

論文審査の結果の要旨および担当者

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論 文 題 目

All Roads Lead to Beijing: A World-Systems Analysis of Chinese
Hegemony in Pakistan

すべての道は北京に通ずーパキスタンにおける中国覇権の世界システム
分析

論文審査担当者

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論文審査の結果の要旨

1. 論文の概要と構成

This dissertation questions whether the People's Republic of China is constructing a new World-System with itself as the core and hegemony through its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Using a set of features compiled from a wide range of literature on World-Systems Analysis, Mr Saredidine measures the degree of peripheralization of Pakistan through one part of the BRI, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and concludes that Pakistan is indeed being peripheralized into a Chinese-led world system, but the findings also indicate that there is a reasonable degree of hegemonic overlap in Pakistan with the United States. This is in contrast to the existing literature that claims complete Chinese hegemony or continued American preeminence. Mr. Saredidine concludes that China is indeed a core state within the BRI-bound world system, but one that still faces important limitations and likely will continue to in the foreseeable future.

The dissertation is composed of seven chapters. Chapter One describes the background for the study, the definitions of terminology used, the conceptual framework, and other relevant elements of a dissertation, such as the research objectives and questions. Chapter Two discusses the BRI and its impact as an extensive international development project. Chapter Three is a very thorough literature review that establishes which argument in the World-Systems literature is most apt for Mr Saredidine's analysis. Chapter Four is a detailed examination of the indicators used to measure peripheralization and hegemony, where these indicators come from in the World-Systems literature, and the empirical data employed to measure them. Chapter Five serves as an elaboration of the previous chapter, using the indicators to illustrate how China is moving toward hegemonic status within the BRI-bound scope of the study. Chapter Six is composed of the Pakistan/CPEC case study, where Mr Saredidine's findings indicate a high degree of peripheralization through BRI/CPEC, but also evidence for the continued importance of the United States in certain aspects of Pakistan's running, thus indicating a degree of hegemonic overlap not generally foreseen in WSA literature. Chapter Seven serves as a concluding summary of the findings and their implications.

This research represents an innovative approach using a widely-known theoretical framework for understanding macro-level geopolitical events and transformations. While not the only researcher arguing that China is on the way to possibly establishing itself as a hegemony in a new World-System, Mr Saredidine's use of common features provide some empirical foundation to what could be speculative research without much grounding in evidence, a criticism that can be made of other WSA. All in all this is a very mature work of political science. However, it is not without shortcomings. The lack of primary data is the main weakness of this dissertation. Mr Saredidine substantially revised his final version to add to the evidence before the final examination.

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2. 評価

This paper warrants consideration for the strength of the case it makes that what we are seeing in Pakistan is a case of hegemonic overlap that may eventually see China replace the United States as a true hegemon in Asia and perhaps beyond, but that the process of change is partial and subject to reversal. The features of hegemony and peripheralization used to analyze Pakistan are derived from the extensive body of WSA literature, but with several original modifications:

1) The research combines features of hegemony and peripheralization that are often treated separately in previous works and introduces two new features to consider: *modi operandi*, which builds on institutional hegemony from previous literature, and stunted expansion of economic sectors in the peripheralized area that could potentially compete with core state exports. These represent original contributions to a theoretical framework that is well-established but in need of revisioning in 2022.

2) The current geopolitical climate of rivalry between the United States and China means that this research is timely and potentially a prognostication of what is to come, as the current world hegemon cedes ground in Asia and elsewhere to its major economic rival. By including examinations of big-power rivalry in military, institutional and cultural matters in addition to economic competition, the author has offered a comprehensive picture of how China could develop into a truly hegemonic power rather than simply an economic powerhouse, using the national case study of Pakistan to ground the argument. Using a specific BRI project in Pakistan as illustrative is a departure from previous WSA, which tends to focus on economic sectors or particular institutions rather than examining how peripheralization has national implications.

However, the dissertation had the following areas where improvement is advised:

1) There is a lack of depth to the analysis of some of the data used, and the fact that the author has drawn on data sets from many sources sometimes leads to missing information and imperfect matches between the empirical data employed and the conclusions drawn. A more thorough knowledge of how to use economic evidence would have enhanced this research.

2) The use of a deductive approach to find evidence to prove hegemony and peripheralization is open to the criticism of selecting data to suit the argument rather than following an inductive approach that would have perhaps led to more original findings. While the researcher claims that inductive reasoning was also employed, there is the sense in the study that there is something missing from the argumentation.

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However, these points are issues that the author should address in order to deepen the research on China's movement toward hegemonic status in the future, and do not detract from the academic value of this paper. This dissertation is judged to have sufficient originality and academic value for a doctoral dissertation.

3. 判定

Based on the results of the above examination, this paper is judged to be worth a Ph.D. (International Development) degree.