

ISBN NO : 978-605-05-1712-5  
ESER ADI : ENERJİ, GÜVENLİK HUKUKU, VE DİPLOMASI : ÇOK BOYUTLU ANALİZLER  
YAZAR ADI : ZEYNEP DENİZ ALTINSOY, ANİL ÇAĞLAR ERKAN,  
AHMET ATEŞ  
YAYIM YILI : 2023

ENERJİ, GÜVENLİK HUKUKU, VE DİPLOMASI : ÇOK BOYUTLU ANALİZLER



**ÖDEMELİ İSTEME VE GENEL DAĞITIM**

**YETKİN Basım Yayım ve Dağıtım A.Ş.**  
Strasburg Caddesi No: 31/A 06430 Sıhhiye / ANKARA

Tel : 0 (312) 231 42 34 (35) – 232 03 43 Faks: 229 87 85  
Şube: Abide-i Hürriyet Cad. No: 158 34381 Şişli / İSTANBUL  
Tel: 0 (212) 234 50 56 (57) Pbx Faks: 0 (212) 234 50 58  
e-mail: yetkin@yetkin.com.tr <http://www.yetkin.com.tr>  
Yayinevi Sertifika No: 47453

Yayın Kodu: ISBN 978-605-05-1712-5

© Yetkin Yayıncılıarı 2023

Dizgi: YETKİN Elektronik Yayımcılık Sistemleri

Baskı: YETKİN BASIMEVİ  
Kâzım Karabekir Caddesi No: 95/7-8-10  
Tel: 0 (312) 341 00 06 06060 ANKARA  
Matbaa Sertifika No: 47452

**EDİTÖRLER**

Zeynep Deniz ALTINSOY

Anıl Çağlar ERKAN

Ahmet ATEŞ

**ENERJİ, GÜVENLİK, HUKUK**

**VE**

**DİPLOMASI:**

**ÇOK BOYUTLU ANALİZLER**

Ankara 2023

- Aalto, P. (2008). *The Eu-Russian Energy Dialogue: Europe's Future Energy Security*. Hampshire: Ashgate.
- Adeli, H. (2010). The Contribution of Energy Diplomacy to International Security; with Special Emphasis on Iran. *Iranian Review of Foreign Affairs*, 1(2), 57-95.
- Baldwin, D. A. (1993), Neoliberalism, neorealism, and world politics. In: D. A. Baldwin (Ed.), *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (3–25). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bovan, A., Vučenović, T. ve Perić, N. (2020), Negotiating Energy Diplomacy and its Relationship with Foreign Policy and National Security. *International Journal of Energy Economics and Policy*, 10(2), 1-6.
- Chaban, N. and Michèle K. (2015). Energy diplomacy in the context of multistakeholder diplomacy: The EU and BICS. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 50(4), 457–474.
- Chester, L. (2010). Conceptualising energy security and making explicit its polysemic nature. *Energy Policy*, 38(2) 887-895.
- Colgan, J. D. (2014). Oil, domestic politics, and international conflict. In: D. Steven, E. O'Brien, ve B. D. Jones (Eds.), *The New Politics of Strategic Resources: Energy and Food Security Challenges in the 21st Century* (226-244). Washington: Brookings Institution Press.
- Cunningham, N. (2019). Venezuela's Oil Production Set for Another Drop. OilPrice, Erişim adresi: <https://oilprice.com/>
- Dorraj, M. ve Currier, C. L. (Eds.). (2011). China's quest for energy security in the middle East: strategic implications. In M. Dorrah ve C. L. Currier (Eds.). *China's Energy Relations with the Developing World*. New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Downie, C. (2018). Australian Energy Diplomacy. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 73(2), 1-7.

Dyer H. ve Trombetta M. J. (eds). (2013). International Handbook of Energy Security. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Emmers, R. (2013). Resource Management and Contested Territories in East Asia, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Florini A. ve Sovacool B. J. (2011). Bridging the gaps in global energy governance. *Global Governance*, 17(1): 57-74.

Henrikson, A. K. (2005). Niche Diplomacy in the world public arena: The global ‘corners’ of Canada and Norway. In: J. Melissen (Ed.). *The New Public Diplomacy Soft Power in International Relations*. New York: Macmillan.

Giuli, M. (2015), Getting Energy Diplomacy Right: A Challenge Starting at Home, Commentary, European Policy Centre, Erişim adresi: <https://www.epc.eu/en>.

Goldthau, A., ve Witte, J. M. (2009). Back to the future or forward to the past? Strengthening markets and rules for effective global energy governance. *International Affairs*, 85(2), 373-390.

Goldthau, A. (2010). Energy diplomacy in trade and investment in oil and gas. In: A. Goldthau ve J. M. Witte (Eds.). *Global Energy Governance: The New Rules of the Game* (25-47). Washington, DC: Brookings Institute Press.

Goldthau, A., Wade H., ve Witte J. M. (2010). Global energy governance: the way forward. In: A. Goldthau ve J. M. Witte (Eds.). *Global Energy Governance: The New Rules of the Game* (341–356). Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press.

Goldthau, A. (2011). The public policy dimension of energy security. In: B. K. Sovacool (Ed.). *The Routledge Handbook of Energy Security* (129–145). Abingdon: Routledge.

Keohane, R. O. ve Nye J.S. Jr. (Eds.) (1972). *Transnational Relations and World Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Keohane, R. O. ve Nye J.S. Jr. (1977). Power and Interdependance. *World Politics in Transition*, Boston: Little Brown.

Keohane, R. O. ve Martin L. L. (1995). The Promise of Institutionalist Theory, International Security, 20(1), 39-51.

Keohane, R. O. ve Martin L. L. (2003). Institutional Theory as a Research Program. In C. Elman ve M. F. Elman (Eds.), Progress in International Theory: Appraising the Field (71-106). Cambridge: MIT Press.

Klare, M. (2008). Rising Powers, Shrinking Planet: The New Geopolitics of Energy, New York: Henry Holt.

Kooiman J. (2002). Governance: A social-political perspective. In: J. Grote and G. Bernard (Eds.) Participatory Governance: Political and Societal Implications (71–96). Opladen: Leske und Budrich.

Krasner, S. D. (1978). Defending the National Interest: Raw Materials Investments and US Foreign Policy. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Lesage, D., Van De Graaf, T. ve Westphal, K. (2018). Global Energy Governance in a Multipolar World, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing.

Massie, J. ve Desrosiers M.-E. (2007). Le néolibéralisme et la synthèse ‘néo-néo’. In A. Macleod ve D. O’Meara (Eds.). Théories des Relations Internationales. Contestations et Résistances, Québec (QC): Athéna Editions.

Meierding, E. (2011). Energy security and Sub-Saharan Africa. International Development Policy, Revue internationale de politique de développement (Online), 2: <http://journals.openedition.org/poldev/744>

Mohapatra, N. K. (2017). Energy security paradigm, structure of geopolitics and international relations theory: from global south perspectives. GeoJournal, 82, 683-700.

Nye, J. (1990), The Changing Nature of World Power, Political Science Quarterly, 105(2), 177-92.

O’Sullivan, M. (2013). The entanglement of energy, grand strategy and International security. In: A. Goldthau (Ed.), Handbook of Global Energy Policy (30-47), Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

- Phillips, A. (2013). A dangerous synergy: energy securitization, great power rivalry and strategic stability in the Asian century”, *Pacific Review*, 26(1), 17-38.
- Ravenhill, J. (2013). Resource insecurity and international institutions in the Asia-Pacific Region. *Pacific Review*, 26(1), 39-64.
- Russett, B. (1984). Dimensions of resource dependence: some elements of rigor in concept and policy analysis. *International Organization*, 38(3), 481-499.
- Rutland, P. (2008). Russia as an energy superpower. *New Political Economy*, 13(2), 203-210.
- Soobramanien, T. (2011), Economic diplomacy for small and low income countries. In: N. Bayne ve S. Woolcock (Eds.). *The New Economic Diplomacy: Decision-Making and Negotiation in International Economic Relations*. Belgium: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Tunsjo, O. (2013). *Security and Profit in China’s Energy Policy: Hedging against Risk*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Van de Graaf T. (2013). *The Politics and Institutions of Global Energy Governance*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Victor D. G. ve Yueh L. (2010). The New Energy Order: Managing Insecurities in the 21st Century. *Foreign Affairs*, 1(89), 61-73.
- Waever, O. (1996). The rise and fall of the inter-paradigm debate. In S. Smith, K. Booth ve M. Zalewski (Eds.), *International theory: positivism and beyond* (149-185), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Waltz, K. (1979). *Theory of international politics*. Reading: Addison Wesley.
- Wigell, M. ve Vihma, A. (2016). Geopolitics versus geoeconomics: the case of Russia’s geostrategy and its effects on the EU. *International Affairs*. 92(3), 605–627.
- Wilson, J. D. (2017). *International Resource Politics in the Asia-Pacific: The Political Economy of Conflict and Cooperation*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

- Wilson, J. D. (2019). A securitisation approach to international energy politics. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 49, 114-125.
- Yu, J. ve Dai Y. (2012). Energy Politics and Security Concepts from Multidimensional Perspectives. *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (in Asia)*, 6(4), 91-120.
- Zhiznin, S. (2005). Energy diplomacy of Russia: Economics, politics, practice. Union of oil and gas industrialists of Russia; Center for Energy Diplomacy and Geopolitics. Moscow: EAST Brook.
- Zhiznin, S. (2007). Energy diplomacy: Russia and the world, Moscow: East Brook Publishing Company.
- Ari, T. (2010). Uluslararası İlişkilere Giriş. Bursa: Mkm Yayıncılık.
- Baschuk, B. (2022). What ‘Friend-Shoring’ Means for Trade in a Less-Friendly World. *The Washington Post*, 21 Ekim 2022 tarihinde, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/what-friend-shoringmeans-for-trade-in-a-less-friendly-world/2022/06/22/5c3d4f30-f1e3-11ec-ac16-8fbf7194cd78\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/what-friend-shoringmeans-for-trade-in-a-less-friendly-world/2022/06/22/5c3d4f30-f1e3-11ec-ac16-8fbf7194cd78_story.html)
- Boraiah, C. K., ve Chandan, R. (2022). The Future of the Clean-Energy Minerals in India: Issues and Challenges Out to 2050. *The Indian Economic Journal*, 70(1), 190-199.
- Brennan, E. (2017). Rare Earth Diplomacy: Mitigating Conflict Over Technology Minerals. In *Global Resource Scarcity* (ss. 146-163). Routledge.
- Castillo, R., ve Purdy, C. (2022). China’s Role In Supplying Critical Minerals for The Global Energy Transition: What Could The Future Hold?. Brookings Institution.
- Chang, F.K. (2022). China’s Rare Earth Metals Consolidation and Market Power. *The Foreign Policy Research Institute*, 21 Ekim 2022 tarihinde, <https://www.fpri.org/article/2022/03/chinas-rare-earth-metals-consolidation-and-market-power/>

Cohen, A. (2022). China And Russia Make Critical Mineral Grabs in Africa While the U.S. Snoozes. Forbes, 21 Ekim 2022 tarihinde,

<https://www.forbes.com/sites/arielcohen/2022/01/13/china-and-russia-make-critical-mineral-grabs-in-africa-while-the-us-snoozes/?sh=7b27c94a6dc4>

David, R.R. (2021). Upcoming Competition Over Rare Earths: Economic and Strategic Impact. Energy Industry Review, 21 Ekim 2022 tarihinde,  
<https://energyindustryreview.com/metals-mining/upcoming-competition-over-rare-earths-economic-and-strategic-impact/>

Erdogan, S. (2018). İklim Değişikliğine Karşı Verilen Küresel Mücadele ve Avrupa Birliği. MANAS Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi, 7(4), 703-718.

Gehrke, Tobias & Smenkens, Mart, (2022). Preventing the Critical Minerals Crisis: How the Global Gateway and Transatlantic Connectivity Cooperation Can Help Secure Critical Raw Material Supply Chains. Egmont Policy Brief 277, 21 Ekim 2022 tarihinde, [https://www.egmontinstitute.be/app/uploads/2022/05/TobiasGehrke\\_MartSmekens\\_PolicyBrief277.pdf?type=pdf](https://www.egmontinstitute.be/app/uploads/2022/05/TobiasGehrke_MartSmekens_PolicyBrief277.pdf?type=pdf)

Griffiths, S. (2019). Energy Diplomacy in a Time of Energy Transition. Energy Strategy Reviews, 26, 100386.

Kakışım, C. (2022a). Avrupa Yeşil Mutabakatı: Yeşil Teori Perspektifinden Bir Analiz. Stratejik ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi, 6(1), 1-16.

Kakışım, C. (2022b). New Energy Geopolitics Shaped by Energy Transition: The Energy Balance for Rare Earth Elements and Critical Minerals. Avrasya Etüdleri, 27(60), 5-28.

International Energy Agency (IEA), (2021). Renewables 2021. 21 Ekim 2022 tarihinde, <https://iea.blob.core.windows.net/assets/5ae32253-7409-4f9aa91d-1493ffb9777a/Renewables2021-Analysisandforecastto2026.pdf>

International Energy Agency (IEA), (2022). The Role of Critical World Energy Outlook Special Report Minerals in Clean Energy Transitions. World Energy Outlook Special Report, 21 Ekim 2022 tarihinde,  
<https://iea.blob.core.windows.net/assets/ffd2a83b-8c30-4e9d-980a-52b6d9a86fdc/TheRoleofCriticalMineralsinCleanEnergyTransitions.pdf>

Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, (METI), (2021). 11th Conference on Critical Materials and Minerals Held. 21 Ekim 2022 tarihinde,  
[https://www.meti.go.jp/english/press/2021/0630\\_002.html](https://www.meti.go.jp/english/press/2021/0630_002.html)

Mitchell, J. (2022). China's Stranglehold of the Rare Earths Supply Chain will Last Another Decade, Mining Technology. 21 Ekim 2022 tarihinde,  
<https://www.mining-technology.com/analysis/china-rare-earths-dominance-mining/>

Nambiar, K.R. (2022). China's Scramble for Africa's Rare Earth Elements, Observe Research Foundation. 21 Ekim 2022 tarihinde,  
<https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/chinas-scramble-for-africas-rare-earth-elements/>

Quimby, T. (2022). Chinese Ire over Taiwan Could Lead to 'Devastating' Microchip and Rare Earth Metal Shortages. Commercial Carrier Journal, 21 Ekim 2022 tarihinde, <https://www.ccjdigital.com/business/outlook-and-benchmarking/article/15295200/chinese-ire-over-taiwan-could-lead-to-devastating-microchip-and-rare-earth-metal-shortages>

Reuters, (2022). Canada, South Korea Seek Deeper Cooperation on Critical Minerals. Erişim Tarihi: 21 Ekim 2022

<https://www.reuters.com/business/autos-transportation/canada-south-korea-seek-deeper-cooperation-critical-minerals-2022-09-23/>

Reuters. (2011). China 2010 Rare Earth Exports Slip, Value Rockets. 21 Ekim 2022 tarihinde, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-rareearths-idUSTRE70I11T20110119>

Taşkın, D. (2014). Enerji Diplomasisi Açısından Siyasallaşan Mekân, Hazar: Statü ve Paylaşım Sorunu. Türk Coğrafya Dergisi, (62), 29-38.

U.S. Department of State. (2022). Minerals Security Partnership. 21 Ekim 2022 tarihinde, <https://www.state.gov/minerals-security-partnership/>

United States Geological Survey, (USGS). (2020). Critical Cooperation: How Australia, Canada and the United States are Working Together to Support Critical Mineral Discovery.

Vekasi, K. (2022). Chinese Rare Earth Consolidation a Cause for Concern. East Asian Forum, 21 Ekim 2022 tarihinde,  
<https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2022/03/30/chinese-rare-earth-consolidation-a-cause-for-concern/>

Vekasi, K. (2021). The Geoeconomics of Critical Rare Earth Minerals. Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, 22(2), 271-279.

Worldometer. (2022). Oil, Natural Gas, and Coal Production by Country. 21 Ekim 2022 tarihinde, <https://www.worldometers.info/oil/oil-production-by-country/>

ACE. (2015). ASEAN Plan of Action for Energy Cooperation (APAEC) 2016-2025 Phase I. Mayıs 15, 2022 tarihinde ASEAN Centre for Energy:  
[https://aseanenergy.org/2016-2025-asean-plan-of-action-for-energy-cooperation-apaec/ adresinden alındı](https://aseanenergy.org/2016-2025-asean-plan-of-action-for-energy-cooperation-apaec/)

ACE. (2017). ASEAN Power Cooperation Report. Temmuz 6, 2022 tarihinde ASEAN Centre for Energy: [https://aseanenergy.org/asean-power-cooperation-report/ adresinden alındı](https://aseanenergy.org/asean-power-cooperation-report/)

ACE. (2020). The ASEAN Member States Are On Their Way to Implement APAEC Phase II. Temmuz 15, 2022 tarihinde ASEAN Centre for Energy:  
[https://aseanenergy.org/the-asean-member-states-are-on-their-way-to-implement-apaec-phase-ii/ adresinden alındı](https://aseanenergy.org/the-asean-member-states-are-on-their-way-to-implement-apaec-phase-ii/)

Ali, H., Phoumin, H., Weller, S. R., & Suryadi, B. (2021). Cost—Benefit Analysis of HELE and Subcritical Coal-Fired Electricity Generation Technologies in Southeast Asia. *Sustainability*, 13-1591, 1-16.

Andrews-Speed, P. (2016). Connecting ASEAN through the Power Grid: Next Steps. Energy Studies Institute, 1-4.

ASEAN. (2012). ASEAN Vision 2020. Temmuz 5, 2022 tarihinde The ASEAN Secretariat: [https://asean.org/asean-vision-2020/ adresinden alındı](https://asean.org/asean-vision-2020/)

BP. (2010). BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2010. Temmuz 9, 2022, [http://www.antjeschupp.de/files/bpstatisticreview.pdf adresinden alındı](http://www.antjeschupp.de/files/bpstatisticreview.pdf)

Doshi, T. (2012). ASEAN Energy Integration: Interconnected Power and Gas Pipeline Grids. S. B. Das içinde, Enhancing ASEAN's Connectivity (s. 142-162). Singapore: ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute.

Elemeia, C. (2022). Philippines protests new Chinese 'swarming' in South China Sea. Temmuz 15, 2022 tarihinde Radio Free Asia:  
<https://www.rfa.org/english/news/china/philippines-southchinasea-06092022152646.html#:~:text=The%20Philippines%20said%20Thursday%20it,in%20the%20South%20China%20Sea> adresinden alındı

ERIA. (2020). The Energy Situation in ASEAN Post COVID-19: An Online Workshop. Temmuz 5, 2022 tarihinde Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia: <https://www.eria.org/news-and-views/the-energy-situation-in-asean-post-covid-19-an-online-workshop/> adresinden alındı

GTA. (2010). Indonesia: Likely not to renew existing liquefied natural gas (LNG) contracts in the future. Temmuz 14, 2022 tarihinde Global Trade Alert: <https://www.globaltradealert.org/intervention/15256/export-related-non-tariff-measure-nes/indonesia-likely-not-to-renew-existing-liquefied-natural-gas-lng-contracts-in-the-future> adresinden alındı

IEA. (2007). World Energy Outlook 2007. Temmuz 6, 2022 tarihinde International Energy Agency:

<https://iea.blob.core.windows.net/assets/86acf56d-d8cc-4b73-b560-259f061264ad/WorldEnergyOutlook2007.pdf> adresinden alındı

IEA. (2017). World Energy Outlook 2017. Temmuz 25, 2022 tarihinde <https://www.iea.org/reports/world-energy-outlook-2017> adresinden alındı

Kimura, S., & Phoumin, H. (2016). Energy Outlook and Analysis of Energy Saving Potential in East Asia Region. ERIA: <https://econpapers.repec.org/bookchap/eraeriabk/2015-rpr-05.htm> adresinden alındı

Kimura, S., Pacudan, R., & Phoumin, H. (2017). Development of the Eco Town Model in the ASEAN Region through Adoption of Energy-Efficient Building Technologies, Sustainable Transport, and Smart Grids. Temmuz 8, 2022 tarihinde Economic Research Institute for ASEAN: [https://www.eria.org/RPR\\_FY2015\\_No.20.pdf](https://www.eria.org/RPR_FY2015_No.20.pdf) adresinden alındı

Kobayashi, Y., & Han, P. (2017). Natural Gas Master Plan for Myanmar.  
Temmuz 15, 2022 tarihinde ERIA:

[https://www.eria.org/uploads/media/RPR\\_FY2017\\_17\\_fullreport.pdf](https://www.eria.org/uploads/media/RPR_FY2017_17_fullreport.pdf)  
adresinden alındı

Phoumin, H. (2015). Enabling Clean-Coal Technologies in Emerging Asia.  
Temmuz 24, 2022 tarihinde The National Bureau of Asian Research:  
[https://www.nbr.org/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/programs/PES\\_2015\\_workingpaper\\_Phoumin.pdf](https://www.nbr.org/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/programs/PES_2015_workingpaper_Phoumin.pdf)  
adresinden alındı

Phoumin, H., Kimura, F., & Arima, J. (2021). ASEAN's Energy Transition towards Cleaner Energy System: Energy Modelling Scenarios and Policy Implications. *Sustainability*, 13, 1-29.

Price, N. (2022). U.S. Support for the Philippines in the South China Sea.  
Temmuz 6, 2022 tarihinde USDS-US Department of State:  
<https://www.state.gov/u-s-support-for-the-philippines-in-the-south-china-sea/> adresinden alındı

Quéré, C. L., Jackson, R. B., Jones, M. W., Smith, A. J., Abernethy, S., Andrew, R. M., Peters, G. P. (2020). Temporary reduction in daily global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions during the COVID-19 forced confinement. *Nature Climate Change*, 10, 647–653.

Rakhmah, T. F., & Li, Y. (2016). A review on Institutional Framework, Principles, and Key Elements for Integrated Electricity Market: Implications for ASEAN. Ağustos 1, 2022 tarihinde ERIA: Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East AsiaEconomic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia:  
<https://www.eria.org/ERIA-DP-2016-26.pdf> adresinden alındı

Reuters. (2022). Philippines approves revival of nuclear power to help replace coal. Temmuz 25, 2022 tarihinde

<https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/duterte-approves-inclusion-nuclear-power-philippine-energy-mix-2022-03-03/> adresinden alındı

Richardson, M. (2009). Energy and Geopolitics in the South China Sea: Implications for ASEAN and Its Dialogue Partners. ASC içinde, Energy and

Geopolitics in the South China Sea (s. 1-40). Singapore: ASEAN Studies Centre.

Sharafedin, B., Tan, F., & Aizhu, C. (2022). More Russian oil going east squeezes Iranian crude sales to China. Temmuz 9, 2022 tarihinde Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/more-russian-oil-going-east-squeezes-iranian-crude-sales-china-2022-05-19/> adresinden alındı

Statista. (2021). Primary energy consumption worldwide in 2021, by country. Temmuz 9, 2022 tarihinde

<https://www.statista.com/statistics/263455/primary-energy-consumption-of-selected-countries/> adresinden alındı

Strangio, S. (2021). What Were the Main Outcomes of Kamala Harris' Trip to Southeast Asia? Temmuz 8, 2022 tarihinde The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2021/08/what-were-the-main-outcomes-of-kamala-harris-trip-to-southeast-asia/> adresinden alındı

Tongsopit, S. &, Chang, Y., Aksornkij, A., & Wangjiraniran, W. (2016). Energy security in ASEAN: A quantitative approach for sustainable energy policy. *Energy Policy*, 90, 60-72.

UNFCCC. (2015). INDCs as communicated by Parties. Temmuz 14, 2022 tarihinde United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change: <https://www4.unfccc.int/sites/submissions/indc/Submission%20Pages/submissions.aspx> adresinden alındı

UNFCCC. (2021). Mid-century, Long-term Low Greenhouse Gas Emission Development Strategy. Temmuz 25, 2022 tarihinde [https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/Thailand\\_LTS1.pdf](https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/Thailand_LTS1.pdf) adresinden alındı

WM. (2022). Thailand Oil. Temmuz 30, 2022 tarihinde Worldometer: [https://www.worldometers.info/oil/thailand-oil/#:~:text=Oil%20Production%20in%20Thailand&text=Thailand%20produces%20531%2C328.59%20billion%20per,reserves%20\(as%20of%202016\).](https://www.worldometers.info/oil/thailand-oil/#:~:text=Oil%20Production%20in%20Thailand&text=Thailand%20produces%20531%2C328.59%20billion%20per,reserves%20(as%20of%202016).) adresinden alındı

Wu, K., & Fesharaki, F. (2007). Asia's Energy Future: Regional Dynamics and Global Implications. Honolulu: East-West Center.

1 kararname sayılı Cumhurbaşkanlığı Teşkilatı Hakkında Cumhurbaşkanlığı Kararnamesi. (2018). T.C. Resmi Gazete (30474, 10 Temmuz 2018).

6 Ekim 2021 kabul tarihli ve 7335 sayılı kanunla onaylanması uygun bulunan Paris Anlaşmasını onaylayan 4618 Sayılı Cumhurbaşkanı Kararı. (2021). T.C. Resmi Gazete (31621/Mükerrer, 7 Ekim 2021).

29 Ocak 2021 tarihli ve 3453 sayılı Cumhurbaşkanı Kararı. (2021). T.C. Resmi Gazete (31380, 30 Ocak 2021).

30 Nisan 2023 tarihli ve 7189 sayılı Cumhurbaşkanı Kararı. (2023). T.C. Resmi Gazete (32177, 1 Mayıs 2023).

85 kararname sayılı Bazı Cumhurbaşkanlığı Kararnamelerinde Değişiklik Yapılması Hakkında Cumhurbaşkanlığı Kararnamesi. (2021). T.C. Resmi Gazete (31643, 29 Ekim 2021).

2000/786 sayılı Bakanlar Kurulu Kararı. (2000). T.C. Resmi Gazete (24107/Mükerrer, 12 Temmuz 2000).

2001/2129 Karar sayılı Avrupa Birliği Müktesebatının Üstlenilmesine İlişkin Türkiye Ulusal Programı ile Avrupa Birliği Müktesebatının Üstlenilmesine İlişkin Türkiye Ulusal Programının Uygulanması, Koordinasyonu ve İzlenmesine Dair Karar, (2001). T.C. Resmi Gazete (24352/Mükerrer, 24 Mart 2001).

2002/358/EC Council Decision of 25 April 2002 concerning the approval, on behalf of the European Community, of the Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the joint fulfilment of commitments thereunder. (2002). Official Journal of the European Union, (L 130, 15 Mayıs 2002).

2003/5930 sayılı Avrupa Birliği Müktesebatının Üstlenilmesine İlişkin Türkiye Ulusal Programı ile Avrupa Birliği Müktesebatının Üstlenilmesine İlişkin Türkiye Ulusal Programının Uygulanması, Koordinasyonu ve İzlenmesine Dair Karar. (2003). T.C. Resmi Gazete (25178/Mükerrer, 24 Temmuz 2003).

2008/14481 sayılı Avrupa Birliği Müktesebatının Üstlenilmesine İlişkin Türkiye Ulusal Programı ile Avrupa Birliği Müktesebatının Üstlenilmesine İlişkin Türkiye Ulusal Programının Uygulanması, Koordinasyonu ve İzlenmesine Dair Karar. (2008). T.C. Resmi Gazete (27097/5. Mükerrer, 31 Aralık 2008).

4519 sayılı Avrupa Enerji Şartı Konferansı Nihai Senedi, Enerji Şartı Antlaşması ve Ekini Teşkil Eden Kararlar ile Enerji Verimliliğine ve İlgili Çevresel Hususlara İlişkin Enerji Şartı Protokolünün Onaylanması'nın Uygun Bulunduğu Hakkında Kanun. (2000). T.C. Resmi Gazete (24107/Mükerrer, 12 Temmuz 2000).

4628 sayılı Elektrik Piyasası Kanunu. (2001). T.C. Resmi Gazete (24335, 3 Şubat 2001).

4628 sayılı Enerji Piyasası Düzenleme Kurumunun Teşkilat ve Görevleri Hakkında Kanun. (2001). T.C. Resmi Gazete (24335/Mükerrer, 3 Mart 2001).

4990 sayılı Birleşmiş Milletler İklim Değişikliği Çerçeve Sözleşmesine Katılmamızın Uygun Bulunduğu Dair Kanun. (2003). T.C. Resmi Gazete (21 Ekim 2003 tarihli ve 25266).

5346 sayılı Elektrik Üretiminde Yenilenebilir Enerji Kaynaklarının Kullanılmasına Dair Kanun. (2005). T.C. Resmi Gazete (25819, 18 Mayıs 2005).

6094 sayılı Yenilenebilir Enerji Kaynaklarının Elektrik Enerjisi Üretimi Amaçlı Kullanımına İlişkin Kanunda Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun. (2011). T.C. Resmi Gazete (27809, 8 Ocak 2011).

6446 sayılı Elektrik Piyasası Kanunu. (2013). T.C. Resmi Gazete (28603, 30 Mart 2013).

Ahner, N. (2011). The Framework for Supporting Renewable Energy in Europe: Implementing Directive 2009/28/EC, M. M. Roggenkamp & U. Hammer (Ed.), European Energy Law Report VIII, (pp. 93-116), Intersentia Publishings.

Alaboyun, A.R. (2021). Yaşamın Temel Girdisi Olarak Enerji, Yeni Türkiye Yıl:27 Sayı:127, (23-29. ss.), Yeni Türkiye Stratejik Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları.

Asmelash, H.B. (2015). Energy Subsidies and WTO Dispute Settlement: Why Only Renewable Energy Subsidies Are Challenged, Journal of International Economic Law, 18(2), 261-286.

Ateş, L. (2017). Yatırım Vergi Teşvik Politikasının Hukuki Çerçeve, Oniki Levha Yayıncılık.

Avrupa Birliği Komisyonu, (2022, Ekim 12), Türkiye 2022 Raporu, [https://www.ab.gov.tr/siteimages/birimler/kpb/2022\\_turkiye\\_report\\_tr\\_27.11.2022\\_22.05.pdf](https://www.ab.gov.tr/siteimages/birimler/kpb/2022_turkiye_report_tr_27.11.2022_22.05.pdf).

Bansal, V. & Deshpande, C. (2017). The India-Solar Cells Dispute: Renewable Energy Subsidies under World Trade Law and the Need for Environmental Exceptions, NUJS Law Review, 10(2), 209-244.

Baykal, S. & Göçmen, İ. (2016). Avrupa Birliği Kurumsal Hukuku, Seçkin Yayıncılık.

Behn, D., Fauchald, O. K. & Letourneau-Tremblay, L. (2017), Promoting Renewable Energy in the EU: Shifting Trends in Member State Policy Space, European Business Law Review, 28(2), 217-243.

Candan, T. (2010). Malların Serbest Dolaşımı, G. B. Özçelik & B. Akçay (Ed.), Lisbon Antlaşması Sonrası Avrupa Birliği: Serbest Dolaşım ve Politikalar, (15-72. ss.) Seçkin Yayıncılık.

Commission of the European Communities. (1998). Communication from the Commission to the Council: European Strategy for Turkey-The Commission's initial operational proposals, July 1, 2023, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:51998DC0124>.

Commission of the European Communities. (1998). Regular Report From the Commission on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from

[https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/AB\\_Iliskileri/Tur\\_En\\_Realitons/Progress/Turkey\\_Progress\\_Report\\_1998.pdf](https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/AB_Iliskileri/Tur_En_Realitons/Progress/Turkey_Progress_Report_1998.pdf).

Commission of the European Communities. (2001, November 13). 2001 Regular Report on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from

[https://www.ab.gov.tr/siteimages/birimler/kpb/tr\\_rep\\_20061998/2001\\_tr\\_rap.pdf](https://www.ab.gov.tr/siteimages/birimler/kpb/tr_rep_20061998/2001_tr_rap.pdf).

Commission of the European Communities. (2003, March 19). 2003 Regular Report on Turkey's progress towards accession. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from

[https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/AB\\_Illiskileri/Tur\\_En\\_Realitons/Progress/Turkey\\_Progress\\_Report\\_2003.pdf](https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/AB_Illiskileri/Tur_En_Realitons/Progress/Turkey_Progress_Report_2003.pdf).

Commission of the European Communities. (2004, October 6). 2004 Regular Report on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from

[https://www.ab.gov.tr/siteimages/birimler/kpb/tr\\_rep\\_20061998/2004\\_tr\\_rap.pdf](https://www.ab.gov.tr/siteimages/birimler/kpb/tr_rep_20061998/2004_tr_rap.pdf).

Commission of the European Communities. (2007, November 6). Turkey 2007 Progress Report. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from

[https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/AB\\_Illiskileri/Tur\\_En\\_Realitons/Progress/turkey\\_progress\\_report\\_2007.pdf](https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/AB_Illiskileri/Tur_En_Realitons/Progress/turkey_progress_report_2007.pdf).

Commission of the European Communities. (2008). Proposal for a Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council on the promotion of the use of energy from renewable sources. July 1, 2023, [https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM%3A2008%3A0019%3AFI\\_N%3AEN%3APDF](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM%3A2008%3A0019%3AFI_N%3AEN%3APDF).

Council Decision (EU) 2016/590 of 11 April 2016 on the signing, on behalf of the European Union, of the Paris Agreement adopted under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. (2016). Official Journal of the European Union, (L 103/1, 19 April 2016).

Council Decision (EU) 2016/1841 of 5 October 2016 on the conclusion, on behalf of the European Union, of the Paris Agreement adopted under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. (2016). Official Journal of the European Union, (L 282/1, 19 October 2016).

Crossley, P. (2019). Renewable Energy Law: An International Assessment, Cambridge University Press, 245-246.

Çevre Etki Değerlendirmesi Yönetmeliği. (2022). T.C. Resmi Gazete (31907, 29 Temmuz 2022 tarihli).

Directive 2001/77/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 27 September 2001 on the promotion of electricity produced from renewable energy sources in the internal electricity market (2001). Official Journal of the European Union (L 283, 27.10.2001).

Directive 2003/30/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 8 May 2003 on the promotion of the use of biofuels or other renewable fuels for transport, (2003). Official Journal of the European Union, (L 123, 17 Mai 2003).

Directive 2003/87/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 October 2003 establishing a system for greenhouse gas emission allowance trading within the Union and amending Council Directive 96/61/EC. (2003). Official Journal of the European Union, (L 275, 25 October 2003).

Directive 2006/123/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 12 December 2006 on services in the internal market. (2006). Official Journal of the European Union, (L 376, 27 December 2006).

Directive 2009/28/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 April 2009 on the promotion of the use of energy from renewable sources and amending and subsequently repealing Directives 2001/77/EC and 2003/30/EC (Text with EEA relevance) (2009). Official Journal of the European Union, (L 140, 5 June 2009).

Directive 2009/30/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 April 2009 amending Directive 98/70/EC as regards the specification of petrol, diesel and gas-oil and introducing a mechanism to monitor and reduce greenhouse gas emissions and amending Council Directive 1999/32/EC as regards the specification of fuel used by inland waterway vessels and repealing Directive 93/12/EEC. (2009). Official Journal of the European Union, (L 140, 5 June 2009).

Directive 2009/31/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 April 2009 on the geological storage of carbon dioxide and amending Council Directive 85/337/EEC, European Parliament and Council Directives 2000/60/EC, 2001/80/EC, 2004/35/EC, 2006/12/EC, 2008/1/EC and Regulation (EC) No 1013/2006. (2009). Official Journal of the European Union, (L 140, 5 June 2009).

Directive (EU) 2018/2001 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 December 2018 on the promotion of the use of energy from renewable sources. (2018). Official Journal of the European Union, (L 328, 21 December 2018).

Elektrik Piyasası Lisans Yönetmeliği. (2002). T.C. Resmi Gazete (24836, 4 Ağustos 2002).

Elektrik Piyasası Lisans Yönetmeliği. (2013). T.C. Resmi Gazete (28809, 2 Kasım 2013).

Eren, T. M. (2021). Avrupa Ekonomik Entegrasyonu ve Avrupa'nın Yeşil Geleceği, İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı Yayınları.

Espa, I. & Duran, G. M. (2018). Renewable Energy Subsidies and WTO Law: Time to Rethink the Case for Reform beyond Canada - Renewable Energy Fit Program, *Journal of International Economic Law*, 21(3), 621-654.

Espa, I. & Holzer, K. (2018). Negotiating 21st Century Rules on Energy: What Is at Stake for the European Union, the United States and the BRICS, *Journal of World Investment & Trade*, 19(3), 415-443.

Esq., R. A. W. (2016). Renewable Energy Development for WTO Member Nations, *Santa Clara Journal of International Law*, 14(2), 542-566.

European Commission. 2050 Long Term Strategy, European Commission, June 30, 2023 from [https://ec.europa.eu/clima/eu-action/climate-strategies-targets/2050-long-term-strategy\\_en#modal](https://ec.europa.eu/clima/eu-action/climate-strategies-targets/2050-long-term-strategy_en#modal).

European Commission. (2004). Kyoto Protocol: What is the Kyoto Protocol?.[https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/MEMO\\_04\\_43](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/MEMO_04_43).

European Commission. (2005,). Turkey 2005 Progress Report. July 1, 2023,[https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/AB\\_Illiskileri/Tur\\_En\\_Realitons/Progress/Turkey\\_Progress\\_Report\\_2005.pdf](https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/AB_Illiskileri/Tur_En_Realitons/Progress/Turkey_Progress_Report_2005.pdf).

European Commission. (2011, October 12). Turkey 2011 Progress Report. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from [https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2018-12/tr\\_rapport\\_2011\\_en.pdf](https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2018-12/tr_rapport_2011_en.pdf).

European Commission. (2012, October 10). Turkey 2012 Progress Report. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from [https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2018-12/tr\\_rapport\\_2012\\_en.pdf](https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2018-12/tr_rapport_2012_en.pdf).

European Commission. (2015, February 25). Energy Union Package: A Framework Strategy for a Resilient Energy Union with a Forward-Looking Climate Change Policy. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=COM%3A2015%3A80%3AFIN>.

European Commission. (2015, October 14). Trade for all: Towards a more responsible trade and investment policy. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52015DC0497>.

European Commission. (2015, November 10). Turkey 2015 Report. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from [https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2018-12/20151110\\_report\\_turkey.pdf](https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2018-12/20151110_report_turkey.pdf).

European Commission. (2016). Turkey 2016 Report. Retrieved July 1, 2023,[https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2018-12/20161109\\_report\\_turkey.pdf](https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2018-12/20161109_report_turkey.pdf).

European Commission. (2018). Turkey 2018 Report. July 1, 2023,<https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2019-05/20180417-turkey-report.pdf>.

European Commission. (2019). Turkey 2019 Report, July 1, 2023 <https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2019-05/20190529-turkey-report.pdf>.

European Commission. (2019, December 11). The European Green Deal. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=COM%3A2019%3A640%3AFIN>.

European Commission. (2020). Turkey 2020 Report. Retrieved July 1, 2023, [https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2020-10/turkey\\_report\\_2020.pdf](https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2020-10/turkey_report_2020.pdf).

European Commission. (2021, July 14). Proposal for a Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council amending Directive (EU) 2018/2001 of the European Parliament and of the Council, Regulation (EU) 2018/1999 of the European Parliament and of the Council and Directive 98/70/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council as regards the promotion of energy from renewable sources, and repealing Council Directive (EU) 2015/65. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52021PC0557>.

European Commission. (2021, October 19). Turkey 2021 Report. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from <https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2021-10/Turkey%202021%20report.PDF>.

European Commission. (2022, May 18). Proposal for a Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council amending Directive (EU) 2018/2001 on the promotion of the use of energy from renewable sources, Directive 2010/31/EU on the energy performance of buildings and Directive 2012/27/EU on energy efficiency. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=COM%3A2022%3A222%3AFIN>.

European Commission. (2022). Türkiye 2022 Report. July 1, 2023, <https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2022-10/T%C3%BCrkiye%20Report%202022.pdf>.

European Commission. (2022). 2022 Report on the Achievement of the 2020 Renewable Energy Targets. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52022DC0639>.

European Parliament. (1998, June 15-16). Cardiff European Council, 15 and 16 June 1998, Presidency Conclusions, Enlargement. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/car1\\_en.htm](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/car1_en.htm).

Evin, A. O. (2016). Turkey's Energy Policy and the EU's Energy Demand. A. O. Evin, E. Hatipoglu & P. Balazs (Ed.), Turkey and the EU: Energy, Transport and Competition Policies içinde (75-92. ss.), Claeys&Casteels Publishing.

Fang, M. M. (2021). Local Content Measures and the WTO Regime: Addressing Contentions and Trade-offs, D. S. Olawuyi (Ed.), Local Content and Sustainable Development in Global Energy Markets içinde (pp. 41-62), Cambridge University Press.

Flanders Investment&Trade Market Survey. (2014). Renewable Energy in Turkey,

[https://www.flandersinvestmentandtrade.com/export/sites/trade/files/market\\_studies/624141229132036/624141229132036\\_1.pdf](https://www.flandersinvestmentandtrade.com/export/sites/trade/files/market_studies/624141229132036/624141229132036_1.pdf).

Fouquet, D. & Nysten, J. V. (2013). Guarantees of Origin and Green Electricity Certificates in Flanders and in Sweden, European Energy Journal, 3(3), 72-79.

Free Trade Agreement Between the European Union and the Republic of Singapore. (2019). Official Journal of the European Union, (L294, 14 November 2019).

Free Trade Agreement Between the European Union and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, (2020). Official Journal of the European Union, (L186, 12 June 2020).

Göçmen, İ. (2021). Avrupa Birliği Hukukunun Temelleri, Seçkin Yayıncılık.

Hober, K. (2007). The Energy Charter Treaty - An Overview, Journal of World Investment & Trade, 8(3), 323-356.

Houtman, A. (2015). The Energy Union: A Union in Diversity, European Energy Journal, 5(3), 17-23.

İklim Değişikliği Çerçeve Sözleşmesi, (2002 Ekim), 30 Haziran 2023 tarihinde [https://webdosya.csb.gov.tr/db/iklim/webmenu/webmenu12421\\_1.pdf](https://webdosya.csb.gov.tr/db/iklim/webmenu/webmenu12421_1.pdf)'den alınmıştır.

International Energy Agency, (2023, April 14), From oil security to steering the world toward secure and sustainable energy transitions, <https://www.iea.org/about/history>.

Judgment of the Court of (1982, 24 November). Commission of the European Communities v Ireland. - Measures having equivalent effect - Promotion of domestic products. - Case 249/81. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A61981CJ0249>.

Karayıgit, M. T. (2016). Are Directives Directly Applicable?, Ankara Avrupa Çalışmaları Dergisi, 15(2), 59-95.

Kent, A. & Jha, V. (2014). Keeping up with the Changing Climate: The WTO's Evolutive Approach in Response to the Trade and Climate Conundrum: A Comment on Canada - Certain Measures Affecting the Renewable Energy Sector, Journal of World Investment & Trade, 15(1-2), 245-272.

Kulovesi, K. (2014). International Trade Disputes on Renewable Energy: Testing Ground for the Mutual Supportiveness of WTO Law and Climate Change Law; Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, 23(3), 342-353.

Lunenburger, S., Holtmann, C. & Delarue, J. (2020). Implementation of the Green Deal: Integrating Environmental Protection Requirements into the Design and Assessment of State Aid, European State Aid Law Quarterly, 19(4), 418-429.

Luxembourg European Council, 12 and 13 December 1997, Presidency Conclusions, July 1, 2023,

[https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/ardb/evt/1\\_avrupa\\_birligi/1\\_4\\_zirveler\\_1985\\_s onrasi/1997\\_12\\_luksemburg\\_zirvesi\\_baskanlik\\_sonuc\\_bildirgesi\\_en.pdf](https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/ardb/evt/1_avrupa_birligi/1_4_zirveler_1985_s onrasi/1997_12_luksemburg_zirvesi_baskanlik_sonuc_bildirgesi_en.pdf).

Marhold, A. A. (2021). Energy in International Trade Law: Concepts, Regulation and Changing Markets, Cambridge University Press.

Meyer, T. (2017). Explaining energy disputes at the World Trade Organization, International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law & Economics, 17(3), 391-410.

Office of the United States Trade Representative, (2011, June 7). China Ends Wind Power Equipment Subsidies Challenged by the United States in WTO Dispute. Office of the United States Trade Representative – Executive Office of the President. <https://ustr.gov/about-us/policy-offices/press-office/press-releases/2011/june/china-ends-wind-power-equipment-subsidies-challenged>.

Önlisans ve Lisans İşlemleri İle İlgili Başvurulara İlişkin Usul ve Esaslar. (2019). T.C. Resmi Gazete (39823, 6 Temmuz 2019).

PMR Türkiye, Emisyon Ticareti Sistemi Yönetmeliği, 30 Haziran 2023 tarihinde <https://pmrturkiye.csb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Taslak-ETS-Yonetmeliigi-1.pdf>'den alınmıştır.

PMR Türkiye, İklim Değişikliği Kanunu, 30 Haziran 2023 tarihinde <https://pmrturkiye.csb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Taslak-Iklim-Kanunu-1.pdf>'den alınmıştır.

Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Investment Office and PWC. (October 2021). Overview of the Turkish Electricity Market, <https://www.invest.gov.tr/en/library/publications/lists/investpublications/overview-of-turkish-electricity-market.pdf>.

PWC. (2012, April 11). Turkey's Renewable Energy Sector from a Global Perspective, <https://www.pwc.com.tr/tr/publications/industrial/energy/assets/renewable-report-11-april-2012.pdf>.

Regulation (EU) 2018/842 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 30 May 2018 on binding annual greenhouse gas emission reductions by Member States from 2021 to 2030 contributing to climate action to meet commitments under the Paris Agreement and amending Regulation (EU) No 525/2013. (2018). Official Journal of the European Union, (L 156, 19 June 2018).

Regulation (EU) 2018/1999 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 December 2018 on the Governance of the Energy Union and Climate Action, amending Regulations (EC) No 663/2009 and (EC) No 715/2009 of the European Parliament and of the Council, Directives 94/22/EC, 98/70/EC, 2009/31/EC, 2009/73/EC, 2010/31/EU, 2012/27/EU and 2013/30/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council, Council Directives 2009/119/EC and (EU) 2015/652 and repealing Regulation (EU) No 525/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council (Text with EEA relevance.), (2021). Official Journal of the European Union, (L 328, 21 December 2018).

Regulation (EU) 2019/631 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17 April 2019 setting CO<sub>2</sub> emission performance standards for new passenger cars and for new light commercial vehicles, and repealing Regulations (EC) No 443/2009 and (EU) No 510/2011. (2019). Official Journal of the European Union, (L 111, 25 April 2019).

Regulation (EU) 2021/1119 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 30 June 2021 establishing the framework for achieving climate neutrality and amending Regulations (EC) No 401/2009 and (EU) 2018/1999 ('European Climate Law'). (2021). Official Journal of the European Union, (L 243, 9 July 2021).

Rusche, T. M. (2015). EU Renewable Electricity Law and Policy: From National Targets to a Common Market, Cambridge University Press.

Schöpe, M. (2010). The New EU Directive on Renewable Energies From the Perspective of a Member States. C. Jones (Ed.), EU Energy Law Vol. III Book Three, The European Renewable Energy Yearbook, (pp. 177-198), Claeys & Casteels Publishing.

SHURA Enerji Dönüşüm Merkezi. (2018). Enerji dönüşümünü destekleyen düzenleyici çerçeveyin güçlendirilmesi için YEKA ihalelerini daha etkin kıلان fırsatlar. [https://www.shura.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/SHURA\\_Enerji-dönüşümü-destekleyen-düzeneleyici-%C3%A7er%C3%A7evenin-gün%C3%BC-%C3%A7er%C3%A7evenin-f%C4%B1rsatlar-1.pdf](https://www.shura.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/SHURA_Enerji-d%C3%B6n%C3%BCs%C3%BCm%C3%BCn%C3%BC-destekleyen-d%C3%BCzene%C3%BCleyici-%C3%A7er%C3%A7evenin-g%C3%BCn%C3%BC-%C3%A7er%C3%A7evenin-f%C4%B1rsatlar-1.pdf).

T.C. Başbakanlık Avrupa Birliği Genel Sekreterliği. Avrupa Birliği Antlaşması ve Avrupa Birliği'nin İşleyishi Hakkında Antlaşma. 30 Haziran 2023,  
<https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/pub/antlasmalar.pdf>'den alınmıştır.

T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Strateji ve Bütçe Başkanlığı, 100. Yıl Türkiye Planı On Birinci Kalkınma Planı (2019-2023). 30 Haziran 2023,  
[https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/On\\_Birinci\\_Kalkinma\\_Planı-2019-2023.pdf](https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/On_Birinci_Kalkinma_Planı-2019-2023.pdf).

T.C. Çevre, Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı. (2022, Şubat 25). İklim Şurası 2022 – Komisyon Tavsiye Kararları.  
<https://iklimsurasi.gov.tr/public/images/sonucbildirgesi.pdf>.

T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı Avrupa Birliği Başkanlığı, 1/95 Sayılı Ortaklık Konseyi Kararı. 30 Haziran 2023

[https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/ardb/evt/2\\_turkiye\\_ab\\_iliskileri/2\\_1\\_ortaklik\\_ili\\_skileri/2\\_1\\_3\\_ortaklik\\_konseyi\\_kararları\\_2000e\\_kadar/1995\\_1\\_95\\_okk\\_tr.pdf](https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/ardb/evt/2_turkiye_ab_iliskileri/2_1_ortaklik_ili_skileri/2_1_3_ortaklik_konseyi_kararları_2000e_kadar/1995_1_95_okk_tr.pdf).

T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı Avrupa Birliği Başkanlığı, Türkiye ile Avrupa Ekonomik Topluluğu Arasında bir Ortaklık Yaratan Anlaşma (Ankara Anlaşması)-12 Eylül 1963, 30 Haziran 2023 tarihinde  
[https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/ardb/ankara\\_anlasmasi.pdf](https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/ardb/ankara_anlasmasi.pdf).

T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı Avrupa Birliği Başkanlığı (2023, Şubat 14), Fasıl 15: Enerji, [https://www.ab.gov.tr/fasil-15-enerji\\_80.html](https://www.ab.gov.tr/fasil-15-enerji_80.html).

T.C. Enerji Piyasası Düzenleme Kurumu, Tarihçe, 30 Haziran 2023 tarihinde <https://www.epdk.gov.tr/Detay/Icerik/1-1051/kurumsaltarihce>'den alınmıştır.

T.C. Enerji ve Tabii Kaynaklar Bakanlığı. (2014, Aralık). Türkiye Ulusal Yenilenebilir Enerji Eylem Planı, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, <https://www.ebrd.com/documents/admin/trkye-ulusal-yenleneblr-enerj-eylem-plani.pdf>.

T.C. Enerji ve Tabii Kaynaklar Bakanlığı, 2019-2023 Stratejik Planı, 30 Haziran 2023

[https://sp.enerji.gov.tr/ETKB\\_2019\\_2023\\_Stratejik\\_Planı.pdf](https://sp.enerji.gov.tr/ETKB_2019_2023_Stratejik_Planı.pdf).

T.C. Enerji ve Tabii Kaynaklar Bakanlığı. (2023, Mayıs 3). Yerli Aksam Yönetmeliğinde Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Yönetmelik Taslağı.  
<https://enerji.gov.tr/duyuru-detay?id=20360>.

United Nations. (1992). Report of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Rio de Janeiro, 3-14 June 1992. Erişim Adresi: <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/168679>.

United Nations. (1972). Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 5-16 June 1972. Erişim Adresi: <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/523249>.

United Nations, Conference of the Parties (CoP), United Nations Climate Change, Retrieved June 30, 2023,  
<https://unfccc.int/process/bodies/supreme-bodies/conference-of-the-parties-cop>.

United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. (1997). Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, July 1, 2023, <https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/convkp/kpeng.pdf>.

United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, Paris Agreement. 30 Haziran 2023

[https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/english\\_paris\\_agreement.pdf](https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/english_paris_agreement.pdf).

United Nations, Parties and Observers, United Nations Climate Change, Retrieved June 30, 2023 from <https://unfccc.int/parties-observers#:~:text=Annex%20l%20Parties%20include%20the,Central%20and%20Eastern%20European%20States>.

Uzun Vadeli Strateji ve Sekizinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı 2001-2005. (2000). T.C. Resmi Gazete (24100/Mükerrer, 5 Temmuz 2000).

van Steen, H. (2010). The determination and enforceability of national renewable energy targets. P. Hodson, C. Jones & H. van Steen (Ed.), EU Energy Law Vol. III Book One: Renewable Energy Law and Policy in the European Union, (pp. 43-69), Claeys & Casteels Publishing.

Vermulst, E. & Meng, M. (2017). Dumping and Subsidy Issues in the Renewable Energy Sector, T. Cottier & I. Espa (Ed.), International Trade in

Sustainable Electricity: Regulatory Challenges in International Economic Law, (pp. 336-355), Cambridge University Press.

von S., Helmut S. (2011). The Dancing Procession of Lisbon: Legal Bases for European Energy Policy, European Energy & Climate Journal, 1(1), 33-46.

World Trade Organisation. (2013, Mai 6). Canada-Certain Measures Affecting the Renewable Energy Generation Sector Canada-Measures Relating to the Feed-in Tariff Program. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from [https://www.wto.org/english/tratop\\_e/dispu\\_e/412\\_426abr\\_e.pdf](https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dispu_e/412_426abr_e.pdf).

World Trade Organisation. (2016, February 24). India-Certain Measures Relating to Solar Cells and Solar Modules. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from [https://www.wto.org/english/tratop\\_e/dispu\\_e/456r\\_e.pdf](https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dispu_e/456r_e.pdf).

World Trade Organisation. (2016, September 16). India-Certain Measures Relating to Solar Cells and Solar Modules. Retrieved July 1, 2023 from <https://docs.wto.org/dol2fe/Pages/SS/directdoc.aspx?filename=q:/WT/DS/456ABR.pdf&Open=True>.

World Trade Organisation (2018, January 29). India-Certain Measures Relating to Solar Cells and Solar Modules, Recourse to Article 21.5 of the DSU by India: Request for the Establishment of a Panel. Retrieved July 1, 2023  
<https://docs.wto.org/dol2fe/Pages/SS/directdoc.aspx?filename=q:/WT/DS/456-20.pdf&Open=True>.

World Trade Organisation, Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures. 30 Haziran 2023,  
[https://www.wto.org/english/docs\\_e/legal\\_e/24-scm.pdf](https://www.wto.org/english/docs_e/legal_e/24-scm.pdf).

World Trade Organisation, Agreement on Trade-Related Investment Measures. 30 Haziran 2023 tarihinde [https://www.wto.org/english/docs\\_e/legal\\_e/18-trims\\_e.htm](https://www.wto.org/english/docs_e/legal_e/18-trims_e.htm).

World Trade Organisation, The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. 30 Haziran 2023 tarihinde [https://www.wto.org/english/docs\\_e/legal\\_e/gatt47\\_01\\_e.htm#articleIII](https://www.wto.org/english/docs_e/legal_e/gatt47_01_e.htm#articleIII)'den alınmıştır.

Yenilenebilir Enerji Kaynak Alanları Yönetmeliği. (2016). T.C. Resmi Gazete (29852, 9 Ekim 2016).

Yenilenebilir Enerji Kaynaklarının Belgelendirilmesi ve Desteklenmesine İlişkin Yönetmelik. (2013). T.C. Resmi Gazete (28782, 01 Ekim 2013).

Yenilenebilir Enerji Kaynaklarından Elektrik Enerjisi Üreten Tesislerde Kullanılan Yerli Aksamın Desteklenmesi Hakkında Yönetmelik. (2016). T.C. Resmi Gazete (29752, 24 Haziran 2016).

Yerli Aksam Yönetmeliği. (2021). T.C. Resmi Gazete (31494, 28 Mayıs 2021).

Yılmaz, G. (2018). Avrupa Birliği Ortak Pazarında Miktar Kısıtlamalarına Eş Etkili Önlemler, Oniki Levha Yayınları.

A Brief History of Nuclear Accidents Worldwide, ucsusa.org, 01.10.2013.  
<https://www.ucsusa.org/resources/brief-history-nuclear-accidents-worldwide>, (Erişim Tarihi:15.06.2023).

Açıköz Ali, Çevre Sorunlarının Çözümünde Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları, Turkish Studies-Economics, Finance, Politics, 2021, 16(2), 617-633; DOI:  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.47644/TurkishStudies.48527>

Açıköz Ali, Çevresel Güvenlik Politikalarında Sivil Toplum Kuruluşların Etkisi: Greenpeace ve Uluslararası Doğayı Koruma Birliği Örnekleri, İstanbul Gelişim Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü (Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi). 2019.

Ak Tarık, Çevresel Güvenlik, Sistem Ofset Yayıncılık, Ankara, 2017.

Akın Galip, Ekoloji-Çevreibilim ve Çevre Sorunları, Tiydem Yayıncılık, Ankara, 2009.

Birleşmiş Milletler İklim Değişikliği Çerçeve Sözleşmesi.

Climate Change, Fossil-Fuel Pollution, And Children's Health, nejm.org, 16.06.2022. <https://www.nejm.org/doi/full/10.1056/NEJMra2117706>, (Erişim Tarihi:14.06.2023)

Çepel Necmettin, Ekolojik Sorunlar ve Çözümleri, TÜBİTAK Popüler Bilim Kitapları, Ankara, 2003.

Environmental Impacts of Clean Energy, energy.gov. <https://www.energy.gov/eere/environmental-impacts-clean-energy>, (Erişim Tarihi:14.06.2023).

Environmental Impacts of Hydroelectric Power, ucsusa.org, Mar 5, 2013, <https://www.ucsusa.org/resources/environmental-impacts-hydroelectric-power> (Erişim Tarihi: 09.07.2023).

Fact Sheet Climate, Environmental, And Health Impacts of Fossil Fuels (2021), eesi.org <https://www.eesi.org/papers/view/fact-sheet-climate-environmental-and-health-impacts-of-fossil-fuels-2021>, (Erişim Tarihi: 14.06.2023)

Five Ways to Jump-Start the Renewable Energy Transition Now, un.org. [https://www.un.org/en/climatechange/raising-ambition/renewable-energy-transition?gclid=CjwKCAjw-IWkBhBTEiwA2exyO9rQPaSDRJqtC8DY87Oo8-3NjxEczg6qnrkElBqqU34XE-CdiK-uIRoCKHoQAvD\\_BwE](https://www.un.org/en/climatechange/raising-ambition/renewable-energy-transition?gclid=CjwKCAjw-IWkBhBTEiwA2exyO9rQPaSDRJqtC8DY87Oo8-3NjxEczg6qnrkElBqqU34XE-CdiK-uIRoCKHoQAvD_BwE), (Erişim Tarihi: 14.06.2023).

Fossil Fuels: The Dirty Facts, nrdc.org. <https://www.nrdc.org/stories/fossil-fuels-dirty-facts#sec-whatis>, (Erişim Tarihi:14.06.2023).

Giddens Anthony, İklim Değişikliği Siyaseti, Çev: Erhan Baltacı, Phonex, Ankara, 2013.

How Can Nuclear Combat Climate Change, world-nuclear.org. <https://world-nuclear.org/nuclear-essentials/how-can-nuclear-combat-climate-change.aspx>, (Erişim Tarihi:15.06.2023)

How Does Nuclear Energy Affect the Environment? world-nuclear.org. <https://world-nuclear.org/nuclear-essentials/how-can-nuclear-combat-climate-change.aspx>, (Erişim Tarihi:15.06.2023).

Hydroelectric Power Water Use, usgs.gov. 18.06.2018. <https://www.usgs.gov/special-topics/water-science-school/science/hydroelectric-power-water-use>, (Erişim Tarihi: 09.07.2023).

IPCC, 2011: IPCC Special Report on Renewable Energy Sources and Climate Change Mitigation. Prepared by Working Group III of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [O. Edenhofer, R. Pichs-Madruga, Y. Sokona, K. Seyboth, P. Matschoss, S. Kadner, T. Zwickel, P. Eickemeier, G. Hansen, S.

Schlömer, C. von Stechow (eds)]. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom and New York, NY, USA, 1075 pp. <http://www.ipcc-wg3.de/srren-report/> (Erişim Tarihi: 09.07.2023).

Keleş Ruşen, 100 Soruda Çevre, Çevre Sorunları ve Çevre Politikaları, Yakın Kitabevi, İzmir, 2015.

Keleş Ruşen, Hamamcı Can ve Çoban Aykut, Çevre Politikası, İmge Yayıncılık, Ankara, 2015.

Keleş Ruşen ve Hamamcı Can, Çevrebilim, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara, 1998.

Nuclear Powers 101, nrdc.org. <https://www.nrdc.org/stories/nuclear-power-101>, (Erişim Tarihi:15.06.2023)

Nuclear Power in A Clean EnergySystem, iea.org. <https://www.iea.org/reports/nuclear-power-in-a-clean-energy-system>,

(Erişim Tarihi:15.06.2023).

Nuclear Power Plant Accidents: Listed and Ranked Since 1952, theguardian, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2011/mar/14/nuclear-power-plant-accidents-list-rank>, (Erişim Tarihi:15.06.2023)

Pilkington, B. "The Environmental Impacts of Nuclear Power", azocleantech.com, 27.04.2022. <https://www.azocleantech.com/article.aspx?ArticleID=1521>, (Erişim Tarihi:14.06.2023)

Study: Shutting Down Nuclear Power Could Increase Air Pollution, news.mit.edu, 10.04.2023. <https://news.mit.edu/2023/study-shutting-down-nuclear-power-could-increase-air-pollution-0410>, (Erişim Tarihi: 15.06.2023)

TASAM STRATEJİK RAPOR NO: 14 Enerji Üretimi ve Çevresel Etkileri, Haz: Ferruh Ertürk, Atilla Akköyuncu ve Kamil B. Varınca, TASAM Yayıncılık, Ankara, Nisan, 2006.

Tuna Gülgün, Yeni Güvenlik, Nobel Yayıncılık, Ankara, 2003.

WMO, Greenhouse Gas Bulletin: Another Year Another Record, 25 October 2021, <https://public.wmo.int/en/media/press-release/greenhouse-gas-bulletin-another-year-another-record> (Erişim Tarihi: 03.06.2023)

Abnett, K. (2022a, October 6). EU countries draft plan for 'gas price corridor'—Document. <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/eu-countries-draft-plan-gas-price-corridor-document-2022-10-06/>

Abnett, K. (2022b, December 8). Germany, Netherlands set out red lines on EU gas price cap. Reuters.

<https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/germany-netherlands-set-out-red-lines-eu-gas-price-cap-2022-12-08/>

Abnett, K. (2023, January 16). Lack of data thwarts EU's first attempt to launch LNG price assessment. Reuters.

<https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/lack-data-thwarts-eus-first-attempt-launch-lng-price-assessment-2023-01-16/>

Abnett, K., & Melander, I. (2022, September 9). EU to claw back energy firms' profits rather than cap Russian gas price. Reuters.

<https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/eu-countries-seek-emergency-solution-soaring-energy-bills-2022-09-09/>

Abnett, K., Rashad, M., & Baczyńska, G. (2023, April 12). Analysis: LNG imports test EU resolve to quit Russian fossil fuel. Reuters.

<https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/lng-imports-test-eu-resolve-quit-russian-fossil-fuel-2023-04-12/>

ACER launches its LNG benchmark. (2023, April 3). European Union Agency for the Cooperation of Energy Regulators.

<https://www.acer.europa.eu/news-and-events/news/acer-launches-its-lng-benchmark>

Annual inflation more than tripled in the EU in 2022. (2023, March 9). Eurostat. <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-eurostat-news/w/DDN-20230309-2>

Barnes, A. (2022). EU Commission proposal for joint gas purchasing, price caps and collective allocation of gas: An assessment. The Oxford Institute for Energy Studies. <https://www.oxfordenergy.org/publications/eu->

<commission-proposal-for-joint-gas-purchasing-price-caps-and-collective-allocation-of-gas-an-assessment/>

Brussels' plan to curb gas use faces opposition from EU countries. (2022, July 21). Euractiv. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/energy/news/brussels-plan-to-curb-gas-use-faces-opposition-from-eu-countries/>

Buy European Act: An effective response to the US Inflation Reduction Act? (2023, February 14). Euractiv.

<https://www.euractiv.com/section/competition/news/buy-european-act-an-effective-response-to-the-us-inflation-reduction-act/>

China's natural gas consumption and LNG imports declined in 2022, amid zero-COVID policies. (2023, June 1).

<https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.php?id=56680>

Commission Delegated Regulation (EU) .../... Of 10 February 2023 supplementing Directive (EU) 2018/2001 of the European Parliament and of the Council by establishing a Union methodology setting out detailed rules for the production of renewable liquid and gaseous transport fuels of non-biological origin, European Commission, (2023).

[https://ec.europa.eu/info/law/better-regulation/have-your-say/initiatives/7046068-Production-of-renewable-transport-fuels-share-of-renewable-electricity-requirements-\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/law/better-regulation/have-your-say/initiatives/7046068-Production-of-renewable-transport-fuels-share-of-renewable-electricity-requirements-_en)

Commission Delegated Regulation (EU) 2022/1214 of 9 March 2022 amending Delegated Regulation (EU) 2021/2139 as regards economic activities in certain energy sectors and Delegated Regulation (EU) 2021/2178 as regards specific public disclosures for those economic activities (Text with EEA relevance), C/2022/631, European Commission (2022). [http://data.europa.eu/eli/reg\\_del/2022/1214/oj/eng](http://data.europa.eu/eli/reg_del/2022/1214/oj/eng)

Commission kicks off work on a European Solar Photovoltaic Industry Alliance. (2022, October 11). European Commission.

[https://ec.europa.eu/info/news/commission-kicks-work-european-solar-photovoltaic-industry-alliance-2022-oct-11\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/news/commission-kicks-work-european-solar-photovoltaic-industry-alliance-2022-oct-11_en)

Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: EU Solar Energy Strategy, COM/2022/221 final, European Commission (2022).

<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=COM%3A2022%3A221%3AFIN&qid=1653034500503>

Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: REPowerEU: Joint European Action for more affordable, secure and sustainable energy, COM/2022/108 final, European Commission (2022). <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=COM%3A2022%3A108%3AFIN>

Consolidated text: Council Regulation (EU) 2022/1369 of 5 August 2022 on coordinated demand-reduction measures for gas, ST/7617/2023/INIT, Council of the European Union (2023).

<http://data.europa.eu/eli/reg/2022/1369/2023-04-01/eng>

Consolidated text: Directive (EU) 2018/2001 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 December 2018 on the promotion of the use of energy from renewable sources (recast) (Text with EEA relevance), European Parliament, Council of the European Union (2022).

<http://data.europa.eu/eli/dir/2018/2001/2022-06-07/eng>

Council Regulation (EU) 2022/1369 of 5 August 2022 on coordinated demand-reduction measures for gas, ST/11568/2022/INIT, Council of the European Union (2022). <http://data.europa.eu/eli/reg/2022/1369/oj/eng>

Council Regulation (EU) 2022/1854 of 6 October 2022 on an emergency intervention to address high energy prices, ST/12521/2022/INIT, Council of the European Union (2022). <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg/2022/1854/oj>

Council Regulation (EU) 2022/2576 of 19 December 2022 enhancing solidarity through better coordination of gas purchases, reliable price benchmarks and exchanges of gas across borders, ST/14065/2022/INIT, Council of the European Union (2022).

<http://data.europa.eu/eli/reg/2022/2576/oj/eng>

Council Regulation (EU) 2022/2577 of 22 December 2022 laying down a framework to accelerate the deployment of renewable energy, ST/14787/2022/INIT, Council of the European Union (2022).

<http://data.europa.eu/eli/reg/2022/2577/oj/eng>

Council Regulation (EU) 2022/2578 of 22 December 2022 establishing a market correction mechanism to protect Union citizens and the economy against excessively high prices, ST/15202/2022/INIT, Council of the European Union (2022). <http://data.europa.eu/eli/reg/2022/2578/oj/eng>

de Arce, P. (2022, October 14). IMF chief tells EU to drop energy price caps idea. Euractiv.

<https://www.euractiv.com/section/economy-jobs/interview/imf-chief-tells-eu-to-drop-energy-price-caps-idea/>

Development of natural gas prices for non-household consumers, EU, 2008-2022. (2022). Eurostat. [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Development\\_of\\_natural\\_gas\\_prices\\_for\\_no\\_n-household\\_consumers,\\_EU,\\_2008-2022\\_.png](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Development_of_natural_gas_prices_for_no_n-household_consumers,_EU,_2008-2022_.png)

Directorate-General for Financial Stability, Financial Services and Capital Markets Union. (2022, February 2). EU taxonomy: Complementary Climate Delegated Act to accelerate decarbonisation. European Commission. [https://finance.ec.europa.eu/publications/eu-taxonomy-complementary-climate-delegated-act-accelerate-decarbonisation\\_en](https://finance.ec.europa.eu/publications/eu-taxonomy-complementary-climate-delegated-act-accelerate-decarbonisation_en)

Eddy, M. (2022, November 14). German Government Nationalizes Gas Unit Seized From Gazprom. The New York Times.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/14/world/europe/germania-gazprom-nationalized.html>

EU countries seek legal option to stop Russian LNG imports. (2023, March 29). Euractiv.

<https://www.euractiv.com/section/energy-environment/news/eu-countries-seek-legal-option-to-stop-russian-lng-imports/>

EU Energy Platform: Commission invites international suppliers to respond to first EU tender for 11.6bcm of joint gas purchases. (2023, May 10).

European Commission. [https://energy.ec.europa.eu/news/eu-energy-platform-commission-invites-international-suppliers-respond-first-eu-tender-116-bcm-joint-2023-05-10\\_en](https://energy.ec.europa.eu/news/eu-energy-platform-commission-invites-international-suppliers-respond-first-eu-tender-116-bcm-joint-2023-05-10_en)

EU Energy Platform: Commission launches first call for companies to jointly buy gas. (2023, April 25). European Commission.

[https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip\\_23\\_2403](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_23_2403)

EU gas consumption down by 20.1%. (2022, December 20). Eurostat.

<https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-eurostat-news/w/DDN-20221220-3>

EU talks on gas price cap mired in ‘impossible’ demands. (2022, November 9). Euractiv. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/energy/news/eu-talks-on-gas-price-cap-mired-in-impossible-demands/>

EU wants ‘new transactions-based LNG benchmark’ in bid to calm prices. (2022, September 30). Euractiv.

<https://www.euractiv.com/section/energy/news/eu-wants-new-transactions-based-lng-benchmark-in-bid-to-calm-prices/>

EUROMETAL. (2022, September 21). Dunaferr effectively halts steelmaking in Hungary with closure of second BF. EUROMETAL.

<https://eurometal.net/dunaferr-effectively-halts-steelmaking-in-hungary-with-closure-of-second-bf/>

Eurometaux. (2022, September). Europe’s non-ferrous metals producers call for emergency EU action to prevent permanent deindustrialisation from spiralling electricity and gas prices.

<https://www.eurometaux.eu/media/qnhn5k30/non-ferrous-metals-ceo-letter-on-energy-crisis-06-09-2022.pdf>

European Commission. (2021a). Energy prices: Commission presents a toolbox of measures to tackle exceptional situation and its impacts\*.

[https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP\\_21\\_5204](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_21_5204)

European Commission. (2021b). Tackling rising energy prices: A toolbox for action and support.

[https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/fs\\_21\\_5213](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/fs_21_5213)

European LNG Tracker. (2023, March 22). Institute for Energy Economics and Financial Analysis.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20230324093519/https://ieefa.org/european-lng-tracker>

Gas demand reduction in the EU. (2023, June 5). European Council.

<https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/infographics/gas-demand-reduction-in-the-eu/>

Gentiloni, P. (2022, September 26). Remarks at ECON structured dialogue on taxation.

[https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/SPEECH\\_22\\_5798](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/SPEECH_22_5798)

Global Hydrogen Review 2021. (2021). International Energy Agency.

<https://www.iea.org/reports/global-hydrogen-review-2021>

Hafsi, Z., Mishra, M., & Elaoud, S. (2018). Hydrogen embrittlement of steel pipelines during transients. *Procedia Structural Integrity*, 13, 210–217.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.prostr.2018.12.035>

Heller, F. (2022, March 18). Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece to push for energy market reform. Euractiv.

[https://www.euractiv.com/section/politics/short\\_news/spain-portugal-italy-and-greece-to-push-for-energy-market-reform/](https://www.euractiv.com/section/politics/short_news/spain-portugal-italy-and-greece-to-push-for-energy-market-reform/)

Hernandez, A. (2022a, November 8). Michel to VDL: Present gas price cap ‘ASAP’. POLITICO. <https://www.politico.eu/article/charles-michel-to-vdl-present-gas-price-cap-as-soon-as-possible/>

Hernandez, A. (2022b, December 28). Exxon sues over EU fossil fuel ‘windfall tax’. Politico. <https://www.politico.eu/article/exxon-sues-european-council-over-eu-fossil-fuel-windfall-tax/>

How much gas have the EU countries stored? (n.d.). Council of the European Union. Retrieved 3 December 2022, from  
<https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/infographics/gas-storage-capacity/>

IEA. (2020). Selected natural gas price indices, 2020.  
<https://www.iea.org/reports/gas-market-report-q1-2022>

Kurmayer, N. J. (2023, January 9). Revealed: What Germany won in exchange for supporting the EU's gas price cap. Euractiv.  
<https://www.euractiv.com/section/energy/news/revealed-what-germany-won-in-exchange-for-supporting-the-eus-gas-price-cap/>

Lohmann, H. (2023, January 30). Prisma to operate European gas procurement platform. Energate Messenger. <https://www.energatemessenger.com/news/230182/prisma-to-operate-european-gas-procurement-platform>

Mackrael, K., & Norman, L. (2022, October 7). EU Leaders Fail to Reach Deal to Cut Energy Prices. The Wall Street Journal.  
<https://www.wsj.com/articles/eu-leaders-set-to-clash-over-energy-prices-at-prague-gathering-11665126261>

McWilliams, B., Tagliapietra, S., Zachmann, G., & Deschuyteneer, T. (2023). Preparing for the next winter: Europe's gas outlook for 2023. Bruegel.  
<https://www.bruegel.org/policy-brief/european-union-gas-survival-plan-2023>

Messad, P. (2022a, October 3). Gas prices: Brussels looks at extending 'Iberian mechanism' to entire EU. Euractiv.  
<https://www.euractiv.com/section/energy/news/gas-prices-brussels-looks-at-extending-iberian-mechanism-to-entire-eu/>

Messad, P. (2022b, November 24). EU gas price cap proposal deemed 'unworkable' and 'a joke', even by advocates. Euractiv.  
<https://www.euractiv.com/section/energy/news/eu-gas-price-cap-proposal-deemed-unworkable-and-a-joke-even-by-advocates/>

Non-paper on Emergency Gas Market Interventions. (2022). European Commission. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/energy/news/leak-brussels-floats-cautious-options-for-capping-gas-prices/>

Non-paper on Gas Prices in the European Union. (2022). Germany, the Netherlands.

<https://www.euractiv.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2022/10/Non-Paper-GER-NL-version-11-10-2022.pdf>

Non-Paper on Policy Options to Mitigate the Impact of Natural Gas Price on Electricity Bills. (2022). European Commission.

<https://www.euractiv.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2022/10/Non-paper.pdf>

Playing my part: Key energy saving actions. (2022, April 21). European Commission.

[https://energy.ec.europa.eu/topics/markets-and-consumers/action-and-measures-energy-prices/playing-my-part\\_en](https://energy.ec.europa.eu/topics/markets-and-consumers/action-and-measures-energy-prices/playing-my-part_en)

Poland wants right to block EU plan to reduce gas demand. (2022, July 29). Euractiv. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/energy/news/poland-wants-right-to-block-eu-plan-to-reduce-gas-demand/>

PRISMA launches AggregateEU. (2023, April 17). Prisma.

<https://www.prisma-capacity.eu/news/marketnews/prisma-launches-aggregateeu>

Proposal for a COUNCIL REGULATION Enhancing solidarity through better coordination of gas purchases, exchanges of gas across borders and reliable price benchmarks, COM/2022/549 final, Council of the European Union (2022). <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52022PC0549&qid=1669828219159>

Proposal for a COUNCIL REGULATION Establishing a market correction mechanism to protect citizens and the economy against excessively high prices, COM/2022/668 final, Council of the European Union (2022).

<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52022PC0668&qid=1669829374671>

Proposal for a COUNCIL REGULATION laying down a framework to accelerate the deployment of renewable energy, COM/2022/591 final, Council of the European Union (2022). <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52022PC0591&qid=1669829050292>

Proposal for a COUNCIL REGULATION on an emergency intervention to address high energy prices, COM/2022/473 final, Council of the European Union (2022). <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52022PC0473>

Questions and Answers on an emergency intervention to address high energy prices. (2022). European Commission. [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/qanda\\_22\\_5490](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/qanda_22_5490)

Rashad, M., & Abnett, K. (2023, January 19). Explainer: Slow start? European Union's LNG price plans explained. Reuters.  
<https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/slow-start-european-unions-lng-price-plans-explained-2023-01-19/>

Rashad, M., & Binnie, I. (2022, September 15). Explainer: Why would Europe need an EU-based LNG pricing benchmark? Reuters.  
<https://www.reuters.com/markets/europe/why-would-europe-need-an-eu-based-lng-pricing-benchmark-2022-09-15/>

Regulation (EU) 2022/1032 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 29 June 2022 amending Regulations (EU) 2017/1938 and (EC) No 715/2009 with regard to gas storage (Text with EEA relevance), PE/24/2022/INIT, European Parliament, Council of the European Union (2022). <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg/2022/1032/oj>

Remarks by Vice-President Šefčovič on the results of the first joint EU gas purchasing tender. (2023, May 16). European Commission.  
[https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/speech\\_23\\_2782](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/speech_23_2782)

Renshaw, J., Disavino, S., & Disavino, S. (2022, July 26). Analysis: U.S. LNG exports to Europe on track to surpass Biden promise. Reuters.  
<https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/us-lng-exports-europe-track-surpass-biden-promise-2022-07-26/>

Report from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on the review of emergency interventions to address high energy prices in accordance with Council Regulation (EU) 2022/1854 (COM(2023) 302 final). (2023). European Commission.

[https://energy.ec.europa.eu/document/download/468fbe68-2950-4651-8687-ece6516b95ed\\_en?filename=COM\\_2023\\_302\\_1\\_EN\\_ACT\\_part1\\_v2.pdf](https://energy.ec.europa.eu/document/download/468fbe68-2950-4651-8687-ece6516b95ed_en?filename=COM_2023_302_1_EN_ACT_part1_v2.pdf)

REPowerEU: Council agrees its position. (2022, October 4). Council of the European Union. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2022/10/04/repowereu-council-agrees-its-position/>

REPowerEU: deal on energy measures in national recovery plans. (2022). European Parliament. <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20221212IPR64514/repowereu-deal-on-energy-measures-in-national-recovery-plans>

Reuters. (2022, September 7). Putin says Russia to stop supplying energy if Western price caps imposed. Reuters.

<https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/putin-blames-germany-west-nord-stream-1-shutdown-2022-09-07/>

Sgaravatti, G., Tagliapietra, S., & Zachmann, G. (2023). Adjusting to the energy shock: The right policies for European industry. Bruegel. <https://www.bruegel.org/policy-brief/adjusting-energy-shock-right-policies-european-industry>

Simon, F., & Taylor, K. (2022, March 15). Widespread support in EU Parliament for 45% renewable energy target. Euractiv. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/energy/news/widespread-support-in-eu-parliament-for-45-renewable-energy-target/>

Simon, F., Taylor, K., Kurmayer, N. J., & Romano, V. (2022, July 20). The Green Brief: Solidarity in times of energy crisis. Euractiv. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/energy-environment/news/the-green-brief-solidarity-in-times-of-crisis/>

Taylor, K. (2022a, September 29). LEAK: Brussels floats cautious options for capping gas prices. Euractiv. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/energy/news/leak-brussels-floats-cautious-options-for-capping-gas-prices/>

Taylor, K. (2022b, October 4). EU ministers back €20 billion plan to ditch Russian fossil fuels. Euractiv. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/emissions-trading-scheme/news/eu-ministers-back-e20-billion-plan-to-ditch-russian-fossil-fuels/>

Taylor, K. (2022c). Four EU countries float 'dynamic' price corridor for gas. Euractiv. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/energy/news/four-eu-countries-float-dynamic-price-corridor-for-gas/>

Taylor, K. (2022d). Dutch propose price cap for filling gas storage. Euractiv. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/politics/news/dutch-propose-price-cap-for-filling-gas-storage/>

Taylor, K. (2022e). EU countries consider lowering gas price cap to €220/MWh. Euractiv. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/energy/news/eu-countries-to-consider-lowering-gas-price-cap-to-e220-mwh/>

Taylor, K., & Leeson, S. S. (2022). Austrians, Dutch abstain from gas price cap vote. Euractiv.

<https://www.euractiv.com/section/politics/news/austrians-dutch-abstain-from-gas-price-cap-vote/>

Tomic, B. (2022, June 21). Demand for FSRUs Soars as Europe Works to Cut Reliance on Russian Gas. Offshore Engineer Magazine. <https://www.oedigital.com/news/497481-demand-for-fsrus-soars-as-europe-works-to-cut-reliance-on-russian-gas>

United States, & European Commission. (2022). Joint Statement between the European Commission and the United States on European Energy Security. [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/statement\\_22\\_2041](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/statement_22_2041)

van der Straeten, T., Hristov, R., Filipovic, D., Pannier-Runacher, A., Skrekas, K., Cingolani, R., Indriksone, I., Kreivys, D., Dalli, M., Moskwa, A., Cordeiro, D., Popescu, V.-D., Hirman, K., Kumer, B., & Ribera Rodriguez, T. (2022, September). Member States' Letter to Commissioner Kadri Simson. <https://www.euractiv.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2022/09/mc-Joint-letter.pdf>

von der Leyen, U. (2022a). Statement by the President on energy. European Commission. [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/speech\\_22\\_5389](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/speech_22_5389)

von der Leyen, U. (2022b, September 14). State of the Union Address by President von der Leyen [Text]. State of the Union, Strasbourg. [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/ov/SPEECH\\_22\\_5493](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/ov/SPEECH_22_5493)

Zachová, A. (2022, December 15). Czech EU presidency ready to outvote Germany on gas price cap. Euractiv. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/politics/news/czech-eu-presidency-ready-to-outvote-germany-on-gas-price-caps/>

“About Centres of Excellence”, <https://www.enseccoe.org/en/about/6>, (Erişim: 16.06.2023).

“A Short History of NATO”, [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/declassified\\_139339.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/declassified_139339.htm), (Erişim: 05.06.2023).

Bagdonas C. G. ve Orglerova P. (2016), “NATO Energy Security Centre of Excellence”, National Security and the Future, 1-2 (17), 33-36.

Biresselioğlu M. E. (2012), “NATO'nun Değişen Enerji Güvenliği Algısı: Türkiye'nin Olası Konumu”, Uluslararası İlişkiler, Cilt 9, Sayı 34, 227-252.

“Chicago Summit Declaration”, [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_87593.htm?mode=pressrelease](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_87593.htm?mode=pressrelease), (Erişim: 06.06.2023).

Cırdei I. A. (2014), “National Security and Collective Security from the Perspective of Ensuring Energy Security”, Military Art and Science, NR 2 (74), 145-151.

Cornell P. (2012), "Regional and International Energy Security Dynamics: Consequences for NATO's Search for an Energy Security Role", GCSP Geneva Papers, Research Series, No 5.

Çelikpala M. (2014), "Enerji Güvenliği: NATO'nun Yeni Tehdit Algısı", Uluslararası İlişkiler, Cilt 10, Sayı 40, 75-99.

Ekşi M. (2010), "NATO'nun Enerji Güvenliği Yaklaşımı: Stratejik Çözümlemeçeler Çerçevesinde Geleceğe Dair Seçenekler, Yönelimler ve İkilemler", Staratejik Araştırmalar Dergisi, Sayı 15-16, 32-48.

"Energy Security", [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics\\_49208.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49208.htm), (Erişim: 09.06.2023).

"Europe's Energy Security Worries NATO amid Standoff with Russia", <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/1/30/nato-europe-energy-security-ukraine-russia>, (Erişim: 20.06.2023).

Ganz A., "Energy Security Issues: Is NATO Becoming A (Pivotal) Actor?", <https://www.sciencespo.fr/ceri/en/content/energy-security-issues-nato-becoming-pivotal-actor>, (Erişim: 18.06.2023).

Grison N. R., "NATO's Energy Security Policy Put to the Caspian Test", <http://connections-qj.org/article/natos-energy-security-policy-put-caspian-test>, (Erişim: 05.06.2023).

İşeri E. ve Dilek A. O. (2012), "NATO's Complimentary Role in Energy Security and Turkey's Potential Contributions at the New Energy Geopolitics", Akademik Bakış, Cilt 5, sayı 10, 229-248.

Keshk A. M. (2019), "Energy Security and NATO", <https://www.derasat.org.bh/energy-security-and-nato/>, (Erişim: 21.06.2023).

Keyman E. F. (2022), "A Revitalized NATO and Its "New Strategic Concept" amid Global and Regional Changes", TPQ, Volume 2, Number 2, 21-30.

Khamashuridze Z. (2008), "Energy Security and NATO: Any Role for the Alliance?", The Quarterly Journal, Volume 7, No 4, 43-58.

Legendre T. (2007), "The North Atlantic Treaty Organization's Future Role in Energy Security", *The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, Summer/Fall, 31-35.

Mileski T. (2012), "NATO and Energy Security Discourse", *Security Dialogues*, Volume 3, 25-36.

Monaghan A. (2008), "Energy Security: NATO's Limited, Complementary role", *NATO Defence College Research Paper*, No 36.

Monaghan A. (2009), "NATO Targets Energy Security", *NATO Defence College Research Paper*.

"NATO 2022 Strategic Concept", <https://www.nato.int/strategic-concept/>, (Erişim: 11.06.2023).

Natorts M. ve Surrales A. H. (2008), "Security Moves To Nowhere ? The Framing of the European Union's Energy Policy", *JCER*, Volume 4, Issue 2, 71-89.

Oğuzlu T. (2021), "NATO's Transformation into a Global Actor in the Age of Great Power Politics", *PERCEPTIONS*, Volume XXVI, Number 1, 2-28.

Rühle M. Grubliauskas J. (2012), "NATO and Energy Security: Infrastructure Protection and Beyond", *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, Volume 11, Number 3, 65-73.

Rühle M. (2011), "NATO and Energy Security", <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/articles/2011/02/08/nato-and-energy-security/index.html>, (Erişim: 05.06.2023).

Schouker P. (2023). "NATO Should Adopt a New Approach to Energy", <https://blog.politics.ox.ac.uk/nato-should-adopt-a-new-approach-to-energy-security/>, (Erişim: 10.06.2023).

Signorelli G., "Energy Highlights", <https://enseccoe.org/en/studies-and-publications/225/journals/energy-highlights-10>, (Erişim: 10.06.2023).

"Strategic Concept 2010", [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/\\_82705.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/_82705.htm), (Erişim: 12.06.2023).

"The Alliance's New Strategic Concept (1991)", [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_23847.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_23847.htm), (Erişim: 15.06.2023).

"The Alliance's Strategic Concept (1999)", [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_27433.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_27433.htm), (Erişim: 16.06.2023).

Varwick V. J. (2008), "NATO's Role in Energy Security", <https://www.spiegel.de/international/protecting-oil-and-gas-resources-nato-s-role-in-energy-security-a-563210.html>, (Erişim: 20.06.2023).

Wong M. (2022), "NATO's 2022 Strategic Concept and Its Impact on Global Security", Taiwan Strategists, No 15, 1-21.

Africa Oil Week. (t.y.). "Understanding Chinese Investment In African Oil And Gas." Africa Oil Week: <https://africa-oilweek.com/articles/understanding-chinese-investment-in-african-o#:~:text=Africa%20is%20the%20second%20largest,and%20gas%20importe%20into%20China>. adresinden alındı [Erişim: 31 Ağustos 2023]

Alemdaroglu, A., & Tepe, S. (2020). Erdogan Is Turning Turkey Into a Chinese Client State. Foreign Policy. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/09/16/erdogan-is-turning-turkey-into-a-chinese-client-state/> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 28 Ağustos 2022]

Algül, Y. (2020). Çin'in Kuşak Ve Yol Projesinin Türkiye Enerji Sektörüne Yansımaları. Anasay , (11) , 37-62 .

Alperen, Ümit. (2021, 12 Ekim). "Hindistan: Dünyanın Yeni Yükselen Ekonomik Gücü." Independent Türkçe: <https://www.indyturk.com/node/422881/t%C3%BCrk%C3%BCy%C3%BC-yeden-sesler/hindistan-d%C3%BCnyan%C4%B1n-y%C3%BCz%C3%BCkselen-yeni-ekonomik-g%C3%BCc%C3%BC> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 2 Eylül 2023]

Aminjonov, F. (2018): Central Asian Gas Exports Dependency, The RUSI Journal 163(2).

Araya, D. (2018). China's Belt and Road Initiative is poised to transform the clean energy industry. Brookings Institute: <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/chinas-belt-and-road-initiative-is-poised-to-transform-the-clean-energy-industry/> adresinden alındı

Askary, H. & Ross, J. (2018). "Why China's 'Debtbook Diplomacy' is a Hoax." International Schiller Institute, August 30. <https://schillerinstitute.com/why-chinas-debtbook-diplomacy-is-a-hoax/>

Aziz, S. (2023, 26 Haziran). "How China Dominated Iraq's Solar Energy Market." Al-Monitor: <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2023/06/how-china-dominated-iraqs-solar-energy-market/> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 28 Ağustos 2023]

Bai, X., Shi, P. & Liu, Y. (2014). Society: Realizing China's Urban Dream, Nature, 509(7499), 158–160.

BankTrack. (2020). Amasra Coal Mine and Power Plant - Related Companies. [https://www.banktrack.org/project/amasra\\_hema\\_coal\\_plant#companies](https://www.banktrack.org/project/amasra_hema_coal_plant#companies) adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 28 Ağustos 2023]

Bartlett, K. (2023, 3 Mayıs). "Why China Is Investing in Africa's Green Energy Future." VOA: <https://www.voanews.com/a/why-china-is-investing-in-africa-s-green-energy-future/7077274.html> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 31 Ağustos 2023]

Batu Ağırkaya, M. (2022). Türkiye Ekonomik Büyümesinde Yenilenebilir Enerji: Mevcut Durum, Gelecek Beklentileri, İstihdam ve Yatırım Fırsatları . Ordu Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Sosyal Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi , 12 (3) , 2327-2350.

BBC. (2022, 22 Haziran). "China's President Xi Jinping signs Venezuela oil deal." BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-28414623> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 31 Ağustos 2023]

BBC. (2023, 9 Ağustos). Çin'de düşen fiyatlar ve deflasyon neden kaygı yarattı?. BBC Türkçe: <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/articles/c0xvllnqjejo> [Erişim: 1 Eylül 2023]

Belt and Road Portal. (2022). "List of Countries Who Have Signed BRI Cooperation Agreement with China." <https://eng.yidaiyilu.gov.cn> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 27 Ağustos 2023]

Besada, H., & Salam, J. (2017). "China's Energy Strategy in the MENA Region". China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies. 3 (4): 597–619

- Bnamericas. (2023, 6 Şubat). "Why Brazil-China energy relations may improve under Lula." Bnamericas: <https://www.bnamericas.com/en/analysis/brazil-china-energy-relations-why-they-are-likely-to-improve-under-lula> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 31 Ağustos 2023]
- Bose, K. (2019, 16 Mart). China Energy building \$5bn hydrogen plant in Egypt. Enegy Live News: <https://www.energylivenews.com/2023/03/16/china-energy-building-5bn-hydrogen-plant-in-egypt/> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 31 Ağustos 2023]
- Bovan, A. & Vučenović, T. & Peric, N. (2020). "Negotiating Energy Diplomacy and ITS Relationship with Foreign Policy and National Security". International Journal of Energy Economics and Policy. 10 (2): 1–6.
- Broedsgaard, K. E. & Heurlin, B. (2002). China's place in global geopolitics: International, regional and domestic challenges, Routledge, Londra.
- Caceres, S. B. & Ear, S. (2012). The geopolitics of china's global resources quest. Geopolitics, 17(1), 47–79
- Calabrese, J. (2023). Beijing to Baghdad: China's Growing Role in Iraq's Energy Sector. Middle Eastern Institute: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/beijing-baghdad-chinas-growing-role-iraqs-energy-sector/> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 28 Ağustos 2023]
- Casey, JP. (2021, 25 Mayıs). "The coal war: why has China turned its back on Australian coal?." Mining Technology: <https://www.mining-technology.com/features/the-coal-war-why-has-china-turned-its-back-on-australian-coal/#:~:text=With%20China%20said%20to%20be,of%20tons%20of%20coal%20unsold/> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023]
- Chen, D. & Galkin, P. & Junyuang Ke, (2020). "China's Energy Investment Through the Lens of the Belt and Road Initiative," Discussion Papers ks--2019-dp83, King Abdullah Petroleum Studies and Research Center.
- Chen, D., & Galkin, P. (2023). China's energy investment through the lens of the Belt and Road Initiative. J. Considine, S. Cote, D. Cooke, & G. Wood içinde, A Research Agenda for Energy Politics (s. 93-126). Massachusetts: Elgar.

Chen, H. (2019, 22 Nisan). Greener Power Projects for the Belt & Road Initiative (BRI). NRDC: <https://www.nrdc.org/bio/han-chen/greener-power-projects-belt-road-initiative-bri> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023]

Chew, A. (2021, 28 Ekim. "South China Sea: why Malaysia and Indonesia differ in countering Beijing's maritime claims". South China Morning Post (SCMP): <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/3153932/south-china-sea-why-malaysia-and-indonesia-differ-countering/> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 30 Ağustos 2023]

China Hands. (2018, 30 Mayıs). "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization Energy Club: A Collaborative Future for Nuclear Energy." China Hands Magazine: <https://chinahandsmagazine.org/2018/05/30/the-shanghai-cooperation-organization-energy-club-a-collaborative-future-for-nuclear-energy/> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023]

China Radio International. (2017). Power China, Avrasya merkezini İstanbul'da açtı. <http://turkish.cri.cn/1781/2017/05/24/1s183219.html> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 28 Ağustos 2023]

Chow, E. (2022, 7 Aralık). "China Section of Power of Siberia Gas Pipeline Operational." Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/china-gas-pipeline-idAFL1N32Y063>. adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 26 Ağustos 2023]

Christoffersen G. (2016), "The Role of China in Global Energy Governance", China Perspectives 2016/2. 15-24.

CIMB Asean Research Institute, I. B. & LSE Ideas, I. B. (2018) China's Belt and Road Initiative and Southeast Asia. [Kuala Lumpur Sentral, Kuala Lumpur: CIMB Southeast Asia Research, Sdn., Bhd] [Pdf] The Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2021307320/>. adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 30 Ağustos 2023]

Council on Hemispheric Affairs. (2010, 10 Mart). "China Eyes Venezuelan and Brazilian Oil." COHA: <https://coha.org/china-eyes-venezuelan-and-brazilian-oil/> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 31 Ağustos 2023]

Crude Accountability. (t.y.). Beyond Oil: Examining China's Influence in Azerbaijan. Crude Accountability: <https://crudeaccountability.org/beyond->

oil-examining-chinas-influence-in-azerbaijan/ adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023]

Cui, S. & Costa Miranda, O. (2016). "Framing Sino-Brazilian Energy Cooperation: Perspectives from China". *Austral*. 5 (10): 9-31.

Çağatay, G. (2017, 18 Eylül). "Venezuela opts to use Chinese Yuan for oil trade." Anadolu Ajansı: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/energyterminal/finance/venezuela-opts-to-use-chinese-yuan-for-oil-trade/763> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 31 Ağustos 2023]

Çalışkan, S. (2023a). Growing Chinese Influence in the Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq. Center for Middle Eastern Studies (ORSAM): <https://www.orsam.org.tr/en/growing-chinese-influence-in-the-kurdistan-regional-government-in-iraq/> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 28 Ağustos 2023]

Çalışkan, S. (2023b, 22 Mart). China's Expanding Influence in Iraq. The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2023/03/chinas-expanding-influence-in-iraq/> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 28 Ağustos 2023]

Daye, C. (2023, 18 Mayıs). "Closer energy cooperation shores up China-Central Asian partnership: analysts say." Global Times: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202305/1290975.shtml> [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023]

Demir, E. (2023, 16 Nisan). "Çin-Türk ortaklııyla 225 milyon dolarlık RES yatırımı" Dünya Gazetesi: <https://www.dunya.com/sirketler/cin-turk-ortakligiyla-225-milyon-dolarlik-res-yatirimi-haberi-418739> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 28 Ağustos 2023]

Downs, E., & Mitrova, T. (2023, 23 Şubat). Q&A | China-Russia Energy Relations One Year after the Invasion of Ukraine. Center on Global Energy Policy at COLUMBIA SIPA : <https://www.energypolicy.columbia.edu/qa-china-russia-energy-relations-one-year-after-the-invasion-of-ukraine/> adresinden alındı

Durul, T. (2017, 12 Mayıs). "Türkiye ile Çin 'Kuşak ve Yol'da birleşiyor" Anadolu Ajansı: <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/turkiye-ile-cin-kusak-ve-yolda-birlesiyor/816122> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 28 Ağustos 2023]

Dünya Gazetesi (2016, 3 Eylül). "Çin İklim Anlaşması'nı onayladı." Dünya Gazetesi: <https://www.dunya.com/amp/dunya/cin-iklim-anlasmasini-onayladi-haberi-328202> [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023]

Ediger, V.Ş. & Bowlus, J.V. & Dursun, A.F., (2021). "Bölüm 8: China's Energy-Supply Security in the Multi-Energy Transition Period from Fossil Fuels to Renewable Energy, içinde: Jingzheng Ren, Derleme., China's Energy Security: Analysis, Assessment and Improvement, World Scientific Publishing, U.K., 199-215.

Ekonomim (2022, 18 Aralık). "Türkiye ve Çin'den enerjide iş birliği." Ekonomim: <https://www.ekonomim.com/ekonomi/turkiye-ve-cinden-enerjide-is-birligi-haberi-677283> [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023]

El Dahan, M. & El Yaakoubi, A. "China's Xi calls for oil trade in yuan at Gulf summit in Riyadh" Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/world/saudi-arabia-gathers-chinas-xi-with-arab-leaders-new-era-ties-2022-12-09/> [Erişim: 28 Ağustos 2022]

Energy Institute. (2023). Energy Institute Statistical Review of World Energy. Energy Institute: <https://www.energyinst.org/statistical-review> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 30 Haziran 2023]

Erkul Kaya, N. (2021, 6 Nisan). "Dünyadaki kömür projelerinin tek alıcısı Çin." Anadolu Ajansı: <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/dunyadaki-komur-projelerinin-tek-alicisi-cin/2199351> [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023]

Esfandiary, D. & Tabatabai, A. (2018). Triple Axis: Iran's Relations with Russia and China. Routledge, Londra.

Eş-Sami, T. (2023, 8 Temmuz). "Küresel Güney" adını, gücünü ve bağımsızlığını nasıl kazandı?. Independent Türkçe: [https://www.indyturk.com/node/646076/d%C3%BCnya/k%C3%BCresel-g%C3%BCney-ad%C4%B1n%C4%B1-g%C3%BCc%C3%BCn%C3%BC-ve-ba%C4%9F%C4%B1ms%C4%B1z%C4%B1z%C4%B1%C4%9F%C4%B1n%C4%B1-nas%C4%B1l-kazand%C4%B1](https://www.indyturk.com/node/646076/d%C3%BCnya/k%C3%BCresel-g%C3%BCney-ad%C4%B1n%C4%B1-g%C3%BCc%C3%BCn%C3%BC-ve-ba%C4%9F%C4%B1ms%C4%B1z%C4%B1%C4%9F%C4%B1n%C4%B1-nas%C4%B1l-kazand%C4%B1) [Erişim: 1 Eylül 2023]

EUI. (2023, 11 Ocak). "China begins to unwind ban on Australian coal imports." Economic Intelligence: <https://www.eiu.com/n/china-begins-to-unwind-ban-on-australian-coal-imports/> [Erişim: 30 Ağustos 2023]

Evans, B. (2022, 31 Ağustos). "China's oil imports have surged from an area known for offshore ship-to-ship crude mixing meant to hide its origin."

Markets Insider: <https://markets.businessinsider.com/news/commodities/china-oil-imports-russia-crude-malaysia-production-iran-venezuela-sanctions-2022-8> [Erişim: 30 Ağustos 2023]

Ferchen, M. (2014, 23 Ekim). "Crude Complications: Venezuela, China, and the United States." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: <https://carnegieendowment.org/2014/10/23/crude-complications-venezuela-china-and-united-states-pub-56996> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 31 Ağustos 2023]

Forsythe, M. & Lipton, E. & Searcey, D.. (2021, 20 Kasım). "A Power Struggle Over Cobalt Rattles the Clean Energy Revolution." New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/20/world/china-congo-cobalt.html> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 31 Ağustos 2023]

Frayer, J. M. & Gao, L. (2023, Temmuz 18). "Chinese electric vehicle makers lead the world, rivaling U.S. pioneers ." NBC News: <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/chinese-electric-vehicle-makers-lead-world-rivaling-us-pioneers-rcna88990> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 25 Ağustos 2023]

Galtsova, A. & Huang, T. (2020, 16 Temmuz). New' Gas from Russia to China via Power of Siberia-2 Pipeline: New Route and New Strategic Opportunities. S&P Global Commodity Insights: <https://www.spglobal.com/commodityinsights/en/ci/research-analysis/new-gas-from-russia-to-china-via-power-of-siberia-2-pipeline.html> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 26 Ağustos 2023]

Garcia, I. (2021, 21 Aralık). "The Future of the Sino-Venezuelan Relationship: Make or Break?." Harvard International Review: <https://hir.harvard.edu/the-future-of-the-sino-venezuelan-relationship-make-or-break/> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 31 Ağustos 2023]

Giuli, M. (2015, 27 Ekim). Getting Energy Diplomacy Right: A Challenge Starting At Home. Vocal Europe: <https://www.vocaleurope.eu/getting-energy-diplomacy-right-a-challenge-starting-at-home/> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 25 Ağustos 2023]

Ghafar, A. A., & Jacobs, A. L. (2019, 23 Eylül). Beijing calling: Assessing China's growing footprint in North Africa. Brookings Institute: <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/beijing-calling-assessing-chinas-growing-footprint-in-north-africa/> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 31 Ağustos 2023]

Global Energy Monitor. (2020a). EMBA Hunutlu Power Station. [https://www.gem.wiki/EMBA\\_Hunutlu\\_power\\_station](https://www.gem.wiki/EMBA_Hunutlu_power_station) adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 28 Ağustos 2023]

Global Times. (2023, 1 Şubat). Russia Approves Agreement on Gas Supply to China via Far Eastern Route, Encouraging Payment in Own Currencies. Global Times: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202302/1284607.shtml> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 26 Ağustos 2023]

Global Times. (2023, 6 Nisan). "China, Latin America brace for deeper ties in BRI cooperation." Global Times: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202304/1288649.shtml> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 31 Ağustos 2023]

Gregersen, C. & Kirchherr, J. & Bhamidipati, P. L. & Lema, R., & Hansen, U. E. (2021). China's investments in renewable energy in Africa: Creating co-benefits or just cashing-in? United Nations Environment Program Copenhagen Climate Center (UNEPCCC): <https://unepccc.org/publications/chinas-investments-in-renewable-energy-in-africa/> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 31 Ağustos 2023]

Gueldry, M. & Liang, W. (2016). "China's Global Energy Diplomacy: Behavior Normalization Through Economic Interdependence or Resource Neo-mercantilism and Power Politics?". Journal of Chinese Political Science. 21 (2): 217–240.

Güller, M. A. (2022, 25 Mayıs). ABD-Çin mücadeleinde yeni perde: BRICS'e karşı IPEF. CRJ Türk: <https://criturk.com/abd-cin-mucadelesinde-yeni-perde-bricse-karsi-ipef/> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 2 Eylül 2023]

Gündoğdu, M. A. (2022). Çin'in Kalkınmasındaki Kilit Rol: Dünya Ticaretine Entegrasyonu . Doğu Asya Araştırmaları Dergisi , 5 (10) , s.65-80

Gündüzeli, E. (2020, 3 Eylül). "A Chinese coal plant highlights Turkey's flawed energy policy." China Dialogue: <https://chinadialogue.net/en/energy/a-chinese-coal-plant-highlights-turkeys-flawed-energy-policy/> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023] adresinden alındı [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023]

Granville, S. (2023, 24 Ağustos). Brics summit: Is a new bloc emerging to rival US leadership?. BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-66609633> [Erişim: 1 Eylül 2023]

Haliq, R. (2022, 10 Aralık). "Yuan-based energy settlement with Gulf nations is our priority, says China's Xi" Anadolu Ajansı: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/yuan-based-energy-settlement-with-gulf-nations-is-our-priority-says-chinas-xi/2760368> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 28 Ağustos 2023]

Hart, M. (2016). "Central Asia's Oil and Gas Now Flows to the East". The Diplomat. [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023].

Hattat Holding. (2011). Holding Haberler. <https://www.hattatholding.com/UserFiles/Content/aef694cd74e34b36ad584dc398ce90e9.pdf> [Erişim: 28 Ağustos 2023]

Hsuan, F. D., & Haiming, L. (2018, 22 Kasım). Feng Da Hsuan and Liang Haiming : Is BRI Road to a 'Debt Trap'? The Numbers Say NO. Fudan Institute of Belt And Road & Global Governance: [https://brgg.fudan.edu.cn/en/articleinfo\\_259.html](https://brgg.fudan.edu.cn/en/articleinfo_259.html) adresinden alındı

Huiyao, W. (2022, 13 Aralık). "How China is helping Middle East Economies Pivot Away From Gulf Oil" South China Morning Post (SCMP): <https://www.scmp.com/comment/opinion/article/3202779/how-china-helping-middle-east-economies-pivot-away-gulf-oil> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 26 Ağustos 2023]

Hurley, J. & Morris, S. & Portelance, G. (2018). "Examining the Debt Implications of the Belt and Road Initiative from a Policy Perspective." Center for Global Development (CGD), March. <https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/examining-debt-implications-belt-and-road-initiative-policy-perspective.pdf>.

Huseynov, V. & Rzayev, A. (2018, 29 Kasım). "Is China's Economic Expansion in the South Caucasus a Myth?" The Diplomat:

<https://thediplomat.com/2018/11/is-chinas-economic-expansion-in-the-south-caucasus-a-myth/> [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023]

IDE-JETRO. (t.y.). "China in Africa." IDE-JETRO:

[https://www.ide.go.jp/English/Data/Africa\\_file/Manualreport/cia\\_07.html](https://www.ide.go.jp/English/Data/Africa_file/Manualreport/cia_07.html) adresinden alındı [Erişim: 31 Ağustos 2023]

Interfax. (2022, 29 Kasım). Russia, China discussing system of settlements without SWIFT, mutually opening bank accounts - Novak. Interfax:

<https://interfax.com/newsroom/top-stories/85476> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 26 Ağustos 2023]

Iran & China: A Trade Lifeline. (2023, Haziran 5). The Iran Primer - United States Institute of Peace: <https://iranprimer.usip.org/blog/2023/jun/28/iran-china-trade-lifeline> adresinden alındı

Kabaklı, F. (2017, 13 Şubat). "Güney Çin Denizi'nde gerilim tırmanıyor."

Anadolu Ajansı: <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/guney-cin-denizinde-gerilim-tirmaniyor/749115> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 30 Ağustos 2023]

Kane, F. (2018, 5 Nisan). "Rise of petro-yuan provides dilemma for Saudi Aramco." Arab News: <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1279226/amp> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 27 Ağustos 2023]

KAPSARC. (2023, 1 Mayıs). King Abdullah Petroleum Search And Research Center. Chapter 5: China's energy investment through the lens of the Belt and Road Initiative: <https://www.kapsarc.org/research/publications/chapter-5-chinas-energy-investment-through-the-lens-of-the-belt-and-road-initiative/> [Erişim: 31 Ağustos 2023]

Kaya, M. & Ari, İ. (2021). Chinese Energy Investments in Turkey and Potential Investment Barriers . Ulusa: Uluslararası Çalışmalar Dergisi , 5 (1) , 1-19

Kelly, A. (2023, 9 Şubat). Russia, China Sign Intergovernmental Gas Deal. Energy Intelligence: <https://www.energyintel.com/00000186-35ce-da30-a7ff-bdff68580000> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 26 Ağustos 2023]

Koç, E. (2015). China's Middle East energy policies . International Journal of Social Sciences and Education Research , 1 (1) , 346-354.

Kuteleva, A. (2022). China's Energy Security and Relations With Petrostates: Oil As An Idea. New York: Routledge.

KYODO NEWS. (2023, 20 Ocak). China's gas imports from Russia double in 2022 amid Ukraine crisis. Kyodo News:

<https://english.kyodonews.net/news/2023/01/7c9c6997d76f-chinas-gas-imports-from-russia-double-in-2022-amid-ukraine-crisis.html> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 26 Ağustos 2022]

Lai, H. (2009). "China's Oil Diplomacy in Asia". Asian Energy Security. 27–47.

Latrobe University. (2022, 3 Nisan). "Could India and China co-operate on energy?." Latrobe University: <https://www.latrobe.edu.au/news/announcements/2022/could-india-and-china-co-operate-on-energy/> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023]

Lee, J. (2023, 6 Şubat). "Russia Sends More Oil by Sea, But Kremlin's War Chest Pressured." Bloomberg: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2023-02-06/russia-sends-more-oil-by-sea-but-kremlin-s-war-chest-pressured>. adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 26 Ağustos 2023]

Lee, M. & Zhang, N. (2012). Technical efficiency, shadow price of carbon dioxide emissions, and substitutability for energy in the chinese manufacturing industries. Energy Economics, 34(5), 1492–1497

Li, H. & Zhao, X. & Yu, Y. & Wu, T. & Qi, Y. (2016). China's numerical management system for reducing national energy intensity. Energy Policy, 94, 64–76.

Lipton, E. & Searcey, D. (2021, 21 Kasım). "How the U.S. Lost Ground to China in the Contest for Clean Energy." New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/21/world/us-china-energy.html> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 31 Ağustos 2023]

Liu, J. (2019). China's renewable energy law and policy: A critical review. Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews, 99, 212–219.

Maher, M. & Farid, M. (2023, 27 Nisan). The Growth of Chinese Influence in Egypt: Signs and Consequences. FIKRA FORUM, Washington Institute: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/growth-chinese-influence-egypt-signs-and-consequences> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 31 Ağustos 2023]

Maizland, L. (2021, 19 Mayıs). China's Fight Against Climate Change and Environmental Degradation. Council on Foreign Relations: <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/china-climate-change-policies-environmental-degradation#chapter-title-0-4> adresinden alındı

Marketos, T. N. (2010). China's energy geopolitics: The shanghai cooperation organization and central Asia, Routledge, Londra ve New York.

Mehdi, S. Z. (2021, 27 Mart). "Iran, China sign deal on 'Belt and Road' project." Anadolu Ajansı: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/iran-china-sign-deal-on-belt-and-road-project/2190154> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 1 Eylül 2023]

Meidan, M. (2021). "China's Emergence as A Powerful Player in the Old and New Geopolitics of Energy." Oxford Energy Forum 126:12–15. <https://a9w7k6q9.stackpathcdn.com/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/OEF-126.pdf>. [Erişim: 26 Ağustos 2023]

Minghao, Z. (2018, Ağustos 28). Five years on, BRI tastes success on several fronts: Five years on, BRI tastes success on several fronts. Global Times: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201808/1117400.shtml> adresinden alındı

Morrow, S. (2023, 21 Haziran). "Türkiye in talks with Russia, S. Korea and China for nuclear plant construction." Anadolu Ajansı: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/energy/nuclear/turkiye-in-talks-with-russia-s-korea-and-china-for-nuclear-plant-construction/38400> [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023]

Mundy, S., & Hille, K. (2019, 11 Şubat). The Maldives counts the cost of its debts to China. Financial Times: <https://www.ft.com/content/c8da1c8a-2a19-11e9-88a4-c32129756dd8> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 27 Ağustos 2023]

Muyu X. & Aizhu, C. (2022, 8 Aralık). "China Buys Russian Oil at Multi-Month Low Discounts, Brushes off Price Cap." Reuters:

<https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/china-buys-russian-oil-multi-month-low-discounts-brushes-off-price-cap-2022-12-08/>. adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 26 Ağustos 2023]

Muyu X. (2022, 20 Aralık). "Low-Priced Russian Oil Boosts Profits of China's Independent Refiners." Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/low-priced-russian-oil-boosts-profits-chinas-independent-refiners-2022-12-20/>. adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 27 Ağustos 2023]

Muyu, X. (2022, 7 Eylül). "Russia's Gazprom, CNPC Agree to Use Rouble, Yuan for Gas Payments – Gazprom." Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/petrochina-signs-gas-agreement-with-russias-gazprom-2022-09-07/>. adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 26 Ağustos 2023]

Myllyvirta, L. (2020). Air Quality and Health Impacts of the Proposed EMBA Hunutlu Coal Power Project. CREA.  
[https://adanayatemizhava.org/files/2020/06/CREA\\_Hunutlu-healthimpacts-briefing.pdf](https://adanayatemizhava.org/files/2020/06/CREA_Hunutlu-healthimpacts-briefing.pdf) adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 28 Ağustos 2023]

Odgaard, O. & Delman, J. (2014). "China's energy security and its challenges towards 2035". Energy Policy. 71: 107–117.

Öğütçü, M. & Xin Ma (2007). Insight Turkey, 2007, 9(4) 44-62.

Öğütçü, M. (1998). "Sino-Turkish Relations: Preparing for the Next Century". China Report. 34 (3–4): 303–325.

Parker, S., & Chefitz, G. (2018). "Debtbook Diplomacy: China's Strategic Leveraging of its Newfound Economic Influence and the Consequences for U.S. Foreign Policy." Harvard Kennedy School, May.<https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/files/publication/Debtbook%20Diplomacy%20PDF.pdf> [Erişim: 27 Ağustos 2023]

Planet Security Initiative. (2023, Şubat). How Renewables are Shaping Policy Brief the India-China Relationship. Planet Security Initiative of Institute of Peace And Conflict Studies (IPCS):  
[https://www.planetarysecurityinitiative.org/sites/default/files/2023-03/PB\\_How\\_renewables\\_are\\_shaping\\_the\\_India-China\\_relationship\\_2eproef.pdf](https://www.planetarysecurityinitiative.org/sites/default/files/2023-03/PB_How_renewables_are_shaping_the_India-China_relationship_2eproef.pdf) adresinden alındı [Erişim: 30 Ağustos 2022]

Rakhmat, M. Z. (2019). The Belt and Road Initiative in the Gulf: Building “Oil Roads” to Prosperity. Middle East Institute:

<https://www.mei.edu/publications/belt-and-road-initiative-gulf-building-oil-roads-prosperity> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 28 Ağustos 2023]

Rousselot, H. (2011). The Energy Club of the SCO: A (Driving) Element of Regional Integration? *Relations Internationales*, 145(1), 117-132.

Sak, G. (2021, 28 Eylül). Çin artık termik santral yapımına dış finansman sağlayamayacak. TEPAV: <https://www.tepav.org.tr/tr/blog/s/6975/Cin+artik+termik+santral+yapimina+dis+finansman+saglamayacak> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023]

Sciorati, G. (2021, 8 Nisan). “A Greener BRI in Central Asia?” Italian Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI): <https://www.ispionline.it/en/publication/greener-bri-central-asia-29952> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023]

Serikkaliyeva, A. (2019). THE ROLE OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN REGION IN CHINA’S NEW SILK ROAD ECONOMIC BELT PROJECT . *Eurasian Research Journal* , 1 (1) , 66-81

Shen, W. (2021, 26 Temmuz). China-Africa Cooperation in the Energy Sector: Towards a More Sustainable Pathway? ISPI (Italian Institute For International Political Studies): <https://www.ispionline.it/en/publication/china-africa-cooperation-energy-sector-towards-more-sustainable-pathway-31257> adresinden alındı

Shixue, J. (2014, 29 Eylül). "Demystifying the China-Brazil Relations." China Institute of International Studies (CIIS): [https://www.ciis.org.cn/english/COMMENTARIES/202007/t20200715\\_2792.html](https://www.ciis.org.cn/english/COMMENTARIES/202007/t20200715_2792.html) adresinden alındı [Erişim: 31 Ağustos 2023]

Shokri, U. (2023). Obstacles and Opportunities for Closer Iranian-Chinese Economic Cooperation. Middle East Institute: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/obstacles-and-opportunities-closer-iranian-chinese-economic-cooperation> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 25 Ağustos 2023]

Silk Road Briefing. (2023, Mayıs 18). China’s Economic & Trade Cooperation With Central Asia. Silk Road Briefing: From Dezan Shira & Associates:

<https://www.silkroadbriefing.com/news/2023/05/18/chinas-economic-trade-cooperation-with-central-asia/> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023]

Sokolov, V. & Sharushkina, N. & Sladkova, N. (2022, 4 Şubat). Russia Signs Oil and Gas Deals with China. Energy Intelligence:

<https://www.energyintel.com/0000017e-c4fa-da48-a97f-fdfad7a10000> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 26 Ağustos 2023]

Song, Y., Zhang, M. & Sun, R. (2019). Using A New Aggregated Indicator to Evaluate China's Energy Security. *Energy Policy*, 132, 167–174.

Steinberg, D. I. & Fan, H. (2012). Modern China-Myanmar Relations Dilemmas of Mutual Dependence (Denmark: NIES Press), s.36.

Syailendra, E. A. (2022, 18 Ağustos). "China, Indonesia, and Malaysia: Waltzing Around Oil Rigs". The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2022/08/china-indonesia-and-malaysia-waltzing-around-oil-rigs/> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 30 Ağustos 2023]

Tabeta, S. (2023, 6 Temmuz. "BYD, Tesla, 14 others in China agree to not compete 'excessively'." Nikkei Asia: <https://asia.nikkei.com/Business/Automobiles/BYD-Tesla-14-others-in-China-agree-to-not-compete-excessively> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 1 Eylül 2023]

Tan, Su-Lin. (2023, 19 Nisan). "Chinese interests in Australia's renewable energy rise despite weak overall foreign investment." South China Morning Post (SCMP): <https://www scmp.com/week-asia/economics/article/3217462/chinese-interests-australias-renewable-energy-rise-despite-weak-overall-foreign-investment> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 30 Ağustos 2023]

Topçu, N. (2020). A Relationship on a Pipeline: China and Myanmar. *China Currents*, 19(3). <https://www.chinacenter.net/2020/china-currents/19-3/a-relationship-on-a-pipeline-china-and-myanmar/> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 30 Ağustos 2023]

TRT Haber (2021, 16 Ocak). "Manisa'da 4 enerji santrali açıldı." TRT Haber: <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/manisada-4-enerji-santrali-acildi-547794.html> [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023]

- Tugendhat, H. (2022, 19 Aralık). China's Overreliance on Gulf Oil Is a Vulnerability for Everyone. United States Institute of Peace: <https://www.usip.org/publications/2022/12/chinas-overreliance-gulf-oil-vulnerability-everyone> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 28 Ağustos 2023]
- United Nations Conference On Trade And Development. (2023). Commodities At A Glance: Special Issue on Access to Energy in Sub-Saharan Africa. UNCTAD: [https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/ditccom2023d1\\_en.pdf](https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/ditccom2023d1_en.pdf) adresinden alındı [Erişim: 31 Ağustos 2023]
- Wang, H. (2016). "Towards a cooperative framework for a China-Central Asia energy transit community". Occasional Paper Series. Energy Charter Secretariat Knowledge Centre.
- Webster, J., & Pelayo, J. (2023, 5 Nisan). China is getting comfortable with the Gulf Cooperation Council. The West must pragmatically adapt to its growing regional influence. Atlantic Council: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/menasecurity/china-is-getting-comfortable-with-the-gulf-cooperation-council-the-west-must-pragmatically-adapt-to-its-growing-regional-influence/> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 28 Ağustos 2023]
- Wijeratne, D. & Yau, J. & Wong, G. & Rathbone, M. & Ling, N. B. & Lau, S. (2017). "Repaving the Ancient Silk Roads." PricewaterhouseCoopers Analysis, May. <https://www.pwc.com/gx/en/growth-markets-centre/assets/pdf/pwc-gmc-repaving-the-ancient-silk-routes-web.pdf>. [Erişim: 24 Ağustos 2023]
- Xu, Bo & Reisinger, W. M. (2019). "Russia's energy diplomacy with China: personalism and institutionalism in its policy-making process". The Pacific Review. 32 (1): 1–19.
- Xu, M., & Mason, J. (2018, 5 Ocak). China Aims to Supersize Coal Sector Through Mergers. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-coal-idUSKBN1EU0Q8> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 28 Ağustos 2023]
- Yu, G. (2012). "China's Energy Foreign Policy Towards Iran: Domestic Factors and Geopolitical Challenges". Secure Oil and Alternative Energy. 143–166.
- Zhang, J. (2011). China's Energy Security: Prospects, Challenges, And Opportunities, The Brookings Institution, <https://www.brookings.edu/wp>

content/uploads/2016/06/07\_china\_energy\_zhang\_paper.pdf adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023]

Zhang, S. & Miller, M. (2017, 15 Mayıs). "Behind China's Silk Road Vision: Cheap Funds, Heavy Debt, Growing Risk." Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-silkroad-finance/behind-chinas-silk-road-vision-cheap-funds-heavy-debt-growing-risk-idUSKCN18B0YS> adresinden alındı. [Erişim: 27 Ağustos 2023]

Zhou, L. (2023, 17 Mayıs). "How energy is powering China's relationships with Central Asia." South China Morning Post (SCMP): How energy is powering China's relationships with Central Asia [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023]

Zhu, V. (2019, 10 Ekim). China Trends #3 – China-Russia Energy Cooperation: Hot or Cold? INSTITUT Montaigne: <https://www.institutmontaigne.org/en/expressions/china-trends-3-china-russia-energy-cooperation-hot-or-cold> adresinden alındı [Erişim: 29 Ağustos 2023].

Altman, H. (2023, Ağustos 1). Cargo Ship Enters Danube Despite Russia's Black Sea Shipping Threat [News Website]. The War Zone. <https://www.thedrive.com/the-war-zone/cargo-ship-enters-danube-despite-russias-black-sea-shipping-threat>

Anastasov, P. (2018, Mayıs 25). NATO Review - The Black Sea region: A critical intersection. NATO Review. <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/articles/2018/05/25/the-black-sea-region-a-critical-intersection/index.html>

Anghelescu, A.-M. A., & Oneaşcă, I. (Ed.). (2023). Anticipating the 2023 Three Seas Initiative Bucharest Summit. Advancing the common agenda. European Institute of Romania. <http://ier.gov.ro/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/WP-46-Anticipating-the-2023-3SI-Bucharest-Summit.pdf>

Atlantic Council, Center Europe Energy Partners, Central & Eastern Europe Development Institute, & Groupa Lotos. (2014). Completing Europe: From the North-South Corridor to Energy, Transportation, and Telecommunications Union. Central & Eastern Europe Development Institute, Atlantic Council, Central Europe Energy Partners and Groupa

- Lotos. [https://www.ceep.be/www/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Completing-Europe\\_Report.pdf](https://www.ceep.be/www/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Completing-Europe_Report.pdf)
- Bai, C., Dallasega, P., Orzes, G., & Sarkis, J. (2020). Industry 4.0 technologies assessment: A sustainability perspective. International Journal of Production Economics, 229, 107776. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijpe.2020.107776>
- Brie, M. (2023). Challenges, opportunities and expectations of enhanced cooperation within the 3SI towards the Black Sea. İçinde A.-M. A. Anghelușcă & I. Oneașcă (Ed.), Anticipating the 2023 Three Seas Initiative Bucharest Summit. Advancing the common agenda (ss. 51-53). European Institute of Romania. <http://ier.gov.ro/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/WP-46-Anticipating-the-2023-3SI-Bucharest-Summit.pdf>
- Chodakiewicz, M. J. (2017). Intermarium: The Land Between the Black and Baltic Seas (First edition). Taylor and Francis. <http://www.tandfebooks.com/isbn/>
- Clarke, M. (2018). Main-Danube Canal | Definition, History, & Facts | Britannica. İçinde Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Main-Danube-Canal>
- Çelikpala, M., & Erşen, E. (2018). Turkey's Black Sea Predicament: Challenging or Accommodating Russia? PERCEPTIONS: Journal of International Affairs, 23(2), Article 2.
- Dahl, M. (2019). Evolution of Germany's Stance Regarding the Three Seas Initiative. Rocznik Instytutu Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 17(3), 65-77. <https://doi.org/10.36874/RIESW.2019.3.4>
- Defense Technical Information Center. (t.y.). Stability of the Black Sea Littoral Region: Focus on the Montreux Convention. Geliş tarihi 19 Ağustos 2023, gönderen <https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/citations/ADA602729>
- Dostál, V., Strážay, T., & Végh, Z. (2021). The perspective of the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia on the Three Seas Initiative (07; Policy Paper, s. 20). The Friedrich Naumann Foundation. <https://www.amo.cz/en/the-perspective-of-the-czech-republic-hungary-and-slovakia-on-the-three-seas-initiative/>

- Eldem, T. (2021). Canal Istanbul: Turkey's controversial megaproject; its likely impacts on the Montreux Convention and regional stability (C. 43/2021). Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik -SWP- Deutsches Institut für Internationale Politik und Sicherheit. <https://doi.org/10.18449/2021C43>
- English, D. (2022, Nisan 15). Romanian ambassador to Ankara: "Montreux Convention has ensured stability in the Black Sea" [Text]. <https://www.duvarenglish.com/romanian-ambassador-to-ankara-montreux-convention-has-ensured-stability-in-the-black-sea-for-more-than-80-years-news-60804>; Duvar English. <https://www.duvarenglish.com/romanian-ambassador-to-ankara-montreux-convention-has-ensured-stability-in-the-black-sea-for-more-than-80-years-news-60804>
- Georgiev, Y. (2023). Bulgaria and the Three Seas Initiative – All (almost) quiet on the 3SI front, in Challenges, opportunities and expectations of enhanced cooperation within the 3SI towards the Black Sea. İçinde A.-M. A. Anghelescu & I. Oneaşcă (Ed.), Anticipating the 2023 Three Seas Initiative Bucharest Summit. Advancing the common agenda (ss. 14-16). European Institute of Romania. <http://ier.gov.ro/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/WP-46-Anticipating-the-2023-3SI-Bucharest-Summit.pdf>
- Górka, M. (2018). The Three Seas Initiative as a Political Challenge for the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe. *Politics in Central Europe*, 14(3), 55-73. <https://doi.org/10.2478/pce-2018-0018>
- Grgić, G. (2023). The Changing Dynamics of Regionalism in Central and Eastern Europe: The Case of the Three Seas Initiative. *Geopolitics*, 28(1), 216-238. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2021.1881489>
- Grgić, G., Kolar, Đ., & Bašić, M. (2023). Infrastructure diplomacy and strategic signalling within the Three Seas Initiative. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 23(2), 229-249. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2022.2111803>
- Grochmalski, P., Lewandowski, P., & Paszak, P. (2020). US-China technological rivalry and its implications for the three seas initiative (3SI). <https://doi.org/10.35808/ersj/1901>

Hellasjournal. (2021, Temmuz 9). Sakellaropoulou: Greece's participation adds a fourth sea, the Mediterranean, to Three Seas Initiative [News Website]. Hellasjournal.Com. <https://hellasjournal.com/2021/07/sakellaropoulou-greeces-participation-adds-a-fourth-sea-the-mediterranean-to-three-seas-initiative/>

Higgins, A. (2023, Ağustos 17). As Russia threatens ships in the Black Sea, a Romanian route provides a lifeline. EKathimerini. <https://www.ekathimerini.com/nytimes/1217859/as-russia-threatens-ships-in-the-black-sea-a-romanian-route-provides-a-lifeline/>

Horváth, D., & Szabó, R. Zs. (2019). Driving forces and barriers of Industry 4.0: Do multinational and small and medium-sized companies have equal opportunities? *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, 146, 119-132. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2019.05.021>

Inayeh, A. (t.y.). Black Sea Security and Development: The Need for a Regional Strategy | German Marshall Fund of the United States. Geliş tarihi 19 Ağustos 2023, gönderen <https://www.gmfus.org/news/black-sea-security-and-development-need-regional-strategy>

Juzov, J. (2023). To be or not to be: Czech Republic's ambiguous attitude towards the 3SI, in Challenges, opportunities and expectations of enhanced cooperation within the 3SI towards the Black Sea. İçinde A.-M. A. Anghelescu & I. Oneaşcă (Ed.), Anticipating the 2023 Three Seas Initiative Bucharest Summit. Advancing the common agenda (ss. 18-20). European Institute of Romania. <http://ier.gov.ro/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/WP-46-Anticipating-the-2023-3SI-Bucharest-Summit.pdf>

Karadeniz, B. (2007). SECURITY AND STABILITY ARCHITECTURE IN THE BLACK SEA. PERCEPTIONS: Journal of International Affairs, 12(2), Article 2.

Kornis, V. (2022, Şubat 11). Three Seas Initiative: The Czech Republic's Perspective on the Three-Seas-Initiative. The Friedrich Naumann Foundation. <https://www.freiheit.org/central-europe-and-baltic-states/czech-republics-perspective-three-seas-initiative>

Krzymowski, A. (2022). Energy Transformation and the UAE Green Economy: Trade Exchange and Relations with Three Seas Initiative Countries. *Energies*, 15(22), Article 22. <https://doi.org/10.3390/en15228410>

Manoli, P. (2023). Turning the 3SI into a 4SI: a view from Athens. *Içinde A.-M. A. Anghelescu & I. Oneaşă (Ed.), Anticipating the 2023 Three Seas Initiative Bucharest Summit. Advancing the common agenda (ss. 43-45).* European Institute of Romania. <http://ier.gov.ro/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/WP-46-Anticipating-the-2023-3SI-Bucharest-Summit.pdf>

Ministerul Afacerilor Externe. (2022). Ministrul afacerilor externe Bogdan Aurescu a prezentat prioritățile României pentru Summitul Inițiativei celor Trei Mări, care va fi găzduit în 2023 la București | Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ministerul Afacerilor Externe. <https://www.mae.ro/node/60547>

Nathan Alan-Lee. (2022, Ekim 19). From controversy to cornerstone: The Three Seas Initiative and European energy security in 2022. *Lossi 36.* <https://lossi36.com/2022/10/19/from-controversy-to-cornerstone-the-three-seas-initiative-and-european-energy-security-in-2022/>

Oral, F., & Oğuz, Ş. (2021). THE SECURITY OF THE BLACK SEA: THE STRUGGLE IN THE BLACK SEA AND TURKEY'S POLICY IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA. *Karadeniz Araştırmaları*, 18(69), Article 69.

Orzelska-Stączek, A., & Bajda, P. (2021). Security Aspects Of Regional Cooperation In Central Europe: Visegrád Group, Bucharest Nine, And The Three Seas Initiative. *Online Journal Modelling the New Europe*, 37, 4-23.

Samardzija, V. (2023). Croatia—Towards new energy supply routes. Challenges, opportunities and expectations of enhanced cooperation within the 3SI towards the Black Sea. *Içinde A.-M. A. Anghelescu & I. Oneaşă (Ed.), Anticipating the 2023 Three Seas Initiative Bucharest Summit. Advancing the common agenda (ss. 16-17).* European Institute of Romania. <http://ier.gov.ro/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/WP-46-Anticipating-the-2023-3SI-Bucharest-Summit.pdf>

Samkharadze, N. (2023). Three Seas Initiative and Georgia: Expectations from the Bucharest Summit. *Içinde A.-M. A. Anghelescu & I. Oneaşă (Ed.), Anticipating the 2023 Three Seas Initiative Bucharest Summit. Advancing*

the common agenda (ss. 39-41). European Institute of Romania.  
<http://ier.gov.ro/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/WP-46-Anticipating-the-2023-3SI-Bucharest-Summit.pdf>

Schmidt, A. (2020). From Intermarium to the Three Seas Initiative—The Implications of the Polish Orientation Over the Central and Eastern European Region on Hungarian Foreign Policy. İçinde O. Bogdanova & A. Makarychev (Ed.), Baltic-Black Sea Regionalisms: Patchworks and Networks at Europe's Eastern Margins (ss. 149-168). Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-24878-9\\_10](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-24878-9_10)

Ślusarz, G., Twaróg, D., Gołębiewska, B., Cierpiął-Wolan, M., Gołębiewski, J., & Plutecki, P. (2023). The Role of Biogas Potential in Building the Energy Independence of the Three Seas Initiative Countries. Energies, 16(3), Article 3. <https://doi.org/10.3390/en16031366>

Soroka, G. (2019). The Three Seas Initiative: Geopolitical Determinants and Polish Interests. Rocznik Instytutu Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 17(3), 15-29.

Stercul, N. (2023, Mayıs 9). Security and Synergies—The Importance of the Black Sea Region and Russia's War on Ukraine. Libmod.De.  
<https://libmod.de/en/security-and-synergies-the-importance-of-the-black-sea-region-and-russias-war-on-ukraine/>

Sung, T. K. (2018). Industry 4.0: A Korea perspective. Technological Forecasting and Social Change, 132, 40-45.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2017.11.005>

Thomann, P.-E. (2019). The Three Seas Initiative, a New Project at the Heart of European and Global Geopolitical Rivalries. Rocznik Instytutu Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 17(3), 31-63.

Three Seas Initiative. (2016). The Joint Statement On The Three Seas Initiative (The Dubrovnik Statement). Three Seas Initiative Summit.  
<http://three-seas.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/DUBROVNIK.pdf>

Three Seas Initiative. (2017a). The Second Summit Of The 3 Seas Initiative Joint Declaration. Media Voog. <https://media.voog.com/0000/0046/4166/files/WARSAW-joint-declaration-2017.pdf>

Three Seas Initiative. (2019). Joint Declaration of the Third Summit of the Three Seas Initiative—Ljubljana 2019. <https://media.voog.com/0000/0046/4166/files/LJUBLJANAJoint%20Declaration%202019.pdf>

Three Seas Initiative. (2022a). Joint Declaration Of The Seventh Three Seas Initiative Summit—Riga. Three Seas Initiative. [https://media.voog.com/0000/0046/4166/files/declaration\\_pages.pdf](https://media.voog.com/0000/0046/4166/files/declaration_pages.pdf)

Three Seas Initiative. (2017b). Past Summits -Warsaw Summit 2017. Three Seas Initiative. <https://3seas.eu/about/past-summits/warsaw-summit-2017>

Three Seas Initiative. (2021). Bulgaria's Vision: Three Seas Initiative In 2021: Bulgaria's Vision [International Organization]. Three Seas Initiative. <https://3seas.eu/about/bulgaria-s-vision>

Three Seas Initiative. (2022b). Fairway Danube [International Organization]. Three Seas Initiative. <https://projects.3seas.eu/projects/fairway-danube>

Three Seas Initiative. (2022c, Eylül 27). 3SIIIF makes its first investment in the port sector [International Organization]. Three Seas Initiative. <https://3seas.eu/media/news/3siif-makes-its-first-investment-in-the-port-sector>

Three Seas Initiative. (2023a). Priority Projects [International Organization]. Three Seas Initiative. <https://3seas.eu/about/progressreport>

Three Seas Initiative. (2023b). Three Seas Story. Three Seas Initiative. <https://3seas.eu/about/threeseasstory>

Three Seas Summit. (2018). Joint Declaration of the Third Summit of the Three Seas Initiative—Bucharest Summit 2018. Three Seas Summit. [https://media.voog.com/0000/0046/4166/files/BUCHAREST-SUMMIT-JOINT-DECLARATION\\_2018.pdf](https://media.voog.com/0000/0046/4166/files/BUCHAREST-SUMMIT-JOINT-DECLARATION_2018.pdf)

Tulun, T. E. (2021). Military Use of Inland Waterways in the Black Sea Region. Center For Eurasian Studies Analysis Series, 2021(15), 5. <https://doi.org/10.31219/osf.io/qcymw>

U. S. Embassy in Athens. (2020, Temmuz 23). Ambassador Pyatt's Remarks at Alexandroupoli Port. U.S. Embassy & Consulate in Greece.

<https://gr.usembassy.gov/ambassador-pyatts-remarks-at-alexandroupoli-port/>

Ullyett, R. (2022, Haziran 21). Three Seas Initiative Investment Fund acquires a “significant” share in the two largest terminals of port of Burgas. PortSEurope. <https://www.portseurope.com/three-seas-initiative-investment-fund-acquires-a-significant-share-in-the-two-largest-terminals-of-port-of-burgas/>

Ulusoy, H. (2001). A NEW FORMATION IN THE BLACK SEA: BLACKSEAFOR. PERCEPTIONS: Journal of International Affairs, 6(4), Article 4.

U.S. International Development Finance Cooperation. (2022, Haziran 20). DFC and the Three Seas Initiative Investment Fund Agree to Term Sheet for up to \$300 Million in Financing | DFC [Government]. <https://www.dfc.gov/media/press-releases/dfc-and-three-seas-initiative-investment-fund-agree-term-sheet-300-million>

Wilson, G. (2022, Mayıs 12). Energy security is critical to NATO’s Black Sea future. Atlantic Council. <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/turkeysource/energy-security-is-critical-to-natos-black-sea-future/>

Zięba, R. (2020). “Make Poland Great Again”: The Meanders of the Three Seas Initiative. İçinde R. Zięba (Ed.), Poland’s Foreign and Security Policy: Problems of Compatibility with the Changing International Order (ss. 201-215). Springer International Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-30697-7>