KEPENTINGAN INDIA DALAM KERJA SAMA PENGEMBANGAN *HYDROELECTRIC POWER* (HEP) DENGAN BHUTAN

Disusun dan diajukan untuk memenuhi salah satu syarat memperoleh gelar Sarjana Ilmu Sosial (S.Sos) Strata 1

GHINA SHOFIA AFIFAH

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PROGRAM STUDI HUBUNGAN INTERNASIONAL

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UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH MALANG

2025

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Dipersiapkan dan disusun oleh :

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Telah dipertahankan di depan Dewan Penguji Skripsi
dan dinyatakan
L U L U S
Sebagai salah satu persyaratan untuk memperoleh gelar
Sarjana (S-1) Hubungan Internasional
Pada hari Selasa, 14 Oktober 2025
Di hadapan Dewan Penguji

Dewan Penguji :

1. **Dedik Fitra Suhermanto, M.Hub.Int.** ( )
2. **Azza Bimantara, M.A** ( )
3. **Haryo Prasodjo, M.A** ( )
4. **Muhammad Fadzryl Adzmy, M.A** ( )

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KEPENTINGAN INDIA DALAM KERJA SAMA PENGEMBANGAN *HYDROELECTRIC POWER* (HEP) DENGAN BHUTAN

Diajukan Oleh :

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Pembimbing	: 1. Haryo Prasodjo, M.A 2. Muhammad Fadzryl Adzmy, M. A

Kronologi Bimbingan:

Tanggal	Paraf Pembimbing		Keterangan
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10 Oktober 2024			Pengajuan Judul
24 Januari 2025			ACC BAB I
25 Februari 2025			Seminar Proposal
29 Juli 2025			ACC BAB II
23 September 2025			ACC BAB III
24 September 2025			ACC BAB IV
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Dengan ini menyatakan dengan sebenar-benarnya bahwa

1. Tugas Akhir dengan Judul :
   Kepentingan India dalam **Kepentingan India dalam Kerjasama Pengembangan *Hydroelectric Power* (HEP) dengan Bhutan** adalah hasil karya saya, dan dalam naskah tugas akhir ini tidak terdapat karya ilmiah yang pernah diajukan oleh orang lain untuk memperoleh gelar akademik di suatu Perguruan Tinggi, dan tidak terdapat karya atau pendapat yang pernah ditulis atau diterbitkan oleh orang lain, baik sebagian ataupun keseluruhan, kecuali yang secara tertulis dikutip dalam naskah ini dan disebutkan dalam sumber kutipan dan daftar pustaka

2. Apabila ternyata di dalam naskah tugas akhir ini dapat dibuktikan terdapat unsur- unsur PLAGIASI, saya bersedia TUGAS AKHIR INI DIGUGURKAN dan GELAR AKADEMIK YANG TELAH SAYA PEROLEH DIBATALKAN, serta diproses sesuai dengan ketentuan hukum yang berlaku.

3. Tugas akhir ini dapat dijadikan sumber pustaka yang merupakan HAK BEBAS ROYALTY NON EKSKLUSIF.

Demikian pernyataan ini saya buat dengan sebenar-benarnya untuk dipergunakan sebagaimana mestinya.

Malang, 27 September 2025
Yang Menyatakan,

Ghina Shofia Afifah

ABSTRAK

Ghina Shofia Afifah, 2025, 202110360311057, Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Program Studi Hubungan Internasional, Kepentingan India dalam Kerjasama Pengembangan *Hydroelectric Power* (Hep) dengan Bhutan, Dosen Pembimbing I: Haryo Prasodjo, M.A, Dosen Pembimbing II: Muhammad Fadzryl Adzmy, M. A.

Krisis energi yang dialami India pada tahun 2022 akibat kelangkaan batu bara menyebabkan pemadaman listrik di berbagai wilayah sehingga mengganggu produktivitas masyarakat sekaligus menekankan pentingnya diversifikasi energi. Meski memiliki energi bersih seperti tenaga surya dan angin, pasokannya belum stabil sehingga India memperkuat kerja sama pengembangan *hydroelectric power* (HEP) dengan Bhutan yang memiliki potensi tenaga air sekitar 30.000 MW. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan kepentingan India dalam kerja sama tersebut. Penelitian bersifat eksplanatif dengan metode kualitatif dan teknik pengumpulan data melalui studi pustaka. Variabel dependen penelitian adalah kepentingan India, sedangkan variabel independennya adalah kerja sama HEP dengan Bhutan, dengan fokus pada periode 2020-2024. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa kerja sama ini mencerminkan interdependensi yang bersumber dari potensi alam, ikatan sosial, dan faktor geopolitik. Manfaat yang diperoleh kedua negara dalam kerja sama meliputi energi bersih, pembangunan ekonomi, dan penciptaan lapangan kerja, namun terdapat pula biaya berupa kerentanan geopolitik dan risiko perubahan iklim. Pola hubungan asimetris menempatkan India pada posisi dominan sehingga lebih mudah mencapai kepentingannya.

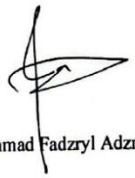
Kata Kunci: ***India-Bhutan, Hydroelectric Power (HEP), Interdependensi, Ketahanan Energi, Kerja Sama Bilateral***

Malang, 27 September 2025

Peneliti,

Ghina Shofia Afifah

Menyetujui,

Pembimbing I,	Pembimbing II,
	
Haryo Prasodjo, M.A	Muhammad Fadzryl Adzmy, M. A

ABSTRACT

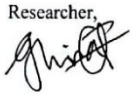
Ghina Shofia Afifah, 2025, 202110360311057, University of Muhammadiyah Malang, Faculty of Social and Political Science, International Relation Study Program, India's Interest in Cooperation with Bhutan on Hydroelectric Power (HEP) Development, Advisor I: Haryo Prasodjo, M.A, Advisor II: Muhammad Fadzryl Adzmy, M. A.

India's 2022 energy crisis, triggered by coal shortages caused widespread power outages, underscored the urgency of energy diversification. Although India possesses renewable resources such as solar and wind power, their supply remains unstable. This condition has driven India to enhance cooperation with Bhutan in developing hydroelectric power (HEP), as Bhutan holds an estimated 30.000 MW of hydropower potential. This study aims to explain India's interest in cooperation with Bhutan on hydroelectric power development. Employing an explanatory design with a qualitative approach, data were collected through literature review. The dependent variable is India's national interest, while the independent variable is HEP cooperation with Bhutan, with the scope limited to 2020-2024. The findings reveal that the cooperation reflects interdependence rooted in natural resources, social ties, and geopolitical factors. The cooperation provides benefit, including clean energy, economic growth, and job creation, yet it also involves costs such as geopolitical vulnerability and climate risks. Furthermore, the asymmetrical nature of the relationship positions India as the dominant actor, enabling it to secure its strategic interests.

Keyword: ***India-Bhutan, Hydroelectric Power (HEP), Interdependence, Energy Resistance, Bilateral Cooperation***

Malang, 27 September 2025

Researcher,



Ghina Shofia Afifah

Approved,

Advisor I,	Advisor II,
	
Haryo Prasodjo, M.A	Muhammad Fadzryl Adzmy, M. A

KATA PENGANTAR

Segala puji syukur penulis panjatkan atas kehadirat Allah SWT yang telah melimpahkan rahmat dan karunia-Nya sehingga penulis dapat menyelesaikan penyusunan skripsi ini dengan baik. Skripsi dengan judul "Kepentingan India dalam Kerjasama Pengembangan *Hydroelectric Power* (HEP) dengan Bhutan" yang disusun sebagai salah satu syarat untuk memperoleh gelar Sarjana (S-1) pada Program Studi Hubungan Internasional, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Politik, Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang.

Penulis dengan rendah hati mengakui bahwa penulisan skripsi ini masih memiliki kekurangan yang tidak terlepas dari keterbatasan pengetahuan dan kemampuan penulis. Dalam penulisan skripsi ini, penulis menyadari bahwa selesainya skripsi ini tidak lepas dari doa, dukungan, dan bantuan dari berbagai pihak sehingga penulis dapat menghadapi dan menyelesaikan setiap kendala dalam proses penyusunan skripsi. Oleh karena itu, penulis ingin mengucapkan terima kasih sebanyak-banyaknya kepada:

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Malang, 26 September 2025

Penulis,

Ghina Shofia Afifah

MOTTO

Embrace your uniqueness and let it be the source of your blooming brilliance

DAFTAR ISI

DAFTAR TABEL

DAFTAR GRAFIK

DAFTAR SINGKATAN

ADB	: *Asia Development Bank*
BBIN	: Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, dan Nepal
BHEL	: *Bharat Heavy Elctricals Limited*
BHP	: *Basochhu Hydropower Plant*
BOOT	: *Build Own Operate and Transfer*
BPCL	: *Bhutan Power Corporation Limited*
BPP	: *Build Bhutan Project*
BRI	: *Belt and Road Initiative*
BUMN	: Badan Usaha Milik Negara
CBET	: *Cross-border Energy Trade*
CCDL	: *Construction Development Corporation Limited*
CDM	: *Clean Development Mechanism*
CEA	: *Central Electricity Authority*
CER	: *Certified Emission Reduction*
CHP	: *Chukha Hydropower Project*
CHPA	: *Chukhha Hydel Project Authority*
CHPC	: *Chhukha Hydro Power Corporation*
CPEC	: *China-Pakistan Economic Corridor*
CREA	: *Centre for Research on Energy and Clean Air*
DGPC	: *Druk Green Power Corporation*
DHI	: *Druk Holding and Investment*
DHP	: *Dagachhu Hydropower Plant*
DHPC	: *Dagachu Hydro Power Corporation*
DHPP	: *Dorjilung Hydropower Project*
DoE	: *Department of Energy*
DPR	: *Detail Project Report*
EPS	: *Electric Power Survey*

FYP : *Five Year Plan*

GLOF : *Glacial Lake Outburst Floods*

GNH : *Gross National Happiness*

GW : Gigawatt

GWh : *Gigawatt hour*

HEP : *Hydroelectric power*

HRT : *Head Race Tunnel*

HVDC : *High Voltage Direct Current*

IEX : *Indian Energy Exchange*

IPKF : *Indian Peace Keeping Force*

ITEC : *Indian Technical Economic Cooperation*

JMD : *Joint Managing Director*

JV : *Joint-venture*

KHEL : *Kholongchhu Hydro Energy Limited*

KHP : *Kurichhu Hydropower Plant*

KHPC : *Kurichhu Hydro Power Corporation*

KPS : Kemitraan Publik-Swasta

Kv : Kilovolt

MHP : *Mangdechu Hydropower Plant*

MHPA : *Mangdechhu Hydroelectric Project Authority*

MoENR : *Ministry of Energi and Natural Resources*

MoU : *Memorandum of Understanding*

Mt : *Million Tonnes*

MVA : Megavolt-Amphere

MW : Megawatt

NHPC : *National Hydroelectric Power Corporation*

NPPF : *National Pension and Provident Fund of Bhutan*

O&M : *Operation and Maintenance*

PDB : Produk Domestik Bruto

PFC : *Power Finance Corporation*

PHPA-I : *Punatsangchhu-I Hydroelectric Project Authority*

PHPA-II : *Punatsangchhu-II Hydroelectric Project Authority*

PHEP-I : *Punatsangchhu-I Hydroelectric Project*

PHEP-II : Punatsangchhu-II Hydroelectric Project

PLTA : Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Air

PLTU : Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Uap

PPA : *Power Purchase Agreement*

PRF : *Project Readiness Financing*

PTC : *Power Trading Corporation*

REC : *Rural Electrification Corporation*

RoR : *Run-of-the-river*

RSPN : *Royal Society for Protection of Nature*

RZB : *Reiffeinsen Zentralbank Osterreich AG*

SPV : *Special Purpose Vehicle*

SJVN : *Sutlej Jal Vidyut Nigam*

THP : *Tala Hydropower Plant*

THPA : *Tala Hydroelectric Project Authority*

ThyE : *Tangsibji Hydro Energy*

TCC : *Technical Coordination Committee*

THPC : *Tehri Hydro Development Corporation*

UU :Undang-undang

UNDP : *United Nations Development Programme*

UNFCCC : *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*

WAPCOS :*Water and Power Consultancy Services*

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