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Date: 2020 August 12

(yyyy/mm/dd)

Report on the Final Exam

Name of the Chair: N. S. Cooray

On behalf of the Thesis Examining Committee, I would like to report the Final Exam result as follows.

1. Student ID	1B7D06
2. Name	Ranti Yulia Wardani
3. Cluster	International Relations
4. Thesis Examining Committee	Chair: Professor N. S. Cooray
	Referee: Professor Kaliappa Kalirajan (External Examiner)
	Referee: Professor Maung Aung Myoe (Advisor)
	Referee: Professor Seunghoo Lim (Advisor)
5. Dissertation Title	China, India, and Japan in the Formation of Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP): Potentials and Challenges
6. Submission Date	Draft:2020 April 20
	Final: 2020 August 11
7. Final Exam Date	2020 July 30
8. Faculty Meeting Date	2020 August 19
9. Degree Title	Ph.D. in International Relations
10. Result	Pass

I. Dissertation Overview and Summary of the Presentation

The negotiation process of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) has been a challenging task for its participating countries, who have sought to find compromise and consensus despite their many different interests.

While some scholars have studied the RCEP negotiation, there has been no detailed exploration of how domestic interests influence leaders' positions on the RCEP deal. Furthermore, while many studies have examined the economic implications of the RCEP trade deal with various analyses and methods, no research has explored the saving potential of a free trade agreement (FTA) focusing on China, India, and Japan.

Given this background, the objectives of this research are two-fold. The first is to examine the interests of these three major countries in the negotiation of the RCEP. The second is to assess FTA's saving potentials using ex-ante analysis and forecast the saving potential for China, India, and Japan.

The saving potential results show potential gains for China, India, and Japan from an FTA with Japan's most significant saving potential. The saving potential is empirical grounding research that supports the neoliberalism theory as part of the substantial contribution of this dissertation in international relations study.

Classical realists have emphasized rivalries among major power countries in the RCEP formation and highlighted who benefited and how much in the RCEP. Rivalries over trade between China and India have become the most formidable challenge for RCEP formation to reach a balanced agreement. China and Japan decided to stay within the RCEP formation, while India opted to leave it. The many different interests deriving from the domestic voices in each country led to a compromise process in which big domestic interests influenced leaders' decisions. Neoclassical realism emphasizes the impact of distribution power at the global level system on foreign policy through elite perceive and internal constraints. The RCEP formation has been explored through linkage politics that focus on the national-international linkages. It shows a strong influence of domestic interests on leaders' decisions in the RCEP formation.

The domestic level constraints influence the boundary of political options that consider the complexities of the international political realm in the RCEP mega

trade deal. This dissertation also draws on neoliberal institutionalism theory, which emphasizes the importance of shared interests for international cooperation. The existence of shared benefits, namely economic integration, economic development, and strengthening economic cooperation, has become a fundamental element for the conclusion of the RCEP

During the presentation, Ranti clearly explained the objectives, methodology together with the conceptual framework. The committee is happy with the methodology which the author used to achieve the goals. Findings and conclusions are in line with objectives. She has also reviewed substantial literature, and her research contributes to theoretical and empirical literature in the proposed area.

II. Notes from the Thesis Examining Committee (including the changes required to the dissertation by the committee)

We, members of the committee, having carefully evaluated the thesis and oral presentation, requested her to improve the theoretical chapters two and three with more input from international relation theories. The committee members were happy with other chapters of her thesis.

III. Confirmation by the Chair that changes have been done to the satisfaction of the committee

Based on the committee's request, Ranti has strengthened her chapters by incorporating the following international relations theories.

(1) [neo]liberalism + (2) classical realism - to explain why states cooperate (or refuse to cooperate) each other and what matters.

(3) Neoclassical realism + (4) Linkage politics - to explain how domestic political factors impact a leader's decision, and what matters more and why.

In chapter 3, she has added these parts:

3.6. RCEP through the lens of Neoliberal institutionalism perspective (p. 84)

3.7 The shaping of RCEP mega-trade deal from neoliberalism perspective (p.86)

3.8 The Classical Realism Perspective on the RCEP (p.90)

3.9 The Domestic Interests of the Major Power Countries: Neoclassical Realism and Linkage politics (p.93).

These sections answer the following suggestions:

1) subchapter 3.7 and 3.8 to explain why states cooperate (or refuse to cooperate) each other and what matters

2) subchapter 3.9 to explain how domestic political factors impact on a leader's decision, and which matter more and why.

Other revisions included: to consider FDI and Non-tariff-barrier as part of future research (on page 246); to have consistency data: table 4.3 (on page 91), table 5.1 (on page 119), and table 6.2 (on page 152); to have a specific tariff to be referred (on page 13-14); to explain the effective tariff rate is less than the nominal tariff rate in the footnote (on page 13); and to have an additional explanation on the institutional and infrastructure rigidity (on page 84).

In addition to the above changes, she has revised the analytical chapter (chapter 7) and also conclusion in line with revision done in chapters two, three, and seven.

IV. Overall Evaluation

The author argues that domestic interests have shaped the decision-makers in the participation of RCEP. The RCEP formation shows that there is a strong relationship between domestic interests and international level negotiation. China's domestic politics, India, and Japan strongly influence leaders' decisions in the RCEP formation. The current study used China, India, and Japan. However, the author suggests that it is essential to include all the partner countries' domestic interests to have a broader picture of RCEP formation.

Based on the dissertation, the author has published the following articles in international journals.

Research publication of Ms. Ranti

1. India's readiness for the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership through the India-Japan Partnership. *Management and Economics Research Journal*, 6(2): 9900017.
<https://doi.org/10.18639/MERJ.2020.9900017>
2. Saving Potential of Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP): Implication for China and Japan, *Journal of Economic Info (JEI)*, Vol. 6 No. 1 (2019); 34-42, ISSN: 2313-3376,
<https://doi.org/10.31580/jei.v6i1.122>
3. The Savings Potential of Sino-Indian Free Trade Agreement within Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership Initiatives, *Journal of Reviews on Global Economics*, Volume 8 (2019): 739-754, E-ISSN: 1929-7092, <https://doi.org/10.6000/1929-7092.2019.08.64>

The following paper is under review in *International Social Science Journal*:

1. The Interests of China, India, and Japan in the Negotiations of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership: A Theoretical Perspective

Having carefully evaluated the current dissertation and research, the committee members believe that Ms. Ranti's work has substantially contributed to the theoretical and empirical literature. Our overall evaluation is very good.