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International Hegemony in China's Global Perspective: From "Contradictory to Harmonious World"

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Abstract

This paper will analyze the People Republic of China's (PRC) position toward international hegemony in the context of the PRC's global perspective since its establishment in 1949 until the end of 2018. The study aims to expose China's attempts to oppose this hegemony throughout the Cold War by forming a "united front" against the two superpowers: the United States and the Soviet Union. Furthermore, it aims to clarify why China has abandoned this strategy and has called for a "harmonious world" since 2005. The study is based on the premise that "the more China benefits from the hegemony of the global economic system, the more it will call for a harmonious world and give up opposing international hegemony practiced by other powers." The study is divided into four sections. The first examines China's position toward American hegemony in the 1950s. The second explains China's worldview of the "Intermediate Zone" to form a "unified front" against the hegemony of the superpowers through the 1960s. The third reveals China's attempt to establish this united front through the Chinese "Three Worlds" strategy which dominated China's Worldview from the 1970s until the end of the Cold War. The fourth section shows the shift in China's attitude toward international hegemony after China has abandoned the idea of traditional provocation against the hegemony of international powers and began to call for a "harmonious world", in which China could participate. The researcher uses both the historical and analytical descriptive method to explain this study. The study concludes that China has failed to oppose international hegemony practiced by the two superpowers during the Cold War, and its improved position in the global economic system as an economic and political power after the end of the Cold War has made Beijing seek to expand its network of peaceful relations with all international and regional powers in a hope to create a "harmonious world" that serves its economic success as well as its global rise.

Keywords: China, International Hegemony, "Intermediate Zone" strategy, "Three Worlds" strategy, "Harmonious World".

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Introduction

From its inception in 1949 until the beginning of the new millennium, the People's Republic of China witnessed a continuous cycle of confrontations with the poles of the international system. After the confrontation with the United States since the 1950s, which was later enhanced by a new confrontation with the Soviet Union until the end of the 1980s, and renewed another time with the United States after the end of the Cold War, rejection of the international hegemony practiced by the both superpowers over the affairs of the international system has been a cornerstone of China's global policy for "unacceptable" international hegemony whatever its source.

Perhaps China's goal at that time was to try to mobilize the Third World and the Second World countries (Europe and Japan) against the two superpowers (the United States in special), who posed at various times a threat to China's security until the end of the 1990s. With the beginning of the new millennium, China gradually seemed to give up its provocative propaganda against international hegemony; and has begun to call for a "harmonious world", in which all international powers, including China itself, could share in its management.

Statement of the Problem and study questions

The study tries to reveal the shift in China's view of international hegemony, which has been criticized for long decades by Beijing through answering the following questions:

1. How has China shaped its global outlook after the end of the World War II?
2. What was the Chinese perspective on international hegemony during the Cold War?
3. What are the reasons for China to change its perspective on international hegemony after the Cold War?
4. What is China's current view of international hegemony?

Objectives and Significance

This study seeks to achieve many goals. The most important of these lie in revealing China's perspective on the issue of international hegemony during the East-West conflict, as well as on the change that took place after the end of this conflict.

Meanwhile, the study derives its significance from the following considerations:

- The subject of the study is linked to one of the rising powers, which has economic, political and military weight in the existing international system.
- The subject makes a theoretical contribution to the analysis of China's foreign policy by presenting China's perspective toward the international system.
- The subject of this study is characterized by novelty and theoretical modernity, where the researcher relied on a purely theoretical framework in the analysis of Chinese attitudes towards the existing international system. Therefore, this study will provide some important and basic information to many interested in Chinese affairs.
- The study will try to analyze the nature of the relationship between China and the actors of the international system, especially the United States and Russia in a theoretical framework that may contribute in understanding the interlocking relationship among these actors.

Hypothesis

To answer the previous questions, and to achieve its purposes, the study is based on the premise that "the more China benefits from the hegemony of the global economic system, the more it will call for a harmonious world and give up opposing international hegemony practiced by other powers".

Methodology

The study employs the analytical approach based on the theory of neorealism in the analysis of Chinese trends in achieving its goals, considering that national security and interest has been a cornerstone of Chinese policy in recent years. In addition, the historical approach will be used to examine the reasons stands beyond the Chinese new call for a "harmonious world".

Literature Review

There are many literatures that are related to this subject such as:

1. Keyuan, Z. (2012). Building a 'Harmonious world': A Mission Impossible. The author examines in this article the doctrine of "harmonious world" to see whether it is practical in conducting international relations between China and the rest of the world and how China should adjust its foreign policy thinking to better cope with the more complicated world.
2. Medeiros, S. (2009). China's International Behaviour. This monograph analyzes the Chinese foreign policy and assesses the challenges for China in implementing its strategy, and evaluates the implications for U.S. interests and U.S. policy

3. Zheng, Y.&Tok, S. (2007). "Harmonious Society" and "Harmonious world: Chinas Policy Discourse under Hu Jintao. In this paper, the author discusses how the policy discourse "Harmonious world "has become the guideline of the Chinese Communist Party how its defining the discourse of political power in China under the Chinese president Hu Jintao.
4. Zheng, B. (2005). China's "Peaceful Rise" to Great Power-Status. The author describes how China advocates a new international political and economic order, one that can be achieved through incremental reforms and the democratization of international relations.

1. Anti-American Hegemony 1949-1959

After assuming power in China and the establishing the People's Republic of China (PRC) on October 1, 1949 under the leadership of Mao Zedong, the new leadership believed that the future of the PRC merited the adoption of Marxist-Leninist ideology to compensate for what they had lost to their imperialist overlords⁽¹⁾, as well as to recover their rightful position among the community of nations after a "Shameful Century" of foreign domination⁽²⁾. Therefore, China's world view was based on its purely Marxist grounds. The PRC believed that the world situation was characterized by the following contradictions⁽³⁾:

- The contradiction between Socialism and Capitalism.
- The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeois within the Capitalist states.
- The contradiction between the oppressed nations and the imperialism.
- The contradiction among the various imperialist states.
- The contradiction among various mono-capitalist groups.

In accordance with these contradictions, the Chinese government viewed the "class struggle" as the driving force for both individual and international relations, which means clearly that the conflict between Communism and Capitalism was the main contradiction, which made the World Revolution and the struggle against Imperialism and Capitalism (US and its allies) as the leading purpose of the Chinese foreign policy in this period⁽⁴⁾. For this reason, the PRC had regarded the USA and its allies as a real threat who try to hinder the inevitable growth of the socialist states' power –under which the PRC-, and will try to destroy the Chinese power. Therefore, the PRC aligned itself during the first half of the 1950s with the Soviet Union as a recognized leader of the Socialist World to counter this imperialist ambition of the United States. After the Communist leadership formed this worldview. Quite obviously, the alignment to the Soviet Union was one of its instruments to counter the

American Hegemony, regarding to improve its position in the International World System, in particular, China considered the United States as its main enemy after the latter recognized the Kai-shek regime in Taiwan, and after the military confrontation they had gathered in the Korean War 1950-53. This alignment was also a good instrument to implement some of the Chinese purposes and interests in developing relations with other countries (the Socialist Camp and the Third World) to attain its own aims and objectives⁽⁵⁾.

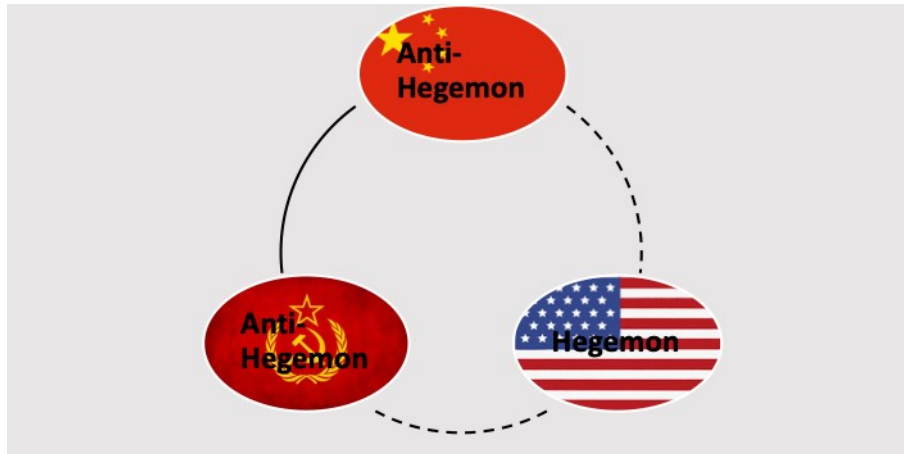


Figure1: The Contradictory World in PRCs Perspective during the 1950s.

Source: By the researcher.

2. Anti-Superpowers Hegemony 1960-1970

With the expansion of Sino-Soviet rift in the second half of the 1950s, coupled with the increasing hostility toward the United States, the PRC began to look for a new option to counter its loss of its Soviet ally against the United States. This new approach incorporated a redefinition of the "Intermediate Zone" strategy⁽⁶⁾, which asserts that there is an intermediate zone between the United States and the Soviet Union. This zone consists of two parts: the first zone includes the underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, which remain in continuous struggle against American imperialism. The second intermediate zone includes the developed countries in Western Europe, Canada, and other capitalist countries, which were also attempting to free themselves of United States hegemony, which try to bring these countries under the American control before it destroy the Socialist states. Thus, a "united front" between both parts of the "Intermediate Zone" and the Socialist countries would share the same interest of opposing the American imperialism and prevent its aggression. To achieve this strategy, the PRC tried to improve its relations with Japan and Western Europe to encourage them to cooperate with the newly independent countries in the Third World countries, and the Socialist countries against

American hegemony. The Chinese believed that an improvement of relations with the Japanese would contribute to building this desired "united front" with the "Intermediate Zone" countries. Strong Sino-Japanese relations would strengthen this front against the United States and the Soviet Union⁽⁷⁾. Furthermore, relations with Japan, which developed into an economic power, would hopefully enable the PRC to obtain improved Japanese technology. Meanwhile, the Sino-Soviet conflict and French recognition of the PRC in 1964 led Japan open relations with China. This trend intersected with the orientation of the new Japanese government which sought to open economic ties with all nations regardless of their political systems. This increased trade between the two sides⁽⁸⁾. Moreover, PRC interest in the West European countries began to grow, especially after the failure of the "Great Leap Forward" in 1958 at the time that Sino-Soviet relations began to deteriorate. Thus, in 1958, the PRC established a commercial council with Western Germany in addition to that already established with Britain in 1955⁽⁹⁾. The PRC also tried to end its isolation that made by the superpowers through applying this strategy, in which Western Europe play an important role by its unification with The Third World- as the strategy- to free of the superpower hegemony, which seeks to seize the "Intermediate Zone" and bring its countries under their control. With this strategy, the PRC sought to weaken both centres of polarity and to improve its position in the international system. It sought also to enhance the contradictions within the Western camp and create antagonism among the Western allies, which would weaken United States influence in the world. On the other hand, this strategy could increase Western European fears of a Soviet threat and could create an alliance relationship between the PRC and Western European countries. This would greater possibility of obtaining European loans and technological aid. This Chinese hope grew, particularly with the French recognition of the PRC in Jan 1964. But then with the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution 1966-1968 and China's support of the Vietnamese struggle 1965 bilateral relations with Western European countries deteriorated⁽¹⁰⁾.

Under these circumstances, the PRC's foreign policy during the 1960s was characterized by growing opposition to both superpowers and by attempts to form a "united front" with Third World and Second World countries against the United States and the Soviet Union. These attempts failed during the Cultural Revolution, during which the PRC gravitated toward a more isolationist position⁽¹¹⁾.

With the end of the 1960s, new international changes began to play an important role in reorienting of the PRC's foreign policy. The Soviet threat began to intensify, particularly with its renewal the 1936 treaty of mutual security between Mongolia and the Soviet Union in January 1966. According to

the PRC, the new treaty contained a secret protocol providing for the stationing of Soviet troops in Mongolia. A few months later, many Soviet forces were deployed into forward positions in Mongolia and along the Chinese border. By the end of 1967, the number of the Soviet troops increased and totalled between 250,000 and 350,000⁽¹²⁾. Thereafter, the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in August 1968 heightened the Chinese fear of the Soviet threat, and proved the readiness of the Soviet Union to suppress any dissenting ally by force. This could have meant that the PRC might be the next Soviet victim. These increasing fears became real with armed clashes between both sides in March 1969⁽¹³⁾.

These developments promoted the PRC to add the Soviet Union on its list of majors' enemies, which must be confronted. The IX Chinese National Congress expressed this position in April 1969 as Lin Piao (Vice Chairman of the Communist Party of China 1969-1971) declared that there were at that time four main contradictions in the world⁽¹⁴⁾:

1. The contradiction between the oppressed nations on one hand, and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other.
2. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries.
3. The contradiction between imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries.
4. The contradiction between socialist countries on one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other.

Therefore, the PRC regarded Soviet control over East European countries and the People's Republic of Mongolia, in addition to its troop's presence along the Chinese border as the most dangerous threat against China and other countries, and all countries and people should oppose this "new Soviet imperialist revisionism" as the PRC. In the meantime, the United States indicated a willingness to begin peace talks with North Vietnam and was looking for a way to withdraw its forces from the Indochina war to meet the increasing Soviet challenge in Europe and the Middle East⁽¹⁵⁾.

On the other side, Chou En-lai (the first prime minister of the PRC 1949-1976) encouraged opening relations with the West and a cautious approach to the United States. He was aware that any confrontation with both superpowers would cost them too much, since the PRC was not strong enough to oppose the Soviet Union and the United States at the same time. Moreover, the possibility of uniting with the "intermediate zone" countries was also difficult considering their ties with the Superpowers. A relaxing of relations with the Soviet Union was not considered acceptable for the PRC although it would protect it from the

Diabat

United States. On the contrary, a careful rapprochement with the United States would be the best alternative to the PRC and would present different advantages⁽¹⁶⁾:

1. A strategically protection against the external threats.
2. Breaking off the PRC's international isolation by assisting the PRC's entry into the United Nations.
3. Economic assistance from the Western industrial countries.
4. Improving the PRC's position towards Taiwan.

This was followed by the American table tennis team's visit in April 1971, which opened the door for more positive measures such as: the abolishing the United States' embargo on direct trade with the PRC, followed by Kissinger's visit to China in July 1971, in which it was confirmed that President Nixon had accepted the Chinese invitation to visit the PRC. Finally, came the Nixon's historical visit during the period 21-28 February 1972. At the end of this visit, the two sides agreed to a joint declaration "Shanghai Communiqué", which called for promoting efforts toward the normalization of relations between the two sides⁽¹⁷⁾. According to this redefinition of China's international policy after 1969, the PRC resumed returning its ambassadors to their posts in 1969 and actively sought establishment of official relations with almost all other states⁽¹⁸⁾.

Because of the PRC's new ties with other states, many countries in the United Nations openly sought to admit the PRC to the United Nations⁽¹⁹⁾. Thereby, and after 22 years of international isolation, the PRC could take its place in the United Nations as a permanent member in the Security Council.

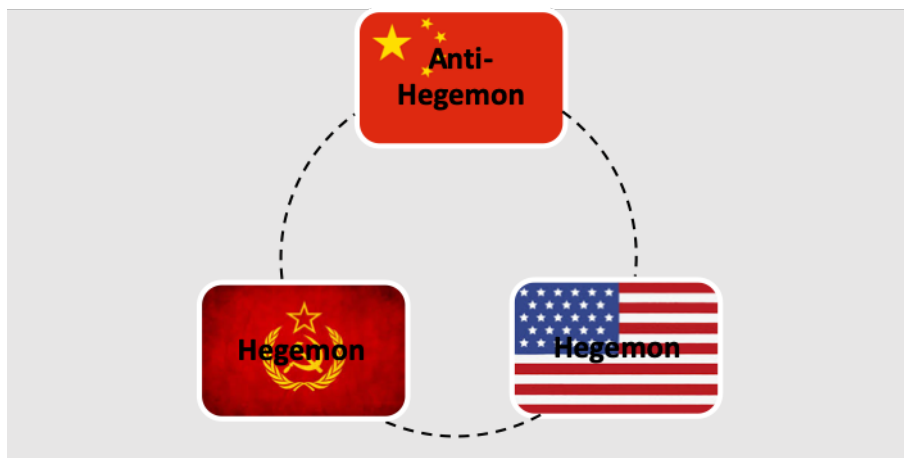


Figure2: The Conditory World in PRCs Perspective during the 1960s.

Source: By the researcher.

3. Anti-Hegemony through "Three Worlds Strategy" 1971-1990

The PRC's entrance into the United Nations influenced the PRC to change its position regarding the UN. Initially it regarded it as an American imperialist instrument during the previous two decades, the United Nations became a suitable forum for the PRC, where they could articulate and implement their strategy through the following⁽²⁰⁾:

1. The United Nations gave the PRC an opportunity to expand its relations with other countries, which meant the end of its international isolation. This was of course at the expense of its rival regime on Taiwan.
2. The United Nations opened the door to the PRC to increase its political influence through its veto right in the Security Council. This helped the PRC improve its international position toward superpowers, in particular, the Soviet Union.
3. Through its position in the United Nations, PRC regarded itself as the spokesman for Third World demands against superpowers hegemony.

Under these circumstances, the PRC began to improve its relations with other countries hoping that it could expand its influence to mobilize their efforts to counter the superpower hegemony in general and the Soviet threat, in particular. The Chinese strategy was characterized in accordance with the "Three Worlds" strategy that proclaimed by Deng Xiaopeng at the 6th Special Session of the UN General Assembly in April 1974. In accordance with this strategy, the Chinese divided the world for three parts⁽²¹⁾:

1. The First World included the United States and the Soviet Union.
2. The Second World consisted of the remaining developed countries such as West Europe and Japan.
3. The Third World included the developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and other regions.

In accordance with this strategy, the PRC regarded the superpowers as international exploiters and oppressors. They were the source of world war. They sought to exploit their nuclear capability as an instrument to bring the remainder of the world under their control through subversion, interference, aggression, and economic exploitation. The countries of the Second and the Third Worlds were controlled, threatened, and suffered from colonialist and imperialist oppression and exploitation. In the meantime, these countries strove to oppose the superpower hegemony and sought to free themselves from the First World enslavement. Therefore, the PRC attempted to exploit this contradiction between the superpowers and the rest of the world, calling upon the Third World and the Second World to establish a united front to oppose the

Diabat

hegemony of the Soviet Union and the United States. But in the late 1970s, the Chinese clearly tried to entice the United States in this "united front" to isolate the Soviet Union. For this reason, the PRC began to improve its relations with all countries that could contribute in the formation of this new "united front": The Third World countries, the Socialist countries, and the second World countries which consist of Japan and Western Europe⁽²²⁾.

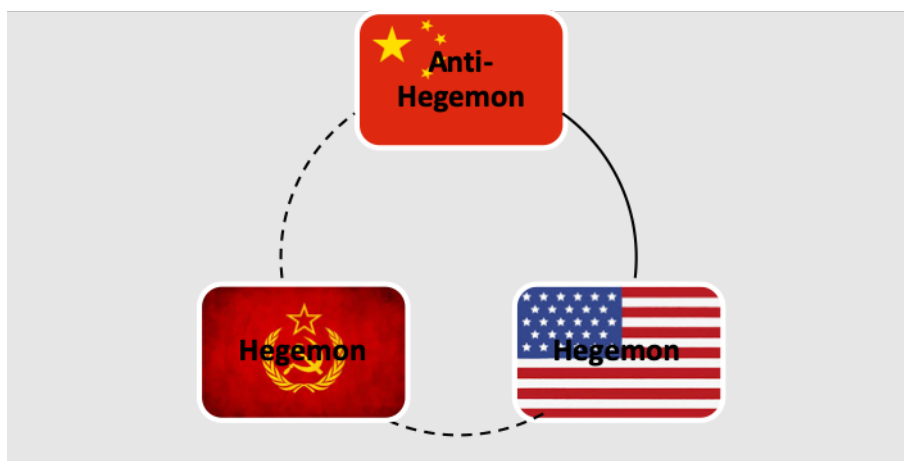


Figure3: The Condoracy World in PRCs Perspective during the 1970s

Source: By the researcher

With the announcement of its independent foreign policy in 1982, the PRC tried to create more favourable position for itself in the Sino-Soviet-American strategic triangle. To achieve this goal, the PRC began to move toward a more balanced relationship with superpowers. For this reason, the PRC continued to cooperate with the United States while simultaneously normalizing Sino-Soviet relations, which were careful and limited without alarming and alienating the United States⁽²³⁾. Through this adjustment in the Chinese foreign policy, the PRC sought to achieve the following advantages:

- Improving the PRC's position in the strategic triangle with the superpowers.
- Creating a peaceful environment that would guarantee stability around the Chinese periphery and enable the PRC to make considerable cuts in military expenditure.
- Improving the PRC's economic situation as a result of the economic opening, this would include economic and trade contacts with the Soviet Union and the East European countries in addition to the Western countries.
- Reducing superpower hegemony and enhancing the opportunity to create an international multipolar system.

Therefore, avoiding alliance or strategic relationship with the Soviet Union or the United States and opposing their hegemony offered a good opportunity for the PRC to manoeuvre and to search for a pivot-position in the strategic triangle relationship with both superpowers⁽²⁴⁾. At the same time, strengthening cooperation on economic, trade, science, and technology issues with them and with other countries was also one of the important elements in achieving this pivotal position. Under this course, the PRC intensified its openness and contacts with Second and Third World countries.

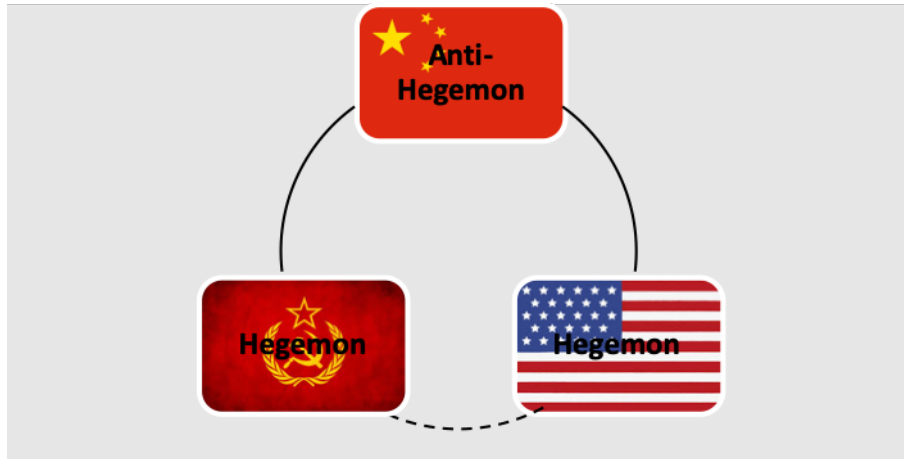


Figure4: The Contradictory World in PRC's Perspective during the 1980s.

Source: By the researcher.

4. Accommodating Hegemony and calling for a "Harmonious World" 1990-2018

In light of the end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the PRC's foreign policy was forced to rearrange its international agenda to face any possible challenge that would emerge in the light of collapse. In other words, the Soviet disintegration reduced the PRC's position in the Sino-Soviet-American strategic triangle, decreased the PRC's strategic manoeuvrable capability and contributed to the emerging of the United States as the lonely hegemon superpower. Therefore, various arguments tried to predict the PRC's foreign policy in the post-Cold War era: Some of them believed that the PRC could no longer exploit the contradiction between the Soviet Union and the United States to have more attention to the PRC's position as the Western industrial countries did in the Cold War era and the PRC would be the next United States' victim in the East-West conflict⁽²⁵⁾. Others urged that the PRC would benefit from the growing competition and contradiction among the major economic powers: The United States, Japan, and Western Europe, which try to

Diabat

win PRC's huge markets. For this reason, a strategic partnership between the PRC would be an important component in the United States' strategy in Asia to strengthen the United States' position in this competition as well as to counter any expansionist ambitions in the region, in particular the Japanese and Russian ambitions. At the same time, Japan would pay a special attention to the PRC, if Japan tries to play a greater global and regional role by establishing an economic bloc in East Asia⁽²⁶⁾.

In the light of these circumstances, China's perceptions and objectives after the end of the Cold War have driven a foreign policy that has, for the most part, accommodated U.S. power, focused on the gradual development of China's economic power and its military capabilities, and sought to minimize external threats⁽²⁷⁾. On this basis, the PRC has tried to manage its relations with these powers under the main purpose of the PRC's independent foreign policy, and to maintain a stable and peaceful international environment, especially in East Asia region⁽²⁸⁾.

To reach this target, the PRC began at the beginning of the second millennium, to follow a new approach toward the great powers, whose components depends on⁽²⁹⁾:

- Reviving its strategic relations with Russia against any possible Western threat,
- Avoiding possible confrontation and tensions with global and regional powers,
- Maintaining positive ties with the Western countries particularly with the United States - regardless of some crises in the relations between the two parties like Taiwan crisis 1996 and Yugoslavia 1999
- Building good ties with neighbouring and Third World countries especially that China still needs a peaceful international environment for its economic success.

Under these circumstances, the PRC began to promote the concept of "Peaceful Rise" in attempt to refute the realistic Western suspicions that China will most likely challenge the international system through its industrial economic power and its expansion in armaments, as well as to convince other powers that China is the beneficiary of the economic globalization and international system, and therefore to maintain a cooperative relations with Western countries and safeguard the stability of the international system is a vital interest to development of the Chinese economy⁽³⁰⁾.

This peaceful orientation was assured another time in September 2005 as President Hu Jintao called at the summit for the 60th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations for a "harmonious World" which could exist through⁽³¹⁾:

1. Upholding multipolarity to realize common security and peace for all countries on the basis that all countries should cooperate in preventing wars and conflicts and safeguarding world security under the shadow of the United Nations.
2. Promoting mutually beneficial cooperation to achieve common prosperity and development of all countries.
3. Supporting the spirit of inclusiveness to build a harmonious world together by enhancing inter-civilization dialogue and exchanges, allowing cultures to complement one another through competition and comparison, and to develop together by seeking common ground while putting aside differences.
4. Encouraging UN reform actively to maintain the authority of the United Nations, improve its efficacy and give a better scope to its role so that it will be better empowered to take on new threats and new challenges.

This call could be interpreted that China's international behaviour is no more antagonistic with other powers like United States, Russia and the EU⁽³²⁾. In this respect, China has to promote and develop the international system so as to build the idealistic "harmonious world" it advocates. In the same time, China's contributions are necessary and will benefit both the world community and its continuing rise⁽³³⁾.

Furthermore, China's future is inextricably and increasingly linked to the international community, in particular that China's current economic growth combined with the acceleration of globalization, deeply connected with the international community and depends on close and continuing interaction with global and regional powers, markets, and institutions. China is completely aware that a series of simple and serious mistakes could easily dent and destroy its achievements⁽³⁴⁾.

In addition to that, the promotion of a "harmonious world" serves China's peaceful development aims. This can be touched through the 12th Five-Year Plan (2011-2015) period, in which China's foreign policy targets the following six areas: development, big power relations, promotion of neighbourly cooperation and mutual trust, consolidation and cooperation of developing countries, reform of the international system, and ideational mechanism improvement. By these all round diplomatic orientations, a "harmonious world" could be created, during which the growing global influence of China would be

Diabat

secured, and the idea of the "China threat" or "China hegemony" could be countered⁽³⁵⁾.



Figure 5: The Harmonious World in PRC's Perspective since 2005
Source: By the researcher

Conclusion

Although China had been one of the challengers of the international hegemony practiced by the two superpowers during the Cold War era, the new international changes after the end of the Cold War namely its international economic successes play an important role by giving up this course in favor of building a "harmonious world". Under this assumption, the study concluded that:

- China had failed by opposing international hegemony during the era of the Cold War. It tried to create a united front (once by the "Intermediate Zone" and another by "Three Words" strategy) with countries belong to the Second World (European and Japan) and Third World against the superpowers, but it failed to compensate the importance of the United States and the Soviet Union for these countries.
- Considering its assimilation in globalization process, its deeply relations with all round international community members, global and regional powers, markets, and institutions, China has given up opposing traditional international hegemony (provocation other countries against other powers).
- China is trying to prove to the rest of world (especially the Western countries) that it is no longer a revolutionary state that challenges international system, but is a responsible member of international community. The PRC has demonstrated this by calling for a "harmonious World".

- China pursues a more multilateral peaceful foreign policy that includes intensifying its presence in international organizations at both the regional and the global level.

الهيمنة الدولية في المنظور الصيني العالمي: من "عالم متناقض إلى عالم متناغم"

خير سالم ذيابات، قسم العلوم السياسية، جامعة اليرموك، إربد، الأردن.

ملخص

تبحث هذه الدراسة في المنظور الصيني العالمي تجاه ظاهرة الهيمنة الدولية منذ قيام الصين في عام 1949 وحتى نهاية عام 2018، وتهدف الدراسة إلى الكشف عن محاولات الصين في معارضة هذه الهيمنة من خلال محاولة تشكيل "جبهة متحدة" مع بقية دول العالم من غير القوتين العظميين في فترة الحرب الباردة ضد هيمنة الولايات المتحدة والاتحاد السوفيتي. كما تهدف الدراسة إلى توضيح الأسباب الرئيسية التي دعت الصين لأن تتخلى عن هذه الإستراتيجية لصالح الدعوة إلى بناء "عالم متناغم" منذ عام 2005. وقد استندت الدراسة إلى فرضية مفادها "وجود علاقة ارتباطية بين استفادة الصين من هيمنة النظام الاقتصادي العالمي الحالي وبين دعوتها لتشكيل "عالم متناغم" تديره القوى الدولية بما فيها الصين نفسها". وجاءت الدراسة في أربعة أقسام: الأول بحث موقف الصين تجاه الهيمنة الأمريكية في خمسينيات القرن الماضي، والثاني بين نظرة الصين حول "المنطقة الوسطى" لتشكيل جبهة موحدة ضد هيمنة القوتين العظميين خلال مرحلة الستينيات من القرن نفسه، بينما كشف القسم الثالث عن محاولة الصين إنشاء هذه الجبهة الموحدة عن طريق نظرية "العولم الثلاثة" الصينية التي سادت النظرة الصينية إلى العالم منذ السبعينيات وحتى نهاية الحرب الباردة. أما القسم الرابع، فبين التحول في الموقف الصيني تجاه الهيمنة الدولية منذ انتهاء الحرب الباردة بعد أن بدأت الصين تتخلى عن فكرة التحريض التقليدي ضد هيمنة القوى الدولية وبداية الدعوة إلى تشكيل "عالم متناغم" تشارك الصين في إدارته. وقد قام الباحث باستخدام كل من المنهج التاريخي والوصفي المقارن لتوضيح جوانب هذه الدراسة. وخلصت الدراسة إلى عدة استنتاجات أهمها أن الصين فشلت في مقاومة الهيمنة الدولية خلال الحرب الباردة، وأن تحسن موقع الصين في النظام الاقتصادي العالمي كقوة اقتصادية وسياسية بعد نهاية الحرب الباردة جعل بكين تبحث عن توسيع شبكة علاقاتها السلمية مع القوى الدولية والإقليمية كافة في محاولة لتشكيل "عالم متناغم" يخدم نجاحاتها الاقتصادية. الكلمات المفتاحية: الصين، الهيمنة الدولية، "المنطقة الوسطى"، نظرية "العولم الثلاثة"، "العالم المتناغم".

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