

BAB V **KESIMPULAN**

Penelitian ini berupaya menjawab bagaimana upaya Tiongkok menjamin keamanan energi melalui kerja sama CNPC dengan perusahaan energi Rusia, selama tahun 2003 hingga 2016. Penulis membahas industri minyak dan gas di Tiongkok, profil CNPC, industri minyak dan gas di Rusia, dan apa saja upaya yang dilakukan Tiongkok dalam menjamin kemanan energi melalui CNPC di Rusia. Dalam penelitian ini digunakan konsep kepentingan nasional, keamanan non-tradisional, keamanan energi *developmental state*, dan diplomasi energi.

Minyak dan gas merupakan komoditas yang sangat penting bagi kepentingan nasional Tiongkok, karena digunakan di berbagai sektor kehidupan masyarakat Tiongkok. Sektor industri dan transportasi Tiongkok membutuhkan energi dari minyak dan gas untuk mampu berjalan secara optimal. Sesuai dengan konsep *developmental state*, untuk mengatur industri minyak dan gas, Tiongkok membentuk perusahaan minyak nasional. Sebanyak 75 persen produksi dan distribusi minyak dan gas Tiongkok diproduksi oleh tiga perusahaan minyak nasional, yaitu CNPC, *Sinopec*, dan CNOOC. CNPC merupakan perusahaan minyak nasional terbesar di Tiongkok, dan banyak melakukan aktivitas di luar negeri.

Rusia juga memiliki pola industri minyak dan gas yang serupa dengan Tiongkok, dimana pemerintah mengontrol industri minyak dan gas. Sebanyak 40 persen produksi minyak Rusia diatur oleh Rosneft dan 75 persen produksi gas diatur oleh Gazprom. Presiden Rusia, Vladimir Putin, juga memiliki pengaruh besar atas industri minyak dan gas Rusia. Presiden Putin membentuk Komisi Strategi Pengembangan Energi Bahan Bakar dan Keamanan Lingkungan yang secara khusus berada di bawah kepresidenan Rusia. Selain itu, pimpinan Rosneft dan Gazprom memiliki kedekatan dengan Presiden Putin.

Sesuai dengan konsep diplomasi energi, pemerintah Tiongkok memberi bantuan terhadap aktivitas perusahaan minyak nasionalnya melalui upaya diplomasi energi, yaitu melalui diplomasi bilateral, bantuan pinjaman finansial, dan pembentukan komite bilateral. Penulis mencatat terdapat 16 upaya diplomasi bilateral antara pemerintah Tiongkok dengan Rusia yang dilakukan untuk mendukung kerja sama antara CNPC dengan perusahaan energi Rusia. Kerja sama tersebut juga diperkuat dengan pemberian pinjaman finansial dari bank milik negara Tiongkok ke perusahaan energi Rusia. Terakhir, Tiongkok melembagakan kerja sama energi dengan Rusia melalui pembentukan komite bilateral.

Kontribusi aktivitas CNPC di Rusia terhadap keamanan energi Tiongkok dapat dilihat dalam empat aspek keamanan energi. Pertama, dalam aspek ketersediaan, pada tahun 2016, Rusia menjadi penyuplai minyak terbesar bagi Tiongkok. Dari tahun 2008 hingga 2016, jumlah impor minyak dari Rusia melalui CNPC selalu berkontribusi terhadap lebih dari 50 persen total impor minyak Tiongkok dari Rusia. Dalam komoditas gas, Rusia berpotensi menjadi penyuplai

gas terbesar bagi Tiongkok. Kedua, dalam aspek keandalan, lokasi serta kedekatan hubungan diplomatik antara Rusia dengan Tiongkok menimbulkan keuntungan bagi Tiongkok secara geopolitik. Ketiga, dalam aspek keterjangkauan, Tiongkok membeli minyak dan gas dari Rusia dengan harga dibawah pasar. Keempat, dalam aspek keberlanjutan, peningkatan jumlah suplai minyak dan gas merupakan upaya Tiongkok untuk mengurangi ketergantungan akan batu bara.

Upaya Tiongkok menjamin keamanan energi melalui kerja sama CNPC dengan Rusia dilakukan akibat kurangnya produksi domestik minyak dan gas Tiongkok. Karena itu, Tiongkok membutuhkan pasokan energi dari negara lain, dan mendorong perusahaan minyak nasionalnya untuk melakukan eksplorasi minyak dan gas di negara lain. Dalam kasus ini, untuk mendukung kerja sama yang dilakukan CNPC, dan dengan melihat struktur industri minyak dan gas Rusia yang hampir serupa dengan Tiongkok, maka, Tiongkok melakukan diplomasi bilateral, bantuan pinjaman finansial, dan pembentukan komite bilateral untuk mendukung aktivitas CNPC di Rusia. CNPC didorong untuk membentuk perjanjian kerja sama pengiriman minyak dan gas dengan perusahaan energi Rusia, dan melakukan investasi di berbagai ladang minyak dan gas di Rusia. Upaya ini merupakan bagian dari pemenuhan keamanan energi Tiongkok, dan memiliki kontribusi terhadap pemenuhan kebutuhan minyak dan gas Tiongkok.

Penulis menilai bahwa upaya Tiongkok menjamin keamanan energi melalui kerja sama CNPC dengan perusahaan energi Rusia masih dapat ditingkatkan. Terdapat banyak perjanjian kerja sama yang gagal dilaksanakan akibat ketidaksepakatan harga antara Tiongkok dengan Rusia. Padahal, apabila merujuk

pada prinsip ketersediaan pada konsep keamanan energi, Tiongkok seharusnya sedapat mungkin terus mendorong adanya kerja sama penyediaan suplai minyak dengan Rusia karena Rusia memiliki sumber energi yang melimpah yang mampu dimanfaatkan untuk memenuhi ketersediaan energi Tiongkok.

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku

- Aalto, Pami, *Russia's Energy Policies: National, Interregional, and Global Levels*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2012.
- Balaam, David N dan Bradford Dillman. *Introduction to International Political Economy 6th Edition*. New Jersey: Pearson, 2014.
- Burchill, Scott, et.al. *Theories of International Relations 3rd edition*. New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2005.
- Creswell, John W. *Educational Research*. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson/Merrill Prentice Hall, 2008.
- Eder, Thomas. S, *China Russia Relations in Central Asia: Energy Policy, Beijing's New Assertiveness and 21st Century Geopolitics*. Wien: Springer VS, 2014.
- Feng, Lianyong, Yan Hu, Charles A.S. Hall, dan Jianliang Wang, *The Chinese Oil Industry: History and Future*. New York: Springer, 2013.
- Gilpin, Robert, *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Gilpin, Robert, *The Political Economy of International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Godzimirski, Jakub M, *Russian Energy in a Changing World: What is the Outlook for the Hydrocarbons Superpower?*. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Hettne, Bjorn, "The Concept of Neomercantilism". *Mercantilist Economics*, disunting oleh Magnusson, Lars, Hal 235-255. New York: Springer, 1993.
- Hults, David R, Mark C. Thurber, dan David G. Victor. *Oil And Governance*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Jackson, Robert H and Georg Sørensen. *Introduction To International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Johnson, Chalmers, *MITI And The Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy 1925-1975*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982.
- Kurlantzick, Joshua. *State Capitalism: How the Return of Statism is Transforming the World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016. .

- Mingst, Karen A. *Essentials Of International Relations*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 2008.
- Mitrova, Tatiana, Sarah O. Ladislaw, *Shifting Political Economy of Russian Oil and Gas*. CSIS, 2016.
- Morgenthau, Hans J., *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle For Power and Peace 6th edition*. Beijing: Peking University Press, 1985.
- Neacsu, Mihaela, *Hans J. Morgenthau Theories of International Relations: Disenchantment and Re-Enchantment*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Oystein, *Security and Profit in China's Energy Policy: Hedging Against Risk*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.
- Pascual, Carlos dan Jonathan Elkind. *Energy Security*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2010.
- Silalahi, Ulber. *Metode Penelitian Sosial*. Bandung: Refika Aditama, 2009.
- Williams, Paul D. *Security Studies*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Willrich, Mason. *Energy And World Politics*. New York: Free Press, 1975.
- Wade, Robert, *Governing The Market : Economic Theory And The Role Of Government In East Asian Industrialization*. Princeton: New Jersey, 1999.
- Xuetong, Yan. *Analysis of China's National Interest*. Translated by Meng Jun. 2002.
- Zhang Chi, *Domestic Dynamics of China's Energy Diplomacy*. Singapura: World Scientific Publishing, 2015.

Jurnal

- Aling, Zhang, Shi Lin, "Prospects for and impacts of diversifying fuel use away from coal", *Regional Collaboration For Energy Futures And Energy Security In China And Northeast Asia*. 2000.
- Asia Pacific Energy Research Centre. "Energy Security Initiative: Some Aspects Of Oil Security". Asia Pacific Energy Research Centre Institute of Energy Economics, 2003.

- Baev, Pavel, "Rosneft, Gazprom and the Government: the Decision-Making Triangle on Russia's Energy Policy". *Russia.Nei.Visions* 75. Paris: Russia/NIS Center, 2014.
- Barnes, Andrew, "Russian-Chinese Oil Relations: Dominance or Negotiation?" *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo* No. 124. 2010.
- BDO Singapore China Desk, "One Belt One Road". Singapura: BDO, 2015.
- Bros, Aurelie, Tatiana Mitrova, "Yamal LNG: an economic project under political pressure", *The Foundation for Strategic Research Note* 17. 2016.
- Burns, John P, "China's Nomenklatura System", *Problems of Communism* XXXVI. September-Oktober 1987. Hal. 36-51.
- Caballero-Anthony, Mely; Youngho Chang, Nur Azha Putra, "Energy and Non-Traditional Security (NTS) in Asia". *SpringerBriefs in Environment, Security, Development and Peace Volume* 1. New York: Springer, 2012.
- Christoffersen, Gaye. "China's Intentions For Russian And Central Asian Oil And Gas". Washington: The National Bureau Of Asian Research, 1998.
- Downs, Erica, "Who's Afraid of China's Oil Companies?". Dalam *Energy Security: Economics, Politics, Strategies, and Implications*, dedit oleh Carlos Pascual, 73-102. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2010.
- Francisco, Elenor Grace M, "Petroleum Politics: China and Its National Oil Companies". Centre International de Formation Europeene, 2013.
- Henderson, James, Ekaterina Grushevenko, "Russian Oil Production Outlook To 2020", *Oxford Energy Insight* 3. Oxford: Oxford Institute For Energy Studies, 2017.
- Henderson, James, "The Strategic Implications of Russia's Eastern Oil Resources", *OIES Paper WPM* 41. Oxford: Oxford Institute For Energy Studies, 2011.
- Higashi, Nobuyuki. "Natural Gas in China Market evolution and strategy". *International Energy Agency Working Paper Series*. International Energy Agency, 2009.
- Howell, Sabrina, "Jia You! Jia You! (Add Oil!): Chinese Energy Security Strategy", dalam *Energy Security Challenges for the 21st Century: A Reference Handbook*, dedit oleh Gal Luft dan Anne, 191-218, Korin. Santa Barbara: Prager Security International, 2009.
- Jiang, Julie, Jonathan Sinton, "Overseas Investments By Chinese National Oil Companies: Assesing The Drivers and Impacts". *International Energy Agency Information Paper*. Paris: International Energy Agency, 2011.

Jiang, Wenran. "China's Global Quest For Energy Security". *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*. 13. no. 2 (2006): 105-131.

Koch-Weser, Iacob, "The China-Russia Gas Deal: Background and Implications for the Broader Relationship", *U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission Staff Research Backgrounder*. 2014.

Komori, Goichi dan Sanae Kurita. "Change in the Vertical Integration in the Russian Oil Industry and Management Strategies of Vertically-Integrated Oil Companies", *IEEJ Energy Journal* 9 No.2, 2014. Diakses pada 31 Mei 2017. <http://eneken.ieej.or.jp/en/data/pdf/269.pdf>

Lewis, Stephen L. "Chinese NOCs and World Energy Markets: CNPC, Sinopec, CNOOC". Houston: James Baker III Institute For Public Policy, 2007.

Li, Xin, "Natural Gas in China: A Regional Analysis". *OIES Paper NG 103*. Oxford: The Oxford Institute For Energy Studies, 2015.

Meidan, Michal. "The structure of China's oil industry: Past trends and Future Prospects". *Oxford Institute for Energy Studies Paper*. Oxford: Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, 2016.

Meidan, Michal. "China's Independent Refiners: A New Force Shaping Global Oil Markets". *Energy Insight 12*. Oxford: Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, 2017.

Ministry of Energy of the Russian Federation: "Energy Strategy of Russia For The Period Up To 2030". Moscow: Institute of Energy Strategy, 2010

National Rating Agency, "Russia's Oil and Gas Sector in 2015: Survey as of May 8, 2016". Moscow: National Rating Agency, 2015.

Paik, Keun-Wook, "Sino -Russian Gas and Oil Russian Gas and Oil Cooperation: Entering into a New Era of Strategic Entering into a New Era of Strategic Partnership?". *Oxford Institute for Energy Studies Paper WPM 59*. Oxford: The Oxford Institute For Energy Studies, 2015.

Pham, J. Peter, "What Is in the National Interest? Hans Morgenthau's Realist Vision and American Foreign Policy". *American Foreign Policy Interests 30* (2008): 256-265.

Ratner, Michael, Gabriel M.Nelson, Susan V. Lawrence, "China's Natural Gas: Uncertainty for Markets". *Congressional Research Service Report*. Washington DC: Congressional Research Service 2016.

Skalamera, Morena, "Pipeline Pivot: Why Russia and China are Poised to Make Energy History", *The Geopolitics of Energy Project*. 2014.

Somantri, Gumilar Rusliwa. "Memahami Metode Kualitatif". *Makara Sosial Humaniora*. 9. no. 2, (2005): 57-65.

Song, Ligang. "China's Rapid Growth and Development: An Historical and International Context". Canberra: Crawford School of Economics and Government. 2010

Taylor, Monique, "China's Oil Industry: Corporate Governance with Chinese Characteristics" dalam *The Political Economy of State-owned Enterprises in China and India*, dieldit oleh Xu Yi Chong, 69-93. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

U.S Energy Information Administration, "China", International Energy Data and Analysis. Washington DC: U.S Energy Information Administration, 2015.

U.S. Energy Information Administration, "Country Analysis Brief: Russia". Washington DC: U.S Energy Information Administration, 2016.

Wainberg, Miranda, *et.al*, "Current and Future Natural Gas Demand in China and India", *Independent Thinking*. Center for Energy Economics Jackson School of Geosciences University of Texas, 2017.

Wing-Chu, Margaret Ng. "China's Overseas Oilfield Acquisition Strategy And Its Implications". *Reuters Fellowship Paper*. Oxfordshire: Oxford University, 2007

Yang, Li. *China's Growth Miracle: Past, Present, Future*. Switzerland: Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 2013.

Yeh, Hui-Chi, "China's Energy Diplomacy: SOE Relations in the Context of Global Distribution and Investment Pattern". *Advances in Applied Sociology* 2. Wuhan: Scientific Research, 2012. Hal 325-343.

Website

Alexander's Gas and Oil Connections. "LUKoil-CNPC venture to borrow \$ 250 mm for operations in Kazakhstan". *Gasandoil*. 17 Maret 2008. Diakses pada 15 Maret 2017.

http://www.gasandoil.com/news/central_asia/533530cff8ded94a75cd6b0faa0f59bd

Andrew Korybko. "Washington's Nightmare Comes True: The Russian-Chinese Strategic Partnership Goes Global (I)". *Oriental Review*. Diakses pada 10 April 2017. <http://orientalreview.org/2014/08/21/washingtons-nightmare-comes-true-the-russian-chinese-strategic-partnership-goes-global-i/>

Andrew Kemp. "CNPC, Gazprom Clinch Deal On Power Of Siberia Section", *Newsbase*. 8 September 2016. diakses pada 19 Juli 2017, <https://newsbase.com/topstories/cnpc-gazprom-clinch-deal-power-siberia-section>

Anin, Roman, "The Secret of the St. Princess Olga". *Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project*. 2 Agustus 2016. Diakses pada 31 Mei 2017, <https://www.occrp.org/en/investigations/5523-the-secret-of-the-st-princess-olga>

BBC. "Russia signs gas deal with China ". *BBC NEWS*. 21 Maret 2006. Diakses pada 18 Maret 2017. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/4828244.stm>

BBC. "Yukos declared bankrupt by court ". *BBC NEWS*. 1 Agustus 2006. Diakses pada 11 April 2017. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/5233664.stm>

Bloomberg News. "Russia Lets China Into Arctic Rush as Energy Giants Embrace". *Bloomberg*. 23 Januari 2017. Diakses pada 2 Mei 2017. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-01-23/russia-wrests-crown-of-top-china-oil-supplier-from-saudi-arabia>

Bothun, G. "Footprints of Electricity Generation". Diakses pada 4 Mei 2017. <http://homework.uoregon.edu/pub/class/350/out350/lng.html>

Central Intelligence Agency. "Country Comparison: Natural Gas-Exports". *CIA*. Diakses pada 7 Mei 2017. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2251rank.html>

China Daily, "China's car ownership reaches 172 million", *China Daily*, 26 Januari 2016, diakses pada 22 Juli 2017, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/business/motoring/2016/01/26/content_23253925.htm

China Development Bank. "About CDB". *CDB*. Diakses pada 1 Mei 2017. http://www.cdb.com.cn/English/gykh_512/khjj/.

China Exim Bank. "Brief Introduction". The Export-Import Bank of China (2017). Diakses pada 1 Mei 2017. http://english.eximbank.gov.cn/tm/en-TCN/index_617.html.

China Knowledge, "Manufacturing in China", *China Knowledge*, diakses pada 22 Juli 2017, <http://www.chinaknowledge.com/Business/CBGdetails.aspx?subchap=3&Id=10>

China National Petroleum Corporation. "Annual Business Review". *CNPC*. Diakses pada 5 April 2017. <http://www.cnpc.com.cn/en/OverseasOilandGasOperations/201409/b0bf79a32d9e48b4b0cf2afed7bacafc7.shtml>

China National Petroleum Corporation. "CNPC and Rosneft sign MOU on expanding upstream cooperation in eastern Siberia". *CNPC*. 18 Oktober 2013. Diakses pada 30 Maret 2017. <http://www.cnpc.com.cn/en/nr2013/201310/f6bfed7f81ed4d66b95764ed828e93cc.shtml>

China National Petroleum Corporation. "CNPC and Russian oil and gas giants conclude agreements". *CNPC*. 24 Juni 2013. Diakses pada 9 April 2017

<http://www.cnpc.com.cn/en/nr2013/201306/e5beb7d7c97745ddbb47fbe0694c5ec1.shtml>

China National Petroleum Corporation. “CNPC and Transneft sign agreement on principle for the construction and operation of a crude pipeline”. *CNPC*. Diakses pada 5 April 2017.

<http://www.cnpc.com.cn/en/nr2008/201211/1793b6698f8e4466bc9714fa0c6f420d.shtml>

China National Petroleum Corporation. “CNPC at a glance”. *CNPC*. Diakses pada 30 Maret 2017. <http://www.cnpc.com.cn/en/cnpcataglance/cnpcataglance.shtml>

China National Petroleum Corporation. “CNPC concludes important agreements with NOVATEK and Rosneft”. *CNPC*. Diakses pada 12 April 2017 <http://www.cnpc.com.cn/en/nr2013/201310/9678e446590544dd93ef7c104e9734d1.shtml>

China National Petroleum Corporation. “CNPC enters into a set of agreements during CICA summit in Shanghai”. *CNPC*. 21 Mei 2014. Diakses pada 30 Maret 2017.

<http://www.cnpc.com.cn/en/nr2014/201405/15862807577c4bd4a93505ce2af52089.shtml>

China National Petroleum Corporation. “CNPC in Russia”. *CNPC*. Diakses pada 6 Mei 2017 http://www.cnpc.com.cn/en/Russia/country_index.shtml

China National Petroleum Corporation. “CNPC inks agreements with Rosneft and Transneft”. *CNPC*. Diakses pada 5 April 2017.

<http://www.cnpc.com.cn/en/nr2009/201209/6dafdae672cb49f081cc5b15ff709b66.shtml>

China National Petroleum Corporation. “CNPC signs cooperation agreement with Rosneft”. *CNPC*. 13 November 2014. Diakses pada 6 Mei 2017. <http://www.cnpc.com.cn/en/nr2014/201411/3131227cf9e340e0abc211ca066f21bd.shtml>

China National Petroleum Corporation. “Exploration and Production”. *CNPC*. Diakses pada 30 Maret 2017.

<http://www.cnpc.com.cn/en/explorationproduction/201405/682a0fe103f54d08840170cc9da46867.shtml>

China National Petroleum Corporation. “Oil and gas cooperation agreements signed between China and Russia”. *CNPC*. Diakses pada 5 April 2017 <http://www.cnpc.com.cn/en/nr2010/201209/274e0c8b937b47c991c7936bd4a9e8d2.shtml>

China National Petroleum Corporation. “Our Businesses”. *CNPC*. Diakses pada 30 Maret 2017. <http://www.cnpc.com.cn/en/cnpcataglance/cnpcataglance.shtml>

China Daily. "Hu. Putin call for closer oil cooperation". 22 Maret 2006. Diakses pada 5 April 2017.

http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2006-03/22/content_549489.htm

China Org. "China and Russia Ink Oil Pipeline Agreement". *China.org.cn*. Diakses pada 3 April 2017. <http://www.china.org.cn/english/2003/May/65655.htm>

CICA. "About CICA". Diakses pada 30 Maret 2017. <http://www.s-cica.org/page.php?lang=1>

CICA. "Energy Security Cooperation". Diakses pada 30 Maret 2017. http://www.s-cica.org/page.php?page_id=458&lang=1&parent_id=453

Clemente, Jude. "China's Rising Natural Gas Demand, Pipelines, and LNG". *Forbes.com*. 2016. Diakses pada 10 Oktober 2016.

<http://www.forbes.com/sites/judeclemente/2016/04/24/chinas-rising-natural-gas-demand-pipelines-and-lng/#629aec106a38>

EIA. "China". *Marcon International. Inc.* Diakses pada 23 Maret 2017. <http://www.marcon.com/marcon2c.cfm?SectionListsID=30&PageID=2803>

Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Hellenic Republic. "Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing on President Hu Jintao's Euro-Asian Tour". Diakses pada 3 April 2017.

<http://gr.china-embassy.org/eng/xwdt/xw2003/xw200306/t145600.htm>

Finn, Peter. "Russian Oil Firm Buys Mysterious Bid Winner". *Washington Post*. 23 Desember 2004. Diakses pada 1 Mei 2017. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A20864-2004Dec22.html>

Gazprom Neft. "Our History". Diakses pada 6 Mei 2017. <http://www.gazprom-neft.com/company/history/>

Gazprom Neft. "First Oil From Russian Arctic Shelf Loaded". Diakses pada 7 Mei 2017. <http://www.gazprom-neft.com/press-center/news/1101711/>

Gazprom. "About Gazprom". *Gazprom*. Diakses pada 16 Maret 2017. <http://www.gazprom.com/about/>

Gazprom. "Alexey Miller: Russia and China signed the biggest contract in the entire history of Gazprom". *Gazprom.com*. 21 Mei 2014. Diakses pada 19 maret 2017. <http://www.gazprom.com/press/news/2014/may/article191451/>

Gazprom. "Company history in brief". *Gazprom.com*. Diakses pada 8 Mei 2017. <http://www.gazprom.com/about/history/company/>

Gazprom. “Fields”. *Gazprom.com*. Diakses pada 8 Mei 2017. <https://web.archive.org/web/20141024130440/http://www.gazprom.com/about/production/projects/deposits/>

Gazprom. “Gazprom and China sign Memorandum of Understanding for gas deliveries via eastern route”. *Gazprom.com*. 22 Maret 2013. Diakses pada 8 April 2017. <http://www.gazprom.com/press/news/2013/march/article158716/>

Gazprom. “Gazprom and CNPC broadening strategic cooperation in energy sector”. *Gazprom*. 15 Februari 2017. Diakses pada 9 April 2017.
<http://www.gazprom.com/press/news/2017/february/article303591/>

Gazprom. “Gazprom and CNPC signed a Cooperation agreement”. *Gazprom.com*. 14 Oktober 2004. Diakses pada 8 Mei 2017.
<http://www.gazprom.com/press/news/2004/october/article62935/>

Gazprom. “Gazprom and CNPC sign Agreement on major terms and conditions of pipeline gas supply from Russia to China via eastern route”. *Gazprom.com*. 5 September 2013. Diakses pada 18 maret 2017.
<http://www.gazprom.com/press/news/2013/september/article170593/>

Gazprom. “Gazprom and CNPC sign Agreement on major terms and conditions for Russian gas supply to China”. *Gazprom.com*. 28 Desember 2009. Diakses pada 18 Maret 2017. <http://www.gazprom.com/press/news/2009/december/article73718/>

Gazprom. “Gazprom and CNPC sign Agreement on Power of Siberia cross-border section and other documents for further cooperation”. *Gazprom.com*. 17 Desember 2015. Diakses pada 19 maret 2017.
<http://www.gazprom.com/press/news/2015/december/article256006/>

Gazprom. “Gazprom and CNPC sign Extended Major Terms of Gas Supply from Russia to China”. *Gazprom.com*. 27 September 2010. Diakses pada 20 maret 2017.
<http://www.gazprom.com/press/news/2010/september/article103507/>

Gazprom. “Gazprom and CNPC sign Memorandum of Understanding on underground gas storage and gas-fired power generation”. *Gazprom*. 25 Juni 2016. Diakses pada 30 Maret 2017.
<http://www.gazprom.com/press/news/2016/june/article277639/>

Gazprom. “Gazprom and CNPC sign Technical Agreement on gas supplies via eastern route”. *Gazprom*. 13 Oktober 2014. Diakses pada 1 Mei 2017.
<http://www.gazprom.com/press/news/2014/october/article203444/>

Helmer, John. “China stumbles in forging Russia gas deals”. *Asia Times*. 11 Juni 2008. Diakses pada 20 maret 2017.
http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Central_Asia/JF11Ag01.html

Homeriki, Leonid. "Russia to build second gas pipeline to China after Beijing agreement". *RBTH*. 13 November 2014. Diakses pada 20 Maret 2017. http://rbth.com/business/2014/11/13/russia_to_build_second_gas_pipeline_to_china_after_beijing_agreement_41393.html

Hydrocarbons. "ESPO Pipeline. Siberia. Russia". *Hydrocarbons-technology.com*. Diakses pada 4 Mei 2017. <http://www.hydrocarbons-technology.com/projects/espopipeline/>

Index Mundi. "World - Industrial Production Growth Rate - Historical Data Graphs Per Year". *Indexmundi.Com*. 2016. Diakses pada 10 Oktober 2016 <http://www.indexmundi.com/g/g.aspx?v=78&c=xx&l=en>.

Information Directorate OAO Gazprom. "On Joint Coordinating Committee meeting between Gazprom and China National Petroleum Corporation". 22 Oktober 2008. Diakses pada 18 Maret 2017. <http://www.ship.gr/news4/gazprom14.htm>

Institute For Energy Research. "China: World's Largest Energy Consumer and Greenhouse Gas Emitter". *IER*. 20 Mei 2015. Diakses pada 5 Mei 2017. <http://instituteforenergyresearch.org/analysis/china-worlds-largest-energy-consumer-and-greenhouse-gas-emitter/>

International Energy Agency. "China's gas imports in 2013 ". Iea.Org. Diakses pada 11 Oktober 2016. <https://www.iea.org/newsroomandevents/graphics/2015-04-07-china-gas-imports-in-2013.html>.

Investopedia, "What country is the world's largest exporter of goods?", 19 Januari 2015, diakses pada 23 Juli 2017, <http://www.investopedia.com/ask/answers/011915/what-country-worlds-largest-exporter-goods.asp>

Jakóbowski, Jakub. " 'The oil friendship': the state of and prospects for Russian-Chinese energy cooperation". *OSW*. 17 Februari 2016. Diakses pada 27 Maret 2017. <https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/osw-commentary/2016-02-17/oil-friendship-state-and-prospects-russian-chinese-energy>

Jafarova, Aynur. "Lukoil. CNPC to develop Uzbekistan's gas condensate fields". *Azernews*. 1 April 2013. Diakses pada 30 Maret 2017. http://www.azernews.az/oil_and_gas/51493.html

Jize, Qin. "China. Russia partners in development". *China Daily*. 23 Maret 2006. Diakses pada 5 April 2017. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china////////2006-03/23/content_549957.htm

Jun, Li. "China's imports of oil from Russia in April a record surge 52.4% year on year". *Haike Group*. 24 Mei 2016. Diakses pada 2 Mei 2017. <http://www.haikegroup.com/detaileden/archives/1984.html>

Katakey, Rakteem Katakey, Will Kennedy. "Russia Lets China Into Arctic Rush as Energy Giants Embrace". Bloomberg. 25 Maret 2013. Diakses pada 8 April 2017. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2013-03-25/russia-cuts-china-into-arctic-oil-rush-as-energy-giants-embrace>

Khodorkovsky. "Yukos". *Khodorkovsky*. Diakses pada 10 April 2017. <https://www.khodorkovsky.com/biography/yukos-2/>

Kramer, Andrew E. "Rosneft acquires more Yukos assets". *The New York Times*. 3 Mei 2007. Diakses pada 1 Mei 2017. <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/05/03/business/worldbusiness/03iht-yukos.5.5556981.html>

Lee, Forest. "China's 21st Century Oil Strategy Outlined" People's Daily Online. Diakses pada 1 Mei 2017. http://en.people.cn/200211/14/eng20021114_106819.shtml

Lukoil. "Lukoil And Cnpc Sign Agreement On Promotion Of Strategic Partnership". *Lukoil Oil Company*. 28 September 2010. Diakses pada 28 Maret 2017. <http://www.lukoil.com/InvestorAndShareholderCenter/RegulatoryDisclosure/ArchiveRegulatoryDisclosure2010/28092010ReAgreement>

Lukoil. "Natural Gas". *lukoil.com*. Diakses pada 8 Mei 2017. <http://www.lukoil.com/Products/business/gas/naturalgas>

Mack, Laureen. "Chinese History: First Five-Year Plan (1953-57)". Thought. Diakses pada 30 April 2017. <https://www.thoughtco.com/chinese-history-first-five-year-plan-1953-57-688002>.

Mallesons, King, Wood Mallesons. "China's 13th Five Year Plan: the land of opportunity". Diakses pada 30 April 2017. <http://www.kwm.com/en/au/knowledge/insights/china-13th-5-year-plan-key-points-summary-new-normal-innovation-20160414>.

Mcvey, Henry. H, "China's Rebalancing Effort: Will It Be Enough?". *KKR Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co. L.P.* 24 Februari 2015. Diakses pada 31 Mei 2017. <http://www.kkr.com/ja/node/2074>

Mehta, Pooja. "Role Of Industrial Development In Economic Growth". *Economics Discussion*. 2014. Diakses pada 2 Oktober 2016 <http://www.economicsdiscussion.net/articles/role-of-industrial-development-in-economic-growth/2227>.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China. "Hu Jintao Meets with His Russian Counterpart". *fmprc.gov*. 7 September 2012. Diakses pada 10 April 2017.

http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/topics_665678/hjtcxytjhzzdescldrfzshy_665706/t969493.shtml

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China. "Li Keqiang Co-Chairs 20th Regular Meeting Between Chinese Premier and Russian Prime Minister with Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev of Russia". *fmprc.gov*. 18 Desember 2014. Diakses pada 9 April 2017.

http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/topics_665678/lkqcxshhzzcygzfsnzllshdsschy/t1326358.shtml

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China. "Li Keqiang Co-Chairs the 21st Regular Meeting Between Chinese Premier and Russian Prime Minister with Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev of Russia". *fmprc.gov*. 11 Agustus 2016. Diakses pada 9 April 2017.

http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/t1414015.shtml

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China. "President Hu Jintao Holds Talks with President Putin". *fmprc.gov*. Diakses pada 3 April 2017. http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/topics_665678/hjtcf_665940/t23112.shtml

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China. "The 13th Regular Meeting between Chinese and Russian Prime Ministers Held in Russia". *fmprc.gov*. Diakses pada 5 April 2017.

http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/wshd_665389/t520190.shtml

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China. "Xi Jinping Arrives in Moscow for State Visit to Russia". *fmprc.gov*. Diakses pada 5 April 2017. http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/topics_665678/xjpcf1_665694/t1025226.shtml

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China. "Xi Jinping Meets with President Vladimir Putin of Russia". *fmprc.gov*. 9 November 2014. Diakses pada 9 April 2017.

http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/topics_665678/ytjhzzdrscldrfzshyjxghd/t1209538.shtml

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China. "Zhang Gaoli Chairs 13th Meeting of China-Russia Energy Cooperation Committee and Attends Opening Ceremony of 2nd China-Russia SME Forum in Russia". *fmprc.gov*. 31 Mei 2016. Diakses pada 9 April 2017.

http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/t1368807.shtml

Myllyvirta, Lauri, "Factcheck: Is BP overreporting global coal and oil consumption?". *Energy Desk Greenpeace*. 29 Juni 2016. Diakses pada 31 Mei 2017.

<http://energydesk.greenpeace.org/2016/06/29/factcheck-is-bp-overreporting-global-coal-and-oil-consumption/>

Naturalgas.Org. "Uses In Industry Naturalgas.Org". Naturalgas.Org. 2013. Diakses pada 17 Oktober 2016. <http://naturalgas.org/overview/uses-industrial/UK>

Neate, Rupert. "Rosneft takes over TNK-BP in \$55bn deal" *The Guardian*. 21 Maret 2013. Diakses pada 4 Mei 2017.
<https://www.theguardian.com/business/2013/mar/21/rosneft-takes-over-tnk-bp>

Nick Cunningham. "The Battle For China's Oil Market". *Oil Price*. 15 Juli 2015. Diakses pada 23 Maret 2017. <http://oilprice.com/Energy/Crude-Oil/The-Battle-For-Chinas-Oil-Market.html>

Ningzhu, Zhu. "China Sees Record Crude Oil Imports From Kazakhstan". *Xinhua*. 22 Januari 2014. Diakses pada 11 Oktober 2016.
http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2014-01/22/c_133066009.htm.

Novatek. "About Us". Novatek. Diakses pada 21 Maret 2017.
<http://www.novatek.ru/en/about/general/>

Novatek. "NOVATEK concludes framework agreement on CNPC's entrance into Yamal LNG". Novatek. 21 Juni 2013. Diakses pada 9 April 2017.
http://www.novatek.ru/en/press/releases/index.php?id_4=756

Novatek. "Yamal LNG". Diakses pada 8 Mei 2017.
<http://www.novatek.ru/en/business/Yamal-Lng/>

Oil and Gas Investment. "Why Oil Is Important". Ukooplac. 2016. Diakses pada 17 Oktober 2016. <http://www.ukooplac.com/page.php?pID=74>.

Oil and Gas 360. "Shaking Up the World's Top Oil Producers". Oil & Gas 360 by Enercom. Diakses pada 3 Mei 2017. <https://www.oilandgas360.com/shaking-worlds-top-oil-producers/>

Oxford Analytica. "Russia And China Strike A Deal". *Forbes*. 11 Februari 2009. Diakses pada 11 April 2017. <https://www.forbes.com/2009/10/30/russia-china-banks-business-oxford-analytica.html>

President of Russia. "Dmitry Medvedev will make an official visit to China". *Kremlin.ru*. Diakses pada 8 april 2017.
<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/8962>

President of Russia. "Press statements following Russian-Chinese talks". *Kremlin.ru*. Diakses pada 8 april 2017.
<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/9039>

President of Russia. "Russia and China have signed a major gas supply contract". *Kremlin.ru*. 21 Mei 2014. Diakses pada 30 Maret 2017
<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/21063>

President of Russia. "Law ratifying Russian-Chinese agreement on cooperation in gas supplies via the 'eastern' route". *Kremlin.ru*. 2 Mei 2015. Diakses pada 30 Maret 2017. <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/49392>

President of Russia. "Press statements following Russian-Chinese talks". *Kremlin.ru*. 8 Mei 2015. Diakses pada 30 Maret 2017. <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/49433>

President of Russia. "Meeting with President of China Xi Jinping". *Kremlin.ru*. 5 September 2013. Diakses pada 8 April 2017. <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/19154>

Reuters. "UPDATE 1-Russia's Gazprom Neft. China's CNPC agree to cooperate in oil sector". *Reuters*. 17 Desember 2015. Diakses pada 21 Maret 2017. <http://www.reuters.com/article/russia-gazprom-china-oil-idUSL8N14626U20151217>

Riddoch, Fiona. "Energy Efficiency for Russia's CHP Sector – Lessons from the EU". *Powertec Russia & CIS*. 21 Februari 2012. Diakses pada 31 Mei 2017. <http://www.powertecrussia.com/blog/cogen-europe-2/>

Roscongress. "About The Forum". *SPIEF '17*. Diakses pada 9 April 2017. https://forumspb.com/en/2017/sections/40/materials/247#about_1

Rodova, Nadia. "Rosneft. China's CNPC to look at new upstream projects in Russia". *Platts*. 23 November 2010. Diakses pada 12 April 2017. "<http://www.platts.com/latest-news/oil/moscow/rosneft-chinas-cnpc-to-look-at-new-upstream-projects-7598302>

Rosneft. "History of Rosneft". *Rosneft*. Diakses pada 5 Mei 2017. <https://www.rosneft.com/about/History/>

Rosneft. "Management board". *rosneft.com*. Diakses pada 8 Mei 2017. <https://www.rosneft.com/governance/management/item/6119/>

Rosneft. "Rosneft and CNPC Agree Key Principles of Tianjin Refinery Commissioning Schedule and Crude Oil Deliveries for Refining at Tianjin". *rosneft.com*. 22 Oktober 2013. Diakses pada 8 Mei 2017. <https://www.rosneft.com/press/releases/item/24363/>

Rosneft. "Rosneft and CNPC Sign Deal to Create Vostok Energy". *Rigzone*. 17 Oktober 2006. Diakses pada 12 April 2017. http://www.rigzone.com/news/oil_gas/a/37187/rosneft_cnpc_sign_deal_to_create_vostok_energy

Rosneft. "Rosneft and CNPC Sign Memorandum to Expand Cooperation in Upstream Projects in East Siberia". *rosneft.com*. 18 Oktober 2013. Diakses pada 7 April 2017. <https://www.rosneft.com/press/releases/item/24361/>

Rosneft. "Rosneft at a glance". *Rosneft*. Diakses pada 5 Mei 2017. https://www.rosneft.com/about/Rosneft_today/

Rosneft. "Rosneft and CNPC Sign Deal to Create Vostok". *Rigzone*. 17 Oktober 2006. Diakses pada 5 April 2017. http://www.rigzone.com/news/oil_gas/a/37187/rosneft_cnpc_sign_deal_to_create_vostok_energy

Rosneft. "Rosneft Strengthens Cooperation with China". *Rosneft*. Diakses pada 12 April 2017. <https://www.rosneft.com/press/releases/item/185283/>

RT. "China overtakes Germany as Russia's top crude consumer". *RT*. 14 Maret 2016. Diakses pada 2 Mei 2017. <https://www.rt.com/business/335498-china-germany-oil-consumer/>

RT. "Piped supplies of Russian gas to China start in 4yrs". *RT*. 4 Oktober 2016. Diakses pada 8 Mei 2017. <https://www.rt.com/business/361578-china-russia-gas-deliveries/>

RT. "Rosneft could double oil supplies to China". *RT*. 14 Feburari 2013. Diakses pada 4 Mei 2017. <https://www.rt.com/business/rosneft-double-oil-supplies-china-237/>

RT. "Russia Overtakes Saudi Arabia As China'S Top Oil Supplier". 29 Juni 2016. Diakses pada 11 Oktober 2016. <https://www.rt.com/business/348826-russia-china-oil-exports/>.

Rudnitsky, Jake, Stephen Bierman. "China May Be Russia's Biggest Oil Buyer in 2018 on Rosneft Deal". *Bloomberg*. 5 April 2013. Diakses pada 13 April 2017. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2013-04-05/china-may-be-russia-s-biggest-oil-buyer-in-2018-on-rosneft-deal>

SASAC. "Main Functions". The State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission of the State Council. Diakses pada 30 Maret 2017. <http://en.sasac.gov.cn/n1408028/n1408521/index.html>

Shustov, Alexander. "Why China will remain Turkmenistan's main gas buyer". *RBTH*. 26 Januari 2017. Diakses pada 4 Mei 2017. http://rbth.com/business/2017/01/26/why-china-will-remain-turkmenistans-main-gas-buyer_689386

Sputnik. "Rosneft, Chinese CNPC Support Further Talks on Vankor Field". *Sputnik International*. 20 November 2015. Diakses pada 29 Maret 2017. <https://sputniknews.com/business/201511201030465345-field-rosneft-developement-cnpc/>

Sputnik. "Russia's Gazprom, China's CNPC Discuss Western Route Gas Delivery". *Sputnik Internasional*. 30 Mei 2016. Diakses pada 20 Maret 2017. <https://sputniknews.com/business/201605301040485964-route-gas-china-russia/>

Sputnik. "Russia's December Oil Exports to China Beat Saudi Arabia Again". 3 Februari 2016. Diakses pada 30 April 2017. <https://sputniknews.com/world/201602031034148491-russia-china-saudi-oil-exports/>

Statista. "Breakdown of China crude oil imports in 2014, source country". Statista.com 2016. Diakses pada 11 Oktober 2016. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/221765/chinese-oil-imports-by-country/>.

Tass. "Tianjin Refinery feasibility study approved, to be agreed with CNPC and Rosneft". *Tass*. 30 Mei 2016. Diakses pada 13 April 2017. <http://tass.com/economy/878936>

The Russian Government. "Documents signed at the 19th Regular Meeting of the Heads of Government of Russia and China". 13 Oktober 2014. Diakses pada 1 Mei 2017. <http://government.ru/en/news/15201/>

The Russian Government. "Ministry of Energy of the Russian Federation". Diakses pada 8 Mei 2017. <http://government.ru/en/department/85/events/>

Thery, Matthieu. "Asia: Introduction to Asian Oil geography". *matthieuthery.com*. Diakses pada 23 Maret 2017. <http://www.matthieuthery.com/energy/fossil-energy/crude-oil/crude-oil-geography/asia/#China-High-imports>

Total. "Yamal LNG: The Gas That Came In From The Cold". *Total*. Diakses pada 22 Maret 2017. <http://www.total.com/en/energy-expertise/projects/oil-gas/Ing/Yamal-Ing-cold-environment-gas>

Transneft. "History". Diakses pada 6 Mei 2017. <http://www.en.transneft.ru/about/story/>

Transneft. "Scheme pipelines Transneft". Diakses pada 6 Mei 2017. <http://www.en.transneft.ru/pipelines/>

U.S. Energy Information Administration. "Russia is world's largest producer of crude oil and lease condensate". *EIA*. Diakses pada 3 Mei 2017. <https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.php?id=22392>

U.S. Energy Information Administration. "United Arab Emirates plans to increase crude oil and natural gas production". *EIA*. Diakses pada 3 Mei 2017. <https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.php?id=23472>

Uz Report. "Russia's LUKOIL signs partnership deal with CNPC". *Uzreport*. 10 September 2007. Diakses pada 26 Maret 2017.

http://news.uzreport.uz/news_4_e_36596.html

World Atlas. "The World's Largest Oil Reserves By Country". *Worldatlas.com*. Diakses pada 8 Mei 2017. <http://www.worldatlas.com/articles/the-world-s-largest-oil-reserves-by-country.html>

Winnie Zhu. "Analysts Divided on CNPC's Rosneft Share Purchase". *Hard Assets*. 19 Juli 2006. Diakses pada 11 April 2017.

<http://www.resourceinvestor.com/2006/07/18/analysts-divided-cnpcs-rosneft-share-purchase>

Xiangliang, Fang, Coco Feng. "The Rise And Fall Of China's Private Oil Companies". *The Corner*. Diakses pada 2 Mei 2017. <http://thecorner.eu/world-economy/rise-fall-china-private-oil-companies/63297/>

Xinhua. "Backgrounder: Important meetings between Xi. Putin in last two years". *Xinhuanet*. 9 Mei 2015. Diakses pada 9 April 2017.

http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-05/09/c_134223463.htm

Xinhua. "China-Russia strategic partnership set to open new horizons". *China Daily*. 11 Juni 2016. Diakses pada 10 April 2017.

http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2016liattendsSCOCCEC/2016-11/06/content_27288768.htm

Xinhua. "China Russia to expand energy cooperation". *Xinhuanet*. 8 Desember 2015. Diakses pada 6 April 2017 http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-12/08/c_134897323.htm

Xinhua. "Xi expects better China-Russia relations in 2016". *Xinhuanet*. 15 Desember 2015. Diakses pada 1 April 2017.

http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-12/15/c_134920170.htm

Presentasi

Lei Wang. "China's Crude Oil and Natural Gas Industry". Colorado School of Mines. The Oil and Gas Conference. Colorado. 2016.

Peng. Zhou. "China's Energy Import Dependency: Status And Strategies". College of Economics and Management & Research Center for Soft Energy Science Nanjing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics. China. 2016.

Simola, Heli, "Economic Relations between Russia and China: Increasing Inter-Dependence?". *Suomen Pankki Finland Bank*. 21 Juni 2016. Diakses pada 1 April 2017, <http://bruegel.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Heli-Simola-Russia-China-presentation.pdf>