

Correlating Drugs Securitization with the Aspects of International Cooperation in Indonesian Drugs Issues

By

Achmad Djatmiko

International Relations, Universitas Padjadjaran, Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Republic of Indonesia

Arry Bainus

International Relations, Universitas Padjadjaran, Indonesia

R. Widya Setiabudi Sumadinata

International Relations, Universitas Padjadjaran, Indonesia

Pribadi Sutiono

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia

Abstract

International cooperation and drug securitization have become a topic of problems currently faced by almost all countries in the world, including Southeast Asia (ASEAN) and Indonesia. In terms of securitization, drugs are a threat to humanity and security. Regarding the perspective of international cooperation, efforts to prevent and eradicate narcotics abuse and trafficking in Indonesia are supported by the implementation of international cooperation. The existence of international cooperation is a must to support the success of strong supportive cooperative efforts whose implementation and results can exacerbate or improve the drug problem. Based on this, this research was conducted to correlate drug securitization with aspects of international cooperation in Indonesia on the issue of drugs in which there are many stakeholders involved in it. This research was conducted qualitatively with data sources derived from observations, interviews, documentation, and visual materials. Researchers also conducted literature studies and web searches to collect supporting data and evaluated using data reduction methods. Research shows that applying the relationship between securitization and Cooperation is a reasonable idea. At least in theory it can be considered for further discussion. By combining the two concepts, we get the possibility of similarities that can be applied together in a discussion. Likewise, there are intersections of some elements of these two concepts that can be analyzed as equal parts. In addition, it is also speculated that in certain cases, Cooperation can be equated with a securitization or is part of securitization, but it does not have securitizing moves and extraordinary measures.

Keywords: Indonesia, Drugs Securitization, International Cooperation

Introduction

The issue of narcotics and illegal drugs has become a social discourse among nations since it involves the interests of mankind, including issues of peace and security. It is said that drugs are one of the greatest threats to international and human security (Kushlick, 2011). Interaction, communication, and cooperation between countries to discuss this issue is a necessity. Cooperation and drug securitization (Narvaez-Chicaiza, 2020) (Teague, 2019), therefore, has become a topic of problems currently faced by almost all countries in the world, including in Southeast Asia (Djelantik, 2016) and Indonesia that must be dealt with (Anggraini, 2016).

With regard to securitization, on the one hand, there is a politicization, a process that makes an issue appear open, a matter of choice, something that is decided and which requires some kind of public responsibility. On the other hand, securitization is a process that presents problems as urgent and existential, which are so important that they should not be exposed by normal political bargaining but must be handled with actions outside of normal political practice (Buzan, Barry, Wæver, & Wilde, 1998).

Drugs are related to humanitarian and security issues (Luong, 2021) because they are seen as a threat to humanity, involving securitization. The threat of drugs has attracted worldwide attention as reflected in the UN Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961 (Single Convention), which implies that international drug policy is always linked to state security. Therefore, that it is not exaggerated to discuss the issue of drugs by applying the perspective of (non-traditional) security namely securitization (Su, 2020) (Sanahuja & Escáñez, 2021). Securitization theory, in certain respects, is quite adequate and satisfactory to analyze and describe a particular phenomenon or case. The theory aimed at describing the existing fact of the problem(s) not to criticize what it should be.

Meanwhile, the drugs issue can also be analyzed from the perspective of the international cooperation concept. The efforts to prevent and eradicate narcotics abuse and illicit trafficking in Indonesia are, in fact, supported by the conduct of international cooperation. Having international cooperation is a must to support the success of the efforts tough cooperation is supporting which its conduct and result could make the drugs problems worse or better. From the perspective of the actor (government, authority), the aim of the cooperation is to support and make the threat decrease. Therefore, there are two concepts that can be applied to analyze the drug issue in Indonesia, namely cooperation and securitization.

Correlating drugs securitization with the aspects of international cooperation in Indonesian drugs issues should be an interesting discussion, due to the many stakeholders involved in it. And speaking of security issues, there is a theory which is a development of the security approach, namely securitization theory. This securitization framework is necessary for ordinary people, state security guard (Battaglino, 2019), academics, and policymakers to understand how and why certain threats are a matter of national interest. This is necessary that countries and individuals can adopt and accept extraordinary measures to counter the threat. Drugs is regarded as a threat in the securitization framework so that it is necessary to carry out securitization by actors through convincing the audience for the interest of the object of reference.

Likewise, from the perspective of international cooperation, relations and interconnectedness are a necessity in today's relations between countries (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime / World Health Organization, 2020). Not a single country is anti-cooperation since they feel that cooperation with others is a symbol of the expression of a country's existence in interacting with others that are interconnected (Klyukanova & Mikhailova, 2021). International cooperation becomes a benchmark for the acceptability of a country and how high the level of acceptance such a country has. Thus, international cooperation is a significant factor in supporting the survival of a country's sovereignty (Carment, 2019). The perspective of international cooperation can also be implemented to discuss the drug issue.

The possibility to apply the concept of securitization theory on the concept of cooperation in Indonesian drugs issue is there since the two concepts have many terms in common and share the use of many similar understandings. The drug is regarded as a threat in the securitization framework so that it is necessary to carry out securitization by actors through convincing the audience for the interest of the object of reference. The drug is also regarded as a threat in the

framework of international cooperation so that it is also necessary to carry out cooperation by actors through making the elements of cooperation (communication, interaction, talking), preventing and decreasing the threat for the interest of the object of reference. As a matter of fact, those actors, speech act, audience, referent object are the securitization's terms that could be applied on the concept of cooperation in analyzing the Indonesian drugs issue.

Method

This research was conducted qualitatively to obtain in-depth and relevant data on the topic under study. Considering the need to deepen our understanding of the perspective of drug securitization and the concept of international cooperation to be able to explain the relationship. The sources of data in the study came from observations, interviews, documentation, and visual materials. In processing data, it is done crosswise to get in-depth information from one data and scroll to other data. Based on its relationship with drug securitization activities and international cooperation related to drug issues in Indonesia. The data that has been obtained will be analyzed to provide an overview of the topics studied in this study. In conducting data analysis, researchers used two ways, namely, data reduction and interpretation. After the analysis process is complete, the researcher concludes the research that has been done.

Discussion

The Concepts of Drugs Securitization in Indonesia

Barry Buzan and Copenhagen School-CS scholars, argue that threats are shaped by and based on actors' interpretations. Threats do not naturally arise from state situations but arise from the perception of actors in politicizing and labeling problems as threats, and securitization is "...the move that takes, beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue as either a special kind of politics or as above politics" (Buzan, Barry, Wæver, & Wilde, 1998). In other words, securitization is said to be a process in which an issue is understood as a security issue. Securitization is a perspective in understanding or treating a developing issue as an extraordinary danger accompanied by a high-level threat beyond the existing normal limits.

The concept of securitization (Oskanian, 2021) is the understanding that existential threats are not mere objective reality. In contrast, the threat is the act of articulating a problem as existential that results in securitization. Therefore, the Copenhagen School attaches great importance to the "speech acts" of securitization agents, and regards them as the starting point in the securitization process. The securitization action is successful if the relevant audience is convinced of the existential threat to the referent object. Successful securitization, therefore, is a matter of establishing an intersubjective understanding between the agent and the audience about the existential nature of a threat.

The actor's role is very important in defining existential threats to the survival of some objects. Actors can claim the right to deal with problems through extraordinary means to ensure the survival of object references. In this case, according to Buzan, the state is not the sole actor in conducting securitization, in principle securitization can be carried out by anyone. However, securitization actions in practice tend to be carried out by political leaders, bureaucracy, lobbyists, opposition groups, and other organizational groups. Actors perform securitization if an issue is considered very urgent. Securitization is also known as a "speech act", namely the action of an actor to label an issue as a security issue,

The second role is the reference object, which is an object in the form of a state or society, which is seen as existentially threatened (Jutila, 2016) and must be secured. Based on the

traditional view, the referent object is usually a state or nation. For the state, the referent object is sovereignty, for the nation it is identity. However, the current referent object is not only limited to a country or nation, but a wide spectrum of possibilities to become a referent object. Furthermore, it is the actor who will state that a referent object is something that is threatened

In line with this, the conceptual framework of securitization can describe how the development of discourse is related to drug policy, both nationally and globally. Several speech acts have been analyzed to understand how drugs have been constructed as a threat to humans, national and international security in the realm of global policy, for example, drugs that have been securitized. They help explain how drug discourse has become explicitly linked to human, national and international security (Crick, 2012).

In the construction of securitization in Indonesia, the danger or threat to drugs is a matter of interpretation. The national securitization process has perceived drugs as a threat, followed by a narrative that drug control and eradication is a priority for the state, concerning national and humanitarian interests, and also concerning the interests of all Indonesian people. The Indonesian government acts as an Actor in the eradication of drugs and all policies, and government regulations can be identified as Speech Acts, with the Referent Object being the life of the Indonesian people. Those who act as Audiences are all Indonesian citizens. Drug securitization mostly comes from global influences, especially in terms of supply, so that in drug securitization in Indonesia, the process is influenced by global drug securitization.

The Concepts of Drugs Cooperation in Indonesia

Regarding international cooperation, Sabastian Paulo cited Axelrod-Keohane states that cooperation occurs when "actors adapt their behavior to the actual or anticipated preferences of others"... Therefore, cooperation describes interactions to achieve common goals when the actors' preferences are not identical (harmony) or irreconcilable (conflict) (Paulo, 2014). In line with that, IGI stated that cooperation is "a universal mode of interaction between two or more countries based on sharing research, production, commerce, protection of investment, and industrial know-how (IGI Global, 2020). It should be added that cooperative initiatives can be carried out with the aim of promoting, creating, or increasing interaction or improving the quality of interaction (Sato, 1981).

Many definitions of international cooperation have more or less the same meaning or intersect with each other. One of the definitions of international cooperation used by BAPPENAS, "a form of international cooperative relationship is an institution that is formed collectively and organized or the basic structure of a social organization formed on a legal basis or human tradition which can be in the form of exchange, trade, diplomacy, conferences, or international organizations" (BAPPENAS, 2016). From the various definitions that exist, international cooperation can be described as a relationship between two (sovereign) countries or more, has a certain goal to work together, on certain issues, is a non-violent way, and the important thing is interaction.

Regarding the culmination of international cooperation, Scott Barrett stated that international cooperation will end when the document signing of an international agreement (treaty) is reached. It is stated that "Efforts to sustain international cooperation invariably culminate in the signing of an international treaty, the success of which depends on the acumen of the individuals that negotiated it and the nature of the problem being addressed" (Barrett, 1999). Thus, international cooperation is said to be successful if it finally produces a written formal document in the form of an international agreement either bilaterally, regionally, or multilaterally.

Meanwhile, at the national level, efforts to eradicate drugs are one of the national priorities carried out by the National Narcotics Agency (BNN - Badan Narkotika Nasional) as the leading sector. BNN cooperates with other relevant agencies to carry out the Prevention and Eradication of Narcotics Abuse and Illicit Trafficking (P4GN - Pencegahan dan Pemberantasan Penyalahgunaan dan Peredaran Gelap Narkotik) programs to deal with drugs. With the current "Drug Emergency" situation regarding narcotics abuse and illicit trafficking, one of its priority activities is to suppress supply reduction, which urgently requires international cooperation.

In the implementation of cooperation with domestic agencies, BNN together with the Police, TNI, Customs and Immigration in 2019 have succeeded in uncovering as many as 33,371 narcotics cases with a number of evidences namely marijuana type narcotics with a total of 112.2 tons, methamphetamine weighing 5.01 tons, 1.3 million Ecstasy pills and 1.65 million PCC pills which were confiscated from a number of places throughout Indonesia in 2019 .

International cooperation and efforts to eradicate drugs are two inseparable factors. With the existence of intensive and effective international cooperation, it is hoped that efforts to eradicate illicit drug trafficking can be minimized, both in terms of the supply side, which mostly comes from abroad, as well as the demand side, which involves conditions in the domestic market. country. The supply line is suspected to have occurred and originates from abroad which is carried out through the air (airport), seaport (seaport) and land borders. Meanwhile, the demand line strengthens the prevalence of citizen drug users, which is still prevalent in various levels of society, especially the young generation and the productive age group. The two paths (supply and demand sides) are the main focus in the field of drug eradication, so that they are intensively carried out through various eradication activities.

If we analogize the concept of cooperation with the concept of securitization when we equate the roles of actors in the two concepts, then in the concept of cooperation actors take actions in order to interact, relate to other parties for a common goal, the common good, the result is an agreement. There are differences in the interests or roles of these two types of actors. In the case of securitization, actors take actions to lead the perception of something as a threat. Meanwhile, in cooperation, threats are considered to have been agreed upon. The task of the actor is to take joint action with other parties in order to reduce or eliminate threats.

Drugs Securitization on the Spot

The Indonesian government since 2002 has created an agency called the National Narcotics Agency (BNN). Based on Law No. 22 of 1997 article 54 and Presidential Decree No. 17 of 2002, BNN carries out its duties as a focal point in handling drug problems, together with various non-governmental organizations that care about drug problems. BNN can also be said to be a leading institution because it is authorized as an Indonesian Non-Ministerial Government Institution (Lembaga Pemerintah Non-Kementerian-PNK) which has the task of carrying out government duties in the field of prevention, eradication of abuse and illicit trafficking of narcotics, psychotropics, precursors and other addictive substances except for addictive substances for tobacco and narcotics alcohol' .

The narrative regarding the basic attitude of the BNN is that "narcotics crime is an extraordinary crime which is of concern to the state in the world, because it can damage a generation and the joints of the nation's life. In the current world situation that is being hit by the COVID-19 pandemic, it has had a major impact on the emergence of a new mode of illicit narcotics trafficking in the world" (BNN, 2020). Another narrative that was later inflamed by BNN was 'War on Drug'. By instigating a 'war on drugs', BNN synergizes Indonesia "Bersinar"

(Bersih Narkoba - Clean for Drugs). There are three BNN strategies in carrying out the P4GN approach, namely the Soft Power Approach, Hard Power Approach and Smart Power Approach. In his presentation, the Head of NN Petrus Golose said that the War on Drugs was part of the BNN strategy which included smart power, hard power and soft power approaches (Kepala BNN RI, 2021).

Around 25 years ago, drugs were still considered a minor problem and the Government views and believes that this problem will not develop because the Indonesian nation is a nation that adheres to Pancasila and is religious. This view turned out to make the government and the entire Indonesian nation unaware of the dangers of drugs, so that when the drug problem exploded, which was accompanied by the regional currency crisis in mid-1997, the Indonesian government and nation seemed unprepared to deal with it. In contrast to the neighboring countries in SEAN, which since 1970 have consistently and continuously fought the dangers of drugs. Indonesia learned from that situation and took some steps and policies on the national drugs issues.

Facing the drug problem which tends to continue to increase, the Government and the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR-RI) passed Law Number 5 of 1997 concerning Psychotropics and Law Number 22 of 1997 concerning Narcotics. Based on these two laws, the Government established the National Narcotics Coordinating Board (BKNN), with Presidential Decree No. 116/1999. BKNN is a drug-control coordinating agency consisting of 25 relevant government agencies. This BKNN will later become the forerunner of the establishment of BNN. Furthermore, the Government and the DPR-RI passed and enacted Law Number 35 of 2009 concerning Narcotics, as an amendment to Law Number 22 of 1997. With this law, BNN was given the authority to investigate and investigate. narcotics crime and narcotics precursors. BNN then became the leading sector in the field of drug problems in Indonesia.

In accordance with the developments regarding drug regulations above, within the framework of securitization, this shows a changing perception of drugs which have then been considered as a threat to national and humanitarian interests, involving the interests of all Indonesian people. The Indonesian government acts as an actor in drug eradication activities, while all government policies, guidelines and regulations can be identified as speech acts, with the referent object being the survival of the Indonesian people. Those who act as audiences are all Indonesian citizens. Drug securitization mostly comes from global influences, especially in terms of supply, so that in drug securitization in Indonesia, the process is influenced by global drug securitization.

As mentioned above, in the construction of securitization, danger or threat is a matter of interpretation. The national securitization process has perceived drugs as a threat, followed by a narrative that drug control and eradication are the priority for the state. Based on Buzan's securitization theory, if Indonesia's securitization is marked by President Jokowi's statement stating that Indonesia's "Drug Emergency and War on Drugs" in 2017 is made a reference case, it will place BNN (Government of Indonesia) as the speech act party in the securitization process. Indonesia, like other democracies in the world, must prioritize addressing all issues that are perceived as threats that must be faced now and in the future. The threat is the abuse and illicit trafficking of drugs.

Threats are related to the problem of interpretation conveyed by the securitization actors. The securitization process has created a narrative that the drug problem is a priority for the state because it is a threat to the entire community and nation. By referring also to the securitization process for drug problems at the national level, we get an idea of how the drug securitization process functions, so the identification is obtained as follows.

Figure 1. *Drugs Securitization in Indonesia*

a. Securitizing actor	The Indonesian government, as a security agent for drug trafficking. In this context, BNN is part of the Indonesian government agency and acts as a securitization actor.
b. Speech Act:	"Indonesia in a Drug Emergency Situation" and "The War on Drugs". Drug abuse and trafficking is one of the main threats in Indonesia. BNN's programs and policies, which are also government policies, in the field of drugs in the form of Prevention and Eradication of Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking (P4GN) are part of speech acts.
c. Existential Threat	Drug abuse and trafficking is considered a threat from outside Indonesia because the source of illegal drugs and their precursors comes from outside and threatens Indonesian identity. The presence of marijuana from Aceh is also considered a threat because it is not only misused and has a bad impact on health, but is also used to support past separatist violence (GAM). Threats exist not only at the individual level, but also at the community and state level.
Referent Object	Indonesia is a threatened entity in the problem of drugs abuse and trafficking. Indonesia here does not only refer to the state, but also to its people, both as a society and as individuals. Threats to the people mean threats to the state.
Functional Actors	There are many functional actors at the national level, according to the level of urgency for drugs in the country. They are not only limited to law enforcement officers (Polri, TNI, Indonesian Customs, Indonesian Prosecutor's Office, and Court Judges) and anti-drug activist NGOs. In addition, religious figures and organizations, community leaders and organizations, and the mass media.

Linkages of Cooperation and Securitization

The link between cooperation and drug securitization in Indonesia can be illustrated by looking at the involvement of actors (Kaliaiev, 2020) at the national and even international levels. Drugs have been constructed as a discourse that connotes a threat (threat) and dangerous goods, a discourse that has been proven undeniable. BNN's strategy of implementing cooperation is also in the context of fortifying, preventing drug abuse as a threat, directed at the program of Prevention, Eradication, Community Empowerment and Rehabilitation (P4GN) efforts. Cooperation is carried out in order to support securitization steps, especially the success of speech acts in interpreting drugs as a threat so that urgent steps can be taken, although in an extraordinary way.

With the existence of intensive and effective international cooperation, it will support the success of efforts to eradicate illicit drug trafficking, which can be minimized, both in terms of the supply side, which mostly comes from abroad and the demand side, which concerns domestic conditions. Both the supply and demand channels are the main focus in the field of drug eradication, so that they are intensively carried out through various eradication activities. In the concept of the War on Drugs as explained by the Head of BNN, cooperation is a part and contributes to the implementation of the P4GN Program, in addition to the implementation of existing hard power, soft power and smart power. Likewise with the implementation of other P4GN programs, both in the fields of prevention, community empowerment, rehabilitation, and even Human Resources, cooperation is needed as a supporting factor for its success.

Cooperation is carried out in order to support securitization steps, especially the success of speech acts in interpreting drugs as a threat so that urgent steps can be taken, although in an extraordinary way. The existence of cooperation is closely related and has the same meaning as securitization in viewing drugs as a threat, as does the understanding of the audience and the reference object. Both concepts have the same actor in describing drug cases, namely the government. The difference is related to positioning the speech act. In cooperation, speech acts are reflected in various policies, decisions or guidelines from the Government and are things that can be directly interpreted as something to overcome threats and do not need to be adopted by the public. The political authority of the actor over the audience bears the consequence of obligation so that it must be accepted and followed without interpretation or perception. It is different with securitization, that a speech act is something that needs to be processed and confirmed through audiences in order to form a perception as desired by the actor.

From the point of view of cooperation, drugs as a threat are state attitudes and policies, which objectively see them as dangerous and must be tackled or eradicated seriously, both at national and international levels. Drugs are a national priority target that must be resolved because they become threats and obstacles as well as enemies of the state. Therefore, BNN re-launched an anti-drug campaign with the term "War on Drugs" (War on Drugs). From a securitization point of view, drugs as a threat are the result of the actor's interpretation that has been accepted and approved by the public. On the basis of the approval of the audience, the actor gets the legitimacy to take steps that are out of the ordinary.

There is a common view between the concepts of cooperation and securitization. The two concepts are intersected and share a shared value. From the cooperation factor, drugs are identified objectively and politically as a threat (threat) that must be addressed and overcome. Meanwhile, from the securitization framework, as a threat, drugs are something that must be securitized (securitized) by actors by convincing the audience (audience) as something that is of interest to the reference object and concerns survival. The dynamics of cooperation in the implementation of P4GN can be analyzed from the point of view of drug securitization. Assuming that in terms of speech act, threat (threat), audience (audience) and reference object (referent object) have the same meaning, then the two concepts share names or intersect, are at the same level. Both have the same policy, statement, and speech act in viewing drugs as a threat. Likewise, both of them have the same audience, namely interested and involved parties, seeing, following the drug situation, and also having the same referent object.

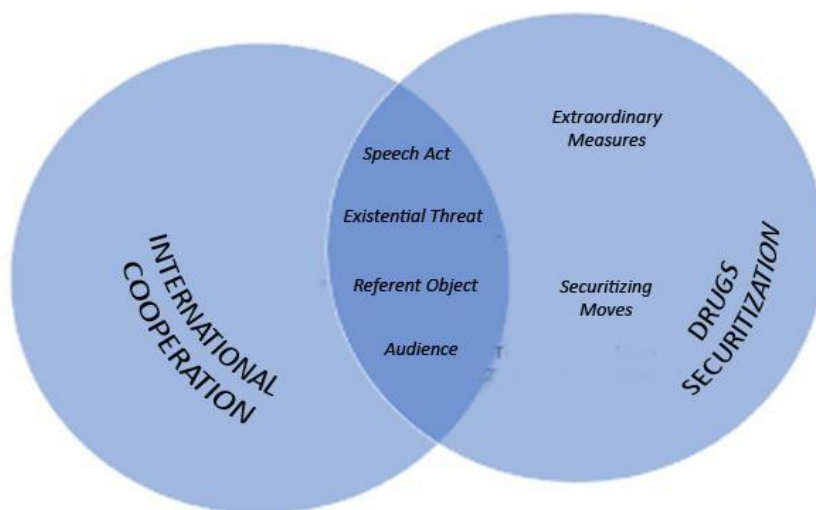


Figure 2 *Intersection of Securitization and Cooperation*

What makes the two concepts different is that for the concept of cooperation, the defined threat is indeed an absolute speech act, so that actors can take any action, both extraordinary and ordinary, while for securitization, the defined threat provides a legitimacy for actors to take extraordinary measures. Steps to take extraordinary actions, are securitizing moves that are not owned by the concept of cooperation.

The relationship pattern regarding the two concepts is that in certain respects the concept of cooperation has similarities with securitization, all elements of securitization are in cooperation. The difference is that cooperation can become securitized if it is added with elements of security measures (securitizing moves) and extraordinary measures (extraordinary measures). Thus, in the pattern of the relationship between the two, even though they have intersecting elements, at the same time cooperation is part of a securitization. Securitization is a broader process than cooperation, because it has securitizing moves and extraordinary moves that cooperation does not have. The description of the pattern of this relationship is as follows.

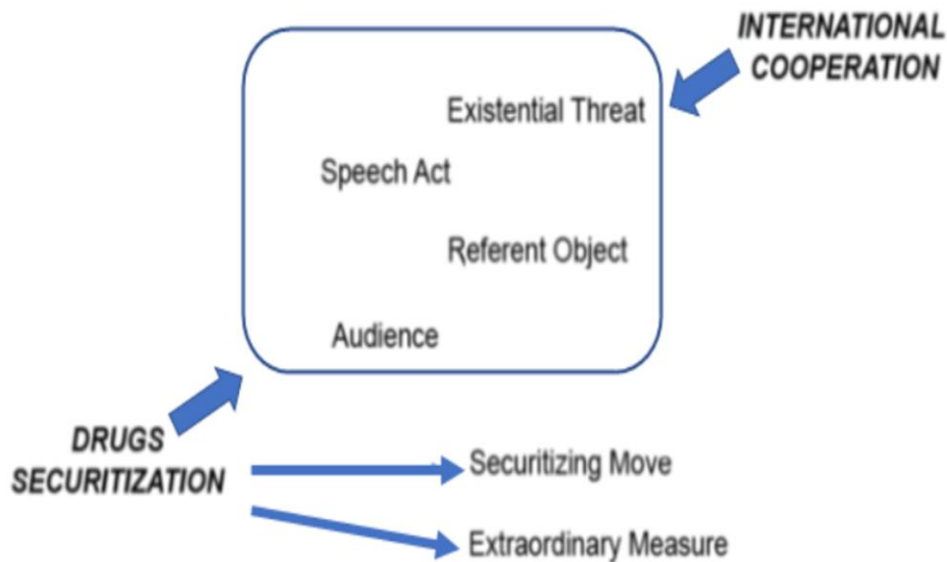


Figure 3. *Cooperation as part of Securitization*

In analyzing the existence of the audience aspect, there is a difference between cooperation and securitization. The audience according to the concept of cooperation is the recipient of news or messages who are passive, do not have to react. The audience is only assumed to be the well-informed party and thus the actor has received legitimacy to take any steps according to his authority. Meanwhile, from the concept of securitization, the audience is the determinant of the actor's success in making threat perceptions. How the audience's attitude towards the news or message conveyed will determine the legitimacy of the actor. Actors can take any steps, even those that are out of the ordinary (extraordinary measures) if the audience's response is to accept and agree with the perceived threat.

Thus, extraordinary measures are only carried out on the concept of securitization, because on that basis the threat perception has been confirmed and justified by the public. On the other hand, in the concept of cooperation, there is no known extraordinary measure (extraordinary measure) because the steps or actions taken are entirely the authority of the actor which does not have to be confirmed by the audience. The securitization step only occurs in the securitization process and does not occur in the concept of cooperation. Nevertheless, both

the concepts of cooperation and secrecy have the same reference (referent object), which is related to the Indonesian people and nation as a whole. The position of this relationship pattern is as shown in the following figure.

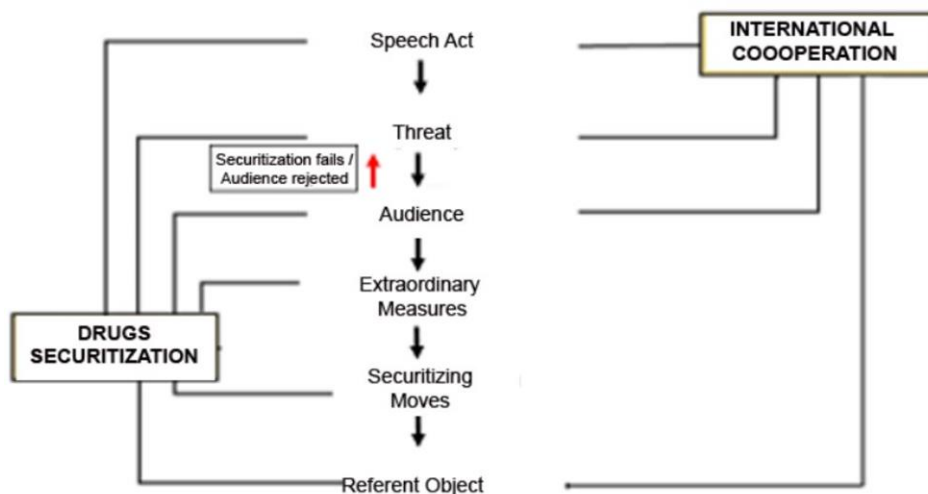


Figure 4 Audience Analysis Relationship Pattern

Conclusion

The implementation of cooperation in all fields within the framework of P4GN has been carried out by BNN very intensely to support drug control and eradication as well as rehabilitation. As a supporter, cooperation work determines the level of effectiveness of the P4GN program. Cooperation is carried out to confirm and strengthen the status of drugs as a threat. Cooperation activities in this case are in the form of strengthening relationships, communication or interactions to overcome and reduce threats, in order to improve relationships. Is the implementation of the cooperation a securitizing move through audience acceptance? Something is said to be undergoing a securitization process if the speech act is in the form of a statement that reflects a threat, encouraging the perception of a threat. In cooperation, the speech act is in the form of a statement of the results of an agreement, a joint decision, not a perception of the threat itself. Its role is more as a supporter of the resolution or reduction of threats. Speech acts in cooperation do not undergo a securitization process because they contain narratives that are not directly related to the presence of threats, but support threat solutions.

The difference in perception of threat in the concept of cooperation and of securitization lies in the need for public acceptance (audience). In the concept of cooperation, threats are as stated by the perpetrators of speech acts and do not need to be confirmed by the audience to justify the threat because it has been accepted by the public as it should be a real and accepted threat. While in the securitization, threats should be approved and justified and understood as threats when the audience does agree and has the same perception as the speech actor.

Both the implementation of cooperation and the securitization process can be observed directly in this drug case. Cooperation, both national and international, is seen as an activity that has been, is being or will be implemented whose impact cannot be measured immediately, because it must be seen as a process. While securitization is a process that has been or is happening. In accordance with this approach, securitization is to see how the process is going as it is (existing) and not to provide an assessment of how it should happen. This securitization

process has been implemented and occurs in the community, all Indonesian people (referent object) as described. Whether the process is considered a failure or a success is not the focus of this theory's attention.”

Applying the relationship between securitization and Cooperation is a reasonable idea. At least in theory it can be considered for further discussion. By combining the two concepts, we get the possibility of similarities that can be applied together in a discussion. Likewise, there are intersections of some elements of these two concepts that can be analyzed as equal parts. In addition, it is also speculated that in certain cases, Cooperation can be equated with securitization, or is part of securitization, but it does not have securitizing moves and extraordinary measures.

References

- Anggraini, D. (2016). Kebijakan ASEAN dalam Menanggulangi Penyalahgunaan Narkotika dan Obat-obatan Berbahaya di Asia Tenggara. *J. Anal. Hub. Int.*, vol. 5, no. 3., 36–51.
- Abrahamsen, Rita. 2005. Blair's Africa: The Politics of Securitization and Fear. *Alternatives*, 30:1, 55-80.
- Alker, Hayward. 2005. Emancipation in the Critical Security Studies Project. In *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth, 181-187. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc.
- Aradau, Claudia. 2004. Security and the democratic scene: desecuritization and emancipation. *Journal of International Relations and Development* 7: 388-413.
- BAPPENAS. (2016). *Kajian Integrasi Kebijakan Kerja Sama Pembangunan Internasional dengan RPJM 2017-2019*. Direktorat Kerja Sama Pembangunan Internasional, Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional.
- Barrett, S. (1999). MONTREAL VERSUS KYOTO: INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT. In I. G. INGE KAUL, *GLOBAL PUBLIC GOODS: INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY*. OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP.
- Battaglino, J. (2019). Threat Construction and Military Intervention in Internal Security: The Political Use of Terrorism and Drug Trafficking in Contemporary Argentina. *Lat. Am. Perspect.*, vol. 46, no. 6, 10–24. doi:10.1177/0094582X19858680
- Balzacq, Thierry. 2005. The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context. *European Journal of International Relations* 11:2, 171-201.
- Bellamy, Alex J., Roland Bleiker, Sara E. Davies and Richard Devetak eds. 2008. *Security and the War on Terror*. New York: Routledge :Taylor and Francis Group.
- Burke, Anthony. 2002. Aporias of Security. *Alternatives*, 27:1, 1-27.
- BNN. (2020). *Pres Release Akhir Tahun 2020*. Badan Narkotika Nasional.
- Buzan, Barry, Wæver, O., & Wilde, J. d. (1998). *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Pub.
- Buzan, Barry and Ole Wæver. 1997. Slippery? contradictory? sociologically untenable? The Copenhagen school replies. *Review of International Studies* 23:2, 241-50.
- Buzan, Barry. 2006. Will the 'global war on terrorism' be the new Cold War. *International Affairs* 82:5, 1101-1118.
- Carment, D. (2019). *Canada–US Relations: Sovereignty or Shared Institutions?* Springer International Publishing.
- Crick, E. (2012). Drugs as an existential threat: An analysis of the international securitization of drugs. *International Journal of Drug Policy*.

- Campbell, David. 1998. *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Campbell, David. 1998. *Why Fight: Humanitarianism and Post-Structuralism*. *Millennium Journal of International Studies* 27:3, 497-521.
- D. Brombacher and J. Westerbarkei, "From Alternative Development to Sustainable Development: The Role of Development Within the Global Drug Control Regime," *J. Illicit Econ. Dev.*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 89–98, 2019, doi: 10.31389/jied.12.
- Djelantik. (2016). *Sekuritisasi dan Kerjasama ASEAN dalam Meningkatkan Keamanan di Perairan Kawasan*. *Global & Strategis*, Vol. 10, No. 2.
- Emmers, Ralf. 2003. *ASEAN and the securitization of transnational crime in Southeast Asia*. *The Pacific Review* 16:3, 419-438.
- Floyd, Rita. 2007. *Toward a consequentialist evaluation of security: bringing together the Copenhagen and the Welsh Schools of security studies*. *Review of International Studies* 33: 327-350.
- Huysmans, Jef. 1998. *Revisiting Copenhagen: Or, On the Creative Development of a Security Studies Agenda in Europe*. *European Journal of International Relations* 4:4, 479-505.
- Huysmans, Jef. 2002. *Defining Social Constructivism in Security Studies: The Normative Dilemma of Writing Security*. *Alternatives* 27: Special Issue, 41-62.
- IGI Global. (2020). *History of International Collaboration on The Exploration and Development of The Arctic*. Retrieved from <https://www.igi-global.com/dictionary/history-of-international-collaboration-on-the-exploration-and-development-of-the-arctic/68352>
- Jutila, M. (2016). *Securitization, History, and Identity: Some Conceptual Clarification and Examples From Politics of Finnish War History*. *NATIONALITIES PAPERS*, 43(6), 927-943.
- Kaliaiev, A. (2020). *Current Trends in the Development of Public Administration in the Security Field: National and Global Aspects*. doi:10.33287/102063
- Kepala BNN RI. (2021). *Sinergitas Pemberantasan Narkoba, Korupsi dan Terorisme untuk Pembangunan Sumber Daya Manusia Unggul*. Bali.
- Klyukanova, T. M., & Mikhailova, O. O. (2021). *Legal Regulation of Crimes Threatening Global Security*. *EURASIAN Integr. Economics Law Politics*, vol. 14 (4), 56–62.
- Kushlick, D. (2011, August 10). *International security and the global war on drugs: The tragic irony of drug securitisation*. Retrieved from <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/international-security-and-global-war-on-drugs-tragic-irony-of-drug-securitisation/>
- Luong, H. T. (2021). *Why Vietnam continues to impose the death penalty for drug offences: A narrative commentary*. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 88, 103043. doi:10.1016/j.drugpo.2020.103043
- L. P. Utomo, (2019). "Penyalahgunaan NAPZA di Indonesia (Pendekatan Kajian Ke-Islaman dan Perspektif Pekerjaan Sosial)" *Komunitas*, vol. 9.
- Narvaez-Chicaiza, M. A. (2020). *Harm Reduction Policies Where Drugs Constitute a Security Issue*. *Heal Care Anal* Vol. 28 No.4, 382-390. doi:10.1007/s10728-020-00415-9
- NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY. (2007). In *The Asia-Pacific Security Lexicon* (Upated 2nd Edition) (pp. 173–178). Cambridge University. doi:10.1355/9789812304971-028
- Oskanian, K. (2021). *Securitisation gaps: Towards Ideational Understandings of State Weakness*. *European Journal of International Security*, 6(4), 439–458.
- Paulo, S. (2014). *International Cooperation and Development: A Conceptual Overview*. German Development Institute, Discussion Paper 13.
- P. Horna, "Theory and Practice of International Cooperation," in *Fighting Cross-Border Cartels*, 2020.

- Sanahuja, J. A., & Escáñez, F. J.-M. (2021). The Copenhagen School in South America: The (de)securitization of unasur (2008-2017). *Rev. Bras. Polit. Int.*, vol. 64, no. 2. doi:10.1590/0034-7329202100201
- Sato, E. (1981). International cooperation: an essential component of international relations.
- Su, X. (2020). Geopolitical imagination and the US war on drugs against China. *Territ. Polit. Gov.*, vol. 8, no. 2, 204–221.
- Stritzel H and Schmittchen D (2011) Securitization, Culture and Power: Rogue States in US and German Discourse. In: Balzacq T (ed) *Securitization Theory: How Security Problems Emerge and Dissolve*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 170-185.
- Stritzel H (2012) Securitization, Power, Intertextuality: Discourse Theory and the Translations of Organized Crime. *Security Dialogue* 43(6): 549-567
- Sverdlow A (1993) *Women Strike for Peace: Traditional Motherhood and Radical Politics in the 1960s*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Taureck R (2006), *Securitization Theory and Securitization Studies*. *Journal of International Relations and Development* 9(1): 53-61.
- Teague, A. (2019). The United States, Mexico, and the mutual securitization of drug enforcement, 1969–1985. *Dipl. Hist.*, vol. 43, no. 5, 785–812. doi:10.1093/dh/dhz035
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime / World Health Organization. (2020). *International Standards for the Treatment*. Retrieved from https://www.unodc.org/documents/drug-prevention-and-treatment/UNODC-WHO_International_Treatment_Standards_March_2020.pdf 17
- Waever O; Buzan B; Kelstrup M and Lemaitre P. 1993. *Identity Migration, and the New Security Agenda in Europe*. London : Pinter Publishers.
- Wæver, Ole. 1995. *Securitization and Desecuritization*. In *On Security*, ed. Ronnie Lipschutz. NY: Columbia University Press.
- Wæver, Ole. 2004. *Aberystwyth, Paris, Copenhagen: New 'Schools' in Security Theory and their Origins between Core and Periphery*. Paper presented at the annual of the International Studies Association, Montreal, March 17-20, 2004.
- Walker, R. J. B. 1986. Culture, Discourse, Insecurity. *Alternatives*, 11:4, 485-504
- Walker, R. J. B. 1990. Speaking the Language of Exile: Dissident Thought in International Studies. *International Studies Quarterly* 34: 259-268.