



CHINA'S GLOBAL STRATEGY FOR THE 21ST CENTURY OF SILK ROAD: CHINA AND THE ASIA SECURITY ARCHITECTURE IN XI JINPING GOVERNMENT

Gesti Anggraini^{1*}, Adi Rio Arianto², Pradono Budi Saputro³

^{1*} Mazhab Indonesia

² Department of International Relations, Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta

³ Department of International Relations, Universitas Satya Negara Indonesia

*Corresponding Email: gestianggra92@gmail.com

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ABSTRAK

Strategi Global Jalur Sutra Tiongkok Abad ke-21 telah menunjukkan Tiongkok berpengaruh kuat dalam pembentukan arsitektur keamanan Asia periode Xi Jinping. Sebagai kekuatan regional di Asia dan calon kekuatan global di dunia, tanggung jawab Tiongkok bertambah setelah terbentuknya "Jalur Sutra Abad Ke-21" sekaligus mencapai "Impian Tiongkok". Dengan metode kualitatif diperkuat dengan wawancara dan studi pustaka, hasil penelitian menemukan bahwa Tiongkok berhasil mempengaruhi negara-negara dan institusi kawasan melalui strategi kebijakan luar negeri dan keamanannya mencapai Kerukunan Asia (Harmoni Asia). Pembahasan difokuskan pada: (1) arsitektur keamanan Asia sebelum kebijakan "Jalur Sutra Abad ke-21", (2) arsitektur keamanan Asia setelah kebijakan "Jalur Sutra Abad ke-21" (3) evolusi "Open Door Policy", (4) polarisasi kekuatan di Asia, (5) Tiongkok sebagai kekuatan regional di Asia, dan (6) Jalur Sutra Tiongkok Abad ke-21 dan Kerukunan Asia. Hasilnya, pengaruh Tiongkok ditunjukkan melalui: (1) pembentukan "Asia Bumisutra Dunia", (2) pembentukan "Asia Benua Pemersatu", (3) penguatan "Asia Benua Multi-Ekuilibrium", (4) penguatan "Asia Benua Teduh", dan (5) penguatan "Asia Benua Harmoni". Penulis berkeyakinan bahwa untuk memahami Arsitektur Keamanan Asia sebaiknya lintas paradigma, oleh karena itu penulis secara singkat memperkenalkan paradigma, filosofi, dan teori Manunggalisme melalui Teori Hubungan Dunia / Hubungan Antarbangsa Timur (Eastern World Relations Theories / WRT) dan Mazhab Indonesia (Indonesian School) melahirkan disiplin "Ilmu Antarbangsa (World Relations)" dengan mengarusutamakan Sistem Hubungan Dunia "gotong royong" untuk menantang Teori Hubungan Internasional Barat (Western International Relations Theories / IRT) yang menekankan sistem anarkisme.

Kata Kunci: Strategi Global Tiongkok, Jalur Sutra Abad ke-21, Kebijakan Luar Negeri dan Keamanan, Arsitektur Keamanan Asia, Manunggalisme

ABSTRACT

The 21st Century Chinese Silk Road has shown China a strong influence in the establishment of the Asia Security Architecture during the Xi Jinping Administration. As a regional power in Asia and the candidate of global power, China's responsibility continues to grow during the formation of "the 21st Century Silk Road" to achieve "Chinese Dreams". By using methodology of qualitative research with techniques of interviews, the results found that China succeeded in influencing regional countries and institutions through China's foreign and security policy strategy to changes Asia from conflict into harmony (*kerukunan*). This discussion is focused on (1) Asia security architecture before "the 21st Century of China Silk Road", (2) Asia security architecture during "the 21st Century of China Silk Road", (3) the

evolution of “Open Door Policy”, (4) power polarization in Asia, (5) China as regional power in Asia, and (6) The 21st Century Chinese Silk Road and Harmonious Asia. The result, China's influence is shown in the terms, namely: (1) the establishment of “*Asia Bumisutera Dunia*”, (2) formation of “*Asia Benua Pemersatu*”, (3) strengthening “*Asia Benua Multi-Equilibrium*”, (4) strengthening “*Asia Benua Teduh*”, and (5) strengthening “*Asia Benua Harmoni*.” The authors believes that to understand the Asia Security Architecture is advisable use cross-paradigm, therefore the authors briefly introduces paradigm, philosophy, and theory of *Manunggalism* through the *Eastern World Relations Theories* (WRT) and *Mazhab Indonesia* (*Indonesian School*) with the birth of the discipline of “*Ilmu Antarbangsa* (World Relations)” by mainstreaming the *gotong royong* World Relations System to challenge the *Western International Relations Theories* (IRT) that tends to *anarchism* system.

Keywords: China's Global Strategy, 21st Century Silk Road, Foreign and Security Policy, Asia Security Architecture, Manunggalism

BACKGROUND

During the reign of Xi Jinping, China's position in the world arena began to be taken into account both at the regional and global levels. Starting in 2000, China consistently began to show its role at various levels, both at the regional, cross-regional and global levels. China's progress can be seen in cooperation with the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). This institution is a form of recognition between regional powers throughout the region. China is also active in the SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization) cooperation which consists of China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. In the SCO, China's position is as a link with countries in the Eurasia and Central Asia regions.

In Xi Jinping Era, China is beginning to take on a major responsibility in Asia's internal and external arenas. On the one hand, this responsibility relates to the maintenance of the Asia Security Architecture, on the other hand China is taking greater initiatives to protect the Asia Security Architecture from various strategic conflicts in Asia. According to the authors, “Asia Security Architecture is a series of political, strategic and security processes that drive the formation of a strategic environment in Asia in the form of Asia unification, the evolution of China as a regional power, the transformation of Asia sub-regional powers (Indonesia, India, Iran, Kazakhstan as well as other influential states) and the evolution of regional

institutions from *Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)*, *South Asia Association Regional Cooperation (SAARC)*, *Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)*, *Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa (BRICS)*, developments in crisis resolution or management throughout Asia and trans-Asia, namely Asia-Pacific, Mainland Asia, and Archipelagic Asia.

Starting from the analysis of the authors on Asia Security Architecture above, during the Xi Jinping administration period, China definitely needed the best security strategy and management. This is intended so that China is able to freely carry out its responsibilities without getting too many obstacles from Asian countries. In addition, the authors see that with this increased responsibility, China's influence as a regional power in the Asia region continues to increase peacefully and is increasingly inevitable. In the terms mentioned by Adi Rio Arianto, China and Russia are big countries which are grouped as "*Poros Daratan Dunia (The World's Land Axis)*", namely the area inhabited by the largest landmass nation in Asia and Eurasia which geographically does not have a perfect sea (maritime) area, that is the imperfect land terrain of China and Russia's *Geometripolitical* as the strategic environment in each region (Arianto, 2016). In the terms mentioned by M. Najeri Al Syahrin, China has now become "pusat gravitasi baru" in the Asia region (Al Syahrin, 2018, p. 147).

Furthermore, China in the early stages of Xi Jinping's government carried the idea "*Impian Tiongkok (Chinese Dream)*" where the idea refers to the vision of "common prosperity" for the entire Chinese people and the massive consolidation of the Chinese nation around the world. The meaning of the idea "Chinese Dream" is that China wants to make its nation that is reckoned with by the world community (Dewi & Akbar, 2017, p. 12). Embedded ideas "Chinese Dream" began to become a very popular term within the Chinese domestic environment and gradually the meaning of the Chinese Dream became recognized by the world community. The

Realization of the Chinese Dream was contained in the key words of Xi Jinping's speech delivered at "*Jalan Kebenaran (The Path of Truth)*" *Zhongguo Gongchandang Xinwen Wang* Exhibition, 30 November 2012: "In my opinion, realizing the great revival of the Chinese Nation is the biggest dream of the Chinese this century, namely the great revival of the Chinese throughout the world" (Nufus, 2014, p. 44). Chinese Dreams is a strong nation, a prosperous nation and a happy society. Xi Jinping also stated that the Chinese Dream does not only belong to the Chinese nation but also will be felt by all people in the world (Nufus, 2014, pp. 44-45).

The idea of the Chinese Dream sparked by Xi Jinping does not merely describe the vision of China under his rule. Furthermore, Xi Jinping used this idea as a political strategy. As a guide in realizing the Chinese Dream, Xi Jinping gave the principle of "three imperatives" that must be adhered to, namely "must follow the Chinese path, must maintain the Chinese spirit, and must muster China's strength." First, what are meant by Chinese roads are roads that conform to Chinese characteristics. According to Xi Jinping, the only path that is considered in accordance with Chinese characteristics is to use the principles of "socialism" with Chinese characteristics. Second, the "Chinese spirit" is the spirit of loving the motherland. Third, with the spirit of loving the motherland, all Chinese people can unite. The unity of all groups of Chinese society will be the main force in realizing the rise of the Chinese nation (Nufus, 2014, p. 48).

The idea contains two major development agendas namely "*New Silk Road Economic Belt*" indicating stronger economic ties with Central Asia with a focus on trade and "*21st Century Maritime Silk Road*" which is seen as an effort to strengthen relations with South Asia and Southeast Asia which is focused on maritime trade security (Kartini, 2015, p. 131). The idea of the New Silk Road is also known as "*One Belt and One Road Initiative (OBOR)*" which is then transformed into "*Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)*." The word "*initiative*" was to emphasize the openness for China on

input from various partners so that it does not seem China-centric (MNOL, 2017). Progress in China's diplomacy and foreign policy under the leadership of Xi Jinping shows the “grand strategy” contained in the “*Open Door Policy*” (Dan, 2014).

China is starting to wake up from its long slumber and is currently trying to rebuild its strength, especially in the military field, which is predicted to become the hegemon country in Asia (Rachmat, 2017a). China's economic growth has ranked first, beating the United States (Lowy Institute, 2019). A year later, China managed to occupy the first position in the field of diplomacy (Lowy Institute, 2019). Nonetheless, in the military sector, China ranks second after the United States. Growth in the field of economy and diplomacy, China is increasing its military budget consistently and gradually (The Economist, 2019).

Positive relations with countries in the Asia region can help China build a stable regional strategic environment. If the region's strategic environment is unstable, it is difficult to ensure national security (Huasheng, 2016, p. 894). China provides infrastructure investment assistance on land and at sea. China is expanding its political support as an important partner. To that end, China is modernizing ports and establishing port facilities in Myanmar (Bay of Bengal), Bangladesh (Chittagong), Pakistan (Gwadar), and Sri Lanka (Hambantota) (Pradt, 2016, p. 41). Strengthening cooperation in the maritime sector, China is cooperating with Russia and Southeast Asia countries, especially Indonesia through the “*Kerjasama Segitiga Maritim Dunia* (World Maritime Triangle Cooperation)” (Arianto, 2017, p. 189).

Chinese domination also goes by land route. With the construction of a fast train (KAC) or *High Speed Railway* (HSR), China now controls all of the world's high-speed rails (Wilson, 2016). The KAC project has been included in the calculations of China's geopolitical and geoeconomic blueprint as a new superpower in the Asia region and beyond (Nainggolan, 2016, p. 80).

The Asia region is also home to several regional powers such as Japan, North Korea and South Korea (East Asia), Indonesia (Southeast Asia), India (South Asia), Iran (West Asia), Kazakhstan (Central Asia) and China. Asia is positioned as the “hub” of interaction between these countries and with other countries in the region, both bilaterally and multilaterally (Rachmat, 2017a, p. 132). The unstable situation in Asia is caused by conflicts that have arisen in all sub-regions of Asia, namely: 1. Uygur, 2. Taiwan, 3. South China Sea, 4. Conflict between South Korea and North Korea on the Korean Peninsula, 5. India vs. Pakistan nuclear, 6. Iran’s nuclear, 7. China vs. Japan in East Asia. The early 21st century saw changes in Asia's stability related to China's increased economic and military capabilities (Rachmat, 2017a, pp. 132-133). China sees Asia as a strategic channel to embrace the international community, with the principle of “*hexie yazhou*” namely “Harmonious Asia” both multilaterally, sub-regionally and bilaterally. China is aiming at South Asia, Central Asia and the northeastern region of Asia, by offering the concept of shared prosperity (Wishanti, 2014, p. 8).

Seeing this situation, this research becomes very significant for analysis by looking at the extent of China's influence in building regional security architecture and regional peace in Asia. China's influence will always be related to China's increasing responsibility in managing Asia's security architecture related to China's strategic role as a “regional power” throughout the Asia region and Asia sub-regions during the Xi Jinping administration period. Based on the background of the problems described above, this research specifically raises one research question, namely: “How was China's influence in the formation of the security architecture in the Asia Region during the Xi Jinping administration period through the 21st Century China Silk Road Global Strategy?”.

LITERATURE REVIEWS

There are several theories used to analyze the problems. *First, Geopolitics.* Geopolitics is the use of knowledge from geography for practical political purposes. The geopolitical theory which is very well known was coined by a geopolitical expert from Germany, namely Karl Haushofer (1896-1946). Karl Haushofer was one of the policymakers of the German Armed Forces, a geographer, and a leading advocate of basic geopolitics for the German Government. Karl Haushofer also collected data related to his political geography concerning countries in Asia. With this idea, Germany could dominate Russia's territory as described in the combined method of countries in the Eurasia region and beyond (Hayati & Yani, 2007, p. 161). The ultimate goal of using Geopolitical theory in this research is to understand the expansion of power exercised by China in Asia as well as to explain the process of making and implementing the "21st Century Chinese Silk Road" policy as part of China's geographic strategy in Asia, sub-Asia, and across Asia continent which if it can be put to good use will bring strength to China.

Secondly, Regional Power. According to the analysis put forward by the *European Consortium for Political Research* (ECPR), what is meant by regional power is "a country that is in a geographical area, where the country dominates the region in economic and military terms, is able to exert hegemonic influence in the region and influence (possible) on a global scale, and voluntarily "*willingness*" to take advantage of strength resources and is recognized or accepted as a regional leader by its neighbors" (Jurnal of the *European Consortium for Political Research*). Meanwhile, "*security order*" is the mapping, regulation, and proportion of security order at the regional level which emphasizes the identification, management and prevention of various types of regional security threats (Stewart-Ingersoll, 2012, pp. 33-35). In this context, according to Strange, to measure the "influence" of a country and its reach at the regional level is by looking at two types of influence bases, namely "*relational*

based power" and *"structural based power"*. *Relational based power* is the power to convince and invite other actors one by one or in groups (regional). Meanwhile, *structural based power* is an important ability of a country to realize the rules, norms, and operations in the regional system as desired. Strange asserted that a nation's structural strength depends on its security, production, financial, and knowledge capacities in the international political-economic system beyond regional dimensions (Strange, 1987, p. 565).

According to Nolte *regional powers*, in this case it explains the combined relationship between the geographical concept of *"region"* with the concept basis of the theory of international relations *"power"* (Nolte, 2007, p. 22). He emphasized that *regional powers* are regional powers capable of forming the polarity of a regional area (Nolte, 2007, p. 15). The above was emphasized by *the German Institute of Global and Area Studies*, a country to become a *regional power* must (1) be part of a permanent region with its own identity, (2) claim to be a regional power, (3) have a major influence on the geopolitical constellation area, the geographical expansion of the region and its ideological construction, (4) having high military, economic, demographic, political-ideological capabilities for the projection of regional power, (5) well integrated in economic, political and cultural terms, (6) has influence which is very strong in the region, (7) sets the regional security agenda to the highest level, (8) exercises its influence using state instruments/regional institutions (*means of regional governance structures*); (9) recognized as a regional power by other powers in the region, also recognized by other regional powers, (10) well connected with regional and global powers, *as a representative of regional interests*.

Thirdly, foreign policy strategy. Baldwin emphasized that the state must determine a foreign policy strategy to be projected outwards, both at the regional and global levels. He emphasized with the analysis *"the crucial question is which foreign policy strategies can regional powers pursue to react regional [hegemonic] position?"*

(Baldwin, 2002, p. 187). Thus, it becomes important to discuss how the relationship between a country that holds a position as a *regional power* and the strategic foreign policy of the *regional power* at the regional level which includes the country. *Regional powers* also have a large portion in the creation of regional institutions. Pedersen explained that under conditions it is possible for regional powers to act through regional government institutions and create a regional institutionalization character.

Lastly, *Regional Security Complex* (RSC). Buzan and Waever's analysis of the *regional security complex* (RSC) includes various elements such as geography, ethnicity and culture of the people around the area (Buzan & Waever, 2003, p. 44). These factors will then influence interdependence in a region. The problems are regarding national security cannot possibly exist without taking into account regional security. There is dependence between countries in a region does not mean a harmonious situation, it will be achieved even relations between countries in a region are always influenced by various things such as: the balance of power, alliances, and the entry of outside forces in the region. Buzan and Waever formulate four *essential constituent variables* of the RSC: (1) territorial boundaries (differentiating the RSC from the surrounding countries), (2) anarchic structure (the RSC must consist of a minimum of two autonomous units), (3) polarity (the distribution of power between units), (4) social construction (patterns of *amity* and *equity* between units). This RSC theory ultimately aims to form a security arrangement as an ultimate goal of regionalization which has a regional security basis.

METHODOLOGY

The type and research model used by the authors is qualitative research. Bogdan and Taylor define a qualitative approach as a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from people and observable behavior (Bogdan & Taylor, 2004, p. 4). The type of research that the

researcher uses is descriptive analytical research. Regardless, the research data collection technique is primary data through interviews and literature study (Sugiyono, 2013, p. 224). Interviews are the main source of data in research, the rest is additional data such as documents (Moleong, 2007, p. 112).

There are three results of interviews with informants obtained from three government agencies that are focused on the studies in this research. The following are the sources and their respective agencies: Hayati Nufus, S. Hum, LL.M (researcher from P2P, LIPI's Social Sciences and Humanities); Elizani Nadia Sumampouw (Head of East Asia and Pacific Sub Directorate 1, Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs); and Sora Lokita (Head of the Maritime Boundary and Dispute Resolution Division, the Indonesian Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment).

DISCUSSION

The Asia Security Architecture is a series of political, strategic and security processes that drive the formation of a strategic environment in Asia in the form of Asia unification, the evolution of China as a regional power, the transformation of sub-regional power states (Indonesia, India, Iran, Kazakhstan) and the evolution of regional institutions from the *Association of Southeast Asian Nations* (ASEAN), *South Asia Association Regional Cooperation* (SAARC), *Shanghai Cooperation Organization* (SCO), *Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa* (BRICS), developments in crisis resolution in trans-Asia, namely Asia Pacific, Mainland Asia and Archipelagic Asia. The authors designed influential actors and phenomenons as the following table:

Table 1. Asia Security Architecture Indicators

State Actors	1. Geopolitics of China: China's perspective on its domestic problems related to strategic issues in the country such as Uygurs and Taiwan
	2. East Asia Polarization : China's relationship with Japan represents US interests in East Asia causing the formation of power polarization

	3. Situation of the Korean Peninsula: China's relationship regarding the consistency of its support for North Korea stemming the influence of South Korea represents US interests in the contest Socialism vs. Liberalism
	4. Inter-Regional Power Partnership: the emergence of a strategic partnership in the form of weak bilateralism between China and the Asia sub-regional powers: Indonesia, India, Iran, and Kazakhstan
Institutional Actors	5. ASEAN and the South China Sea: relations between China and ASEAN regarding the South China Sea issue
	6. SAARC and Nuclear program in South Asia: China's relationship with SAARC regarding the India and Pakistan Nuclear programs
	7. SCO and Joint Political and Security System in Central Asia: China's cooperation in SCO related to politics and security is still weak
	8. BRICS and the Inter-Regional Power Economic System: China's cooperation in the BRICS regarding the still weak economy

Source: self-processed based on the authors' analysis

1. The Asia's Security Architecture Before The 21st Century China's Silk Road

The Asia Security Architecture before the formation of the 21st Century Chinese Silk Road can be understood through 8 (eight) factors as the following table:

Table 2. The Asia Security Architecture Before the 21st Century Chinese Silk Road

State Actors	1. China's tensions with its domestic problems related to humanitarian issues in the Uyghurs and Taiwan creates the " Uyghur and Taiwan Geopolitical Dilemma "
	2. tension China vs. Japan represents US interests in East Asia creates a system of " East Asia Bipolarism "
	3. China's tension regarding its consistent support for North Korea stems South Korea's influence representing US interests in the contest of Socialism vs. Liberalism creates the " Dilemma of the Korean Peninsula "
	4. the emergence of a still weak strategic partnership between China and Asia sub-regional powers: Indonesia, India, Iran, and Kazakhstan formed the " First Steps to Asia Harmonism " system
Institutional Actors	5. China's tensions with ASEAN regarding the South China Sea issue creates the " South China Sea Dilemma "
	6. China's relations with SAARC regarding the Indian and Pakistani Nuclear programs creates the " Dilemma of the Nuclear Program in South Asia "
	7. China's cooperation in the SCO related to politics and security is still weak, creates a " Joint Political and Security System in Central Asia "
	8. China's cooperation in the BRICS related to the still weak economy creates a " Inter-Regional power Economic System "

Source: self-processed based on the authors' analysis

Factors according to above table: *First*, the Uyghur and Taiwan geopolitical dilemma which focuses on the strategic value of Uyghur and Taiwan for China. *Second*, East Asia bipolarism which focuses on the Chinese-Japanese constellation.

Third, the dilemma of the Korean Peninsula which focuses on the constellation of North Korea, South Korea and China. *Fourth*, Pre-Harmonism Asia which focuses on China's strategic partnership with Indonesia, India, Iran and Kazakhstan. *Fifth*, the South China Sea dilemma which focuses on China's relations with ASEAN regarding the South China Sea. *Sixth*, the dilemma of the Nuclear Program in South Asia which focuses on China's relations with India and Pakistan in SAARC. *Seventh*, the Joint Political and Security System in Central Asia which focuses on the SCO. *Eighth*, the inter-regional power economic system that focuses on BRICS.

The Asia region has become an arena for the struggle for geopolitical influence or often referred to as "*the grand chessboard for geopolitical struggles*" for internal members of the region (Xiaoming, 2006, p. 135). This area is home to several regional powers such as China, Indonesia, India, Iran, Kazakhstan and several important countries such as Japan, North Korea, South Korea, Pakistan, as well as being an arena for spreading the influence of the United States' power (Bendini, 2016, p. 23). This region is also home for ASEAN, SCO, and two of BRICS' members.

Uygur and Taiwan Geopolitical Dilemma. The dilemmatic position faced by China is related to China's desire to resolve the Uygur problems with domestic instruments, but in the process of peace, they receive intervention from the United States. So, amid the recovery of the Uygurs, the United States developed an opinion that is opposite to the path that China has already taken (Liu, 2018). Then, Xiong continued that "*Every country has its own situation. Local governments in China's Xinjiang and Tibet regions have implemented policies which fit their situations and have helped promote rapid social development*". The Uygur issue is one of the determinants of Asia security architecture where the United States has interests (Liu, 2018). Taiwan was part of the People's Republic of China (PRC) as the successor to the Republic of China since 1949, and the Republic of China had ruled Taiwan for 4 years from 1945 to 1949 (Chinese Embassy in Norway, 2000). According to Li Keqiang, Taiwan is a

priority for China "People on both sides of the Taiwan strait are members of one big family, as long as we continue to adhere to the One-China principle and the 1992 Consensus, opposes Taiwan independence and uphold peaceful development for cross-strait relations" (Xinhua, 2015).

East Asia Bipolarism. East Asia Bipolarism is one of the important analyzes in understanding the Asia security architecture. China vs. Japan represents the interests of the United States in East Asia forming a system of "East Asia Bipolarism." Japan and South Korea receive support from the United States in the political context in East Asia. This is a challenge for China and other countries including the United States (Layne, 2008, p. 14). China is taking on the role of turning the crisis of confidence into a strategic trust (Thamrin, 2015, p. 64).

The Korean Peninsula Dilemma. The Korean peninsula dilemma is an important analysis in understanding Asia's security architecture. The tension that arose on the Korean Peninsula was related to the consistency of China's support for North Korea to stem South Korea's influence representing the interests of the United States in the contest Socialism vs. Liberalism forms the "Dilemma of the Korean Peninsula." The context of this conflict has occurred since the Cold War and continues until now. Asia's political and security dynamics follow the development of a strategic environment that encourages changes in interaction patterns as a manifestation of the distribution of power from all countries in the Asia region. According to Veronica, the Asia region has become a new geopolitical arena (Veronica, 2014, pp. 19-21).

The First Steps of Asia Harmonism. One of the important things to focus on in analyzing the Asia security architecture is to look at forms of cooperation whose quality may still be weak, but this could be the first step for establishing Asia stability. This initial step marked China's relations with regional sub-powers, in this case, Indonesia, India, Iran and Kazakhstan, starting by establishing strategic partnerships with each other in the Asia region. The authors see that the emergence

of a strategic partnerships that are still weak between China and the Asia sub-regional powers: Indonesia, India, Iran and Kazakhstan are path that is very suitable for the future of Asia by encouraging joint security to form the path of "Initial Steps to Asia Harmonism."

The South China Sea Dilemma. There is no doubt that China's tensions with ASEAN over the South China Sea issue have created a situation known as the "South China Sea Dilemma." The South China Sea dilemma is an important factor in analyzing developments in the strategic environment and Asia security architecture. The South China Sea dispute is the hottest dispute in the 21st century, in which China, the United States and ASEAN are involved. There is also conflict between China, Taiwan, Vietnam, the Philippines, Brunei Darussalam and Malaysia in fighting over the sea and land territories over the two Paracel and Spratly island groups in the South China Sea which are still in a disputed position. The Chinese government claims to have issued a map detailing China's sovereignty over the South China Sea in 1947, known as the "*Nine Dashed Line*" (Nainggolan, 2013, p. 8).

The Dilemma of the Nuclear Program in South Asia. One focus of analysis in understanding Asia security architecture is to understand China's relationship with the South Asia regional organization, namely SAARC, in various other strategic issues. In this situation the analysis focuses on the nuclear programs of India and Pakistan which continue to become a regional conflict in South Asia creating an uncertain situation: "The Dilemma of the Nuclear Program in South Asia." It is hoped that this dilemma situation will subside with China's ability to reconcile important countries in South Asia. The challenge is China's strategic relationship with SAARC.

Common Political and Security System in Central Asia. The *Sanghai Cooperation Organization* (SCO) is one of the determinants of the establishment of Asia's security architecture both before the 21st Century China Silk Road was formed and in the present and the future. With such an emphasis, the cooperation between China and

the countries of Central Asia by involving Russia as a regional Eurasian power in the SCO will provide a new strength in the governance of a common political and security system. Discussing the Asia Security Architecture cannot be separated from analyzing the SCO as an institution that is the focus of China, namely: in Central Asia, South Asia, and Eurasia (Marten, 2015, p. 3).

Regional Inter-Power Economic System. China has strong relations with regional power countries in other regions. Thus, discussing Asia's security architecture, it is necessary to also discuss regional inter-power cooperation that has been pursued by China. China's cooperation with other regional powers is formed through the BRICS, namely Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa. BRICS has become the future embryo for the establishment of a "Regional Inter-Power Economic System". The first BRICS Summit took place in Yekaterinburg, Russia, on 16 June 2009, attended by Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, Russian President Dmitry Medvedev, Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, and Chinese President Hu Jintao (Nordiansyah, 2013, p. 20).

2. The Asia Security Architecture of the 21st Century Chinese Silk Road Period

The following are the factors in looking at China's influence in the formation of the Asia Security Architecture following the initiation of the 21st Century Chinese Silk Road policy. Look the following table:

Table 3. Asia Security Architecture of the 21st Century Chinese Silk Road Period (2013 - now)

State Actor	1.China's priority on the Uygur and Taiwan issues creates " Uygur and Taiwan Transformation as China's Priority Agenda "
	2. China's soft diplomacy to Japan for the stability of East Asia creates " Asia and Cross-Asia Multilateralism "
	3. China's relationalization of North Korea and South Korea establishes " Korean Peninsula Peace "
	4.China's strategic partnership with Asia sub-regional powers: Indonesia, India, Iran and Kazakhstan creates a path to " Embryo of Asia Harmony "
Institutional	5. Structuring China and ASEAN regarding joint security in the South China Sea

Actor	creates “DOC and COC in the South China Sea”
	6.China's Strategic Partnership with SAARC regarding the Nuclear Program India and Pakistan creates a “ Strategic Cooperation in South Asia ”
	7.China's structure in the SCO strengthens “ Shared Security in Asia and Across Asia ” involving the connectivity of the Central, South and East regions
	8. China's structuralization in the BRICS strengthens cross-region “ Intra-Regional Power Economic Strengthening ”

Source: self-processed based on the authors’ analysis

The table above shows that the authors emphasize that in understanding the Asia security architecture after the formation of the 21st Century Silk Road, it can be understood through 8 (eight) factors. *First*, “Uygur and Taiwan Transformation”. *Second*, “Asia and Cross-Asia Multilateralism”. *Third*, “Korean Peninsula Peace”. *Fourth*, “Asia Harmonic Embryo”. *Fifth*, “DOC and COC in the South China Sea”. *Sixth*, “Strategic Cooperation in South Asia”. *Seventh*, “Joint Security in Asia and Across Asia.” *Eighth*, “Strengthening the Inter-Regional Powers Economic” across Africa, Eurasia and Latin America.

Uygur and Taiwan Transformation As China’s Priority Agenda. One of the fundamental things that have changed in Asia's security architecture after the formation of the 21st Century China's Silk Road was the change in China's view or perspective on Uygurs and Taiwan. The Uygurs, in China's view, involve three issues, namely the independence movement, terrorist attacks, and national integration (Hakam). The main goal is to make the Uygurs prioritize their political identity as part of the great Chinese nation. Turkey and Western countries especially the United States through *the National Endowment for Democracy* support the so-called World Uygur Congress (Hakam).

China and Multilateralism in Asia and Outside the Region. China initiated a new form of multilateral cooperation by reviving China's 21st Century New Silk Road. China's foreign policy is based on the principles of world peace and harmony. So in accordance with the basic principles of this policy, China seeks ways that do not promote violence and war, China upholds gentle and persuasive methods (Linda,

2010, p. 29). China's expanding capabilities have raised concerns over whether its enhancements will be peaceful or threaten security stability (Bader, 2016, p. 2). Xi Jinping affirmed the partnership with Europe on the basis of "peace, growth, reform and civilization." Xi Jinping reaffirmed the principle since the founding of the People's Republic of China, namely "the five principles of peaceful coexistence" (Embassy of The People's Republic of China in The Republic of Indonesia, 2014).

Peace on the Korean Peninsula. This process toward peace influences Asia's security architecture in the past and in the present. China has begun to actively carry out visits and peaceful dialogue in addressing the problems on the Korean Peninsula. During his visit, Xi repeatedly conveyed China's friendly, sincere and tolerant diplomatic ideas to improve relations on strategic policies, road connections, smooth trade, currency circulation and people's communication, so that the idea of joint community building is spread in neighboring countries (Embassy of The People's Republic of China in The Republic of Indonesia, 2014).

Asia Harmonic Embryo. Chinese diplomacy under the leadership of Xi Jinping show that China's strategy towards Asia promotes a "*Harmonious Asia*" approach. Xi Jinping paid a solid visit to the countries of Central Asia, South Asia and Southeast Asia, and for the first time made a special fraternal visit to South Korea and Mongolia. This principle is a reflection of the domestic interests of China and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) through *internal balancing* and *soft balancing against American Power* (Wishanti, 2014, p. 7). China is developing a pattern of "mutual profitable" based on friendship, sincerity, mutual benefit, and inclusiveness (Nufus, 2014, pp. 51-52). China must prioritize conflict resolution through dialogue (Nufus, 2014, p. 53). The United States withdrew from the *Trans Pacific Partnership* (TPP) and 'handed over' its economic influence in the Asia Pacific to China (Kuo, 2017).

ASEAN and Multilateralism in the South China Sea. Regarding the problems in the South China Sea, China and ASEAN member countries agreed to sign a *code of*

conduct (COC) which is part of the *Declaration of Conduct on the South China Sea* (DOC). After signing the DOC and COC, China officially committed to non-aggression, non-intervention and orderly participation in various mechanisms for peaceful conflict resolution in the South China Sea region (Shambaugh, 2005, p. 32). Regarding disputes in the South China Sea, China is trying to convince countries in the region that its rise is a *peaceful rise*. The Silk Road Initiative is inseparable from China's peaceful awakening campaign (Kurniawan, 2016, p. 245).

SAARC and Strategic Cooperation in South Asia. SAARC is the most important institution in South Asia which has a strong influence in shaping the security architecture of the Asia region in South Asia. Exactly one year after the 21st Century Silk Road policy was launched by China, in 2014 the China-SAARC strategic partnership is getting better. Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Hua Chunying said China expressed its congratulations on holding the 18th SAARC Summit in Nepal. China attaches great importance to the development of relations with SAARC in the Southern region in various fields (China.com, 2017).

SCO and Shared Security in Asia. China's move to develop formal security cooperation in the form of the *Shanghai Cooperation Organization* (SCO) is one of the important indicators in establishing the Asia Security Architecture. China's structuralization of the SCO strengthened the "Shared Security in Asia" and began to expand to other Asia sub-regions across the Eurasia and South Asia regions, making the SCO the most influential security institution in Asia (Lida, 2009, p. 44). The SCO, also known as the "Shanghai Pact", is a joint political, economic and security alliance for all its members established on 15 June 2001 in Shanghai by the leaders of China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan (The Shanghai Cooperation Organisations, 2017).

BRICS and Strengthening Regional Inter-Power Economics. BRICS is one of the cross-regional institutions. Structuring China in the BRICS in order to strengthen the

“Inter-Regional Power Economic” across Africa, Eurasia and Latin America. The BRICS has become the future “Inter-Regional power Economy”. China has made BRICS a foundation for managing forms of economic cooperation between countries that are seen as capable of synergizing with BRICS.

3. The Evolution of China's Foreign Policy Strategy: *Open Door Policy*

China's Foreign Policy Strategy Prior to Xi Jinping. The history of China's rise began when China carried out economic reforms pioneered by Deng Xiaoping who implemented several policies, one of which was the *open door policy*, which later made China the largest *Foreign Direct Investment* (FDI) destination country in the world. In addition, there was a moment when China finally joined the *World Trade Organization* (WTO) in 2001 (Permatasari, 2017, p. 48). When Deng Xiaoping came to power in the late 1970s, he adopted a different and more pragmatic approach. Instead of putting in place “command politics”, Deng saw economic wealth as the foundation of China's strength. Thus, Deng vigorously pushed for the four modernizations including military modernization, science and technology modernization, agricultural modernization, and industrial modernization (Fabrin, 2018, p. 53).

There were also two phases of economic development that China went through, namely the Maoist Phase (1949) and the Reform Phase (1978-onwards). In the reform phase, everything began to change slowly. Deng Xiaoping has made a major shift in China's economic system to make it more open to the world (Ozyurt, 2010, p. 3). That way China is increasingly becoming a country to be reckoned with. This policy by Joshua Copper Ramo is called the *Beijing Consensus*. The *Beijing Consensus* is a political economy policy that started after the death of Mao Zedong developed by Deng Xiaoping in 1976 (Ramo, 2004, p. 5). Before the launch of the *open door policy*, China's economy tended to fluctuate.

Since 1978, there has been a shift in China's attitude towards economic relations with the outside world (Huan, 1978, p. 4). There are three reasons for

China's use of this policy: first, China is considered weak because of China's past history, second, China's closedness to other countries, and third, is to develop China. China actively facilitates foreign technology entry into China through *Inviting in* and *Sending out programs*. This program was launched by the late President Deng Xiaoping on July 8, 1983 through his famous *Introducing Foreign Intelligence and Extending Opening-up speech* (Silitonga, 2010).

Chinese government to adopt an *open door policy*, including (Huan, 1978, pp. 1-3): (1) China's *Learning From The West policy*, namely China wants to import knowledge and technology from abroad while still maintaining Chinese cultural values and political systems even though this effort faces many obstacles from traditional understanding but this modernization persists. (2) The cultural revolution made domestic political conditions possible for the government to adopt the *Open Door Policy*. (3) China's political development. (4) The dynamics of the international environment that make China more open and establish cooperation with the West. This open policy has several ways or steps, namely by *joint ventures*, *counter trade* and *Special Economic Zones (SEZs)* (Huan, 1978, p. 6). China is the country that has most successfully exploited the economic zone (Pratiwi, 2014, p. 68).

Chinese Foreign Policy Strategy of the Xi Jinping Period. China has an important role in the global order. Political, military, economic, cultural and technological aspects are China's working area to demonstrate its goal of becoming a new global superpower. In this regard, Denny Roy's book *China's Foreign Relations* argues that China's ability to appear as a global *super power actor* in the 21st century can be proven by the fact that China is the *world's largest economy actor*, an influential actor in international politics (*the influential actor in international politics*), as well as undeniable *strong military actors* (Roy, 1998, p. 6).

In 2013, China entered a new era with the election of Xi Jinping as President of China brings change with the vision of the "*Chinese Dream*" which is almost applied

in all sectors of Chinese life. The reign held by President Xi Jinping brought several changes by putting it into the vision of the “*Chinese Dream*” that was issued (Pratiwi, 2014, p. 74). Xi Jinping added one more concept namely the “21st Century Maritime Silk Road” which focuses on maritime trade security (Mustafaga, 2014, p. 2).

The concept of the Silk Road began to be heard in the Jiang Zemin era. In the Hu Jintao era, the concept of the Silk Road sank, until under Xi Jinping's leadership, the concept of the New Silk Road began to be heard again and proposals were made to smoothen its construction (Amalia D, 2017, p. 45).

Xi Jinping in his speech, while attending the 2013 SCO Summit, presented a proposal regarding the 5 main points for building a “New Silk Road Economic Belt”. The five points are: (1) strengthening policy communication that can give a green light for economic cooperation, (2) strengthening road or infrastructure connections with the idea of forming a large transportation corridor from the Pacific to the Baltic Sea and from Central Asia to the Indian Ocean, gradually building a transportation network between East Asia, West Asia and South Asia, (3) strengthening trade through eliminating trade barriers and reducing trade and investment costs, (4) strengthening financial cooperation on currency settlement to reduce transaction costs and financial risks while increasing a competitive economy, (5) strengthening *people-to-people relations* between countries that are well connected to each other in a cooperative bond (Brugier, 2014, p. 1).

4. Polarization of Power and Strategic Partnerships in Asia: Distribution of Power in Asia During Xi Jinping's Administration

The polarization of power in Asia can be seen through an analysis of the relational power of member countries in the region, especially Asia regional power countries in achieving the interests independently or in cooperation according to China's interest. China wants to achieve as an Asia regional power and all Asia sub-regional powers, namely Indonesia, India, Iran, Kazakhstan, Japan, South Korea,

North Korea, Pakistan as other influential countries spread throughout the Asia region. All of these countries are influential actors for Asia security.

Relations between China and Indonesia. Relations between Indonesia and China have been established diplomatically for more than 65 years (Bijan, 2015, p. 13). President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono marked by a strategic partnership agreement between the two countries in 2004 and then upgraded to a comprehensive strategic partnership in 2013. Since then political, defense, security, economic and socio-cultural relations both countries continue to increase (Yamin & Windymadaksa, 2017, p. 201). The China-Indonesia comprehensive strategic partnership will certainly play a positive for China and Indonesia also for ASEAN, East Asia and the whole world (Liang, 2015, p. 35). In fact, Indonesia is a country visited by Xi Jinping to promote China's Silk Road policies in the Southeast Asia region. According to Hayati Nufus, LIPI's P2P researcher:

We cannot see Indonesia's election itself, why Indonesia was chosen. If we look at the history of relations between Indonesia and China, from Mrs. Megawati to Mr. SBY, if we look at it, it's getting better. Starting from the relationship from *strategic partnership* to *strategic comprehensive* and up to Pak Jokowi it was strengthened again to become a *strategic comprehensive partnership*. And that means, China sees Indonesia as an important part, especially in the *Southeast Asia Region*" (Nufus, 2019).

Indonesia is the largest archipelagic country in the world, developing the New Silk Road policy and the *Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank* (AIIB) bringing mutual prosperity to both countries day by day (Hendropriyono, 2015, p. 36). According to Adi Rio Arianto, linking the plans for the World Maritime Axis (*Poros Maritim Dunia* or "PMD") and the China Maritime Silk Road is a positive thing and has long-term-sighted vision. The *Silk Road Economic Belt* and *Maritime Silk Road Point* schemes will encourage Indonesia's strategic goals to increase maritime power in Southeast Asia all at once Indonesia gains increased power in Southeast Asia and the Pacific (Arianto, 2017).

Indonesia and China work together under MOU of Mutual Understanding between Indonesia and China in 2018. According to the Head of the Maritime Boundary and Dispute Resolution Division, the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment of the Republic of Indonesia, Sora Lokita:

I see this MOU, yes, the two countries are good to each other and have very good relations, both in maritime contests and in cooperation that synergizes the two great visions of the two countries. And usually the state makes cooperation on good paper but in the field the relationship is not good, but in the Indonesia-China contest everything is good, and there are many implementations in the field such as cooperation in investment, maritime, security, and so on (Lokita, 2020).

In June 29, 2015, the launch of AIIB by 57 countries in Beijing, including Indonesia, marked the cooperation in the economic sector. Indonesia is one of the ASEAN countries that support AIIB, both in direct relations with China and through AIIB the (Djalal, 2015, p. 46). The intent of the AIIB and the New Silk Road initiative is to jointly promote infrastructure development and interconnectivity between countries in Asia, deepening regional cooperation (Zheng, 2015, p. 13).

China-India Relations. The relationship between China and India is one of the most important. In 2003, the two countries met on a state visit to China in order to gradually restore relations between the two countries. The visit symbolizes one of the very good developments in the region in analyzing good partnership relations between the two countries. Prime Minister of India Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Premier of China Wen Jiabao signed a declaration on comprehensive cooperation for various bilateral cooperations, thereby fully normalizing relations between the two countries and pledging that the two countries will work together for regional stability and peace (Shambaugh, 2005, p. 35). The two countries are also directly involved in institutions outside the region in the security sector, namely the SCO. Thus, the two countries can continue to improve relations as an effort to maintain regional stability.

Thus, this good relationship is expected to ease the dispute between the two countries regarding border issues which have been a problem for both countries.

China-Iran Relations. In recent years, the relationship between Iran and China has been improving and the relationship between the two countries is strategic and long-term. Therefore, Iran and China continue to develop and strengthen cooperation. The two countries recognize the importance of strengthening parliamentary cooperation and developing friendly relations as well as forging cooperation in both the political and economic fields. China and Iran do have very good relations. This was explained by the Head of Subdirectorate 1, East Asia and Pacific Directorate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Elizani Nadia Sumampouw. The following is according to Sumampouw:

With Iran, as far as I know, so far China has had a pretty good relationship with Iran, especially on the various Iranian nuclear issues, China has taken a different stance from Western countries. Of course there is also the closeness factor between Iran and China themselves (Sumampouw, 2020).

The Minister of Economy and Finance of the Islamic Republic of Iran welcomes Xi Jinping's plan to revive the New Silk Road and values it as a factor of strengthening ties among countries. According to Ali Tayebnia, Iran will exert all its capabilities, cooperation and efforts to better and perfectly implement the plan to revive the Silk Road (Pars Today, 2017).

China-Kazakhstan Relations. Cooperation between China and Central Asia in the success of the land silk route is a collaboration one of which is Kazakhstan. Until finally in 2011 *a strategic partnership agreement was signed* between China and the five Central Asian *republics* (CARs) countries and has continued to grow to this day. Xinjiang is a “core area” in the Overland Silk Road because it borders at least eight countries. The countries in the Central Asia region that share direct borders with Xinjiang are Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. China is stabilizing Xinjiang, because the issue of separatism according Nufus:

We cannot see this solely as why Indonesia was chosen or why Kazakhstan was chosen, so they had their own goals at that time. If Kazakhstan itself is Kazakhstan, one of the countries that is close to China in the part that is close to Xinjiang with the Chinese side which is somewhat less developed. Then in that region, Kazakhstan is also one of those with quite good relations with China. Therefore, the two countries cooperate in regional development and jointly fight against terrorism and separatism (Nufus, 2019).

China-Japan Relations. East Asia is a sub-region that holds the key in determining stability in the Pacific region. Interactions between Japan, China, South Korea and North Korea within the region often trigger tensions. The emergence of China as an economic and military power brought changes in the structure of the region which then brought Japan to face China as a rival (Rachmat, 2017b, p. 2). In the 1990s, China built a relationship of "partnership diplomacy" to become a great power. In November 1998, Chinese President Jian Zemin visited Japan and agreed to establish a good partnership with Japan. The two countries agreed to form the "*Japan-China joint Declaration on Building a Partnership of Friendship and Cooperation for Peace and Development*" and the *Partnership of Friendship and Cooperation for Peace and Development*. China's decision to regard Japan as a major power on a par with the US, Russia and the European Union requires China to promote good cooperative relations (Lida, 2009, p. 126). Meanwhile, China is using multilateral forums in the region to strengthen its position as a new regional power, especially after they succeeded in shifting Japan economically since 2010 (Chung, 2011, p. 407).

Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi in his annual speech on December 11, 2014 which emphasized China's increasing role in the global economy in 2015 (Kartini, 2015, p. 140). Furthermore, according to Sumampouw:

With Japan, it is undeniable that there is still *historical distrust* between the two countries, and in my opinion this could hinder the potential achievements of both countries. These two countries are two very large countries in the East Asia region, both of them have extraordinary economic potential, so if later there is a *historical distrust problem* that is not resolved, of course this will hinder the achievement of the potential of bilateral relations. But the last time I saw

there was a Trilateral meeting between China, South Korea and Japan. So, I also see that as efforts to bridge the differences in issues that are mostly related to *historical issues* between these three countries (Sumampouw, 2020).

Relations between China and ASEAN. ASEAN has become one of China's foreign policy instruments in pursuing interests in the Southeast Asia region. In early 1997, five dialogue frameworks were established between ASEAN and China, namely China-ASEAN *Political Consultation*, China-ASEAN *Joint Committee on Economic and Trade Cooperation*, ASEAN-China *Joint Cooperation Committee* (ACJCC), China-ASEAN *Joint Committee on Scientific and Technological Cooperation*, and the ASEAN Beijing *Committee*. Consultation meetings were also held by China at the ASEAN *Regional Forum* (ARF), the *Post Ministerial Conference* (PMC) 9+1, the *Joint Cooperation Committee* (JCC) *Meeting*, the ASEAN-China *Senior Official Meeting* (SOM) and the ASEAN-China *Business Council Meeting* (Hanggraini, 2010, pp. 19-20).

In 2002, China-ASEAN signed four agreements: (1) signing of the *Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea* (DOC) in 2002 to reduce territorial tensions and pave the way for the South China Sea, (2) declaration of cooperation in non-traditional security sector, (3) comprehensive economic cooperation agreement framework and, (4) memorandum of understanding on agricultural cooperation. At the 2003 summit, China acceded to the ASEAN agreement regarding the *Treaty of Amity and Cooperation* (TAC), becoming the first non-ASEAN country to sign a regional security declaration (Shambaugh, 2005, pp. 31-32).

In order to attend the 7th ASEAN+1 Conference in Bali 2003, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao signed a Joint Declaration stating that China and ASEAN agreed to establish a strategic partnership relationship. Wen Jiabao announced the three principles of China's foreign policy, namely “living in harmony with neighboring countries”, “living in safety with neighboring countries”, and “living in prosperity with neighboring countries” (Liang, 2015, p. 34).

China's relationship with SAARC. SAARC is the most important institution in South Asia which has a strong influence in shaping the security architecture of the Asia region in South Asia. The relationship between China and SAARC is one of the paths that must be taken by China and is a priority for the continuation of China's Strategic Partnership with SAARC, especially in resolving South Asian strategic issues related to India's and Pakistan's nuclear programs.

The path taken by China in encouraging the resolution of problems in South Asia is expected to be able to form a "Strategic Cooperation in South Asia". Exactly one year after the 21st Century Silk Road policy was launched by China, in 2014 the China-SAARC strategic partnership is getting better. Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Hua Chunying said China expressed its congratulations on holding the 18th SAARC Summit in Nepal. Hua Chunying said China specially appointed a new ambassador for SAARC in order to improve relations with the organization. China is willing to further enhance strategic cooperation with SAARC on the basis of respecting the wishes of SAARC member countries.

5. China's Position as a Regional Power in Asia: Economy, Politics, Military, Culture, and Technology

China's Power in Economics. The international world is currently watching closely the development of China with its significant economic growth. The economic reforms with Chinese characteristics that began in the early days of Deng Xiaoping's reign were a major factor in China's current rise. According to an Australian *think tank*, the Lowy Institute, China's position in the economic field is number one in the world, beating the United States. Despite experiencing several obstacles, China's economic progress remains remarkable. Annual growth has averaged close to 10% for 40 years and output levels now exceed US \$16,000 per

person. It can be said that China under Xi Jinping experienced rapid progress in the social field.

In addition, China's impact on the world economy is also enormous with China now the largest trading partner for nearly 60 countries including Australia (Lowy Institute, 2019). The influence of China in the economic field was also conveyed by Sumampouw through interview:

If we look at China as a regional power country, we will definitely look at the economic, military, political stability, government system factors, then these aspects that support China as a regional power. For the economy, it has become the largest economic power in the world, because now its domain is very large in global economic growth, it is not we can deny the influence of China in this field . In addition, what we need to remember is how China has succeeded in lifting hundreds of millions of people out of poverty (Sumampouw, 2020).

According to Bambang Cipto, China is an influential country in the Asia region. In the economic field, China ranks first in the Asia region with a total *Gross Domestic Product* (GDP) of US \$ 25.36 trillion. With total exports of US\$ 2.16 trillion in 2017 and US\$2.49 trillion in 2018. Meanwhile, total imports reached US\$ 1.73 trillion in 2017 and US\$2.14 trillion in 2018, apart from that China has foreign exchange reserves foreign exchange of US\$3.24 trillion in 2018 and also took first place. Apart from that, there are still many indicators that make China a very influential country in the economic field (Cipto, 2018).

China's Power in Politics. China is a country located in East Asia whose capital city is Beijing. This country has a world population of around 1.4 billion people with an area of 9.69 million square kilometers, making it the 3rd largest country in the world. In addition, China has a high, majestic and thousands of years old civilization. We can see and observe the influence of Chinese civilization in various countries, especially in the Asia region. The Chinese Communist Party is a party that has lived

for a very long time and is still maintained by China to this day as the driving force of the government.

Although often seen as a communist state, most of China's economy is republican and capitalist. Politically, it still remains a one-party government (Hakam, 2018). As a country that is becoming a new global power, China is often seen as a new power that will replace the waning hegemony of the United States. Many countries accompanied by China's increasing global political influence, makes this view not completely wrong. Today, Chinese socialism is one of the political systems that are undergoing a transformation to a more positive realm.

China's Power in Military. China is one of the countries that have modernized its armed forces since the 1990s. This was done because China had witnessed the sophistication of the weapons systematics used by the United States during the first Gulf war in 1991 (Mugasejati & Armawi, 1999, p. 36). The significance of this increase began in 2000 until now. China is trying to continue to increase its military budget, especially after China's Silk Road policy issued, China continues to drastically increase its military budget (Satris, 2015, p. 4).

China's military modernization and military development efforts during 2009-2015 were very significant. Part of China's GDP goes to its ever-increasing military budget (Danner, 2018, p. 152). In this regard, China's military doctrine should be understood as a combination of several documents and guidelines at different command levels of the *People's Liberation Army* (PLA), which are unified in one hierarchical system and are what China calls the "*Science of Military Strategy*" (Cordesman, Hess, & Yarosh, 2013, p. 53). Chinese military doctrine uses the term "active defense" means a defensive military strategy and states that China will not start a war of aggression, but engages in a war to defend its national sovereignty and territorial integration, China will only attack if attacked (Erwinsyah, 2011, pp. 70-71).

According to a report by the *International Institute for Strategic Studies* (IISS), in 2017 China's armed forces are the largest armed forces in the world. The armed forces consist of the army, navy, air force, rocket troops, police and reservists. The number of these armed forces is no less than 2,183,000 and they are known to be highly trained. Even though the equipment it has is far behind that of America, it is one of the strongest armed forces in the world (Dillinger, 2020).

Gaining more military power capability is a grand strategy of China (Danner, 2018, p. 152). Then China also continues to test its ballistic missile which has a range of 14,000 km which may be equipped with *nuclear warheads* (globalfirepower, 2020). Santo said that China's military budget in 2020 amounted to US\$ 78 billion and experienced a very rapid increase in 2018 of US\$ 175 billion. Santo's opinion is supported by Sumampouw's opinion regarding China's military power:

From a military point of view, there is no need to deny it. At the time yesterday he (China) had his national celebration which was a military parade, he showed all kinds of military equipment and so on and it was actually happening . With this, it has shown that China is a big country in the military field (Sumampouw, 2020).

As a country with the largest armed forces and the largest economic power in the world, of course China intends to establish itself as a global military power to support efforts towards a *super power position*. Recent developments will enable the Chinese PLA to conduct overseas military operations in various forms (Gertz, 2016).

China's Power in Culture. Along with the times, in an effort to pursue their national interests, countries do not only emphasize military or economic strength but also their culture. Joseph S. Nye stated that the source of a country's power after World War II did not only depend on military strength but on other sources such as culture and habits which are called *soft power* (Nye, 2004). China in the past was one of the countries that had the most advanced and oldest history of civilization and culture in the world (Erwinsyah, 2011, p. 42).

Realizing how high historical and cultural values are owned by its people, China has determined culture as one of the main sources of *soft power*. China has built a language and culture educational institution, the institution is called *the Confucius Institute* (CI). China chose CI as one of the important *tools* in its cultural diplomacy (Ferdiansyah, 2019, p. 136). Apart from going through CI, Chinese culture can very easily spread throughout the world with the presence of the Chinese diaspora itself which is spread almost all over the world.

China's Power in Technology. The Chinese government has identified technological innovation as one of the key drivers of economic development in the next decade. China's technological development has progressed very rapidly, for example Fast Train and nuclear energy. After entering 2000, China began to import fast trains from abroad and gradually starting to localize the technology in very systematic ways (Suwarno, 2020). 25% of the fast trains operating in China are entirely local-made (Nainggolan, 2016, p. 21).

China is developing technologies such as Huawei's 5G, the development of the robot industry is developing, and China also has a *quantum science satellite* whose information cannot be tracked by the enemy (Cipto, 2018). Officially named the *Quantum Science Satellite* (QUESS), the mission, named Mozi, after a Chinese philosopher, is testing the first optical experiment in history. The research team led by Jian-Wei Pan of *the University of Science and Technology of China* in Hefei experimented with QUESS to study quantum bonding, where two separated particles are still connected.

"This system is unbreakable by hackers", said Jian-Wei Pan, team leader from *Hefei University of Science and Technology*. The team is also testing quantum distribution, a technology for securing communications with quantum mechanical laws that prevent hackers from stealing information (Damar, 2017).

6. The 21st Century China Silk Road and *Harmonious Asia*

In this section, the authors outline the main factors as the result that show China has had a strong influence in shaping the Asia Security Architecture after the presence of the 21st Century Chinese Silk Road policy which is indicated in the following 5 (five) terms, namely: China's influence on the establishing of "*Asia Bumisutera Dunia*" (Asia the World's Silk Land), forming of "*Asia Benua Pemersatu*" (Asia the Unifying Continent), strengthening of "*Asia Benua Multi-Ekuilibrium*" (Asia the Multi-Equilibrium Continent), strengthening of "*Asia Benua Teduh*" (Asia the Pacifying Continent), and strengthening of "*Asia Benua Harmoni*" (Asia the Harmonious Continent).

Establishing of "*Asia Bumisutera Dunia*". China has a strong influence on the formation of the Asia Security Architecture because of China's ability to shape the 21st Century Silk Road as a shared vision in Asia as well as the architect of the 21st Century Silk Road supported by the implementation of its foreign policy strategy. China's influence on the formation of "Asia as the World Silk Road means that China in the era of Xi Jinping pushed the 21st Century Silk Road as a hallmark of the Asia Continent as the birthplace of the ancient Silk Road to the New Silk Road.

In 2013, Xi Jinping has become the most serious Architect of Chinese foreign policy in all fields and global geopolitics than previous leaders, namely by reviving the Chinese Silk Road in the 21st century (Berlie, 2020, p. 19). The New Silk Road launched by President Xi Jinping is nothing new, but an old concept in the past which is based on history as a trade and cultural route (Berlie, 2020, p. 14).

China's New Silk Road consists of the "*New Silk Road Economic Belt*" which indicates stronger economic ties by uniting China, Central Asia, Russia (Eurasia) and Europe, China with the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea through Central Asia and West Asia, linking China with South Asia, Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean with a focus on international trade from land routes and maritime routes

according to the 21st Century Chinese Silk Road map that has been laid out. China added one more concept, namely the “21st Century Maritime Silk Road” as an effort to connect South Asia and Southeast Asia which is focused on the security of maritime trade from China's coast to Europe also Eurasia through the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean in one way and from the coast of China through the South China Sea to the South Pacific (Shang, 2019, p. 2).

Zhang Qiyue, Chinese Consul General in New York said that China's New Silk Road is not an entity or a mechanism, but an initiative and vision pursuing cooperation and common development of Asia. The implementation of the New Silk Road builds on the effectiveness of the existing bilateral and multilateral cooperation between China and the cooperating countries. Using the powerful symbols of the Ancient Silk Road and holding high the banner of peace and developing economic cooperation along the Silk Road routes will come together to build a community of shared interests, future and responsibility through political trust, economic integration and cultural inclusiveness (Shang, 2019, p. 2).

Formating of “*Asia Benua Pemersatu*”. China's influence on the formation of Asia as a Unifying Continent is that China is pushing the Silk Road for the 21st Century as the foundation for unity between countries across continents, namely Asia, Africa, Eurasia (and also Europe), both of which are traversed by the economic belt and the maritime belt. The main purpose of the *Silk Road Economic Belt* is to connect China to Eurasia (and also Europe) by land route and efforts to balance the economy of China's regions which are still lagging behind. In Indonesia, President Xi Jinping presented the initiative “The 21st Maritime Silk Road” with the main objective of connecting Asia, Africa and Eurasia (and also Europe) through sea transportation. In the vision of the Chinese government, the Silk Road Economic Belt will connect China, Central Asia, Russia (Eurasia) and Europe (especially the Baltic region) (Kurniawan, 2016, p. 234). China's maritime silk route can be combined with the

interests of other countries in various regions. Likewise, from the perspective of creating mutual security stability, in accordance with the security idea of the Silk Road, this considering the maritime silk route has united regions and countries in the world, including Eurasia (and Europe), Asia, and Africa (Nainggolan, Indonesia di Tengah Kebangkitan China, Jepang, dan India, 2016, p. 24).

China's New Silk Road is a vision of building transcontinental connectivity by land and sea. China insists that the Chinese Silk Road is an arena for mutual benefits through co-financing the construction of infrastructure facilities that traverse the above-mentioned areas. More specifically, the Chinese government offers five priority areas of cooperation which are the main issues of China's New Silk Road consisting of five main points (five-pronged approach), namely (1) policy coordination, (2) facility connectivity, (3) free trade (*unimpeded*). *trade*), (4) financial integration, and (5) cooperation at the grassroots level (Shang, 2019, p. 2).

In 2013 Chinese leaders, President Xi Jinping and Premier Li Keqiang made visits to 22 countries which marked the new character of China's foreign policy. Of the 22 countries visited by the two leaders, 12 visits were made to countries that are China's close neighbours, namely Russia, Turkmenistan, Kazakhtan, Uzbekistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Vietnam, Thailand, India and Pakistan (Szcudlik-Tatar, 2013, pp. 2-3).

Strengthening "*Asia Benua Multi-Ekuilibrium*". China's influence on the strengthening of Asia as a Multi-Equilibrium Region is that China continues to strengthen the 21st Century Silk Road in two dimensions in order to achieve balance, namely through the land silk route and the maritime silk route. The maritime Silk Road aims to improve China's relations with countries in South and Southeast Asia by emphasizing cooperation in the field of security of maritime trade routes. The idea of a 21st Century Maritime Silk Road also emphasizes the importance of the maritime

aspect of enhancing China's cooperation with countries in Southeast Asia and South Asia (Szcudlik-Tatar, 2013, p. 5).

China is promoting the '2+7' cooperation framework through the idea of the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road. 2+7 is the consensus offered by China through Seven Proposals: 1) signing of an agreement on *good neighbors* between China and ASEAN; 2) increasing the effectiveness of the *free trade agreement (FTA)* between China and ASEAN and intensifying the *Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)* negotiations; 3) acceleration of joint infrastructure development; 4) strengthening cooperation and prevention of regional financial risks; 5) closer cooperation in the maritime field; 6) increasing collaboration in the field of security; and 7) enhancing *people-to-people* relations through cooperation in the fields of culture, science and environmental protection (Parameswaran, 2013, p. 10).

Although the Chinese government does not seem to be offering anything new in its 21st Century Maritime Silk Road initiative, the offer was conveyed using soft language, promising various economic benefits, and a mechanism for security arrangements that seemed to benefit ASEAN countries. Related to regional security tensions, especially disputes in the South China Sea, China has tried to convince countries in the region that the rise of its global power is a *peaceful rise*. China uses the 'Low Profile' and 'Peaceful and Development' strategies since Deng Xiaoping.

Strengthening of "*Asia Benua Teduh*". China's influence on strengthening Asia as a peaceful region is where through the Silk Road policy, China strengthens it through cross-regional cooperation between countries to prevent internal conflict and avoid open war. China uses "*peace and development*" to be a trend of the times, but must still be used by future governments in building good relations with the international community (Shambaugh, 2005, p. 28).

The last 21st Century China Silk Road Summit in Beijing in April 2019, all heads of state of ASEAN countries to participate in this Silk Road Summit, like

Indonesia, sees that BRI can synergize with PMD. According to Sumampouw, the Silk Road does not only focus on economic benefits but also promotes regional security stability:

China's efforts are certainly an effort to promote security stability in the region. So in my opinion engagement on the New Silk Road is not only for the economic sector to gain economic benefits, but to encourage economic growth and promote a peaceful and secure situation in the region. Because prospects can create something that is safe and peaceful. Therefore the New Silk Road is able to build trust, each country benefits. Therefore the New Silk Road will definitely contribute to achieving regional security (Sumampouw, 2020).

The first approach, China's economic cooperation not only approaches Asia countries as bilateral partners, but also uses multilateral channels to develop and intensify its economic relations. The second approach of 'Harmonious Asia' is to build strategic partnerships for peaceful coexistence with neighboring countries. The third approach of China is the multilateral security thread (Al Syahrin, 2018, p. 156).

Not only actively participating in forums such as APEC, *ASEAN Pluss Three*, *ASEAN Pluss One*, but also actively participating in the *Asean Regional Forum* (ARF), *East Asian Submit* (EAS), as well as joint maritime security initiatives in the New Silk Road initiative. Furthermore, China is deploying peacekeepers to conflict areas as well as continuing joint military exercises with other countries. In summary, 'Harmonious Asia' effectively reflects the universal value of togetherness in contemporary Chinese diplomatic strategy.

In addition, the harmony that China wants to build contains three main elements, namely *non-enemy diplomacy*, *open regionalism*, and a *global inter-regional cooperation network*. On the principle of *non-enemy*, emphasizing that conflicts between countries must be resolved amicably through consultation and cooperation and avoiding military means. The element of *open regionalism* is the development of international relations with countries in the region in accordance with the character of the Asia region. Meanwhile, the *global inter-regional cooperation network* is

cooperation between regions to build mutual coordination between countries in different regions (Lida, 2009, pp. 54-55).

Strengthening of “*Asia Benua Harmoni*”. China's influence is also strengthening Asia as a continent of harmony where China strengthens the 21st Century Silk Road as the foundation for establishing Asia security architecture through the principle of kinship. In line with China's vision of achieving “Harmonious Asia” and as China's efforts to stabilize the Asia, the new security concept was pursued by China to maintain China's internal environment and the region to remain calm for China's revival according to Nufus:

China's new security perspective builds security architecture with four principles, namely cooperation, mutual benefit, equality and mutual trust. That is what China wants to show that China's rise is not only seen as a threat, therefore China wants to cooperate. China has something that might help other countries, so let's work together, one of which is from the economy through China's New Silk Road. Well, that's China's mindset until now. China can form a security architecture based on these four principles, based on mutual trust, mutual benefit, cooperation and equality (Nufus, 2019).

China has no intention of forming a military alliance against the United States, but explicitly views itself as a “builder of world peace, a contributor to global development and a defender of international order” (Sudarto, 2018). The New Silk Road Policy is also one of China's foreign policy programs called the *Chinese Dream*. China wants to revive the pride and glory that was achieved through the existence of the Silk Road (Nufus, 2014, p. 44). With the absence of the US in the *Trans Pacific Partnership* (TPP), the US is now clearly 'handing over' its economic influence in the Asia Pacific region to China (Kuo, 2017).

Since 2002, the “peaceful rise of China” has clashed with the “*Threat of China*” that Western have touted in international forums with the aim of upsetting Asia unity. China definitely took a path of peaceful awakening, the peaceful development of a large country, which has never happened before in the modern history of the

world. Unless the main enemy attacks from outside, China's peaceful renaissance development path will not be interrupted and will not change (Zheng, 2015, pp. 7-8).

In the view of the authors, in order to ensure the establishment of a long-lasting Asia Security Architecture, it is timely for the Chinese government to initiate a new form of "*gotong royong dunia* (world mutual cooperation)" by reviving the 21st Century Chinese Silk Road as a path to "*Kerukunan Asia* (the Asia Harmony)" expanded to "*Kerukunan Dunia* (the World Harmony)". This harmony is to create Asia as an "*Arsitektur Kerukunan Kawasan* (Regional Harmony Architecture)" area which the authors refer to "*Asia Bumisutera Dunia*", "*Asia Benua Pemersatu*", "*Asia Benua Multi-Equilibrium*", "*Asia Benua Teduh*", and "*Asia Benua Harmoni*" in finally to build the *Arsitektur Kerukunan Dunia* (World Harmony Architecture) and meet the "*Perdamaian Manunggal* (Manunggal Peace)."

CONCLUSION

The conclusion is through the implementation of the 21st Century China's Silk Road policy, it shows that China is a country that has a strong influence in shaping the regional security architecture in Asia during the reign of Xi Jinping. The China's foreign policy strategy is maximizing the *Open Door Policy* in influencing the state actors and regional institutions both structurally and relationally towards Asia security. The results found that China succeeded in turning Asia from a conflict area into a region of harmony (*kerukunan*). These changes, namely: the Uygur and Taiwan transformation, Asia and Trans-Asia Multilateralism, Peace on the Korean Peninsula, Strategic Partnership between sub-regional powers towards the Embryo path of Asia Harmony, DOC and COC Policies in the South China Sea, SAAARC and Strategic Cooperation in South Asia, SCO and Joint Security in Asia and Across Asia, also BRICS and Strengthening Inter-Regional Power Economics. China's Global Strategy Policy has demonstrated China's strong influence in the shaping of Asia Security

Architecture. As regional power, China's responsibility has continued to grow after the establishment of the "21st Century Chinese Silk Road."

The influence of China is shown in the following terms, namely: *first*, the influence of China on the formation of "*Asia Bumisutera Dunia*" which is a characteristic of the Asia Continent as the birth of the Chinese Silk Road. China has a strong influence on shaping Asia's security architecture because of China's ability to shape the 21st century Silk Road as a shared vision in Asia. *Second*, the formation of "*Asia Benua Pemersatu*", namely China pushing the 21st Century Silk Road as a foundation for unity among countries across continents of Asia, Africa, and Eurasia, which carries cross-continental connectivity through land and sea routes. *Third*, strengthening "*Asia Benua Multi-Equilibrium*", namely China strengthening the Silk Road policy in balancing the land silk route and the maritime silk route. *Fourth*, strengthening "*Asia Benua Teduh*", namely China strengthening the cross-regional cooperation "*gotong royong*" to prevent conflicts or open wars through several collaborations and diplomacy towards a "*Kerukunan Asia* (Harmonious Asia)" implies "*gotong royong*". *Fifth*, strengthening "*Asia Benua Harmoni*", namely China strengthening the 21st Century Silk Road as the foundation of Asia's security architecture through the principle of kinship (*kekerabatan*). This is in accordance with China's vision to achieve "*Kerukunan Asia* (Harmonious Asia)" and as China's efforts to stabilize Asia.

Finally, there are several recommendations are as follows. *First*, suggestions for next research that China is starting to grow in Asia and will shape the world order. Hereinafter, China's policies regarding the 21st Century Chinese Silk Road must become consideration in policy making of world order especially to the security of Asia and the world. *Second*, suggestions for advancing of paradigm, philosophy, and theory in understanding Asia Security Architecture are not sufficient to use *Western International Relations Theories* (IRT) or "*Teori Hubungan Antarnegara Barat*" which

tends to prioritize conflict (*anarchism* system). The authors briefly to promote, to support, and to encourage paradigm, philosophy, and theory of *Manunggalism* through the idea of the *Eastern World Relations Theories* (WRT) in Indonesian namely “*Teori Hubungan Antarbangsa Timur*” going with “*Indonesian School*” (*Mazhab Indonesia*) with the birth of the discipline of “*Ilmu Antarbangsa (World Relations)*” by mainstreaming the *gotong royong* system to challenge the *Western International Relations Theories* (IRT). The struggle as the result of synthesis between “*Eastern World Relations Theories (WRT)*” and “*Western International Relations Theories (IRT)*” forms a *Discipline of World Relations (Ilmu Antarbangsa/Hubungan Dunia)*.

Adi Rio Arianto and Gesti Anggraini are the founders of *Manunggalism*. Hereinafter, the birth of the theory of *Manunggalism* is initiated by Arianto and Anggraini which was written in the several publication such as: first, “*Keamanan Siber Menuju Perang Geometri Antarbangsa: Geometripolitika dan Arsitektur Keamanan Dunia Era Horizontal (Era Manunggal) Abad ke-21*” which was published at proceedings of Konvensi Nasional ke-7 Asosiasi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Indonesia 2016 (VENNAS VII AIHII) which emphasizes that “*Sistem Dunia adalah gotong royong (world system is gotong royong)*”. Second, “*Manunggalism and the World Order in the Era of Manunggal 21st Century: The Role of Indonesia-China Cultural Cooperation in Building the Future of World Security Architecture by Promoting the Values of Mutual Cooperation “Gotong Royong”, Unity, and Harmony*” published at Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) Conference Proceedings: Symposium on Social Sciences 2020, *Rethinking the Social World in the 21st Century* (2020) which emphasizes about *Nilai-Nilai Kemanunggalan Dunia* (the values of *Kemanunggalan Dunia*) like *gotong royong*, *kesatuan*, and *kerukunan*. Third, “*Manunggalisme dan Disiplin Ilmu Antarbangsa (IA): Menggagas Mazhab Indonesia (MI) Melalui Tradisi Animisme, Dinamisme, dan Waliisme dan Mengarusutamakan “Gotong Royong Sebagai Sistem Dunia” Untuk Membangun Keamanan dan Tataan Dunia Era Manunggal Abad Ke-21*” published in *Proceedings of*

Konvensi Nasional Asosiasi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Indonesia ke-12 in UGM (2021) which emphasizes about the foundation of the scientific theory of *Manunggalism, Mazhab Indonesia (Indonesian School)*, and the birth of the discipline of *"Ilmu Antarbangsa" or "World Relations"*. Fourth, *"Manunggalism: Paradigm, Philosophy, and Theory to View the World Relations (WR) Belong to Indonesian School (Mazhab Indonesia) in Manunggalian Era 21st Century"* published in UGM Digital Press Conference Proceedings of The 10th International Conference on Nusantara Philosophy in UGM (2022) which reemphasizes about the ontological, epistemological, and axiological foundation for the scientific paradigm, philosophy, and theory of Manunggalism, Eastern World Relations Theories (WRT), Mazhab Indonesia (Indonesian School), the birth of the discipline of *"Ilmu Antarbangsa (World Relations)"*, World Relations System, the *Manunggalian Era* of the 21st Century, *Manunggalistiwa, Geometripolitika, Fifth Base World Security*, and Theory of Manunggal Peace. These publications are to support *Manunggalism*.

These theories are needed because of the nature of *gotong royong* is strengthened by the nature of *kesatuan* and *kerukunan* which are integrated into the values of *"Kemanunggalan Dunia"* which are expected to be useful in analyzing the policies by understanding the origin of nature of the Asia nations and all Eastern World including Asia, Africa, and Eurasia". By pushing the idea of *"Manunggalism"* as a paradigm, philosophy, and theory, the authors understand the the values *"Kemanunggalan Dunia"* to be the main foundation in building *"kerukunan"* Asia. *Manunggalism* then created the theory of *"World Harmony Architecture"*, the theory of *"Regional Harmony Architecture"*, and the theory of *"Bumisutera Dunia"*.

Theory of *"World Harmony Architecture"* and *"Regional Harmony Architecture"* has the meaning that to build a harmonious region and world, all countries must prioritize the values of *"Kemanunggalan Dunia"* by maintaining *"kerukunan"* through *gotong royong* and *kesatuan*. Meanwhile, the theory of *"Bumisutera Dunia"* has the

meaning that the world becomes safe when the world are built with the values of “*Kemanunggalan Dunia*” by implementing *Regional Harmony Architecture* to *World Harmony Architecture* in the present and the future to achieve both the theoretical and practical of “*Perdamaian Manunggal (Manunggal Peace)*” in entire the world. Finally, as the founders of Mazhab Indonesia “Manunggalism”, Arianto and Anggraini have convince argument that in the World Relations System there is a rotation of world leadership according to the world line-judge (*Hakim Zaman*) namely “*Manunggalistiwa*” is “a situation where the world order cycle goes hand in hand alternately between the leading and led (Eastern world vs. Western world, and its in rotation) following a straight line that is unbroken, dividing and connecting the ongoing power makes the eternal “Manunggal Peace” system (*Sistem Perdamaian Manunggal*).

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