

# THE ROLE OF AIR POWER IN MAINTAINING NATIONAL DEFENCE AND SECURITY

By: Chappy Hakim

## ABSTRACT

We are already familiar with just calling Land and Water alone in expressing the place where we live or reside. It feels a bit strange when we refer to as land, water and air space of Indonesia. Similarly to what is stated in the Constitution or Act of 1945 Article 33, paragraph 3 which only mentions the earth and water only.

With the rapid development of technology, the reality is the air space has become the territory of a State that has significance and priceless. On the other hand, people on the earth's surface has also been confronted with the fact that the natural riches contained therein are gradually but surely slowly showed symptoms at one time will no longer be enough to sustain human life.

If the natural wealth in the earth and water where human life during this time will be gradually reduced, then human beings have no other choice than to find the source of life in the Air and Space or aerospace. It means the air space implies give "new hope" for mankind in the future. Far different from the surface of the earth and the waters were already known to its limits, the airspace, until now no one has to know where the hell limits. For some people conclude that the Airspace have no limit. Similarly that's why many people say that airspace is the "future" of mankind.

Indonesia as an archipelagic country in the world is no exception will be dealing well with the situation. Thus, Indonesia should have to contribute to think about airspace as the "future" of mankind, starting from now. All this of course will be dealing a lot with issues of defense and state security. Many will deal with security issues – security and welfare problems – prosperity of the State and Her people. If this nation has the desire to "stand and sit" equal with other nations on the earth's surface, Airspace deserve serious attention.

Keywords: Air Sovereignty, Air Power, Defence and Security.

## Introduction

In 2011, Harvard Kennedy School Indonesia Program (HKSHIP) has published *From Reform to Institutional Transformation. A strategic assessment of Indonesia's Prospects for growth, equity and democratic governance*. At the general assessment stated that the impressive progress has occurred in Indonesia. But behind the impressive progress, compared to a regional neighboring country and other competitor at the global level, Indonesia is left behind in many important measure of economic and social welfare. Another important things that should be noted that, that

Indonesia has not been able to take advantages from the situation as a big country, and has not been able to take part in the global supply networks.

In addition to the era of President Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla leadership is facing quite serious challenges with regard to the following reasons:

*Educational background and ministers experience after the reformation was not good as the technocrats at the beginning of the new order government under Soeharto. Another reason that there is no longer a foreign adviser that was used by the New Order government as "sparring*

partners" to sharpen the analysis and policy. Moreover, unlike in Korea, Thailand and the People's Republic of Tiongkok, Indonesia does not have an independent institute of studies for analyzing the development of political, economic and international finance as well as providing recommendations to the government and the business community on how to avoid the negative impacts of globalization and take part in the global market and make profits. Meanwhile we just have institute of studies on each ministries that consists of bureaucrats with the compartmentalized mind related his Ministry itself.

Such an outline of the situation and the condition of the State and the Indonesian government dealing with the migration of global economic growth from the Atlantic to the Indian and the Pacific region. In this context, the review of the state defense and security becomes very important regarding the increasing growth of competition at the Pacific region, especially at Southeast Asia.

#### **State Defence and Security**

If we want to discuss all things that related to the defense and security of a country, then we should be able to see from the dimensions as a whole. We should start to see elements of the three dimensions that closely affect strategic thinking on how to manage the state's defense and security system.

The adventure of human beings on the land have been completed in the sense that humans already know with certainty the boundary of the land where they live. Similarly, when we discuss about water or sea, human has been acknowledged the extent to which the earth's territorial waters on the surface of the earth. However, if people have already started talking about air space or

aerospace, then until this moment no one knows where the actual limit of the air outer space. With simple words related the trip or adventure of mankind, it can be said that the human journey has been completed on the mainland, as well as an adventure in the vast ocean has reached its limit lines very clear. By comparing the two dimensions, then when we are trying to discuss about the air which has no limit, actually we can understand to say that the air is the dimension of a journey that has just begun. We do not know yet the extent to which the existence of air, where the limit, where the air will come to an end. Human science has not been able to reach a broad knowledge and understanding of how vast our aerospace is. With such conditions, it can be stated that air is the "future" of mankind. Land and sea is the past and while the air still providing broader hope for human life. That is why the racing of science exploration in the term of air and space exploration has been the scene of fierce competition for genius people in developed countries. Because it involves the future of mankind that lives on the surface of the earth, then the hostile countries in the recent world wars, now become united developing science in an attempt to explore the air and space for the greatest benefit of human beings on earth. Evolving human existence that can be anticipated where the land and oceans where they live, when it was no longer able to give life to them. Air and space has become the future life expectancy.

All of them then become very important, if we want to talk about the defense and security of the State, because the fact that Indonesia is a country that consists of 1/3 mainland, 2/3 ocean waters and 3/3 consist of the air element.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Book "Kedaulatan Negara di Udara". Prof. DR. Abdurrasyid Priyatna, PT. Fikahati Aneska, 2003.

### ***Air Space from State Sovereignty perspective***

Defense and Security will actually fall into one formula underlying and can represent it. Defense and Security will be very closely linked to what is commonly known as sovereignty or the honor and dignity of a State. When the air dimension reviewed from the point of view of the sovereignty of the State, it will be very interesting when examined description of Prof. (em) Dr. E. Saefullah Wiradipraja, SH, LL.M. The Professor's description as follows:

*From a state sovereignty point of view, the role of airspace above its territory is so important and strategic, not only for the economy, but also for the politics, social, culture and for the defence and security of the country as well. There is no state in the world which does not have airspace territory, but there are some States which do not have waters (seas) territories.*

*The sovereignty of a state over the airspace above its territory has been recognized by International Convention, i.e Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation (Chicago Convention 1944). This recognition is not only for the contracting state but also for all states eventhough they are not member of the Convention.*

*The strange things is that Indonesia as an archipelagic state with more than 17.000 islands, there is no article in its Constitution which states that airspace above its territory is under the sovereignty of Indonesia, eventhough the Constitution has already been revised four times.*

*In article 33 (3) of the Constitution 1945 (as the original text) states that "land and waters and natural resources which exist in them are under the control of State and used for the greatest of people prosperity" ("airspace" is not included).<sup>2</sup>*

The description above clearly expressed how an understanding of the existence of air as an essential and strategic element of a country, but still there are no adequate attention to be included in the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

### ***The main elements of a State***

If we discuss more about the defense and security of the State, it would probably be easier if we look at first things that are directly related to the main elements of a State.

One of the references that can be used for better understanding of the main elements of a State is the Montevideo Convention 1933. There are four factors that have been listed in the Montevideo Convention of 1933 which are *the Territory, Fixed population, Effective Governance and Internationally recognized.*

Thus, every time we talk about the existence of a state then it should be in direct line with the territory of that State, and also about the existence of people who settle permanently in the territory. Similarly, the territory and fixed populations have an effective system of government in term of having the ability to run the government properly. Not only the territory, population and effective government, but also required as "recognized" its presence in the international community, or also often referred to as "Internationally Recognize". All of them are covered in the 1933 Montevideo Convention.

Specifically reviewing the territory as one of the main elements of a State, with technological advances that drove so fast, then each country have to smart in determining it as one of the basic foundation. In this case the basic foundation is intended as one of the important components that will be crucial

<sup>2</sup> Presentation Paper Prof. DR. E. Saefullah Wiradipradja – 2006.

in efforts to lead in the competition at regional level and globally.

### ***Territory and Sovereignty related to the Constitution of 1945***

Next, let us discuss how the relationship between a specific territory or territory with sovereignty. The area is a basis for the existence of "sovereignty". So the region and Sovereignty have a relationship that is "absolute". Meanwhile, sovereignty will allow or cause their "exclusive authority for a legal action to prohibit foreign government take any action without permission. "That why, then, without a sovereign, a country would not be able to carry out the "rights and obligations".

Now, let us look at the Constitution, in particular Article 33 (3) which says as follows:

*Earth, water and natural resources contained within controlled by the State and used for the welfare of the people.*

It is clearly stated in article 33 (3) that there is no word "air" within. Based on the description above that it would be very easy to understand that the Republic of Indonesia only have sovereignty on the land and sea as well as internal waters. The Constitution of 1945 do not yet include the "air" as to be controlled by the State and used for the welfare of the people.

The reality that indeed there has been some legislation and flight regulation that already include or mention that the air is also a part of the sovereignty of the State. Some of them are: Law Number 1 Year 2009 on Aviation in Chapter I Article 1 and also in Chapter IV Article 5. It is also mentioned in Law No. 6 of 1996 on Indonesian Waters Chapter II Article 4. The problem is those regulations when traced down where the legislation referred to or lean, then it will be disconnected and do not connected or do

not rely on the constitution of the State, in this case the Constitution of 1945.

It should be noted here that, with the above description, it is clear that the territory is a main foundation for their sovereignty. Territory and sovereignty proved to be the two things that have relationships that are absolute. Sovereignty give the "exclusive authority" for legal action to prohibit foreign governments to take any action "without permission". Without Sovereignty, State may not implement the "rights and obligations". Thus the Constitution should include the territory (land, sea and air) firm and unequivocal as its territory.

### ***Weakness as Rich Countries***

The Republic of Indonesia, not only as the archipelago with over 17,000 islands, but also "The biggest archipelagic state in the World", which is also located in a strategic location which is crucial in transportation systems/global communication. The strategic value will be increased many-fold since in addition to being the biggest archipelagic state, it is also a longitudinal length of the equator line. Indonesia is the longest state along the Equator, place or location of the most ideal trajectory for geostationary satellite orbit (GSO). Indonesian airspace not only constitute the most wide-ranging areas in the ASEAN region and the South Pacific, but also has the highest economic value, because it is located between two continents and two oceans. Furthermore, Indonesia or "Nusantara" is an area that "very" rich in natural resources. With a population approximately 250 million people, it is no doubt if anyone points out that Indonesia is a wealthy country.

Unfortunately, it has been hundreds or even thousands of years ago, Far East Asia, including Indonesia, colonized or became its colony for Western countries. The wealth has been enjoyed by other States instead of by it's own people. One of the main causes, because Indonesia had no sea power which capable to resist

or just survive the onslaught of Western countries. *Alfred Thayer Mahan* who lived in the 1800s, a Marine Admiral US Navy, a famous geostrategic and historian, said that the concept from power of the sea or the "sea-power" is "Base on the idea that countries with greater naval power will have greater impact world wide". So we have to look at the history before we will determine where we go.

Famous British historian, named Peter Carey, while celebrating the 228<sup>th</sup> birthday of Pangeran Diponegoro, on 11 November 2013 launched a book about Pangeran Diponegoro entitled "Takdir" (Fate). In the hundreds of pages book, there is an interesting article about Indonesia. Reflects his disappointment (Peter Carey) against the Indonesian attitude towards its own history. The following is an excerpt piece "Without love and respect for their own history, Indonesia will be broken and the people of Indonesia will live forever damned in the outskirts of a global world without knowing who they are and where they were going".<sup>3</sup>

Seeing and learning the history is a basic foundation which will be helpful in planning future.

### **Philosophical basis of the State Defence and Security**

In discussing the state's security and defense sector, the way to make it easier is to see the basic thought of the securing a house. Due to the principle of a safeguard that always rely on the efforts to prevent than to overcome something which was already happened. Home security efforts will always be oriented and focus on efforts to prevent thieves entered and not to seek the ability to chase a thief who had already entered the house. That is why, most or even almost all the houses build a fence along the property line that under its control, in

order to prevent a thief enter the house. The analogy comes along with all States build a fence along the border to prevent thieves entering the country. Because the dimensions of a country that is very broad, it can be said to be impossible for a country to be able to build a fence along the country's frontier. In fact, the history of the world proves that the causes of war and the inter-state disputes will always begin from the state border line. Always originated or developed from the "border-dispute". Thus, the countries on this earth will be prioritizing building fence of the border line of the country which has the potential to become a means of dispute. First fence territorial border prone to conflict. Fence its "critical border". It's all explained to us, why China build a "Chinese Wall" or "The Great Wall" which was built continuously almost over 3 generations. It is "critical border" for China. Similarly, we know the "Berlin Wall" and then also Ronald Reagan's SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative) in the Cold War era.

Hence, it is well known to some critical border fence as "the great wall", the Chinese wall to stem the critical border areas of China from the threat of enemy attacks originated from the North. The Berlin Wall that had function throughout the cold war era border area separating threatening critical areas between East and West blocks. Ronald Reagan's SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative), in the form of "imaginary fence" in the critical border areas to fortify the Western block countries against possible attacks ICBM (Intercontinental Ballistic Missile) of the Eastern blocks. All of them is an example of how the concept of a fence along the border area has become a critical priority or a major part of the defense system.

<sup>3</sup> Presentation Paper Prof. DR. E. Saefullah Wiradipradja – 2006.

### ***The Deployment of the State Defense Force***

In simple format on daily basis, the deployment of the state defense forces are facing the challenge to overcome several things, among others, when the stakes along the border state in the mainland of Papua, Kalimantan and elsewhere cannot be shifted arbitrarily by the other party. Marine resources of this country can be properly maintained on the activities of massive illegal fishing. Our fishermen could fish comfortably without worry of being caught by neighboring country's marine security guard. Sovereignty of our airspace, even if only partially, should not be under the aviation authority of the Singapura, Malaysia and our airspace sovereignty safe from the black flight that so often overflying without prior permission. Those aspects actually are merely a few of the challenges in the aspect of national defense which often occur throughout the year. Similarly, it seems these problems did not handled with a satisfactory solution. Again, this is a big challenge for the Indonesia National Armed Forces.

Furthermore, when we agreed to give priority on defense deployment at the country's critical borders, the comprehensive assessment of which areas should be the take into account immediately. At least, in general, it can be clearly seen that Indonesia has two critical border regions which is Malacca strait and the south eastern border area facing the continent of Australia. Malacca Strait is an area of water that borders with many neighboring countries in addition to the traffic lane of so many world fleet. Malacca Strait, as crowded as 6 times that of the Suez Canal and passed more than 3000 merchant vessel in a day. Well, Besides Indonesia itself, as largest archipelago country in the world, and it turns out very clearly, that Indonesia has

dominated the critical border area of intangible waters.

Thus, when talking about the deployment of the state defense force that is very reasonable is to build a defense force that is oriented to the strength of the reliable sea or maritime forces. Sea power that can guarantee security and defense and force keeping the sovereignty of the state at a ready for combat level (*combat readiness*). Sea power, will not bring much benefits, if not supported by a force that is able to provide protection from the air, "*air-superiority*" or "*air supremacy*".<sup>4</sup>

### ***Moral Education and National Awareness***

Early days of the republic, with the famous jargon of BungKarno its "**Nation and Character Building**", we recognize the concept of "*education and teaching*". The school pupils, were given a proportional portion between education and teaching. They were given a variety of science education and teaching that have mental and moral aspects to build his personal character. However, the current education only focused on the science. Thus it is acceptable if we see the results that the ones who have higher education, but face many problems in the context of moral and mentality, like a Low Calorie Food. Not all of them, but most of what we see today, are converging on a picture that already demands the attention for all of us.

If we want to develop moral education and cultivate national awareness, then we must be honest and not hypocritical. If it is weak, we must recognize the weaknesses, so we can strengthen ourselves. Without moral and mental strength, our fate will be over and sprawl as "*Object of Globalization*". This indications have clearly started with the flourishing generation "*infotainment*", its rampant spread of drugs, corruption

<sup>4</sup> Book "*Believe It or Not*", Chappy Hakiim, Penerbit Buku Kompas, 2014.

congregation, free sex and others. Some people has been realized of this condition and has also sparked ideas for the improvement of this serious problem. Some of them are about the notion of "Conscription" and the Bill of state defense.

Regarding with the conscription, many countries have proven success in building morale and state of consciousness and awareness to defend the state of its citizens. Programs that should deserve to be studied more deeply in order have right adequate format to be implemented in Indonesia. To be sure, as the trauma of unpleasant experience against the military presence in the government, then the words or terms that connote any military will necessarily face strong resistance. It requires tactics and techniques so that similar programs could be accepted as a whole. In fact, the program Walawa (Mandatory Training Students) in the past and many programs related to moral aptitude and physical fitness for many government and non-government agencies including the athletes who will go forward to compete, continue to run with the implementation on the basis of military units.

Here is an illustration that might give an idea that is easy to understand the importance of conscription programs for citizens in order to gain awareness to defend the State and open the horizons of nationality. In Singapore, all 18-year-old boys, required to follow the conscription program. No matter who and what the status of the child, all without exception should follow. Conscription lasted for 2 years. The first six months they have to go to "*basic military training*" in Tekong island, off the coast of Singapore. The first three months, they are not allowed to back at home. In following basic military training activities, they are divided into small groups consist of 14 to 20 people. Interestingly, from this small group, they are arranged that it will consist of a combination of "race", "socio-

economic level", "religion" and "education". What exactly is the target of the method? That Education turns out become "melting pot" for all young people in Singapore. They become completely merged to form a single compact unit with the growth, true solidarity. The children since then, suddenly feel uncomfortable with package from their parents, such as a variety of gadgets namely IPad, IPod, small radio, mobile phones and others. All personal items returned base on own conscience, because at that time they were already friends with the children of the poor who do not have the luxurious item and consumptive nature. They are also already familiar with his friends that have low level of education. They also had friends with children who are wealthy in Singapore. Solidarity, a sense of tolerance, and most important, a sense of respect for each other and togetherness has just grown in line with the military education program harsh and Spartan. There is no spare time to show off their wealth or personal belonging in the environment among friends. The most dominant visible is that the sense of responsibility of children are growing instantly. The parents later on seen in a merciful, because it was no more than two years, their appearance changed significantly into a man who are very "mature". Their childhood appearance changed so significantly. Pity mingled pride of course. All children of Singapore has followed a program of conscription, was immediately transformed into beings who really appreciate one another and grow up with a sense of responsibility that is very mature. Not only that, conscription, which is packed with the name of NS (National Service) had unpacked boxes of race, social status and even a box of educational differences. They later became a citizen of Singapore who are ready to hand over his body and soul for their beloved country and grow wide with very high corps spirit and appreciate the discipline that grew out of a sense of self-

awareness. It turns out "character building" of the citizens of Singapore are run with an agenda that is integrated in the process of formation of "Citizen Armed Forces", from generation to generation. It's has been said, most of the children who are poor, usually immediately enrolled into the regular army of the Republic of Singapore immediately after conscription ended. Singapore soldiers recorded in various surveys, as soldier's salaries and social security as one of the best in the world. It is not the main one.<sup>5</sup> The most notable result of conscription is, the formation of moral and mental all the boys in Singapore into a man with a strong character, responsible and high awareness as the citizen. Its best officers, retired early at a young age, was sent to Harvard to study management and economics and then fill the leader position of the State-Owned Enterprises. Mostly, the management of strategic state-owned enterprises is filled by a former officer with a very strict selection. Not only in its bureaucratic system, all the leader in the executive, legislative and judicial sectors are made up of those who have been through a tough conscription. No wonder, then we will see the members of Parliament of their mature and far away from the appearance and behavior like kindergarten children.

It is merely an illustration that might be applied in Indonesia, of course with a few adjustments that need to be studied further. Basically, the process of maturation of the young candidates for the leadership of the future cannot be done in ways that had been running and generate a lot of shortcomings in terms of moral and character not only as individuals but further as a citizen of a great nation like Indonesia.

### **Actual and Factual Threats**

Reviewing the main problems that often arise in thinking about the State Security and Defense, there are several important things that will always be discussed. Some very prominent which are the nature of the threat associated with the rapid advances in technology and the development of strategic environment. With the understanding that state security defense format should always be oriented in the efforts of "prevent" rather than an attempt to "overcome" because it has already occurred, then both had to be a very important consideration. Environmental developments and advances in technology, although the two different things, but has shown progress very closely related to one another. The development of post-cold war world politics and the development of technology has made the world a multi-polar and subsequently has also caused the emergence of threat "omni direction". This has resulted for a state that it will not be easy anymore to determine its position on the stage of world politics and economy.

Regardless of the conditions faced by each country, in general global trend would face "common enemy", or at least considered for a while to be common enemy. A common enemy is becoming increasingly difficult because is not a country or group of countries such as in the last world war. A common enemy that is now perceived by many sides is known as "non-state actors" and they are acts of terror. The most recent event is as happened recently, on Friday, November 13, 2015. A bomb exploded outside the *State de France*, Paris during a friendly match between France and Germany. Besides bombs, Paris also terrorized shootings in 6 other points. Attacks or acts of terror, has made its shape as the nature of the actual threat and factual in nature. The miserable thing on a long series of terrorist attacks, non-

<sup>5</sup> Book "Pertahanan Indonesia", Chappy Hakim, Red & White Publishing, 2011



*state actors* is the target located on the crowd, a gathering place of people who are innocent. 911 events in 2001, the Bali terror bombing, some other place and the final in Paris always brings the lives of tens, hundreds and even thousands of innocent people died and the other with serious injuries.

With world conditions being faced with the threat of non-state actors which are omni direction, then we must be careful in analyzing the developments. Many things which if not examined closely, it is not impossible that it will provide opportunities for non-state actors gained more space that always constantly will be looking for an opportunity to act. One example that have to be aware summarized in an article as follows:

**The United States of America in 2001.** Shortly after the 911 incident, the United States conducted a review in-depth about why the incident can be happened. 911 events in 2001 as the form of a series of four coordinated terrorist attacks on Tuesday, September 11, 2001, was conducted using 4 commercial aircraft from the United States airline which were American Airlines and United Airlines. The tragedy has been called, among others, as the "*September 11 attacks*". Shortly after the incident, all *Air Force Base* on alert against the air attacks, all commercial and non-commercial flights suspended. A heavy blow to the national security system. Since then the Americans felt that for national security, the United States of America is not enough to have the Pentagon (Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, and Coast Guard), the FBI and the CIA. Results of the review of the 911 has led the US decided to build a new institution named as *the Department of Homeland Security*, and then followed by forming a new agency which, among others, to strengthen the FAA, *the Federal Aviation Administration* in the field of transport security nationwide,

known as TSA, *Transportation Security Administration*. All transport network managed, all commercial flight path corridors reorganized especially for *take off* and *landing* will be in a very strict control. On the whole, the path of commercial flights in the country has been included in the list or the list of "*potential national threat*". All Aerodrome, especially commercial aviation airport terminal building under the supervision which "*super-tight*".

**Indonesia, 2013.** After 911 events in America which were very tragic in 2001 a lot of changes around the world. One of them is that the event had been brought to almost all countries on this world about the threat of terrorist attacks can occur at any time. It led to very strict security in almost all commercial airlines at the International Airport. The entire network of direct commercial flight activities are under strict supervision. Many changes were made to anticipate other 911 which can occur in every country.

While what happen in Indonesia, as a result of growth in the passenger air transport services very rapidly (to grow 10 -15% per year), there has been a "*chaos*" of the organization of civil aviation, especially in Cengkareng which is severe flight delays, even up to 12 hours. Overcome this, the government was forced to intervene by taking the following decisions:

*Thursday, November 21, 2013. The government has decided to optimize the Halim Airport as a commercial airport in early 2014, to reduce the amount of passenger traffic density at Soekarno-Hatta that reaches 146,000 people per day.*

There are two unfortunate things of this decision. First is there was no initial investigation regarding the problems before taking a decision. There is no examination (a kind of fact finding) why the delay can be happened in Cengkareng International Airport. The

second was the decision to reopen Halim as a commercial airport done without any preparation at all and just move the overload. Halim which is the home base of four air squadrons and one squadron of aircraft maintenance engineering as well as Paskhasau squadron is already very narrow with the condition that only has 1 Runway, there is no adequate Taxi-Way and APRON. As Air Base, Halim has also been burdened with the presence of aviation activities Special/Charter and General Aviation and other state activities such as VVIP Flight. Of course, in this case, if being asked why move to Halim? Then the standard cliché answer will be "For the National Interest".

**National Interest.** In the 1980s, Halim Air Force Base for the first time used as public airports serving commercial airlines for the *national interest*. When asked where the national interests are, then the answer is obvious that the national interest as stated in the Guidelines and Repelita (Five Years Development Program) about improvement and removal Kemayoran as International Airport to Cengkareng which the development takes a long time. At the period of time waiting for completion Cengkareng Airport, as well as Kemayoran has begun overloaded then to maintain the degree of flight safety, Halim enhanced its ability to serve temporarily as the International Airport. To build Cengkareng Airports, there had been several feasibility study which results include the following:

*At the end of March 1975, a study of the new International Airport approved a plan to build a replacement Kemayoran 3 runways, road asphalt, 3 international terminal building, three domestic terminals and one Haji terminal. Three storey domestic terminal was built between 1975-1981 at a cost of US \$ 465 million and a domestic terminal including apron from 1982 to 1985 at a cost of US*

*\$126 million. A new terminal project, named Jakarta International Airport Cengkareng (code: JIA-C), begins.*

Although was not correspond exactly based on the study but the development Cengkareng have been successfully implemented. That is why, we've known that Halim had been used as airports serving commercial airlines for "*the national interest*" awaiting the completion of the Airport in Cengkareng.<sup>6</sup>

By understanding this conditions, of course, if Halim Airbase used (for *national interest*) as a commercial airport then the question is which national interest? It seems rather difficult to answer this question, because it appears that Halim used again as a commercial airport is more to the *commercial interests* rather than the national interest. National interests in the 1980s is very obvious reference backrest is the national development plan. While the terminology for the national interest in 2013 is rather difficult to find the back of its references, except to accommodate commercial terms. While at the end of the government of SBY, National Aeronautics and Space Council of the Republic of Indonesia (DEPANRI) an agency that handles strategic issues concerning air and space has been included in the list of state institutions are considered to be useful for later dissolved.

Thus, when the United States post 911, formed two new institutions in the governmental agencies and to improve its supervision of all activities of a commercial flight by increasing the readiness of The Air Force, then what happen in Indonesia is, the movement of commercial flights to Halim Air Force Base that will certainly take a portion flight activities and training operations at Halim air squadron elements whose facilities are limited. On the other hand an institution that has existed in dealing with

<sup>6</sup> [www.chappyhakim.com](http://www.chappyhakim.com)

aviation and space at a strategic level, Depanri, dissolved.

### **Indonesia 2015**

Latest developments, in recent years, appearing on the decree MA (Supreme Court) regarding Halim air base, and while many people see a very significant change in Halim, namely the operation of airplanes of Lion and Batik Air. There is an impression that Halim has become a "home-base" of Lion and Batik Air. Even rumors of a credible source, now at Halim not only as an airport which must accommodate the excess flight slots in Cengkareng, but has a means of adding new flight slots. As an illustration, commercial flights *take off* and *landing* in January 2015 has reached more than 2000. While the numbers in the month of October 2015, that number has increased two-fold, namely more than 4000 *takeoff* and *landing*, at Halim which only has one runway. With a density of 4000 take-landing on the runway in a month, it can be imagined where the elements at Halim air squadron to be able to run the training and flight operations? Are there still those who want to think about how "proud" of the young pilots "Indonesian Air Force" at Halim who banished to the edge in order to provide of commercial airlines? This reality obviously raises many questions that await answers. Is it Halim already or will soon switch its status to a civil aviation airports? And what about the fate of Halim as an Air Force base. The response was submitted by the Chief of Staff of the Indonesian Air Force in a recent statement that among other things that: Halim will remain as Air Force Base.

Chief of Staff of the Indonesian Air Force statements is a reflection of the firmness of a soldier who would always be obedient Saptamarga (Soldiers Creed) on the orders of superiors. The Air Force is not possible to "*complain*" about it, the more for issues placed under the banner of "*national interest*", although this time the national interest can be seen clearly

as the more lead to commercial interests. When truly in the national interest that is as clear as in the 1980s, no one would be a problem.

It is true that there is nothing wrong if Halim also used for commercial flights, but for this purpose it would be much wiser if the improvement prepared at the first place at the existing facilities so as not so disturbing presence "*of the residents of the house*" (air squadron and maintenance techniques squadron as well as Paskhasau Squadron) which is now seen as marginalized. The other important thing is to prepare factor of safety (*security*) in advance because there are many important installations are vulnerable to "*sabotage*" and "*terror*". Halim problems that appeared lately in essence just a follow-up of impact of the "chaos" of civil aviation management at the Cengkareng Airport. It is sad because Halim who must bear the consequences.

The fact behind crowded at Halim is simply a manifestation of the "*tip of the iceberg*" that the root of the problem is not just the case of mismanagement in the Cengkareng Airport management, but also there is a big problem of Indonesia air space territory management as a whole which is still less attention. Indonesian airspace is not yet listed in the Constitution of 1945 (which has several times in the amendment) as the sovereign territory of the Republic of Indonesia. Indonesia itself since 2007 and until today still can not meet the International civil aviation safety requirements as specified by the ICAO (*International Civil Aviation Organization*). This resulted the FAA (*Federal Aviation Administration*) downgraded Indonesia to State group category 2 (*Un-Safe*) and the European Union banned Indonesian Airlines flying to Europe. Not to mention the problem of FIR Singapore and the great work of Indonesia's desire to regain membership in the ICAO Council member. All of it is a series of facts and data that served before us. Do not intend to blame anyone, but

apparently still needed an agency that can work across the Ministry as Deparri (*Council of National Aeronautics and Space of the Republic of Indonesia*) as one solution to manage the national airspace comprehensively at the strategic level and away from the rhythm pattern work patchwork, it does take hard work and smart work to put the interests of the nation and country above all. "Country before Self". Presumably only to shallow thoughts, narrow insights and has interest in others who can view it as just an "issue" that "tendentious" and "provocative".

May also recalled the appeal of a nation famous figures that say "**for the fighting nation there is no Journeys end**".

**Illustration above**, provide a simple input on how the problems facing this country should be studied further by comparing it with on what is developed in many countries about the potential threats that may occur. Dealing with serious problems (such as the issue of commercial flights in Cengkareng), should be examined first, what was the cause and why it happened. And then stepped further to discuss appropriate solutions to mitigate them. Such a move would be a much better result than deciding only a solution without first understanding the causes of these problems. Thus, any solution that will be decided as the correction step and not to be contra-productive. Contra-productive in term of not only be wrong in finding the right solution but also will lead to another new problems that will make the circumstances worse.

Especially for aviation, we are currently in a chaos condition. International world places Indonesia as a group of countries that have not been able to meet the requirements of international civil aviation safety as determined by ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization) **The Developments of Strategic Environment.**

Recently, after the United States and Europe are having serious trouble in economic growth, it's have been seen a considerable progress among of the two big countries in the East, namely China and India. In the last few years we have encountered many seminars, workshops, panel discussions and others that take a similar topic about "South China Sea". In Indonesia itself which has more than 5 times the discussion about the "South China Sea" and even brought strategist experts from developed countries. *South China Sea* is emerging as a trending topic. Everyone talking about the South China Sea.

Actually, the "South China Sea" (SCS) issue is an old thing. SCS lying at the intersection of many countries, it becomes very logical when it become a source of potential conflict. Claims from many countries of the waters territory of several islands in the SCS would not be settled in a short time. There are so many reasons and causes in the claims of sovereignty around the SCS, for example the "Spratly" islands. Sparty which consists of approximately 45 islands, claimed by Vietnam, China, Taiwan, Malaysia, and the Philippines and even by Brunei Darussalam. Imagine the complexity of the potential of dispute at the SCS. Not to mention China, which according to an expert speaker in an open panel discussion about SCS mentioned that the Chinese claim to some areas in the SCS is already underway since the imperial Ming Dynasty in the year 1400s! So once again, the real potential of the SCS dispute had been running for hundreds of years. Decades of many countries around the SCS are always using the same scenario about SCS dispute in carrying out simulation exercises for their Armed Forces units.

Interestingly, in the last two to three years discussion, then the issue of SCS always followed by the topic of the US Pivot to Pacific. Well, since then SCS become more interesting. The most

recent development in America, with among others, the economic problems that the country has becoming a serious problem, has been forced, for example, the two US presidential candidates say the same opinion about China, which could be an opponent and also can be friends. Among the ongoing economic development, then of course, there is parallel calculation regarding the improvement of defense capabilities. It might become a focus for America then move forward within the framework of the US pivot to Pacific. Many opinions say that the US pivot to the Pacific is the incarnation of the great worries of the Americans towards the development of Chinese power. The other saying that there is a close connection the US pivot to the Pacific with the traumatic on the Japanese raid at the Pearl Harbor in World War. Japanese invasion even been recorded in the history of the United States as "The Origins of the American Military Failure". (Friedman, in his famous book entitled *The Future of War*).<sup>7</sup>

The next step is, then the news sounded faint that American bases in the Philippines to be empowered again, for example Clark and Subic. Another news about the development of the American war equipment maintenance bases located in Singapore. And the most horrendous is the news about the placement of Marine and combat aircraft in Darwin under an "assignment" was named "mission in the context of emergency response to natural disasters". It is a bit odd indeed, because it is only happening now, or it is never happened before. The other issues are, Indonesia gained access to receive grant for dozens of F-16 fighter aircraft, which felt recently, we are difficult to obtain spare parts of the F-16. There is another news about the "grant" Hercules C-130 H to Indonesia from Australia. The more remarkable is, an important news about

the US Congress without a long debate has been approved unanimously the purchase of AH-64 Apache Helicopter by Indonesia. As usual there are also others additional news coming from the Indonesia's Vice Minister of Defence that Apache is not offered by the United States but we need it (the helicopter). To be realized or not, those can be interpreted as an effort that often referred to the United States as "Rebalancing Power" in Asia and Pacific?

Based on the description above, the issues related the SCS is so popular recently and then raises a very simple question. Why SCS, which essentially has become "life-time" issue since tens or even hundreds of years ago, and now become very "popular" as a strategic issue? Whether, the cause based on fact that The United States is facing economic crisis? Or could it be due to the fantastic progress of China's economic growth? For sure, the current economics of growth in the middle of moving slowly but surely, from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean and the Pacific region. The problem is, if there are any benefits to Indonesia from SCS issue that for economic growth in Indonesia, for example? Indonesia, a vast country with big number of population as an integral part of the countries of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific region. Indonesia is located in a very strategic location right on the SCS terrace! Eventually, those was something about the strategy, you may be or may be not interested in the strategy, but be careful because there is a warning as Leon Trotsky once said "*You may not be interested in strategy, but strategy is interested you!*"

With such conditions, then, once again Indonesia which is located in the middle of rapidly development area, are required not only be ready to compete in the aspect of prosperity but also should have fixed themselves in the security

<sup>7</sup> Book "*The Future of War*", George and Meredith Friedman

aspect in the broader sense of the problems of defense and security of the State.

### **Conclusion**

From the whole description above, then, if we look carefully, the issues relating to defense and security of the State is quite a lot that demands our collective attention. Starting from a basic understanding of the constitution concerning the sovereign territory of the State, studying the historical development of the nation, the priority of war powers to be held, to the factual nature of the threat lately.

It's time now to develop ideas more visionary and realistic. Strategic planning for the development of the Indonesia Armed Forces, and about time to be reviewed and rearranged in an integrated long-term strategic plan. It is no longer possible to develop a strategic plan that is only prepared by each of the services that are still running lately. As the result of this, understanding armament equipment as part of an integrated weapon system is not a consideration in the planning system in the context of procurement. It's time for this country has a strategic plan to put on the defense system of the State, which considers technological advances and understanding of "total defense". Implementation of a system of "conscription" or defend State program, or the development of national awareness for the younger generation should be an integral part of the defense system of the State, so it is not seen as a stand-alone program that is impressive

only represent the interests of certain parties only and can also be seen as a momentary interests. All of this should be seen as a flow of the constitution and laws of the State, flowing to the long-term strategic plan that can be maintained consistently and consequently. Environmental development region and globally, require studies of deep and continuously from an agency or institution "think-tank" credible (National Resilience Institute, etc.) so that Indonesia does not fall behind in their minds whether in dealing with domestic on-going issues as well as at the international. National management improvements, especially in the fields of defense and state security has had to be a program that runs continuously. Since the reformation, and the separation of the National Police from the TNI and the challenges faced everyday, actually showed that the study of national defense is very needed. The TNI involvement in the national security and order to support National Police and mechanisms of implementation of tasks at sea by Bakamla (Indonesia Coast Guard) as well as securing the airspace, have demonstrated the urgent need in the process of perfecting the "soft-ware", "hard-ware" and also "brain-ware". Completion of software, hardware and system of education and training should be carried out without interruption so that the organization of the defense and security system of the State, especially in the deployment of forces, command and control networks can answer the challenges of the times.

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