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**Is there room for trust in energy policy relations between Poland and  
Germany?**

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Discussion on collaboration in the energy sector between Poland and Germany is connected with aiming at mutual understanding. What is necessary in the situation of deficit of mutual trust is to understand mutual challenges and problems and to try and achieve common goals whenever possible. Poland and Germany want to improve energy security of the European Union, reduce the dependence on imported energy raw materials, increase energy self-sufficiency, and achieve sustainable development based on innovative technologies. Therefore, the following questions arise: is there room for trust in all the aspects connected with energy policy? In what areas of the energy sector can Poland and Germany collaborate?

Analyzing the assumptions of EU energy policy in terms of natural gas, we can see that the strategic goal is to increase the diversification of sources of supply of this raw material. One of the projects suiting the fundamental assumptions of EU policy is the Polish gas pipeline Baltic Pipe, being part of the EU gas corridor. Poland has also constructed an LNG terminal in Świnoujście, which fully suits the EU policy of diversification of sources of natural gas supply. In other words, Polish energy policy in this regard meets the assumptions of the EU and leads to improved energy security. Therefore, it is worth considering why Germany is planning to build Nord Stream II gas pipeline, which is contrary to the policy of diversification of sources of supply and leads to monopolization through strengthening the position of the Russian supplier on EU energy market. If we notice that the natural gas supplied via Nord Stream II gas pipeline is to go to Central and Eastern European markets, we see that the project is contrary to EU energy policy. It is even more evident

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because of the Brotherhood gas pipeline allowing the supplies of Russian natural gas via Ukraine to Central and Eastern Europe. In other words, it is worth asking: Is the objective of the political and commercial project Nord Stream II to limit the diversification of sources of natural gas supplies to Central and Eastern Europe? Is it not better to use the potential of the LNG terminal in Świnoujście and the Baltic Pipe gas pipeline to strengthen collaboration in the energy sector between Poland and Germany? The LNG terminal in Świnoujście provides the basis for development of collaboration in the chemical and transport sector, especially that one of the German energy concerns E.ON has signed contracts for supplies of liquefied gas from Canada (a 20-year contract with Pieridae Energy from 2020), Qatar (a contract for the years 2014-2019 with Qatargas) and USA, and it has shares in many LNG terminals in Europe. The activity of German concern E.ON and geographic proximity of the LNG terminal in Świnoujście naturally stimulate the debate on collaboration in this respect. It would be beneficial for both countries to reduce carbon dioxide in the transport sector. So how can LNG supplied from Polish terminal in Świnoujście to Germany directly support the security of supplies of fuel to the Federal Republic of Germany? We also need to discuss how economically profitable is the construction of Nord Stream II, given that the Baltic Pipe gas pipeline will be constructed in Poland to supply natural gas from Norwegian deposits in which Polish company PGNiG has shares. Should Visegrad Group countries buy natural gas from Baltic Pipe and the LNG terminal in Świnoujście as part of one of the EU gas corridors, or should they buy Russian gas supplied via the political and commercial project Nord Stream II? The question of key importance is to what extent previous energy partnerships in the gas sector of the Federal Republic of Germany block the potential for developing collaboration with Central and Eastern Europe. What is the priority of the foreign dimension of energy policy of the Federal Republic of Germany? Unreasonable political decisions on the part of Germany may be perceived in Poland as signals that Poland is treated as a market for natural gas supplied through Nord Stream II pipeline. The attempt to achieve such goals by force will lead to deeper trust deficit. Perhaps it is worth considering whether Poland and Germany could in the future develop collaboration in common search for and exploitation of gas from slate, which could be a significant factor of competitive advantage for Polish and German chemical sectors.

Apart from the gas sector, electrical energy sector is also important. In Poland it is

based on burning black and brown coal (more than 80%), and in Germany, the tendency is to develop renewable energy sources but the share of coal in electrical energy is still dominant (42%). Poland has considerable black and brown coal potential and aims to develop new branches of economy based on the potential of Polish mining. The modernization of the mining sector depends on financial expenditure, which will make it possible to make use of the existing technological potential to efficiently burn coal so as to reduce the emission of carbon dioxide. Perhaps it is worth investing the EU funds in the development of clean coal technology, as this will lead to increasing energy self-sufficiency of the EU. It means that the energy transition in the mining sector should be carried out in an evolutionary way. Energy transition (so-called *Energiewende*) is carried out this way in Germany. In the 1970s, the country decided to develop renewable energy sources (RES). A model was created to allow the departure from imported fossil fuels, which made it possible to create systemic solutions leading to technological advantage in the energy industry. New branches of economy were developed on the basis of the renewable sources sector, which facilitated exportation of RES products globally. Nevertheless, Germany still uses more coal than Poland and hence emits more carbon dioxide. Therefore, it might be especially worthwhile to consider whether technologies of low emission coal combustion could be developed in collaboration between the two countries. In the next few decades, Germany is planning to continue using brown coal in electrical energy. It means that Poland concentrates its energy policy on coal potential, while Germany, on renewable energy sources. Is the collaboration in the electrical energy sector possible, then? The EU was established on the basis of the "unity in diversity" idea. If collaboration is difficult, we should respect the differences between us. The energy and climate package enforced a certain speed of reduction of carbon dioxide, which lowers the economic competitiveness of using black and brown coal. Understanding or respecting differences may be manifest in the use of instruments that will allow some deviations from the adopted regulations. Polish economy needs the modernization of the energy sector, which will make it possible to create adequate systemic solutions. The aim of these solutions is to develop the competitiveness of industry, to strengthen gross domestic product, to create new jobs, and to improve energy security. It is obvious that effectiveness will be dependent on innovation: not only in the context of technology, but also in terms of thinking about the energy sector and creating models that ensure the synergy effect.

It is very important, as there is not enough mutual trust in the context of gas and electrical energy issues. It is hard to talk about collaboration when there is no trust. The countries should take advantage of each other's potentials and differences. In other words, only respect for the differences will provide the basis for development of new areas of collaboration in energy policy. Firstly, it is legitimate to develop electric vehicle networks in both countries, which will result in greater popularity of electric, hybrid and hydrogen vehicles. Thus, common activities aimed at the development of a new branch of economy will become a significant plane of collaboration. This will allow to work out beneficial instruments for economic development in Poland and Germany. R&D collaboration should concentrate on models and ways of providing energy for electric vehicles. It will be important to draw up optimum ways of powering them and to create efficient and light batteries. Developing this economic sector will contribute to adequate systemic mechanisms allowing to use the existing energy potentials in both countries. Second, it is beneficial for both countries to develop collaboration leading to greater economic efficiency. This will have positive effects for the electrical energy sector, contribute to reducing the emission of carbon dioxide, and lower the demand for thermal energy. The collaboration should concentrate on thermomodernization of buildings and on the manufacture of new construction materials that will make it possible to construct almost zero emission buildings. Third, Poland and Germany should develop together technologies allowing the conversion of electrical power to a gas fuel (*power to gas*). Germany could use the excess of electrical energy this way and produce hydrogen or methane out of it, which can be stored or used in the heating, chemical or transport sector. Poland can extract methane from coal deposits and use it similarly. Mutual collaboration will give both countries an opportunity to reduce the dependence on imported natural gas and increase EU's energy self-sufficiency.

Collaboration between Poland and Germany may be based on the optimum use of the potentials that will strengthen the EU. The models of energy transitions in EU countries will not be identical. The specific characteristics of countries must be taken into account in the EU “energy mix”, with common goals to which each country contributes as much as it can. It is obvious that there are particular interests in the energy sector, and they are bound to continue. The question is whether we are able to reconcile our interests and try to collaborate in the areas in which it is possible. In the areas in which the trust deficit makes it impossible to

collaborate, we need to respect each other's differences, which – if they are used properly – will generate new planes of further collaboration. Common development of projects connected with electric vehicles, natural gas production from electricity, energy efficiency or shale gas are the planes that allow the restoration of mutual trust.