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Does Omnibus Law Affect the Indonesian Investment Regulations towards Chinese Investors?

Article	Abstract
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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia and China developed a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership in 2013. The two nations' economic growth has attracted commerce, investment, tourism, education, and culture. Increasing people movement between the two nations requires excellent management and coordination. Indonesia's economic relationship with China as a major trading partner and a potential source of investment is marked by the Government's efforts to encourage Chinese investment in the Master Plan for the Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesian Economic Development (MPEIED) and the two countries' efforts to promote economic liberalization for access to Indonesian products to China and vice versa.

Under President Joko Widodo, Indonesia and China had robust economic relations. President Joko Widodo's led to a framework agreement of Comprehensive Strategic Partnership between Indonesia and China. The Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF) and 21st Century Maritime Silk Road are part of President Joko Widodo's foreign policy. The global maritime fulcrum was proposed to increase marine connectivity via infrastructure development. Indonesian and China initiated the Jakarta-Bandung high-speed rail project with a \$4 billion loan from China.¹

In the first six years, President Jokowi's First Period (2014-2019), the investment law reforms carried out the issuance of two Legal Policy Packages and 16 Economic Policy Packages, consisting of a massive number of legal products, namely 347 Government Regulations, 533 Presidential Regulations, and 434 subordinate regulations. The legal reforms with a series of policy packages significantly increased the cumulative foreign investment value. Still, they did not succeed in increasing the percentage growth per year.

At the beginning of the Second Period (2019-2020), this legal reform was marked by the establishment the Job Creation Law through the Omnibus Law model, which significantly changed various provisions in the 79 laws that were assumed to hamper investment. The Job Creation Law has amended, deleted, or stipulated new arrangements for several provisions specified in sectoral laws. President Joko Widodo and Vice President Ma'ruf Amin introduced omnibus legislation throughout their administrations. Joko Widodo proposed an omnibus law during his second term as president. This strategy aims to minimize regulatory barriers in the lagging investment industry. The Coordinating Ministry for the Economy of the Republic of Indonesia has developed a plan for an omnibus law, focusing on company licensing, employment opportunities, micro, small, and medium firms, and investment regulations. The Ministry of Investment/Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM) announced that investment realization throughout 2021 was IDR 901 trillion. This figure exceeds President Joko Widodo's investment target of IDR 900 trillion and the investment target in the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) of IDR 856 trillion.² In the third quarter of 2022 had reached 74.4 percent of the target. The investment realization is on track to reach IDR 1,200 trillion by the end of 2022.³ He said it is because of the Omnibus Law, however the Constitutional Court (MK) decided that it is conditionally unconstitutional since November 2021.

Historically Sofyan Djalil, Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/Head of the National Land Agency, had established the notion of omnibus legislation under President Joko Widodo and former Vice President Jusuf Kalla. This is also known as an omnibus law, used in common law nations like the US to make rules; creating a new law by changing much-existing legislation is the idea. This assertion is the result of overlapping legislation, particularly regarding investment. Sofyan Djalil said that when a suggestion was made to strengthen forestry laws, Forest Law No. 41/1999 had to be amended. There are still barriers in other rules, such as Law 32 of 2009 on Environmental Protection and Management or Law 5 of 1960 on Basic Agrarian Regulations.

¹ Badan Pusat Statistik, "Statistics Indonesia, Statistics Indonesia," 2020, <https://www.bps.go.id/indicator/8/336/4/neraca-perdagangan-beberapa-negara.html>.<https://www.bps.go.id/indicator/8/336/4/neraca-perdagangan-beberapa-negara.html>.

² "Lampau Target, Realisasi Investasi Sepanjang 2021 Capai Rp 901 Triliun | Republika Online," accessed December 13, 2022, <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/r6d6j4349/lampau-target-realisasi-investasi-sepanjang-2021-capai-rp-901-triliun>.

³ "Realisasi Investasi 2022 On Track Capai Target | Republika Online," accessed December 13, 2022, <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/rlycku370/realisasi-investasi-2022-on-track-capai-target>.

The omnibus legislation approach appears to solve the issue of overlapping laws and regulations in Indonesia.⁴

Common law nations practice and develop omnibus law. In common law nations, court judgments and very few regulations are the principal sources of Law. In civil law systems as mandatory, regulations are the principal source of law nations and likely to have more complicated regulations.⁵ As a result of Indonesia's contradictory omnibus legislation, the Covid-19 outbreak has evolved into one of the biggest threats to global commerce and investment. Limiting social contacts undermines Global Value Chains' interdependencies. While the pandemic is expected to reduce global commerce by 13-32 percentage points by 2020, corporate net income will be constrained, preventing new investments and facility expansions. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) might drop by 40 per cent depending on how long the pandemic is over.⁶

Even before the Covid-19 outbreak, China's economies of scale were a problem. Many corporations looked elsewhere to escape tariffs due to the US-China trade tensions. As the epidemic affects Chinese supplies, international firms are under growing pressure to diversify their supply chains. UNCTAD and other institutes forecast that multinational corporations will "restore" to increase supply chain resilience. China's top commercial and investment partners are pushing enterprises to return. The US is contemplating funding all relocation expenses, South Korea is proposing loans of more than US\$3.6 billion, and Japan is investing US\$2 billion in returning enterprises.⁷

Previous trade disputes have shown that many MNCs relocate to Southeast Asia. Apple and Google have investigated Vietnam and Thailand as alternate venues since mid-2019 and are now enthused about the outbreak. Japanese manufacturers expanded their supplies beyond China. The Government has budgeted more than \$200 million to encourage its expansion into Southeast Asia. In the midst of global investment desolation, Southeast Asia may benefit from a Chinese migration.⁸

Indonesia is the biggest economy in Southeast Asia; thus, the global value chain trend is beneficial. Indonesia attracts less international investment than its neighbors. Indonesia's openness of doing business index position has improved since 2014, but not enough. Foreign investment opened up again in 2015. Since 2017, these metrics have been stagnant, which is regrettable given that other nations have grown over the same period. Due to this restriction, 33 Chinese public firms explored alternative premises in 2019. Indonesia only attracted 10 of 137 Japanese enterprises in Southeast Asia in 2017.⁹ Special Economic Zones (SEZs) have experienced a halt in investment due to the pandemic's restricted availability of funding and social restriction regulations.

The Palu SEZ, for example, has experienced a delay in investment from two Chinese manufacturing companies even though they had made preliminary preparations. SEZs offer special

⁴ FNH, "Menimbang Konsep Omnibus Law Bila Diterapkan di Indonesia," hukumonline.com, accessed October 16, 2022, <https://www.hukumonline.com/berita/a/menimbang-konsep-omnibus-law-bila-diterapkan-di-indonesia-lt58a6fc84b8ec3>.

⁵ Peter De Cruz., *Comparative Law In A Changing World*. (London: Routledge, 2007).

⁶ UNCTAD, "Impact Of The Covid-19 Pandemic On Global FDI And Global Value Chains," *Unctad.Org*, 2020.

⁷ Surianta, Andree, and Arianto A, *Repositioning Indonesia In The Post-COVID-19 Global Value Chains* (Southeast Asian Affairs SEAA21 Southeast Asian Affairs SEAA21: Patunru, 2021), 122–40.

⁸ MIDA, "Japan To Fund Firms To Shift Production Out Of China," 20202020, [mida.gov.my. https://www.mida.gov.my/mida-news/japan-to-fund-firms-to-shift-production-out-of-china/](https://www.mida.gov.my/mida-news/japan-to-fund-firms-to-shift-production-out-of-china/).

⁹ Bank Indonesia, Bank Indonesia. 2022. "Three Phenomena Overshadow Global Economic Recovery". [bi.go.id. https://www.bi.go.id/en/publikasi/ruang-media/news-release/Pages/sp_248622.aspx](https://www.bi.go.id/en/publikasi/ruang-media/news-release/Pages/sp_248622.aspx). (accessed March 28, 2022).

conditions and incentives for investors, so a slowdown in investment here can be seen as an early sign of a wider investment downturn. Serious efforts to increase Indonesia's attractiveness to foreign investors are imperative so that economic recovery can occur quickly when Covid-19 is under control.

November 2021, the last condition of the Omnibus Law, as one of Indonesian investment regulation instruments, is that the Constitutional Court (MK) decided that it is conditionally unconstitutional and gives the government two years to improve the sweeping of the universe policy. If the deadline passes, the Job Creation Law will be declared permanently unconstitutional. The decision of the Constitutional Court (MK) against the formal test of Law No. 11/2020 concerning Job Creation is considered to have an impact on the implementation of investment in Indonesia. Investors are predicted to "wait and see" to invest in Indonesia.¹⁰ The question is, does the omnibus Law polemic affect the international market interest in Indonesia, especially for Chinese investors.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research comes up with the theory of liberal institutionalism. Liberal Institutionalism seeks to state in advance the conditions under which its propositions apply. Mearsheimer indicates that when state elites do not predict self-interested benefits from cooperation, it means no expectation of cooperation to occur, nor the institutions that facilitate cooperation to develop. On the other hand, when states can jointly benefit from cooperation, governments expect to attempt to establish such an institution. Institutions like cooperation can provide information, reduce transaction costs, make commitments more credible, establish focal points for coordination, and in general facilitate the operation of reciprocity. By seeking to specify the conditions under which institutions can have an impact and cooperation can occur, the theory shows under what conditions realist propositions are valid. It is in this sense that institutionalism claims to subsume realism. The author uses the international cooperation and soft power diplomacy concepts to analyze and explain Indonesia-China Relations.¹¹

The statement explains clearly that the State is one of International relation actor and also an international law subject. In international relations, State plays a significant role in interacting and keeping relations with other states or countries. The official nation states relations conducted mainly by central Government to other states' central Government (G to G). The central Government or State who takes as main actor is called state-centric relation. Albeit the historical background shows its anarchy, as its development tends to conduct International cooperation. In other words, International relations is one of the State's political ways to enter international cooperation. International cooperation is a prerequisite state to represent its interest in international Law.

KJ. Holsti defined international cooperation is a must to any state. The international system in the late decades tends to prevent conflict. National, regional and global problems occur and must be solved by states. Existing abundant problems induce states get into relations, communicate to other states, and try to help overcome the problem each other. Some satisfied agreements are called

¹⁰ "Indef: Investor Jadi Wait and See Gara-Gara Putusan MK Soal UU Cipta Kerja," accessed December 13, 2022, <https://ekonomi.bisnis.com/read/20211221/9/1479773/indef-investor-jadi-wait-and-see-gara-gara-putusan-mk-soal-uu-cipta-kerja>.

¹¹ Wiriattmaja, S, *Pengantar Ilmu Hubungan Internasional* (Pustaka Tinta Emes, 1998).

cooperation. Global development in science and technology makes the world sophisticated and modern.

Consequently, it is followed by complicated problems faced by each State. These circumstances force states to empower its interaction and interdependency among nations and states. International relations are getting closer through various cooperation to solve each State's problem. In addition, international cooperation between states could also achieve a goal.

In addition on analyzing Indonesia – China relations, soft power diplomacy is a fit concept to determine and explain its contemporary relation in the global context. In today's globalizing world, with the rapid development of technology and communication, the role of military power has changed significantly. Military power cannot solve every issue in the international relations realm. The economy and diplomacy power than become alternatives to powerful strategies to influence other countries due to complying with the national interest. Joseph Nye, an International relations theorist in 1990, coined "soft power" as the shifting from military power to economic and diplomatic power. In addition, Edward Lock's concept was inspired by soft power, the power associated with attracting others and getting them 'to want what you want'.¹² Culture, political values, foreign policy, and a successful economy can be essential attractions in soft power diplomacy. It is different from "hard power," which tends to coerce using military power.

The implementation of soft power "rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others".¹³ China soft power diplomacy represents formal diplomacy and cultural promotion diplomacy. A formal diplomacy mostly is conducted by State to State or Government to Government officials at a high political level, while cultural promotion diplomacy tends to spread Chinese culture through Confucius or at a low political level. As mentioned above, China has already adopted its soft power diplomacy with neighboring countries, including Indonesia. China's rise influences its existing soft power in Indonesia particularly. Due to economic cooperation, China shows leadership in linking a deep relationship among its neighbours. China recently achieved the world's second-largest economy by both nominal Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and purchasing power parity, the world's largest exporter and second importer of goods. In addition, China has its characteristics to approach and relate with other countries. It is difficult to define China position among other countries in terms of international society. Albeit not as developed, China has the biggest foreign exchange reserve and actively gives loans and grants to other countries.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

New Trend of Indonesian investment regulations

President Jokowi's statement that regulations are excessive and lack of harmonization causes overlapping regulations that make a rule difficult for the public to implement and even seem inconsistent. Therefore, Jokowi asked for deregulation to simplify the Law by improving 92 laws and 1,194 articles related to the formation of the omnibus law on the Job Creation Act, covering 11 clusters, from the simplification of licensing and employment to government investments and

¹² Edward Lock, *Soft Power and Strategy: Developing and Strategic' Concept of Power*. In I. P. Cox, *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy* London and New York, 2010, 32.

¹³ Nye, J. S, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politic* (Public affairs, 2004).

projects.¹⁴ The Government is currently trying to encourage the entry of foreign investors into the country, and this can be seen from the incessant government actions, including the regulations and policies of the Omnibus Law.

Omnibus Law became the President's focus to resolve the problem of overlapping regulations and bureaucracy. The hope is that the omnibus law can provide good services to the community and attract foreign investors to invest in Indonesia. However, policymakers must not only form regulations that can provide legal certainty for foreign investors and these regulations but also must organize mental reforms for bureaucrats. The term of Omnibus Law is becoming a hot topic in various mass media and even academics. At the 6th National Constitutional Law Conference with the theme "Strengthening an Effective Presidential Cabinet" in Jakarta 2019, the Minister of State Secretary conveyed the Government's complaint regarding the excess of regulations that could make the investment in Indonesia difficult.¹⁵ A total of 15 Ministries have issued regulations that have the potential to hinder investment. In 2018, a total of 7621 Ministerial Regulations, 765 Presidential Regulations, 452 Government Regulations, and 107 Laws. Implications of the excess of the regulation raise new problems in the form of potential overlap, harmonization and synchronization burdens, and no monitoring and evaluation agency.¹⁶

The discussion got hotter especially when President Jokowi officially conveyed political ideas in front of the House of Representative Plenary Session on October 20, 2019, which touched on the Omnibus Law so that it was included in the 2020 priority national legislation program. If you recall the vision of the Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla government, which requires reorganizing various regulations that hinder the business world. President Jokowi's will regarding the Omnibus Law has led Indonesia since the beginning. The President considers the Omnibus Law appropriate in Indonesia, which has many overlapping regulations, and the process of making legal regulations is long and convoluted. This era requires a breakthrough in the omnibus law concept. In the digital ecosystem and global governance world, it is not wrong for Indonesia to break through the boundaries.

The swelling of regulations severely impacts the weakening of investment competitiveness and private sector growth. In this 2020 report, Indonesia's position has decreased by one rank compared to the previous one. However, the Government achieved the increased index by 1.42 to 67.96 and from the 10 World Bank assessment indicators from 2017 to 2018. Indonesia recorded a decline in four areas: dealing with construction permits, protecting minority investors, trading across borders, and enforcing contracts. The concept of omnibus Law is considered to solve the problem of overlapping regulations that occur in Indonesia.

Considering the historical origins of omnibus Law itself, it comes from the United States, which is a follower of the common law legal system. Meanwhile, Indonesia adheres to a civil law

¹⁴ "Indonesia: Thousands Protest Against 'Omnibus Law' On Jobs," *BBC*, 2020, [bbc.Com. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-54460090](https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-54460090).

¹⁵ Bland, Ben, "Politics In Indonesia: Resilient Elections, Defective Democracy". . (Accessed May 20, 2022).," *Lowyinstitute.Org*, 2019, <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/politics-indonesia-resilient-elections-defective-democracy>.

¹⁶ Sholikin, M, "Explainer : Jokowi'S Omnibus Laws, And Why Critics Want To Put On The Brakes," 2022, *Indonesiaatmelbourne.Unimelb.Edu.Au*. [https://indonesiaatmelbourne.unimelb.edu.au/explainer-jokowis-omnibus-bills-and-why-critics-want-to-put-on-the-brakes/](https://indonesiaatmelbourne.unimelb.edu.au/explainer-jokowis-omnibus-bills-and-why-critics-want-to-put-on-the-brakes/Indonesiaatmelbourne.Unimelb.Edu.Au).

legal system. There is a lot of support for the omnibus law concept, which President Jokowi and his cabinet initiated with the noble aim of solving all the problems regarding overlapping regulations. So, regulatory disharmony occurs and is considered to have low convenience at the bureaucratic level, which is convoluted and takes a lot of time and effort; the budget for filing permits by trimming various permits and classifying them into low, middle, and high-risk. As well as in the omnibus law on job creation, the abolition of criminal sanctions becomes administrative sanctions. The omnibus Law is a format for the formation of a comprehensive law by regulating the material of other laws that are interrelated with the substance regulated by the amended or formed Law.¹⁷

With the format for the formation of the Omnibus Law, a single law is formed by considering all material provisions that are directly or indirectly related to each other and are regulated in various other laws at once. Regarding to this, the position of Omnibus Law must be given legitimacy in Law Number 12 of 2011 concerning the Formation of Legislation, in this case, must first be revised before realizing the concept of Omnibus Law and it is necessary to revise the If there is no revision there will be a problem with the contents of the provisions in the Law basis being general, there is a conflict with the principle of *lex specialist derogate lex generalis* (the specific rules override the general rules). Therefore, it must be regulated in the hierarchy of legislation regarding the position of the Omnibus Law.

Seeing the public response, mitigating conflicts between laws and regulations and conflicts between authorities if it wants to realize the Omnibus Law in the legal system in Indonesia is needed. Without mitigation, Omnibus Law cannot realize its legal certainty as a support for investment and development; in essence, Omnibus Law is a legal product to resolve conflicts in laws and regulations so that investors can easily implement investment procedures. It must be able to mitigate regulatory conflicts as well as conflicts between authorities, as well as provide solutions to these conflicts.

In addition to positive comments regarding Omnibus Law, there are negative comments from figures in Indonesia, especially from academics in the legislation department. The Omnibus Law cannot necessarily be applied in a country with a tradition of civil law legal system such as Indonesia because Omnibus Law is a tradition in the country with the *Anglo-Saxon* legal system. Then in terms of drafting Omnibus Law in Indonesia, of course, it requires a large political budget, considering its multisectoral nature and becoming a superpower. Therefore a Government Regulation in Lieu of Law can be an option for a good form of Omnibus Law. What is more urgent is that the position of Omnibus Law in the statutory structure has not been regulated.

The Omnibus Law is considered a failure because it has a different legal system in Indonesia, namely adhering to civil Law, which creates deep doubts among academics, especially experts on legislation. The basic difference between the civil and common law systems is that priority is given to doctrine instead of jurisprudence, which is the opposite of common Law, which is a priority. In addition, another difference is the role of the legislator in the two legal traditions. The French civil adopted Montesquieu's theory of the separation of powers: the legislator's function is to legislate, while the court's function is to apply the Law. On the other hand, the common law system adheres to the principle of judge-made precedent as the main thing of the Law.

¹⁷ Samawati, Putu, Samawati, Putu, and Shinta Paramita Sari, "The Privilege Of The Indonesia Investment Authority In Indonesia Omnibus Law On Job Creation," *Jurnal Cita Hukum* 9, no. 1 (2021): 87–90.

This could pose a number of challenges for Indonesia. In order to create a uniform pattern and legal strengthening, it is deemed necessary to amend Law Number 12 of 2011 by adding the basic rules of omnibus Law, so that there is the harmonization of uniformity and legitimacy regarding the use of omnibus Law in Indonesia. Referring to Law as an institution and a process of realizing Law in reality, not just rules and principles, it is a certainty in considering strengthening legal awareness and culture in society. Without this, the Law is just a text and loses its implementation context.

Omnibus Law at the level of Law means that it can revoke local regulations, so it is essential to think about harmonization with regional policies. There is a need for an in-depth analysis of this matter so that it does not contain reducing autonomy or even lead to a centralization of power which is contrary to the vision of reform. Regulatory reform through the Omnibus Law is part of one of the Government's strategies to make Indonesia investment-friendly. This must be accompanied by strong law enforcement so that investors feel comfortable because legal certainty is sure and unquestionable. So that it is not only investment-friendly regulations are reformed but also the implementation norms in carrying out the regulatory reforms.

Although the formation of the Omnibus Law is considered the right step to simplify regulations, it does not mean that its formation does not have the potential to cause problems. The potential problems contained in the establishment of the Omnibus Law are; first, the implementation of the Omnibus Law which is not accompanied by efforts to accommodate good public aspirations because the DPR will accelerate the process in the first three months of 2019, but until now it has not been consolidated with the draft Omnibus Law which will be finalized in the near future. Second, the spirit in establishing the Omnibus Law is still sectoral and not comprehensive, so there is the potential for the sectoral ego to still occur. Third, the spirit of simplifying regulations is not in line with efforts to limit the formation of regulations, as can be seen from the number of draft laws that have entered the National Legislation Program.

In 2019, the house of representative of Indonesia ratified the 5-year national legislation program (2020-2024), containing 248 draft laws, there were 12 drafts that should not have been contained in the Law and/or there were several drafts that should have been formulated in one draft but instead broken down into several designs. For example, the Draft Law on Higher Education and the Draft Law on Islamic Higher Education or the Draft Law on the Transportation System and the Draft Law on Online Transportation. The discussion of the Omnibus Law on the Job Creation Bill is centralized and does not involve the Regional Government, even though, in this era of regional autonomy, the regional Government has the power of several licenses. The discussion of this bill also does not involve trade unions. According to him, a perspective from workers is needed to look at employment issues, it is hoped that it will not cause a clash when the implementation level creates a lot of contradictions which eventually lead to counterproductive actions against the investment climate itself.

However Indonesia enacted the Omnibus Law, but the polemic still appeared substantively. On the one hand, this act and its implementation act give hope for a more conducive climate for foreign investment. On the other hand, it also invites resistance from various components of the nation due to the non-transparent procedure of its formation. It degrades the interests of the wider community and is more in favour of the interests of investors.

In addition the Omnibus Law has polemic administratively, at the beginning of the Second Period (2019-2020), this legal reform was marked by the establishment the Job Creation Law

through the Omnibus Law model, which significantly changed various provisions in the 79 laws that were assumed to hamper investment. The Job Creation Law has amended, deleted, or stipulated new arrangements for several provisions specified in sectoral laws. President Joko Widodo and Vice President Ma'ruf Amin introduced omnibus legislation throughout their administrations. Joko Widodo proposed an omnibus law during his second term as president. This strategy aims to minimize regulatory barriers in the lagging investment industry. The Coordinating Ministry for the Economy of the Republic of Indonesia has developed a plan for an omnibus law, focusing on company licensing, employment opportunities, micro, small, and medium firms, and investment regulations. November 2021, the last condition of the Omnibus Law, as one of Indonesian investment regulation instruments, is that the Constitutional Court (MK) decided that it is conditionally unconstitutional and gives the government two years to improve the sweeping of the universe policy. If the deadline passes, the Job Creation Law will be declared permanently unconstitutional. The decision of the Constitutional Court (MK) against the formal test of Law No. 11/2020 concerning Job Creation is considered to have an impact on the implementation of investment in Indonesia. Investors are predicted to “wait and see” to invest in Indonesia.¹⁸

Chinese Investments

Rapid Technology Transfer for Increasing Chinese Investment

China was once a technologically advanced country. However, China, which was a technological country, did not develop or continue the technology it already had, so in the 18th to 20th centuries, China became a country that was lagging in technology and economy. These things are due to, among others; (1) There is an invention without science. Inventions in the field of technology in China have been found since ancient times in China that can bring about changes in the world, for example, the invention of paper, which was first discovered in China, gunpowder, compass directions, fireworks, the emergence of many mathematicians and astronomers. Before the 17th century, China was a country with quite advanced technological capabilities.¹⁹

In China's era of trade closedness to access to international trade influenced by communist ideology, the State was placed as the main actor running the entire economic process. The State produces all the community's needs, distributes them, and determines what is allowed to be consumed by the community. The strong role of the State in the economic process puts pressure on the private sector, which is seen as the oppressor. The economic system adopted by the Chinese Government before the economic reform under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping was a self-reliance economic system that was closed from global economic interactions. This economic system began in 1966, when the Cultural Revolution has first campaigned.

The economic reform in China in 1979 was carried out by enacting a policy known as the “open door” policy in 1979. Armed with this policy, the Government established four special economic zones along the southern coast of Guangdong and Fujian provinces for foreign investors. Deng Xiaoping argues that foreign investors are expected to help create new jobs, bring in new technologies, and become a “school” where people learn how to operate a market economy. This policy was followed by a series of other policies in 1983 to stimulate more foreign direct investment,

¹⁸ “Indef: Investor Jadi Wait and See Gara-Gara Putusan MK Soal UU Cipta Kerja.”

¹⁹ A. Grossman, David, “The Chinese Century: The Rising Chinese Economy And Its Impact On The Global Economy, The Balance Of Power, And Your Job,” *International Journal Of Emerging Markets* 1, no. 3 (2006): 282.

remove restrictions restricting foreign investors from doing business with domestic investors, and pave the way for foreign investor ownership.

The ambition of the Chinese Government to become a superpower country in the field of technology, it is realized that several problems must be addressed immediately, following: Improving education quality in China, Giving leeway in the area of science and technology development by policymakers to create an environment conducive to the development of science and technology; Intellectual property law enforcement to protect intellectual property rights; Implement a system of checks and balances to ensure an accountable process of the patent application.²⁰

One of the ways to improve the quality of education in China is by improving the quality of its universities. The first obstacle faced by the Chinese Government in improving the quality of education at the university level is the ratio of the number of students to the number of universities available. China has 3 million university students out of a population of 1.3 billion. On the other hand, the United States has 17 million a population of 300 million.²¹ A professor in China is responsible for around 75 doctoral students. The second problem in the Chinese Government's efforts to build the quality of education, is the unbalanced ratio of public universities to the number of students, so that private universities in China were built. The problem that arises with the large number of private universities in China is that the quality of private universities is very diverse.

Deng Xiaoping was aware of the slump in the Chinese economy, but on the one hand, he still insisted on defending communism. The result was a compromise, foreign investment was accepted, but the political intervention was refused. Deng Xiaoping also realized that the communist system of Government that the Chinese Government had adopted was an obstacle that made the people's economy always in trouble. As a solution to the problems faced by the Chinese Government, it is carried out by collecting domestic investment, improving the quality of education, building access to global markets, choosing the right technology, and distributing development outcomes by providing financing for small and medium-sized businesses.

China, under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, in the late 1970s, launched a reform of the economic system called the "open door policy" and started domestic economic reforms. As a developing country, China requires a process of technology transfer from developed countries, as for carrying out the technology transfer process, one of which is the development of a special economic zone that is intended as an entry point for foreign direct investment by using four principles. Carried out by the Chinese Government in the development of special economic zones, namely: First, the construction is carried out by business actors with foreign capital; second, the company is formed under the pattern of joint ventures, partnerships, or entirely from foreign capital; third, export-oriented production; and fourth, economic activities are market driven. The Chinese Government implements a special policy regarding the management system and tax incentives for foreign investment.²²

The development of special economic zones is intentionally designed for industrial development. The economic development strategy adopted by the Chinese Government by implementing these special economic zones aims to overcome the problems at the beginning of the economic reform

²⁰ Li, Wu Wei, "Research On Relationship Between Industrial Characteristics And Innovation Capability: Evidence From Chinese High-Tech Industries," *Advanced Materials Research*, 2011, 489.

²¹ Chee, H, *Myths About Doing Business In China*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

²² Tarigan and Reffoni Mastaria Tarigan, "The Role Of Incentives In Indonesia Special Economic Zone (Case In Sei Mangkei, North Sumatera Province)," *Jurnal Ilmiah Administrasi Publik* 5, no. 3 (2019): 411.

initiated by Deng Xiaoping. The problem faced by the Chinese Government in the early stages of economic reform was the lack of capital and technology.²³ With the entry of foreign investment that automatically brings capital, technology, and managerial skills, which China did not have at the time, these three aspects were very much needed for industrial development. On the one hand, the Chinese Government provides land and labour, two foreign investors desperately need.

The special economic zones has developed in various forms with different functions and purposes. The special economic zones established specifically in the field of technology development in China are the Economic and Technological Development Zone and the High-Tech Industrial Development Zone. China's Economic and Technological Development Zones (ETDZ) began to be developed in 1984 as a continuation of the Special Economic Development Zones. China's Economic and Technological Development Zone is a part of the area that is open to the outside world. In other words, it is a small zone specially established in an open city, with perfect infrastructure and an investment climate in line with international standards. Through efforts to absorb and utilize foreign capital, it is hoped that a modern industrial structure in these economic and technological development zones can be formed with new and high-tech industries as the backbone. With this economic and technological development zone is expected to also develop into a pioneer in economic development and foreign trade in the cities and regions where the economic zone is located.

Indonesia and China are committed to developing the economy and improving people's welfare by means of sustainable, stable, and fast growth, enhancing bilateral economic and trade cooperation. Therefore, cooperation between the two countries is needed to facilitate the two countries economic growth. In 2012, as agreed in a joint statement between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia, the governments of China and Indonesia agreed to develop a Five-Year Development Program between Indonesia and China for Cooperation in the Field of Trade and Economic Cooperation 2013–2017. in accordance with the 12th Five-Year Plan for the National Economic and Social Development of the People's Republic of China and the Master Plan for the Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia's Economic Development.

According to a report by the National Development Planning Agency, China implies that funds for infrastructure projects in Indonesia include the construction of 24 ports, 15 airports, the construction of 1,000 kilometres of roads, the construction of 8,700 km of railroads, and the construction of power plants with a capacity of 35,000 megawatts. China is also involved in constructing the Jakarta–Bandung high-speed rail line after the Indonesian Government provided a list of projects intended for Chinese investors.²⁴

Chinese Ambassador to Indonesia said that the cooperation in constructing the Jakarta-Bandung high-speed train is the result of an agreement between the two countries leaders in synergizing development strategies. Within a year, President Xi Jinping and President Joko Widodo made mutual visits three times and held two telephone conversations. The two countries' leaders agreed to synergize the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road initiative and the Global Maritime Fulcrum strategy through the expansion of pragmatic cooperation in many sectors.

²³ Darmanto et al., "The Impact of ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA) Agreement on Indonesia's Major Plantation Export Commodities," *Business: Theory And Practice* 1, no. 22 (2021): 91.

²⁴ Collison et al., "Attracting Chinese Foreign Direct Investment To Small, Developed Economies: The Case Of Ireland," *Thunderbird International Business Review* *Thunderbird International Business Review*, 2017, 419.

China's Infrastructure Investment in Indonesia

In March 2012, as agreed in the Joint Statement between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia, the governments of China and Indonesia agreed to develop a Five-Year Development Program between Indonesia and China for Cooperation in the Field of Trade and Economic Cooperation 2013-2017 in accordance with The 12th Five-Year Plan for the National Economic and Social Development of the People's Republic of China and the Master Plan for the Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia's Economic Development for the Republic of Indonesia.

China implies that funds for infrastructure projects in Indonesia include the construction of 24 ports, 15 airports, the construction of 1,000 kilometres of roads, the construction of 8,700 km of railroads, and the construction of a power plant with a capacity of 35,000 megawatts. China will also be involved in constructing the Jakarta-Bandung and Jakarta-Surabaya super-fast rail lines with a total fund of US\$100 billion as investment capital after the Indonesian Government provides a list of projects intended for Chinese investors.²⁵

The expansion of economic cooperation between Indonesia and China was also marked by several cooperation contract agreements and the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding as a result of President Jokowi's state visit to Beijing meeting with President Xi Jinping for bilateral dialogue in 2015.²⁶ The discussion theme was about the Partnership for Peace and Prosperity, President Jokowi and President Xi Jinping agreed to bring the Comprehensive Strategic Partnership into concrete work that benefits the people of Indonesia and China. The focus of the bilateral dialogue between President Joko Widodo and President Xi Jinping this time is related to efforts to increase cooperation in the fields of trade, finance, infrastructure, industry, tourism, and inter-community relations.

In particular, President Joko Widodo invited the Chinese side to increase direct investment flow in various fields to Indonesia. The two presidents also touched on regional issues of mutual concern. China, which is experiencing rapid progress in development and in its defence and security, will continue to be used by Indonesia to fulfil its national interests. An equal position in the relationship between the two countries is absolutely necessary because in essence both Indonesia and China are two countries that need each other in their efforts to maintain the continuity of sustainable development

Increasing Chinese Worker in Indonesia

Chinese investment in Indonesia continues to experience an upward trend. Data from the 2016 Investment Coordinating Board shows that the realization of foreign direct investment from China to Indonesia was recorded at 1,734 projects with a value of US\$2.665 billion. This trend is increasing significantly compared to the realized value of the previous two years. Along with the above, theoretically, if there is a physical development of road facilities and infrastructure, there will be an increase in the need for energy. Because the project from China is a Turn Key Project,

²⁵ Rakhmat, Muhammad and M. Pashya, "Chinese Infrastructure Projects In Indonesia Face Fresh Delays," *TheDiplomat.Com*, accessed March 1, 2022, <https://thediplomat.com/2021/04/chinese-infrastructure-projects-in-indonesia-face-fresh-delays/>.

²⁶ "Embassy of the People's Republic of 2015. 'Joint Statement On Strengthening Comprehensive Strategic Partnership Between The People's Republic Of China And The Republic Of Indonesia,'" *China in the Republic of Indonesia*, accessed April 24, 2022, <https://www.mfa.gov.cn/ce/ceindo/eng/zgyyn/zywx/t1249223.htm>.

that is, during the construction period, the project owner has the right to use power from their own country. After the project is completed and ready to operate, then the project is handed over to the Government for further operation.

A number of loans granted by China use deals by providing infrastructure developments to China. In Indonesia, it uses a tender system in carrying out infrastructure development. However, companies from China have the characteristics of fast infrastructure development, low prices, and good quality. This good quality can be ensured by using goods, tools and bringing in workers from China. Then, these workers use a contract system for 4-5 months alternately. After workers are in development in Indonesia according to their skill area for 3-4 months, they will be transferred to another country. The cost of moving these workers uses the given investment costs.

Furthermore, the labour contract for 3-4 months benefits the Chinese State by providing jobs to the unemployed.²⁷ The salary system for these workers is also, in some cases, found to be around 3 times the salary of local workers. Where local workers are paid 2 million rupiahs per month, foreign workers from China get a salary of around 6 million rupiah per month. However, payments made to workers are only one-third of the salary, while two-thirds of the salary is sent to the worker's family in the country of origin. So two-thirds of the salary becomes a foreign exchange for the Chinese State.

Approximately 50 per cent of foreign workers in Indonesia come from China. The majority of them come from garments, said the Head of the Section for the Provision and Placement of Domestic Workers at the Sukabumi Regency Manpower and Transmigration Office. Mostly foreign workers from China, are employed in middle positions, such as expert technicians. In Gresik, East Java, as an area that provides itself as a point of development for international seaports, the abundance of Chinese workers is also not spared. Gresik is one of the regions in Indonesia that several foreign investment companies have targeted

Para Diplomacy Indonesia-China through the Cultural Cooperation

In the culture and tourism sector, China has the largest population in the world, and they have a lot to offer to attract foreign tourists to visit their country. Progress in the economy, infrastructure development, culture, sports, big markets, and so on are things that China has. The advantage that China has in the domestic market is one of a large population in China and makes China think that it is very important to change its tourism industry. The World Tourism Organization predicts that China will become the largest travel destination, accompanied by the fourth largest source of income by 2020. In public diplomacy, of course, it cannot be separated from culture to spread the view that China is a country that participates in soft power activities and does not only carry out activities.

Some Chinese-Indonesians have re-established relations with Chinese cultural identity after the abolition of anti-China policies in Indonesia, which led to a tendency for Indonesians to learn Chinese. Many Mandarin education centres have been established in Indonesia, privately owned by Chinese-Indonesians who studied China before 1965 or have studied China abroad in Taiwan or Singapore. China's role in providing mandarin education, such as Confucius Institutes in

²⁷ Zulfikar Muhammad Rakhmat, "Chinese Culture Gradually Penetrates Indonesia," *The Diplomat.Com*, 2019, <https://thediplomat.com/2019/04/chinese-culture-gradually-penetrates-indonesia/>.

Indonesia, came later in 2010, starting informally in 2007 with a special fund for mandarin courses in Jakarta. Hanban attached his education curriculum to the *Jakarta Bina Terampil Insan Persada* (JB TIP) Kongzi Institute, which was established on September 28, 2007, and signed by the Chinese Ambassador to Indonesia Lan Lijun in the absence of official representatives from the Indonesian partners. The language course, now better known as *I-Mandarin*, is still relatively vague even among local Jakarta residents, with a limited number of students admitted each year.

The official agreement between China and Indonesia to establish Confucius Institute was signed on June 28, 2010. For example, the Confucius Institute as a means of China as a means of public diplomacy, namely the Confucius Institute, University of Malang, holds a Summer Camp program annually to introduce Chinese culture to Indonesian students. This program is held at Guangxi Normal University in Guilin city. This program is usually held for two weeks in which the first week is in the classroom and the second week is held outside the classroom. According to the students who participated, the impact of the Summer Camp held by the Confucius Institute was explained into nine categories. First, the response about China which is part of a developed country in the economy and is a communist country and is not friendly to Muslims. Second, the response after joining this program strengthens the world economic position of China, a country with beautiful natural landscapes and people who appreciate diversity but also argues that communication tools are a bit difficult because not all use English. Three, the reason for joining the program is that they want to know more about China, and they like learning about countries in East Asia. Four, the positive and negative impacts of participating in the program. During the program, many participants said they had a positive impression of the learning system, especially regarding visiting cultural materials and other activities.

Five, namely that all participants get benefits such as experiences, learning programs, and wider networks, besides that they enjoy meeting Chinese people and learning Chinese directly. Six, all respondents are willing to revisit China if they can. Seven, participants said they were interested in learning about China. Eight, they have no interest in writing a thesis related to China because they are more interested in studying and studying than writing a thesis. Nine, the participants had an interest in studying in China. From the results obtained previously, it can be concluded that the results show how the impact of Summer Camp program activities on China's image. There was a fairly significant change in China's image before and after they joined this activity.

In addition to running the Confucius Institute, China also carries out its public diplomacy through education. In early April 2019, 36 art teachers from various provinces in Indonesia were also invited to conduct education and cultural communication training at the China Conservatory of Music in Beijing. This training or course is held for three weeks in which teachers are taught various aspects of Chinese culture, such as opera, traditional music, and calligraphy. In 2019, the first China-Indonesia cultural forum was held between the Chinese consulate in Bali, Peking University and Udayana University.²⁸ The holding of the cultural forum certainly aims to strengthen Chinese cultural ties with Indonesia.

These two activities symbolize the foothold of Chinese culture that continues to develop in Indonesia, which has intensified since the start of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in 2013, although

²⁸ Luli, Qianqian, "Chinese Students In Indonesia And The Belt And Road Initiative," *Translocal Chinese: East Asian Perspectives* 14, no. 1 (2020).

it still has limitations. This cultural exchange is an important platform to encourage partnerships with countries affected by BRI and Indonesia (Zulfikar Rakhmat 2019). The sustainability of relations between China and Indonesia is also carried out by sending rare animals, a special icon of China, through the Panda's Diplomacy. China sent pandas to Indonesia in 2017, strengthening bilateral relations between China and Indonesia. Panda diplomacy is one of the best components to promote China's soft power, especially to several strategic trading partners. The recognition of pandas as cute animals makes this a diplomatic tool for China to improve its good image abroad.²⁹

The economic benefits of sending pandas to Indonesia ended up with signatories related to the economy and investment with China. The presence of this panda is seen as China's effort for the interests of its country in conducting Foreign Direct Investment, not forgetting the policy of The Belt and Road Initiative in Indonesia. Panda's diplomacy has become a positive public perception of the relationship between Indonesia and China. In the public diplomacy that was carried out, it can be said that Xi Jinping took a soft power approach that was better than the previous Government.

The goals of that Xi Jinping wants to achieve through this approach are quite beneficial for China. Especially one of his foreign policies to build the Belt Road Initiative which continues to receive positive responses from the Indonesian side. This of course also has a positive impact on the Means of Realization. Xi Jinping wants to continue to convince the Indonesian public that China's cooperation will continue to be implemented despite tensions between Indonesia and China regarding the South China Sea. Although in practice, the means of realization has not been achieved optimally, considering that there are several elements of rejection from several aspects of society regarding cooperation with China.

Chinese Investments in Indonesia and The Omnibus Law Polemic

Chinese investment in Indonesia, according to the data above, has been going on for a long time. Chinese investment in Indonesia has increased rapidly in the last five years, especially in the metal and infrastructure industries. In 2016, China's investment value in Indonesia was recorded at US\$800 million, and this year it has reached US\$4.8 billion. According to the Executive Director of the Center of Reform on Economics (CORE) Indonesia, Mohammad Faisal, since 2016 Chinese investment in Indonesia has increased significantly to surpass Hong Kong and South Korea. "This makes China the second largest country after Singapore investing in Indonesia," said Faisal, in the Webinar Impact of Chinese Investment for Indonesia, Tuesday (2/11/2021). He explained that the surge in Chinese investment since 2016 has mostly been in the manufacturing sector, especially base metals. However, in the last three years, China's investment in Indonesia has been more in the service sector, especially infrastructure, which has exceeded investment in the manufacturing sector. "Until 2015, China's investment was relatively small, but it started to show a spike in 2016, especially in the manufacturing sector, even though it had fallen slightly in 2018. Even in 2020 it was still high despite the pandemic," said Faisal. He explained, on average from 2015 to 2020, China's largest investment was in the base metal industry sector, then followed by the transportation, warehouse and telecommunications sectors, as well as the electricity, gas and water sectors. The largest Chinese investment locations are in Central Sulawesi and North Maluku for the

²⁹ Waluyo, Surryanto, and Helda Risman, "Indonesia Defense Diplomacy In Enhancing Indonesia-China Defense Cooperation," *Scholars Journal Of Arts: Humanities And Social Sciences* 8, no. 12 (2020): 586–93.

mining processing industry, most of which are nickel and other mining materials such as bauxite and copper.³⁰

This was the Chinese investment condition before the omnibus law in Indonesia. This means that China's investment in Indonesia has actually been going on even without the omnibus law. In terms of investments related to government regulations, the omnibus law was passed in October 2020. In Law Number 11 of 2020 concerning Job Creation, the government regulates, among other things, simplification of licensing procedures, investment requirements, and employment. Regardless of the pros and cons of the omnibus law, that conceptually the existence of the omnibus law itself is to provide legal certainty and improve the investment climate. The regulation will also regulate the rights that will be obtained by workers. In supporting the application of work creation, the government also launched the Online Single Submission Risk Based Approach (OSS-RBA).³¹ This is an online licensing system based on the level of risk and the size of the scale of business activity, as one way for the government to facilitate the licensing process in a transparent and credible manner. In addition, the government also issued Presidential Decree No. 10 of 2021 concerning Investment Priority List (DPI). The division of these sectors will clarify investment areas for investors in Indonesia. Then finally the government also established an Investment Management Institution whose job is to increase and optimize long-term investment in sustainable development.³²

Efforts to lure investors with the law have faced challenges as previously described. It substantively degrades the interests of the wider community and is more in favour of the interests of investors. In addition in November 2021, the Constitutional Court (MK) decided that Law No. 11/2020 concerning Job Creation (the Omnibus Law) is conditionally unconstitutional and gives the government two years to improve the sweeping of the universe policy. If the deadline passes, the Job Creation Law will be declared permanently unconstitutional.

Generally the omnibus law polemic above has some impacts on the implementation of investment in Indonesia. Center of Trade, Industry, Investment Institute for Development of Economics and Finance (Indef) researcher Ariyo Irhamna explained a number of impacts of the Constitutional Court's decision on the Job Creation Law, particularly in the business licensing cluster and investment ecosystem. First, investors have to wait and see the development of the government's response related to the Constitutional Court's decision. Second, the socialization agenda for the Job Creation Law and its derivative regulations has been disrupted. Third, the adjustment of derivative regulations both at the center and in the regions is hampered. Fourth, creating new uncertainties for investors, especially for a number of strategic projects.³³

However, it should be remembered that the Constitutional Court's decision did not invalidate 47 government regulations and 4 presidential regulations derived from the Job Creation Law. The Constitutional Court only prohibits the government from issuing a new derivative regulation on Job Creation, after the issuance of a decision. Derivative regulations on the Job Creation Law can

³⁰ "Investasi China Di Indonesia Meningkatkan, Paling Banyak Di Industri Logam Dan Infrastruktur," accessed December 13, 2022, <https://www.inews.id/finance/bisnis/investasi-china-di-indonesia-meningkat-paling-banyak-di-industri-logam-dan-infrastruktur>.

³¹ Hariyanto Hariyanto, "Risk-Based Business License and Problems Arising After The Job Creation ACT," *Jurnal IUS Kajian Hukum Dan Keadilan* 10, no. 2 (August 23, 2022): 6, <https://doi.org/10.29303/ius.v10i2.1082>.

³² "Upaya Membuat Investor Melirik Ke Indonesia | Neraca.Co.Id," accessed December 13, 2022, <https://www.neraca.co.id/article/169047/upaya-membuat-investor-melirik-ke-indonesia>.

³³ "Indef: Investor Jadi Wait and See Gara-Gara Putusan MK Soal UU Cipta Kerja."

be withdrawn if the government does not amend the law within the given deadline. This means that the Constitutional Court's decision only highlights upstream issues or the formal aspects of making laws. Therefore, he said the implementation of the Job Creation Law which had been passed down to a number of derivative regulations would still apply. The proof is that after the Job Creation law was enacted and amended by the Constitutional Court, the investment target for 2021 exceeds the target of IDR 901 trillion. Likewise, it is also possible that in 2022 the target of IDR 1200 trillion will also be achieved.

After the polemic on the omnibus law, Chinese investment has also increased. After the polemic on the omnibus law, Chinese investment has also increased. The Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM) reported that China invested US\$ 2.3 billion in Indonesia from January to September 2021. This investment value is ranked third as Indonesia's largest foreign investor. Chinese investment in Indonesia in the first half of 2022 jumped by more than 100 percent compared to the same period in 2021, driven by the construction of factories, including smelters, according to data from Indonesia's Ministry of Investment. The Ministry of Investment/Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM) noted that Chinese investment realization in January-June this year reached US\$ 3.6 billion, more than doubling compared to the first half of 2021, which was US\$ 1.7 billion. According to BKPM, the value of the Chinese investment will finance 1,020 projects from January to June 2022.

Besides that, from the perspective of liberal Institutionalism diplomacy between China and Indonesia has been going on for a long time, especially after the 2013-2017 Cooperation in the Field of Trade and Economic Cooperation. This cooperation has provided benefits for each party, so that diplomacy is always on going. The unique thing is that diplomacy is not only carried out by the government but also by non-government such as individuals or organizations.

CONCLUSION

This study concluded that Omnibus Law give a wider opportunity for new job creation through Indonesian Foreign Direct Investment, includes Chinese investment in Indonesia. However it has a polemic substantively and administratively. Its polemic is that Omnibus Law is more in favour of the investors interests but degrades the interests of the wider community, and it is administratively has unconstitutional problem. So, the Omnibus Law affects ambiguity and uncertainty for foreign investor especially for Chinese. However Omnibus Law is still uncertain and ambiguous; in reality the foreigner investment especially Chinese Investments in Indonesia is still run well and tend to increase. Author analyzed it is because Constitutional Court's decision did not invalidate 47 government regulations and 4 presidential regulations derived from the Job Creation Law. In addition, from the perspective of liberal Institutionalism Indonesia and China always build diplomacy for continuous mutual cooperation. Regarding to the perspective of public diplomacy, diplomacy, as a tool in building relationships in the economic field, is carried out by the Government and non-government such as, individuals or organizations. This is certainly different from traditional diplomacy, which tends to involve only government levels. The interest in Chinese culture and the positive image built by the diaspora are the success points of Xi Jinping's public diplomacy in this dimension. In addition, sending pandas as a form of soft power and building a better and more sustainable relationship between China and Indonesia through panda animals and all observations and provision of facilities is Xi Jinping's way to continue to build the continuity of China-Indonesia relations while introducing the image of China

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