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STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN CHINA, THE EU AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE FIELD OF ENERGY AND INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION (2000-2016)

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e-mail: aleksandr_zhykov@ukr.net ORCID: https://orcid.org/ooooooo3-2592-7761 The energy policy of the EU, China and the USA during 2000–2016 before the presidency of Donald Trump was analysed in the article. The common feature of the energy policy is its focus on strengthening integration processes to create a common energy policy, single market and sustainable development of countries.

The EU's energy policy is based on the priorities related to a guaranteed and secure supply of gas, oil and electricity. The author proposes six priority areas for cooperation: the formation of a single energy market, security of supply, diversification of energy resources, climate change issue, development of new technologies and formation of a common foreign policy as well as approaches to energy.

In our opinion China adheres to the similar policy of reducing energy consumption and harmful emissions while increasing the share of «green energy», but it goes along with some differences, namely, China will continue to build nuclear power plants (NPP) and will not abandon coal-fired power plants (CFPP) for at least the next 20 years. Today, the European Union is one of China's most important partners. In view of the above, the article also considers the process of trade and economic cooperation between the two parties.

This study also presents the cooperation of American and Chinese companies in the energy sector, which differentiated the views of American analysts on the future of the relations between China and the USA. «Pessimists» believe that it is difficult for superpowers to coexist when their interests clash with vital natural resources. According to them, it is almost impossible to avoid a future confrontation between China and the USA. «Optimists» are sure that the huge Chinese market is so vital to the American economy that the USA is interested in the Chinese economy to grow steadily, providing new opportunities for potential American investors.

Keywords:

Energy policy, cooperation, economics, energy security, the European Union

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СТРАТЕГІЧНЕ ПАРТНЕРСТВО МІЖ КНР, ЄС ТА США У СФЕРІ ЕНЕРГЕТИКИ ТА МІЖНАРОДНОЇ ОХОРОНИ ДОВКІЛЛЯ (2000-2016 РР.)

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історичних кандидат наук, доцент кафедри всесвітньої історії, міжнародних відносин та методики навчання історичних дисциплін Сумського державного педагогічного університету імені А.С. Макаренка, Суми, Україна e-mail: uliya.podriez@gmail.com ORCID: https://orcid.org/oooo-0002-7402-5134

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У статті проаналізовано енергетичну політику ЄС, Китаю та США упродовж 2000-2016 років до президентства Дональда Трампа. Спільною рисою енергетичної політики є її спрямованість на посилення інтеграційних процесів для створення спільної енергетичної політики, єдиного ринку та сталого розвитку країн.

Енергетична політика ЄС базується на пріоритетах, пов'язаних із гарантованим та безпечним постачанням газу, нафти та електроенергії. Автори виділяють шість пріоритетних напрямків співпраці: формування єдиного енергетичного ринку, безпека постачання, диверсифікація енергетичних ресурсів, проблема зміни клімату, розробка нових технологій та формування спільної зовнішньої політики, а також підходів до енергетики.

Встановлено, що Китай дотримується схожої політики зменшення споживання енергії та шкідливих викидів при збільшенні частки «зеленої енергії». супроводжується деякими відмінностями, а саме: Китай продовжуватиме будувати атомні електростанції (АЕС) і не буде відмовлятися від вугільних електростанцій принаймні на наступні 20 років. Сьогодні Європейський Союз є одним із найважливіших партнерів Китаю. З огляду на викладене, статті також розглядається процес торговельноекономічного співробітництва двох сторін.

У цьому дослідженні також представлена співпраця американських та китайських компаній в енергетичному секторі, що відрізняло погляди американських аналітиків на майбутне відносин між Китаєм та США. «Песимісти» вважають, що супердержавам важко співіснувати, коли їхні інтереси стикаються з життєво важливими природними За їх словами, уникнути майбутнього протистояння між Китаєм і США практично неможливо. «Оптимісти» впевнені, що величезний китайський ринок важливий настільки життєво американської для економіки, що США зацікавлені в тому, щоб китайська економіка стабільно зростала, відкриваючи можливості для потенційних американських інвесторів. енергетична політика, співробітництво, енергетична безпека, Європейський Союз, Китай, США

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At the beginning of the 21st century the economies of China, the EU and the USA are considered to be the largest consumers of energy. Analysis of BP's data convinces in it. In general, their total share is over 70% of world energy consumption¹ In this sense, we can even talk about the existence of a certain global triangle of energy consumption: China – the EU – the USA. In the history and contemporary of their energy strategies, exist both common provisions and certain differences, the analytical comparison of which allows better understanding of the process of developing a strategic partnership between China, the EU and the USA in the energy sector.

Nowadays scientific interest in the issue of the USA – China rivalry for the world leadership is growing. In this context we are interested in the work of Leonid Leshchenko, the former Minister-Counselor of the First Embassy of Ukraine in China. His research concerns the domestic and foreign policy of China, the causes, the phenomenal progress of ASEAN countries, etc.²

In Yulia Kurnyshova's article the current stage of the relations between the USA and China in the political, security and economic dimensions is studied.³

Western researchers pay a considerable attention to the issues of competition from Chinese companies for Western companies. Alexandros Petersen, the Adviser to the European Energy Security Initiative of the Woodrow Wilson International Centre, together with Katinka Barysch, Deputy Director of the Centre for European Reform emphasize in their report that China's power as a great state depends on the ability to ensure the continuity and security of its own energy imports⁴.

Also of great interest for us is the work «China's Energy demands: Are They Changing the World?» (China's energy demands: Are they reshaping the world?), which was prepared by Gerald Stang, a senior analyst at the EU Institute of Security Studies. It addresses the obvious need for an effective dialogue between the world's two largest importers of energy – the EU and China – in order to ensure common energy security and reduce risks and threats from exporting countries⁵.

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¹ BP: прогноз развития мировой энергетики до 2030 года. BP Global-2013.URL: http://www.bp.com/content/dam/bp-country/ru-ru/folder/2030-Booklet_rus.pdf (Last accessed: 26.01.2022); BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2014. URL: https://www.bp.com/content/dam/bp/pdf/energy-economics/statistical-review-2015/bp-statistical-review-of-world-energy-2015-full-report.pdf (Last accessed: 1.12.2021)

² ВР: прогноз развития мировой энергетики до 2030 года. ВР Global-2013. URL: http://www.bp.com/content/dam/bp-country/ru_ru/folder/2030_Booklet_rus.pdf (Last accessed: 26.01.2022)

 $^{^3}$ Курнишова Ю.В. Американо-китайське суперництво на сучасному етапі: тенденції та особливості. *Страмегічні пріоритети*. 2009. № 2 (11). С. 257–265. URL: http://old.niss.gov.ua/book/StrPryor/11 2009/37.pdf (дата звернення: 24.01.2022)

⁴ Petersen A. Russia, China and the geopolitics of energy in Central Asia. URL: http://www.cer.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/attachments/pdf/2011/rp_010-4118.pdf (Last accessed: 25.01.2022)

⁵ Stang G. China's energy demands: Are they reshaping the world? URL: http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Brief_12_China_energy.pdf ((Last accessed: 21.01.2022)

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A. Austin's research allows us to trace the stages and mechanisms of the EU – the USA – China triple cooperation and rivalry in the world energy markets⁶.

To highlight the current global economic structure through the analysis of the EU – China – the USA intergovernmental energy cooperation related to a guaranteed and secure supply of gas, oil and electricity.

The creation of the European Union was mainly based on the energy factor, which united the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy and the Benelux countries to realize the existing potential of European countries and create a common market for coal and steel – the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). This international state-monopoly organization, which united the coal, iron ore and metallurgical industries of 10 countries of the European Economic Society (EET), ended its existence on June 22, 2002, when the relevant agreement expired. The ECSC has shown its high efficiency and has identified many problems in the EU's energy sector⁷.

Currently, the European Union's energy policy is aimed at strengthening integration processes in order to create a single energy policy, a single market and sustainable development support.

Considering the fact that the energy potential of the EU countries does not fully meet the needs of the economics (only 12 EU countries have oil, gas and coal deposits), as well as increasing the dependence on foreign energy supplies, which increased from 10% (1999) to 17%. % (2009) in connection with the expansion to the east, a tendency to focus on large suppliers of resources – Russia (gas imports – 34.2%, oil – 33.1%), Norway (natural gas – 30.7%) and Algeria (natural gas – 14.1%) remained in Europe almost until 2009⁸.

In 1999 with the entry into force of the Amsterdam Treaty, the energy factor became an indicator of the EU's sustainable development. This was preceded by the Energy Charter Treaty (1994), which formed the basis of intergovernmental cooperation in the energy field, unifying the general rules for the European countries. Understanding the need to move from the national to the supranational level was reflected in the regulations and directives of the European Parliament and the EU Council in 2003, and enshrined the political intention to prevent energy risks in the European Security Strategy adopted at the EU Summit in Brussels in 2003. Conceptual provisions on energy have been reflected in the European Union's Green Paper (2006)⁹.

The current energy structure is based on the priorities related to a guaranteed and secure supply of gas, oil and electricity. Economic instruments developed by the European Union include binding regulatory measures, directives, trade and technical standards, import quotas, price management system, investment loans and subsidies.¹⁰

⁶ Austin A. Energy and Power in China: Domestic Regulation and Foreign Policy. URL: http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/448.pdf (Last accessed: 25.01.2022)

 $^{^7}$ Зубы дракона: как китайские нефтяные компании покоряют весь мир. Forbes. URL: http://m.forbes.ru/article.php?id=244914 (дата звернення: 24.01.2022)

⁸ BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2014...

⁹ Ni W. Integrated energy strategy for the sustainable development of China. URL: http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/So360544210006808 (Last accessed: 01.12.2021)

¹⁰ Ibidem.

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For example, the main EU regulatory document on the functioning of the gas market was adopted in June 2003 by the EU Directive «2003\55\the EU». The directive lays the foundations for forcing the creation of a single gas market in the EU, as well as enshrines the right of nation states to choose gas suppliers.

The European Union has identified six priority areas for cooperation: the formation of a single energy market, security of supply, diversification of energy resources, climate change issue, development of new technologies, and formation of a common foreign policy as well as approaches to energy¹¹.

The development of the EU's policy document «Energy Policy for Europe» and the signing of the Lisbon Treaty in 2007 legally marked the beginning of a common EU energy policy, which included the concept of «shared responsibility» in the energy sector. Interesting is still the fact that the development and adoption of these documents in the EU almost coincided with the relevant work in China on the first White Paper on Energy¹².

The EU's integrated package of actions, adopted in 2007, addresses the fight against climate change, infrastructure development and reducing vulnerability to external energy supplies. Considering the high level of the EU energy imports (52.3% in 2010), changing the structure of consumption in favor of renewable sources is considered a priority of energy policy¹³.

The 2007 EU «20–20-20» initiative calls for a 20% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions, a 20% increase in renewable energy sources and a 20% reduction in electricity consumption through the introduction of new technologies. This policy provides the active development of nuclear energy. Despite the EU's use of 147 nuclear reactors, a number of countries have decided to close the country's nuclear power plants and increase the share of renewables.

China is pursuing the same policy of reducing energy consumption and emissions while increasing the share of green energy, but with some differences – China will continue to build NPP and will not abandon CFPP for at least the next 20 years.

The European Union is one of China's most important partners the relations with which are starting to become increasingly diverse and deep, going beyond predominantly trade and economic cooperation. Undoubtedly, a significant event in this regard is the visit

¹¹ Petersen A. Russia, China and the geopolitics of energy in Central Asia. URL: http://www.cer.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/attachments/pdf/2011/rp_010-4118.pdf (Last accessed: 25.01.2022).

¹² Инвестиции Китая в «зеленую» энергетику превысили вместе взятые Европу и США. URL: http://ecotechnica.com.ua/energy/veter/621-investitsii-kitaya-v-zelenuyu-energetiku-prevysili-vmeste-vzyatye-evropu-i-ssha.html (дата звернення: 01.12.2021); Политика и действия Китая по противодействию климатическим изменениям. Белая книга. URL: http://russian.china.org.cn/exclusive/txt/2011-12/19/content_24191682.htm (дата звернення: 20.12.2021).

¹³ Petersen A. Russia, China and the geopolitics of energy... in Central Asia <u>URL:http://www.cer.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/attachments/pdf/2011/rp_010-4118.pdf</u> (Last accessed: 25.01.2022).

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of Chinese President Xi Jinping to Europe (March 22 – April 1, 2014). This was his first visit to the continent as the Head of the state, and therefore a number of observers tend to assess the results of the trip as the beginning of a new stage in Sino–European relations¹⁴.

Indeed, it was quite a broad-based mission. Xi Jinping visited four European countries (the Netherlands, France, Germany and Belgium), participated in the Nuclear Security Summit in The Hague, and visited the UNESCO and the EU headquarters in Paris and Brussels respectively. In total, he took part in 84 events of various levels and nature. The significance of the Chinese leader's trip to Europe is that, firstly, Xi Jinping voiced China's strategy for developing relations with the European Union in the new environment. Secondly, agreements were reached on specific areas and projects of cooperation with Europe – they resulted in the signing of more than 120 agreements with European countries on cooperation in various fields including energy. Thirdly, China has highlighted its position on one of the most important issues, i.e., nuclear security in the modern world¹⁵.

The international nuclear security system, in Beijing's view, must be comprehensive, multilevel and networked. At the same time, its main link should remain the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) «with the complementary role of other multilateral structures and initiatives». In the current conditions China considers it necessary to expand the IAEA's capabilities and competencies in assisting developing countries in improving the safety of nuclear power facilities. At the same time, Beijing does not question the right of any state to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

Speaking in The Hague Xi Jinping suggested four main directions to be followed in ensuring nuclear security in the modern world¹⁶.

Firstly, in his view, security should become a prerequisite for the development of nuclear energy in general. Secondly, respect for the rights of any state should be at the heart of the whole process of shaping international nuclear security. Thirdly, all parties should use only a «mutually beneficial approach» in finding ways of common nuclear safety. Finally, fourthly, in pursuit of comprehensive nuclear security, it is proposed to work purposefully and jointly to address the underlying factors that threaten this security. In addition, at a meeting on countering the nuclear threat, which took place during the summit, the Chinese leader called on its participants to develop and take, if necessary, swift and decisive measures to prevent and repel all forms of nuclear terrorism¹⁷.

Obviously, this speech can serve as an indication that China, having become a global power, assumes a significant share of responsibility, including ensuring nuclear safety in the world and in East Asia, in particular.

¹⁵ Ibidem.

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¹⁴ Stang G. China's energy demands: Are they reshaping the world? URL: http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Brief_12_China_energy.pdf (Last accessed: 21.01.2022)

¹⁶ Zhang Pengfei. Outcome list of President Xi Jinping's state visit to the United States. Xinhua. URL: http://english.cntv.cn/2015/09/26/ARTI1443 227957974115.shtml (Last accessed: 26.01.2022)

¹⁷ Xi Jinping: China Actively Promote Energy Production and Consumption Revolution. URL: http://en.qianzhan.com/en/news/341/140614-62c4f750.html (Last accessed: 26.01.2022)

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The position of the European Union quite objectively defines it as one of their main players in the world energy market, whose approach is based on the liberal principles of market relations. The EU's approach to foreign policy and climate change strategies is based on the interdependence of states, the integration of markets both inside and outside the region, as well as the harmonization of national standards. In general, both the USA and China agree with such European approach¹⁸.

In autumn of 2011, the 3rd round of the Sino-American Strategic and Economic Dialogue took place. Based on the situation in West Asia and North Africa, oil prices on the international market, the incident with the radiation leak at Japan's Fukushima NPP, the parties exchanged in-depth views on energy security and clean energy development.

In this regard, the Director of the National Energy Administration Liu Tienan for Energy Security made several important official statements. He noted that China and the USA are the world's largest energy producers and energy consumers of common interests and share responsibility for maintaining global energy security and developing clean energy, in addition to meeting common energy security challenges¹⁹. The United States is currently implementing an energy strategic plan and is developing a plan to ensure energy security in the future. At the same time, China has organized the 12th Five-Year Plan to pursue long-term energy security. «The strategic measures of the Chinese and American sides to regulate energy structure, develop clean energy, ensure security of oil supply, improve energy efficiency, save energy and save nuclear energy are very similar,» said Liu Tienan²⁰.

American analysts' views on the future of China – the USA relations are largely devoid of apocalyptic predictions, although some «pessimists» believe that superpowers find it difficult to coexist when their interests clash with vital natural resources. According to them, it is almost impossible to avoid a future clash between China and the United States. «Optimists» believe that the huge Chinese market is so vital to the American economy that the United States is interested in the Chinese economy to grow steadily, providing new opportunities for potential American investors²¹.

There are many examples of direct cooperation between American and Chinese companies in the energy sector. So, in the mid-2000s, Enron company (the USA) signed an

¹⁸ Xi Jinping: China Actively Promote Energy Production and Consumption Revolution. URL: http://en.qianzhan.com/en/news/341/140614-62c4f750.html (Last accessed: 26.01.2022)

¹⁹ В Китае обнародована Белая книга «Китайская энергетическая политика-2012». URL: http://www.cntv.ru/2012/10/25/ARTI1351129452782753.shtml (дата звернення: 26.01.2022)

²⁰ Chinese economy. The Economist. URL: http://www.economist.com/topics/chinese-economy (Last accessed: 21.01.2022)

 $^{^{21}}$ Курнишова Ю.В. Американо-китайське суперництво на сучасному етапі: тенденції та особливості. *Стратегічні пріоритети*. 2009. № 2 (11). С. 257–265. URL: http://old.niss.gov.ua/book/StrPryor/11_2009/37.pdf (дата звернення: 24.01.2022); United States – China Cooperation. URL: http://www.chinafaqs.org/issue/united-states-china-cooperation (Last accessed: 22.01.2022)

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agreement of intent with Petrochina to build a 765 km gas pipeline from Sichuan to Wuhan and Shanghai. The joint venture Enron Oil & Gas China Ltd (EOGC) was formed, where Petrochina owns 55% of the shares. The company also intends to develop a new Guangzhou gas field in Sichuan. On the Chinese offshore shelf, mainly in the South China Sea, American companies Santa Fe, Chevron and Atlantic Richfield Co. are involved in gas production²².

In general, energy cooperation between China and the United States of America has made great progress in the recent decades, thanks to the joint efforts of both parties. Dialogues and exchanges between them have become closer, significant projects are being implemented, scientific and technical cooperation is being actively pursued and brings productive results. Both sides demonstrate their readiness to continue business cooperation in the energy sector and to expand work in such areas as oil security, expanding mutual investment and trade relations in the field of environmental energy, deepening cooperation between science and technology in energy science²³.

There is already a fairly solid contractual basis for this. Official Beijing and Washington have reached a number of agreements on energy cooperation. During the seven-day visit of Chinese President Xi Jinping to the USA in September 2015, the both parties stressed the spirit of the «Joint Declaration of China and the United States of America on Energy Security Cooperation», readiness to ensure energy security in accordance with the principles of mutually beneficial cooperation, multipolar development and interaction²⁴.

The Presidents of China and the USA agreed that in the current framework of cooperation, such as «China-the USA Energy Cooperation Project», «China-the USA Renewable Energy Partnership», «China-the USA Shale Gas Cooperation Memorandum», they will deepen business cooperation in such areas as smart grids, large-scale development of wind energy, shale gas and biofuels, security of sea channels for oil and liquefied gas. The Chinese and American sides promised to share experience in energy supervision and control as well as any practical information²⁵.

The leaders of both countries noted that in the future they will strengthen political exchanges and dialogues, actively promote energy business cooperation, laying a solid foundation for «partnership based on mutual respect and mutual benefit». The parties agreed to regularly hold such successful events that have already taken place in 2011–2014, such as «China–the USA Energy Policy Dialogue», «China–the USA Oil and Gas Industry Forum», «China–the USA Renewable Energy Forum» and «China–American Forum on the production and use of biofuels, etc²⁶.

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²² United States – China Cooperation. URL: http://www.chinafaqs.org/issue/united-states-china-cooperation (Last accessed: 22.01.2022).

²³ Zhang Pengfei. Outcome list of President Xi Jinping's state visit to the United States. Xinhua. URL: http://english.cntv.cn/2015/09/26/ARTI1443 227957974115.shtml (Last accessed: 26.01.2022)

²⁴ United States – China Cooperation...; Zhang Pengfei. Outcome list of President Xi Jinping's...

²⁵ Austin A. Energy and Power in China...; United States – China Cooperation...

²⁶ Zhang Pengfei. Outcome list of President Xi Jinping's state visit...

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Both Presidents Xi Jinping and Barack Obama agreed on the need to jointly formulate a global energy policy to prevent climate changes. They also emphasized this position with the participation of the presidents of the EU and other countries at the 21st UN Conference on Climate, held in Paris from November 29 to December 12, 2015²⁷.

This international summit was held at the Paris Exhibition Centre Le Bourget and was dedicated to climate changes. It was held under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP 21) and in the frames of the 11th Meeting of the Parties under the Kyoto Protocol (CRP-11). The official delegation of the People's Republic of China stated its readiness to sign an international agreement to support the increase in the average temperature of the planet below 2°C, if the agreement applies to all countries. Xi Jinping also held several bilateral meetings with the EU leaders, including President of France Francois Hollande and German Chancellor Angela Merkel, British Prime Minister David Cameron and others, during which they discussed cooperation issues, including energy sector²⁸.

Thus, China, the United States of America and the EU before the presidency of Donald Trump have been developing active cooperation in the field of traditional and alternative energy, ecology and climate changes. It is clear that this does not mean the absence of certain disputes in their relationship. On the contrary, they address many issues, such as the USA and the EU concerns (excluding Germany) about the persistence of trade deficits with China, cyber threats and China's territorial claims in the East China and South China Seas, and the supply of counterfeit products from China (including defective storage batteries and solar panels), fierce competition from Chinese energy companies in Central Asia, the Middle East and Africa, some demonstrative features of Sino-Russian relations, in particular in the energy sector, etc.

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²⁷ China's Leader Jiang Zemin Talks To 60 Minutes. CBS News URL: http://www.cbsnews.com/news/chinas-leader-talks-to-60-minutes/ (Last accessed: 21.01.2022); Zhang Pengfei. Outcome list of President Xi Jinping's state visit....

²⁸ China, France to work together to make Paris climate talks a success. Xinhua. URL: http://english.cntv.cn/2015/11/30/ARTI1448871661272136.shtml (Last accessed: 20.12.2021)

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