

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Abdulhayoglu, B. K., Akçapar, S. K., Akdevelioglu, A., Atmaca, A. Ö., Aytaç, G. B., Cankurtaran, B. S., Çati, O., Çinar, Y., Conker, A., & Coskun, B. B. (2024). *The Middle East: Crises, Conflicts, and Wars*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Agora Energiewende. (2023). *Ensuring resilience in Europe's energy transition*. <https://www.agora-energiewende.org/publications/ensuring-resilience-in-europes-energy-transition>
- Agrell, P. J., Dehaybe, H., & Rodriguez, M. H. (2025). Balancing supply security and decarbonization: Optimizing Germany's LNG port infrastructure under the European Green Deal. *Energy Policy*, 198, 114484. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2024.114484>
- Asghar. (2008). *Hubungan Energi-PDB: Analisis Kausalitas untuk Lima Negara di Asia Selatan*. 14. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1308260
- Astrov, V., Grieveson, R., Kochnev, A., Landesmann, M., & Pindyuk, O. (2022). *Possible Russian invasion of Ukraine, scenarios for sanctions, and likely economic impact on Russia, Ukraine and the EU*. Policy Notes and Reports.
- Austvik, O. G. (2025). Norway in the geopolitics of energy. *Energy Policy*, 198, 114410. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2024.114410>
- Baiq, A. (2023). Strategi Keamanan Energi Jerman dalam Menghadapi Krisis Energi sebagai Dampak Perang Rusia-Ukraina Tahun 2022. *IJPSS*, 18. https://eprints.unram.ac.id/45122/2/JURNAL_IJPSS_BAIQ_AMALIA_ASRI_AISYATI_%28L1A020014%29_%281%29.pdf
- Bajema, B. (2023). *Case Study: How Europe Made It Through the 2022-23 Winter*. <https://efifoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2023/08/Appendix-Case-Study-How-Europe-Made-It-Through-the-2022-23-Winter-8142023.pdf>
- Batzella, F. (2024). Slowly but surely? Assessing EU actorness in energy sanctions against Russia. *Energy Policy*, 192, 114233. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2024.114233>
- Beck, H.-P., Hou, Z., Wang, Q., Guo, Y., Huang, L., Yue, Y., Fang, Y., Zhang, T., Shi, T., & Zhang, R. (2025). The German energy transition after the Russia-Ukraine war – challenges and opportunities. *Carbon Neutral Systems*, 1(1), 4. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s44438-025-00002-2>
- BGR Energy Data. (2023). *German and Global Energy Supplies*. https://www.bgr.bund.de/EN/Themen/Energie/Downloads/energiedaten_2023_en.html?nn=1547192
- BJV. (2025). *Gesetz zur Sicherung der Energieversorgung (Energiesicherungsgesetz - EnSiG)*. <https://www.gesetze-im->

internet.de/ensig_1975/BJNR036810974.html

- Brauers, H., Braunger, I., & Jewell, J. (2021). Liquefied natural gas expansion plans in Germany: The risk of gas lock-in under energy transitions. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 76, 102059. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2021.102059>
- Brodny, J., Tutak, M., & Grebski, W. W. (2025). Multi-Barrier Framework for Assessing Energy Security in European Union Member States (MBEES Approach). *Energies*, 18(18), 4905. <https://doi.org/10.3390/en18184905>
- Budiman, N. A. S., & Ramadhan, I. (2024). Defining European Union's Energy Security from the Perspective of 4A (Availability, Accessibility, Acceptability, Affordability) as an Impact from Russia-Ukraine's Conflict. *Journal of International Studies on Energy Affairs*, 5(1), 57–79. <https://doi.org/10.51413/jisea.vol5.iss1.2024.57-79>
- Buzan. (1998). *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Lynne Rienner Publisher. https://www.rienna.com/title/Security_A_New_Framework_for_Analysis
- Caesario, F. R. (n.d.). *Kepentingan Jerman Dalam Menghentikan Kerja Sama Energi Gas Nord Stream 2 Dengan Rusia Tahun 2022*. Program Studi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Fakultas Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu
- Chestney & Steitz. (2022). *Russia cuts gas flows further as Europe urges energy saving*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/physical-flows-through-nord-stream-1-pipeline-dip-2022-07-27/>
- Christoph, K. (2021). *Fraunhofer ISE: Germany's Tightened Climate Targets Can Be Met by 2045 with Extensive and Rapid Measures*. Fraunhofer Energie. <https://www.energie.fraunhofer.de/en/press-media/press-release/press-releases-2021/PI-211115-fraunhofer-ise-germanys-tightend-climate-targets-can-be-met-by-2045.html>
- Cunningham, T. (2017). *Energiewende: From Germany's Past to Europe's Future?* Atlantic Council.
- Deese, D. A. (1979). Energy: Economics, Politics, and Security. *International Security*, 4(3), 140–153. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2626698>
- Destatis. (2025a). *Gross domestic product down 0.2% in 2024*. https://www.destatis.de/EN/Press/2025/01/PE25_019_811.html#:~:text=WIE SBADEN - According to first calculations of the,amounted to 0.2%25 after adjustment for calendar effects.
- Destatis. (2025b). *Production index for industry*. https://www.destatis.de/EN/Methods/Quality/QualityReports/Industry-Manufacturing/production-index-industry.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=5
- Directorate-General for Energy. (2023). *New reports highlight 3rd quarter impact of gas supply cuts*. <https://energy.ec.europa.eu/news/new-reports-highlight-3rd-quarter-impact-gas-supply-cuts-2023-01->

13_en?utm_source=chatgpt.com

- Disavino. (2022). *Oil price surges to highest since 2008 on delays in Iranian talks*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/oil-price-set-surge-further-iranian-talks-delays-2022-03-06/>
- EITI Germany. (2022). *Germany 2022 EITI Annual Progress Report*. <https://eiti.org/documents/germany-2022-eiti-annual-progress-report>
- Enerdata. (2022). *German Energy Consumption Statistic*. <https://yearbook.enerdata.net/total-energy/world-consumption-statistics.html>
- European Commission. (2022). *REPower the EU by engaging with energy partners in a changing world*. <https://doi.org/doi:10.2775/494246> NA-07-22-286-EN-N
- European Parliament: Directorate-General for Internal Policies of the Union, C. and E. (2022). *The revision of the third energy package for gas*. <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2861/353075>
- Evenett, S. J., & Pisani, N. (2023). Geopolitics, conflict, and decoupling: evidence of Western divestment from Russia during 2022. *Journal of International Business Policy*, 6(4), 511–540. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s42214-023-00167-y>
- für Geowissenschaften, B., & Rohstoffe, B. der B. (2022). AGEB–Arbeitsgemeinschaft Energiebilanzen eV, Energieverbrauch in Deutschland im Jahr 2022, Berlin 2022, im Internet abrufbar unter: < <https://ag-energiebila.BGRB>. <https://www.nomos-elibrary.de/document/download/pdf/uuid/47362c91-597f-3e1c-bd92-e1ae1e3166e0>
- Furnaro, A. (2023). Geographies of devaluation: Spatialities of the German coal exit. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 55(6), 1355–1371. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X221148731>
- German Federal Government. (2023). *The 2023 Climate Action Programme of the German Federal Government*. https://www.bmwi.de/Redaktion/EN/Downloads/C/climate-action-programme-2023.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=2
- Goldthau, A., & Boersma, T. (2014). The 2014 Ukraine-Russia crisis: Implications for energy markets and scholarship. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 3, 13–15. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2014.05.001>
- Gritz, A., & Wolff, G. (2024). Gas and energy security in Germany and central and Eastern Europe. *Energy Policy*, 184, 113885. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2023.113885>
- Group, W. B. (2021). *Global Economic Prospects, January 2021*. World Bank Publications. https://books.google.co.id/books?hl=en&lr=&id=-9EhEAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT11&dq=global+economic+Prospects+2021+World+banks&ots=GE0bRYbMTR&sig=4o3zLAam0M_A5du6T0KL2VzeO9o&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=global economic Prospects 2021 World

banks&f=false

- Güntner, J., Reif, M., & Wolters, M. (2024). Sudden stop: Supply and demand shocks in the German natural gas market. *Journal of Applied Econometrics*, 39(7), 1282–1300. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jae.3089>
- Hake, J.-F., Fischer, W., Venghaus, S., & Weckenbrock, C. (2015). The German Energiewende – History and status quo. *Energy*, 92, 532–546. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.energy.2015.04.027>
- Halser, C., & Paraschiv, F. (2022). Pathways to Overcoming Natural Gas Dependency on Russia—The German Case. *Energies*, 15(14), 4939. <https://doi.org/10.3390/en15144939>
- Herranz-Surrallés, A., Solorio, & Fairbrass, J. (2021). *Renegotiating Authority in EU Energy and Climate Policy*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003173106>
- IEA. (2022). “*World Energy Outlook 2022*.” <https://www.iea.org/reports/world-energy-outlook-2022>,
- IEA. (2025). *Energy system of Germany*. <https://www.iea.org/countries/germany>
- Jarausch, K. H. (2024). Introduction. *German Politics and Society*, 42(2), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.3167/gps.2024.420201>
- Joas, F., Pahle, M., Flachsland, C., & Joas, A. (2016). Which goals are driving the Energiewende? Making sense of the German Energy Transformation. *Energy Policy*, 95, 42–51. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2016.04.003>
- Kappner, K., Letmathe, P., & Weidinger, P. (2023). Causes and effects of the German energy transition in the context of environmental, societal, political, technological, and economic developments. *Energy, Sustainability and Society*, 13(1), 28. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13705-023-00407-2>
- Karjalainen, T., & Siddi, M. (2025). From role change to policy change: EU member states and change in EU foreign policy after Russia’s invasion of Ukraine. *Journal of European Integration*, 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2025.2574424>
- Kędzierski, M. (2023). The German-Norwegian energy alliance. *Centre for Eastern Studies*. <https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/analyses/2023-01-24/german-norwegian-energy-alliance>
- Kim, Y. J., Min, K., & Cho, S.-H. (2025). Energy transitions post–Russia–Ukraine war: challenges and policy implications in Germany and Italy. *The Electricity Journal*, 38(4), 107518. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tej.2025.107518>
- Klare. (2012). *Energy Security : Security Studies an Introduction*. <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9780203122570-47/energy-security-michael-klare>
- Kornatz, P., Daniel-Gromke, J., & Rensberg, N. (2021). IEA Bioenergy Task 37: Country Report Germany 2021. *DFBZ, Leipzig*.

- Kosman, M. M. (2024). Germany's national security strategy in the context of Zeitenwende. *Central and Eastern European Online Library*, no, 70. <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=1329888>
- Krebs, T. (2022). *Economic consequences of a sudden stop of energy imports: The case of natural gas in Germany* (ZEW Discussion Papers No. 22-021). <https://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/264292>
- Kruyt, B., van Vuuren, D. P., de Vries, H. J. M., & Groenenberg, H. (2009). Indicators for energy security. *Energy Policy*, 37(6), 2166–2181. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2009.02.006>
- KÜÇÜK, M., & JAISWAL, S. (2025). RESHAPING GLOBAL ENERGY LANDSCAPES: THE GEOPOLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS OF THE RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR. *SSD Journal*, 10(52), 196–213. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17119779>
- Kunz, N., Kemfert, C., Präger, F., Steigerwald, B., von Hirschhausen, C. R., Barner, L., & Holz, F. (2024). Gasversorgung in Deutschland stabil: Ausbau von LNG-Infrastruktur nicht notwendig. *Deutsches Institut Für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW)*, Berlin, 92. <https://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/284355>
- Labunski. (2023). *Energy Without Russia*. <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/budapest/20518-20230828.pdf>
- Lan, T., Sher, G., & Zhou, J. (2022). *The economic impacts on Germany of a potential Russian gas shutoff*. International Monetary Fund Washington, DC, USA.
- Larsen, C., Kipper, J., Porep, D., Walter, A., Kampe, C., Höhne, M., & Kleine-Rueschkamp, L. (Eds.). (2023). *Pathways of Greening Labour Markets*. Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG. <https://doi.org/10.5771/9783957104236>
- Lestari, A. (2023). *Dampak Invasi Rusia ke Ukraina terhadap Krisis dan Transisi Energi Jerman*. <https://repository.unhas.ac.id/id/eprint/28641/>
- Liadze, I., Macchiarelli, C., Mortimer-Lee, P., & Juanino, P. S. (2022). *The economic costs of the Russia-Ukraine conflict*.
- Melly, D. (2023). 'Keamanan Energi Jerman Pasca Konflik Rusia-Ukraina.' The Columnist. <https://thecolumnist.id/artikel/keamanan-energi-jerman-pasca-konflik-rusiaukraina-2709>
- Mišík, M. (2022). The EU needs to improve its external energy security. *Energy Policy*, 165, 112930. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2022.112930>
- Müller, C., Laroze, B., & Frey, M. (2024). *Between EU Requirements and Local Initiative: The Local Energy Transition in Germany and France* (pp. 145–171). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-67766-3_7
- Nurtyandini. (2024). Perubahan Struktur Energi Jerman dan Implikasinya terhadap Hubungan Dengan Rusia; Studi Kasus Nord Stream 2. *Jurnal*

Intervensi Sosial Dan Pembangunan (JISP).
<https://doi.org/10.30596/jisp.v5i2.19116>

- Oei, P.-Y., Brauers, H., & Herpich, P. (2020). Lessons from Germany's hard coal mining phase-out: policies and transition from 1950 to 2018. *Climate Policy*, 20(8), 963–979. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14693062.2019.1688636>
- Oei, P.-Y., Hermann, H., Herpich, P., Holtemöller, O., Lünenbürger, B., & Schult, C. (2020). Coal phase-out in Germany – Implications and policies for affected regions. *Energy*, 196, 117004. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.energy.2020.117004>
- Olbrich, S., Bauknecht, D., & Späth, P. (2024). Policy mixes for net-zero energy transitions: Insights from energy sector integration in Germany. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 118, 103822. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2024.103822>
- Pancevski, B. (2024). A drunken evening, a rented yacht: the real story of the nord stream pipeline sabotage. *Wall Str J.*
- Pangrekuan, E. (2024). *Strategi Jerman dalam mengamankan stabilitas pasokan energi domestik akibat Perang Rusia Ukraina 2022-2023* [Universitas Katholik Parahyangan]. <https://repository.unpar.ac.id/handle/123456789/18347?show=full>
- Paravantis, J. A. (2019). Dimensions, components and metrics of energy security: Review and synthesis. *Journal of Economics and Business*, 69(4), 38–52. <https://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/283651>
- Qonita, R. (2023). *Kebijakan Energi Jerman Masa Invasi Rusia ke Ukraina dan Implikasinya terhadap Kebijakan Energi Uni Eropa* [Universitas GadjahMada]. <https://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/penelitian/detail/234275>
- R.O., R., & S.V., P. (2018). The Realist Paradigm of Energy Diplomacy in the Russian Scientific Tradition and Its Practical Applicability. *MGIMO Review of International Relations*, 1(58), 94–109. <https://doi.org/10.24833/2071-8160-2018-1-58-94-109>
- Ramadhani, A. (2018). Evolusi Konsep Keamanan Energi. *Global: Jurnal Politik Internasional*, 19(2), 98. <https://doi.org/10.7454/global.v19i2.307>
- Ruhnau, O., Stiewe, C., Muessel, J., & Hirth, L. (2023). Natural gas savings in Germany during the 2022 energy crisis. *Nature Energy*, 8(6), 621–628. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41560-023-01260-5>
- Schill, W.-P., Guéret, A., Roth, A., & Schmidt, F. (2025). Germany should accelerate its renewable energy transition. *Communications Earth & Environment*, 6(1), 859. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s43247-025-02919-5>
- Scholten, D. (2023a). *Handbook on the Geopolitics of the Energy Transition*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Scholten, D. (2023b). Introduction: the geopolitics of the energy transition. In *Handbook on the Geopolitics of the Energy Transition* (pp. 1–18). Edward

- Elgar Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781800370432.00005>
- Schreurs, M. A. (2016). The Paris Climate Agreement and the Three Largest Emitters: China, the United States, and the European Union. *Politics and Governance*, 4(3), 219–223. <https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v4i3.666>
- Schubert, T. (2021). The macroeconomic effect of the Fraunhofer Gesellschaft. *Institut Fraunhofer for Systems and Innovation Research ISI*.
- Sher, G., Zhou, J., & Lan, T. (2022). The Economic Impacts on Germany of a Potential Russian Gas Shutoff. *IMF Working Papers*, 2022(144), 1. <https://doi.org/10.5089/9798400215285.001>
- Smith Stegen, K. (2011). Deconstructing the “energy weapon”: Russia’s threat to Europe as case study. *Energy Policy*, 39(10), 6505–6513. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2011.07.051>
- Sovacool, B. K., & Brown, M. A. (2010). Competing Dimensions of Energy Security: An International Perspective. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*, 35(1), 77–108. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-environ-042509-143035>
- 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>
- Stognief, N., Walk, P., Schöttker, O., & Oei, P.-Y. (2019). Economic Resilience of German Lignite Regions in Transition. *Sustainability*, 11(21), 5991. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su11215991>
- Strunz, S., Gawel, E., & Lehmann, P. (2016). The political economy of renewable energy policies in Germany and the EU. *Utilities Policy*, 42, 33–41. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jup.2016.04.005>
- Trenin, D. (2018). Avoiding US-Russia military escalation during the hybrid war. *Carnegie Moscow*. https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Trenin_Hybrid_War_web.pdf
- Vajriyati. (2024). IMPLIKASI KONFLIK RUSIA-UKRAINA TERHADAP KETAHANAN ENERGI DAN KETAHANAN EKONOMI JERMAN SERTA EXIT STRATEGY YANG DILAKUKAN (2021-2022) [Universitas Nasional]. In *Universitas Nasional*. <http://repository.unas.ac.id/id/eprint/10709>
- Van de Graaf, T., Overland, I., Scholten, D., & Westphal, K. (2020). The new oil? The geopolitics and international governance of hydrogen. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 70, 101667. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2020.101667>
- Weber, I. M., Beckmann, T., & Thie, J.-E. (2023). The Tale of the German Gas Price Brake: Why We Need Economic Disaster Preparedness in Times of Overlapping Emergencies. *Intereconomics*, 58(1), 10–16. <https://doi.org/10.2478/ie-2023-0004>
- Wehrmann. (2023). Chemicals producer BASF to axe jobs at energy intensive

- production sites in Germany. *Clean Energy Wire*.
https://www.cleanenergywire.org/news/chemicals-producer-basf-axe-jobs-energy-intensive-production-sites-germany?utm_source=chatgpt.com
 halaman 42 (wehrmann, 2023)
- Welle, D. (2022). OIL AND GAS. *Africa Research Bulletin: Economic, Financial and Technical Series*, 59(7). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6346.2022.10719.x>
- Westphal. (2020). German–Russian gas relations in face of the energy transition. *Russian Journal of Economics* 6, 18. <https://doi.org/10.32609/j.ruje.6.55478>
- Wiertz, T., Kuhn, L., & Mattissek, A. (2023). A turn to geopolitics: Shifts in the German energy transition discourse in light of Russia’s war against Ukraine. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 98, 103036. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2023.103036>
- Williams, P. D. (Ed.). (2012). *Security Studies*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203122570>
- Willrich. (1978). *Energy and World Politics* (1st ed.). Collier Macmillan Publishers, Canada.
[https://books.google.co.id/books?hl=en&lr=&id=ckOF8GbGsDQC&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=Willrich,+M.+\(1975\).+Energy+and+World+Politics.+Collier+Macmillan+Publishers.&ots=OapWoPBMgZ&sig=U_WTW1y9W5gMvYxEPRLWbYlR50U&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Willrich%2C M. \(1975\). Energy](https://books.google.co.id/books?hl=en&lr=&id=ckOF8GbGsDQC&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=Willrich,+M.+(1975).+Energy+and+World+Politics.+Collier+Macmillan+Publishers.&ots=OapWoPBMgZ&sig=U_WTW1y9W5gMvYxEPRLWbYlR50U&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Willrich%2C%20M.%20(1975).+Energy)
- Wimmer Ruppert. (2023). Non-financial energy saving policies for households : a comparative analysis. *Diplomatische Akademie Wien*, 73. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.34726/hss.2023.113077>
- Wójtowicz. (2024). EU Energy Security After Russia’s Invasion of Ukraine – Substance, Strategy and Lobbying. *Centrum Europejskie Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, 2, 15. <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=1266079>
- Zachmann, B. M. G. S. S. T. G. (2024). The European Union-Russia energy divorce: state of play. *Bruegel*. <https://www.bruegel.org/analysis/european-union-russia-energy-divorce-state-play>
- Zakeri, B., Staffell, I., Dodds, P. E., Grubb, M., Ekins, P., Jääskeläinen, J., Cross, S., Helin, K., & Castagneto Gisse, G. (2023). The role of natural gas in setting electricity prices in Europe. *Energy Reports*, 10, 2778–2792. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.egyr.2023.09.069>