energy economy based on hydrocarbons has become unsustainable in the long run and that energy policy thinking must be placed on new foundations. Signs of a change in paradigms also appear in community documents. Matters of research, development and utilization of alternative sources of energy are increasingly gaining ground on the part of the EU's efforts. Among the stated objectives of the EU's 2020 strategic sustainable development plan is a flagship initiative entitled, "*A Resource Efficient Europe*," the objective of which is to separate economic growth and the utilization of resources, to eliminate carbon-dioxide emissions from the economy, utilize renewable energy sources in increasing amounts, modernize the transportation sector, and increase energy efficiency. All these measures would modify the EU's external relations role in energy affairs. But the strategy did not provide a comprehensive approach to energy policy, the potential role of the EU-level and the instruments of the implementation are not

outlined, in particular with regard to financial assets and their potential recipients (companies, universities and other research institutes, Research Framework Programmes). In the context of significantly curbing import dependency the EU's negotiating power may increase as well, although with the pressure of external security of supply the compulsion toward cooperation may diminish also. In the mid-range, however, with respect to the interests of economic players and outside partners vested in energy supply, drastic changes cannot be expected so that the EEEP expectedly will continue to develop amidst the challenges of import-dependency and sustainability. Although a coherent articulation of an external energy policy seems a serious challenge from the perspective of energy as well as foreign and security policies, interests in connection with competitive ability, energy security, sustainable development that extend beyond the EU's borders, and the intensification of European integration keep the EEEP's needs automatically on the agenda.

3.3. New and novel determinations of this dissertation

We found no resource material in the literature on the subject that undertook a comprehensive retrospective presentation of foreign relation activities in energy affairs on the level of the community. Based on developmental history analysis this dissertation proposes to *delineate the primary developmental stages*. It relies on Andersen's work identifying the EEP's major periods but also extends beyond them taking into account the unique characteristics of the foreign relations dimension, geopolitical processes, and the span of time that has since elapsed.¹⁶

In the course of examining the Union's sphere of influence touching on the EEEP it outlines a *model of the sphere of influence of external energy policy*, which extending beyond van der Linde's pattern¹⁷ includes in its examination the political arenas in divided spheres of influence, suggesting the layered nature of competencies and diversified fields of specialization that need integration in association with it.

In reviewing the literature on the subject *the comprehensive presentation of the network of import dependency and integration relationships* may be regarded as a novelty by way of

¹⁶ Andersen, Svein S. [2000]: EU Energy Policy: Interest Interaction and Supranational Authority, Arena Working Papers 2000/05.

¹⁷ Van der Linde [2008]

the conjecture that the energy economic constraints affecting the EU (import dependency, price of raw materials, competitive ability, security of supply and ecological risks) influence the integration process and may contribute to its broadening and deepening. The dissertation points out *the close statistical connection between the EU-15's economic production capacity and energy security expectations*, and draws consequences regarding the resultant weakening of the cohesiveness in the security of supply as a result of the eastern expansions. It examines *the ideal level of intensity of foreign relations in energy affairs* articulating the phenomenon described as the dilemma of interdependency. It determines that in foreign relations in energy affairs a dynamically developing, flexible network of relationships has come to be established which is at the same time labyrinthine and difficult to see through, and incapable of handling the matter of energy cohesively.

We can conclude that the “common voice,” so emphatically urged in the EU’s discourse on energy policy, *already exists* in certain *partial areas* – where solid community standards have developed; and in geographically limited circles – where the EU functions as a center of modernization and attraction. In addition independent community competencies are observed to be developing that reflect the system of standards of the European socio-economic model. On the basis of document analysis *two external energy policies* can be discovered. One has unfolded parallel with the EU’s development of energy policy as a joint result along with the external challenges and internal integration impacting the Community in areas where the common foreign policy, energy and security interests and policies made this possible (ECT, Energy Community, climate change). However, there are external shock effects pinpointing its deficiencies and as such limits cooperation, such as the Russian-Ukrainian gas crisis in 2009. The other community endeavor, to be articulated since 2006, is that there is no competency analysis of the EEEP and there has been no disclosure of the institutional framework and results of previous external energy policy activities so that we could only be able to build upon them in part.

This dissertation attempts to outline the characteristics of *the EEEP as a model of cooperation* in order to present basic conjectures, principles, targeted areas and levels of activity, means, moving forces and dilemmas. With respect to basic principles it builds

upon the concept expressed by Geden, Marcelis and Mauer¹⁸ but based on the experience of document analysis it expands the sphere of basic concepts (the concept of cooperation characterized by existing relationships with other supply, transit and consumer countries in addition to Russia; the concept of integration called through the expansion of internal markets to increase market efficiency; as well as the concept of expressed solidarity – both in the case of internal crisis situations as well as relationships nurtured with the outside world, predominantly through developmental policies). It makes recommendations in light of the spheres of influence and energy policy objectives for the demarcation of the EEEP's target areas and levels of activity (security of supply – member states activity, community support; competitive ability – regional market integration; sustainability – community presence on a global scale). Based on document analysis it outlines the EEEP's system of means grouped around exportation of standards, structured dialogue and horizontal programs, as well as identifying the moving forces encouraging the unfolding of policies. These are: the intensification of integration; development of community energy policy; interdependence of energy security of member states; security of energy supply in consequence of import dependency as a structural cause; strengthening of the EU as an international player; diversification as increasing the security of supply – and competition; the competitive ability of the EU; the opportunity to impose greater external interests inherent in a common position; development of an international system of standards. Even with the awareness of the external energy policy's framework conditions no answer can be given as to how an ideal *model of external energy policy* can be constructed. The external energy policy contained in community documents can rather only be grasped in terms of defined objectives; lacking are the mature visions directed at the mechanisms of coordination that would guarantee the practical implementation of basic concepts. The institutional changes brought about as a result of the Lisbon Treaty were also unable to provide a breakthrough.

¹⁸ Oliver Geden, Clémence Marcelis, Andreas Maurer: Perspectives for the European Union's External Energy Policy: Discourse, Ideas and Interests in Germany, the UK, Poland and France *Working Paper FG1, 2006/17, SWP (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik)* Berlin

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