

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Åslund, A. (2008). *Russia Energy and the European Union: Perspectives on Gazprom*. Peterson Institute for International Economics.
- Astrov, V. (2025). *The European gas market: Emancipating from Russia* (Policy Notes and Report No. 91; Wiiw Policy Notes and Reports). International Economic Studies Wiener Institut für Internationale Wirtschaftsvergleiche. <https://wiiw.ac.at>
- Bochkarev, D. (2006). *Russian energy policy during President Putin's tenure: Trends and strategies*. GMB.
- Bock, M., Rockall, M., Anway, S., & von Mehren, G. (2022). Gas payment issues in Europe: What are the next steps? *Global Arbitration Review*, 17(02), 05.
- Caprile, A., & Leclerc, G. (2025). Russia's "shadow fleet": Bringing the threat to light. *European Parliamentary Research Service (EPRS)*. <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank>
- Cardoso, D. S., Salant, S. W., & Daubanes, J. (2025). *The Dynamics of Evasion: The Price Cap on Russian Oil Exports and the Amassing of the Shadow Fleet*. SSRN. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.5110126>
- Collins, G. (2017). Russia's Use of the "Energy Weapon" in Europe. *Baker Institute for Public Policy, Rice University, Issue Brief No. 07.18.17*.
- Connolly, D., & Lee, J.-S. (2016). Pipeline Politics between Europe and Russia: A Historical Review from the Cold War to the Post-Cold War. *The Korean Journal of International Studies*, 14(1), 105. <https://doi.org/10.14731/kjis.2016.4.14.1.105>
- Council of the European Union. (2022). *Russia's military aggression against Ukraine: EU bans certain Russian banks from SWIFT system and introduces further restrictions* (Press Release No. 209/22; hlm. 1). General Secretariat of the Council. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2022/03/02/russia-s-military-aggression-against-ukraine-eu-bans-certain-russian-banks-from-swift-system-and-introduces-further-restrictions/>
- De Ormay, E. S., & Azizah, N. (2022). KEPENTINGAN KEAMANAN NASIONAL RUSIA DALAM SERANGAN MILITER TERHADAP

- UKRAINA TAHUN 2022. *Jurnal Communitarian*, 4(1).
<https://doi.org/10.56985/jc.v4i1.226>
- Dodds, K., Taylor, Z., Akbari, A., Broto, V. C., Detterbeck, K., Inverardi-Ferri, C., Lee, K. O., Mamadouh, V., Ramutsindela, M., & Woon, C. Y. (2023). The Russian invasion of Ukraine: Implications for politics, territory and governance. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 11(8), 1519–1536.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2023.2256119>
- Duong, K. T., Huynh, L. D. T., & Nguyen, Q. M. P. (2025). Sanctions and inventories: Evidence from Russian energy firms. *Energy Economics*, 146, 108497. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eneco.2025.108497>
- Fedorenko, V., & Fedorenko, M. (2022). Russia's Military Invasion of Ukraine in 2022: Aim, Reasons, and Implications. *Krytyka Prawa*, 14(1).
<https://doi.org/10.7206/kp.2080-1084.506>
- Fortescue, S. (1994). Privatisation of Russian industry. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 29(1), 135–153.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00323269408402284>
- Goldman, M. I. (2008). *Petrostate: Putin, power, and the new Russia*. Oxford Univ. Press.
- Gustafson, T. E. (2012). *Wheel of fortune: The battle for oil and power in Russia*. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Hall, P. A., & Taylor, R. C. R. (1996). Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms. *Political Studies*, 44(5), 936–957.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.1996.tb00343.x>
- Hedlund, S. (2000). Path Dependence in Russian Policy Making: Constraints on Putin's Economic Choice. *Post-Communist Economies*, 12(4), 389–407.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14631370050216470>
- Idris, F. N., & Mu'tashim, M. R. (2023). SANKSI UNI EROPA TERHADAP RUSIA ATAS PELANGGARAN TERITORIAL UKRAINA: PENDEKATAN MULTI-TUJUAN. *Jurnal Dinamika Global*, 8(01), 16–38. <https://doi.org/10.36859/jdg.v8i01.1543>
- Irawan, D., Djemat, Y. O., & Nourma, N. (2024). STRATEGI RUSIA DALAM MENGHADAPI EMBARGO MINYAK OLEH UNI EROPA TAHUN 2022-2023. *Jurnal Mahasiswa Program Studi Ilmu Hubungan*

Internasional - *FISIP* - *UNJANI*, 01(01).
<https://doi.org/10.36859/gij.v1i1.2439>

Ismiyatun, I., & Cintia, E. (2022). POLITIK ENERGI RUSIA TERHADAP UNI
EROPA MELALUI GAZPROM PADA TAHUN 2013-2015. *SPEKTRUM*,
19(2). <https://doi.org/10.31942/spektrum.v19i2.6659>

Itskhoki, O., & Mukhin, D. (2022). Sanctions and the Exchange Rate.
Intereconomics, 57(3), 148–151. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10272-022-1050-9>

Jánošová, V. (2024). EU Sanctions Against Russia—The Impact on the Russian
and EU Markets. *Slovak Yearbook of European Union Law*, 3, 35–50.
<https://doi.org/10.54869/syeul.2023.3.796>

Johnson, J. (2015). *Lessons (Half) Learned: Comparing the 1998 and 2014 Ruble
Crises* (Report No. 370; PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo, hlm. 6). Institute
for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, The George Washington
University. [https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/lessons-half-learned-
comparing-1998-and-2014-ruble-crises/](https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/lessons-half-learned-comparing-1998-and-2014-ruble-crises/)

Kilian, L., Rapson, D., UC Davis and Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, Schipper,
B., & UC Davis. (2025). The Impact of the 2022 Oil Embargo and Price
Cap on Russian Oil Prices. *Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, Working
Papers*, 2024(2401). <https://doi.org/10.24149/wp2401r1>

Kluge, J. (2024). Russia-China economic relations: Moscow’s road to economic
dependence. *SWP Research Paper*, 6/2024.
<https://doi.org/10.18449/2024RP06>

Krimmer, M. (2020). The Yukos Arbitration Saga and Russia’s Constitutional
Amendments. *Juridica International*, 29, 86–94.
<https://doi.org/10.12697/JI.2020.29.08>

Liu, F. (2023). Russia’s “Turn to the East” Policy: Evolution and Assessment.
Chinese Journal of Slavic Studies, 3(2), 247–262.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/cjss-2023-0020>

Marinichev, G., Chertov, A., Josefson, Jennifer, & Rotar, A. (2022). Europe to Pay
for Russian Gas in Rubles—Has Anything Really Changed? *Morgan Lewis
& Bockius LLP*, 4.

- Martin, A., & Farizi, S. A. (2024). Sikap Uni Eropa Terhadap Konflik Rusia dan Ukraina. *Jurusan Hubungan Internasional, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Wahid Hasyim*, 3(1), 24. <https://doi.org/10.31942/khi.2024.3.1.11139>
- Massaguni, M., Badu, M. N., & Sallatu, M. A. (2022). Pengaruh Sanksi Uni Eropa Terhadap Rusia Atas Krisis Ukraina. *Hasanuddin Journal of International Affairs*, 2(1), 43–67. <https://doi.org/10.31947/hjirs.v2i1.21011>
- Mohapatra, D. N. K. (2013). Energy Security and Russia's Foreign Policy. *CRP WORKING PAPER SERIES*, 11, 40.
- Moskalenko, K., Yu, X., & Rahaman, M. A. (2024). Russia's Strategic Shift from European Integration to Eastern Alliances after the War in Ukraine: A Postcolonial Perspective. *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, 12(12), 370–388. <https://doi.org/10.4236/jss.2024.1212024>
- Newnham, R. (2011). Oil, Carrots, and Sticks: Russia's Energy Resources as a Foreign Policy Tool. *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 2(2), 134–143. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.euras.2011.03.004>
- Pendar, N. (2024). European Union Energy Sanctions against Russian Federation and Its Impact on their Trade System (2022-2024). *Journal of Central Eurasia Studies*, 17(01), 28. <https://doi.org/10.22059/jcep.2024.379436.450236>
- Pirani, S., Stern, J., & Yafimava, K. (2009). The Russo-Ukrainian gas dispute of January 2009: A comprehensive assessment. *Oxford Institute for Energy Studies*.
- Pye, S., Bradshaw, M., Price, J., Zhang, D., Kuzemko, C., Sharples, J., Welsby, D., & Dodds, P. E. (2025). The global implications of a Russian gas pivot to Asia. *Nature Communications*, 16(1), 386. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41467-024-55697-7>
- Ramadhan, M. F. R. (2023). Neorealisme dan Motif Invasi Militer Rusia terhadap Ukraina Tahun 2022. *JRP (Jurnal Review Politik)*, 13(1), 124–151. <https://doi.org/10.15642/jrp.2023.13.1.124-151>
- Rixen, T., Viola, L. A., & Zürn, M. (2016). *Historical institutionalism and international relations: Explaining institutional development in world politics*. Oxford University Press.

- Rodríguez-Fernández, L., Fernández Carvajal, A. B., & Ruiz-Gómez, L. M. (2020). Evolution of European Union's energy security in gas supply during Russia-Ukraine gas crises (2006–2009). *Energy Strategy Reviews*, 30, 100518. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esr.2020.100518>
- Salonen, H. (2021). All habits die hard: Exploring the path dependence and lock-ins of outdated energy systems in the Russian Arctic. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 78, 102149. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2021.102149>
- Sampedro, J., Van De Ven, D.-J., Horowitz, R., Rodés-Bachs, C., Frilingou, N., Nikas, A., Binsted, M., Iyer, G., & Yarlagadda, B. (2024). Energy system analysis of cutting off Russian gas supply to the European Union. *Energy Strategy Reviews*, 54, 101450. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esr.2024.101450>
- Spiro, D., Wachtmeister, H., & Gars, J. (2025). Assessing the impacts of oil sanctions on Russia. *Energy Policy*, 206, 114739. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2025.114739>
- Stent, A. (1983). *From embargo to Ostpolitik: The political economy of West German-Soviet relations, 1955 - 1980* (Repr). Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Stern, J. (2006). The russian-ukrainian gas crisis of january 2006. *Oxford Institute for Energy Studies*, 16(1), 1-17.
- Stern, J. P. (2005). *Gas pipeline co-operation between political adversaries: examples from Europe*. Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- Subiantoro, Y., Manurung, H., & Pannyiwi, R. (2024). Kebangkitan Ekonomi Rusia Pasca-Uni Soviet: Studi Kasus Reformasi Kepemimpinan Putin. *Jurnal Imiah Multidisplin*, 02(01). <https://doi.org/10.59585/jimad>
- Sudiq, R. D., & Yustitianty, L. (2022). INTERVENSI RUSIA TERHADAP UKRAINA PADA TAHUN 2022 SEBAGAI PELANGGARAN BERAT HAM. *Jurnal Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan Undiksha*, 10(3), 101–117. <https://doi.org/10.23887/jpku.v10i3.51278>
- Syabbuddin & Tati Haryati. (2022). Kompleksitas Konflik Ukraina-Rusia. *JURNAL PENDIDIKAN IPS*, 12(1), 39–48. <https://doi.org/10.37630/jpi.v12i1.617>
- Taran, S. (2022). *Strengthening the impact of EU sanctions against Russian aggression in Ukraine*. European Policy Centre (EPC).

<https://www.epc.eu/en/publications/Strengthening-the-impact-of-EU-sanctions-against-Russian-aggress~4a3956>

- Totaro, M. G. (2018). Cold War Energy. A Transnational History of Soviet Oil and Gas. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 70(8), 1345–1347. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2018.1520525>
- Tynkkynen, V.-P. (2016). Energy as Power—Gazprom, Gas Infrastructure, and Geo-governmentality in Putin’s Russia. *Slavic Review*, 75(2), 374–395. <https://doi.org/10.5612/slavicreview.75.2.374>
- Vatansever, A., & Goldthau, A. C. (2025). The political economy of breaking European dependence on Russian gas. *Resources Policy*, 109, 105696. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resourpol.2025.105696>
- Weiner, C., Kotek, P., & Takácsné Tóth, B. (2025). Two decades of changing dependency on Russian gas in Central and Eastern Europe: Strategies versus achievements. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 33(2), 324–343. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14782804.2024.2385978>
- Xia, Y. (2024). Analysis on the Impact of the Use of Ruble Settlement for Russian-European Energy Trade. Dalam P. Dou & K. Zhang (Ed.), *Proceedings of the 2023 International Conference on Economic Management, Financial Innovation and Public Service (EMFIPS 2023)* (Vol. 287, hlm. 772–780). Atlantis Press International BV. https://doi.org/10.2991/978-94-6463-441-9_65
- Xu, B., & 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. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2018.1428675>
- Yafimava, K. (2022). The EC guidance on the Russian ‘gas for rubles’ decree: All things to all people? *Oxford Institute for Energy Studies*. <https://www.oxfordenergy.org/publications/the-ec-guidance-on-the-russian-gas-for-rubles-decree-all-things-to-all-people/>
- Yergin, D. (1991). *The Prize: The Quest for Oil, Money, and Power*. Free Press.
- Zarkasy, R. A., Fahrezi, D. N., Rosyid, I. A. H., Aji, K., & Yuha, W. (2022). Dampak Pemberhentian Pasok Gas Terhadap Kerja Sama Rusia – Uni Eropa. *Universitas Pembangunan Nasional “Veteran” Jawa Timur*, 1(02), 169–179.

Zulfa, K. K., Arisanto, P. T., Universitas Teknologi Yogyakarta, Mahadana, K. R., & Universitas Teknologi Yogyakarta. (2022). Analisis Sanksi Ekonomi Terhadap Rusia Atas Invasinya di Ukraina 2022. *Transformasi Global*, 9(2), 149–162. <https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.jtg.009.02.6>