博士論文審査結果報告 Report on Ph.D. / Doctoral Dissertation Defense

National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS)

Associate Professor KANCHOOCHAT, Veerayooth

審査委員会を代表し、以下のとおり審査結果を報告します。

On behalf of the Doctoral Thesis Review Committee, I would like to report the result of the Doctoral

Dissertation Defense as follows.

学位申請者氏名 Ph.D. Candidate	Trin Aiyara			
学籍番号 ID Number	DOC15164			
プログラム名 Program	State Building and Economic Development Program			
審査委員会 Doctoral Thesis Review Committee	主査 Main referee	KANCHOOCHAT, ^{bferee} Veerayooth		主指導教員 Main Advisor
	審査委員 Referee	KHOO, Boo Teik		副指導教員 Sub Advisor
	審査委員 Referee	TAKAGI 高木 佑		副指導教員 Sub Advisor
	審査委員 Referee	MICHIS 道下 徳	HITA Narushige 成	博士課程委員会委員長代理 Acting Chairperson of the Doctoral Programs Committee
	審査委員 Referee	SUEHIRO Akira/末廣 昭 学習院大学 国際社会科学 部 教授		外部審査委員 External Referee
論文タイトル Dissertation Title (タイトル和訳)※ Title in Japanese	The Rise of China and High-Speed Politics in Southeast Asia:Thailand's Railway Development in Comparative Perspective中国の台頭と東南アジアにおける高速鉄道の政治—タイの鉄道開発に関する比較研究			
学位名 Degree Title	博士(国際開発研究)Ph.D. in International Development Studies			
論文提出日 Submission Date of the Draft Dissertation	2019年5月	目 20 日	論文審査会開催 Date of the Doctoral Th Review Committee	nesis 2019年7月19日
論文発表会開催日 Date of the Defense	2019年7月	月 19 日	論文最終版提出 Submission Date of t Final Dissertation	
審査結果 Result		合格 Pass	不合格 Failure	

※タイトルが英文の場合、文部科学省に報告するため、和訳を付してください

Please add a Japanese title that will be reported to MEXT.

1. 論文要旨 Thesis overview and summary of the presentation.

The thesis examines the rise of China in Southeast Asia through its involvement in the highspeed railway projects between 2010 and 2018. It uses Thailand as the primary case study, while Indonesia, Malaysia, and Laos are additional cases to enrich variation on data collection and analysis. The dependent variables are the proposals of high-speed railway policies in the four host countries, with a focus on their construction plans, a method of negotiation with China, and a financing method.

The existing literature misleadingly assumes each country a unitary state with a primacy of unified national interests. It therefore downplays the role of domestic political conditions, particularly interest groups and institutional settings, in shaping a set of policies in response to changes in international circumstances. This thesis combines three theoretical strands, that is, a critical political economy, rent-seeking, and state-owned multinational companies, to construct its analytical framework.

Based on data from in-depth interviews, primary documents, and secondary studies, the thesis finds that the Belt and Road Initiative has in practice become part of the domestic politics of Southeast Asian states. A political regime of the host country determines a degree of negotiating power and hence the direction of the high-speed railway proposals. For example, electoral governments tend to negotiate with China by organizing an international tender, while authoritarian governments tend to conduct bilateral negotiations with China.

Specific to the case of Thailand, the thesis compares the proposal made in the Yingluck (2011–14) and Prayuth (2014–18) governments. The different kinds of political regime, underpinning political power, and business support explain why these two administrations pursued a contrasting orientation toward China. The elected Yingluck government sought to build a nationwide railway network under the unified signaling and operation system. It thus

negotiated with China by opening international bidding, and would raise fund by issuing the loan bill, valued at approximately 62,000 million USD. All these details would serve the government's power base across class and space in rural Thailand. In contrast, the Prayuth government needed to accommodate both China and domestic conglomerates supporting the coup-installed regime. It therefore planned to construct a nationwide railway network with a separate operating system and a customized financing method on each route. The junta has agreed with the Chinese agencies, on a bilateral basis, to build a high-speed railway on the northeastern route; the cost of the first phase of this project, covering Bangkok and Nakhon Ratchasima, is around 5,200 million USD, and relied on the government budget to fund the project.

Empirically, the contribution of this thesis is its elaboration on how domestic conglomerates, public officers, local politicians, and interest groups have interacted with a host of Chinese agencies in the policy formulation process to mediate external threats and opportunities. It also carries theoretical implications on the relationship between the great powers and smaller states, thereby broadening the horizon of contemporary studies on Southeast Asia's relationship with China.

2. 審査報告 Notes from the Doctoral Thesis Review Committee (including changes required to the thesis by the referees)

Members of the thesis review committee have agreed that the thesis meets the standard of doctoral research. Suggestions have been made about clarifications and a more careful reflection. Regarding clarifications, the final manuscript should differentiate the role of Chinese state-own agencies and development banks managing in the four Southeast Asian countries. Regarding a more careful reflection, different types of the Ministers of Transport in Thailand (e.g. technocrat, politician, academic) should be taken into account. Theoretically, the thesis should make it clear which group of international relations literature it is engaged with, and how to push forward the explanatory variable from political regime to power concentration.

3. 最終提出論文確認結果 Confirmation by the Main Referee that changes have been done to the satisfaction of the referees

About two weeks after the defense, the revised version submitted by the candidate was sent to the main adviser. The revisions have been made appropriately and undergone the proofreading process.

4. 最終審查結果 Final recommendation

The doctoral thesis review committee recommends that GRIPS award the degree of Ph.D. in International Development Studies to Mr. Trin AIYARA.