

## THE INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED STATES CAATSA POLICY ON INDONESIAN DEFENSE DIPLOMACY

Usman Jayadi<sup>1</sup>, M. Reynaldo Hersa Putra Pratama<sup>2</sup>  
Yayasan Peneliti Prima Indonesia<sup>1</sup>, Universitas Paramadina<sup>2</sup>  
E-mail: ujayadi@gmail.com<sup>1</sup>, m.pratama@students.paramadina.ac.id<sup>2</sup>

### Abstract

*Indonesia almost finished purchasing Su-35 fighter jets that were made by Russia in 2018. But, the purchase was canceled because of the shadow of coercive diplomacy from the United States's CAATSA. Indonesia chose to obey CAATSA by canceling purchasing Russian fighter jets and changing it by purchasing Dassault Rafale fighter jets made by France. This research aims to see what Indonesia would do to its defense development. The answer will be found through the concept of defense diplomacy and descriptive-analytical methods. This research shows that the implementation of Indonesian defense diplomacy aims to build Confidence Building Measures by increasing defense cooperation with other countries and creating independence in the arms sector by Transfer of Technology to Indonesian defense industry.*

**Keywords:** CAATSA, defense diplomacy, Indonesia, Su-35

### INTRODUCTION

The neorealism paradigm in international relations sees that the international system is anarchy. This means that no single entity can regulate the country. The absence of an entity higher than the state makes the state do anything to achieve its interests. Therefore, a country will achieve the highest possible power, even exploiting other countries. To be able to accumulate power, a country needs military strength. Their power is determined by military strength (Mearsheimer, 2001).

According to neorealists, countries with great powers or superpowers have a big impact on international politics. Thus, small countries' lives will be determined by the decisions and actions of superpowers. For example, during the cold war between the Soviet Union and the United States, the politics of countries in almost all regions of the world were determined by these two superpowers (Mearsheimer 2001).

On the other hand, the liberalism paradigm also views the international system as anarchy. Unlike neorealism, in order to achieve interests, the state emphasizes human nature which is basically good (John, 1690). Because of this good nature, countries must cooperate with each other to fulfill their interests. Cooperation is carried out in the form of diplomacy to achieve peace.

Relations between countries in international politics are currently becoming increasingly dynamic. Ways to achieve state interests by using military force or cooperation are no longer an absolute option. Many new strategies have emerged that countries can use, one of which is coercive diplomacy. According to George, coercive diplomacy is an alternative to war. Through forceful persuasion in coercive diplomacy, the state carries out its interests (George 1991). This strategy is also implemented by the United States through the Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) instrument.

In 2018, during the leadership of President Donald Trump, the United States passed the CAATSA law. This law contains prohibitions as well as sanctions against countries that

carry out military/intelligence transactions with Russia. After the enactment of CAATSA in 2018, it was recorded that the US had imposed sanctions on China, India and Turkey (Bagas, 2022). Likewise, the focus of this research discussion is Indonesia, which was under the shadow of CAATSA sanctions when it wanted to buy defense equipment from Russia.

The history of relations between the US and Indonesia has experienced ups and downs. During the cold war, the US interest was to spread and maintain its ideology in various regions of the world, including Southeast Asia. US-Indonesia relations began to improve after 1965 when Indonesia succeeded in crushing communism. The US, which at that time dominated the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), invited its allies to provide economic assistance to Indonesia. This effort resulted in the Inter Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), where US allies provided economic assistance to Indonesia. However, the relationship between the two parties experienced friction.

After the cold war in 1997, there was a monetary crisis in Southeast Asian countries, including Indonesia. The IMF, which was controlled by the US at that time, was expected to help the Indonesian economy. However, what happened was that the IMF burdened Indonesia through the decisions it issued. In fact, when the US declared global war on terror in 2001, it also had an impact on Indonesia. Even though at that time Indonesia supported the US decision to fight terrorism, Indonesia was also affected because the majority of Indonesia's population is Muslim. There are Indonesian citizens involved in the Jemaah Islamiyah organization in Southeast Asia, where the organization has ties to Al Qaeda or enemies of the US (Sayidiman, 2006). Then, relations between the two countries improved in 2015 under the administration of President Joko Widodo. Indonesia and the US formed strategic cooperation covering 6 areas of cooperation: maritime, defense, energy, increasing cooperation on regional and global issues, economic growth and development and people-to-people relations (USDept., 2022).

Relations between the two countries experienced a bit of friction when Indonesia planned to buy Russian-made Sukhoi Su-35 fighter aircraft in 2018. If seen from the US side, Indonesia's decision certainly betrayed the US and violated the CAATSA law. By purchasing Russia's defense equipment, which is an enemy of the US, Indonesia is tarnishing the strategic cooperative relations it has built with the US. However, on the other hand, Indonesia, which adheres to the principle of free and active foreign policy, cannot take sides with one party. Moreover, Indonesia as a sovereign country cannot be dictated to by any country in its efforts to secure sovereignty. Finally, because it was worried about being hit by US sanctions, Indonesia canceled buying Russia's Sukhoi Su-35 fighter aircraft (Rehia, 2020).

Indonesia, which is threatened by US coercive diplomacy strategies through CAATSA, is interesting to research. As a result of the US's coercive diplomacy strategy, Indonesia changed its decision which of course had a direct impact on its defense development strategy. Indonesia's national defense interests need to be reviewed. These efforts can be seen from the defense diplomacy implemented by Indonesia after CAATSA. According to Gregory Winger, defense diplomacy is a strategy carried out by countries using soft power with the aim of persuading other countries to build Confidence Building

Measures, defense cooperation, avoid conflict and conflict resolution (Gregory, 2014). This research will explain the steps and how to implement Indonesian defense diplomacy cooperation to build Confidence Building Measures (CBM) and form defense cooperation.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

CAATSA sanctions in the international world do not only apply in the military sector, but also apply non-military or apply to countries that violate human rights, namely North Korea (Cedric, 2019). Likewise, CAATSA sanctions also apply not only to target countries, but their effects extend to other countries and affect energy supply, supply chain networks, industries and markets (Ksenia 2022 & Sascha). In the military field, previous research generally focused on discussing the application of CAATSA sanctions to countries such as Russia, India, China and Turkey (Dian 2019, Febry 2022 & Jihan 2021). Moreover, Russia, as Southeast Asia's number one arms supplier, has had its arms sales disrupted due to CAATSA (Ian, 2021). The shadow of CAATSA sanctions also has an impact on Indonesia. The Realism Paradigm sees this event as a US strategy to weaken its opponents so that its position is not disturbed and US interests can continue as before. The enactment of CAATSA made Indonesia cancel its purchase of Russian-made Su-35 aircraft and change its strategy by purchasing French-made fighter aircraft (Bagas, 2022). In fact, purchasing Russian-made Su-35 aircraft by paying 50% using commodities and 50% in cash is in line with Indonesia's national interests (Muhammad, 2021).

Previous research also saw that CAATSA was a threat to Indonesia. Indonesia's defense equipment procurement is threatened when the strong influence of international politics or CAATSA emerges. Not only that, the threat from CAATSA is also combined with COVID-19 which is occurring and is affecting the total portion of the defense budget. Looking at the Gun vs Butter concept, considerations arise between allocation to defense programs or social programs. Because at that time the COVID-19 incident was occurring which affected international security, the Indonesian government diverted the defense budget to the National Economic Development (PEN) program (Nadia & Guntur, 2022). So, it can be concluded from previous research that even though CAATSA is only in the form of threat perceptions, these threat perceptions really influence Indonesia and have an impact on Indonesia's defense diplomacy strategy.

Based on previous research, bilateral relations between Indonesia and the US experienced a little friction. The US as a hegemonic country can influence Indonesia through coercive diplomacy, which makes Indonesia readjust its weapons purchasing policy. However, from all the research that has been carried out previously, research on the CAATSA policy by the US which influenced Indonesia by canceling the purchase of Russian-made Su-35 aircraft is still very limited. Indonesia made this decision because it was afraid of sanctions from the US. However, Indonesia's next steps to implement defense diplomacy and how to build a defense posture are not widely explained. Indonesia's future defense diplomacy strategy needs to be researched further. What kind of program is being carried out so that the influence of international politics no longer has an impact on the development of Indonesia's defense posture?

According to Gregory Winger, defense diplomacy is the use of soft power by a country to persuade other countries through defense power with the aim of establishing Confidence Building Measures, cooperation in the defense sector, establishing conflict resolution and avoiding conflict. There are 5 variables from the concept of defense diplomacy, namely officer exchanges, joint exercises, training missions, military diplomats and ship visits (Gregory, 2014).

The first variable, Officer Exchanges, is an exchange program and placement of personnel in the field of defense between countries such as inter-country military experts, defense management experts, armed forces advisors and military forces. This program aims to improve and simplify defense relations between countries.

The second variable, Joint Exercises, are military exercises between the countries involved. Military exercises can be bilateral or multilateral and can involve all land, sea and air dimensions. This exercise aims to prepare for war, humanitarian assistance when natural disasters occur, fighting terrorism and so on.

The third variable, Training Missions, are bilateral or multilateral military exercises held based on previous mission planning and agreed upon between the countries involved. This exercise aims to increase the capacity of military forces when carrying out missions.

The fourth variable, Military Diplomats, includes all activities and relationships involving high-ranking military officers, defense attachés and diplomats. These activities can take the form of visits between countries, defense cooperation plans and defense policies.

The fifth variable, Ship Visits, is the program for sending warships from one country to another. Or this delivery could take the form of sending military defense equipment, military personnel and military infrastructure.

By explaining the definition and concept of defense diplomacy by Gregory Winger, this concept is a defense strategy to achieve national defense interests. Based on the research case described previously, this research will combine five variables from the concept of defense diplomacy which aims to see the impact and influence of CAATSA policy on the development of Indonesia's defense posture. In this case, Indonesia applies defense diplomacy to various countries to achieve national defense interests and create Indonesian independence in the field of defense equipment development.

## **METHOD**

This research uses a qualitative approach method. Qualitative research is research that uses techniques to collect and analyze data in the form of non-numbers or data that uses words (Lamont, 2015). The data in this research uses primary data and secondary data. Primary data was obtained from official government documents and narratives conveyed by the government through the government's official website. Secondary data was obtained from online mass media, research that had been previously carried out in the form of journals and so on. Next, the author will explain the operationalization of the concept which will show how CAATSA influences the development of Indonesia's defense posture which is carried out in defense diplomacy instruments.

	<b>Variable</b>	<b>Indicator</b>
<b>Defense Diplomacy Concept</b>	<i>Officer Exchanges</i>	Indonesia-Australia exchange cadets at the military academy
	<i>Joint Exercises</i>	Indonesia held Joint Exercises with the United States in the 2021 Garuda Shield program
	<i>Training Missions</i>	Indonesia formed the 2022 Super Garuda Shield with the US. Both countries held Training Missions with a total of 14 countries participating
	<i>Military Diplomats</i>	The Indonesian defense minister visited various superpower countries  Cooperation between the Indonesian defense industry and the defense industries of other countries
	<i>Ship Visits</i>	Indonesia sent the warship KRI for joint training

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### *Direction of Indonesian Defense Diplomacy After the Implementation of CAATSA*

Since 2015, the British-made F-5 Tiger aircraft has been unfit for use. The Indonesian National Army (TNI) is still waiting for a replacement for the fighter aircraft. Then, plans emerged to buy Russian-made Sukhoi Su-35 aircraft. Indonesia agreed to buy the aircraft with payment of 50% in commodity form and 50% in cash. However, in reality this plan never came to light. The Minister of Defense for the 2014-2019 period, Ryamizard Ryacudu, is confident that he can bring in the Russian-made fighter aircraft. However, until the end of his term of office, he had not been able to realize the plan to purchase Russian fighter aircraft to strengthen the Indonesian Air Force's defense equipment.

The progress and retreat of plans to purchase the Sukhoi Su-35 is due to the emergence of the CAATSA policy by the US. This policy is a form of US coercive diplomacy strategy to defend its interests. Sanctions will be imposed by the US in accordance with CAATSA if Indonesia continues to force itself to buy Russian Sukhoi Su-35s. The impact is very bad because the F-16s that are owned and strengthen the Indonesian Air Force's defense equipment will be embargoed by the US. Based on CAATSA sanctions, spare parts and maintenance processes will be stopped.

Seeing that there are no bright spots, Minister of Defense Prabowo, who took office in 2019, continues to actively carry out defense diplomacy strategies. Prabowo built relationships with various visits to superpower countries to strengthen Indonesia's defense posture after the enactment of CAATSA. One of the results of Prabowo's defense diplomacy

strategy efforts was that Indonesia decided to buy French-made Dassault Rafale aircraft (Erik, 2022).

### ***Implementation of Indonesian Defense Diplomacy Post-CAATSA***

It can be seen that Indonesia, through the minister of defense, is trying to remap Indonesia's national defense interests in the future. The defense diplomacy strategy adopted by Indonesia is to increase the capabilities and capabilities of the TNI as a means of national defense. Furthermore, to analyze the implementation of Indonesian defense diplomacy, it can be seen in the variables previously explained.

First, Officer Exchanges are efforts to place or exchange military personnel from one country to another country in the form of defense cooperation. The purpose of this activity is so that both parties can easily interact and identify each other. Under the leadership of defense minister Prabowo, Indonesia is implementing a defense diplomacy strategy with Australia. This strategy is to carry out student exchanges at military academies (Akml). This program will send Indonesian akml students to study at the Australian akml.

According to Ian Montratama, an international relations observer at Pertamina University, Indonesia's move to exchange military students with Australia has many advantages. Previously, Indonesia already had a military student exchange program with the UK, US and Japan (Khoirul, 2021). With the increase in Australia carrying out military student exchanges with Indonesia, this will strengthen the TNI's posture.

Meanwhile, Major Michael Kiting, Australian military instructor for Indonesian students, stated that this exchange activity gave the students the opportunity to see the qualities of the neighboring country's military. The joint training proved that the two countries had similar war tactics, this was shown by Indonesian military students who were able to integrate effectively with Australian military students. Furthermore, Australian military personnel, Alexander Adams, saw that the Indonesian students were very easy to adapt to the Australian military's way of training and fighting, even with the language barrier being a barrier. The program also aims to build relationships between militaries who may work together again in future programs (Defence Gov AU, 2022).

The program carried out between Indonesia and Australia is in line with Officer Exchanges activities in defense diplomacy. The efforts made between the two parties have proven to be one of the activities in defense diplomacy. In other words, the defense diplomacy carried out by Indonesia through the exchange of military students is one of Indonesia's defense diplomacy activities after the implementation of CAATSA.

Second, Joint Exercises are military exercises between countries aimed at preparing for war, preparations other than war, humanitarian assistance, fighting terrorism and so on. Indonesia is holding a program to strengthen military cooperation with the United States. The program called Garuda Shield 2021 was created by Indonesia to increase sustainable military cooperation between the TNI and the US 25th Infantry Division. In addition, this program was created to promote regional security. This goal is in line with escalation which reduces the level of security in the South China Sea.

*Joint Exercises* will be carried out at three points. First, it is focused on the Baturaja education and training command center (Kodiklatad). This activity was attended by 59 special forces soldiers, followed by 770 soldiers who were flown from Guam and dropped into the drop zone located at Puslatpur Kodiklatad Baturaja. Next, they will practice urban assault and several types of training such as air strikes, medical assistance and shooting drills. Second, training was also carried out in Amborawang-Balikpapan. The exercise was preceded by Beach Landing using the US Army's Landing Craft and the Indonesian Army's ADRI XLV on Amborawang beach. Furthermore, close-range combat shooting exercises in several military operations areas. Third, Makalisung-Manado as a combat training ground for the two state armies. They practice shooting at several targets with a combination of competency, skill and combat range.

*Joint Exercises* between Indonesia and the US called the Garuda Shield is one of the activities in defense diplomacy. This is directly connected to strategy and role in protecting national interests. Indonesia-US sees defense diplomacy as the realization of national interests and foreign policy orientation in the field of defense and security. This activity is very strategic in dealing with regional security issues in the South China Sea (Hendra, 2021). For Indonesia itself, this activity certainly increases CBM with the US, increases security and achieves regional security. In accordance with efforts to develop Indonesia's defense posture after the enactment of CAATSA. Indonesia seeks to strengthen all aspects of its defense diplomacy strategy (Achmad, 2021).

Third, training missions are bilateral or multilateral military exercises. Training Missions aim to increase the capacity of military forces when previously agreed missions are carried out. This means that this exercise is held so that military capabilities reach expected expectations. Training missions can be seen in the standardization applied in military training. Indonesia is holding a joint military exercise known as Super Garuda Shield in 2022.

*Super Garuda Shield* is an expansion of bilateral exercises between Indonesia and the US. Now, this bilateral military exercise has developed into the largest multinational exercise in the Indo-Pacific area. This training was held in Indonesia, to be precise, in 3 different regions, namely Baturaja, South Sumatra, Dabo Singkep, Riau Islands and Amborawang, East Kalimantan. It was recorded that 14 countries participated in this exercise, including Indonesia, US, Canada, France, India, Malaysia, New Zealand, South Korea, Papua New Guinea, Timor Leste, England, Australia, Singapore and Japan. Then a total of 4,337 troops participated from these countries. Because this exercise is an expansion of previous bilateral exercises between Indonesia and the US, both countries certainly hope to increase their military capabilities. Capacity building is carried out in training in the form of field training, amphibious training, maritime security, airfield seizure, air operations, air defense and military operations in urban areas.

If viewed from a defense diplomacy perspective, the 2022 Super Garuda Shield is an effort to strengthen the previously existing Indonesia-US strategic partnership. In addition, the participation of 14 countries with major powers such as Australia, England, France and Japan has contributed greatly to Indonesia's strategic engagement with powerful countries.

Furthermore, this program also aims to build CBM, interaction between military personnel, build togetherness, understanding, trust and get to know each other better. This is beneficial for future interests in creating stronger defense cooperative relations. Then, this program certainly increases defense capabilities. Knowledge and skills exchange activities contribute to increasing military capabilities. Lastly, this exercise provides opportunities for the country's defense industry. Because, in training various defense equipment from various countries are used. This means that this exercise is a moment when countries show off the defense equipment they have. Of course, personnel can practice using more sophisticated defense equipment so that their abilities and capabilities increase (Marina, 2022).

Fourth, Military diplomats are all activities that involve state officials in representative visits between countries, defense cooperation and supporting policies that maintain the continuity of cooperation. State officials can include the President, Ministers, diplomats, military officials and defense attachés. Implementation of Indonesian defense diplomacy in Military Diplomats takes the form of diplomatic visits and defense industry cooperation. Diplomatic visits are a strategy or implementation of soft-diplomacy and defense cooperation is the result of previous diplomatic strategies or diplomatic visits.

From a state perspective, a diplomatic visit is a negotiation process to find a middle point in achieving interests between the countries involved. Countries can build good relations and create defense cooperation. Meanwhile, defense cooperation aims to improve cooperation performance in previously established defense cooperation. This can happen because both parties have commitments and references that must be implemented (Fajar, 2022).

So far the defense equipment owned by the TNI is still very dependent on purchasing foreign equipment. The high dependence on defense equipment produced from outside will reduce the freedom to use weapons because of the many prohibitions on the purchase and use of defense equipment issued by powerful countries. An example of this prohibition is CAATSA. CAATSA has an impact on Indonesia's freedom to procure weapons based on its needs. Indonesia's experience when it was under an arms embargo previously has encouraged Indonesia to diversify its purchases of foreign defense equipment. Due to the many problems when purchasing and procuring weapons, Indonesia is motivated to build and develop its own defense industry.

In fact, the development of the national defense industry cannot be separated from the support and assistance of other countries, where other countries provide technological assistance and advanced weapons production assistance. Here, fulfilling national defense interests will require diplomacy between government and government to build defense diplomacy (Nurrohman, 2019). As time goes by, defense diplomacy is no longer purely pursuing national defense and security policy, but is supplemented by the interest of seeking friends or alliances. Therefore, current defense diplomacy is driven by national interests (Hartono, 2011).

In developing its defense posture, Indonesia experienced obstacles when the US issued the CAATSA policy. The way out is for Indonesia to implement weapons diversification without relying on traditional partners such as the US and European countries. Indonesia



uses methods to avoid the risk of an arms embargo. First, Indonesia has increased the number of countries from which to buy weapons. Second, Indonesia requires Transfer of Technology (ToT) and Offset when importing weapons and encourages foreign contractors to build cooperative industries with the national defense industry (Gindarsah, 2016).

The implementation of this type of defense diplomacy can be seen from the role of the Minister of Defense Prabowo Subianto who prioritizes purchasing weapons with ToT, Offset conditions and cooperation with the domestic defense industry. The steps taken by Prabowo can strengthen Indonesia's non-alliance position with many defense partners, so that Indonesia is no longer trapped in one group of countries providing weapons. This effort can be seen in Prabowo's state activities by holding meetings with defense representatives from other countries.

After the ADMM plus meeting in November 2022 in Cambodia, Prabowo met South Korean defense minister Lee Jong-Sup to discuss defense cooperation between the two countries. Prabowo wants the existing defense industry cooperation to provide more benefits and contributions to the two countries. Cooperation that has been established, such as cooperation in developing fighter aircraft and submarines, is expected to be a great opportunity for cooperation in the future of the Indonesian defense industry (Caroline, 2022).

In February 2022, Prabowo signed the purchase of French-made Dassault Rafale fighter aircraft. Followed by the signing of an MoU on Offset and ToT program cooperation between Dassault and PTDI, cooperation on making caliber bullets between PT Pindad and Nexter Munition and the signing of a telecommunications MoU between PT LEN and Thales Groups (Syaiful, 2022). Then, Prabowo also bought two French-made Scorpene submarines. This plan is strengthened by the collaboration between PT PAL Indonesia and the French NAVAL Group (Achmad, 2022).

In December 2022, Prabowo went to France to meet the French minister of the armed forces, Sébastien Lecornu. Prabowo wants the Indonesian military to also receive training to operate the French-made fighter aircraft. Apart from that, the two countries are also committed to increasing cooperation in the fields of training and education (Kompas, 2022).

In July 2021, Prabowo signed a cooperation contract to purchase Fregat submarines from Italy. Following up on this, the company that produces Italian frigates, Fincantieri, is bringing a delegation to PT PAL in 2022. The visit is to see the potential for collaboration with PT PAL because Indonesia has plans to buy Italian-made frigates.

The efforts made by the defense ministry and the defense industry demonstrate the implementation of defense diplomacy strategies. Implementation is carried out with bilateral cooperation between countries involved in purchasing weapons or ToT and Offset with the Indonesian defense industry. Bilateral defense diplomacy relations carried out by the government and the domestic defense industry have become an effective instrument for encouraging the development of the national defense industry.

Fifth, Ship visits are the activity of sending warships from one country to another or vice versa which is carried out within the framework of defense cooperation of the countries involved. The delivery of warships is also accompanied by the delivery of personnel, defense equipment and military infrastructure. The form of implementation of this variable can be

seen from the activities of sending warships and military personnel carried out by Indonesia to several activities included in defense diplomacy.

In February 2022, Indonesia sent the warship KRI RE Martadinata-331 to India. The sending of this ship as an Indonesian delegation coincided with hundreds of Navy personnel who will take part in multilateral training called Multilateral Naval Exercise Milan 2022 in India. According to the Commander of the Indonesian Fleet Command Escorta Ship Unit, Marine Colonel Wawan Trisatya, this exercise is the largest maritime exercise involving 15 countries. Powerful countries such as the US, UK, France and Japan took part in the exercise. According to the Chief of Naval Staff, Admiral TNI Yudo Margono, this exercise is an effort to strengthen military diplomacy or defense diplomacy and also increase the contribution to achieving national interests (Rifki, 2022).

Apart from that, Indonesia also sent the warship KRI Sultan Iskandar Muda-367 (SIM-367) for training with the Italian warship ITS VIRGINIO FASAN-591. The exercise, called Sea Joint Activity, was carried out by KRI SIM-367 on 14-15 August 2022 after carrying out world peace duties in Lebanon. Several training activities were carried out such as Air Defense Exercises, Cross Deck Exercise, Fly Exercise, Flash Exercise, Flaghoist Exercise, Replenishment At Sea Approach, Boardex/Visit Board Search and Seizure, Screen Exercise and Simple Maneuvering Exercise. The training carried out in the Gulf of Aden (The Most Dangerous Area In The World For Piracy Activity) is a form of Indonesia's efforts to maintain maritime security and world peace. Not only that, according to Dansatgas, Abdul Haris, this exercise is a form of Indonesian defense diplomacy towards major powers, where Italy is a country that is a member of the EU-Naval Force (EUNAVFOR) (TNI, 2022).

## **CLOSING**

### **Conclusion**

In 2018, Indonesia is close to making a transaction to purchase Russian-made Su-35 fighter aircraft. However, because of the CAATSA issued by the US, Indonesia canceled this decision. This cancellation was based on the possibility that Indonesia could be subject to CAATSA sanctions by the US. Indonesia prefers to comply with CAATSA and look for other alternatives to buy fighter aircraft. Instead, Indonesia bought a French-made fighter aircraft called the Dassault Rafale. The attitude shown by Indonesia is the result of coercive diplomacy carried out by the US. As a result of this coercive diplomacy, Indonesia is trying to map out and rethink how defense diplomacy will be carried out.

The implementation of defense diplomacy carried out by Indonesia after the CAATSA policy has shown that Indonesia is trying to increase CBM by carrying out Officer Exchanges, Joint Exercises, Training Missions, Military Diplomats and Ship Visits activities to powerful countries such as the United States, Australia, France and Italy. Not only that, Indonesia is also trying to create independence in the defense industry by implementing ToT and Offset when purchasing defense equipment from other countries. So, it can be concluded that the defense diplomacy strategy implemented by Indonesia after CAATSA is a form of anticipation and preparation so that incidents of weapons dependence that are detrimental to

Indonesia do not happen again. Re-mapping the development of post-CAATSA defense posture has become an important lesson for Indonesia.

### **Suggestion**

This research looks at Indonesia's defense diplomacy changing as a result of the United States' shadow of CAATSA sanctions. Even though quite a lot of funds have been spent to support all preparations for the arrival of the Russian Su-35 aircraft. This research does not explain what losses Indonesia suffered after canceling the purchase of Su-35 aircraft. The author hopes that further research can discuss this.

### **REFERENCES**

- Anam, Khoirul. 2021. Program Kirim Kadet Belajar ke Australia Menhan Prabowo Dipuji. Detik News. Diakses pada 5 Januari 2023. Dapat diakses di <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5720461/program-kirim-kadet-belajar-ke-australia-menhan-prabowo-dipuji>
- Annisa, Jihan F, Mala Mardialina & Khairur Rizki. 2021. Analisis keputusan Amerika Serikat dalam Mengeluarkan Kebijakan Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) terhadap Rusia. IJGD: Indonesian Journal of Global Discourse. Universitas Mataram
- Arbar, Thea Fathanah. 2021. Akhirnya Deal Juga, Prabowo Borong Kapal Perang Italia ke RI. CNBC Indonesia. Diakses pada 5 Januari 2023. Dapat diakses di <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20210612082457-4-252568/akhirnya-deal-juga-prabowo-borong-kapal-perang-italia-ke-ri>
- Arsilan, Rifki. 2022. TNI AL Kirim Kapal Perang Latihan Bareng Inggris dan Amerika di India. Viva. Diakses pada 5 Januari 2023. Dapat diakses di <https://www.viva.co.id/militer/militer-indonesia/1452191-tni-al-kirim-kapal-perang-latihan-bareng-inggris-dan-amerika-di-india>
- Australian Government Defence. 2022. Australian and Indonesian Army Cadets Build Links for The Future. Diakses pada 5 Januari 2023. Dapat diakses di <https://www.defence.gov.au/news-events/news/2022-12-23/australian-and-indonesian-army-cadets-build-links-future>
- George A. 1991. Forceful Persuasion: Coercive Diplomacy as an Alternative to War. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace.
- Gindarsah, Iis. 2016. Strategic Hedging in Indonesia's Defense Diplomacy.
- Hakim, Syaiful. 2022. Prabowo berikan pistol buatan Pindad kepada Florence Parly. Antaranews. Diakses pada 5 Januari 2023. Dapat diakses di <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/2698725/prabowo-berikan-pistol-buatan-pindad-kepada-florence-parly>
- Hartono, Budi. 2011. Telaah Mengenai Diplomasi Pertahanan: Perkembangan Dan Varian.
- Hidayat, Muhammad Reyhan. 2021. KEPENTINGAN INDONESIA DALAM PEMBELIAN PESAWAT TEMPUR SUKHOI SU-35 DARI RUSIA PERIODE 2017-2019. Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.

- Kirkham, Ksenia dan Alen Toplisek. 2022. The Impact of sanctions on globally supply chains and climate change: the cases of EV batteries segment in electric car manufacturing in the EU and South Korean. 28th Annual Conference on Alternative Economic Policy in Europe.
- Kompas. Sederet Alutsista yang Dibeli Prabowo Selama Menjabat Sebagai Menhan. Diakses pada 5 Januari 2023. Dapat diakses di <https://www.kompas.id/baca/video/2022/12/20/sederet-alutista-yang-dibeli-prabowo-selama-menjabat-sebagai-menhan>
- Lamont C. 2015. Research Methods in Politics and International Relations. New York: Sage Publications.
- Locke, John. 1690. Two Treatises Of Government. London: Awnsham Churchill.
- Lohmann, Sascha dan Kirsten Westphal. 2019. US-Rusia Policy Hits European Energy Supply. SWP Comment.
- Manurung, Hendra. 2021. THE GARUDA SHIELD 15/2021. Universitas Padjajaran.
- Mearsheimer JJ. 2001. The Tragedy of Great Power Politics. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Nurrohman, Indra, Dadang Gunawan dan Sutrimo Sumarlan. PERAN DIPLOMASI PERTAHANAN DALAM IMPLEMENTASI KEBIJAKAN KERJA SAMA PROGRAM KFX/IFX INDONESIA-KOREA SELATAN. Universitas Pertahanan.
- Pattisina, Edna Caroline. 2022. Prabowo dan Menhan Korea Selatan Bahas Pesawat Tempur KFX. Kompas. Diakses pada 5 Januari 2023. Dapat diakses di <https://www.kompas.id/baca/polhuk/2022/11/24/prabowo-dan-menhan-korea-selatan-bahas-kfx>
- Prasiti, Dian Naren B. 2019. Inkonsistensi Kebijakan Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions ACT (CAATSA): Studi Kasus Pembelian Senjata S-400 India. Universitas Indonesia.
- Putra, Erik Purnama. 2022. PEMBELIAN RAFALE DAN F-15 SERTA KONFLIK DI LAUT CHINA SELATAN. Media Informasi Kementerian Pertahanan.
- Riyadi, Agus Fajar dan Istin Marlina Dewi. 2022. THE ROLE OF DEFENSE DIPLOMACY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDONESIAN DEFENSE INDUSTRY. Sekolah Staff dan Komando TNI Angkatan Laut. Jakarta.
- Rosalina, Nadia Indah dan Guntur Eko Saputro. 2022. READINESS OF THE INDONESIAN NATIONAL ARMY IN SUPPORTING THE DEFENSE ECONOMY. Defense Economic Study Program Of Defense University Of The Republic Of Indonesia.
- Ryngaert, Cedric. 2019. Addressing North Korean Forced Labour by Means of International Economic Sanctions. Chapter book: PART II Chapter 8.
- Saputra, Bagas. 2022. Analisis Kebijakan CAATSA di Beberapa Negara dalam Perspektif Realisme. Ilmu Hubungan Internasional, Universitas Airlangga.
- Sari, Ika Marina. 2022. Nilai Strategis Latihan Militer Gabungan Super Garuda Shiled.
- Sebayang, Rehia. 2020. Apa sih Ancaman AS Kalau Prabowo Beli Sukhoi Su-35 Rusia?. CNBC Indonesia. Diakses pada 5 Januari 2023. Dapat diakses di

<https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20200727114751-4-175599/apa-sih-ancaman-as-kalau-prabowo-beli-sukhoi-su-35-rusia>

- Storey, Ian. 2021. Russia's Defence Diplomacy in Southeast Asia: A Tenuous Lead in Arms Sales but Lagging in Other Areas.
- Suryohadiprojo, Sayidiman. 2006. Hubungan Indonesia-Amerika yang Tidak Mudah. *Jurnal Hukum Internasional* Vol. 3.
- TNI. 2022. KRI SIM-367 Tunjukkan Pentingnya Indonesia Dalam Menjaga Keamanan Maritim Melalui Kegiatan Sea Joint Activity di Perairan Paling Berbahaya Dunia, Teluk Aden. Diakses pada 5 Januari 2023. Dapat diakses di <https://tni.mil.id/view-217822-kri-sim-367-tunjukkan-pentingnya-indonesia-dalam-menjaga-keamanan-maritim-melalui-kegiatan-sea-joint-activity-di-perairan-paling-berbahaya-dunia-teluk-aden.html>
- Triantama, Febry, Cancera Triane B dan Muhammad Yusril I. 2022. The Failure of the United States coercive diplomacy in the era of President Donald Trump : Turkey's persistence in buying S-400. Department of International Relations, Faculty of Philosophy and Civilization, Paramadina University.
- US Department Of State. 2022. U.S. Relations With Indonesia Bilateral Relations Fact Sheet. Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs.
- Winger, Gregory. 2014. *The Velvet Gauntlet : A Theory of Defense Diplomacy*. Vienna: IWM Junior Visiting Fellows' Conferences, Vol, 33.
- Yahya, Achmad Nasrudin. 2021. TNI AD-US Army Gelar Latihan Gabungan Garuda Shield di 3 Titik. *Kompas*. Diakses pada 5 Januari 2023. Dapat diakses di <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2021/07/26/15382171/tni-ad-us-army-gelar-latihan-gabungan-garuda-shield-di-3-titik>
- Yahya, Achmad Nasrudin. 2022. Prabowo Bakal Beli 2 Kapal Selam Scorpene, KSAL: Kita Sudah Cek, Kita Setuju. *Kompas*. Diakses pada 5 Januari 2023. Dapat diakses di <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2022/03/02/15351471/prabowo-bakal-beli-2-kapal-selam-scorpene-ksal-kita-sudah-cek-kita-setuju>

**THE INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED STATES CAATSA POLICY ON  
INDONESIAN DEFENSE DIPLOMACY**

Usman Jayadi<sup>1</sup>, M. Reynaldo Hersa Putra Pratama<sup>2</sup>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.54443/sibatik.v2i11.1502>

---

