

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- 5ème Gauche for Planète Énergies. (2022, April 25). *Gas pipelines between Europe, Russia and Caucasia*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari Planète Énergies: <https://www.planete-energies.com/en/media/infographic/gas-pipelines-between-europe-russia-and-caucasia>
- Adomeit, H. (2016). Germany, the EU, and Russia: The Conflict over Nord Stream 2. *Centre for European Studies Policy Brief, 1*, 1-12.
- Aflaha, Annisa; CNBC Indonesia. (2022, Oktober 20). *Alarm Berbunyi! Krisis Energi, Industri Eropa Bakal Runtuh?* Dipetik November 28, 2023, dari CNBC Indonesia News: <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20221020132549-4-381250/alarm-berbunyi-krisis-energi-industri-eropa-bakal-runtuh>
- Ağır, O. (2016). Rusya - Ukrayna Krizi'nin Avrasya Ekonomik Birliği Bağlamında Değerlendirilmesi. *Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam Üniversitesi İktisadi Ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi, 6*(2), 23-42. Diambil kembali dari http://iibfdergisi.ksu.edu.tr/en/pub/issue/26892/282747#article_cite
- Aljazeera. (2023, September 23). *Nord Stream sabotage one year on: What to know about the attack*. Dipetik Januari 15, 2024, dari Aljazeera: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/9/23/what-we-know-about-the-nord-stream-sabotage-one-year-on>
- AL-Rousan, N., & AL-Najjar, H. (2024). The impact of Russo-Ukrainian war, COVID-19, and oil prices on global food security. *Heliyon*. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2024.e29279>
- Bach, D., & Newman, A. (2007, September 10). The European regulatory state and global public policy: micro-institutions, macro-influence. *Journal of European Public Policy, 14*(6), 827-846. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13501760701497659>
- Banerjee, S., & Basu, P. (2022). *Strengthening Partnerships to Counter Non-Traditional Security Threats in the Indo-Pacific*. India: OBSERVER RESEARCH FOUNDATION. doi:20.500.12592/g835vb
- Bohi, D., & Toman, M. (1996). *The Economics of Energy Security*. Kluwer Academic Publishers.

- Bolgün, E. (2022). Rusya-Ukrayna Savaşının Dünya ve Türkiye Ekonomilerine Etkileri. *Para Analiz*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari <https://www.paraanaliz.com/2022/yazarlar/prof-dr-evren-bolgun/doc-dr-evren-bolgun-rusya-ukrayna-savasinin-dunya-ve-turkiye-ekonomilerine-etkileri-g-26230/>
- Bot, R. P., Costa, H., Miranda, M. F., & dos Santos, E. M. (2022). Analysis of a power generation project in the face of increased demand for Liquefied natural gas (LNG) in the context of the new gas market. *Research, Society and Development*.
- Brauch, H. G. (2009). Introduction: Facing Global Environmental Change and Sectorialization of Security. Dalam H. G. Brauch, *Hexagon Series on Human and Environmental Security and Peace* (Vol. 4, hal. 21–42). Berlin: Springer. doi:https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-540-68488-6_1
- Casier, T. (2011, Agustus 05). The Rise of Energy to the Top of the EU-Russia Agenda: From Interdependence to Dependence? *Geopolitics*, 16(3), 536-552. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2011.520862>
- Casier, T. (2016, Juni 01). Great Game or Great Confusion: The Geopolitical Understanding of EU-Russia Energy Relations. *Geopolitics*, 21(4), 763-778. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2016.1185607>
- Ceballos, R. V. (2022). The EU Energy Security: Challenges and Opportunities. *Finabel*.
- Čehulić, L., Kuznetsov, A., Celikpala, M., & Gleason, G. (2013). Energy Security in South East Europe. *Shaping South East Europe's Security Community for the Twenty-First Century*.
- Cherp, A., & Jewell, J. (2014, Desember). The concept of energy security: Beyond the four As. *Energy Policy*, 75, 415-421. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2014.09.005>
- Chishti, M. Z. (2023). Conflict vs sustainability of global energy, agricultural and metal markets: A lesson from Ukraine-Russia war. *Resources Policy*.
- CNBC Indonesia. (2022, Desember 21). 'Juragan' Gas Ini Tak Suka Cara Eropa *Siasati Krisis Energi*. Dipetik November 28, 2023, dari CNBC Indonesia News: <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20221221132700-4->

398841/juragan-gas-ini-tak-suka-cara-eropa-siasati-krisis-energi

Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament. (2020).

RePowerEU Plan. the European Council, the European Economic and Social Committee of the Regions. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=COM%3A2022%3A230%3AFIN>

Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament. (2022). *Short-Term Energy Market Interventions and Long Term Improvements to the Electricity Market Design a course for action*. the European Council, the European Economic and Social Committee of the Regions. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=COM%3A2022%3A236%3AFIN>

Council of European Union. (2023). *EU response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine*. Council of European Union. Dipetik Desember 22, 2023, dari <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/eu-response-ukraine-invasion/>

Council of European Union. (2023). *EU sanctions against Russia explained*. Council of European Union. Dipetik Desember 22, 2023, dari <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/sanctions/restrictive-measures-against-russia-over-ukraine/sanctions-against-russia-explained/>

Council of the EU. (2009). *Official Journal L211 2009*. Brussels: Council of the EU.

Council of the EU. (2021). *Official Journal L57 2021*. Brussels: Council of the EU.

Council of the EU. (2022, Agustus 5). *Council adopts regulation on reducing gas demand by 15% this winter*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari Council of the EU: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2022/08/05/council-adopts-regulation-on-reducing-gas-demand-by-15-this-winter/>

Council of the EU. (2022). *Energy prices and security of supply*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari Council of the EU: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/energy-prices-and-security-of-supply/>

- Council of the EU. (2022). *EU adopts fifth round of sanctions against Russia over its military aggression against Ukraine*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/pl/press/press-releases/2022/04/08/eu-adopts-fifth-round-of-sanctions-against-russia-over-its-military-aggression-against-ukraine/>
- Council of the EU. (2022). *Russia's aggression against Ukraine: EU adopts sixth package of sanctions*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/pl/press/press-releases/2022/06/03/russia-s-aggression-against-ukraine-eu-adopts-sixth-package-of-sanctions/>
- Council of the EU. (2022). *Russia's military aggression against Ukraine: EU imposes sanctions against President Putin and Foreign Minister Lavrov and adopts wide ranging individual and economic sanctions*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/pl/press/press-releases/2022/02/25/russia-s-military-aggression-against-ukraine-eu-imposes-sanctions-against-president-putin-and-foreign-minister-lavrov-and-adopts-wide-ranging-individual-and-economic-sanctions/>
- Council of the EU. (2022). *Short-Term Energy Market Interventions and Long Term Improvements to the Electricity Market Design – a course for action*. Brussel: Council of the EU. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:52022DC0236>
- Council of the EU. (2023). *Official Journal L63 2023*. Brussels: Council of the EU.
- Council of the EU. (2024). *Detailed calculations for EU countries indicative national contributions to the Union's energy efficiency targets*. Council of the EU. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari https://energy.ec.europa.eu/document/download/1be582f1-5029-40c4-b9ca-04ca546b99ae_en?filename=2024_03_13_Detailed_calculations_for_EED_Article%204.pdf
- Council of the EU. (2024). *Energy Efficiency Directive*. Council of the EU. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari <https://energy.ec.europa.eu/topics/energy-efficiency/energy-efficiency-targets-directive-and-rules/energy-efficiency->

directive_en

- Council of the EU. (2024, Maret 21). *How much gas have the EU countries stored?* Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari Council of the EU: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/infographics/gas-storage-capacity/>
- Council of The European Union. (2023). *The EU's gas supply*. Council of The European Union. Dipetik Desember 22, 2023, dari <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/infographics/eu-gas-supply/>
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches (4th Edition)*. California: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2017). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. California: Sage publications.
- Cui, L., & Yue, S. (2023). Exploring the risk and economic vulnerability of global energy supply chain interruption in the context of Russo-Ukrainian war. *Resources Policy*, 81. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resourpol.2023.103373>
- Deese, D. (1979). Energy: Economics, Politics, and Security. *International Security*, 4, 140-153. Diambil kembali dari <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2626698>
- Department of Enterprise, Ireland. (2023). *EU trade sanctions in response to situation in Ukraine*. Department of Enterprise. Dipetik Desember 22, 2023, dari <https://enterprise.gov.ie/en/publications/eu-trade-sanctions-in-response-to-situation-in-ukraine-.html>
- Dewi, R. (2022). Implementasi Renewable Energy Directive Uni Eropa Sebagai Hambatan Non Tarif Perdagangan. *Interdependece Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*.
- Di Mauro, B. W., & Martin, P. (2022, Juli 23). *Winter is coming: Energy policy towards Russia*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari CEPR.org: <https://cepr.org/voxeu/columns/winter-coming-energy-policy-towards-russia>
- Dickel, R., & Hassanzadeh, E. (2014). *Reducing European Dependence on Russian Gas – distinguishing natural gas security from geopolitics*. Oxford Institute for Energy Studies. doi:<https://doi.org/10.26889/9781784670146>

- Diez, T., Bode, I., & da Costa, A. F. (2011). *Key Concepts in International Relations*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Elbassoussy, A. (2019, September 19). European energy security dilemma: major challenges and confrontation strategies. *Review of Economics and Political Science* 4, 4, 321-343.
- Elena, M., & Ivanova, I. (2023). Greenhouse gas balance of Russia: the specifics of the federal districts. *Asia Pacific Energy Research Centre*.
- Elyakov, A., & Elyakova, I. D. (2020). Forecast Model of Prices for Liquefied Natural Gas in the World Asian Energy Market. *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology*.
- European Commission. (2012, November 25). *Policy, law – decision-making process*. Dipetik Juni 12, 2024, dari European Union: https://european-union.europa.eu/institutions-law-budget/law/how-eu-policy-decided_en
- European Commission. (2024). *General for Energy European Commission*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari REPowerEU - 2 years on: https://energy.ec.europa.eu/topics/markets-and-consumers/actions-and-measures-energy-prices/repowereu-2-years_en
- European Council. (2022). *Council adopts regulation on reducing gas demand by 15% this winter*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2022/08/05/council-adopts-regulation-on-reducing-gas-demand-by-15-this-winter/>
- European Council. (2022). *Energy prices and security of supply*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/energy-prices-and-security-of-supply/>
- European Council. (2024). *How much gas have the EU countries stored?* Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/infographics/gas-storage-capacity/>
- European Council. (t.thn.). *EU response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/pl/policies/eu-response-ukraine-invasion/>.
- Gitelman, L., & Dobrodey, V. (2020). Tools for Sustainable Development of

- Regional Energy Systems. *Ekonomika Regiona*(4), 1208-1223.
doi:10.17059/ekon.reg.2020-4-14
- Gitelman, L., & Magaril, E. (2023). Energy Security: New Threats and Solutions. *Energies*. doi:<https://doi.org/10.3390/en16062869>
- Goldthau, A., & Sitter, N. (2014, Mei 22). A liberal actor in a realist world? The Commission and the external dimension of the single market for energy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21(10), 1452-1472. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2014.912251>
- Goldthau, A., & Sitter, N. (2015, Februari 26). Soft power with a hard edge: EU policy tools and energy security. *Review of International Political Economy*, 22(5), 941-965. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2015.1008547>
- Grigas, A. (2013, Agustus 12). *The Politics of Energy and Memory between the Baltic States and Russia*. London: Routledge. doi:<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315554396>
- Hadfield, A. (2008, September 02). EU–Russia Energy Relations: Aggregation and Aggravation. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 16(2), 231-248. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/14782800802309953>
- Hakim, A. B., & Sadiyin, M. (2022). PENGARUH PERANG RUSIA - UKRAINA TERHADAP STABILITAS HUBUNGAN POLITIK INDONESIA DAN RUSIA. *Journal Of International Relation*.
- Harrison, M. (2022, Juni 13). *Western sanctions on Russia are working, an energy embargo now is a costly distraction*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari CEPR.org: <https://cepr.org/voxeu/columns/western-sanctions-russia-are-working-energy-embargo-now-costly-distraction>
- Högselius, P. (2013). *Red Gas: Russia and the Origins of European Energy Dependence*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1057/9781137286154
- Holsti, K. J. (1995). *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis (7th Edition)*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- IEA. (2014). *World Energy Outlook 2014*. Paris: International Energy Agency. Dipetik Mei 21, 2024
- IEA. (2015). *Manual Statistic Energy*. International Energy Agency. Dipetik Mei

- 20, 2024, dari https://www.iea.org/publications/freepublications/publication/statistics_manual.pdf
- Ikbar, Y. (2007). *Ekonomi politik internasional 2 : Implementasi konsep dan teori*. Bandung: Refika Aditama. Diambil kembali dari <https://lib.ui.ac.id/detail?id=20318802&lokasi=lokal>
- Indrawan, K. (2012, Maret 19). Liberalisme. Diambil kembali dari http://krisna_indrawan-fisip11.web.unair.ac.id/artikel_detail-43532-Teori%20HI-Liberalisme.html
- International Energy Agency. (2022). *Is the European Union on track to meet its REPowerEU goals?* IEA. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari <https://www.iea.org/reports/is-the-european-union-on-track-to-meet-its-repowereu-goals>
- Intharak, N. (2007). *A Quest for Energy Security in the 21st Century*. ASIA PACIFIC ENERGY RESEARCH CENTRE. Diambil kembali dari https://aperc.or.jp/file/2010/9/26/APERC_2007_A_Quest_for_Energy_Security.pdf
- Islam, R., & Omar, R. (2020). Impact of Global Energy Politics on International Trade. *International Journal of Energy Economics and Policy*, 109-115.
- Jackson, R., & Sorensen, G. (2014). *Pengantar Studi Hubungan Internasional (Edisi Kelima)*. Jakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Jacobsen, S., & Abnett, K. (2022, Oktober 19). *Nord Stream ruptures revealed as Europe grapples with gas plan*. Dipetik Januari 15, 2024, dari Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/nord-stream-ruptures-revealed-europe-grapples-with-gas-plan-2022-10-18/>
- Jiang, W., & Chen, Y. (2024). Impact of Russia-Ukraine conflict on the time-frequency and quantile connectedness between energy, metal and agricultural markets. *Resources Policy*. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resourpol.2023.104376>
- Johnson, S., & Hosoi, A. (2022, April 20). *How to implement an EU embargo on Russian oil*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari Centre For Economic Policy Research: <https://cepr.org/voxeu/columns/how-implement-eu-embargo->

russian-oil

- Jones, O., & Dodds, P. (2017). Definitions of energy security. Dalam R. Steinberger-Wilckens, *The role of hydrogen and fuel cells in delivering energy security for the UK* (hal. 32-45). London: H2FC Hub. Diambil kembali dari <http://www.h2fcsupergen.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/IMPJ5213-H2FC-Supergen-Energy-Security-032017-WEB.pdf>
- Judge, A., & Maltby, T. (2016, September 29). Challenging Reductionism in Analyses of EU-Russia Energy Relations. *Geopolitics*, 21(4), 751-762. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2016.1222520>
- Karabayram, F. (2007). *Rusya Federasyonu'nun Güney Kafkasya Politikası*. Ankara: Lalezar Kitabevi.
- Kardaś, S. (2022, Juni 17). *Russia: another reduction in gas supplies to Europe*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari Centre For Eastern Studies: <https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/node/30319>
- Keohane, R. O., & Nye, J. S. (1977). *Power and interdependence : world politics in transition*. Little Brown.
- Keskin, M. (2016). Yakın çevre doktrini bağlamında Rus dış politikası: Ukrayna müdahalesi. *Bariş Araştırmaları Ve Çatışma Çözümleri Dergisi*, 3(2), 45-62. doi:<https://doi.org/10.16954/bacad.15518>
- KILINÇ- PALA, P. B. (2021). Approaches in Energy Exclusive Security: Theories of Energy Security and the Dominance of Realism. *P&P Politics & Policy*, 1-24.
- Koçaslan, G. (2014). International Energy Security Indicators and Turkey's Energy Security Risk Score. *International Journal of Energy Economics and Policy*, 735-743.
- Korosteleva, J. (2022). The Implications of Russia's Invasion of Ukraine for the EU Energy Market and Businesses. *British Journal of Management*. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8551.12654>
- Kowalski, G., Vilogorac, S., & . (2008). Energy Security Risk and Risk Mitigation: An Overview. *UNECE Annual Report Economic Essay*.
- Kozdra, D. (2021, September 6). *Does Poland have a hydrogen potential?* Dipetik

- Juni 16, 2024, dari Polish Society For Future Studies: <https://ptsp.pl/czy-polska-ma-potencjal-wodorowy/>
- Kustova, I. (2017). Towards a comprehensive research agenda on EU energy integration: policy making, energy security, and EU energy actorness. *Journal of European Integration*, 39(1), 95-101.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2017.1258757>
- Kusumo, B. J., & Prasetyono, E. (2018). Kerentanan Energi Uni Eropa terhadap Rusia. *Kajian Stratejik dan Global Universitas Indonesia*. Diambil kembali dari <https://lontar.ui.ac.id/detail?id=20479292&lokasi=lokal>
- Larasati, Asahi Asry; Bisnis.com. (2023, Januari 15). *Ironi! Perubahan Iklim Selamatkan Eropa dari Krisis Energi*. Dipetik Desember 16, 2023, dari Ekonomi Bisnis.com:
<https://ekonomi.bisnis.com/read/20230116/620/1618693/ironi-perubahan-iklim-selamatkan-eropa-dari-krisis-energi>
- Lo, G.-D., & Marcelin, I. (2022). The Russo-Ukrainian war and financial markets: the role of dependence on Russian commodities. *Finance Research Letters*. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.frl.2022.103194>
- Logayah, D. S., Rahmawati, R. P., Hindami, D. Z., & Mustikasari, B. R. (2023, Agustus). Krisis Energi Uni Eropa: Tantangan dan Peluang dalam Menghadapi Pasokan Energi yang Terbatas. *Hasanuddin Journal of International Affairs*. doi:<https://doi.org/10.31947/hjirs.v3i2.27052>
- Mati, S., & Radulescu, M. (2023). Incorporating Russo-Ukrainian war in Brent crude oil price forecasting: A comparative analysis of ARIMA, TARMA and ENNReg models. *Heliyon*, 9(11). doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2023.e21439>
- McWilliams, B., Sgaravatti, G., Tagliapietra, S., & Zachmann, G. (2023). How would the European Union fare without Russian energy? *Energy Policy*.
- Migas-Indonesia. (2010, April 12). *Memulai pembangunan pipa gas di nord stream*. Dipetik Januari 15, 2024, dari Migas-Indonesia: <http://migas-indonesia.com/2010/04/12/memulaipembangunan-pipeline-gas-di-nord-stream/>
- Miłek, M., & Wilk-Jakubowski, G. (2011). *Polityczne, gospodarcze i kulturowe*

- aspekty relacji Polski z krajami byłego ZSRR*. Kielce: Wydawnictwo Stowarzyszenia Współpracy Polska-Wschód.
- Miles, M., & Huberman, A. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook (2nd ed.)*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Miller, B. (2010). *Clean Coal Engineering Technology*. Butterworth-Heinemann. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/C2009-0-20236-4>
- Murdianto, E. (2020). *Penelitian Kualitatif (Teori dan Aplikasi disertai contoh proposal)*. Yogyakarta: Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat (LP2M) UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta Press.
- Neuman, W. (2014). *Basics of Social Research, Pearson New International Edition, 3rd edition*. Pearson.
- Newman, A., & Posner, E. (2011, Maret 21). International interdependence and regulatory power: Authority, mobility, and markets. *European Journal of International Relations*, 17(4), 589-610. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066110391306>
- Nord Stream 2 AG. (2017). *Fact sheet: the nord stream 2 project*. Dipetik Januari 15, 2024, dari <https://www.nord-stream2.com/media/documents/pdf/en/2017/05/nsp2-project-factsheet-eng-2017-05-23.pdf>
- Nord Stream 2 AG. (2019). *Background story: pipeline construction*. Dipetik Januari 15, 2024, dari <https://www.nord-stream2.com/media/documents/pdf/en/2019/02/background-storypipeline-construction-en-201901.pdf>
- Nord Stream AG. (2013). *Secure energy for europe*. Dipetik Januari 15, 2024, dari https://www.nordstream.com/media/documents/pdf/en/2014/04/secure-energy-for-europe-fullversion_245_20140417.pdf
- Nurdianto, D., & Resosudarmo, B. (2011). Prospects and challenges for an ASEAN energy integration policy. *Environmental Economics and Policy Studies*, 13(2), 103-127. doi:10.1007/s10018-011-0007-1
- Nursyahbani, A., & Marzaman, A. P. (2023, Desember). Dampak Invasi Rusia ke Ukraina Terhadap Stabilitas Suplai Energi di Eropa. *Jurnal Ilmu Politik dan Komunikasi*, 13(2).

- Offshore-technology. (t.thn.). *Nord Stream 2 Pipeline*. Dipetik Januari 15, 2024, dari Offshore-technology: <https://www.offshore-technology.com/projects/nord-stream-2-pipeline/>
- Orhan, E. (2022). THE EFFECTS OF THE RUSSIA - UKRAINE WAR ON GLOBAL TRADE. *Journal of International Trade, Logistics and Law*, 141-146.
- Perdana, S., & Vielle, M. (2022). European Economic impacts of cutting energy imports from Russia: A computable general equilibrium analysis. *Energy Strategy Reviews*.
- Perwita, A. B., & Yani, Y. M. (2005). *Pengantar ilmu hubungan internasional*. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Perwita, A. B., & Yani, Y. M. (2005). *Pengantar Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Polish Economic Institute. (2022). *A European Union independent of Russia? Alternative Sources supplies of energy resources*. Warsaw: Polish Economic Institute. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari <https://raportorium.pl/raporty/unia-europejska-niezalezna-od-rosji-alternatywne-zrodla-dostaw-surowcow-energetycznych/>
- Polish Economics Institute. (2022, Agustus 3). *The restriction of Russian oil imports to the EU is real*. Diambil kembali dari Polish Economics Institute: <https://pie.net.pl/ograniczenie-importu-rosyjskiej-ropy-do-ue-jest-realne/>
- Polish Economics Institute. (2022). *The restriction of Russian oil imports to the EU is real*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari <https://pie.net.pl/ograniczenie-importu-rosyjskiej-ropy-do-ue-jest-realne/>
- Proedrou, F. (2016, Agustus 11). Why Russian gas diplomacy fails: the geopolitics-energy nexus in Ukraine and Turkey. *Asia Europe Journal*, 15(1), 21–37. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10308-016-0460-3>
- Pronińska, K. M. (2012). *Bezpieczeństwo energetyczne w stosunkach UE-Rosja*. Elipsa.
- PubAffairs BruxellesEU Debates, News & Opinions. (2022). *REPowerEU: Joint European action for more affordable, secure and sustainable energy*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari PubAffairs BruxellesEU Debates, News &

- Opinions: <https://www.pubaffairsbruxelles.eu/eu-institution-news/repowereu-joint-european-action-for-more-affordable-secure-and-sustainable-energy/>
- Puspasari, I. (2020). Peran Uni Eropa sebagai Institusi Supranasional dalam Krisis Ukraina Tahun 2014-2019. *Global & Policy*, 8(1).
- Qi, J. (2023). An Analysis of the Energy Crisis under the Ukraine Conflict. *Advances in Economics, Management and Political Sciences*.
- Ramadhani, A. (2017). Evolusi Konsep Keamanan Energi. *Global: Jurnal Politik Internasional*, 19(2), 98-120. doi:10.7454/global.v19i2.307
- Republika.co.id. (2018, Juli 24). *Dikritik trump, kerja sama pipa gas jerman-rusia jalan terus*. Dipetik Januari 15, 2024, dari Republika: <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/internasional/eropa/18/07/24/pccw0l366-dikritiktrump-kerja-sama-pipa-gas-jermanrusia-jalan-terus>
- Reuters. (2022, September 3). *Gazprom: Nord Stream 1 gas to stay shut until fault fixed, "workshop conditions needed"*. Dipetik Januari 15, 2024, dari Reuters: <https://reuters.com/business/energy/gazprom-nord-stream-1-gas-stay-shut-until-turbine-fault-fixed-no-timeline-given-2022-09-02/>
- Reuters. (2022, September 3). *Russia using energy as weapon, White House says about Nord Stream shutdown*. Dipetik Januari 15, 2024, dari Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/russia-using-energy-weapon-white-house-says-about-nord-stream-shutdown-2022-09-02/>
- Reuters. (2022, 11 24). *Uni Eropa Nyatakan Rusia Sebagai Negara Pendukung Terorisme*. Dipetik Desember 16, 2023, dari VOA Indonesia: <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/uni-eropa-nyatakan-rusia-sebagai-negara-pendukung-terorisme-/6847596.html>
- Robertua, V. (2017). KRISIS LEGITIMASI ENERGI NUKLIR DALAM EKONOMI POLITIK INTERNASIONAL: STUDI KASUS FUKUSHIMA. *Jurnal Ilmu Politik Dan Komunikasi*. Dipetik Mei 25, 2024, dari <https://ojs.unikom.ac.id/index.php/jipsi/article/view/331>
- Rogozińska, A. (2022). Determinants of the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict in the International Security Environment. *Środkowoeuropejskie Studia Polityczne*(1), 117-133.

- Romanova, T. (2016, Maret 21). Is Russian Energy Policy towards the EU Only about Geopolitics? The Case of the Third Liberalisation Package. *Geopolitics*, 21(4), 857-879. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2016.1155049>
- Ruszel, M. (2015, Juli 01). The influence of the Russian-Ukrainian gas crisis on EU energy policy - a theoretical analysis. *Przegląd Politologiczny*(2). doi:<https://doi.org/10.14746/pp.2015.20.2.4>
- Sadecki, A. (2022, September 01). *Hungary: new agreement with Gazprom for additional gas supplies in autumn*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari <https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/node/30576>
- Sadowska, E. (2023). The Impact of the Russian-Ukrainian War on the European Union's Energy Security.
- Santika, E. (2023, 2 25). *Ini Perbandingan Indeks Demokrasi Rusia dan Ukraina Sepanjang Perang*. Dipetik Desember 16, 2023, dari Databoks Katadata: <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2023/02/25/ini-perbandingan-indeks-demokrasi-rusia-dan-ukraina-sepanjang-perang>
- Semercioğlu, H. (2016). Ukrayna krizi bağlamında AB-Rusya ilişkilerinin ekonomi politiği. *Lefke Avrupa Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 188-202.
- Shaffer, B. (2009). *Energy Politics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Shagina, M., & Westphal, K. (2021). Nord Stream 2 and the energy security dilemma: opportunities, options and obstacles for a grand bargain. *SWP Comment*, 8. doi:<https://doi.org/10.18449/2021C46>
- Sheth, J., & Uslay, C. (2023). The geopolitics of supply chains: Assessing the consequences of the Russo-Ukrainian war for B2B relationships. *Journal of Business Research*. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2023.114120>
- Siddi, M. (2015, Oktober). The EU-Russia Gas Relationship, New Projects, New Disputes ? *FIIA Briefing Paper 183*.
- Siddi, M. (2017, Maret). The EU's gas relationship with Russia: solving current disputes and strengthening energy security. *Asia Europe Journal*, 15, 107–117. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10308-016-0452-3>
- Siddi, M. (2018). Identities and Vulnerabilities: The Ukraine Crisis and the Securitisation of the EU-Russia Gas Trade. Dalam K. Szulecki, *Energy*

- Security in Europe: Divergent Perceptions and Policy* (hal. 251–273). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. doi:https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64964-1_10
- Smith, H. (2002). *European Union Foreign Policy: What It is and What It Does*. Pluto Press. Diambil kembali dari <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt18fs34h>
- Sugiyono. (2017). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D*. Bandung: Alfabeta.
- Tufail, M. M., Ibrahim, J. A., & Melan, M. (2018). Conceptualizing Energy Security and the Role of Diversification as the Key Indicator Against Energy Supply Disruption. *Journal of Advanced Research in Business and Management Studies, 11*, 1-9.
- Twidale, S., & Buli, N. (2022, September 5). *EU gas price rockets higher after Russia halts Nord Stream flows*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari Reuters: [https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/no-stream-eu-gas-markets-brace-price-surge-after-latest-russia-gas-cut-2022-09-04/#:~:text=LONDON%2FOSLO%2C%20Sept%20%20\(the%20European%20Union%20this%20winter](https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/no-stream-eu-gas-markets-brace-price-surge-after-latest-russia-gas-cut-2022-09-04/#:~:text=LONDON%2FOSLO%2C%20Sept%20%20(the%20European%20Union%20this%20winter).
- Vakulenko, S. (2022, Juni 22). *A Big Bang? Anticipating the Impact of Europe's Sanctions on Russian Energy*. Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari Carnegie Politika: <https://carnegieendowment.org/russia-eurasia/politika/2022/06/a-big-bang-anticipating-the-impact-of-europes-sanctions-on-russian-energy?lang=en>
- van Halm, I. (2022, Mei 11). *How can the EU end its dependence on Russian gas?* Dipetik Juni 16, 2024, dari Energy Monitor: <https://www.energymonitor.ai/policy/how-can-the-eu-end-its-dependence-on-russian-gas/>
- Vandana, A. (1996). *Theory of International Politics*. New Delhi: Vikas.
- Yılmaz, H. (2006). *Rusya'da Devlet Merkezli Sistem ve Bürokrasi*. Istanbul: Versus Kitap.
- Zarkasy, R. A., & Fahrezi, D. N. (2022, Desember 19). Dampak Pemberhentian Pasok Gas Terhadap Kerja Sama Rusia – Uni Eropa. *Jurnal Hukum dan HAM Wara Sains, 1*, 169-179. Dipetik Mei 20, 2024
- Zettelmeyer, J. (2022). *BEATING THE EUROPEAN ENERGY CRISIS*.

International Monetary Fund F&D.

Zha, D. (2016). Energy Security. Dalam M. Caballero-Anthony, *An Introduction To Non-Traditional Security Studies: A Transnational Approach* (hal. 193-195). London: SAGE Publications Ltd. Dipetik Desember 22, 2023

Нефти, Р. (2017). THE OIL MARKET AND ECONOMIC GROWTH IN RUSSIA.