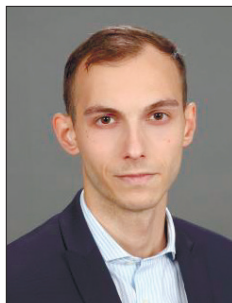


CZU 327

DOI 10.5281/zenodo.10725651



Mihai MELINTEI,
doctorand
PhD student

ENERGY SECURITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA IN THE NEW INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT. RISKS AND OPPORTUNITIES

In the last period, the energy issue and the concept of energy security has been firmly consolidated in the political and public discussions in Chișinău, however, often used against economic opportunities. The geo-energy significance of the Republic of Moldova is determined by its position. However, since the independence of the Republic of Moldova, the energy security of the republic continues to be threatened by the transnistrian conflict. For the Republic of Moldova, which does not have primary energy resources and depends on their import, the issue of energy supply remains critical for the functioning and development of the state. Currently, the energy security, especially the gas supply of the Republic of Moldova is ensured under internationally accepted norms, and the provision of natural gas resources is made from imports. In order to increase the security of gas supply and diversify energy resources, the authorities of the Republic of Moldova propose to diversify the supply of gas, energy, and to create gas stocks in third countries for emergency situations or specific cases.

Keywords: energy; Republic of Moldova; energy security; international relations; gas; energy supply.

SECURITATEA ENERGETICĂ A REPUBLICII MOLDOVA ÎN NOUL CONTEXT INTERNAȚIONAL. RISCURI ȘI OPORTUNITĂȚI

În ultima perioadă, problematica energetică și conceptul de securitate energetică s-au consolidat ferm în discuțiile politice și publice de la Chișinău, însă adesea au fost folosite împotriva oportunităților economice. Semnificația geo-energetică a Republicii Moldova este determinată de poziția sa. Cu toate acestea, de la independența Republicii Moldova, securitatea energetică a țării continuă să fie amenințată de conflictul transnistrean. Pentru R. Moldova, care nu dispune de resurse energetice primare și depinde de importul acestora, problema aprovizionării cu energie rămâne critică pentru funcționarea și dezvoltarea statului. În prezent, securitatea energetică, în special aprovizionarea cu gaze a republicii este asigurată sub normele acceptate pe plan internațional, iar asigurarea cu resurse de gaz natural este efectuată din import. R. Moldova nu are resurse energetice proprii și este practic complet dependentă de importurile de combustibili fosili și de energie electrică. Pentru creșterea securității aprovizionării cu gaze și diversificarea resurselor energetice, autoritățile Republicii Moldova propun diversificarea aprovizionării cu gaze și energie, creând stocuri de gaze în țări terțe pentru situații de urgență sau cazuri specifice.

Cuvinte-cheie: energie, Republica Moldova, securitate energetică, relații internaționale, gaz, aprovizionare cu energie.

1. INTRODUCTION.

The energy security of the Republic of Moldova is a strategic branch of the national economy, on which the level of its development and the country's macroeconomic stability depend. At the current stage, the energy industry is one of the dominant factors that determine the well-being of the country and the person, which greatly influences the level of development of all activity segments of modern society [3]. Currently, the energy security, especially the gas supply of the Republic of Moldova is ensured under internationally accepted norms, and the provision of natural gas resources is made from imports. The Republic of Moldova has no energy resources of its own and is practically completely dependent on imports of fossil fuels and electricity. Since the fall of 2021, the energy situation in the Republic of Moldova has evolved unstable, both due to the latest developments on the regional energy markets caused by the recovery of the post-pandemic economy, and due to the military developments in Ukraine. In order to increase the security of gas supply and diversify energy resources, the authorities of the Republic of Moldova intend to diversify the supply of gas, energy, and to create gas stocks in third countries for emergency situations or specific cases.

2. METHODOLOGY.

The relevance of the subject proposed for analysis results from the importance of the deep study of the factual and interpretive approach to one of the key problems of the Republic of Moldova - energy security, which has seen a reshaping in the context of the evolution of the international energy market.

The research methodology of the work consists in the complex use of research principles and methods developed and used by modern science: comparison, analysis and synthesis, generalization, observation, modeling, analogy, attracting expert assessments, etc. The theoretical and methodological basis of the article is made up of a series of general and special scientific approaches that concern the research of the formulated problem - the ener-

gy security of the Republic of Moldova in the new international context. The proposed approach allows identifying the risks and opportunities of the energy security of the Republic of Moldova, the main geopolitical trends and characteristics of the energy system of the Republic of Moldova. At the same time, the proposed analysis allows the identification and comparison of the development levels of the studied object, the changes that appeared during the evolution of the international system and the trends in the energy sector.

3. RESULTS.

3.1. Chișinău - Tiraspol energy interdependence.

Recently, the energy problem and the concept of energy security have been firmly consolidated in the political and public discussions in Chișinău, but often used against economic opportunities. Chișinău's task in the energy issue is to prevent Moscow's dominance in the energy sector and gain control over energy imports and logistics from both banks of the Nistru. The energy problem for Chișinău involves the search for alternatives to the supply of energy resources from Russia, the rejection of long-term contracts and, in general, the diversification of energy supply sources (especially natural gas) [7]. At the same time, the problem of the Republic of Moldova consists in the fact that it has to develop its energy strategy in the conditions of small sales market volumes, the unwillingness of international investors to finance the creation of modern energy infrastructure, including renewable energy, as well as the difficulties geographic, which often do not allow finding alternative routes for the delivery of energy resources at a competitive price to the economic state of the Republic of Moldova. Also, a problem in the energy file for Chișinău remains the Transnistrian region [7]. For Tiraspol, the main task in the energy issue is to further maintain energy ties with the Russian Federation. One of the main reasons why the Transnistrian region continues to exist is gas and its transit through the Transnistrian segment. Tiraspol, in its position as an inter-

nationally unrecognized entity, continues to import gas from the Russian Federation without paying the final price. The price of gas in the Transnistrian region is very low, and the various enterprises that use natural gas make a huge contribution to the development of the economy of the Transnistrian region. The Cuciurgan Thermal Power Plant (MGRES), owned by the Russian company Inter RAO, and the Râbnici Metallurgical Plant, owned until 2015 by the Russian company Metalloinvest, represent 65% of the total exports of the Transnistrian region [7]. Thus, if at least one of these enterprises ceases to function, the economy of the Transnistrian region will suffer negative consequences. This places the possibility of the existence of the Tiraspol administration in the risk zone [8].

According to the global risk and strategy consulting company Maplecroft, the Republic of Moldova is one of the nine countries in the world that are in the extreme risk group in terms of energy security [6]. The Republic of Moldova faces the most difficult energy situation among the countries of the Eastern Partnership of the EU, considering both the lack of local resources and the lack of access to the sea. The underdeveloped energy infrastructure, the unregulated conflict on the left side of the Nistru (Transnistrian) and the constant tensions regarding gas transit in the region have created a series of problems for the energy security of the Republic of Moldova. Also, despite Chișinău's attempts to strengthen ties with the EU, the Republic of Moldova's energy dependence on Russia is high, and the existing natural gas supply system is not eroded [5]. Currently, from the perspective of the energy equation, the right and left banks of the Nistru are interdependent on each other. Chișinău is the main buyer of electricity from the left bank of the Nistru, and Tiraspol is the only supplier of electricity at a competitive price to the economic condition of the right bank of the Nistru [7]. However, from the perspective of the energy infrastructure, we can identify 6 critical points for Chișinău in the relationship with Tiraspol, which boils down to the following

aspects:

- The largest power plant, the Cuciurgan Thermal Power Plant, with an installed capacity of 2520 MW, is located on the left side of the Nistru;
- Of the seven interconnection points between the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine on high voltage lines (330 kV), four are connected in a transformation station on the territory of the Cuciurgan Thermal Power Plant;
- The sources of electricity on the right side of the Nistru, the three power plants with heating (CET-Nord Balti; CET-1 Chișinău; CET-2 Chișinău) can only satisfy a fifth of the needs of the Republic of Moldova, without the Transnistrian region;
- The power plants with heating on the right side of the Nistru, as well as the Cuciurgan Thermal Power Plant, are powered by gas, their operation depends on the constant supply of the raw material;
- Four out of five entry points on natural gas transport pipelines of regional importance, including all three entry points to the Trans-Balkan pipeline system, are located on the left side of the Nistru;
- The main natural gas compression station in the Trans-Balkan pipeline system is located near the city of Tiraspol [7].

At the same time, according to the contract from 2006, signed by Moldovagaz (open-type Moldovan-Russian energy company, which carries out activities of transportation and supply of natural gas and liquefied gas on the territory of the Republic of Moldova) and Gazprom, extended on November 1, 2021 on a period of 5 years, Gazprom by agreement with Moldovagaz can conclude direct agreements with Tiraspoltransgaz (company, whose main activity is the transportation and supply of natural gas to consumers in the Transnistrian region, including the transit of natural gas) or other consumers regarding the supply of natural gas, including in the region Transnistrian (point 1.3) [8]. This point can easily be used by Gazprom, in case a modus vivendi is not reached with Chișinău regarding the supply of natural gas

on the right bank of the Nistru. In addition, according to the provisions of the contract, Moldovagaz cannot interrupt the supply of gas to the Transnistrian region without the written consent of Gazprom. According to the contract between Moldovagaz and Gazprom, extended on November 1, 2021, Gazprom committed to annually supply the Republic of Moldova with 3.3 billion m³ of gas for the next five years. Of this amount, 1.24 billion m³ of gas are supplied annually for the right bank of the Nistru, and another 2.06 billion m³ of gas for consumption on the left bank of the Nistru. About two-thirds of the gas delivered to the Republic of Moldova by Gazprom reaches Tiraspoltransgaz, which, in turn, distributes it to enterprises in the Transnistrian region [8].

Although the Transnistrian conflict is unregulated from a political perspective, Chișinău and Tiraspol manage to cooperate in the energy sector. Both banks of the Nistru use Russian natural gas as the main source of energy, transporting it through the Trans-Balkan gas pipeline. Chișinău has a deficit of electricity generation capacity, while Tiraspol has an excess. Thus, the electricity generated by the Cuciurgan Thermal Power Plant is offered at a dumping price with which no regional producer can compete. A common problem of the two banks of the Nistru in the energy issue is the need to modernize the used equipment in most of the Power Stations [7]. At the same time, the high-voltage power lines connecting the energy systems of the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine pass through the territory of the Republic of Moldova, especially the Transnistrian segment. Consequently, for the production, supply and stable transit of electricity, it is important that Chișinău and Tiraspol maintain constructive relations in the energy sector. We can admit that the parties approached a *win to win* negotiation strategy [7]. According to the strategy, both sides get roughly equal advantage. The parties agree to act in their own interest as well as in the common interest. The basis for the *win to win* negotiation strategy is that compromise and cooperation must be more or at least as impor-

tant as competition or conflict. In this sense, Chișinău and Tiraspol, in order to avoid an energy collapse, by applying the *win to win* strategy model, managed to solve a series of problems in a temporary manner. The applied strategy demonstrates the interdependence of the parties in the energy sector [8].

3.2. Alternative opportunities for the supply of energy resources.

The first intentions to change the existing natural gas supply system of the Republic of Moldova were launched in 2009. An example of this is the construction of the Iași -Ungheni gas pipeline, which fully meets the needs of the Republic of Moldova in terms of natural gas supply. The gas pipeline was put into operation in August 2014, and the first deliveries, in symbolic volumes, began in 2015. The flow of gas from the Iași-Ungheni gas pipeline is highlighted in the Ungheni interconnection point, which became officially bidirectional as of August 1 2020. The director of the strategy and corporate management department of the operator of the Transgaz national transport system in Romania, Elisabeta Ghidiu, explained in 2021 that the Iași -Ungheni-Chișinău pipeline can transport up to 6.5 million m³ of gas per day, a quantity that can cover the consumption needs of the Republic of Moldova, with the exception of the Transnistrian region [4]. At the moment, the capacity of the Iasi-Ungheni-Chișinău gas pipeline is 1.3 billion m³ of gas per year, but work is being done to develop the gas pipeline's capacities. So far, Chișinău has not reserved a natural gas import capacity from Romania. However, at the beginning of July 2023, through the Ungheni interconnection point, approximately 1.5 million m³ of gas are exported daily. The gas is purchased by Energom and stored in Ukraine. Most of the gas that transits Romania to the east, even if it is exported to Ukraine, has as its final destination the Republic of Moldova, which currently, through the state company Energom, purchases gas from the free market [7].

The political changes that took place in the Republic of Moldova in 2019 and 2020

led to a resumption of discussions about the further development of the country's energy sector and its supply with alternative resources. This is mainly due to the fact that external factors have a decisive effect and role in Chișinău's energy policy, and energy issues are closely related to many other economic and political issues. One of the critical external factors is the transit of Russian gas to the Republic of Moldova through Ukraine. For Chișinău, in case of a crisis scenario of natural gas transit through Ukraine, the problem of gas supply could be solved for a short time by pre-filling the natural gas storage facilities in Ukraine and natural gas supply from Romania. However, for Tiraspol these opportunities are closed without the approval from Chișinău [7]. An alternative for the Ukrainian natural gas supply route may become the supply of natural gas through the Turkish Stream gas pipeline. In this sense, Moldovagaz, Moldovatrangaz and Tiraspoltrangaz have carried out reconstruction works of the ȘDKRI main pipeline (Șebelinka - Dnepropetrovsk - Krivoi-Rog - Ismail) to ensure the conditions for the reception of natural gas in reverse mode through the SMG Căușeni gas measuring station [14]. Thus, the Trans-Balkan pipeline can be used in reverse mode by the Republic of Moldova, receiving natural gas from the Turkish Stream gas pipeline, which will transit Bulgaria and Romania. The ȘDKRI pipeline has a technical capacity of 18 million m³ of natural gas transportation per day, and an annual capacity of 9 billion m³ of gas [14]. In this sense, Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine will ensure the reverse of natural gas, in case Russia (Gazprom) and Ukraine (Naftogaz) will not reach a common agreement regarding the transit of natural gas. At the same time, it should be noted that the gas transportation system of the Republic of Moldova is specific to the fact that between the operating areas of Moldovatrangaz and Tiraspoltrangaz in the perimeter of PI Alexeevca, Grebeniky, Ananiev, Limanscoe and Căușeni there are no natural gas volume measurement nodes transported. The same situation is also in the

perimeter of the pipelines of the Trans-Balkan corridor between PI Căușeni (Republic of Moldova) and PI Orlovca (between Moldovatrangaz and Ukrtrangaz currently OGTSU) where the transport pipelines operated by both operators cross the border of the Republic of Moldova with Ukraine 8 times. This aspect creates an instability regarding gas supply [2].

As an alternative option, the option of supplying liquefied natural gas (LNG) to the Republic of Moldova through Greece, Bulgaria and Romania is being considered, taking into account that Greece and Turkey are preparing to expand their liquefied natural gas import capacity through 10 terminals. The aggregate regasification capacity of the 10 terminals could facilitate the import of about 110 billion m³ of gas per year in the region [11]. However, how they could be delivered regionally will depend on the evolution of global LNG prices, as well as the removal of inherent obstacles. At the moment, the use of the Greek LNG terminal Revithoussa has succeeded, the 4 existing Turkish terminals remain inaccessible due to political regulatory barriers [11]. Another option for natural gas supply using the Trans-Balkan pipeline is the signing of a natural gas supply contract between the Republic of Moldova and Azerbaijan. Negotiations in this direction between Chișinău and Baku are being conducted. Thus, through the TANAP pipeline (Trans-Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline) and by using the Greece-Bulgaria interconnector, Azeri gas can be supplied to the Republic of Moldova, transiting Bulgaria and Romania. Other natural gas supply options for the Republic of Moldova are related to the construction of LNG terminals in Romania at the port of Constanța or Ukraine, at the port of Odesa and gas supplies from Azerbaijan via Georgia [7]. However, today these natural gas supply options are at the design level and, at least in the medium term, cannot be considered usable. Also, as a future project and alternative natural gas supply option for the Republic of Moldova, the Neptun Deep project can be considered. The start of natural gas extraction

from the Neptun Deep project in 2027 practically doubles Romania's gas production, covering consumption and allowing Romania to become a regional provider of energy security in Central and South-Eastern Europe [9].

A major change in the consumption of natural gas in the Republic of Moldova can be implemented by reducing its weight in the total energy mix, as a result of the elimination of the electricity generated by the Cuciurgan Thermal Power Plant from the internal energy equation. The cross-border interconnection Romania - Republic of Moldova - Ukraine can strengthen this direction. Emergency synchronous interconnection of the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine at ENTSO-E took place in March 2022. In order to improve the connection of the Republic of Moldova to the European electricity network, the Suceava - Bălți high-voltage power line project is currently being developed. Thus, it will be possible to carry out electricity export/import operations from and to the Republic of Moldova. Consolidating the energy security of the Republic of Moldova by diversifying energy supply options and integrating into the European energy market is vital to counteracting the scenario of interruption of gas transit through Ukraine [7].

3.3. EU support in the energy sector of the Republic of Moldova

In the context of obtaining the status of a candidate country for EU accession, the Republic of Moldova assumed some commitments in the energy field: the development of competitive, transparent and non-discriminatory energy markets in accordance with EU standards; development of energy strategies and policies; diversifying energy sources, suppliers and transport routes in an economically efficient way [1]. In this sense, starting from September 19, 2023, the position of operator of the gas transportation system of the Republic of Moldova returned to Vestmoldtransgaz. Also, Vestmoldtransgaz received for execution the contracts for the provision of gas transport services, signed between Moldovatransgaz and other market participants, including

the contracts with Tiraspoltransgaz for the provision of gas transport capacities from the Transnistrian region, the Transbalkan direction, intended for the transport of natural gas consumers on the right bank of the Nistru and those in transit [1].

The Republic of Moldova aligns itself with the EU strategy to increase the country's energy security. In the period 2022-2023, more than 75 million euros were invested in energy efficiency initiatives, renewable energy projects were financed, schools were renovated, projects were launched to equip housing blocks and public institutions with modern energy supply equipment. In 2022, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development offered the Republic of Moldova a loan of 300 million euros to increase energy security through the purchase of strategic natural gas reserves. In August 2023, Energocom fully returned the 300 million euro loan from the EBRD. The money was used to implement the „Security of natural gas supply” project and conduct 130 rounds of auctions, where more than 300 million m³ of gas were purchased [13]. The EU supports the Republic of Moldova in order to improve its energy resilience and ensure a stable supply of electricity and natural gas. With the help of the EU, the Republic of Moldova made the first purchases of gas and electricity from the EU. Reducing energy demand is also a priority to ensure the energy security of the Republic of Moldova. In this sense, in March 2022, in emergency mode, the electrical network of the Republic of Moldova was successfully synchronized with the continental European network. This has helped the Republic of Moldova to keep its electricity system stable in the current uncertain circumstances and also represents a historic milestone for the EU - Republic of Moldova relationship. The EU is collaborating with the Secretariat of the Energy Community to implement the Energy Rescue Scheme for the Republic of Moldova, which will allow donors to support the purchase of energy by the Republic of Moldova. The experts provide continuous advisory support to the government and key

institutions of the Republic of Moldova. The Secretariat of the Energy Community has opened an office in Chișinău to better help the Republic of Moldova modernize its energy sector and make it safer and more resilient to current and future challenges.

The most important state within the EU, which consecutively and viable supports the Republic of Moldova in the field of energy, is Romania. In December 2023, Chișinău and Bucharest signed the Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of Romania and the Government of the Republic of Moldova regarding the realization of the projects necessary to interconnect the natural gas and electricity networks in Romania and the Republic of Moldova [10]. The purpose of this Memorandum of Understanding is to create the necessary framework for cooperation in the field of energy between the parties, the examination of possible solutions and the realization of projects necessary for long-term energy exchange and to facilitate the exchange of technical knowledge, skills and expertise in accordance with the national legislation of the parties. Considering the importance of ensuring the energy security of the Republic of Moldova through the diversification of sources and supply routes, aiming to create the premises for its integration into the single European energy market and, in this context, expressing the common political will to examine possible solutions and carry out the projects necessary for the exchange of long-term energy between Romania and the Republic of Moldova, the signed Memorandum of Understanding will contribute decisively to the energy security of the Republic of Moldova and its integration into the European energy market [10]. It also becomes a useful tool for EU integration and economic development of the Republic of Moldova. According to the Memorandum, the two governments undertake to carry out the complementary works of the Iași - Ungheni - Chișinău interconnection to ensure flow and pressure regimes for natural gas transport in both directions; to take steps to ensure the storage of natural gas on the territory of Romania; to

urgently build the infrastructure for the 400 kV Suceava-Bălți Overhead Power Line and other electricity transmission projects and to connect the electricity markets, thus integrating the Republic of Moldova into the internal market of the European Union [10].

4. CONCLUSION.

The geo-energy significance of the Republic of Moldova is determined by its geographical position between the main energy supplier, the Russian Federation, and the final consumers, the member states of the European Union [3]. At the same time, the energy security of the Republic of Moldova since the independence of the republic continues to be threatened by the Transnistrian conflict [8]. For the Republic of Moldova, which does not have primary energy resources and depends on their import, the issue of energy supply remains critical for the functioning and development of the state. In the context of the political negotiations between Chișinău and Tiraspol, the energy problem remains difficult to solve. At the same time, the energy infrastructure of the Republic of Moldova is characterized by the high dependence of the right bank of the Nistru on the electricity production on the left bank of the Nistru and on the gas pipelines that cross the Transnistrian region. In this sense, the energy problem in the Republic of Moldova becomes a social problem [7]. Also, the energy problem of the Transnistrian file cannot be considered separately from other aspects related to the security of the Republic of Moldova, including the aspects related to regional security. The experience of the armed conflict on the Nistru from 1991-1992 and the role of Russia on the left side of the Nistru (through the presence of GOTR), as well as the destabilization of the situation in Ukraine by the escalation of the conflict between Kiev and Moscow are important factors that determine the state of the energy problem of the Republic of Moldova. Stopping the transfer of electricity or stopping the transit of gas from Ukraine to the Republic of Moldova are variables that need to be taken into account by Chișinău, in

order to prevent a possible shortage of energy resources. The problem of energy security almost always forms a complex, extensive interdependence, or, on the contrary, due to the presence of such interdependence, energy problems inevitably begin to be considered through the lens of the security problem. In this sense, Chișinău and Tiraspol, in order not to admit an energy collapse, are currently solving a series of problems in a temporary manner, demonstrating the interdependence of the parties in the current geopolitical context [7].

In order to ensure the energy security of the Republic of Moldova, starting from 2020, alternative measures to supply energy resources began to be implemented. Energy security can be achieved primarily by diversifying supply sources and routes. Given the military developments in Ukraine, it is more important than ever to eliminate Moldova's and Europe's dependence on Russian-only energy resources by developing both power generation capabilities and interconnection projects that can ensure an uninterrupted flow, no matter what. The cooperation of the Republic of Moldova with the EU and especially with Romania in the last period, demonstrated the firm commitment of Romania in the direction of supporting the energy security of the Republic of Moldova and

for its integration into the European energy market.

The Republic of Moldova managed to find alternatives to the supply of natural gas. Also, an important thing for the Republic of Moldova was the interconnection with the European energy system, which was achieved thanks to Romania's support. The interconnection allowed solving some energy problems for Chișinău, which are related to the war in Ukraine. Thus, the Republic of Moldova is consolidating an energy exchange route from East to West [1]. At the same time, Chișinău faces three essential problems: 1) the problem of balancing the energy system; 2) the lack of investments in energy system balancing units and in the modernization of the energy infrastructure; 3) the oversizing of the energy sector. At the moment, the balancing of the energy system of the Republic of Moldova is ensured by the Cuciurgan Thermal Power Plant (MGRES) or due to the cross-border exchange of electricity with Romania [1].

In conclusion, it should be mentioned that the energy security of the Republic of Moldova will be successful if the political decision-makers focus on three interrelated issues: energy security, economic security and security of supply chains.

BIBLIOGRAFIE BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Abordarea energetică: România - Republica Moldova. Disponibil online la <https://energystudies.ro/abordarea-energetica-regionala-romania-republica-moldova/>, accesat la 05.01.2024;
2. Analytical Approach of Energy Security. Disponibil online la <https://energystudies.ro/analytical-approach-of-energy-security/>, accesat la 05.01.2024;
3. Cherp A., Jewell J. The concept of energy security: Beyond the four As. In: Energy Policy, 2014, Vol. 75;
4. Economica.net. Conducta făcută de Transgaz cu 150 mil. euro spre Republica Moldova e goală, nu transportă nicio moleculă de gaz. Iar viitorul nu sună bine. Disponibil online la https://www.economica.net/conducta-facuta-de-transgaz-cu-150-mil-euro-spre-republica-moldova-e-goala-nu-transporta-nicio-molecula-de-gaz-iar-viitorul-nu-suna-bine_188843.html, accesat la 05.01.2024;
5. Ingerid Opdahl M. The Russian State and Russian Energy Companies: 1992-2018, New York: Routledge, 2020;
6. Lyutskanov E., Alieva L., Serafimova M. Energy Security in the Wider Black Sea Area - National and Allied Approaches,

- Amsterdam: IOS Press BV, 2013;
7. Melintei M. Securitatea energetică a Republicii Moldova și dosarul transnistrean. Disponibil online la <https://energystudies.ro/securitatea-energetica-a-republicii-moldova/>, accesat la 05.01.2024;
 8. Melintei M. Chișinău și Tiraspol: consensus omnium cu privire la neadmiterea escaladării situației conflictuale. Disponibil online la <https://centers.ulbsibiu.ro/ccsprise/lact/mihai-melintei-chisinau-si-tiraspol-consensus-omnium-cu-privire-la-neadmiterea-escaladarii-situatiei-conflictuale/>, accesat la 05.01.2024;
 9. Melintei M. Neptun Deep – Fișă Descriptivă. Disponibil pe <https://energystudies.ro/neptun-deep-fisa-descriptiva/>, accesat 06.01.2024.
 10. Ministerul Energiei al României. Hotărâre a Guvernului pentru aprobarea Memorandumului de Înțelegere între Guvernul României și Guvernul Republicii Moldova privind realizarea proiectelor necesare interconectării rețelelor de gaze naturale și energie electrică din România și Republica Moldova semnat în Chișinău, Republica Moldova, la data de 11 decembrie 2023. Disponibil online la <https://energie.gov.ro/hotarare-a-guvernului-pentru-aprobarea-memorandumului-de-intelegere-entre-guvernul-romaniei-si-guvernul-republicii-moldova-privind-realizarea-proiectelor-necesare-interconectarii-retelelor-de-gaze-naturale-si-energiei-electrice-din-romania-si-republica-moldova>
 11. Mold-Street, Moldova poate importa gaze din Grecia. Disponibil online la <https://www.mold-street.com/?go=news&n=14779>, accesat la 06.01.2024;
 12. Republic of Moldova Energy Profile. În: International Energy Agency Report, 2021;
 13. Scripnic O. SA Energocom a returnat integral împrumutul de 300 de milioane de euro de la BERD. Iată unde au fost folosiți banii. Disponibil online la <https://agora.md/2023/08/08/sa-energocom-a-returnat-integral-imprumutul-de-300-milioane-de-euro-de-la-berd-iata-unde-au-fost-folositi-banii>, accesat la 06.01.2024;
 14. Unimedia. Culoarul Transbalcanic, pe ultima sută de metri. Cinci țări vor asigura cu gaze naturale Republica Moldova, dacă Rusia și Ucraina nu ajung la un acord până la 1 ianuarie 2020. Disponibil online la <https://unimedia.info/ro/news/876a8b91d0768a08/culoarul-transbalcanic-pe-ultima-suta-de-metri-cinci-tari-vor-asigura-cu-gaze-naturale-republica-moldova-daca-rusia-si-ucraina-nu-ajung-la-un-acord-pana-la-1-ianuarie-2020.html>, accesat la 06.01.2024.

DESPRE AUTORI

Mihai MELINTEI,

doctorand,

asistent universitar,

*Facultatea de Științe Socio-Umane,
Universitatea „Lucian Blaga” din Sibiu,*

România

e-mail: mihai.melintei@ulbsibiu.ro

ORCID: 0000-0002-8853-2663