

BAB IV

KESIMPULAN

Reformasi *Gǎigé Kāifāng* berhasil membawa Tiongkok menjadi negara dengan kekuatan ekonomi terbesar sekaligus pusat pabrik dunia. Dengan pesatnya pertumbuhan ekonomi Tiongkok juga diikuti dengan tingkat kebutuhan energi yang semakin meningkat. Bagi Tiongkok, minyak merupakan komoditas energi prioritas mengingat konsumsi nasional Tiongkok terhadap komoditas minyak menempati posisi terbanyak nomor dua setelah batu bara. Meskipun demikian, tingkat konsumsi tersebut tidak dilengkapi dengan kapabilitas Tiongkok untuk memenuhi kebutuhan nasionalnya secara mandiri. Oleh karena itu, aktivitas impor suplai minyak menjadi upaya yang dilakukan Tiongkok untuk memenuhi kebutuhan negaranya akan minyak tersebut.

Adapun salah satu strategi yang digunakan Tiongkok dalam mencapai keamanan energi nasionalnya adalah dengan menjalin kerja sama dengan Pakistan di bawah kerangka kerja sama CPEC. Meskipun demikian, Pakistan bukanlah negara penghasil atau eksportir minyak bagi dunia internasional. Hal tersebut memunculkan sebuah pertanyaan penelitian untuk melihat lebih jauh mengenai strategi yang dilakukan Tiongkok dengan menjalin kerja sama dengan Pakistan.

Berdasarkan pertanyaan penelitian bagaimana keterlibatan Pakistan dalam pemenuhan kepentingan nasional Tiongkok di bidang energi, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa keterlibatan Pakistan dalam pemenuhan keamanan energi Tiongkok adalah menjadi jalur alternatif bagi transmisi suplai minyak dari Kawasan Timur Tengah. Adapun jalur alternatif tersebut diimplementasikan berupa saluran pipa yang dibangun dari Pelabuhan Gwadar hingga Kashgar di provinsi Xinjiang, Tiongkok.

Dalam menganalisis lebih jauh keterlibatan Pakistan dalam pemenuhan energi Tiongkok, penulis menggunakan konsep keamanan energi dan juga teori pilihan rasional untuk melihat manfaat dari proyek pembangunan pipa Gwadar-Kashgar berdasarkan kacamata Tiongkok.

Dilihat berdasarkan konsep keamanan energi, keterlibatan Pakistan dalam pemenuhan energi Tiongkok didasarkan pada empat indikator pemenuhan menurut John Elkind. Indikator pertama adalah ketersediaan. Keterlibatan Pakistan melalui proyek pipa Gwadar-Kashgar dapat memenuhi indikator ketersediaan. Meskipun Pakistan bukan negara penghasil atau importir minyak bumi, melalui proyek tersebut Pakistan terlibat dalam mendukung penciptaan akses dalam mencapai ketersediaan akan minyak itu sendiri.

Indikator kedua adalah keandalan. Apabila dilihat dari indikator keandalan, proyek pipa Gwadar-Kashgar dinilai mampu memenuhi indikator tersebut. Mengingat salah satu hambatan yang dialami Tiongkok dalam upaya pemenuhan keamanan energi adalah tantangan dalam proses transmisi. Ketersediaan energi Tiongkok sangat

bergantung pada aktivitas impor, khususnya dari negara-negara di kawasan Timur Tengah. Dalam proses transmisi yang dilakukan melalui rute SLoC, kapal-kapal tangki minyak Tiongkok mengalami beberapa hambatan yang dinilai mampu mencapai keamanan energi Tiongkok. Ancaman tersebut berasal dari aktor negara dan non negara, yang mana kejahatan laut seperti perampokan dan pembajakan menjadi hambatan besar bagi keamanan energi Tiongkok karena suplai minyak menjadi terganggu.

Dengan adanya jalur alternatif melalui jalur pipa Gwadar-Kashgar memberikan Tiongkok kesempatan untuk menghindari hambatan tersebut karena suplai Tiongkok tidak lagi hanya bergantung pada satu rute melainkan ada rute alternatif yang dapat digunakan apabila sewaktu-waktu terjadi permasalahan di rute SLoC. Oleh karena itu, proyek pipa Gwadar-Kashgar dinilai mampu memenuhi indikator keandalan bagi keamanan energi Tiongkok.

Tidak sampai disana, proyek ini turut memenuhi indikator keterjangkauan. Proyek ini tidak hanya menciptakan jalur baru bagi transmisi suplai minyak Tiongkok, melainkan juga memberikan jalur yang lebih dekat dan cepat. Pemangkasan jarak dari sebelumnya 12,900 km rute laut menjadi 2,000 km melalui daratan Pakistan. Selain itu, waktu tempuh suplai minyak juga mengalami pemangkasan, apabila melalui jalur SLoC akan memakan waktu 30-45 hari, dengan adanya proyek ini maka proses transmisi hanya memerlukan waktu selama 10 hari. Dengan efisiensi jarak dan waktu tersebut, menciptakan keterjangkauan terhadap suplai minyak Tiongkok.

Indikator terakhir dalam pemenuhan keamanan energi adalah indikator keberlanjutan. Pada dasarnya proyek ini belum diimplementasikan karena sesuai perencanaan saluran pipa ini baru akan beroperasi pada 2021 yang akan datang. Meskipun demikian, sejak proses perencanaan, nilai keberlanjutan sudah menjadi landasan penting dalam pengimplementasian proyek tersebut. Hal tersebut terlihat pada prioritas kerja sama Tiongkok-Pakistan secara keseluruhan di bawah kerangka CPEC yang menjadikan *2030 Sustainable Development Agenda and Paris Agreement* tentang *climate change* sebagai landasan disepakatinya proyek kerja sama energi Tiongkok-Pakistan.

Berdasarkan pemaparan di atas, dapat disimpulkan bahwa proyek pembangunan saluran pipa Gwadar-Kashgar dapat memenuhi keempat indikator sehingga proyek ini dinilai potensial untuk mendukung pemenuhan keamanan energi nasional Tiongkok. Meskipun demikian, proyek ini tidak sepenuhnya memberikan keuntungan bagi Tiongkok. Salah satu kelemahan dari proyek ini adalah biaya transmisi yang mahal apabila dibandingkan dengan proses transmisi rute SLoC.

Apabila dilihat berdasarkan teori pilihan rasional, strategi yang dipilih Tiongkok untuk tetap menyepakati dan akan mengimplementasikan proyek pembangunan pipa ini dinilai rasional. Berangkat dari permasalahan yang dialami Tiongkok terkait hambatan di rute SLoC, yang mana merupakan satu-satunya rute yang dapat dilalui suplai minyak Tiongkok. Melihat kondisi tersebut, menciptakan jalur alternatif dinilai strategi yang tepat untuk menjawab permasalahan tersebut.

Terjadi proses rasionalitas yang dilalui Tiongkok untuk meyakini bahwa pipa Gwadar-Kashgar merupakan pilihan yang tepat. Terdapat tiga tahapan dalam proses rasionalitas, yang pertama adalah preferensi. Dalam proyek ini, kerja sama dengan Pakistan melalui pembangunan pipa Gwadar-Kashgar menjadi keputusan yang rasional dengan keamanan energi sebagai prioritas utama untuk dicapai. Setelah itu keyakinan terhadap Pakistan mampu menjadi rekan kerja sama strategis mengingat latar belakang hubungan dan juga lokasi yang mumpuni sebagai jalur alternatif bagi suplai minyak Tiongkok.

Selanjutnya adalah kendala yang dihadapi Tiongkok apabila memutuskan untuk tidak memilih strategi tersebut. Tiongkok akan dihadapkan pada ketidakpastian akan suplai minyak nasionalnya karena apabila terjadi gangguan di SLoC, maka akan mengganggu aktivitas pemenuhan energi secara menyeluruh.

Berdasarkan pertimbangan di atas dan juga perhitungan untung rugi akan beban biaya yang perlu dikeluarkan oleh Tiongkok, pada akhirnya Tiongkok tetap memilih untuk menyepakati dan akan mengimplementasikan proyek pipa Gwadar-Kashgar karena jaminan akan keamanan energi nasional dinilai lebih penting bagi Tiongkok meskipun ada beban biaya tambahan. Dengan begitu, keputusan Tiongkok tersebut dinilai rasional

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku

- Afridi, Manzoor Khan. "Searching Friends and Strengthening Security: Pak-China Relations in 1950s." *International Journal of Social Science Studies*. 3, No. 2 (2015):95-103.
- Ali, Ghulam. *China-Pakistan Relations: A Historical Analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press. (2017)
- Bahgat, Gawdat. *Energy Security: An Interdisciplinary Approach*. Washington: John Wiley & Sons (2011)
- Barton, Barry, Catherine Redgwell, Anita Rønne, dan Donald N. Zillman, *Energy Security: Managing Risk in a Dynamic Legal and Regulatory Environment*, New York: Oxford University Press. (2004).
- Blumenthal, Dan. *Concerns with Respect to China's Energy Policy*. dalam *China's Energy Strategy: The Impact of Beijing's Maritime Policies*. Annapolis: China MaNaval Institute Press (2012).
- Bozyk, Pawel. *Globalization and the Transformation of Foreign Economic Policy*. Poland: Warsaw School of Economics (2006).
- Caraiani, G. dan Georgescu, C. *Cooperare economica internationala*. Romania: Universitaria Bucharest (2013).
- China's Energy Conditions and Policies*. Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China. Desember 2007.
- Creswell, John W. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*.
- Downs, Erica Strecker. *China's Quest for Energy Security*. Santa Monica, Calif: RAND, 2006.
- Elkind, Jonathan. "Energy Security: Call for a Broader Agenda," in *Energy Security: Economics, Politics, Strategies, and Implications*, ed. Carlos Pascual dan Jonathan Elkind, Washington: The Brookings Institution (2010)

- Goldstein, Joshua S. dan Jon C. Pevehouse. *International Relations*. New York: Pearson Longman. (2006).
- Hadiwinata, Bob Sugeng. *Studi dan Teori Hubungan Internasional: Arus Utama, Alternatif, dan Reflektif*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia. (2017)
- Huimin Ma, Xiang Wu, Li Yan, Han Huang, Han Wu, Jie Xiong, dan Jinlong Zhan, “Strategic Plan of Made in China 2025 and Its Implementations” dalam *Analysing the Impacts of Industry 4.0 in Modern Business Environments* (2018)
- Lester, Simon. dan Bryan Mercurio. *Bilateral and Regional Trade Agreements*. New York: Cambridge University Press (2009).
- Martin, L. Lisa. *The Political Economy of International Cooperation dalam Global public goods: international cooperation in the 21st century*. New York: Oxford University Press. (1999)
- O’Farrill, Enrique, Juan Fierro, Maria Eugenia, Moraga Eugenio, dan Perez Marcela Vallejos. *Economic Cooperation*. (1999)
- Pascual, Carlos dan Evie Zambetakis. *The Geopolitics of Energy: From Security to Survival* dalam *Energy Security: Economics, Politics, Strategies, and Implications*, ed. Carlos Pascual dan Jonathan Elkind. Washington: The Brookings Institution (2010)
- Qazi, Hussain. “China Pakistan Economic Corridor: Infrastructure Development.” dalam *China Pakistan Economic Corridor: a Game Changer*. Islamabad: Institute of Strategic Studies (2019)
- Rafiq, Arif. *The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: Barriers and Impact*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace (2017)
- Small, Andrew. *The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia’s New Geopolitics*. New York: Oxford University Press. (2015)
- Soligo, Ronald dan Amy Jaffe. *China and Long-Range Asia Energy Security: An Analysis of the Political, Economic and Technological Factors Shaping Asian Energy Markets*. The Baker Institute (2004)
- Willer, David .*The Principle of Rational Choice and the Problem of a Satisfactory Theory*. Dalam *Rational Choice Theory: Advocacy and Critique*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage (1992)

Wittek, Rafael. *Rational Choice Theori*, dalam *Theory in Social and Cultural Anthropology*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications (2013)

World and China Energy Outlook 2050, CNPC Economics & Technology Research Institute, 2017.

Yung, Christopher D. dan Ross Rustici. *China Strategic Perspectives: "Not an Idea We Have to Shun": Chinese Overseas Basing Requirements in the 21st Century*. Washington DC: Defense University Press (2014).

Zeb, Rizwan. *Pakistan-China Relations: Where They Go from Here?*. UNISCI Discussion Papers. (2014)

中华人民共和国国民经济和社会发展第十一个五年, The National Development and Reform Commission of the People's Republic of China (2006).

Artikel Jurnal

Azfar, Khan Rai Waqas. "Green and Secure Energy Supply Chain: Through China Pakistan Economic Corridor." IACB, ICE, ICTE, & ISEC Proceedings. San Francisco: The Clute Institute.

Balat, Mustafa. "The Position of Oil in the Middle East: Potential Trends, Future Perspectives, Market and Trade." *Energy Sources: Recovery, Utilization, and Environmental Effects* 28 No. 9 (2006): 821-828.

Chunrong, Tian. "Oil Import and Export in China." *China Oil and Gas* 1, (2016): 36-42.

Collins, Gabriel. "China's Evolving Oil Demand: Slowing Overall Growth, Gasoline Replacing Diesel as Demand Driver, Refined Product Exports Rising Substantially." Baker Institute, 2016. <https://www.bakerinstitute.org/media/files/files/e0b5a496/WorkingPaper-ChinaOil-093016.pdf>.

Cornell, Phillip E. "Energy and the Three Levels of National Security: Differentiating Energy Concerns within a National Security Context." *Connections* 8, No. 4 (2009)

Deng, Aimin dan Mi Zhou. "Strategic Analysis of Investment and Financing System of Gwadar Infrastructure System." *World Journal of Research and Review* 6 No.3 (2018):62-67

- Dong, Kang Yin, Ren Jin Sun, Hui Li, Hong Dian Jiang. "A Review of China's Energy Consumption Structure and Outlook Based on a Long-Range Energy Alternatives Modeling Tool." *Petroleum Science*, Februari 2017, hal. 214-227.
- Farooqui, Muhammad Ahmed dan Syed Mobasher Afta. "China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: Prospects and Challenges for Balochistan, Pakistan." *IOP Conference Series 414* (2018)
- Guy Leung, Raymond Li, dan Mellisa Low, "Transitions in China's Oil Economy, 1990-2010, *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 52, no. 4 (2011): 483-500.
- Hussain, Fakhar dan Mezhar Hussain. "China-Pak Economic Corridor (CPEC) and Its Geopolitical Paradigms." *IJSSHE-International Journal of Social Sciences, Humanities and Education* 1 No.2 (2017).
- Jin, Lei, Keran Duan, and Xu Tang. "What Is the Relationship between Technological Innovation and Energy Consumption? Empirical Analysis Based on Provincial Panel Data from China." *Sustainability* 10, No. 145 (2018): 1–13.
- Kazimi, Muhammad Reza. "China-Pakistan Relations," *Pakistan Perspectives* 21 No. 2. (2016):217-226.
- Khalid Rahman, "Pakistan-China Relations CPEC and Beyond," *Policy Perspectives* 14, No. 2 (2017)
- Khan, Hafeez-ur-Rahman. "Pakistan's Relation with The People's Republic of China." *Pakistan Horizon* 14 No. 3 (1961).
- Khan, Muhammad Zahid Ullah dan Minhas Majeed Khan. "China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: Opportunities and Challenges." *Strategic Studies* 39 No.2 (2019):67-82.
- Khurshid, Muzammil dan Athar Rashid. "Impact of CPEC Energy Project on Socio Economic Development of Pakistan." Proceedings of the International Conference on Renewable, Applied and New Energy Technologies. 19-22 November 2018. Islamabad: Air University.
- Lai, Hongyi Harry. "China's Oil Diplomacy: Is It a Global Security Threat?." *Third World Quarterly* 28, No. 3, (2007):519-537.
- Lifan Li, "China's Energy Security and Energy Risk Management," *Journal of International Affairs* 69, No. 1, (2015): 89.

- Lou, Chunhao. "US-India-China Relations in the Indian Ocean: A Chinese Perspective." *Strategic Analysis* 26 No.4. (2012):624-639.
- Mely Cabbalero Anthony, Swee Lean Collin Koh, dan Sofiah Jamil," Rethinking Energy Security: A Non-Traditional View of Human Security in Energy and Non-Traditional Security in Asia ed. Mely Cabbalero Anthony, Youngho Chany, dan Nur Azha Putra. Singapore: Springer. (2012)
- Mobley, Terry. "The Belt and Road Initiatives: Insights from China's Backyard." *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 13 No. 3. (2019):52-72.
- Owen, Anthony D. "Oil Supply Insecurity: Control versus Damage Costs." *Energy Policy* 32 No.16. (2004) 1879-1882.
- Pascual, Carlos dan Evie Zambetakis. "The Geopolitics of Energy: From Security to Survival," in in *Energy Security: Economics, Politics, Strategies, and Implications*, ed. Carlos Pascual dan Jonathan Elkind, Washington: The Brookings Institution. (2010)
- Riaz Mohammad Khan, "Pakistan-China Relations: an Overview," *Pakistan Horizon* 62, No. 4 (2011)
- Singh, Mandip. "Malacca: No More a Dilemma for China?" *Scholar Warrior* (2013):45-56.
- Smith, Michael. "Foreign Economic Policy" in *Contemporary European Foreign Policy* (ed. Walter Carlsnaes, Helene Sjursen, dan Brian White. London: Sage Publications Ld (2004)
- Strange, Susan. "The Detective State." *Daedalus* 124. No. 2 (1995)
- The 13th Five-Year Plan: For Economic and Social Development of The People's Republic of China*, The National Development and Reform Commission of the People's Republic of China (2016).
- The Eleventh Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development*. The National Development and Reform Commission of the People's Republic of China (2006).
- The Twelfth Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development*. The National Development and Reform Commission of the People's Republic of China (2010).

- Vision and Actions on Energy Cooperation in Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road.* The State Council The People's Republic of China. diakses pada 20 November 2020.
- Wang, Liron. "Sea Lanes and Chinese National Energy Security." *Journal of Coaster Research, Special Issue No.73.* (2015):572-576.
- Xiaolu, Li. "A Chinese Perspective on CPEC: Background, Benefits, and Risks." *Journal of Contemporary Studies 4 No. 2* (2015): 7.,” *Journal of Contemporary Studies 4 No. 2* (2015): 1-16.
- Xuewen Qian, "China's Energy Cooperation with Middle East Oil-Producing Countries," *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (in Asia)* 4, No. 3, (2010): 65-80.

Website

- "Anarchy." Merriam-Webster. Merriam-Webster. Diakses 20 Februari 2020. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/anarchy>.
- "As Many as 700,000 New Job for CPEC." China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, 12 Januari 2019. <https://www.facebook.com/CPEC.Official/photos/as-many-as-700000-new-job-opportunities-for-local-people-of-balochistan-are-bec/1984174521668732/>.
- "Belt and Road Initiative," *Belt and Road Initiative*, Diakses pada 6 September 2020, <https://www.beltroad-initiative.com/belt-and-road/>.
- "China - Countries & Regions," *IEA*, 12 Juni 2019, <https://www.iea.org/countries/china>.
- "China Appreciates Pakistan's Firm Support to One-China Policy," China Pakistan Economic Corridor, 4 Juli 2020, <http://cpecinfo.com/china-appreciates-pakistans-commitment-to-one-china-policy/>.
- "China Exports to Pakistan." China exports to Pakistan - 1992-2018 Data | 2020 Forecast, Oktober 2020. <https://tradingeconomics.com/china/exports/pakistan>.
- "China Oil Consumption 1965 - 2020." CEIC, Diakses pada 20 September 2020. <https://www.ceicdata.com/en/indicator/china/oil-consumption>.

- “China Pakistan Economic Corridor Maps.” China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) - “China Statistical Yearbook-2016.” National Bureau of Statistics of China. Diakses 25 September 2020. <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj/2016/indexeh.htm>.
- “China Surpassed the United States as the World’s Largest Crude Oil Importer in 2017.” Energy Information Administration, Desember 31, 2018. <https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.php?id=37821>.
- “China-Pakistan Relations.” Council on Foreign Relations. Council on Foreign Relations. Diakses 20 Februari 2020. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/china-pakistan-relations>.
- “China,” *Energy Information Administration*, 14 Mei 2015, https://www.energy.gov/sites/prod/files/2016/04/f30/China_International_Analysis_US.pdf
- “China: Number of Privately-Owned Vehicles 2018.” Statista, 22 Maret 2020. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/278475/privately-owned-vehicles-in-china/>.
- “CPEC-Energy Priority Projects.” China Pakistan Economic Corridor Ministry of Planning, Development, and Special Initiative. Diakses 6 Desember 2020. <http://cpec.gov.pk/energy>.
- “Crude Oil Pipeline Requires 10 Billion Dollars Investment.” Gwadar Central. 24 September 2020. <https://gwadarcentral.com/crude-oil-pipeline-requires-10-billion-dollars-investment/>.
- “Energy.” China Pakistan Economic Corridor. Diakses 10 November 2020. <http://cpecinfo.com/energy/>.
- “FWO's Role in Developing CPEC Infrastructure Lauded.” Profit by Pakistan Today, 10 Oktober 2018. <https://profit.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/10/10/fwos-role-%20in-developing-cpec-infrastructure-lauded/>
- “GDP (Current US\$) - China.” Data. Diakses 20 Februari 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/1972/08/26/archives/chinas-first-un-veto-bars-bangladesh-soviet-union-and-india-are.html>
- “Hydro China Dawood Wind Farm(Gharo, Thatta).” China Pakistan Economic Corridor Ministry of Planning, Development, and Special Initiative. Diakses pada 6 Desember 2020, <http://cpec.gov.pk/project-details/11>.

- “International Trade in Goods and Services Based on UN Comtrade Data.” United Nations. United Nations. Diakses 28 Februari 2020. <https://comtrade.un.org/labs/dit-trade-vis/?reporter=586&type=C&year=2015&flow=2>.
- “Introduction: China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) Official Website.” China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) Official Website. Diakses 20 Februari 2020. <http://cpec.gov.pk/introduction/1>.
- “Joint Statement Between the People's Republic of China and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.” Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. 25 November 2006. <http://pk.chineseembassy.org/eng/zbgx/t282202.htm>.
- “Karot Hydropower Station.” China Pakistan Economic Corridor Ministry of Planning, Development, and Special Initiative. Diakses pada 6 Desember 2020. <http://cpec.gov.pk/project-details/16>.
- “Made in China 2025: Industrial Policies: Issues for Congress,” *Congressional Research Service*, 11 Agustus 2020, diakses pada 8 September 2020, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/IF10964.pdf>.
- “Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf Visited China on 10-15 April 2008.” Economic and Commercial Office of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Diakses 15 November 2020. <http://pk2.mofcom.gov.cn/aarticle/bilateralvisits/200804/20080405489482.html>.
- “Prof Ahsan Iqbal: China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) Official Message.” China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) - Ministry of Planning, Developments, and Social Initiatives. Diakses pada 10 November 2020. <http://cpec.gov.pk/messages/7>.
- “U.S. Energy Information Administration - EIA - Independent Statistics and Analysis.” What countries are the top producers and consumers of oil? - FAQ - U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA). Diakses 22 Februari 2020. <https://www.eia.gov/tools/faqs/faq.php?id=709&t=6>.
- 2050, Norway: DNV GL, 2017. Diakses pada 6 Oktober 2020. https://www.ourenergypolicy.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/DNV-GL_Energy-Transition-Outlook-2017_oil-gas_lowres-single_3108_3.pdf

- Afrida, Nani. "Malacca Strait Rampant with Pirates." The Jakarta Post. Diakses 6 Desember 2020. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/01/02/malacca-strait-rampant-with-pirates.html>.
- Ali, Syed. "China's Belt and Road Initiative Is Cracking! What's Blocking China's Highway to Global Dominance? Check." The Financial Express, 7 Augustus 2020. <https://www.financialexpress.com/defence/chinas-belt-and-road-initiative-is-cracking-whats-blocking-chinas-highway-to-global-dominance-check/2047554/>.
- Austin, Greg. "4 Reasons Why China Is No Threat to South China Sea Commerce." – The Diplomat. 22 Mei 2015. <https://thediplomat.com/2015/05/4-reasons-why-china-is-no-threat-to-south-china-sea-commerce/>.
- Bradsher, Keith. "Recession Elsewhere, but It's Booming in China." The New York Times. The New York Times, Desember 9, 2009. <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/10/business/economy/10consume.html>.
- Citradi, Tirta. "Kisah China: Dulu Kumuh Kini Jadi Raksasa Ekonomi Baru." news, November 13, 2019. <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20191113145204-4-115001/kisah-china-dulu-kumuh-kini-jadi-raksasa-ekonomi-baru>.
- CPEC Official. "CPEC: Geo-Strategic and Economic Significance." CPEC Latest News. Diakses 15 November 2020. <http://www.cpecinfo.com/archive/news/cpec-geo-strategic-and-economic-significance/NDkxMQ==>.
- CPIC Global. "10 Reasons As To Why China Likes Pakistan." CPIC Global, 22 Augustus 2019. <https://www.cpicglobal.com/10-reasons-as-to-why-china-likes-pakistan/>.
- CPIC Global. "What Is the Impact of the Gwadar Port on International Trade?" CPIC Global, 23 Juni 2020. <https://www.cpicglobal.com/what-is-the-impact-of-the-gwadar-port-on-international-trade/>.
- Escobar, Pepe. "Do the China-Pakistan Pipeline Shuffle." Asia | Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera, 27 Mei 2011. <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2011/5/27/do-the-china-pakistan-pipeline-shuffle/>.
- Gady, Franz Stefan. "China Is Building a 100,000 Strong Marine Corps." The Diplomat, 31 Maret 2017. <https://thediplomat.com/2017/03/china-is-building-a-100000-strong-marine-corps/>.

- Gordon, Deborah, Yevgen Sautin, and Wang Tao. "China's Oil Future." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 6 Mei 2014. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2014/05/06/china-s-oil-future>.
- Hamzah, B. A. "Alleviating China's Malacca Dilemma." Institute for Security and Development Policy, 13 Maret 2017. <https://isdpeu.org/alleviating-chinas-malacca-dilemma/>.
- Hua, Xin. "Chronology of China's Belt and Road Initiative." *The State Council of The People's Republic of China*. 28 Maret 2015.
- International Energy Agency. "Data Tables – Data & Statistics." IEA.org, 1 Februari 2020. <https://www.iea.org/data-and-statistics/data-tables?country=WORLD&energy=Oil&year=2017>.
- Kazemi, Abbas Varij dan Xiangming Chen. "China and the Middle East: More Than Oil." *The European Financial Review*. 28 Februari 2014.
- Mangi, Faseeh. "Pakistan Owes China More Money than It Owes the IMF." Asia Pacific News | Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera, 3 Oktober 2019. <https://www.aljazeera.com/economy/2019/10/3/pakistan-owes-china-more-money-than-it-owes-the-imf>.
- Ministry of Planning, Developments, and Social Initiatives. Diakses 10 November 2020. <http://cpec.gov.pk/maps>.
- Myllyvirta, Lauri. "Factcheck: Is BP Overreporting Global Coal and Oil Consumption?" Unearthed, 29 Augustus 2017. <https://unearthed.greenpeace.org/2016/06/29/factcheck-is-bp-overreporting-global-coal-and-oil-consumption/>.
- Oil and Gas Forecast to Panda*, Ankit. "Xi Jinping on Pakistan: 'I Feel As If I Am Going to Visit the Home of My Own Brother'." *The Diplomat*, April 21, 2015. <https://thediplomat.com/2015/04/xi-jinping-on-pakistan-i-feel-as-if-i-am-going-to-visit-the-home-of-my-own-brother/>.
- Palumbo, Virginia Harrison & Daniele. "China Anniversary: How the Country Became the World's 'Economic Miracle'." BBC News. BBC, 1 Oktober 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-49806247>.
- Rapp, Nicolas, and Brian O'Keefe. "China Is Guzzling Crude Oil. Where Is It All Coming from?" *Fortune*. Fortune, 22 Januari 2020. <https://fortune.com/longform/china-crude-oil-consumption-map/>.

- Robert Alden, "China's First U. N. Veto Bars Bangladesh," *The New York Times*, 26 August 1972, <https://www.nytimes.com/1972/08/26/archives/chinas-first-un-veto-bars-bangladesh-soviet-union-and-india-are.html>
- Singh, P.K, and Minxin Pei. "China's Strategic Gateway to the Indian Ocean." Center for Strategic and International Studies, 24 Mei 2017. <https://reconnectingasia.csis.org/analysis/entries/chinas-strategic-gateway-indian-ocean/>.
- Storey, Ian. "China's 'Malacca Dilemma.'" Jamestown, September 20, 2016. <https://jamestown.org/program/chinas-malacca-dilemma/>.
- Tenembaum, Yoav J. "Kissinger's Visit, 40 Years On." – *The Diplomat*. for *The Diplomat*, 8 Juli 2011. <https://thediplomat.com/2011/07/kissingers-visit-40-years-on/>.
- Yousafzai, Fawad. "China to Build Mega Oil Pipeline from Gwadar to Kashgar." *The Nation*. 13 Juni 2016. <https://nation.com.pk/13-Jun-2016/china-to-build-mega-oil-pipeline-from-gwadar-to-kashgar>.
- Yousafzai, Fawad. "China to Build Mega Oil Pipeline from Gwadar to Kashgar." *The Nation*, 13 Juni 2016. <https://nation.com.pk/13-Jun-2016/china-to-build-mega-oil-pipeline-from-gwadar-to-kashgar>.
- Zabel, Graham. "Peak People: The Interrelationship between Population Growth and Energy Resources." *Resilience*, April 19, 2009. "10 Fundamentals of CPEC." *China Pakistan Economic Corridor*. Diakses 10 November 2020. <http://cpecinfo.com/10-questions-on-cpec/>.

