DRUG CRIME AS A THREAT TO INDONESIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

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Abstract

Drug crime—i.e. narcotic drug abuse, smuggling, and trafficking—is still a serious problem for many countries. In Indonesia, it is perceived as a threat to national security and Indonesians' well-being. It is not surprising, then, if the government of Indonesia declared war on drugs to preserve Indonesia's national security. The systemic measures to address the drugs problem formulated as an integrated program consists of eradication and prevention of drug smuggling and trafficking, and rehabilitation for the victims of drug abuse. This study discusses the implementation of the program as a part of maintaining national security, as well as its constraints and obstacles. Riau Islands Province was chosen as a case study. The data collection was conducted by in-depth interviews, focused group discussion, and literature studies. In analyzing the data, it uses the theory of drug abuse prevention to organize and to interpret the findings. The result of the analysis shows that several obstacles still hinder the effectiveness of the government's efforts in combating drug crime. In the eradication of narcotic drug smuggling and illicit trafficking, the main obstacles manifest in geographical challenges, regulatory constraints, and technological shortcomings. In the prevention of drug crime, the real effectiveness of socialization as the main tool of prevention is hard to be measured and evaluated. In the rehabilitation of drug abuse victims, the main obstacles are the low awareness of the community, the limited availability of counselors and other infrastructures, and the unsupportive legal system.

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INTRODUCTION

Drug crimes—including drug abuse, smuggling, and illicit trafficking—is still a serious problem to Indonesia's national security, as in many other countries. As a transnational crime, drug smuggling and trafficking commonly involves the use of sophisticated technology and supported by a vast network of the organization. The number of the crime is still on the rise from time to time, despite many serious efforts by the government of Indonesia to deal with it.

According to the Drug Abuse Prevalence Survey in Household in 20 Provinces (BNN, 2016a), conducted by the National Narcotics Agency (BNN) in cooperation with the Center of Health Studies of the University of Indonesia (UI) in 2015, the prevalence number of drug abuse in Indonesia was 2.20%—it means that around 4 million people were current users of narcotic drugs. On an event at Mapolresta Medan, 10 November 2015, Police Com. Gen. Budi Waseso, the Head of BNN, expressed his concern that drug crimes in Indonesia have been very worrying, considering the number of drug users in Indonesia in June 2015 was still 4.2 million people, five months later (until November 2015) that number increased significantly to 5.9 million people. Ironically, 1.7 million increases are new users (Pratama, 2016).

The 2016 BNN's data shows that the suspects of narcotics cases, including narcotics precursor, had been more diverse from year to year. It even notices that since 2015, there were a lot of adolescents under 16 who involved in drug crimes, either as users or dealers (BNN, 2016b). As of 2016, there were 807 narcotics cases with 1,238 suspects consist of 1,217 Indonesians and 21 persons of foreign nationalities (BNN, 2016c). As for the drug-related money laundering cases, the BNN had uncovered 21 cases with 30 suspects and confiscated assets of more than 261 billion rupiah worth. Compared to the number of cases in 2015, when 638 narcotics cases and 15 drug-related money laundering cases were uncovered, there was an increase of 56% for the narcotics cases and 58% for the money laundering cases.

One of the factors causing the high circulation of illegal narcotic drugs in Indonesia is its position in international drug crimes. According to the US Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs in its 2016 International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, as the fourth most populous country in the world, Indonesia is a transit country and also a destination for illicit drug trafficking, especially meth, marijuana, and heroin. Likewise, the results of a study by the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crimes (UNODC) stated that Indonesia is one of the main destination countries for narcotic drug marketing (Latschan, 2015) because it has a very large population, especially within the productive age category.

Amidst such conditions, the Indonesian government has taken various steps to deal with this transnational crime. One of them is conducting cooperation with various countries to get technical assistance, equipment, training, as well as information exchange. For example, in 2015 BNN signed a memorandum of understanding with the Philippines and Fiji to establish information exchange and law enforcement cooperation to dismantle the network of international drug trafficking syndicates (US Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, 2016). The Indonesian government also took other steps to show its seriousness in waging war against drugs, one of which is by conducting the execution of convicted drug criminals. At the beginning of the administration of President Joko Widodo, the government had executed 14 people convicted of drug crime from various countries, including Nigeria, Australia, and Brazil (Coca, 2016b). However, data compiled by the Indonesian Narcotic Drug Victims Association (PKNI) in 2016 shows that the application of the death penalty
does not necessarily produce a deterrent effect as expected. Even after the government executed the death penalty twice, namely in January and April 2015, the number of suspects imprisoned for drug cases still tends to increase (Figure 1).

Another effort taken by the government to tackle illicit trafficking and drug abuse is by increasing the budget allocation for BNN, which in 2015 increased to approximately 350% (US Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, 2016). Despite the above-mentioned efforts, illicit drug trafficking in Indonesia has not shown significant signs of reduction. Even in places that are supposed to be ‘clean’, such as penitentiaries, drug circulation still occurs. Cipinang Prison, for example, is infamously dubbed as a ‘drug prison’, because approximately 70% of its residents are convicts of drug cases. Not only because of the large number of drug convicts it had, but it also got the nickname due to its weak supervision that has made the narcotic drugs relatively free to circulate among the residents (MacDougall, 2015). To overcome the problem of illicit drug trafficking behind bars, BNN and the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights (Kemenkumham RI) then initiated the construction project of prison with maximum security, specifically for long-term convicts of drug cases, in October 2015 (US Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, 2016).

However, some people argue that the policy to increase prison security would not be effective enough to reduce illicit drug trafficking. They argue that weak security is not the main cause of drug circulation in prisons. Based on a study in five cities, Medan, Jakarta, Bandung, Makassar, and Mataram, conducted by PKNI in collaboration with the Rumah Cemara NGO and funded by the European Union, one of the causes of the rampant narcotic drugs distribution in prisons is the absence of proper treatment for drug dependence during the detention period for drug abusers (PKNI & Rumah Cemara, 2016). In dealing with drug crimes up to now, the Indonesian government, especially law enforcement officials, tends to focus too much on punishing the offenders, both those who arrested as dealers and users; even though narcotic drug users can also be seen as victims who are entitled to get medical help to be free from narcotic drug abuse.

The government states that there are currently 1.2 million narcotic drug users who need medical treatment. However, in

![Figure 1](image-url)
reality, only about 22 thousand beds are available for them throughout Indonesia (Coca, 2016a). Despite the limited availability of infrastructure, victims of drug crimes are more often arrested and punished as do drug dealers, without getting proper treatment and rehabilitation.

Observing the recent situation, President Joko Widodo in his address at the commemoration of the International Anti-Narcotics Day in 2016 stated that there is no other choice but to declare war on drug crimes (Humas Sekretariat Kabinet RI, 2016). The President’s declaration is in line with the 2015 Defense White Paper that categorized narcotic drug abuse and illicit trafficking as one of the real threats to the national security, defined as threats that often occur and are faced at any time, can come from within the country or abroad which are considered to endanger the sovereignty of the country, territorial integrity and the safety of the entire nation (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2015). Thus, along with various other types of threats such as terrorism and radicalism, separatism and armed rebellion, as well as epidemics, drug abuse and illicit trafficking is perceived by the state as a priority threat to handle.

This study aims to produce an empirical account of the problem of drug crimes in Indonesia and its handling by the government, with the focus on the current government’s efforts to deal with the crime as well as its constraints and obstacles. In line with the scheme of the government’s program on the prevention and eradication of drug abuse and illicit trafficking (Program Pencegahan dan Pemberantasan Penyalahgunaan dan Peredaran Gelap Narkoba of P4GN Program), this article organizes the main discussion into several topics, namely the eradication of drug crime, its prevention, and the rehabilitation to the victims of drug abuse. The case of Riau Islands Province is selected as the case study for this research. Such an account is important to better understand the threat the crime poses to Indonesia's national security. Besides, it will also discuss how drug crime threatens national security through its close relationship with armed conflict and proxy war.

**METHOD**

This research was conducted using a qualitative approach. Data collection techniques used consisted of in-depth interviews, focused group discussions (FGDs), and literature review. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions were conducted during the field research period, which was March 20–24, 2017 in Batam City. The key informants consisted of stakeholders in various institutions and related government agencies, such as the Provincial Narcotics Agency of Riau Islands (BNP Kepulauan Riau), Regional Police's Narcotics Detective Directorate of Kepulauan Riau (Disease Narkoba Polda Kepulauan Riau), the Batam City Customs (Bea Cukai Kota Batam), the Batam Office of Women's Empowerment, Child Protection, Population and Family Planning (Dinas Pemberdayaan Perempuan, Perlindungan Anak, Pengendalian Penduduk dan KB Kota Batam), and the Batam BNN's Rehabilitation Center (Loka Rehabilitasi BNN Batam).

The validation of the data was produced by triangulation—similar data from several sources were compared with one another to examine its consistency and coherence. The analysis was conducted by interpreting the collected data using a selected theoretical framework, namely the theory of the prevention of drug abuse which includes within its scheme the eradication (law enforcement) and rehabilitation.

Riau Islands Province, especially Batam City, was chosen as the research location based on several considerations. First, according to a BNN's study in 2015, Riau Islands Province was one of the five most drug-prone provinces in 2008, 2011, and 2014 (Tempo, 2015). Riau Islands in 2015 ranked fourth after DKI Jakarta, East Kalimantan, and North Sumatra, and a level higher than DI Yogyakarta. In 2015, the
Riau Islands had a prevalence of 2.94% (41,767 inhabitants) out of 1,421 million drug-prone populations. The percentage is the fourth-highest in Indonesia or dropped from second position in 2011. In 2015 the revealed cases of narcotics, psychotropics, and addictive substances were as many as 1,162 cases (Okezone, 2016; Tempo, 2015). Secondly, the Riau Islands are located in the border area between countries. Its location, especially Batam City, is very close to Singapore and Johor state, Malaysia. The province is also located in the Malacca Strait, which is one of the busiest international sea shipping routes in the world. This geographical position also makes Riau Islands one of the most crucial areas for Indonesia to build national security against potential threats from other powers.

Narcotic Drug, Drug Abuse, and Its Handling

Sussman and Ames define a drug as a substance that can be taken into the human body and, once taken, alters some processes within the body, and therefore, drugs can be used in the diagnosis, prevention, or treatment of a disease (Sussman & Ames, 2008). Abadinsky provides a more specific definition by referring to a drug as substances that have mood-altering, psychotropic (or psychoactive effects) (Abadinsky, 2008).

According to Sussman, most drugs that can affect the work of nerves are said to be misused if they are used too often or in too much (Sussman & Ames, 2008). Juwana (Juwana, 2008) defines drug abuse as the use of drugs that is done not for treatment, but because they want to enjoy the effects. Meanwhile, according to Sumiati, drug abuse is the use of pathological drugs, which have lasted at least one month, disrupting work, and social functions (Sumiati, 2009).

The definition of drug abuse (drug abuse), as seen from several examples of the definitions above, is indeed diverse and from one opinion to another has a different emphasis. However, Abadinsky (Abadinsky, 2008) stated that the existing definitions generally refer to several things: 1) the nonmedical use of a substance, 2) to alter the mental state, 3) in a manner that is detrimental to the individual or the community, and/or 4) that is illegal.

Abadinsky then puts the ‘use’ and the ‘abuse’ of psychoactive chemicals, including narcotic drugs, into a continuum. On the one end of the continuum is the ‘non-use’ and on the other end is ‘compulsive use’ or abuse. The use of narcotic drugs can be labeled as abuse "only when the user becomes dysfunctional as a consequence, for example, is unable to maintain employment, has impaired social relationships, exhibits dangerous—reckless or aggressive—behavior, and/or significantly endangers his or her health" (Abadinsky, 2008). This conceptualization not only underlines the relation between the use and the abuse of narcotic drugs but also places the problem into ‘its proper perspective’ that there is nothing inherently either evil or virtuous about the use of psychoactive substances (Abadinsky, 2008). Consequently, in understanding drug crime, we see that the crime doesn't rest on the substance itself but the people's actions regarding the use of the substance. Hence, our definition of a drug crime to include illicit drugs smuggling and trafficking, and also narcotic drug abuse.

Regarding drug abuse, various studies have underlined the need to identify two types of relevant factors, namely risk factors and protective factors (Abadinsky, 2008; Hawkins, Catalano, & Arthur, 2002; UNODC, 2003). In simple terms, risk factors can be defined as factors that encourage a person to abuse drugs, while protective factors are factors that prevent a person from being prone to abuse drugs.

Drug abuse prevention is done by taking steps that can increase protective factors and reduce risk factors (Abadinsky, 2008). According to BNN, prevention allows a person to have the resistance to create and strengthen his environment to reduce or
eliminate all risks of something that endangers him or others (Anhari, 2012). In practice, prevention, eradication, and rehabilitation seem to be separate from one another. This is more due to operational reasons, so that the BNN, in doing its tasks, organizes its operational units into the Deputy of Prevention (Deputi Bidang Pencegahan), the Deputy of Community Empowerment (Deputi Bidang Pemberdayaan Masyarakat), the Deputy of Eradication (Deputi Bidang Pemberantasan), and the Deputy of Rehabilitation (Deputi Bidang Rehabilitasi) (BNN, 2020). However, conceptually, the three are part of a holistic strategy oriented toward long-term prevention. In dealing with the narcotic drug problem, prevention consists mainly of primary prevention and secondary prevention. Primary prevention is carried out to prevent unexposed populations from exposure to drugs. Primary prevention consists of establishing self-protection at the individual level, establishing social protection at the community level, and reducing supply to minimize the availability of illicit drugs in the community. Efforts to reduce supply are carried out through eradication activities (law enforcement). Thus, eradication can be understood as a form of primary prevention operationalization. Eradication is necessary to minimize, or even to eliminate, the availability of illicit drugs in the community.

Secondary prevention is carried out to prevent the worsening of drug abuse in the population that has been exposed to drugs (abusers). However, the aim of secondary prevention is not only to prevent the abuse from getting worse, but also to recover the victims of drug abuse, and to prevent the spread of drug abuse from users to the rest of the population. At an operational level, secondary prevention is carried out through a rehabilitation program. This is because the spread of drug abuse always occurs through the presence of people who have been previously exposed to drugs. It is through them that drug abuse is ‘contagious’ and potential to be ‘epidemic’. Rehabilitation must be carried out sustainably, i.e. through the post-rehabilitation program to prevent former users from abusing drugs again (relapse) and empowering them to return to society as productive members. In the long run, the community's ability for self-protection against drug abuse will reduce demands for illicit drugs, so that the black market for drugs can be shrunk.

Based on the description above, we can draw an understanding that holistic drug handling must be able to integrate prevention, eradication, and rehabilitation—eradication is understood as an effort to reduce supply, while rehabilitation and prevention as efforts to reduce demand. The most fundamental aspect of this integration effort is a paradigm shift oriented towards long-term prevention, where eradication and rehabilitation are also understood as efforts to support the success of long-term prevention.

**Drug Crime and National Security**

There are several definitions of national security, but the main principle is the same, namely creating safe conditions mostly by combating ‘existing threats’ (Larosa, 2019) or even perceived threats. According to Larosa, the goal of national security is to ensure the survival of the nation-state, which consists of two main elements, namely the continuation of the descendants of generations of their people, and the maintenance of their nation-state in the future. Drug abuse can weaken a country’s ability to maintain its national security and defend itself from external threats. This is because narcotic drugs can damage the generations of a nation, both physically and mentally. The long-term consequences are expensive and difficult to recover. However, the dangers of drug crimes against a country's national interest and security do not stop there.
particularly illicit drug trafficking is closely related to armed conflicts in various countries in the world (Cornell, 2005; Cornell, 2007; Boer & Bosetti, 2015). These crimes generally did not cause or initiate an armed conflict. However, drug crimes have a major effect on the duration of the armed conflict (Cornell, 2007). In areas plagued by armed conflict as well as insurgency and separatism, access to the illicit drug trade allows armed criminal groups as well as insurgents to obtain a source of funding for their operations (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2015; Cornell, 2007). With the source of funding, these groups can build strength with weapons obtained from the black market. As a result, armed conflicts that involve a drug-related source of funding will be prolonged and difficult to resolve.

The close relationship between the illicit drug trade and the occurrence of prolonged armed conflict, as explained above, of course, has a direct impact on the condition of a country's national security. In this case, Indonesia has quite a high risk factor. On the one hand, Indonesia has become one of the main markets for illicit drug trafficking in Southeast Asia. On the other hand, as a country that has a high level of social, cultural, and political diversity, Indonesia is also vulnerable to social conflicts. It has been proven by many interreligious and interethnic conflicts, as well as the conflict between social groups that occurred especially after the 1998 Reformation (McRae, 2016). Some of these conflicts had turned into violent conflicts. Not only horizontal conflicts between different social groups, but vertical conflicts also occurred in several regions. Armed conflict between the Indonesian government and the separatist Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) in Aceh Province and Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) in Papua Province are two well-known examples. As in Papua, armed conflict continues with the existence of armed criminal groups (Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata, KKB) which still undermine public security in the region to this day.

In the current era of direct democracy, social conflicts also have a high potential to occur along with the holding of local elections that usually followed by disputes over election results and mass mobilization between parties competing for power.

The high potential for social conflict can be developed into a violent conflict which is a fertile ground for the emergence of armed criminal groups. This condition is one step closer to the eruption of civil war. The civil war itself often develops into a stage of proxy wars for powerful countries seeking to strengthen their sphere of influence and secure their national interests (Marshall, 2016). We can learn it from the armed conflicts that have occurred in the Middle East, particularly in Syria and its surrounding region (Crabtree, 2016). In Syria, the civil war that has erupted since 2011 has become a battleground for various countries from surrounding and beyond, such as Turkey, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Russia, and the United States (Marshall, 2016). Again, drug crime generally does not play a role in initiating violent or armed conflicts. However, drug crime does play a major role in fueling the escalation of the conflict and prolonging the conflict's duration.

Based on the understanding developed above, it can be said that drug crime is a serious threat to the national security of a country, including Indonesia. Not only did this crime weaken the ability of the population of that country, both physically and psychologically, to defend themselves and their country; but also has the potential to exacerbate an armed conflict that occurs in the country—thus, bringing the country into disintegration.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION
The Drug Traffic Route through Batam City
Indonesia is the main market for illicit drug trafficking in Southeast Asia (Latschan, 2015). Based on the results of interviews, it
is known that international drug trafficking syndicates make Indonesia the main illicit drug marketing country for several reasons. First, Indonesia has a very large population. Second, the selling price of narcotic drugs in Indonesia is very high compared to neighboring countries such as Malaysia and Singapore. Third, the threat of punishment for narcotic drug offenders in Indonesia is relatively mild compared to Malaysia or other neighboring countries.

Indonesia's geographical position, i.e. being sandwiched between two oceans and two continents (Hidayat & Sidhha, 2018), coupled with its geographical condition as a vast archipelagic state, poses an interminable challenge of being very open to the threat of transnational crime, especially cross-border smuggling of goods, people, contrabands, illicit drug, and so on. Accordingly, because of its geographical location, Batam City is prone to transnational organized crimes and becomes one of the main entry points for illicit drugs in Indonesia. As an entrance, Batam is not only an illicit drug market but also a transit location before they are circulated to other regions. Information obtained from Regional Police's Narcotics Detective Directorate of Kepulauan Riau said that several official ports and airports, such as Batam Center Port, Sekupang Port, and Hang Nadim International Airport, became illicit drug trafficking routes. Drugs that enter several areas in the Riau Islands, especially Batam, Karimun, and Tanjung Pinang, will generally be sent again by sea to Aceh, Medan, Selat Panjang, and Pekanbaru, and by air to Padang, Jambi, and Jakarta.

Data from Regional Police's Narcotics Detective Directorate of Kepulauan Riau also shows a finding that all drugs entering the Batam area are originated from Malaysia. This is supported by the information from other agencies, especially the BNP Kepulauan Riau and the Batam City Customs, which shows that almost all illicit drugs entering Batam come from Malaysia. This drug was allegedly produced in China and then marketed in Indonesia through Malaysia. However, an informant from BNP Kepulauan Riau expressed his doubt about the hypothesis. Considering Malaysia's harsh laws against drug smugglers, it hardly makes sense that drug syndicates purposively make Malaysia a transit country. Therefore, according to him, it is likely that illicit drugs circulating in Indonesia are produced in Malaysia, not in China.

Illicit drugs from Malaysia are generally smuggled in various modes. The most common mode is hiding drugs in the digestive tract, shoe soles, or even painting. These modes are carried out by couriers who enter Indonesia as passengers of ships or aircraft through official ports or airports. In this mode, individual Indonesian migrant workers are often involved as couriers, either knowingly or because they are framed and deceived. Besides, it is not uncommon for illicit drugs to be smuggled by dumping them at a certain location that has been agreed upon, to be taken by another courier who will deliver them to the recipient of the package. Small and uninhabited islands within the region of Riau Islands are often used to dump these items. In this mode, it is not uncommon for the local fishermen involved as couriers.

After entering Batam, illicit drugs are usually marketed at nightclubs, such as discotheques and karaoke. It is through these entertainment venues that various types of drugs, especially crystal meth and ecstasy, reach their users. However, according to informants, only a small portion of all drugs entered was marketed directly in Batam. From Batam, most of the narcotic drugs are sent and circulated to various other regions in Indonesia.

Based on the information that has been collected, the flow of illicit drug trafficking can be simply illustrated in Figure 2.
Figure 2. The Flow of Illicit Drug Trafficking

Source: Processed by Authors from interviews with BNP Kepri and Regional Police's Narcotics Detective Directorate of Kepulauan Riau, 2017

categorized as efforts to eradicate and prevent drug crimes, as well as rehabilitation of victims of drug abuse. In this section, the prevention efforts that have been made by various relevant agencies in the Riau Islands Province will be explained. The main purpose of the prevention program is to build individuals' and the community's strong resistance against the narcotic drug.

BNP Kepulauan Riau and Regional Police of Kepulauan Riau are the spearheads in efforts to prevent drug abuse and trafficking in Batam City and Riau Islands Province in general. In addition to the two law enforcement agencies, Batam Navy Base (Lanal Batam) and the Batam Office of Women's Empowerment, Child Protection, Population, and Family Planning Control also play a role, although indirectly.

Socialization programs are still the main tool for the BNP Kepulauan Riau and Regional Police of Kepulauan Riau in preventing drug crime. The main objective is to raise public awareness of the dangers of drug abuse. Informants from BNP Kepulauan Riau revealed that the socialization aims to produce a line of volunteers who had the power to resist drug abuse. To be more effective, this socialization is also carried out along with community empowerment programs. The purpose of this empowerment program is to produce activists who can counter-narcotic drug abuse and trafficking.

In addition to the BNP and Regional Police of Kepulauan Riau, Lanal Batam plays a role in preventing narcotic drug abuse and illicit trafficking, one of which is through empowerment programs for coastal communities and fishermen who live in fostered villages around the Navy posts. Through various socialization and empowerment programs, Lanal Batam tries to raise the community's awareness so that they are not easily provoked or prone to be recruited as a courier for smuggling drugs by sea. This is important, considering that local fishermen and their fishing vessels are often used by drug trafficking syndicates to bring the illegal packages into Indonesian territory.

Various socializations are also carried out by the Batam Office of Women's Empowerment. Although not directly campaigning for the dangers of narcotic drug abuse, their socialization is crucial for
the prevention program, since it is intended to develop community awareness and insight about a good and healthy family. A conducive environment and a well-functioned family are considered to become a social institution that directly plays a role in producing members of the community who have deterrent power and opposing forces against the dangers of drug abuse.

Unfortunately, the counseling and outreach programs carried out by the Office of Women's Empowerment, up to now, have not been accompanied by an evaluation to assess the extent of the success of the programs that have been implemented in producing healthy families. But, this problem is not unique to the Office. A similar program, i.e. socialization, by other agencies also faces the same problem. It is hard to measure and evaluate the effectiveness and success of such a program in real life. That is why any prevention program needs to be integrated with the eradication of illicit drug smuggling and trafficking, as well as rehabilitation of drug abuse victims. In the long run, both can be understood as parts of a long-term prevention program.

Eradication of Drug Crime in Riau Islands Province

Eradication efforts play a crucial role in the long-term prevention of drug abuse due to their significant instrumentality in reducing illicit drug supply. Agencies that play a direct role in combating drug abuse and illicit trafficking in the Riau Islands Province are the BNP Kepulauan Riau, Regional Police of Kepulauan Riau, and the Batam City Customs. In addition to these three agencies, Lanal Batam frequently joins into joint operations at sea in dealing with drug smuggling. Based on the results of data collection with informants from these agencies, it is known that the main challenges or obstacles in the eradication of drug crimes in the Riau Islands region can be categorized as geographical challenges, regulatory constraints, and technological shortcomings.

In terms of geography, the Riau Islands region is an archipelago that is mostly sea waters. Batam City itself has 186 islands, of which only 80 are inhabited. Because the sea is the main transportation route to and from Batam, it is not surprising that the city has many ports, both official and non-official ports. There are seven official ports in Batam City, namely Batu Ampar, Sekupang, and Kabil Ports (all three are export-import ports), Batam Center Port, Nongsa Point, Marina City, and Telaga Punggur which are ferry terminals. In addition to the seaport, Batam has also the Hang Nadim International Airport. Illegal narcotic drugs are often smuggled into or from Batam through these entrances.

In addition to the official routes, there are also dozens of traditional or unofficial ports. Based on the information provided by our informants from various agencies, the unofficial ports or ‘people’s ports’ (pelabuhan rakyat) are scattered in various points on three main islands, namely Batam Island, Rempang Island, and Galang Island. Due to the lack of facilities and infrastructure, law enforcement agencies can only carry out limited surveillance to these ports. This condition increases the risk factor for the ports to be used as an entry point for illegal narcotic drugs from abroad.

The number of empty or uninhabited islands also increases the risk factor for illegal narcotic drugs entering Batam. One of the most frequent modes in illicit drug trafficking, as mentioned before, is a courier carrying packages from abroad and "dumping" them on a particular island. Another courier would take the dumped packages. With this mode, the drug delivery network is very difficult to trace, because there is a break in direct contact between one hand and the other. The causes of the difficulty in monitoring small or uninhabited islands around Batam include the imbalance between the number of law enforcement personnel and the size and geographical pattern of the Riau Islands. Besides, the available facilities don't meet
the required specification, such as patrol boats whose specifications do not allow the outreach of small islands.

One of the efforts to increase security at the people's ports and empty islands in the Riau Islands waters were carried out by Lanal Batam. This effort is carried out by conducting socialization and guidance to the fishing communities who live in the target villages around the Navy posts. Through socialization and coaching, it is hoped that the public will be more vigilant, especially so that they are not easily recruited as a courier or informant by drug dealer syndicates. Efforts to foster public participation in preventing drug smuggling is one step to compensate for the limited availability of the latest technology, such as CCTV and patrol boats that can reach water angles between small islands.

The next challenge relates to regulations concerning the eradication and prevention program of drug abuse and illicit trafficking, such as Law No. 35 of 2009 concerning Narcotics (Narcotics Law). Both law enforcement informants from the BNP Kepulauan Riau and Regional Police's Narcotics Detective Directorate of Kepulauan Riau revealed inconsistencies and difficulties arising from certain rules in the law. One of them is the rule that the action file for a drug case must be complete within 3 x 24 hours, and can be extended with an additional 3 x 24 hours. This rule raises problems because the reality on the ground shows that there is a gap between the limited availability of facilities and infrastructure and the difficult geographical conditions of the Riau Islands.

Regional Police of Kepulauan Riau jurisdiction is in the form of islands, most of which are sea waters, extending to the Natuna Islands near the South China Sea. At the same time, the closest forensic laboratory is in Medan, North Sumatra. The forensic laboratory itself is used by five different Regional Polices, namely the Aceh, North Sumatra, Riau, Riau Islands, and West Sumatra Regional Police. Every time a drug crime case is disclosed, the authority in the Riau Islands must bring a sample of the drug evidence to Medan to be analyzed and examined in the forensic laboratory. Without going through this procedure, legal proceedings would not be possible because of incomplete case files. Problems arise if the crime is revealed in areas far from the city center, such as the Natuna Islands. Not only are the means of transportation limited, but the inspection in the laboratory also often has to queue up on the waiting list which is not infrequently very long, given the existing laboratory is tasked with supporting five regional policies at once.

In addition to the consistency in the Narcotics Law which must be corrected and improved, the coherence of the law itself with several other sets of laws also needs to be built. This is because drug crimes are related to other forms of crime. In addition to involving the flow of shipments of illegal goods (narcotic drugs), illicit trafficking also involves the flow of large amounts of money. Therefore, illicit drug trafficking is not infrequently in contact with money laundering (Tindak Pidana Pencucian Uang or TPPU). Besides, the movement of money in illicit drug trafficking almost always occurs through banking transactions, although in recent cases, the transfer of money is done through couriers in cash. However, it should be underlined that cash transfers must occur in very limited amounts because there are maximum limits when carrying cash from abroad or to abroad. Taking into account the relationship of narcotic drugs to the flow of money transfers, the Narcotics Law and several other laws, such as the Law on Money Laundering and the Law on Banking Transactions should be drafted so that each other is coherent. It is important to improve the effectiveness of the laws when implemented in the drug trafficking eradication program.

The challenges related to technology that play a role in drug trafficking also pose problems for related agencies in efforts to eradicate drug crime. It is well known that
the sophistication and the up-to-date equipment used by law enforcement officials in uncovering drug crimes often lags far behind the tools used by drug trafficking syndicates. The use of communication instruments by drug crime syndicates even allows drug convicts within the prison to stay connected to, even control, drug trafficking networks outside. Information from Regional Police's Narcotics Detective Directorate of Kepulauan Riau revealed that the members of the syndicate even used communication lines that no longer utilized domestic telecommunications providers, making it difficult to trace.

Challenges related to technology also include the understanding and knowledge of personnel from relevant agencies. Information was given by informants from Lanal Batam, for example, states that Navy personnel involved in joint operations, or who are on duty patrolling the waters of the Riau Islands, often do not have sufficient knowledge to be able to detect that certain item they have found turned out to be a drug. In this case, officers from BNP and Customs usually have such insight and knowledge, so that they can detect the presence of narcotic drugs on a ship.

Joint operations involving several related agencies, such as the National Narcotics Agency, Customs, and Navy, are useful not only to support each other's efforts in safeguarding the sea but also to exchange information and knowledge. Through joint operations, Navy personnel will be able to gain more experience and insight about narcotic drugs from BNP or Customs personnel, for example. However, in practice, joint operations have not been carried out regularly. We do not get an explanation of why joint operations at sea so far have not been carried out regularly. However, the informant from Regional Police's Narcotics Detective Directorate of Kepulauan Riau explained that joint operations on land, for example when controlling night entertainment venues, required the mobilization of very large amounts of resources and massive coordination between several agencies at once. For joint operations at sea, similar considerations may make this activity cannot be carried out routinely.

Given the geographical condition of the Riau Islands, which has hundreds of small islands and hundreds of unofficial ports that are almost impossible to monitor at any time, efforts to intercept at sea the entry of narcotic drugs into the Riau Islands region would also be considered as an alternative. However, as stated by an informant from Batam Customs, poaching and arresting drug smugglers in the middle of the sea turned out to be more risky and difficult to do. In addition to the limited facilities for ships to conduct a comprehensive patrol, some circumstances also become obstacles. One of them, it's easier for drug offenders to lose evidence if they are going to be caught in the middle of the sea. Besides, ship search in the middle of the sea is also more difficult to do and more inefficient than inspection and supervision of goods in ports. For example, the sniffer dogs (K-9) cannot be used optimally in the middle of the sea. Therefore, interception or capture in the middle of the sea is usually only done if there is trustworthy information that certain vessels carrying certain illegal packages will pass at certain locations and certain times.

Furthermore, the use of technology in combating illicit drug trafficking is sometimes also constrained by administrative issues. As revealed by an informant from Batam Customs, there is a body scanner at the Hang Nadim International Airport that can facilitate the inspection of passengers entering or leaving Batam. However, up to now, this sophisticated tool cannot be used due to administrative and bureaucratic issues, because the body scanner is owned by the Ministry of Transportation, Hang Nadim International Airport is managed directly by BP Batam, while the agency that has the direct interest in using it is the Customs. If cooperation and coordination between
related agencies run smoothly, surely the existing body scanner can already be operationalized.

In addition to the abovementioned problems, in terms of combating drug abuse and illicit trafficking, a clear paradigm of justice in our Criminal Justice System is also needed. The embodiment of this paradigm problem can be seen from the implementation of the established justice system, whether it leads to prison or correctional institutions. As revealed by an informant from Regional Police's Narcotics Detective Directorate of Kepulauan Riau, the basic paradigm of prison is punishment, resting on the conception of justice as a system of retaliation or punishment; while the basic paradigm of correctional institutions is a recovery (of social function)" which rests on the conception of restorative justice. Even though the current institution is called a correctional institution, the naming has not been accompanied by a truly clear paradigm.

Issues related to the paradigm are important because they have implications for the implementation of strategies to eradicate drug abuse and illicit trafficking in the future. An example can be seen in addressing the overpopulation problem of prisons due to the large number of drug prisoners. If we rely on the paradigm of prison, then what needs to be done is to increase capacity and security in prisons so that they can accommodate all drug prisoners indiscriminately whether they are dealers, couriers, abusers, or whether they are part of a syndicate/network or not. Whereas if the paradigm developed is the correctional institution, the improvement of facilities and infrastructure will certainly be directed towards rehabilitation facilities, so that drug convict proven to be abusers can all be channeled into rehabilitation centers, not prisons.

Rehabilitation of Drug Abuse in Riau Islands Province
Rehabilitation of drug abuse victims is crucially instrumental to reduce the demand for illicit drugs. So, it is necessary for long-term prevention. The main agencies that play a role in rehabilitating abusers and drug addicts in the Riau Islands and surrounding areas are the BNN Batam's Rehabilitation Center and the BNP Kepulauan Riau. Rehabilitation is an important element in the overall eradication and prevention program of drug abuse and illicit trafficking. The negative effects of drug abuse in the long term may not be eliminated or completely cured. However, through rehabilitation, abusers still have hope for recovery—they will be able to return to society as a productive member of society. Like an acute disease, even though it cannot be cured one hundred percent, the impact of drug abuse can be managed so that it no longer ‘relapses’.

The rehabilitation program consists of medical rehabilitation and social rehabilitation. The total time required to complete the entire program for each rehabilitation center's resident is between three to six months. Until now, the maximum capacity of BNN Batam's Rehabilitation Center for one run is 75 people, with the target of rehabilitation reaching 200 people per year. As of 2017, there have been 38 residents in the Center who experienced a relapse (drug reuse) and had to undergo a rehabilitation program for the second time.

The rehabilitation process includes several stages, 1) detoxification, 2) stabilization, 3) the main program (primary program), and 4) post-program (re-entry). The two main stages, detoxification, and stabilization are part of medical rehabilitation. Detoxification aims to clean up the remnants of substances that are still present in the resident's body, while stabilization aims to stabilize and prepare the residents, both physically and psychologically, to receive the main rehabilitation program.

The next steps are part of social rehabilitation. At the primary program stage, residents are disciplined again through daily activities that are tightly and
regularly scheduled. At this stage, positive values are also socialized and internalized so that residents have hope, enthusiasm, and purpose in life. The method used in the primary program is a therapeutic community (TC). Until now, the method is considered quite effective to rehabilitate drug abusers and addicts. However, the informant from the Rehabilitation Center also revealed that TC has begun to be considered obsolete. In other countries, more sophisticated methods have been developed. Therefore, to complement TC programs, the Rehabilitation Center also implements a method adapted from the 12-Step Alcoholics Anonymous Program that is commonly used for alcohol dependence. The last stage of the rehabilitation program is re-entry. This stage is carried out to prepare residents who have finished the main program to return to the community.

After all the stages of medical and social rehabilitation have been completed, the rehabilitation process does not necessarily end. There is still a post-rehabilitation process, in the form of monitoring and assistance carried out until the former resident can recover, be productive, and socially functional. Post-rehabilitation is the duty and responsibility of BNN (for the context of the Riau Islands, the BNP Kepulauan Riau). Nevertheless, even though institutionally, post-rehabilitation was carried out directly by BNP and not the Rehabilitation Center, the Rehabilitation Center also continued to assist their counselors. During the rehabilitation program, each resident will be accompanied by a counselor. After a resident completes the program and returns to the community, the counselor will continue to establish communication with them. Through contact and communication with these counselors, the progress of the ex-residents in their social life can be monitored. After returning to the community, most residents will look for a new job—a step they call ‘hijrah’ (migrate to a better place). It is necessary because in general, it is the old work environment that makes them exposed to narcotic drugs and ended up being abusers or addicts. By doing *hijrah*, the bad influence of the environment is expected to reduce or even disappear, so that they will no longer fall into drug abuse.

One of the interesting findings is the fact that some counselors who work in BNN Batam's Rehabilitation Center and other similar institutions are former abusers or drug addicts. As counselors, they have the advantages of first-hand experience in dealing with narcotic drugs in the past. On the one hand, they can be effective success stories to trigger the motivation of residents to grow the drive to recover. On the other hand, their past experiences are also effective in building mutual trust with residents.

From interviews with several residents in the Rehabilitation Center, it was revealed that work demands and excessive workloads were the main factors driving drug use. By using narcotic drugs, they expect an increase in their productivity. However, in the long run, the effects appear exactly the opposite. Work patterns began to be disrupted, productivity dropped dramatically, even social relations, especially with family, began to deteriorate. As for child residents (residents under the age of 18), the main factor that encourages drug abuse is the environment of peers and relationships. They carry over into abusers because previously there have been friends who were exposed to narcotic drugs. Even some of the child residents, at the beginning of the misuse, do not have any understanding or knowledge of the substances they use.

Some obstacles or barriers still have to be faced in implementing the rehabilitation program. One of them is the low awareness of the community to heal themselves from drug abuse. Compared to the overall number of drug abusers, the number of those who voluntarily enter rehabilitation centers is very small. The next obstacle relates to the availability of human resources in carrying out rehabilitation
programs. Until now, the Rehabilitation Center does not have a psychiatrist, even though it already has a psychology staff. To overcome this problem, the Rehabilitation Center is collaborating with Awal Bros Batam Hospital if at any time requires a psychiatrist.

Constraints related to the implementation of the applicable legal system are also of concern to the Rehabilitation Center and BNP Kepulauan Riau. Not infrequently, residents who undergo rehabilitation due to court decisions will be transferred to the correctional institution after they have completed the rehabilitation program. Correctional institutions are not a conducive environment to keep former residents from returning to drug exposure. Some of the former residents resumed abuse after inhabiting the penitentiary.

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATION, AND LIMITATION

Drug crime is one of the transnational organized crimes that can threaten the national security of a country. It can be used as a vehicle for a proxy war. It also can play a role in escalating and prolonging the armed conflict in a country; thus, ruining the country’s peaceful life, even bringing it to the verge of disintegration. Indonesia has become a hub of illicit drug trafficking and its main markets in Southeast Asia. It is influenced by several factors, such as the geographically open of Indonesia's border areas, the high selling price of drugs in Indonesia due to high demand, and weak law enforcement practices in eradicating drug crimes. A holistic strategy and comprehensive measures are necessary to eliminate, or at least reducing, the damaging effects of drug crime in a long term. Such a strategy consists of eradication and prevention of narcotic drug smuggling and illicit trafficking and rehabilitation of narcotic drug abuse victims.

However, there are still a lot of obstacles in implementing the measures effectively, as this research shows from the analysis to its case study, i.e. the handling of drug crime in Riau Islands Province. Regarding the eradication of narcotic drug smuggling and illicit trafficking, the main obstacles manifest in geographical challenges, regulatory constraints, and technological shortcomings. Regarding the prevention of drug crime, the real effectiveness of socialization as the main tool of prevention is hard to be measured and evaluated. Regarding rehabilitation of drug abuse victims, the main obstacles are the low awareness of the community, the limited availability of counselors and other infrastructures, and the unsupportive legal system.

The geographical condition of Indonesian territory, especially its open sea-border areas, is a risk factor that cannot be eliminated. However, various efforts must and can be done to reduce these risks at many levels. As discussed in the main section of this article, the authors recommend some measures at various levels to improve the effectiveness of the program to combating drug crime. At the cognitive level, the main recommendation is a paradigm shift towards restorative justice in the implementation of the Criminal Justice System for drug offenders. At the legal level, the main recommendation is the sanctioning of consistent and coherent legislation against drug crime. At the practical level, the main recommendation is the implementation of various measurable programs to prevent and eradicate drug crime, and also rehabilitation for the victims of drug abuse. At the technical level, the main recommendation is to encourage technological development to support the policing of a drug crime. At the social level, the main recommendation is to commit continuous community empowerment to reduce people's risk of falling into the network of illicit drug trafficking.
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