

Strategic and market-oriented approaches in the energy policy of the European Union

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Abstract: Strategic and market-oriented approaches in the energy policy of the European Union

In recent years, it has been possible to observe increased activity in the field of energy policy of the European Union, which has been forced to respond to numerous challenges in energy supplies, changing patterns of trading and growth of “resource nationalism” in various important producer countries. The research that this article presents focuses on the energy policy of the European Union as it is presented in official conceptual documents published between the years 2006 and 2013. In these documents, the authors research the development of energy policy along the axis of strategically-based and market-oriented (or market-based) approaches to energy that are the dominant approaches to research in this field. Findings indicate that market-based approach is consistently the most dominant approach within the EU energy policy discourse while the central position of the EU, as the supervising actor, is being encouraged. In terms of the external dimension of energy policy, the EU pressures member states to create unified, community-wide approach. The external dimension is also a sphere where most of the strategically-based recommendations are present. This may be perceived as a response to external changes that the EU has been facing in last couple of years.

Keywords:

Energy policy, European Union, theoretical approach, strategic approach, market-based approach

Highlights:

- The article examines EU energy policy from the theoretical point of view.
- Two approaches to energy security are considered – strategic and market-oriented.
- The overall dominance of the market-oriented approach is identified.

- The internal dimension of EU energy policy is particularly market-oriented; the external dimension follows a more strategic approach.
- The EU still lacks the ability to formulate a coherent energy policy.

1 Introduction

In 2006, the European Commission presented a green paper to the European Council titled “An External Policy to Serve Europe’s Energy Interests” (European Commission, 2006a). This document is one of the many examples of how the analytically vague and contextually empty expression “the energy interest of the EU” was added to the lexicon of European political elites and decision-makers. It is notable that even eight years after this initial document was published, in 2014, an expert reflection of this term and the consequences that have resulted from its use is still missing.

If we examine this from a general constructivist perspective used in research of international relations, the framing of energy issue in terms of the EU interest is not only a reflection of how the EU perceives the agenda and itself. The used terminology also influences and shapes the perception and resulting behavior of the EU in the field of energy. To cite Nicholas Onuf, “we make the world what it is.... [S]aying is doing: talking is undoubtedly the most important way that we go about making the world what it is” (Onuf, 2013: p. 4). The term “interest”, whether it is national or state interest, has itself a powerful independent function; historically it “has always been a tool of legitimatization, either the primary legitimization of the existence of the territorial state and its sovereignty itself, or secondarily, the legitimization of its political activities (Kratochvíl, 2010: p. 12).

It is thus possible to affirm that the Union’s institutions use of this term (either consciously or unconsciously) presents the idea that they understand the European Union as well as its energy policy as the consensual policy of a unitary actor (comparable to that of a state),¹ while the acceptance of this discourse on the part of other actors (such as national governments, energy firms, and third countries) further reinforce this logic.

¹ See the speech of former European Commissioner for Energy Andreas Piebalgs: “Europe needs to define clearly its goals and aspirations regarding its international energy partners, both suppliers and consumers, and then speak with one voice to proactively promote these interests.” (Piebalgs, 2006).

This text focuses on the following assumptions:

National energy interest is a widely discussed and researched problem, analyzed from a broad range of rationalistic theories (including realism, liberalism, Marxism, and their “neo-” variants) as well as reflectivist ones (especially constructivism). The way how the national energy interest is employed, presented and perceived greatly influences actors themselves, as well as their behavior and positions.

However, similar attention has not been given to the energy interests of the European Union. For a long time, the Union’s energy policy was not understood as homogeneous and consensual, and the Union’s institutions were seen as too inadequately endowed with competences to speak of a community-wide Union policy with a collective energy interest.² In the last decade, this situation has changed, yet the theoretical grounding of the problem has remained. Not only has the presentation of a theoretical approach and a resulting methodology to research the Union’s “national interest” been absent, but also credible data about the actual content of this interest has been as well. Recognizing the phenomenon of a collective European interest is crucial to gain an understanding of the decision making of the EU in this area, as well as for an understanding of future developments regarding this issue.

In light of this, it is necessary to clarify the content of the expression “energy interest,” as this analysis uses this expression in the untraditional context of the European Union. Obviously, using the term “national interest” in the case of a non-state actor – the EU – does not make a lot of sense. However, this is a problem more of language rather than of content. “It is senseless to deny that the concept of national interest is narrowly associated with the existence of the Westphalian system of sovereign states. On the contrary, the consideration of collective interests is relatively easy to carry over and apply to other political arrangements as well” (Kratochvíl, 2010: p. 8). The shift in the context within which the term “national interest” is used from the national to the EU level that has developed over the course of the last few years³ thus makes up the content of this article. For the purposes of our analysis, “interest” is seen quite broadly, not only as a of specific desired result

² Compare the commentary of Jane Haaland Matlary from 1997, that “The role of member governments in this policy area has traditionally been dominant, and in many ways still is” (Matlary, 1997: p. 1), with an observation from 2012, in which “it was not until recently with the Lisbon reform and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union that the formal barriers that hindered Brussels’s action in this policy area were finally broken down. The overriding result is that energy now pertains formally to the ‘family’ [sic] of EU policies” (Morata and Sandoval, 2012).

³ The green paper from 2006 researched elsewhere in this article also discusses projects of “European interest” (European Commission, 2006: p. 4).

(such as an abundance of cheap oil without the need for political concessions) but as a unified articulation of the desired situation, and the tools and positions that the EU would prefer to employ to make this situation a reality (for example, a secure supply of energy to the EU by market means).

The goals of the following research are as follows:

- a) To present one of the possible approaches of analyzing the problem of the energy interest of the EU.
 - Traditional theoretical approaches are historically specialized for the nation-state. Additionally application on the field of energy is also rare. The authors therefore focus on the discourse using content analysis of strategic documents of the EU.
- b) To localize and articulate the content of the “national interest” of the EU.
 - We do not focus on a specific articulation of all the energy interests of the EU, as this goal would be difficult to achieve given the breadth of this topic. Instead, we continue the debate opened up by Aad Correljé and Coby van der Linde, and concentrate on localizing the interests of the EU along an axis of strategic vs. market-based approaches to energy policy (Correljé and Linde 2006). We do not set out to discover the specific “actual content” of interests; nevertheless, the aforementioned localization can tell us a great deal about how specific factional interests are chosen, categorized, and structured, and what proposed approaches exist to achieve the goals. This dichotomy between strategic and market-oriented approaches is not the only interest cleavage in the EU, but is significantly one of the most visible and important in the context of building a common market and an external energy policy. It is also the most important cleavage in terms of the debate of the formation of energy policy overall.

1.1 Literature review

A conceptual understanding of the energy interest of the EU in academic literature is practically non-existent. Obviously, there is an unending supply of literature which analyzes EU energy policy, its development, tools, activities, problems, and successes, both from a normative as well as non-normative perspective. However, only minimal attention is given to the concept of energy interest

as a research term/category, with definite content and structure. While the term can be found in such the above-mentioned literature, it nevertheless is used as a rhetorical flourish or a soundbite, devoid of deeper analysis.

The debate on the strategic vis-à-vis market-based approach to energy, on the other hand, has been continuing intensively for some time, but mainly on the national level (see Carter and Nivola, 2009; Chester, 2009; Fettweis, 2009; Goldwyn and Kalicki, 2005; Luft and Korin, 2009; Metais, 2013; Moran and Russell, 2009; Tunsjø, 2010; Yergin, 2006, Youngs, 2007). This is understandable: nation-states historically develop their energy policies with a view to their own energy interests, and thus determine what this interest should be and which tools should be used to implement it. On the other hand, the EU has only formed any energy policy in a protracted way, as the debate over what an energy policy should even contain, as well as the means to achieving it (for example, in the dichotomy of the strategic vs. market-base approach) still has not finished. Academic research on the study of the development of energy policy in the EU reflects this as well.

However, there are a few pieces which address the issue. The text *Energy Supply Security and Geopolitics* (Correljé and Linde, 2006) focuses on the external dimension of energy (security of external supplies). In this volume, the authors discuss two possible approaches to securing supply: the “Institutional and Market” approach, focusing on markets; and the “Regions and Empires” approach, which is concerned with the strategic orientation. They show that the European Union has long focused on the first approach. Nevertheless, in light of the changes in the international arena, in which energy supplies have begun to be used strategically, it is possible that the Union may be forced to change its current approach.

Peter D. Cameron subsequently concentrated on the internal (common) energy market of the EU in electricity and natural gas. Until the 1980s, the strategic approach dominated with respect to the issue, as both commodities were perceived to be too sensitive and complicated to be left to market forces. In combination with a change in the understanding of the role and position of the energy issue in the '70s and '80s, the EU started to pursue the liberalization model, following the logic of the market-based approach. “As a result, a new paradigm in government-energy industry relations has emerged, based on a greater reliance on decentralized production with network access, and remuneration on the basis of market prices, not costs” (Cameron, 2007: p. 10). The main motivation at this time was the economic efficiency of the energy sector, followed by security questions nonetheless. A quote by the current European Commissioner for Energy Günther Oettinger is a crystal-clear expression of the market-based approach to energy, demonstrating the stark difference

in attitudes in the way the topic was addressed by his predecessors of the 1970s: “The internal energy market today is our fundamental and most effective tool to provide security of supply. Only a fully functioning market is able to take adequate corrective measures in case of a disruption” (European Commission, 2011a: p. 8).

The dichotomy of the internal dimension of the energy policy of the EU (the internal energy market) and the external dimension (security of supply) has also been taken up by Richard Youngs. He argues that in the case of the first dimension, the market-based approach dominates, as well as writing that with respect to external relations, the EU also (at least verbally) employs the market-based approach as well. Nevertheless, he views this approach skeptically, primarily due to resistance on the part of producer countries, which have long operated according to strategic principles (Youngs, 2007).⁴

1.2 Theory

As outlined at the beginning, the goal of this text is the localization of energy interests of the EU along an axis with the strategic approach at one end and the market-based approach on the other. These approaches are to a certain extent opposing and exclusive typologies, in which a shift toward one pole or the other determines the way in which energy-related questions are perceived, and with what logic and tools that are employed to arrive at a solution. This chapter first presents a general theoretical framework of both approaches, follows with a look at the approaches individually, and closes with a selection of which of them may influence the EU in practice.

1.2.1 The strategic approach

The strategic approach emerges out of the ideas of realism, as well as its “neo-” variants (see e.g. Klare, 2005; Klare, 2009a; Luft and Korin, 2009; Moran and Russell, 2009). It emphasizes the anarchical nature of international relations, in which states fight against each other, trying to get as much power as possible. Balance of power is the main principle here. Their power is based on material factors, including energy sources, which are necessary for the functioning of the economy

⁴ “First, the EU’s stated approach to energy security can be described as revolving around the concept of a ‘market-governance’ nexus. Second, European governments and EU institutions espouse this approach while harbouring concerns that in practice a more geopolitical approach is required. Third, such concern is amplified by the increasing resistance to the EU’s ‘market-governance’ model on the part of several key energy producer states. Fourth, despite inching towards a more geo-strategic approach, the EU remains insufficiently engaged with the political issues that impinge upon energy interests in producer states. In sum, the EU currently hovers ineffectively between markets and geopolitics, where it needs more effectively to conjoin these two necessary strands of energy security.” (Youngs, 2007: p. 1).

and the military sector (see Donnelly, 2005: pp. 30-54). In combination with the theory of neorealism, it also accepts the role of the structure of the system, insofar as that states may form alliances and organizations, but only as a tool of national politics (Waltz, 1979: pp. 79-101). Elements of classic geopolitics, which also are one of the sources of the strategic approach, note the importance of geographical advantages and disadvantages associated with energy (see the debates over energy autarky, pipeline policy, or choke points, such as Klare, 2014).

Acceptance of this approach leads to the consideration of the energy sector as a strategically sensitive area, whereby a state's monitoring and to a certain extent its active engagement is necessary for the securing of such commodities essential for national survival. The practical consequence of this thinking is the legitimization of direct state action and of the distinctive position of the energy sector in the economy.

Market forces are not seen as a guarantee of secure flows of energy; states' energy policies are thus developed through resource nationalism, or resource mercantilism. Producers attempt to strengthen control over their deposits of oil or natural gas; importer countries, on the other hand, work to gain exclusive rights to foreign extraction or to strengthen ties with producers by direct government engagement (Leverett, 2009: p. 214). Energy sources are thus understood not only as a means in conflict, but also as a possible cause⁵ (Cuita, 2010: p. 129-130). The combination of strategic perceptions of energy sources, their gradual exhaustion, and the increasing disputes about these resources are the focus of one of the most prolific proponents of the strategic approach, Michael T. Klare. Klare argues that using government means to obtain energy-related resources is comparable to other means of ensuring national security (Klare, 2005; Klare, 2009a; Klare, 2009b). The relationship between consumers and producers of energy resources is thus a zero-sum game (see Tunsjø, 2010: p. 27), with the risks resulting from the disruption of such relations creating incentives for the diversification of transit means and source countries, as well as the diversification of the consuming country's overall energy mix.

1.2.2 The Market-Based Approach

Starkly different conditions characterize the market-based (or market-oriented) approach. This notably gained ground in the 1980s, along with the growth of the globalization and integration of the energy market (see e.g. Fattouh, 2012). The ideational scaffold on which this idea was built can

⁵ E.g. one of the possible explanations of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait

be found in writings concerning neoclassical and neo-institutional economics and the liberal theory of international relations.

In this view, it is the market and market forces that most effectively allocate energy sources. Rationally informed actors select the optimal strategy of securing energy resources, and governmental influence is seen as a negative and ineffective disruption of this mechanism (see Nordhaus, 2009). Debates over the security of the energy supply actually worsen the situation, as they essentially prevent a functioning market from working properly (see Chester, 2009). Economic factors are more important than those of a political or geopolitical nature; energy commodities are not perceived as particularly unique, and they can and should be seen as standard goods. Efforts by the state to achieve independence lead to disturbances in the system and increase tension. Fears of an anarchistic and unfriendly international system weaken international institutions and economic cooperation (see Ciuta, 2010). The basic premise of the entire approach, the rationality of an actor (the metatheoretical perspective of this approach is the theory of rational choice), strongly questions the necessity of unending confrontation and tends to support cooperation and gains for all participating sides.

Fears on the side of those that approach the debate from a strategic point of view of a shortage of resources and the resulting political consequences are addressed by Morris Adelman. He argues that supplies of energy resources are only a function of prices; price increases lead to new technologies (Adelman, 1973: p. 73; Yergin, 2005; Yergin, 2006: pp. 14-18). The use of energy sources as a tool of foreign policy is seen by proponents of the market-oriented approach as ineffective (see Carter and Nivola, 2009).

1.2.2.1 Variants of the Market-Based Approach

Under the general term of the market-based approach, two lines of thought outline the market, by different means. The first variant holds the opinion that the market should function with a minimum amount of state intervention, for example in the form of securing rights of ownership. This variant emphasizes the absolute⁶ aspects of energy security – availability and adequate supply. In this view, sources are either obtainable and adequate, or they are not. If they are, the market alone will manage everything else (Chester, 2009: pp. 887-895).

⁶ Absolute or binary aspects – in this case, conditions are fulfilled according to a binary logic; market forces ensure distribution according to supply and demand.

Opposed to this is the second variant, which has emerged out of the theories of new institutional economics, perceiving the market to a certain extent as an ideological construct,⁷ born out of agreement by the participating sides. Compared to the first variant, this variant is more influenced by the role of the state as a supervising actor (Chester, 2009: pp. 887-895). To some extent, it uses an instrumental perception of the market, in which there is greater concentration on the relative aspects of energy politics,⁸ particularly the affordability and sustainability.

The main differences in thought of both approaches are for clarity's sake outlined in the following table.

Table 1: Strategic and the Market-Based Approaches – a comparison

	The Strategic Approach	The Market-Based Approach
Theoretical Basis	The Realist tradition in IR, classic geopolitics	The Liberal tradition in IR, neoclassical and neo-institutional economics
General approach to energy policy in international relations	The need for independence from external supplies of energy	Energy independence is impossible, attempts to achieve it disrupt inter-state relations
Management of energy resources	Scarcity, which leads to resource nationalism	Market ensures efficient allocation
Role of energy policy in international relations	Used to influence international relations	Politicization of energy affairs leads to poor allocation and a less effective system
Defining of the limits of energy policy	Emphasis on securing adequate and secure supply, especially for oil and natural gas	Complex view, looking at all resources, and looking at the functioning of markets, infrastructure, and influence
Nature of the game and distribution of resources	Zero-sum game, attempts at relative victory	Non-zero-sum game, attempts at absolute victory
Style of international relations	International relations founded on bilateral relations; such a style is more predictable and influential	Cooperation with international organizations, multilateral relations
Positioning of actors in the international system	States as the main and only relevant actors	Multiple influential actors (including firms, international organizations, interest groups)

⁷ The expression is taken from the theory of liberal institutionalism, aspects of which are implemented in this variant, and from the fact that the approach refers to the important role of institutions on the market (Chester, 2009: pp. 887-895; Burchill, 2005: pp. 64-66).

⁸ The logic of the relative aspects of energy security is such that in many cases, it is not enough to satisfy the formal conditions of availability and adequate supply, but instead is necessary to look at the context of a specific case.

Role of the market	High risk of market failure, substantial role of the state	Supplies allocated effectively without state interference
Positioning of energy resources	Subject of the strategic interests of the state. They require special attention	Common market commodity.
Future development	Possible conflict over energy resources and transit infrastructure.	Scarcity of resources is best solved by cooperation among participating actors in the system
Optimal solutions	Independence or expansion	Interdependence by market means

Sources: Adelman, 1973: p. 73; Carter and Nivola, 2009; Chester, 2009: pp. 889-892; Ciuta, 2010: p. 128; Dannreuther, 2003, pp. 200-201; Donnelly, 2005: pp. 30-54; Fattouh, 2012; Klare, 2005; Klare, 2009a; Klare 2009b; Leverett, 2009: pp. 213-227; Kod'ousková et al., 2012.; Moran and Russell, 2009, pp. 19-23; Nordhaus, 2009; Tunsjø, 2010: pp. 25-45; Waltz, 1979: pp. 79-101. Compilation: the authors

2 Methods

The following analysis is based on the findings of a content analysis of EU strategic documents from between the years 2006 and 2013, and the subsequent interpretation of that data. These documents are sampling units representing the discourse of energy policy on the EU level (Krippendorff, 2004: pp. 98-99).

The year 2006 was chosen as the starting point of the research due to the development of the formation of a union-wide energy policy and renewed EU interest on the topic. After a relatively long period after 2000's "Green Paper on the Security of Energy Supply," the year 2006 saw the publication of "A European Strategy for Sustainable, Competitive and Secure Energy," which kicked off a relatively intense series of broad conceptual documents on energy policy, in which the EU has defined and redefined its conception of the energy sector of Europe and elsewhere.

These documents were subjected to content analysis. We identify instances of individual approaches, and demonstrate the relative frequency of these phenomena. These data are then interpreted, and in the discussion section are presented in a wider context and with regard to the time of their publication.

2.1 Data

The criteria for the selection of the documents under study is outlined by the following: a) they are a result of broad debates on the EU level; b) they represent a union-wide consensus of opinion; c)

they focus on the energy affairs of the EU as whole, rather than a particular energy-related issue; d) they express a desired future result, such as a specific wish for what a future EU energy policy should look like and which interests should be defended; e) they have a long-term character; and f) they have a similar written form (from the perspective of the method of analysis).

Selected conceptual documents (the Green and White Papers, long-term Union energy conceptualizations) are collected and presented in Table 2 according to the above criteria.

Table 2: Selected Conceptual Documents

2006	A European Strategy for Sustainable, Competitive and Secure Energy (A Green Paper)
2007	An Energy Policy for Europe (Communication of the European Commission)
2010	Energy 2020 – A Strategy for Competitive, Sustainable and Secure Energy (Communication of the European Commission)
2011	Energy Roadmap 2050 (Communication of the European Commission)
2013	A 2030 Framework for Climate and Energy Policies (A Green Paper)

Sources: European Commission, 2006; European Commission, 2007; European Commission, 2010; European Commission, 2011; European Commission, 2013. Compilation: the authors

2.2 Content Analysis

The main tool of the research procedure, focusing on the content side of the documents, is content analysis. This focuses on the occurrence and frequency of pre-defined textual (coding) units in the observed sources, as outlined for example by Holsti (1969) and more recently by Krippendorff (2004). Coding units were unitized as clauses providing information or recommendations on the energy policy of the EU (i.e. thematic distinction). A contextual units helping to assign these clauses to one of the two approaches were the sentences, or in some cases, the paragraph, surrounding the coding unit. These segments of the text were then assigned to a specific category according to the codebook; the categories within the codebook are based on characteristic features and markers indicating the strategic or the market-based approach (see below). The logic of the coding was therefore instrumental, in which individual codes were based on already existing theories. To increase the reliability of the coding, both authors undertook the process of coding

independently from each other, in which individual textual units were coded on the basis of the aforementioned codebook. In cases in which disagreement occurred in the coding, the text went to the second round of coding, which both authors undertook in cooperation and was then reconciled. If it was not possible to clearly assign a code to a segment, this occurrence was commented on; in some cases the segment was omitted from either of the approaches. This procedure proved to be essential, as, over time, shifts in the use of various terms and terminology occurred (see below).

Due to the varying length of the documents under study, rather than looking at absolute frequency of segments, it was important to look at the relative frequency of segments that were coded according to each of the two approaches. This was calculated using the equation $f_i = n_i/N$, where n_i is the number of occurrences of a particular marking and N is the number of occurrences of all markings in the document. By using this method, it was possible to take into account the varying lengths of individual documents. The occurrence of individual criteria in each document was entered into graphs.⁹ Similarly, this method was applied to the frequency of occurrences of all markers (of both approaches) as a whole, which allowed a proportionately representative sample of both approaches to emerge, in all documents (see below).

The analysis of each document is recorded in two graphs showing the relative frequency of individual criteria of both approaches under study, in which the relative¹⁰ incidence of specific criteria is represented. Only the criteria which occur in a given document are tallied in the graphs; the values of other criteria were null. The numbers in graphs refer to criteria as represented in Graphs 3, 4, 5, and 6. This is followed by a breakdown and interpretation of the document's content with a regard to the frequency and manifestations of both conceptual approaches. Conclusions were reached based on the incidence of individual criteria in the observed document, the information provided by the text, and contextual knowledge of the authors (i.e. abductive inference) (Krippendorff 2004: pp. 83-86).

2.3 Codebook

The defining criteria of both approaches can be defined on the basis of various characteristics and divisions which separate attitudes about energy policy.

⁹ The decimals – each column of the graphs – thus represent the proportional incidence of a specific marking compared to all other markings (of both approaches) in the given document. It is thus possible to compare the frequency of markers, and respectively the approaches they conform to, in the context of a given document.

¹⁰ Compared to the total occurrences of all criteria of both approaches in the given document.

2.3.1 Strategic Approach

Table 3: Criteria of the Strategic Approach

	Category Name	Category Description
1	Energy as a primary interest	Energy is critical to the survival of the state, thus it belongs among the basic motives of behavior
2	Nationalism in energy affairs	Energy policy is undertaken in the interest of the state to ensure the state's vital needs
3	The fewer sources, the greater the likelihood of conflict	Reducing the reserves of energy resources worldwide increases the risk of potential conflict
4	Securing of energy needs by own means	State puts emphasis on the securing of its needs
5	International organizations are tools	The position of organizations in the international system are secondary, function as means to achieve the policies of individual states
6	Dependence on other actors is undesirable	Dependence on another state could be dangerous, energy commodities and energy are seen as a strategic resources
7	Limited influence of interdependence and cooperation on security	Commercial relations and cooperation make conflict less advantageous, but in spite of that conflict is still likely
8	Economic interdependence does not prevent conflict	Selfishness and nationalism of states are risk factors and potential causes of conflict
9	Emphasis on security issues	Emphasis on secure and sufficient supplies and reserves, guarding against cases of supply crises, not-relying on a single supply line or source
10	Energy sources as a political tool	Supplies of energy can be possibly used to achieve foreign policy goals
11	Economic interests subject to a central authority	All activities in the energy arena should be motivated by the interest of the state
12	Distrust of the market	Market forces are unable to secure an effective allocation of resources, state itself should secure its vital needs
13	Preference for bilateral agreements	Bilateral agreements are more predictable, securing of state needs through direct negotiation with specific countries. International organizations are unreliable

Sources: Ciuta, 2010: pp. 123-140; Klare, 2009a: pp. 335-348; Donnelly, 2005: pp. 30-54; Klare, 2005; Klare, 2009a; Klare 2009b; Luft and Korin, 2009: pp. 335-348; Morgenthau, 1993: pp. 3-37, 101-162; Moran, 2009: pp. 19-33; Kelly and Leland, 2007: pp. 11-12; Kissinger, 1999: p. 55; Tunsjø, 2010: pp. 25-45; Waltz, 1979: pp. 79-101). Compilation: the authors.

2.3.2 The market-oriented approach

Within the market-based approach, there are two main streams. Tables 4 and 5 indicate the specific criteria of the two streams respectively; Table 6 indicates criteria that are common to both streams of thought.

Table 4: The Narrow Market-Based Variant¹¹

	Category Name	Category description
1t	Free market without interference	Supply should be left to the workings of supply and demand
2t	Emphasis on absolute (binary) aspects of energy security	Distribution is managed through market forces.
2a (t)	Adequate supply	Demand satisfies supply needs
2b (t)	Availability of sources	Availability of commodities for any actor willing to pay the market price

Sources: Adelman, 1973: p. 73; Burchill, 2005: pp. 58-83; Carter and Nivola, 2009; Chester, 2009: pp. 887-895; Ciuta, 2010: pp. 123-140; Fattouh, 2012; Luft and Korin, 2009: pp. 335-348; Fettweis, 2009: pp. 48-54; Nordhaus, 2009. Compilation: the authors.

Table 5: The Institutional Market-Based Variant¹²

	Category Name	Category Description
1 i	The market as an ideological construct	The market is composed of the actors who operate within it, and built on the basis of their ideas and goals; cannot exist independent of its surroundings
2i	Instrumental perception of the market	The market can serve to fulfill the interests of the actors in it, plays its role in the context of a specific policy
3i	Acceptance of interventions in the market	The central authority may act as a regulator of the market; it does not control the market, but does intervene
4i	Emphasis on relative aspects related to specific cases	Formal conditions of supply and demand may not suffice in specific cases
4a (i)	Sustainability	Emphasis on sustainability of a stable supply with a regard to the specific cases and commodity
4b (i)	Affordability	Market price that does not exceed the values that a specific user is able to pay

Sources: Adelman, 1973: p. 73; Burchill, 2005: pp. 58-83; Carter and Nivola, 2009; Chester, 2009: pp. 887-895; Ciuta, 2010: pp. 123-140; Fattouh, 2012; Luft and Korin, 2009: pp. 335-348; Fettweis, 2009: pp. 48-54; Nordhaus, 2009. Compilation: the authors.

Table 6: Common criteria of Both Market-Based Variants

	Category Name	Category Description
1	Privileged role of the market (in general)	Securing of energy needs should be left to the workings of supply and demand

¹¹ The letter “t” in the tables and graphs denotes the assignment of these specific criteria to this variant

¹² The letter “i” in the tables and graphs denotes the assignment of these specific criteria to this variant.

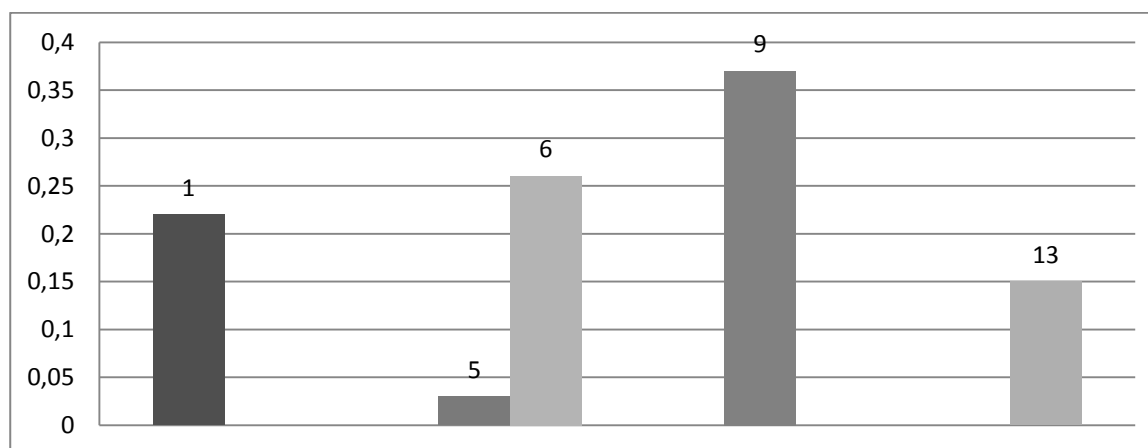
2	No important origin of energy	Energy and energy-related commodities are seen as a normalized commodity
3	Energy security is seen as an equilibrium between supply and demand	Chief risk is the poor functioning of the market
4	Emphasis on trade and cooperation	Market interactions and cooperation reduce the risk of conflict
5	The exclusion of the use of energy as an instrument or weapon	Any abuse of the market would harm suppliers as well as consumers
6	International organizations as legitimate actors	Market approach accepts other actors as well as states in the international system; no particularly dominant role for the state in international relations
7	Interdependence reduces the risk of conflict	Mutual (commercial) dependence reduces the likelihood of conflict, as conflict becomes economically disadvantageous
8	Lower emphasis put on security questions	No reason to approach energy needs as a question of national security
9	Attempts for independence and isolationism are undesirable	Attempts at isolationism and selfishness lead to economic nationalism and increased risk of conflict

Sources: Adelman, 1973: p. 73; Burchill, 2005: pp. 58-83; Carter and Nivola, 2009; Chester, 2009: pp. 887-895; Ciuta, 2010: pp. 123-140; Fattouh, 2012; Luft and Korin, 2009: pp. 335-348; Fettweis, 2009: pp. 48-54; Nordhaus, 2009. Compilation: the authors.

3 Results¹³

3.2. A European Strategy for Sustainable, Competitive and Secure Energy (A Green Paper) (2006)

Graph 1: Relative frequency of segments assigned to the strategic approach in “A European Strategy for Sustainable, Competitive and Secure Energy (A Green Paper)”



Source: European Commission, 2006. Compilation: the authors

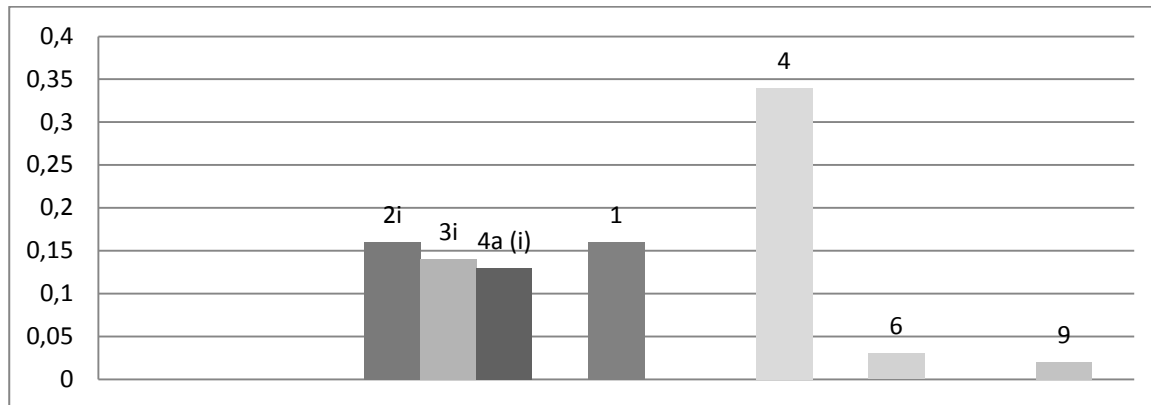
1: Energy as a primary interest

5: International organizations as tools

¹³ Only criteria which were found in the document under study are shown in the following graphs.

6: Dependence on other actors is undesirable
 9: Emphasis on security questions
 13: Preference for bilateral agreements

Graph 2: **Relative frequency of segments assigned to the market-oriented approach in “A European Strategy for Sustainable, Competitive and Secure Energy (A Green Paper)”**



Source: European Commission, 2006. Compilation: the authors

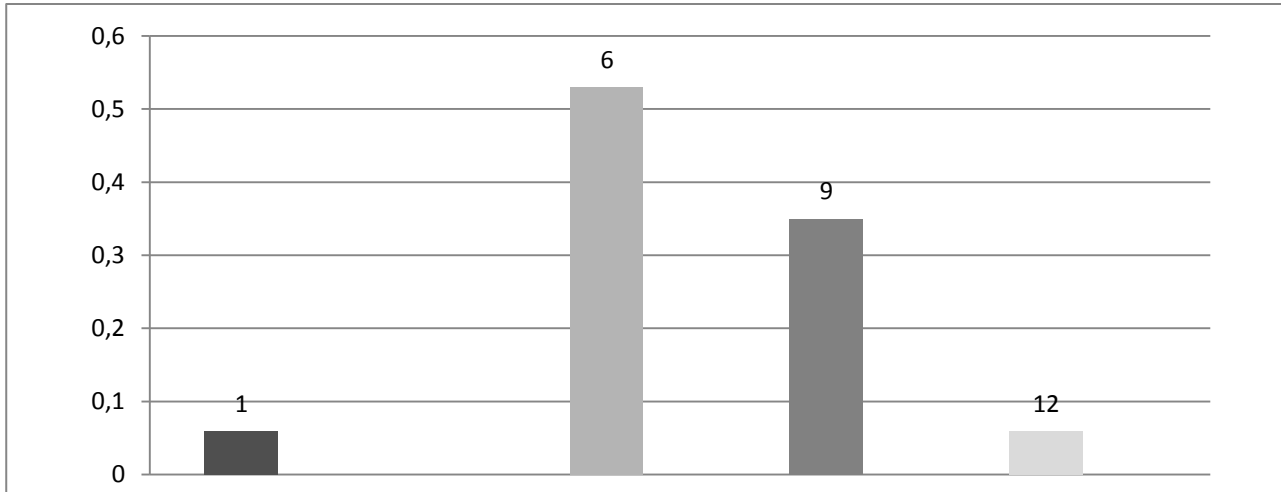
2i: Instrumental perception of the market
 3i: Acceptance of interventions in the market
 4a (i): Sustainability
 1: Privileged role of the market (in general)
 4: Emphasis on exchange and cooperation
 6: International organizations as legitimate actors
 9: Attempts for independence and isolationism are undesirable

The strategic approach, seen in roughly a quarter of the observed criteria in total, is represented by the categories “Emphasis on security questions” followed by “Dependence on other actors is undesirable” and “Energy as a primary interest.”

The market-based approach clearly dominates in the document, and is a far more diverse in terms of present criteria. In any case, the criteria of institutional market-based variant of the two approaches are more common: “Emphasis on exchange and cooperation,” “Instrumental perception of the market,” and “Acceptance of interventions in the market” occur multiple times. A less robust indicator is represented by the category of “Sustainability.”

3.3. An Energy Policy for Europe (2007)

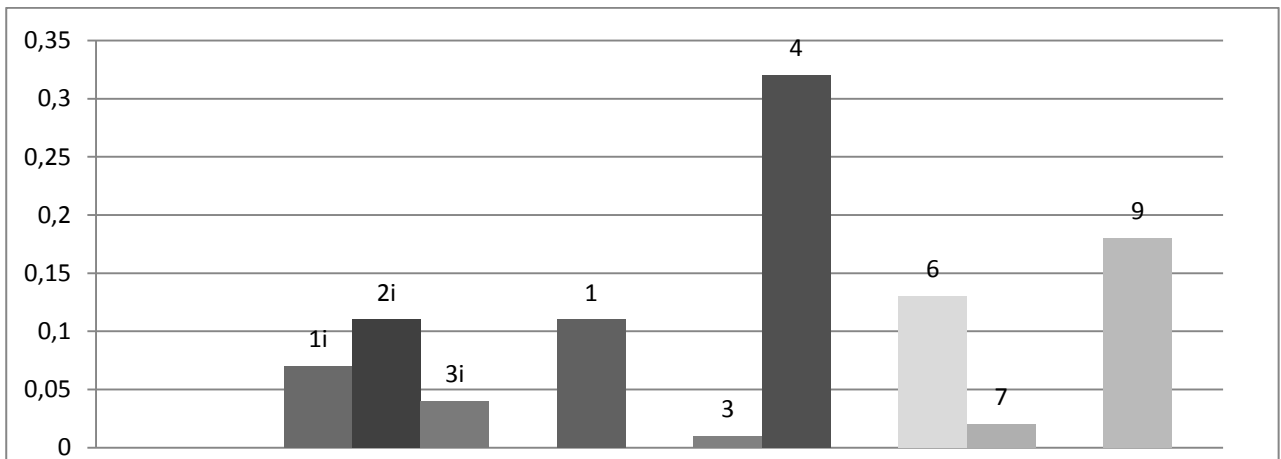
Graph 3: Relative frequency of segments assigned to the strategic approach in “An Energy Policy for Europe” (2007)



Source: European Commission, 2007. Compilation: the authors

- 1: Energy as a primary interest
- 6: Dependence on other actors is undesirable
- 9: Emphasis on security questions
- 12: Distrust of the market

Graph 4: Relative frequency of segments assigned to the market-oriented approach in “An Energy Policy for Europe”



Source: European Commission, 2007. Compilation: the authors

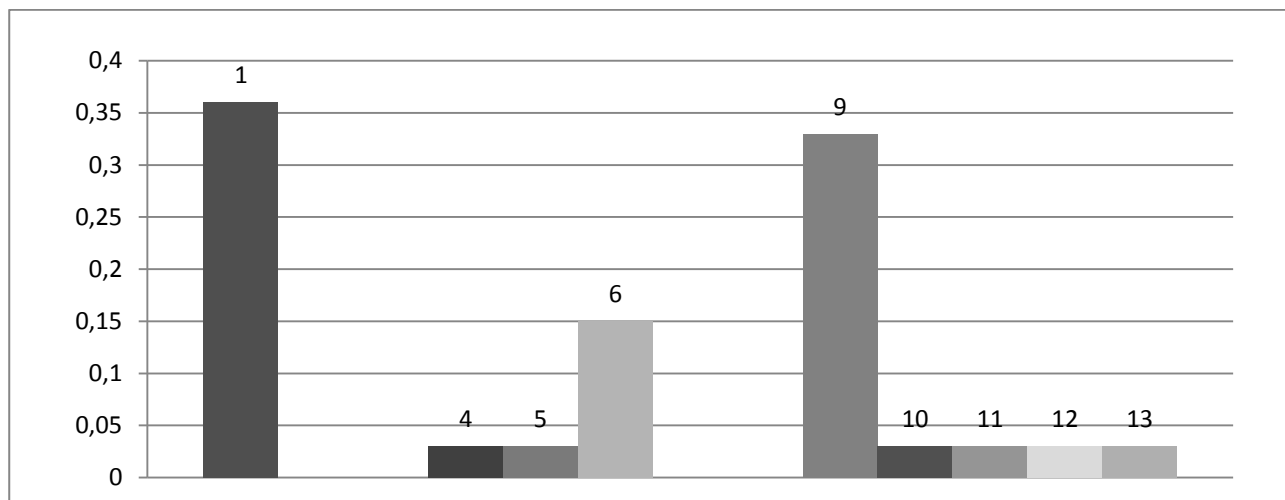
- 1i: The market as an ideological construct
- 2i: Instrumental perception of the market
- 3i: Acceptance of interventions in the market
- 1: Privileged role of the market (in general)
- 3: Energy security is defined as equilibrium between supply and demand
- 4: Emphasis on exchange and cooperation
- 6: International organizations as legitimate actors
- 7: Interdependence reduces the risk of conflict
- 9: Attempts for independence and isolationism are undesirable

The number of segments assigned to the strategic approach is very low in this document. The most frequent category concerns “Dependence on other actors is undesirable” and “Emphasis on security questions.” A substantially smaller frequency is found for “Energy as a primary interest” and “Distrust of the market.”

The market-based approach overshadows the strategic approach in this in diversity of criteria as well as in relative frequency. The most frequently observed category was “Emphasis on exchange and cooperation,” followed by “International organizations as legitimate actors” and “Attempts for independence and isolationism are undesirable.” Of the two variants of the market-based approach, the institutional variant is the only one present in the document.

3.4. Energy 2020 – A Strategy for Competitive, Sustainable and Secure Energy (2010)

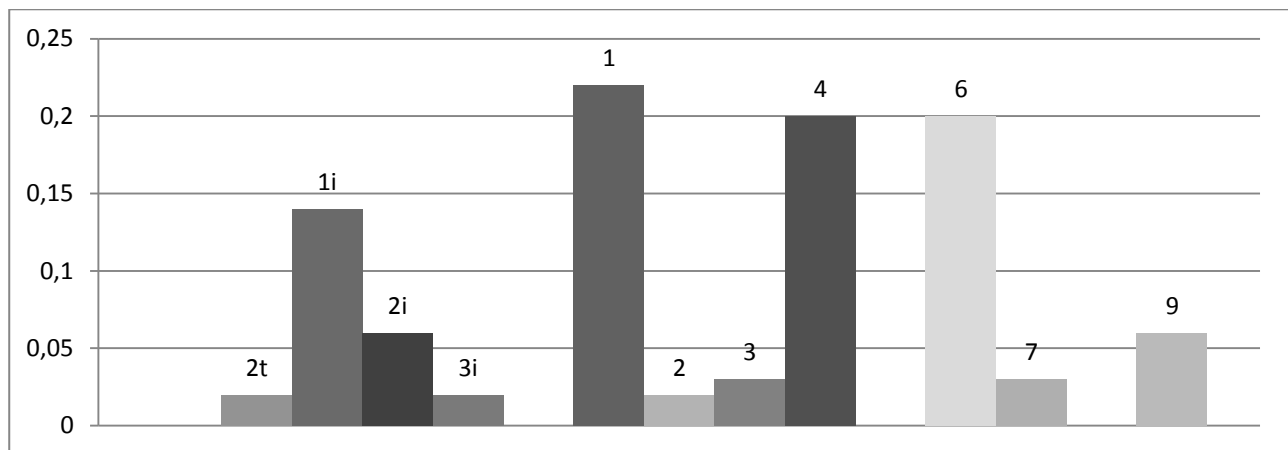
Graph 5: Relative frequency of segments assigned to the strategic approach in “Energy 2020 – A Strategy for Competitive, Sustainable and Secure Energy”



Source: European Commission, 2010. Compilation: the authors.

- 1: Energy as a primary interest
- 4: Securing of energy needs by own means
- 5: International organizations as tools
- 6: Dependence on other actors is undesirable
- 9: Emphasis on security questions
- 10: Energy resources as a political tool
- 11: Economic interests subject to a central authority
- 12: Distrust of the market
- 13: Preference for bilateral agreements

Graph 6: **Relative frequency of segments assigned to the market-oriented approach in “Energy 2020 – A Strategy for Competitive, Sustainable and Secure Energy”**



Source: European Commission, 2010. Compilation: the authors.

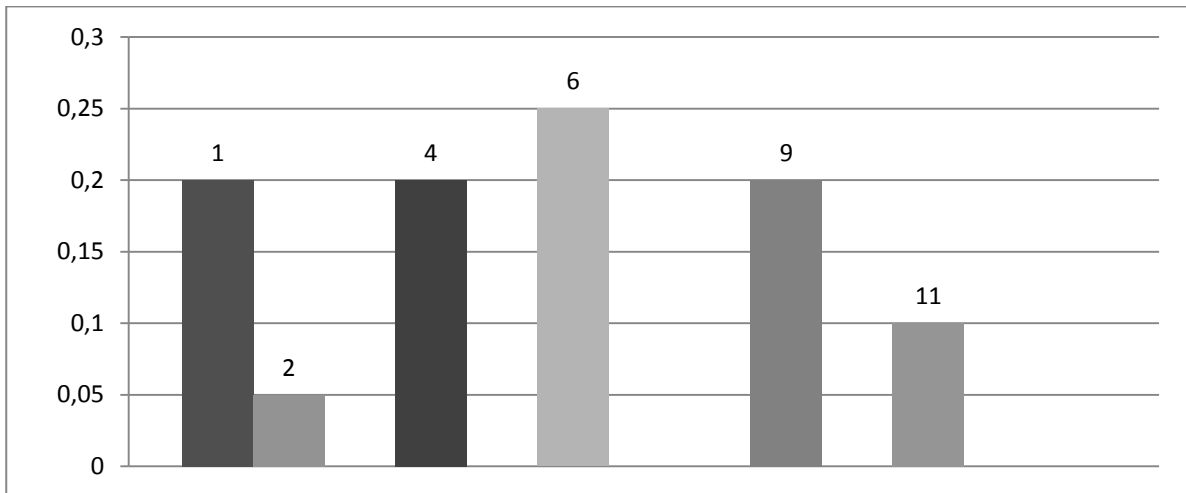
- 2t: Emphasis on absolute (binary) aspects of energy security
- 1i: The market as an ideological construct
- 2i: Instrumental perception of the market
- 3i: Acceptance of interventions in the market
- 1: Privileged role of the market (in general)
- 2: No important basis for energy
- 3: Energy security is defined as an equilibrium between supply and demand
- 4: Emphasis on exchange and cooperation
- 6: International organizations as legitimate actors
- 7: Interdependence reduces the risk of conflict
- 9: Attempts for independence and isolationism are undesirable

Only three categories in the document represent the strategic approach. “Energy as a primary interest” gained ground since the preceding document, probably in relation to the building of an EU energy policy as such, as well as the onset of the economic crisis and the gas crisis of 2009. Another prominent category is the “Emphasis on security questions,” which is practically unchanged in terms of frequency compared to its previous position. “Dependence on other actors is undesirable” follows, though its relative frequency declined by more than half.

Again, in this text the categories characterizing the institutional variant of the market-based approach stand out for their frequency. In particular, the category of “Emphasis on exchange and cooperation,” dropped off significantly, by about a third, compared to the preceding document. On the other hand, the categories of a “Privileged role of the market,” “International organizations as legitimate actors,” and “The market as an ideological construct” were seen to increase by about 50% compared to the green paper published three years before.

3.5. Energy Roadmap 2050 (2011)

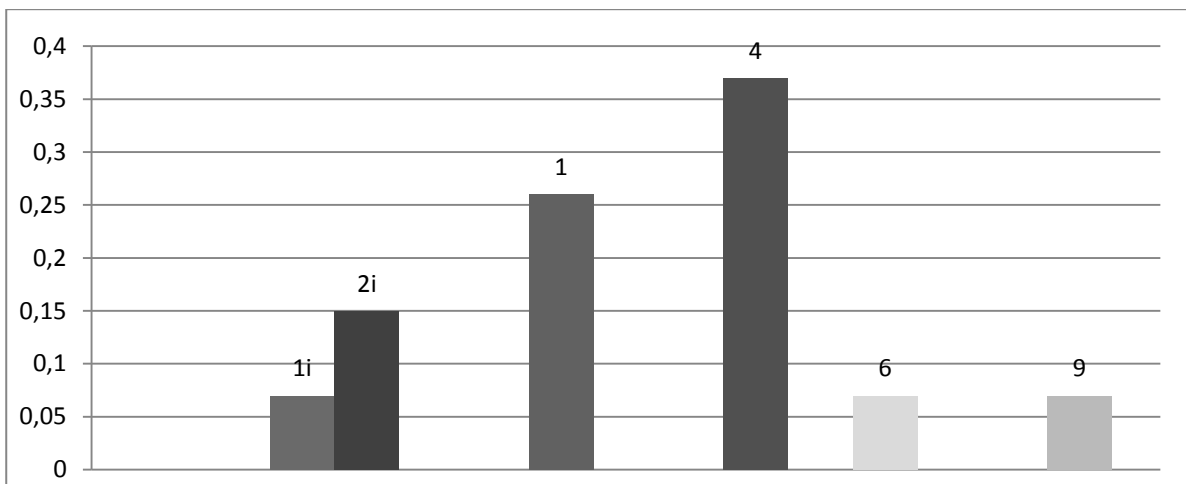
Graph 7: Relative frequency of segments assigned to the strategic approach in “Energy Roadmap 2050”



Source: European Commission, 2011. Compilation: the authors

- 1: Energy as a primary interest
- 2: Nationalism in energy affairs
- 4: Securing of energy needs by own means
- 6: Dependence on other actors is undesirable
- 9: Emphasis on security questions
- 11: Economic interests subject to a central authority

Graph 8: Relative frequency of segments assigned to the market-oriented approach in “Energy Roadmap 2050”



Source: European Commission, 2011. Compilation: the authors

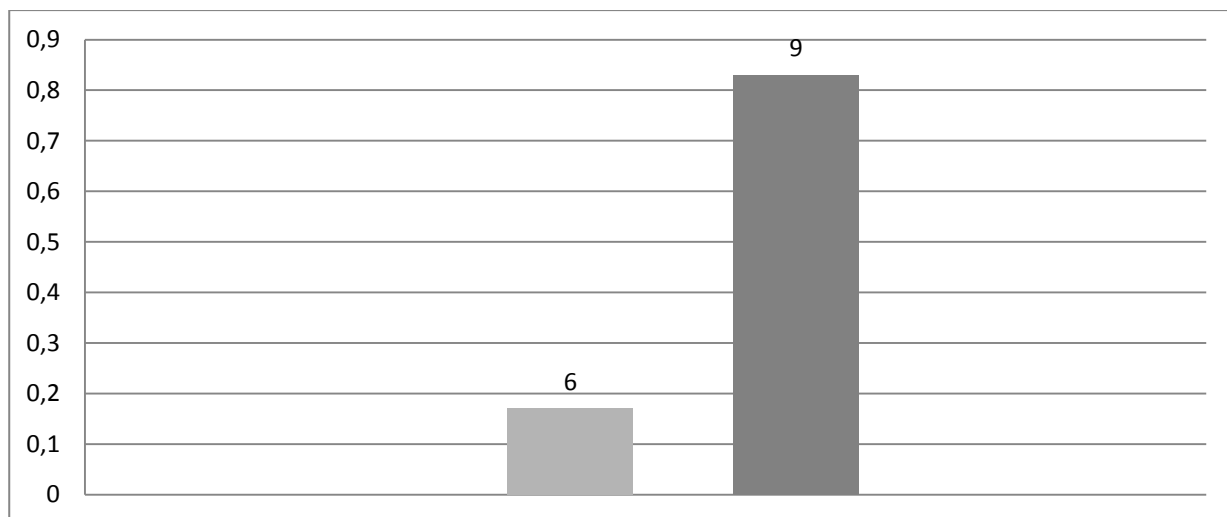
- 1i: The market as an ideological construct
- 2i: Instrumental perception of the market
- 1: Privileged role of the market (in general)
- 4: Emphasis on exchange and cooperation
- 6: International organizations as legitimate actors
- 9: Attempts for independence and isolationism are undesirable

Of the criteria that indicate the strategic approach, the most common identified was that of “Dependence on other actors is undesirable,” which holds a stable prominence in all examined documents. Similarly to other documents, we found a noted presence of the criteria “Energy as a primary interest,” “Securing of energy needs by own means,” and “Emphasis on security questions.”

In the context of the dominant market-based approach, the already-frequent category of “Emphasis on exchange and cooperation,” grew even more frequent. Overall, the total number of categories assigned to the market-based approach fell; however, the relative frequency of the dominant categories was maintained.

3.6. A 2030 Framework for Climate and Energy Policies (A Green Paper) (2013)

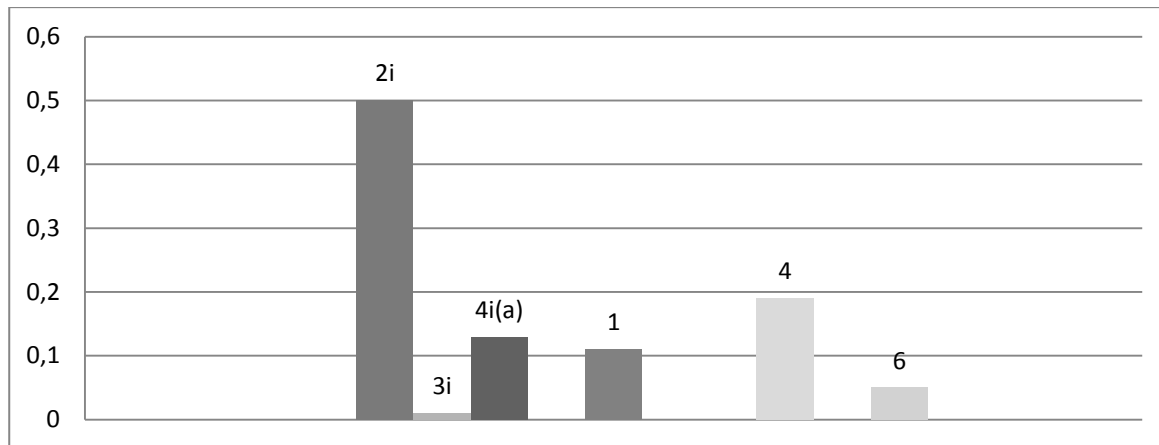
Graph 9: Relative frequency of segments assigned to the strategic approach in “A 2030 Framework for Climate and Energy Policies (A Green Paper)”



Source: European Commission, 2013, Compilation: the authors

6: Dependence on other actors is undesirable
 9: Emphasis on security questions

Graph 10: **Relative frequency of segments assigned to the market-oriented approach in “A 2030 Framework for Climate and Energy Policies (A Green Paper)”**



Source: European Commission, 2013, Compilation: the authors

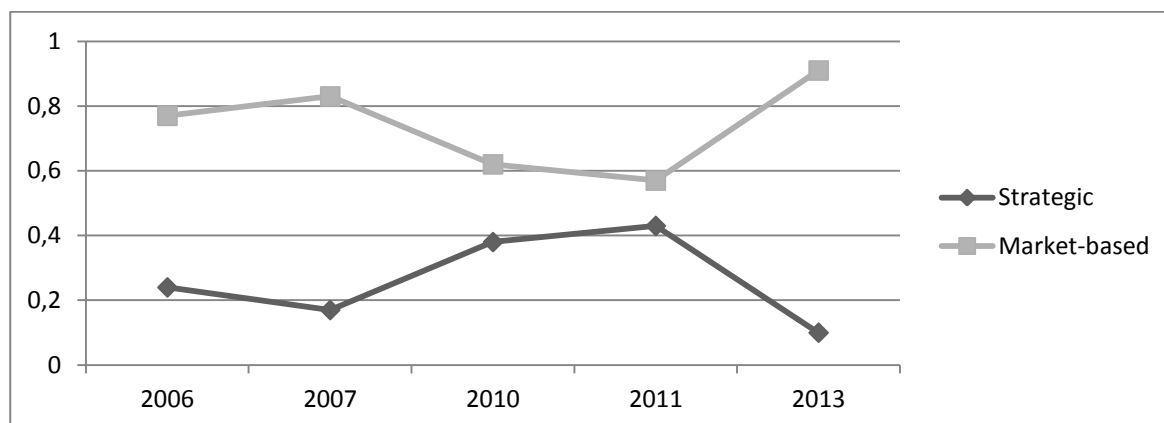
- 2i: Instrumental perception of the market
- 3i: Acceptance of interventions in the market
- 4a (i): Sustainability
- 1: Privileged role of the market (in general)
- 4: Emphasis on exchange and cooperation
- 6: International organizations as legitimate actors

From the perspective of relative frequency, the strategic approach was marginalized; a mere 10% of segments that were coded were assigned to this approach. The only two criteria in the text concerning this approach were “Emphasis on security questions” and “Dependence on other actors is undesirable.” The former, which was mentioned in the document a total of five times, was presented as relatively general appeal for security of supply, without greater specification of the means or the goals.

The market-based approach in its institutional form completely dominates in this text. The most frequent category is the “Instrumental perception of the market,” and it is necessary to bring attention to the fact that in the preceding documents this category was not mentioned at all, or only marginally. We further identified the category “Sustainability,” and in accordance with the institutional variant of the market-based-approach, “Acceptance of interventions in the market.” This was followed behind by the categories of “Emphasis on exchange and cooperation,” “Privileged role of the market,” and “International organizations as legitimate actors.”

4 Outcomes

Graph 11: Relative frequency of all criteria of the strategic and market-based approaches in EU-level documents 2006-2013.



Source: Documents under study (see above). Compilation: the authors.

Analysis reveals the following:

- 1) From the perspective of overall frequency of markers, the market-based approach (primarily its institutional variant) dominates the strategic approach in all documents reviewed. While in the years 2007 to 2011 it was slightly lower, even in these years the market-based approach clearly maintains its strong position.
- 2) The most frequent criteria concerning the strategic approach are typical for this approach: “Emphasis on security issues”, “Dependence on other actors is undesirable”, and “Energy as a primary interest of the state”. The first of these criteria is at the same time the most common criterion of both approaches identified in the examined documents. In the case of the market-based approach, the criteria of “Instrumental perception of the market” and the “Privileged role of the market generally” were most common. Additionally, criteria of the institutional variant prevail over the narrow market-based variant.
- 3) It is possible to identify a dividing line between interdependence of the internal dimension and the external dimension of energy policy. In the external dimension, dependence is seen as undesirable, while in the internal matters, interdependence is seen as crucial.

More generally, the findings indicate that recommendations assigned to the market-based approach (specifically its institutional variant) are in the majority of cases concerned with the internal market; criteria of the strategic approach are more frequently found in regards to the external dimension.

- 4) While in the earlier documents recommendations attributed to the strategic approach were formulated rather carefully, by the end of the observed period this approach was openly advocated in applicable cases. As an example, in the Green Paper from 2006, risks of one-sided dependence or of unstable supply were quite generally addressed and pointed out; in the Energy Roadmap 2050 from 2011, these risks were explicitly named as factors compromising the energy security of the EU, and the document offered specific measures on how to deal with these risks. The link between the criteria of the strategic approach with the external dimension of EU energy policy over the course of the period under observation became ever closer, until by the end of the observed period, these criteria were almost exclusively related to the external aspect of the energy policy.
- 5) Last but not least, it is necessary to note a shift in the case in justification of various recommendations in the documents under review. One example is that of renewable energy sources (RES). At the outset, these were seen through the prism of the strategic approach, as a way to reduce dependence on external sources of energy.¹⁴ In later documents, these sources are advocated on the basis of the market-based approach, in which they are discussed as serving an important role in completing the single common energy market.¹⁵ RES are intended to serve as a driving force for the development of a Europe-wide infrastructure and distribution of system roles among member states¹⁶. The same shift in rationalization can be seen in the case of the use of biofuels and biomass.¹⁷

5 Discussion

The analysis presented above demonstrates the dominance of the market-based approach (in its institutional variant) over that of the strategic, even in times of the market-based approach's times of relative weakness. In accordance with the goal of the research, we can draw the following conclusions.

¹⁴ See the Green Paper from 2006 (European Commission, 2006), or "An Energy Policy for Europe" (European Commission, 2007).

¹⁵ See "Energy Roadmap 2050" (European Commission, 2011) or the Green Paper: A 2030 Framework for Climate and Energy Policies" (European Commission, 2013).

¹⁶ A country with advantageous conditions for a particular type of RES would thus be able to supply electricity to external users as well.

¹⁷ Respectively, See the Green Paper from 2006 (European Commission, 2006) and the document "Europe 2020" (European Commission, 2010).

The European Union (as represented by the European Commission as its face) would like to be seen as an actor with a single cohesive energy policy,¹⁸ which provides a long-term conceptualization corresponding to the Union's interests. These are defined along the strategic vs. market-based axis as firmly market-based in terms of the specific goals and tools for their achievement. For example, one may consider the declared actions to export the Union's market-based efforts to organize the energy sector by means of institutions such as an Energy Community or an Energy Charter Treaty. Energy in the EU is intended to follow the logic of the market and market forces and mutual integration, as this goal also is seen as the most effective tool to avoid and solve problematic situations – including (politically motivated) problems with the supply of the supply of energy resources from third countries.

It also appears that the concerns raised by Coby and Linde about a change in interests and priorities of the EU in reaction to external pressures remain unconfirmed. Many producer countries actually demonstrate a definite strategic approach with respect to energy resources (and often even shift further toward that approach); it is in this context that the Russian Federation, for example, is frequently discussed.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the European Union has not reacted in this way, with a hasty change in its priorities and interests. Even in respect to questions of dealing with the security of its energy supply, the EU has cited the importance of a functioning domestic market:

The key to improved energy security lies first in a more collective approach through a functioning internal market and greater cooperation at regional and European levels, in particular for coordinating network developments and opening up markets, and second, in a more coherent external action. This includes ensuring through the enlargement instruments that these guiding principles are followed by candidate countries and potential countries (European Commission, 2014: 3).

In this context, the reaction of the Commission is characteristically tepid to the proposal of Polish PM Donald Tusk to the creation of an Energy Union, in which community institutions would have monopoly rights to the purchase of energy resources from third countries for the entire EU (Tusk, 2014).²⁰

Our research not only adds these findings, but also two other interesting pieces of information. First, if elements of the strategic approach are discovered in the energy discourse, it is almost exclusively

¹⁸ This has now been formally affirmed in the Lisbon Treaty (see Euroskop).

¹⁹ See for example Stegen (2011) or Harsem and Claes (2013).

²⁰ In regards to the proposal see the interesting commentary by Karel Beckman (2014).

related to the external dimension of European energy policy. Second, the language and terminology of this approach have become consistently clearer, more emphatic, and more insistent. To a certain extent this confirms the predictions of Richard Young in 2007, who anticipated a similar trend. (See the “Literature Review” chapter above.) Though expectations were optimistic, the last seven years have failed to combine the internal and external dimensions of EU energy policy and build it on the principles, priorities, and tools of a purely market-based approach. Countervailing pressure on the part of producer countries plays a role in this, as well as a lack of agreement on the part of member states of the EU, some of which themselves have a clearly skeptical view of the market-based approach to their domestic energy sectors. This mix of market-based and strategic approaches in the external dimension of the energy policy of the EU makes it difficult to make out and predict, and from the viewpoint of a third party, to even understand. In this way, the European Union also loses some of its negotiating power, as it is unable to clearly articulate its common interests and thus any weight that common interests would give it in negotiations. This can clearly be seen in negotiations with groupings and actors who have their priorities and have clearly defined methods of going about achieving them. Typical examples include the Russian Federation and countries of the Middle East.

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