

COOPERATION BETWEEN INDONESIA-PHILIPPINES ON COMBATING DRUGS IN ASEAN

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ABSTRACT

The cooperation between the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of the Philippines in regards to combating the illicit drug trade signed in 2015 was an extension to the 2010 bilateral agreement to combat transnational organized crime. So far, this cooperation with the Republic of the Philippines hasn't been successful in reducing the number of drugs being trafficked to Indonesia. Instead, Indonesia has shifted from being a transit hub to a lucrative market for the international illicit drug industry. Thus, this research is aimed to identify and analyze the reasons behind Indonesia's decision to extend the latter in 2015 and the implementation of this new agreement with the Philippines in regards to Indonesia's effort on combating the illicit drug trade in Southeast Asia. This research applies the qualitative descriptive approach in this research, especially on the concepts foreign policy and bilateral security cooperation, achieved through both literature studies and interviews. Results of the research showed that the continuous rise of Indonesia's drug trafficking numbers and the profits being used as funding for other transnational criminal activities such as but not limited to terrorist groups, serves as the foundation behind Indonesia's decision in its bilateral agreement of intelligent and best practice exchanges with the Republic of the Philippines in regards to combat drug trafficking, which has positively impact Indonesia's capability on combating the illicit drug trade in the Association of Southeast Asian Nation (ASEAN).

Keywords: Transnational Organized Crime, Drug Trafficking, Bilateral Security Cooperation, ASEAN.

BODY

1. Introduction

The world today is moving at an unimaginable speed, through the help of information and technology; people from around the world are becoming more interconnected than ever. This new level of interconnectedness provides the opportunity for countries to fulfill their interests, needs, and develop themselves through either bilateral or multilateral agreements. Thus, peace and stability is needed, as without such any development is virtually impossible for any country. This need for peace and stability aspire countries to cooperate with one another, as it is more beneficial for countries

cooperation, social cooperation, joint-security cooperation, and others. to do so (Lipson, 1984).

Cooperation between countries in this new rapid world can be found in the form of bilateralism and multilateralism, which differ in the number of parties involved in the agreement and/or cooperation, as bilateralism is the cooperation between two states, which can be in the form of economic

Multilateralism on the other hand is cooperation between more than two states, in both the regional and global level, such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the North America Treaty Organization (NATO), the United Nations (UN), and others (Tago, 2017).

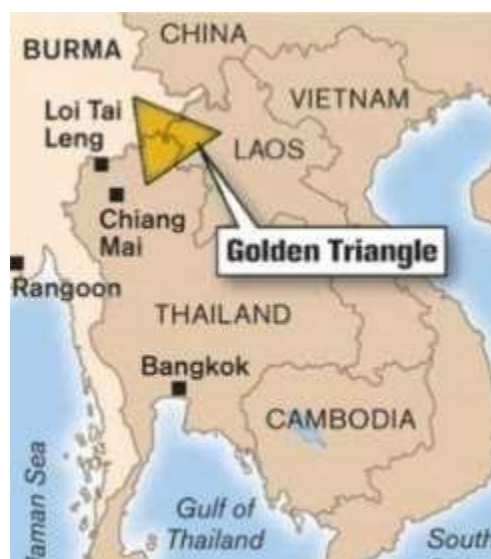
An example of this cooperation in the security sector is in combating transnational organized crime (TOC), such as combating international drug trafficking. Cooperation in combating the illicit drug trade in the multilateral level can be seen through the UN, through its office, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), whereas in the bilateral level through bilateral security cooperation agreement between countries.

Defined as “a global illicit trade involving the cultivation, manufacture, distribution, and sale of substances which are subject to drug prohibition laws,” (UNODC, n.d.) the illicit drug trade includes

not only the illegal production, distribution, and/or sales of all forms of illegal substances, such as but not limited to all forms of cannabinoids, opioids, stimulants, hallucinogens, and other illegal substances (Commonly Used Drugs, 2020), but also its precursor ingredients in all its forms as well as the illegal distribution, sales, and/or abuse of prescription drugs (World Drug Report, 2018; Justia, 2018). As such, the illicit drug trade is one of the largest illegal markets worldwide, with international market value estimates ranging from USD 300 (Vardi, 2013) billion to around USD 652 billion annually, putting the global illicit drug industry as the second largest illicit market worldwide (Mavrellis, 2017). The huge market value of the international drug industry is all thanks to the huge market demands in drugs, which was created by the 275 million drug users worldwide (World Drug Report, 2018). ASEAN as a region serves as a lucrative market for the global illicit drug trade; as such drug trade in Southeast Asia has been expanding at an alarming rate. Data released from Indonesia's National Narcotics Agency (BNN) showed the number of illicit drug users numbering at around six million people in Indonesia alone, with a staggering fifty percent growth in the past four years (Hambali, 2017). The lucrativeness of the Southeast Asia market towards the global illicit drug trade can be attributed to the region's history.

As newly independent nations, Southeast Asian countries have a strong resolve towards maintaining its sovereignty, especially as global politics were divided into two opposing blocs, the liberal west and the communist east. Southeast Asia also has become the battle field for those liberal west and communist east countries ideology. This resolve can be clearly shown in the non-aligned movement of Southeast Asian countries, which were further shown by the establishment ASEAN in Bangkok, Thailand in August 1967. ASEAN as a regional based organization were first

established by five countries, the Republic of Indonesia, the Republic of the Philippines, the Republic of Singapore, the Kingdom of Thailand, and Malaysia which were then joined by other Southeast Asian countries after the end of the Cold War. Furthermore, Southeast Asia has also developed rapidly since the end of the colonialism era, shown by the rapid growth and development of Southeast Asian countries after gaining independence. The rapid growth however, wasn't experienced by every country at the same phase, furthermore that it didn't encompass growth throughout all sectors. This combined with Southeast Asian countries wishes to maintain its sovereignty and independence, where all the ASEAN members agree to not being involved in the other member business; this then provides the perfect environment for the rapid growth of the illicit drug trade in the region, especially with ASEAN's noninterference policy.



Southeast Asia as a region is also well known for its illicit drug trade worldwide. Known as the Golden Triangle, this area within the borders of Thailand, Laos, and Myanmar, near the Ruak and Mekong River are well known as the heart of the illicit opium trade in Southeast Asia, providing the biggest illicit drug trafficking network in the region (Golden Triangle, 2019). Within the Golden Triangle, Myanmar is well known as

the second largest illicit opium producer globally, second only to Afghanistan. With almost half of Myanmar landmass covered with forest and hilly terrains, and a low population density, Myanmar serves as the ideal location for opium poppy cultivations, especially within the mountainous area of the Shan Plateau in the Southern part of Myanmar (Global Illicit Drug, 2001). As such Myanmar status as the largest illicit opium producer has been known to affect other countries within the area, especially those bordering Myanmar, such as Thailand and Laos leading to an increase in drug related crimes within both countries (Gluckman, n.d.).

Indonesia as the largest country in ASEAN with Free and Active foreign policy has shown its' commitment in combating the issue of illicit drug trafficking in Southeast Asia, such as by categorized drug trafficking as a high-risk transnational crime, which requires extraordinary efforts from all elements of the society, in the form of both domestic and international cooperation. Implementation of the foreign policy is shown through the signage and ratification of most of the multilateral agreements combating drug trafficking, both in the international level and the regional level. In international level, Indonesian government has signed and ratified the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs of 1961 as amended by the 1972 Protocol (United Nations, 1961), the Convention on Psychotropic Substances of 1971 (United Nations, 1971), and the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances of 1988 (United Nations, 1988). In regional level, the Indonesian government has adopted and implemented the International Standards on Drug Use Prevention in 2013 (Dangerous Drug Board, 2018), as well as through creating bilateral agreements with other states, such as with the government of the Republic of the Philippines (Philippines, Indonesia sign, 2015; Rimaldi, 2017).

2. Literature Review

To have a proper understanding about the international illegal drug industry, it is important to look back at some research that attempted to explain this topic. The first literature that will be used on this topic talked on TOC. The article titled Transnational Organized Crime: An Imminent Threat to the Nation-State? by Louise I. Shelley put TOC as a complex organized crime organization that is based in one state but operates in multiple countries through illegal activities such as money laundering and illegal goods trafficking (Shelley, 1995). Although TOC has existed and has been a problem for a long time, only recently has states started to put notable and comprehensive efforts on tackling TOC, in which is, according to Shelly, caused by the condition and dynamics of the international politics of the post Second World War (Shelley, 1995).

The second literature that will be used in this paper discussed the effectiveness of international cooperation in combating the illicit drug trade. The literature titled Transnational Crime: Its Containment through International Cooperation by Peng Wang and Jingyi Wang argued that international cooperation can be an effective tool in combating drug trafficking, as the problem of the international drug industry is a complex international problem that requires more than just a "state approach", thus only through international cooperation can one tackle and combat drug trafficking holistically. Wang and Wang argued that through international cooperation, holistic and systematic solutions can be achieved in combating this issue, which includes but not limited to international research and developments in tools to combat drug trafficking and the development of methodologies to prevent and combat international illicit drug trafficking activities (Peng & Jingyi, 2009).

In the pursuit of analyzing this topic, the writers will also look at the status quo of

the illicit drug trade across ASEAN, as well as the commitment of both the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of the Philippines on this issue. Thus, the writers will use the literature titled the Construction of ASEAN Norms and Values towards Drug Trafficking in Southeast Asia by Rendi Prayuda, M. Arsy Ash Shiddiqy, Rio Sundari, and Tito Handoko which talks on how ASEAN construction, norms, and values can affect the illicit drug trade in the region (Prayuda, Handoko, Sundari, & Shiddiqy, 2019). Prayuda *et.al.* (2019) also talks on how drug trends and patterns will always change and shift over time, thus serving a significant threat towards regional security and stability.

Drugs Law and Legal Practice in Southeast Asia: Indonesia, Singapore and Vietnam by Timothy Lindsey and Penelope Nicholson talked on the history and development of Indonesia's drug consumption and market. Although there has not been any consensus on the time drug consumption entered Indonesia, it is believed that the first shipments of opium drugs to Indonesia dated as early as the seventh century (AM, Zed, 2014), as it is generally accepted that the consumption of drugs in Asia was first introduced by Arabic traders (Rush, 1985). However, the rapid growth and development of Indonesia's drug market can be attributed to the colonials, as the opium trade was very profitable, thus drug trading became one of the main commodities traded for by the colonials (Lindsey & Nicholson, 2016). As such, drug production and distributions grew rapidly, as opium demand skyrocketed, thus leading to a prosperous growth of the drug market in Indonesia for a very long time, opium farms were taxed by Japan, during Japan's occupation in Indonesia (Lindsey & Nicholson, 2016). Albeit not officially recognized, the opium market in Indonesia was so large and profitable that it was also used by the newly formed Indonesian government in the early years of Indonesia's independence as a source of income,

especially to fund the struggle against Dutch efforts on recolonizing Indonesia (Lindsey & Nicholson, 2016). Only from the 1970s that the Indonesian government started to put more attention in combating drug trafficking as the US declared war on drugs (Lindsey & Nicholson, 2016).

3. Research Method

This research will be taken under the qualitative approach that focuses on how Indonesia's cooperation with the Philippines will help in combating drugs in ASEAN, as this approach takes a detailed and deep analysis on the object's perspectives, ideas, motives, and interests in its pursuit to find a social construct (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Thus, in order to analyze the cooperation between the governments of the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of the Philippines in combating the illicit drug trade in ASEAN, a look on Indonesia's past laws and regulations on drug trafficking is needed, not only that, but knowing Indonesia's past action in handling this issue is also essential for this research.

Focusing on how the regulations and cooperations between the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of the Philippines will help both countries, especially Indonesia in combating the issue of the illicit drug trade within ASEAN, this paper will analyze the abovementioned through the lens of the liberalism theory. As one of the theories of international relations used to analyze states' behavior in the international stage, liberalism assumes that although the global stage is based on the anarchical system, where no one authority existed to rule over both state and non-state actors. This however doesn't have to end in conflicts of interests between actors (Burchill, 2005), as the anarchical nature can be overcome and compensated with cooperations between all actors, both in the bilateral and the multilateral level (Kauppi & Viotti, 2020). As such, cooperation

between actors will lead to world peace (Jemadu, 2014), thus this theory serves as the basic theory that provides the basic understanding on international security cooperation and on how this cooperation can help combat the issue of illicit drug trade in ASEAN.

4. Results and Discussion

On the 9th of February 2015, the Indonesian government and the Philippian government reached a bilateral security agreement to cooperate on combating illicit drugs in ASEAN (Rimadi, 2017). Signed by President Joko Widodo and President Benigno Aquino, the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) wasn't only aimed to further strengthen bilateral relations between Indonesia and the Philippines, but also to increase cooperation in combating illicit drugs in the region (Rimaldi, 2017). Thus, through the signing of this MOU, it is hoped that the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of the Philippines can further combat the trade of illicit narcotic drugs, psychotropic substances, and their precursors in ASEAN.

4.1 Global Illicit Drug Industry

According to the 2019 World Drug Report (WDR) published by the UNODC, the global illicit drug industry has continuously risen in the past years, as shown by the growth of global illicit drug users in the past years (Booklet 2: Global, 2019). Latest data of the global overview of Supply and Demand of illicit drugs put an increase of illicit drug use by 30 percent in 2017, as compared to 2009 (Booklet 2: Global, 2019). The World Health Organization (WHO) defined illicit drug use as any use of drugs for any purpose besides for medical purpose and/or any other purpose allowed by international law (Degenhardt, Hall, Warner-Smith, & Lynskey, 2004). As such, global illicit drug

use doesn't only include the use of illegal substances such as cannabis, hash, heroin, and cocaine (Commonly Used Drugs, 2020), but also includes the illegal use and/or abuse of both over the counter (OTC) and/or prescribed drugs such as codeine and morphine to treat pain, pseudoephedrine to treat colds, dimenhydrinate to treat motion sickness, benzodiazepines to treat anxiety and sleep disorders, and adderall prescribed to patients with attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) (Casarella, 2020; Juergens, 2020). The global illicit drug industry is an amalgamation of hundreds types of drugs, including both licit and illicit drugs, although OTC and prescribed drugs only account for a fraction of the whole global illicit drug industry. This can be seen in the global number of illicit drug users, as the top five largest illicit drug industries are cannabis which accounts for the majority of the global illicit drug market share, opioids which are responsible for around two third of global drug-related mortalities, amphetamine and prescribed stimulants, as well as the global ecstasy and cocaine industry (Booklet 2: Global, 2019).

4.1.1 Cannabis

Cannabis or known as marijuana and/or hash are psychoactive drugs derived from the cannabis plant or known as *Cannabis sativa* and/or *Cannabis indica*, used mostly through smoking a concoction of dried leaves, flowers, stems, and seeds and/or their extracts (Booklet 5: Cannabis, 2019). Although used for its active compound called phytocannabinoids that make cannabis the most consumed drugs worldwide, global consumption for cannabis has remain significantly stable, as number of global consumers for cannabis has grown by around sixty two per thousandth or about 10 million users in five years to around 188 million users in 2017 (Booklet 5: Cannabis, 2019). With a massive global demand for cannabis, the global cannabis industry is

also attributed to the global spread of cannabis precursor ingredients, the *Cannabis sativa* and/or *Cannabis indica* (Booklet 5: Cannabis, 2019). The global spread of cannabis plants is attributed to cannabis resiliency and flexibility, combined with the rapid advancement in technology related to cannabis cultivation, especially in environment control and genetics which made cultivation of this plant not only easier, but also enabled a global cultivation of cannabis (Booklet 5: Cannabis, 2019). As such, both *Cannabis sativa* and *Cannabis indica* can be found cultivated in every region except for the Arctic and the Antarctic (Booklet 5: Cannabis, 2019).

4.1.2 Opioids

Opioids are a class of drugs that have similar structure of natural alkaloids found in the poppy plant known as *Papaver bracteatum* and/or *Papaver somniferum L.* (Poppy Uses, Benefits, 2020). This class of drugs is categorized in three different subclasses, based on their precursors, opiate which derived from natural alkaloids and opioid which derived from artificial alkaloids (Opiate vs. Opioid, n.d.). Opiate is a subclass of the opioids class which is derived from the natural alkaloids found in the poppy resin, such as morphine and codeine, semi synthetic opiate which is derived from the natural alkaloids of poppy resin that have undergone chemical process such as heroin, and synthetic opiate which derived from synthetic chemicals that have similar structure with natural alkaloids found in poppy resins, such as methadone and fentanyl (Heroin, n.d.). Used for its analgesic properties, some types of drugs within the opioids group are used for medical purposes, such as morphine which may be prescribed to relieve severe pain, and codeine found in cough and cold medications (Prescription Opioids, n.d.). Although specific cause for opioid addiction have not been identified and that current

research suggests a combination of genetic predisposition, environmental, and lifestyle factors as the cause of opioid addictions, prescription opioids must be used under strict medical supervision, as any type of drugs within this class are highly addictive, as opioids class drugs changes the brain chemistry which may lead to drug tolerance thus producing dependence (Opioid addiction: MedlinePlus, n.d.).

Data from the UNODC WDR 2019 stated that, there are around 53 million illicit opioids users worldwide which includes prescribed opioids abusers and/or illicit opioids users such as but not limited to heroin (Booklet 3: Depressants, 2019). Opioids work by attaching itself to pain receptors in the central nervous system (CNS) which block pain signals thus reducing the feeling of pain; however these analgesic properties may also reduce breathing rate, heart rate, and blood pressure (Khatri, 2019). Data from the UNODC WDR 2019 showed that in the year 2017 alone; opioids are responsible for around

110 thousands out of the 167 thousands drug-related mortalities worldwide, as such although global illicit opioids market doesn't make up for the majority of the global illicit drug industry, the illicit opioids industry is by far the most deadliest illicit drug industry worldwide (Booklet 2: Global, 2019).

Global illicit opioids seizures have reached a new record in the past years, as of the year 2017, has been experiencing significant increment of five per hundredth for opium, thirteen per hundredth for heroin, and thirty three per hundredth for morphine, with the majority seized in Asia (Booklet 3: Depressants, 2019). According to the UNODC, although global opium poppy productions have been fluctuating over the years, there has been a steady increase in both illicit opioids seizures and production worldwide such as heroin (Booklet 3: Depressants, 2019). As such, although global illicit opium productions have been fluctuating and that international effort on

combating the illicit opioids industry has shown significant success, there is still a steady supply of illicit opioids, such as heroin, thus indicating that there has been opium inventories spread across the globe (Booklet 3: Depressants, 2019).

4.2 Illicit Drugs in ASEAN

Southeast Asia has been facing the threat of TOC for more than two decades since the establishment of ASEAN in 1967, as both ASEAN as an organization and as a collection of states within the Southeast Asia region has been dealing with illicit drugs. Discussed in the 7th ASEAN Drugs Monitoring Network (ADMN) in 2019, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand have not only been experiencing an increase in the number of illicit drug cases, but also the fact that about 90 percent of illicit drug cases are conducted and/or involving ASEAN citizens from all backgrounds, gender, and ages. Furthermore, according to the report presented by the ADMN 2017, there have been more than 300 thousands that have been going through drug rehabilitation programs in that year alone (Creating a Drug-Free, 2019). As such, the illicit drug problem in Southeast Asia has become a serious non-traditional security threat to both Southeast Asian countries and to the region as a whole.

In regards to the illicit drug trade, Southeast Asia is famous for its illicit drug production, distribution, and trade, especially within the Golden Triangle. An area within the borders of three ASEAN countries, the Kingdom of Thailand, the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, in an area where the Mekong and Ruak river meets, with an area of around 950 thousand square kilometers or around 397 thousand sq mi, the Golden Triangle is the largest producer of illicit drugs in the world, second only to Afghanistan (Gluckman, n.d.). As one of the largest producers of illicit drugs,

the Golden Triangle area served as a non-traditional security threat to the region, especially to those countries bordering them, such as Cambodia. Known as the transit place for illicit drug products such as for cannabis and/or opioids before being shipped to the global market, Cambodia has seen a significant increase of drug cases, by around 35 percent in the year 2017 alone (Rayon, 2019).

Originating from within the Myanmar border, the illicit drug trade moves from border to border across the Southeast Asia region (Yanuarizki, Utomo, & Paramasatya, 2016; World Drug Report, 2011). As the movement of these products are moved through unofficial and/or illegal channels, through traffickers and criminal organizations, thus endangering not only the stability and integrity, but also the social security of the regions, as the movement of illicit drugs have become a serious threat to public health, safety, security, and welfare (World Drug Report, 2011). Data from the UNODC Annual Report 2014 (2014) showed that production of drugs in Southeast Asia increased by 50 percent from 600 tons to 900 tons within three years, with Myanmar becoming the largest producer for the opioids class of illicit drugs. Attributed to the high rate of governmental corruption practices, which lead to poverty and instability of the region, Myanmar farmers are forced to enter the illicit drug trade through the planting of illegal poppies, a precursor ingredient for the opioids class drugs.

As the illicit drug trade possessed a significant non-traditional security threat to the region, ASEAN as a regional organization formed a specialized body called the ASEAN Senior Official on Drugs Matter (ASOD) to tackle the illicit drug trade across Southeast Asia (Yanuarizki *et.al.*, 2016). Through the work of the ASOD, Thailand, China, Myanmar, Laos, and India agreed to increase their efforts on monitoring the Golden Triangle in the effort to combat the illicit drug trade, through the

Declaration of Chiang Rai, in which, Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, and China agreed on bilateral security relations on combating the illicit drug trade as well as on the mechanism of drug control in Southeast Asia, especially within the area of the Golden Triangle (Yanuarizki *et.al.*, 2016). Focusing on the increased cooperation in combating the illicit drug trade, including but not limited to the cultivation, production and/or manufacture, distribution, transport, and sale of narcotics and psychotropic substances, especially heroin and Amphetamine-type Stimulants (ATS) and/or its precursors, it is hoped to further increase the effort of combating the illicit drug trade within the Golden Triangle region (Yanuarizki *et.al.*, 2016).

Understanding the complexity nature and the significant non-traditional security threat of the illicit drug trade for the region, as well as the inability of member countries to combat the them individually, ASEAN as a region decided to form the ASOD followed by the Declaration of Chiang Rai in the hope of combating the illicit drug trade within the region more effectively (Dunne & Schidt, 2001, p. 171).

4.3 Indonesia Status Quo

The issue of drug trafficking in Indonesia has become more relevant in the past years, as Indonesia becomes one of the fastest growing markets for the illicit drug industry, resulting in a market shift, from being a transport hub for the illicit drug industry to a lucrative market. As such, Indonesia's illicit drug market has experienced an exponential growth, with demands for illicit drugs in Indonesia increasing over 105 fold in the last three years. Latest data from Statistic Indonesia (*Badan Pusat Statistik – BPS*) showed that drug consumption in Indonesia rose from around 54 thousand users or two per ten thousandths population in the year 2016 to around 4.6 million users or a hundred and

seventy seven per then thousandths population in 2017 (Gunawan, 2018), which then continues to rise to around 5.6 million users or twenty one per thousandths population in the year 2018 (Deni, 2018). This rapid rise of illicit drugs consumption in Indonesia is thus responsible for around 50 daily mortalities and growing in 2015 alone, with demographic data showing youths as the majority age group (Rahmanto, 2015; Jokowi: 15 ribu, 2016).

Year	2010	2016	2018
Number of cases	26,678	40,897	43,000
Amount of Drugs	N/A	1,169 MT	4,075 MT

Table 1 Illicit Drug in Indonesia

With a total annual market value estimating at around IDR 66 trillion or around 4 billion USD, Indonesia has become a lucrative market for the global illicit drug trade (Nasution, 2019). This shift can be clearly seen in the rising amount of illicit drug smuggled to Indonesia, which increased by around nine percent per annum, from 26 thousand in 2010 (Febrianto, 2019) to around 43 thousand in 2018, with a significant increase of illicit drugs being trafficked to Indonesia from 1169 metric tonnes in 2016 to 4075 metric tonnes in 2018 (Ravel, 2018; Wildansyah, 2018). This however does not represent the whole picture of the illicit drug trade in Indonesia, as it is estimated that only a tenth of the total drug trafficked are captured, intercepted, and/or seized by the authorities (Affan, 2018).

High profitability of illicit drugs in Indonesia also plays an important role in the rapid growth of Indonesia's lucriveness, as price differences for illicit drugs can be as high as 75 times as abroad, as such Indonesia's illicit drug market is considered to be one of the most profitable markets for the illicit drug trade worldwide. An example

for this high profitability can be seen in the market value for some illicit drug products, such as but not limited to methamphetamine (meth), locally known as *sabu* or *shabu* that can be bought in China for as little as USD 1428 or IDR 20 million per kilogram and sold at Indonesia for as low as USD 107 thousand or IDR 1.5 billion, and as high as USD 203 thousand or IDR 2.8 billion (Meth Prices, n.d.), or 3,4-Methylenedioxy-methamphetamine (MDMA), commonly known as ecstasy or molly which can be bought in the Netherlands at the low price of USD 21 cents or three thousand Rupiah or within the region, in Malaysia at two US dollar or IDR 30 thousand, and can be sold for a profit of up to 100 folds in Indonesia, at around USD 21 or IDR 300 thousand a piece [Rate USD/IDR 1:14005] (Sari, 2012). With price differences ranging in the thousandths percent, Indonesia is considered as not only the most lucrative market for the global illicit drug industry in Southeast Asia, but also the largest drug market in Asia (Sari, 2018; Movanita, 2017).

The rapid growth of Indonesia's illicit drug market can also be attributed to the extent of societal penetration of this industry, as consumption of illicit drugs and/or abuse of licit or prescribed drugs can be found in every level of society, from every social class, economic class, gender, ethnicity, race, age, or background, ranging from students, academicians, blue-collared workers, white-collared workers, public figures, even government officials. Data from BNN estimates that illicit drug consumption and/or abuse by elementary, high school, and/or university students stands at around 2.3 million users, and that in the last five years at least 40 Indonesian public figures, and hundreds of civil servants, politicians, and government officials were caught with consuming, possessing, trafficking, and/or trading illicit drugs such as but not limited to cocaine (coke), MDMA, meth, heroin, and/or cannabis (Suwarso, 2019; Yamananda, 2018; Deretan Politikus yang, 2019; Daftar Panjang Pejabat, 2016). The

depth penetration level combined with the high demand for the goods serves not only as a societal threat, but also brought about a huge economic loss, as considering that most users are under 30 years old, which is on the productive age, thus serving a threat to both public health and productivity (KOMPASTV, 2016). According to Indonesia's Minister of Finance, Mrs. Sri Mulyani, as consumption and abuse of illicit drugs destroys the potential and productivity of its consumer and considering most drug consumer in Indonesia are within the youth demographic, thus drugs shifts the role of Indonesian youths from those who are supposed to be the backbone of the economy, who are supposed to be part of Indonesia's productive human resources to those who are a burden towards society (Ravel, 2018).

As such, the illicit drug industry cost the Indonesian economy tens of trillions and growing, in both social loss, which consisted of loss of a productive member of society, and economic loss annually, which consisted of social, personal, and revenue loss attributed to the global illicit drug industry. The massive economic loss attributed to the illicit industry can be seen in the economic loss estimates of at least USD 5.7 billion or IDR 77 trillion in social loss and another USD 550 million or seven trillion Rupiah in personal loss [Rate USD/IDR 1:13365] (Kunjana, 2018), as well as a loss of at least USD 9.4 billion or IDR 135 trillion in potential 2018 import-export tax revenue [Rate USD/IDR 1:14429] (Prasongko, 2018).

4.3.1 Indonesia Domestic Policy on Illicit Drugs

Indonesia, as the largest country in Southeast Asia plays an important role in combating illicit drugs trade in the region. With active and free foreign policy, the Indonesian government is committed and has been actively participating in the international effort on combating the global

illicit drug industry, including but not limited to global drug trafficking in all of its forms, through the signing and ratification of all international conventions in both global and regional level to combat illicit drug trade in all its forms. Through the signage of the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs of 1961 as amended by the 1972 Protocol ratified under Indonesia's law number 8 of 1976 (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia, 1976); the Convention on Psychotropic Substances of 1971 ratified under Indonesia's law number 8 of 1996 (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia, 1996); the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances of 1988 ratified under Indonesian law number 7 of 1997 (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia, 1997); and the signage and implementation of the International Standards on Drug Use Prevention in 2013 (Dangerous Drug Board, 2018). The ratifications of international conventions on combating the illicit drug trade can be seen through Indonesia's domestic policies which are regulated under Indonesia's law number 35 of 2009 on narcotics which regulates the productions, distributions, and consumptions of any drugs and/or its precursor in Indonesia (Hadi, 2013).

Indonesia's commitment on combating illicit drug trade is also shown through its domestic policy, especially through its Grand Design Alternative (GDAD) program in Aceh province (Transnational Crime: Portal, 2019), as well as the implementation of the *Pencegahan dan Pemberantasan Penyalahgunaan dan Peredaran Gelap Narkotika* (P4GN) program by BNN (Presiden Teken Inpres, 2018). GDAD is a specially designed program aimed to combat and eradicate the production and/or use of cannabis drugs and/or its precursor in all of its forms (Dayamas, 2019). Specially designed to help combat the cannabis trade in Indonesia, the pilot program of this project is to be implemented in three regencies, the Aceh Besar Regency, Gayo

Lues Regency, and the Bireuen Regency, all within the Aceh province (Dayamas, 2019). With the vision of achieving a healthy society and the eradication of all cannabis productions by the year 2025, this program focuses on educating and helping cannabis farmers to substitute their crop to other commodities, such as but not limited to grains, fruits, and vegetables, as well as to transform their community into a more sustainable and profitable community, such as from a cannabis plantation to a tourist attraction (Dayamas, 2019; Bamsuet Dukung BNN, 2019).

P4GN on the other hand is a program launched by the Indonesian government designed to not only combat, but also to actively prevent the growth of Indonesia's illicit drug industry, through a three prong attack, prevention, enforcement, and rehabilitation. Through its prevention program, P4GN hoped to educate the people on the dangers of illicit drugs not only to themselves but also to their community (Sholilah, 2015). Achieved through public socialization and education such as in schools and in community events, and through cooperating with both other government institutions and with the public sector, thus it is hoped that P4GN does not only prevent drug use, but also increases public awareness on the dangers and illegality of illicit drugs and/or its' networks (Sholilah, 2015). As the inherent nature of the illicit drug industry to operate discreetly in the shadows, through its enforcement program, P4GN hoped to increase its capability on drug enforcement, including but not limited to investors, producers, traffickers, and sellers of these illicit substances and/or its precursors (Sholilah, 2015).

Understanding that consumption and/or abuse of substances including but not limited to licit and/or illicit drugs in all its forms severely alters and/or damages the CNS by altering the normal function of the endocrine system (Bierer, 2016; Raney, 2015), thus depending on the length and

frequency of usage and/or abuse, reversing the alteration and/or damage on the CNS brought about by the substance usage and/or abuse may take months or years, and to fully reverse the damage may even take longer. Not only that, a study conducted by the National Institute of Drugs and Abuse suggested that up to 60 out of 100 people who have undergone and completed substance rehabilitation programs will relapses (Treatment and Recovery, 2020), which can be lowered significantly, up to 50 percent when rehabilitations are combined with a strong support system (Jason, Olson, Ferrari, & Sasso, 2006). Thus, through its rehabilitation program, P4GN hoped to not only help rehabilitate users so that they may be free from their addiction, but also to help them become a productive and valuable member of the society, to be reintegrated so that their society can accept them back to prevent them from relapsing (Zhafira, 2019).

4.4 Implementations of the Collaboration in Combating Drugs in ASEAN

The bilateral cooperation between the government of the Republic of Indonesia and the government of the Republic of the Philippines on combating the illicit drug trade in ASEAN was signed on the 9th of February 2015, between Indonesia's BNN and the Philippines Drug Enforcement Agency (PDEA). This bilateral agreement between Indonesia and the Philippines, especially between each country's anti-drug enforcement agencies, was aimed to increase cooperation in intelligence and best practice exchange between both countries (HUMAS BNN, 2019). Signed as an extension towards the 2010 MOU between the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) and the Philippines National Police (PNP) on Cooperation in Preventing and Combating Transnational Crimes (*Nota Kesepahaman antara*, 2010), this MOU was signed as a commitment for both countries to increase their effort on

combating the illicit drug trade, including but not limited to the illicit production, distribution, and/or selling of narcotic drugs, psychotropic substances and their precursors.

This bilateral cooperation is achieved through an annual bilateral meeting between BNN and PDEA, whereas the first two bilateral meetings have taken place on November of the respective years in Manila with the agenda of best practice information sharing between both agencies, as well as other things that needed to be followed up with, such as but not limited to illicit drug trafficking networks in both countries (HUMAS BNN, 2019). As such, this bilateral cooperation will aid both countries in combating the illicit drug industry, such as when a Philippine national is arrested in Indonesia for trafficking illicit drugs into Indonesia, the Indonesian government, through BNN will ask the PDEA on the profile of the suspect, and the networks of the suspect in the Philippines, and vice versa (Otniel & Irawan, 2019). By doing such, it will help both countries in effectively combating the illicit drug industry, as it increases the capabilities of law enforcement agencies from both countries to take down not only the traffickers, but also every individual who are associated with the industry, such as the investors, producers, drug cartels, drug dealers, and others.

Understanding that the illicit drug trade is a common source of funding for criminal organizations and/or other criminal activities such as terrorist organizations (Braun, 2008), achieved through money laundering practices. Money laundering, according to the UNODC is defined as the method used by individuals and/or group of individuals to disguise the origins of their wealth and assets with the goal of removing the incriminating money trail (Introduction to Money-Laundering, n.d.), achieved through three general steps, placement or moving funds from direct association of criminal activities such as by transferring the money to an offshore bank account; layering or the

process of disguising the money trail including but not limited to the moving of the money through multiple bank accounts, investing in offshore shell companies and others; and integration or the process of making the money available to the money launderer such as by mixing the laundered money with clean money and through the buying of properties and luxury goods (The Money-Laundering Cycle, n.d.; Weber, Groendahl, & Comfort, 2019; Beattie, 2016). As such, the third annual bilateral meeting, conducted in November 2019 at Baguio city, focused more on the extension of cooperation towards a more comprehensive effort in combating the illicit drug trade. During this meeting, both BNN and PDEA agreed to extend their cooperation on combating the illicit drug trade to not only combating the international trade of illicit narcotic drugs, psychotropic substances, and their precursors, but also on the prevention of money laundering, achieved through tracking and identification of drug related money (Otniel & Irawan, 2019).

5. Conclusion

Attributed to the inherent secretive nature of the industry, operating in the shadows, above both government and public scrutiny thus providing anonymity to those involved and with the continuous growth of demand, the illicit drug trade have become one of the most lucrative and profitable illicit industries, in which ASEAN region is famous for the production, distribution, and trade of these illicit substances worldwide. Generating around USD 300 billion to around USD 652 billion per annum, the global illicit drug trade is the largest global illicit industry, second only to the counterfeiting industry (May, 2017). With such massive and profitable industry, those within the illicit drug trade will do everything in their power to maintain the profitableness of this industry. As such, cooperation is needed to combat this illicit

industry, as no one country has both the resources and capabilities to do so alone.

Indonesia as the largest country in Southeast Asia has become one of the fastest growing markets for the illicit drug industry, with an exponential growth of over 105 fold in the last three years. The exponential growth of Indonesia's illicit drug market can be attributed to the fact that illicit drug use in Indonesia has penetrated all level of Indonesian society, from every social class, economic class, gender, ethnicity, race, age, or background, including but not limited to students, academicians, blue-collared workers, white-collared workers, public figures, and government officials. With such an exponential growth and a deep societal penetration, it is estimated that the market value of Indonesia's illicit drug trade to be around four billion USD annually (Indonesia Security Threats, n.d.), costing Indonesia around 6.2 billion USD in personal and social loss in 2017 alone, and a further 9.4 billion USD in loss revenue for import-export tax of dollars in 2018 (Kunjana, 2018). Understanding as well that the illicit drug trade in Indonesia is a common source of funding for other transnational criminal organizations, such as but not limited to Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State (IS), thus making the illicit drug trade a serious non-traditional security threat for Indonesia, creating a large national interest for Indonesia to actively and seriously combat the illicit drug industry.

Indonesia as a country with free and active foreign policy, combined with Indonesia's large national interest as well as with the complexity and size of the illicit drug trade, it can be concluded that in accordance to the liberal theoretical framework, Indonesia's cooperation with the Republic of the Philippines on combating drugs in ASEAN is completely justified and rational. Understanding that the MOU of intelligence and best practice exchange in regards to the illicit drug industry between Indonesia's BNN and the Philippines PDEA

enables both countries to exchange and share intelligence and information in regards to the illicit drug trade will benefit both countries' effort on combating the illicit drug trade in Southeast Asia greatly. As such, it can be concluded that the cooperation between the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of the Philippines on combating drug trafficking served Indonesia's national interest.

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