

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Background

Japan has long been known as one of the largest donor countries for countries in the Southeast Asian region. Apart from geographical factors, there are many other factors that underlie the provision of Japanese foreign aid to Southeast Asia. One of those Japan assistance is the establishment of the Japan-ASEAN Cybersecurity Capacity Building Center in Bangkok, Thailand in 2018. This thesis attempts to investigate the reason of Japan's financial assistance for the establishment of this ASEAN-Japan Cybersecurity Capacity Building Centre.

Japan is a well-known developed country in Asia with Tokyo as its capital. An archipelagic country of 6,852 islands located in a volcanic zone on the Pacific Ring of Fire.<sup>1</sup> Located in Eastern Asia, Japan is an island chain between the North Pacific Ocean and the Sea of Japan in the east of the Korean Peninsula.

According to the Statistics Bureau of Japan, as of April 2021, Japan is populated by 125.41 million, including foreign residents, while the population of only Japanese nationals was 123.205 million in November 2020.<sup>2</sup> It is divided ethnically with the percentage of Japanese 98.1%, Chinese 0.5%, Korean 0.4%, other 1% (includes Filipino, Vietnamese, and Brazilian). Religiously, most people in Japan are adhered to Shintoism with

---

<sup>1</sup> Rosenberg, M. (2018, December 4). *Discover the Four Primary Islands of Japan Learn about Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, and Shikoku*. Retrieved from Thoughtco: <https://www.thoughtco.com/four-primary-islands-of-japan-4070837>

<sup>2</sup> The Statistic Bureau of Japan. (2021). *Monthly Report*. Retrieved from Statistic Bureau of Japan: <http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/jinsui/tsuki/index.html>

a percentage of 70.4%, followed by 69.8% of Buddhism, Christianity 1.5%, and other 6.9%. How the total adherents exceed 100% because many people practice both Shintoism and Buddhism.<sup>3</sup> Japan is also known for its high life expectancy with 81 years (men), 87 years (women), put them in second place for the highest life expectancy in the world.<sup>4</sup>

Japan is one of the biggest countries in Asia in terms of economic development besides China, Singapore, and South Korea. Its security alliance with the United States has made Japan become one of the largest economies in the world after having such a fast economic development in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century after the devastation of the Second World War, driven by the highly successful automobile and consumer electronics industries.<sup>5</sup> Having such a large economy has made technology along with industry become more and more main priorities that cannot be separated from Japan as its economy is dependent on the industry and technological advancements. Highly successful car and consumer electronics industries have enabled Japan to rapidly expand its economy. Now, Japan is known to be one of the dominant market players with many of its products, especially its electronics and automobile products. Toyota, Honda, Nissan, and Mazda are some of the big automobile companies that dominate the world automobile market from Japan, not to mention other electronics companies such as Panasonic, Sony, Toshiba, and many others. Michael Sekora, a physicist and top former of U.S. Defense Agency executive who was the head of the Project Socrates, a Reagan administration program to determine why the United States was rapidly losing

---

<sup>3</sup> CIA. (2021, May 4). *Japan*. Retrieved from CIA: <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/japan/>

<sup>4</sup> Kompas. (2018, October 19). *Daftar Negara dengan Usia Harapan Hidup Tertinggi, Bagaimana Indonesia?* Retrieved from Kompas: <https://lifestyle.kompas.com/read/2018/10/19/120000920/daftar-negara-dengan-usia-harapan-hidup-tertinggi-bagaimana-indonesia>

<sup>5</sup> BBC. (2020, September 16). *Japan Country Profile*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-14918801>

competitiveness in advanced industries conducted in the 1980, argued that Japan was the leading and dominant player in the industrial and technological advance, even above the United States of America.<sup>6</sup>

Regardless of Japan advance development, arguably, one of the greatest and the most important invention in the last few decades is Internet. It is probably one of the more useful tools that humanity has ever made. It has enabled people to be continuously connected, acting as a catalyst for globalization. For a lot of people, internet has become the source for almost everything they need to know. Not only that, it also has accelerated the spread of information, entertainment, and knowledge. What happened in one country could be discovered by another country in just a view minute. Not to mention that it also has enabled people to speed up the business process and many other benefits that come with it. However, like a double-edged knife, there will be disadvantages and menaces that come with it. For so long, internet has been known to cause an addiction, timewaster, distractions, internet-bullying, trolls, all kinds of pornography and probably many other disadvantages that a lot of people might not know. However, what the author wants to discuss in this case is the other disadvantage that is arguably more dangerous than previously mentioned disadvantages, which is Cybercrime.

Cybercrime is not a new phenomenon. According to Encyclopedia Britannica, Cybercrime—also called computer crime—is the use of computer (all computing device that has access to internet such as computer and smartpone) as an instrument to further illegal ends, such as committing fraud,

---

<sup>6</sup> Fingleton, E. (2015, November 22). *It Is Japan, Not the U.S., That Leads in Serious Technology, Says Top Reagan Technology Advisor*. Retrieved from Forbes: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/eamonnfingleton/2015/11/22/it-is-japan-not-the-u-s-that-leads-in-serious-technology-says-top-reagan-technology-advisor/?sh=25a7bff74023>

trafficking in child pornography and intellectual property, stealing identities, or violating privacy.<sup>7</sup> In this globalization era where internet have become a vital tool for almost everybody to operate, has put everybody in danger.

For instance, hacker (one that hacks to someone's personal information), can extract bank customer money through a method called *phishing*. According to Meriam-Webster Dictionary, Phishing is the practice of tricking Internet users (as using deceptive email messages or websites) into revealing personal or confidential information which can then be used illicitly.<sup>8</sup> It happens almost every day to many people in the world. However, there were big companies that also happen to experience this type of cybercrime such as Facebook and Google where the hacker managed to steal more than \$100 million in total between 2013 and 2015.<sup>9</sup>

Other cases such as in May 2017 where the world was surprised by a ransomware called WannaCry that hacked many computers in the world including hospitals, government offices, banks, telecommunications companies, and warehouses.<sup>10</sup> According to Heaney and Murphy, Ransomware was a type of malicious software cyber criminals used to block you from accessing your data. The digital extortionists encrypted the files on your system and add extensions to the attacked data and held it "hostage" until the demanded ransom was paid. After the initial infection, the ransomware may attempt to spread throughout your network to shared drives, servers, attached

---

<sup>7</sup>Dennis, M. A. (2008, April 9). *Cybercrime*. Retrieved from Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/cybercrime#ref235698>

<sup>8</sup>Meriam-Webster. (2021, August 21). *Phishing: Definition of Phishing*. Retrieved from Meriam-Webster: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/phishing>

<sup>9</sup> Tom Huddleston Junior. (2019, March 27). *How this scammer used phishing emails to steal over \$100 million from Google and Facebook*. Retrieved from CNBC.COM: <https://www.cnbc.com/2019/03/27/phishing-email-scam-stole-100-million-from-facebook-and-google.html>

<sup>10</sup> BBC. (2017, May 13). *Massive ransomware infection hits computers in 99 countries*. Retrieved from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-39901382>

computers, and other accessible systems. If the ransom demands were not met within the cyber crook's timeframe, the system or encrypted data remained unavailable, or your data may be deleted by the software, and the decryption key obliterated.<sup>11</sup> For a company, this is fatal because the company's data are so important. According to BBC, Cybersecurity firm Avast said it had seen 75,000 cases of the ransomware - known as WannaCry and variants of that name - around the world.<sup>12</sup> Following the event, almost 7 months later, on Tuesday, December 19, the United States announced that it denounces North Korea for the cyberattack using "WannaCry" malware in May 2017.<sup>13</sup>

In Japan, in February 2017, reported 12.6 million cases involving the leak of personal information were confirmed or suspected in the nation in 2016 due to cyberattacks against companies and other entities, affecting roughly 1 in 10 people.<sup>14</sup> It showed that even Japan, a country that is quite advanced in the world of technology, was also overwhelmed in facing this cybercrime issue.

For a company, such as Honda, cyberattack could even make them halt the production of the factory. It happened in June 2017 when this Japanese big automobile company, Honda, was forced to halt their car production at a Japanese factory after suffering WannaCry cyberattack. Reported that factory shut

---

<sup>11</sup> Heaney, S., & Murphy, G. (2021, May 14). *Q&A: What is ransomware and why do cyber criminals use it?* Retrieved from Irish Examiner: <https://www.irishexaminer.com/opinion/commentanalysis/arid-40289198.html>

<sup>12</sup> BBC. (2017, May 13). *Massive ransomware infection hits computers in 99 countries.* Retrieved from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-39901382>

<sup>13</sup> BBC. (2017, December 19). *Cyber-attack: US and UK blame North Korea for WannaCry.* Retrieved from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-42407488>

<sup>14</sup> The Japan Times. (2017, February 28). *12.6 million cases of personal information leaked in Japan in 2016, survey shows.* Retrieved from TheJapanTimes: <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/02/28/national/crime-legal/12-6-million-personal-info-leak-cases-seen-japan-2016-card-info-targeted/#.XL33EqQxW00>

production on Monday (June 19<sup>th</sup>) at its Sayama plant, northwest of Tokyo, which produces models including the Accord sedan, Odyssey Minivan, and Step Wagon compact multipurpose vehicle and has a daily output of around 1,000 vehicles. Not only, Honda, other car manufacturers such as Nissan and Renault were also facing the same virus in May 2017 when they also had to stop their car production in several factories.<sup>15</sup> The production halt affected many aspects of the company, including decreased performance and income.

All those previously mentioned cases were enough to make the author to be confident enough to say that cybercrime is not something that can be taken so lightly. On some occasions, cybercrimes, could be as severe as, if not more, to some real-world crimes. Important data of an institution if not handled seriously can easily be stolen and used for bad measures, not to mention many other various cybercrime scenarios that might happen.

Even for a big country like Japan, cybercrime still is a complex problem to solve. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Japan is no exception to rapidly growing cyber threats. From 2011 to 2017, there was a significant increase in the cyber-attacks that happened in Japan. There were several attacks to not only Japanese government but also some private firms.<sup>16</sup>

On their effort in combatting the danger of Cybercrime, Japan has been conducting several meetings regarding Cybersecurity with states such as Australia, India, United

---

<sup>15</sup> Tajitsu, N. (2017, June 21). *Honda forced to halt car production at Japanese factory after suffering WannaCry cyberattack*. Retrieved from Independent: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/news/honda-japan-wannacry-cyberattack-hack-car-auto-production-halted-suspended-tokyo-sayama-plant-a7800181.html>

<sup>16</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. (2018). *Japan Cyber Diplomacy*. Retrieved from <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000412327.pdf>

States, France, and UK. They also have been joining some discussion about this matter with some Intergovernmental Organization (IGOs) such as United Nation (UN) and ASEAN. In September 2018, Japan in partnership with ASEAN has officially opened ASEAN-Japan Cybersecurity Capacity Building Center (AJCCBC) in Bangkok, Thailand. The initial idea of this ASEAN-Japan Cybersecurity Capacity Building Centre came from a meeting between ASEAN and Japan's ministers in Cambodia in 2017.<sup>17</sup>

Japan has been known as an aid donor country for a long time. After its defeat in World War II, under Prime minister Shigeru Yoshida's doctrine, Japan has been focusing its energy on dedicating its resource to economic development while letting America to keep its security safe. And, it is undeniable that it has brought Japan to economic stability, in short, it enabled Japan to be a donor for many developing countries.

However, because of economic stagnancies, depleting government revenue, and increasing national debt, Japan foreign aid budget has shrunk considerably over the past several years. Japan's total ODA in 2018, which is when this AJCCBC established, was approximately \$14,163.52 million (approximately ¥1,564.2 billion).<sup>18</sup> This number is considerably lower than the previous year of 2017 where Japan's gross ODA disbursements in 2017 amounted to approximately \$18,461.20 million (¥ 2,071.0 billion).<sup>19</sup> Even though, in the following years Japan's total ODA slowly increase, at least, at the time when Japan decided to fund this

---

<sup>17</sup> Tanakasempipat, P. (2018, September 14). *Southeast Asian cyber security center opens in Thailand*. Retrieved from Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-asean-cyber/southeast-asian-cyber-security-center-opens-in-thailand-idUSKCN1LU1G0>

<sup>18</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. (2020, March). *White Paper on Development Cooperation 2019*. Retrieved from <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100161529.pdf>

<sup>19</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. (2019, March). *White Paper on Development Cooperation 2018*. Retrieved from <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100004330.pdf>

Japan-ASEAN Cybersecurity Capacity Building Centre, Japan was required to be a bit more considerate on what program to support. Not to mention that, in the past, Japan have received critics regarding its foreign aid that often flowed into the private accounts of corrupt political leaders in Asia and into aid projects that created severe environmental damage, so they cannot just spend money on programs that they think are not profitable for Japan or will even lead to another criticism in the future.<sup>20</sup>

## **B. Research Question**

Based on the background of the problem explained above, a research question was made: *“Why did Japan provide financial assistance for the establishment of ASEAN-Japan Cybersecurity Capacity Building Center (AJCCBC) in Bangkok?”*

## **C. Theoretical Framework**

### **C. 1. National Interest**

Above all, national interest is the goal of a sovereign state. If we start to look at the national interest from the realist perspective, "National interests" are nothing but "state interests" based on the power they have.<sup>21</sup> The behavior of a state in International Relations is to keep the elements of "power" to be able to guarantee the sovereignty among other countries and, therefore, maintain the constellation of political power at the international level. In that regard, state needs a tool to be able to achieve its national interest in the international system, called Foreign Policy. A sovereign state will put the interests of its

---

<sup>20</sup> Jain, P. (2016, July 11). *New thinking redefines Japan's foreign aid policy*. Retrieved from Asian Studies Association of Australia: <http://asaa.asn.au/new-thinking-redefines-japans-foreign-aid-policy/>

<sup>21</sup> Burchill, S. (2005). *The National Interest in International Relations Theory*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.



country first in order to achieve prosperity. Hans Morgenthau (2006) defines national interest as the ability of a country to protect its national identity from other countries. In other words, national interest is a way in which a country is able to gain power to support the achievement of the interests in international relation, we can argue that Morgenthau interpreted power as a strength, domination and influence.<sup>22</sup>

National interest is very important to explain and understand international behavior. The concept of national interest is the basis for explaining the behavior of a country's foreign policy. In his book titled *Kamus Hubungan Internasional dan Diplomasi*, Khasan Ashari argues that “National Interest is a concept that is widely used in international relations and is often interpreted as a goal to be achieved by a state in the military, economic, and cultural fields. This goal becomes a reference for the state in interacting with other actors in international relations.”<sup>23</sup> In line with Khasan Ashari, I.Gst. Ngr. Hady Purnama Putera stated that, “the national interest is a very general concept but is an element that becomes a very vital need for the state. It is the fundamental objective and the most decisive factor that guides decision makers in formulating foreign policy. The national interest is the goals to be achieved in connection with the needs of the nation/state or in connection with the things aspired to.”<sup>24</sup> Subsequently, Putera was then quoting Jack C Plano and Roy Olton saying that, “national interest is the needs and desires of a sovereign state in dealing with other sovereign states which

---

<sup>22</sup> Morgenthau, H. J., & Thompson, K. W. (2006). *Politics among nations: the struggle for power and peace*. Boston: McGraw-Hill Higher Education. page: 16

<sup>23</sup> Ashari, K. (2020). *Kamus Hubungan Internasional dan Diplomasi*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama. page: 336

<sup>24</sup> Putera, I. N. (2017). *Pelarangan Import Drama Republik Korea oleh Republik Rakyat Tiongkok Dalam Perspektif National Interest dan Hubungan Internasional*. Jurnal Komunikasi Hukum Universitas Pendidikan Ganesha Singaraja. page: 35

constitute its external environment.”<sup>25</sup> Meaning that the use of national interest for state’s interaction in the external environment (international relation) is very crucial.

In the book titled "*National Interest*" by Joseph Frankel (1970), he states that the national interest is a vague concept, depending on the context in which it is used. Likewise, in determining the national interest of a country, according to him, it is determined from the actors who play a role. Whether idealist or realist, it would really affect the way of thinking in determining the national interest of a country.<sup>26</sup>

According to Ashari, national interests can be seen from three perspectives, (a) as an analytical tool to assess a country's foreign policy preferences; (b) as criteria for evaluating certain policies or actions; and (c) as a justification for foreign policy. Additionally, according to Rosenau, there are differences between the use of national interest for the purpose of political analysis and that of political action.<sup>27</sup> As an analytic tool, it is employed to describe, explain, or evaluate the sources or the adequacy of a nation’s foreign policy. When used as an instrument of political action, it serves as a means of justifying, denouncing, or proposing policies. Both usages, in other words, refer to what is best for a national society.<sup>28</sup>

National interest is closely related to foreign policy. Generally, a country's foreign policy is always rooted in the country's national interests. In Joseph Frankel's book *National Interest*, government activities in foreign policy related to

---

<sup>25</sup> See Plano, Jack C and Roy Olton. (1999) in Putera, I. N. (2017). *Pelarangan Import Drama Republik Korea oleh Republik Rakyat Tiongkok Dalam Perspektif Nasional Interest dan Hubungan Internasional*. Jurnal Komunikasi Hukum Universitas Pendidikan Ganesha Singaraja. page: 35

<sup>26</sup> Frankel, J. (1970). *National Interest*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. page:15-17

<sup>27</sup> Ashari, K. (2020). *Kamus Hubungan Internasional dan Diplomasi*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama. page: 336

<sup>28</sup> Rosenau, J. N. (2006). *The study of world politics: Vol. 1*. London: Routledge. page: 246

national interests are divided into 3 categories, namely (1) strategy or military, (2) Political or diplomatic and (3) Economic.<sup>29</sup>

It is not surprising that the national interests of a country depend very much on the capabilities of the country itself. Power will ultimately be the determining factor in the formulation of a country's national interests, it is directly proportional to the national interest that a country can formulate. Meaning, the interests of a country can be regulated or formulated in a broad scope if it has sufficient dominating power to actualize it. Countries with weak dominating power will only have a few basic interests, but those who have more power, have more advantages to formulate their national interest in a wider scope.<sup>30</sup>

K.J Holsti divides national interests into 3 forms, namely: (a) core values, (b) middle-range objectives, and (c) long-range objectives. According to Holsti, foreign policy is useful for articulating the substance of a national interest, the national interest itself, according to him, presented a hierarchy in the objectives of foreign policy. Therefore, he then divided the national interest into 3 forms<sup>31</sup>:

a) Core Value

As the name suggests, core values are basic values which then become the main goals to be achieved by a sovereign state. Therefore, this core value requires every actor who plays a role to make all kinds of efforts and sacrifices so that core value can be created. Things that generally become the core values of a country such as guaranteeing or maintaining state ownership,

---

<sup>29</sup> Frankel, J. (1970). *National Interest*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. page: 54

<sup>30</sup> Frankel, J. (1970). *National Interest*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. page: 67-70

<sup>31</sup> Holsti, K. J. (1996). *The State, War, and the State of War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

national security and then to maintain a social, political, economic system in a region.

#### b) Middle-Range Objectives

If core values are the basic values that are the main goals of a country, hence, it is absolute for the existence of a country, middle-range objectives are the goals that a country wants to achieve in the medium term. Usually, these middle-range objectives are closely related to the development and improvement of social welfare of its people through actions in the international community. State takes into account all the political, economic and cultural activities over a long period of time in order to achieve its interests. For example, countries are always looking for opportunities in their country's economic development to improve its economy. This is certainly influenced by the limitations that each country has in terms of the economy caused by various factors. The balance between natural resources and human resources is a factor that greatly affects the economy of a country. The condition of a country that is rich in natural resources but weak in terms of human resources, the opposite applies, will have an impact on the country's economy. Therefore, countries must interact with other countries, either through trade, foreign aid, or cooperation between countries. Of course, ideally, this is needed only as a support to improve the welfare of the people and the economic stability of a country, not as the main factor in improving the welfare of society and the economic stability of a country.

#### c) Long-Range Objectives

Long-range objectives are national interests that are ideal and have a long-term impact on a country. The formation of international organizations in the international system and then regulating the role of the

state in it is one example. It can be categorized into long-range objectives because through the formation of organizations in the international system, both regional and international organizations, dominant countries can perpetuate their dominance by instilling their values, systems and interests.

## C. 2. Foreign Aid

American aid to Eastern Europe (later known as the Marshall Plan) between 1949 and 1952, which was estimated at 4.5 percent of America's GDP, is often said as the beginning of the foreign aid as it is known today. This was followed by a series of aids from rich countries, which had recovered from the war, to less developed countries and then were followed by the creation of international organizations that distributed aid and other assistance first to developed countries and then to less developed countries.<sup>32</sup>

Foreign aid is one of the important instruments in a country's foreign policy. However, perspectives on why one country provides foreign aid to another can vary widely. If we were to use realist lens that generally sees relations between countries in the international world as anarchic in nature, we would argue that the provision of foreign aid from one country to another cannot be separated from its effort to support the achievement of its national interests. Hence, countries rely heavily on the development of their own country's power to support itself. The realist perspective sees that the provision of foreign aid can be used as a diplomatic tool for aid-giving countries to achieve their interests, both in the political, economic, and security fields.<sup>33</sup> This is then supported by the

---

<sup>32</sup> Gilpin, R. (1987). *The Political Economy of International Relations*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. page: 313

<sup>33</sup> Virgianita, A., et al. (2014). *Perkembangan Diskursus dan Implementasi Bantuan Luar Negeri dalam Studi Hubungan Internasional*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Sempu.

argument of Carol Lancaster (2007) saying that realists tend to see foreign aid as a pragmatic diplomatic tool and an instrument of political power (hard-headed diplomacy).<sup>34</sup>

As for structuralists, foreign aid seen as a useful tool to be able to control and exploit recipient countries with the aim of maintaining unequal economic, social and political relations between donor countries (core countries) and foreign aid recipient countries (periphery countries).<sup>35</sup> This can be concluded if we take a look at the works of rich countries, which, although still debatable, exploit poor countries under the pretext of providing foreign aid, such as the Belt and Road Initiative by China in African countries. Whereas for John Degenbol Martinussen and Poul Endberg Pedersen (2003), the motives and interests of a country in providing foreign aid are for moral and humanitarian reasons, national security, economy, and environment.<sup>36</sup> Judging from these various perspectives, it is safe for us to assume that the provision of foreign aid cannot simply be separated from the national interests of the donor country. Although other motives cannot be ruled out, the national interest of the country providing foreign aid still has a significant influence on a country's decision to provide foreign aid.

According to Hattori, foreign aid is all forms of goods and services owned and managed by the aid-giving country where the allocation varies depending on the goals and interests.<sup>37</sup> This definition is almost the same as that proposed by the DAC (Development Assistance Committee), namely

---

<sup>34</sup> Lancaster, C. (2007). *Foreign Aid: Diplomacy, Development, Domestic Politics*. Chicago: The University of Chicago. page: 3

<sup>35</sup> Virgianita, A., et al. (2014). *Perkembangan Diskursus dan Implementasi Bantuan Luar Negeri dalam Studi Hubungan Internasional*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Sempu

<sup>36</sup> Degenbol-Martinussen, J., & Engberg-Pedersen, P. (2003). *Aid: Understanding International Development Cooperation*. London: Zed Books.

<sup>37</sup> Hattori, T. (2001). Reconceptualizing Foreign Aid. *Review of International Political Economy Vol. 8 No. 4*, 633-660.

foreign aid includes the transfer of public resources from one country to another, or to non-state organizations where 25 percent of the components are elements of grants aimed at developing poor countries. This foreign aid can be called ODA (Official Development Assistance).<sup>38</sup>

Foreign aid as an instrument in foreign policy is not without controversy. Scholars are divided into two sides as to whether foreign aid is justified enough to be done by countries or is it just a waste of money and time and serve nothing. According to the journal *A Political Theory of Foreign Aid* (1962) by Morgenthau, foreign aid viewed by some as a form of fulfilling the obligations of some rich countries to poor countries, while others view foreign aid as, as Morgenthau puts it, "a gigantic boondoggle, a wasteful and indefensible operation which serves neither the interests of the United States nor those of the recipient nations".<sup>39</sup> However, whatever it is, as George Liska said, "Foreign aid is today and will remain for some time an instrument of political power".<sup>40</sup>

Morgenthau divides foreign aid into 6 types, which according to him, all of the six have one thing in common: the transfer of money, goods and services from one nation to another. The six types of foreign aid proposed by Morgenthau are: (1) humanitarian foreign aid, (2) subsistence foreign aid, (3) military foreign aid, (4) bribery, (5) prestige foreign aid, and (6) foreign aid for economic development.<sup>41</sup> While according to Khasan Ashari in his book "*Kamus Hubungan Internasional dan Diplomas*", he categorizes foreign aid into only 4, namely:

---

<sup>38</sup> Wulandari, R. D. (2016). *Bantuan Luar Negeri Australia dalam Mengatasi Krisis Ekonomi Nauru Tahun 2001-2007*. Retrieved from <http://journal.unair.ac.id/download-fullpapers-jahi435d54b99bfull.pdf>

<sup>39</sup> Morgenthau, H. J. (Jun., 1962). *A Political Theory of Foreign Aid*. The American Political Science Review, Vol. 56, No. 2., page: 301

<sup>40</sup> Liska, G. (1960). *The New Statecraft*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

<sup>41</sup> Morgenthau, H. J. (Jun., 1962). *A Political Theory of Foreign Aid*. The American Political Science Review, Vol. 56, No. 2., page: 301

(1) technical assistance, (2) grant, (3) development loans, and (4) emergency humanitarian assistance.<sup>42</sup> Meanwhile, for Virgianita, loans, grants, and technical cooperation are three forms of distribution of foreign aid.<sup>43</sup> So, not only that foreign aid could be in the form of the transfer of money, goods and services from one nation to another just like what Morgenthau proposed, it could also be in the form of cooperation between countries.

### **C. 3. Regional Security Complex Theory**

The security of a country and a region cannot be understood without understanding the pattern of security interdependence among countries in the region. This can be interpreted that the security of a country can be influenced by the security situation in the surrounding area, as Barry Buzan says, security is basically a relational phenomenon.<sup>44</sup>

To understand the regional security complex theory, we can use the approach used by Barry Buzan who defines the regional security complex theory as an attempt by a country to create order and regional security by cooperating with neighboring countries in the region.<sup>45</sup> There are two important constituent variables of the regional security complex theory formulated by Barry and Ole, namely internal variables and external variables.<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> Ashari, K. (2020). *Kamus Hubungan Internasional dan Diplomasi*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama. *page: 204*

<sup>43</sup> Virgianita, A., et al. (2014). *Perkembangan Diskursus dan Implementasi Bantuan Luar Negeri dalam Studi Hubungan Internasional*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Sempu

<sup>44</sup> Buzan, B. (1983). *People, States, and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in The Post-Cold War Era*. England: The Harvester Press Ltd.

<sup>45</sup> Nurdiana, N. A. (2018). *Peran Politik dan Keamanan Rusia*. *eJournal Ilmu Hubungan Internasional, Volume 6, Nomor 4, 1503-1516*.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid



1. Internal variables, can be measured using several indicators, namely:

- a. Geographical Location

In geographic location, the focus is to see how big the role of geographic location in defining an area as a herd. Because not all countries that are close together can establish a common security arrangement.

- b. Interaction between Countries

While the interaction between countries will see how often and how close the relationship (interaction) between countries in a region. The focus then is to see whether the interactions between countries are so deep that they feel as one unit. Or is it that too little interaction can make them perceive that they do not know their own neighboring country.

- c. System Similarity

In the similarity of this system, what is seen is from the various similarities in the cultural, economic, social and political systems in countries in one region. The more these countries have in common, the more complex they are, of course this will foster a stronger sense of solidarity.

2. External variables can be measured using two indicators, namely:

- a. International Situation

This indicator is based on international environmental conditions. Whether or not the international environment supported the establishment of a security arrangement in the region. This international environmental could affect a country's national interest which will lead

a country to find “friend” with the same interest. One of the examples is when the world was controlled by the power of the United States, this then prompted Russia, China and countries in the Central Asian region to form a common political and security arrangement to fight the domination of the United States.

#### b. Emerging issues

This last indicator is related to issues that are currently happening. There are developing issues that sometimes require regional cooperation, usually those related to the security issues. For instance, currently, the issue of terrorism is rising. It requires all countries in one region to make security arrangements to be able to solve this problem hand in hand.

Finally, after the explanation of those concepts and theory, in this theoretical framework, the researcher will try to explain the research problem, namely to find out the reason behind the Japanese fund in the establishment of the ASEAN-Japan Cybersecurity Capacity Building Center (AJCCBC). This problem will be researched and be combined with the concepts and theory so that the problem will be easier to be logicalized.

Begin with Japan as a country providing foreign assistance to developing countries in the Asian region using the Official Development Assistance (ODA) scheme. Japan has provided assistance to several countries in the Asian region such as Indonesia, India, the Philippines, Thailand and even China. And naturally, Japan foreign aid is not only given to developing countries, but Japan also provides assistance to international organizations such as ASEAN. In this regard, Japan in 2018 together with ASEAN has opened a Cybersecurity Capacity Building Center in Bangkok, Thailand with the aim of developing a cybersecurity workforce to enhance the capacity of cybersecurity experts and specialists in the ASEAN Member

State (AMS) by providing trainings and other activities to participants from (AMS). This Japan's foreign aid will be analyzed using the concept of foreign aid and the concept of national interest as the basis for the analysis. As the foreign policy of each country must be based on the national interest of the country, the researcher considers that this problem can be studied using these two concepts. Then this Japanese foreign aid will be analyzed further using the regional security complex theory. The regional security complex theory is expected to be able to explain the reasons behind Japan's foreign aid by explaining the significance of regional security for Japan itself as security is one of the absolute national interests of a country.

#### **D. Research Argument**

Based on the background and brief explanation of several previous concepts and theory above, the author arrives at an argument, which is: Japan provides financial assistance for the establishment of the Japan-ASEAN Cybersecurity Capacity Building Center because (1) the Japan's security interest: security of the Southeast Asian region which is an area adjacent to Japan can affect Japan's security itself and (2) because of the Japan's economic interest: Japan considers Southeast Asia to be an important and profitable region for Japanese economy.

#### **E. Methodology of Research**

This research is expected to explain the reason for Japan to conduct the new ASEAN-Japan Cybersecurity Capacity Building Center (AJCCBC). To make sure the objective of this research is well achieved and well understood by the readers, author will explain it by using exploratory and explanatory methods through a common theory and concept. The data collection techniques used in this research were document studies done by collecting secondary data, in this

case, the information is derived from several relevant published materials such as a report, journal, news, and its related agencies website. Author will also collect the data from another researcher as the standard of my research objectives.

## **F. Research Scope**

To facilitate the research, the author will limit the scope of this research so that the author does not deviate from the desired theme and goal, namely to find out the reasons for Japan providing financial assistance for the creation of the ASEAN-Japan Cybersecurity Capacity Building Center (AJCCBC). The author will limit this research from when the idea of creating a capacity building center emerged in 2017 when the Telecommunications and Information Technology Senior Official Meeting (TELSOM) and ASEAN Telecommunications and Information Technology Ministers Meeting (TELMIN) at the Apsara Palace Resort and Conference Center, Siem Reap, Cambodia, until this capacity building center was finally inaugurated in 2018 in Bangkok, Thailand. However, it is possible that the data used are data in the time span before or after this institution was formed as long as the data used supports researchers in finding the reasons behind Japan's foreign aid to ASEAN.

## **G. Organization of Writing**

To deliver good and systematic content to the readers, the researcher divides the topics into chapters where they involved each other as a united structural topic.

Chapter I: Introduction which consists of background, research question, theoretical framework, research argument, methodology of research, and organization of writing.

Chapter II: Discussing the general information on the subjects: Japan, ASEAN, The Relation between Japan and ASEAN, Japan Foreign Aid and the ASEAN-Japan Cybersecurity Capacity Building Center (AJCCBC)

Chapter III: Discussing the complexity of cybersecurity issues and the reasons for Japan's fund for the establishment of the ASEAN-Japan Cybersecurity Capacity Building Center (AJCCBC)

Chapter IV: Conclusion of the research