Contents

1	The	EU-Russia Energy Relations Between Nondiscursive	
	and l	Discursive Approaches: An Introduction	1
	1.1	The Importance of Energy Security in EU-Russia Relations	1
	1.2	The State of the Art	2
	1.3	The Focus of the Monograph, the Main Goal, and the Research	
		Question	3
	1.4	The Theoretical Framework	5
	1.5	The Methodological Framework	6
	1.6	Literature and Sources	7
	1.7	The Structure of the Monograph	8
	Refer	rences	9
2	Ener	gy Relations Between the EU and Russia	15
	2.1	The Legislative and Institutional Framework of EU-RF Energy	
		Relations	15
		2.1.1 The Partnership and Cooperation Agreement	15
		2.1.2 The Four Common Spaces	16
		2.1.3 The EU-Russia Partnership for Modernisation	17
		2.1.4 The EU-Russia Energy Dialogue	17
	2.2	The Energy Policy of the Russian Federation Regarding	
		the EU	19
		2.2.1 The Main Actors of Energy Policy of the Russian	
		Federation	20
		2.2.2 Goals, Instruments, and Interests of Russian Energy	
		Policy Regarding the EU	22
	2.3	The Energy Policy of the European Union Regarding Russia	26
		2.3.1 The Main Actors of Energy Policy of the European	
		Union	28
		2.3.2 Goals, Instruments, and Interests of EU Energy Policy	
		Regarding Russia	31

	2.4		Crisis in Ukraine in 2014 and the Development of EU-RF	
			y Relations	36
	D C		The Development of Energy Relations in 2015–2018	38
	Refer	ences.	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	41
3			tivist-Discursive Approach to Studying EU-Russia	
	Ener		ations	47
	3.1	The T	heoretical Framework: Constructivism and Discourse	47
		3.1.1	Social Constructivism	48
		3.1.2	The Concept of Discourse	53
	3.2	The C	Constructivist-Discursive Approach to Key Concepts	54
		3.2.1	Energy Discourse	55
		3.2.2	Norms, Values, and Ideas and Their Relation to Discourse	
			and Identity	57
		3.2.3	The Construction of Identity in Discourse	59
		3.2.4	The Relation of External Identity to Interests	62
		3.2.5	Intersubjectivity in EU-RF Energy Relations	64
	3.3	The C	Chosen Methodology	67
		3.3.1	Discourse Analysis	67
		3.3.2	The Case Study	69
		3.3.3	The Comparative Method	70
	3.4	The M	Main Creators of the EU-Russia Energy Discourse	72
		3.4.1	The Actor of a Discourse and Its Relation	
			to the Discursive Structure/Reality	72
		3.4.2	Key Representatives of the EU Energy Discourse	73
		3.4.3	The Main Representatives of the Russian Energy	
			Discourse	74
	3.5	The C	Collection of Data and the Creation of a Corpus of	
		Docur	ments	76
		3.5.1	The Criteria for Choosing EU and Russian Documents	76
		3.5.2	Selecting EU Documents from 2004 to 2009	78
		3.5.3	Selecting Russian Documents from 2004 to 2009	79
		3.5.4	Selecting EU Documents from 2010 to 2014	81
		3.5.5	Selecting Russian Documents from 2010 to 2014	83
	3.6	Appro	paches to the EU-Russia Energy Discourse	86
		3.6.1	The Integration Discourse	86
		3.6.2	The Liberalisation Discourse	87
		3.6.3	The Diversification Discourse	89
	Refer	ences.		92

	U Energy Discourses on the Russian Federation	
in 200	4–2014	97
4.1	The Integration Discourse of the EU in 2004–2009	97
	4.1.1 The Main Themes and Contents of the Integration	
	Discourse	97
	4.1.2 The Impact of Norms of the Integration Discourse	
	on the Identity and Interests of the EU in Its Relations	
		100
4.2	The Liberalisation Discourse of the EU in 2004–2009	101
	4.2.1 The Main Themes and Contents of the Liberalisation	
		101
	4.2.2 The Impact of the Norms of the Liberalisation Discourse	
	on the Identity and Interests of the EU in Its Relations	
	to Russia	103
4.3	The Diversification Discourse of the EU in 2004–2009	105
	4.3.1 The Main Themes and Contents of the Diversification	
	Discourse	105
	4.3.2 The Impact of the Norms of the Diversification Discourse	
	on the Identity and Interests of the EU in Its Relations	
	to Russia	107
4.4	A Comparison of the Three Discourses of the EU	
	in 2004–2009	109
4.5	The Integration Discourse of the EU in 2010–2014	110
	4.5.1 The Main Themes and Contents of the Integration	
	Discourse	110
	4.5.2 The Impact of the Norms of the Integration Discourse	
	on the Identity and Interests of the EU in Its Relations	
	to Russia	114
4.6	The Liberalisation Discourse of the EU in 2010–2014	115
	4.6.1 The Main Themes and Contents of the Liberalisation	
	Discourse	115
	4.6.2 The Impact of the Norms of the Liberalisation Discourse	
	on the Identity and Interests of the EU in Its Relations	
	to Russia	119
4.7	The Diversification Discourse of the EU in 2010–2014	120
	4.7.1 The Main Themes and Contents of the Diversification	
	Discourse	120
	4.7.2 The Impact of the Norms of the Diversification Discourse	
	on the Identity and Interests of the EU in Its Relations	
	to Russia	123
4.8	A Comparison of the EU Discourses in 2010–2014	100
àl	and 2004–2009	125
Refere	ences	128

5	The l	Russian Energy Discourses on the European Union	
	in 20	04–2014	137
	5.1	The Integration Discourse of Russia in 2004–2009	137
		5.1.1 The Main Themes and Contents of the Integration	
		Discourse	137
		5.1.2 The Impact of the Norms of the Integration Discourse on the Identity and Interests of the RF in Its Relations	
		to the EU	140
	5.2	The Liberalisation Discourse of Russia in 2004–2009	141
		Discourse	141
		5.2.2 The Impact of the Norms of the Liberalisation Discourse on the Identity and Interests of the RF in Its Relations	
		to the EU	144
	5.3	The Diversification Discourse of Russia in 2004–2009 5.3.1 The Main Themes and Contents of the Diversification	146
		Discourse	146
		5.3.2 The Impact of the Norms of the Diversification Discourse on the Identity and Interests of the RF in Its Relations	
		to the EU	149
	5.4	A Comparison of the Three Discourses of Russia	
		in 2004–2009	150
	5.5	The Integration Discourse of Russia in 2010–2014	153
		5.5.1 The Main Themes and Contents of the Integration Discourse	153
		5.5.2 The Impact of the Norms of the Integration Discourse on the Identity and Interests of the RF in Its Relations	
		to the EU	156
	5.6	The Liberalisation Discourse of Russia in 2010–2014	157
		Discourse	157
		to the EU	160
	5.7	The Diversification Discourse of Russia in 2010–2014	162
		5.7.1 The Main Themes and Contents of the Diversification Discourse	162
		5.7.2 The Impact of the Norms of the Diversification Discourse on the Identity and Interests of the RF in Its Relations	102
	5.8	to the EU	165
		and 2004–2009	167
	Refer	ences	170