

CONTENTS

Introduction: Perspectives, Aims and Contributions	1
<i>Svein S. Andersen, Andreas Goldthau, and Nick Sitter</i>	
1 <i>The Energy Union: A New Policy Agenda?</i>	1
2 <i>From Regulatory Power to Economic Power</i>	4
3 <i>The Structure and Content of the Book</i>	7
References	9
 Part I The EU and the Global Political Economy of Energy	11
 From Low to High Politics? The EU's Regulatory and Economic Power	13
<i>Svein S. Andersen, Andreas Goldthau, and Nick Sitter</i>	
1 <i>Introduction</i>	13
2 <i>Low and High Politics: A Liberal EU in a Mercantilist Energy World</i>	14
3 <i>Regulatory Power Europe: Soft Power with a Hard Edge</i>	16
4 <i>Economic Power Europe: A Soft Form of Hard Power</i>	19
5 <i>Confronting the New Mercantilists: If You Can't Join Them, Beat Them</i>	21
References	24

The Road to Energy Union	27
<i>Jean-Arnold Vinois</i>	
1 Introduction	27
2 The European Energy Policy: A Very Slow Start	28
3 The Steps Forward	30
4 The Steps Backward	39
5 The Absolute Need for an Energy Union	41
6 Conclusions	48
References	49
 The Global Dimension of EU Energy Policy	51
<i>Øystein Noreng</i>	
1 EU Energy Policy: Objectives and Assumptions	51
2 The EU in the World Energy Markets	52
3 The OPEC Surprises	55
4 A New Reality	57
5 Europe in the New Gas World	61
6 Europe: The Lonely Climate Rider?	62
7 A Matter of Competitiveness	65
8 Green Rhetoric and Political Inaction?	67
9 Energy and Social Equity	71
10 Energy and the EU Neighbourhood	75
11 Conclusion	78
References	80
 Part II High Politics: The New Security Dimension of European Energy Policy	83
 Geopolitics and the Foreign Policy Dimension of EU Energy Security	85
<i>Luca Franza and Coby Van Der Linde</i>	
1 Introduction	85
2 A New Arc of Instability in Europe's Neighbourhood	86
3 Increasingly Divergent Views Between the EU and Its Suppliers	88
4 Pursuit of EU Foreign Energy Policy by Promotion of Free Market Paradigm	90

5	<i>Further Securitization of the EU Energy Policy Agenda and Launching of the Energy Union</i>	93
6	<i>Conclusion</i>	95
	<i>References</i>	97
Wither the EU's Market Making Project in Energy: From Liberalization to Securitization?		99
<i>Tim Boersma and Andreas Goldthau</i>		
1	<i>Introduction</i>	99
2	<i>The Energy Union and the EU's Liberal Grand Strategy in Energy</i>	101
3	<i>The Securitization Turn in EU Energy Policy</i>	103
4	<i>Old Wine in New Bottles or Farewell to the EU's Liberal Paradigm?</i>	107
5	<i>Conclusion</i>	110
	<i>References</i>	111
The Hunter Becomes the Hunted: Gazprom Encounters EU Regulation		115
<i>Indra Overland</i>		
1	<i>Introduction</i>	115
2	<i>Gazprom Is an Alpha Male, the EU Is a Cow</i>	115
3	<i>Cow Bites Alpha Male</i>	117
4	<i>Liberal Mercantilist or Just Liberal?</i>	119
5	<i>What Can Gazprom Do?</i>	121
6	<i>Conclusions</i>	125
	<i>References</i>	128
Part III Low Politics: The Regulatory Dimension of European Energy Policy		131
An Industry Perspective: The Primacy of Market-Building		133
<i>Sebastian Eyre</i>		
1	<i>Introduction</i>	133
2	<i>The Centrality of the Supply Chain in Dissecting the Industries' Perspectives</i>	134

3	<i>Underlying Core Interests</i>	135
4	<i>A Neoliberal Consensus and Its Components</i>	139
5	<i>Consensus Does Not Extend to Detailed Market Design</i>	143
6	<i>Governance Issues</i>	144
7	<i>Conclusion: Have the Advocates of Assertive EU Power Been Missing the Point?</i>	145
	<i>References</i>	146

Regulating for Consumers? The Agency for Cooperation of Energy Regulators 147

Michael Carnegie Labelle

1	<i>Introduction</i>	147
2	<i>ACER: Energy Regulation and Markets</i>	149
3	<i>Limits of ACER: Energy Security and Energy Poverty</i>	155
4	<i>Discussion and Conclusion: The Energy Union Serving Users</i>	160
	<i>References</i>	162

The Energy Network: Infrastructure as the Hardware of the Energy Union 165

Adina Crisan and Maximilian Kuhn

1	<i>The Rationale for Energy Hardware in Energy Policy</i>	165
2	<i>The Need for a Holistic Approach to European Infrastructure Development</i>	168
3	<i>Politicization of EU Infrastructure and the Energy Union</i>	172
4	<i>Conclusion: An Energy Union Through EU Infrastructure</i>	175
	<i>References</i>	178

Part IV Contesting the Energy Union 183

An Odd Pro-Market Trio: Germany, the UK and Norway 185

Svein S. Andersen, Andreas Goldthau, and Nick Sitter

1	<i>The EU's Liberal Grand Strategy and Its Defenders in the Energy Sector</i>	185
2	<i>Germany: The Ordo-Liberal Engine of European Integration</i>	188
3	<i>The UK: The EU's Liberal, but Awkward, Partner</i>	191

4	<i>Norway: The Pragmatic Liberal</i>	194
5	<i>Conclusion</i>	197
	<i>References</i>	198

No United Front: The Political Economy of Energy in Central and Eastern Europe 201

Andrej Nosko and Matúš Mišík

1	<i>Introduction</i>	201
2	<i>Demand for Energy Union and CEE Countries</i>	202
3	<i>Intricacies of CEE</i>	205
4	<i>Escaping the Post-Soviet Predicament Through the Energy Union?</i>	210
5	<i>Conclusion</i>	214
	<i>References</i>	216

Something for Everyone: Political Fragmentation and Policy Accommodation in the European Parliament 223

Michiel van Hulst and Nick Sitter

1	<i>Introduction</i>	223
2	<i>The 2014 Election and Energy Policy</i>	225
3	<i>Party Positions on Energy Policy</i>	227
4	<i>The December 2015 EP Resolution on Liberalism, Economic Power and Mercantilism</i>	231
5	<i>Conclusion</i>	234
	<i>References</i>	235

Conclusion: Liberal Mercantilism? 237

Svein S. Andersen, Andreas Goldthau, and Nick Sitter

	<i>Reference</i>	241
--	------------------	-----

Index 243