



Counter Adversaries America Through Sanction Act as Indonesia's Barriers in Purchasing Sukhoi Su-35

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Abstract

Penyelenggaraan upaya pembangunan pertahanan negara merupakan kewajiban setiap negara, dalam hal ini Indonesia berupaya untuk memperkuat kekuatan pertahanan negaranya dengan meningkatkan kemampuan alutsista. Untuk mencapai hal tersebut, Indonesia berupaya menjalin kerja sama pembelian pesawat tempur Sukhoi Su-35 dengan Rusia. Namun pada kenyataannya, hubungan kerjasama tersebut menemui kendala sebagai akibat dari kebijakan sanksi Amerika Serikat Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA). Kebijakan sanksi yang diterapkan Amerika Serikat merupakan bentuk penggunaan kekuasaan melalui kebijakan diplomasi koersif untuk mempengaruhi kebijakan negara lain. Melalui kebijakan ini, Amerika Serikat siap menjatuhkan sanksi kepada negara-negara yang memiliki hubungan kerja sama pertahanan dengan Rusia. Dalam penelitian, sumber data penelitian untuk artikel yang ditulis diperoleh melalui berbagai sumber, antara lain buku, jurnal, dan berita di internet. Hasil dari artikel ini menunjukkan bahwa kebijakan sanksi Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) sebagai penggunaan kekuasaan melalui diplomasi koersif Amerika Serikat telah berhasil mempengaruhi kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia, terutama untuk tidak melanjutkan hubungan kerjasama pertahanan untuk pembelian Sukhoi-35 dengan Rusia.

Keywords: CAATSA; Coercive Diplomacy; Defense Cooperation; Sukhoi Su-35

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Introduction

The implementation of national defense is one of the functions carried out by the government as the competent authority. National defense efforts are carried out through the implementation of a universal defense system that involves all elements of national resources based on an awareness of the rights and obligations of every citizen.

The dynamics of the strategic environment that continues to develop have resulted in changes that can pose a threat to the sustainability of the country, this is primarily targeting aspects of national defense both physically and non-physically. Threats seen from their types also vary can be military, non-military, and hybrid, but in general they are real and not real threats (Ministry of Defense, 2015). Threats need to be addressed by taking

anticipatory steps through policies that adapt to existing threats. One form of effort to anticipate threats is to strengthen national defense by developing and increasing the capabilities of the main weapons system (defense equipment).

To strengthen national defense, especially in the field of air defense, Indonesia seeks to procure fighter aircraft. This effort was realized through a cooperative relationship with Russia for the purchase of the Sukhoi Su-35 fighter aircraft defense system which was agreed upon on August 10, 2017, through a memorandum of understanding between the two countries on the occasion of a trade mission visit by the Indonesian delegation led by Enggartiasto Lukita as the Indonesian Minister of Trade. Meanwhile, the cooperation contract for the procurement of Sukhoi Su-35 fighter aircraft was only carried out on February 14, 2018, by TNI Rear Admiral Agus Setiadji who served as Head of the Defense Facilities Agency of the Ministry of Defense together with representatives from Russia, Yuri in Jakarta. The cooperation agreement for the procurement of Russian-owned fighter aircraft will cost \$1.14 billion or equivalent to Rp. 15 trillion (Amalia, 2018).

When he officially served as President of the United States in 2017, Donald Trump formulated several foreign policies that prioritized his country's national interests. One of these policies is the implementation of the Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) policy which was officially enacted by the 115th Congress on July 25, 2017. The sanctions were enacted as law by the United States as a basis for imposing sanctions on countries that have a relationship, cooperation or involvement with defense equipment procurement activities with Russia (Peter Jeydel, 2017). The sanctions were imposed by the United States based on Russia's behavior which is considered aggressive with the attacks that have been carried out on Ukraine both by infiltration and cyber, annexing Crimea, and for alleged involvement in intervening in the US election process in 2016. CAATSA sanctions itself has the aim of providing a negative effect on the resilience of the Russian economy as well as limiting influence from the international community. Thus, in the context of cooperation between Indonesia and Russia in the purchase of Su-35 fighter aircraft for Indonesian air defense forces, it is a very risky thing to get sanctions. This needs to be addressed carefully by Indonesia by considering the national interests that need to be achieved. This article will discuss the existence of the CAATSA policy as a sanctions approach taken by the United States towards defense cooperation related to Russia, which poses an obstacle to the realization of defense cooperation between Indonesia and Russia in the procurement of Sukhoi Su-35 fighter aircraft and how the Indonesian government's strategy in the face the existence of the sanctions policy framework. The results of this study will benefit the Indonesian government by providing an overview and reference in policy formulation.

Literature Review and Research Focus

Through a review of several studies that have previously been carried out by several researchers, several articles are related to the study to be written. The birth of the Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) policy initiated by the United States seeks to discredit Russia's influence in the international world. the sanctions policy through sanctions imposed on the oligarchs - the closest oligarchs of the Russian leader, both personally and corporately, made the Russian government take defensive steps (Zolotukhina, 2018).

Indonesia's decision to choose Russia as a partner in this cooperation was based on deep consideration. Russia is a partner who is seen as a strategic partner for Indonesia in cooperation with the purchase of fighter aircraft, as a fulfillment of Indonesia's air defense equipment needs as well as to achieve MEF for the military and modernization of state defense forces, especially air defense forces. Indonesia's decision to choose Russia as a partner in cooperation in the procurement of fighter aircraft in 2015, was motivated by several reasons, such as the existence of the Russian defense industry which is ranked second in the world, a sophisticated defense technology system, not imposing political conditions on the sale of defense equipment, and also with the existence of bilateral relations that have existed for a long time between Indonesia and Russia in the field of defense such as the purchase of defense equipment that has been done before. This makes Indonesia confident that Russia will be able to meet the needs of Indonesia's air defense equipment to modernize and achieve the MEF program (Amalia, 2018; Novria, 2020).

Regarding the threat of CAATSA sanctions by the United States, at that time Indonesia, which was still in the negotiation process for the procurement of the Su-35, received relief in the form of exemption from CAATSA sanctions because it was considered a strategic ally of the United States in maintaining its position in the international political system (Erdysta, 2020). This can be understood through Indonesia's position as one of the countries that have an important role in Southeast Asia so America needs Indonesia's support to defend its national interests in Southeast Asia.

The imposition of the CAATSA sanctions policy can be seen in the policies carried out by the United States against Turkiye. The effort to purchase the S-400 air defense system by Turkiye had previously received warnings from the United States, but Recep Tayyip Erdogan as Turkiye's leader insisted that he still want to establish a cooperative relationship to purchase the Russian S-400 air defense system. As a result, Turkiye was punished by the United States CAATSA sanctions policy in the form of sanctions targeting the SSB defense industry agency under President Turkiye's control by prohibiting the granting of special US export licenses and technology transfers, loans of more than \$10 million for one year by US financial institutions, bank assistance import-export, ban on international lending to Turkish entities. In addition, Turkiye was also excluded from the F-35 fifth-generation fighter development program made by Lockheed Martin in the United States (Bakir, 2021).

The threat of the CAATSA sanctions policy carried out by the United States against countries that have cooperative relations with Russia has not always been successful. Not this success can be seen through the defense cooperation relationship carried out by India with Russia in the purchase of the S-400 air defense system. India did not budge despite the shadow of the threat of sanctions imposed on them (Prastiti, 2022). This has implications for the granting of an exception policy by the United States to India to continue its cooperation with Russia on the terms and conditions set.

Looking at the progress of the Su-35 purchase cooperation which has not been realized so far and supported by several statements by Indonesian officials, one of which is the Air Force Chief of Staff Marshal Fadjat Prasetyo that the Su-35 procurement cooperation program between Indonesia and Russia will not continue shows that there are obstacles. faced by the government. By paying attention to this phenomenon, this paper will highlight the CAATSA policy implemented by the United States as an obstacle for Indonesia in realizing the purchase of the Su-35. In this study, researchers will look at the CAATSA policy framework as a form of effort to influence other countries to determine their national

interests or can also be referred to as an effort to use power instruments and coercive diplomacy carried out by the United States to the United States.

Power

Power is a power that can be possessed by certain parties, in the context of international relations, state actors can fulfill their national interests through the ownership of these powerful instruments. In realizing the ownership of power by a certain party, it can be done in several ways, which include the use of threats (coercive actions), inducement efforts, or through payments and efforts to create an attraction to influence other parties to carry out the interests of a party.

Power (strength) to understand can be divided into several forms, first is hard power which is a form of effort made by utilizing power through a coercive and rewarding approach (Joseph S. Nye, Jr., 2004). Characteristic hard power instruments that involve transactional processes and a combination of organizational and Machiavelic abilities (the ability to threaten and build winning coalitions). The second power instrument is soft power, this approach is more inspirational in nature and can be interpreted as an effort to create power to attract others through emotional intelligence abilities, for example establishing close relationships through the presence of charisma, persuasive communication, attraction, and ideological ownership. visionary, as well as cultural influences, thus making the opposing party to be affected (Joseph S. Nye, Jr., 2008). To be able to distinguish with certainty can be seen through the efforts to set the agenda. If the perpetrator deceives the target and eliminates their choice, structural manipulation fits into the category of hard power; if the target considers the agenda setting of the perpetrator to be accepted and legitimate, the behavior is more suitable to be included in the soft power category (Joseph S. Nye, Jr., 2021). Another power instrument is the smart power concept proposed by Joseph S. Nye Jr. Through his book entitled *The Powers to Lead*, in the book the concept of smart power is described as an embryo of cohesiveness between hard power and soft power instruments, this concept then becomes an instrument that becomes a trend of state policy in international relations activities today.

Coercive Diplomacy

Diplomacy is a way that is considered more effective to be used to achieve national interests in terms of resolving problems or conflicts that occur compared to the use of war which can hurt world stability. The way diplomacy is used in solving problems is aimed at finding a way out of problems involving two or more countries and presenting solutions that include the interests of each conflicting country. Several types of diplomacy can be used to achieve national interests in resolving conflicts, one of which is Coercive Diplomacy or coercive diplomacy. Coercive diplomacy is a way of diplomacy carried out by superpower countries by using threats to other countries to comply with requests submitted which can be in the form of delaying or canceling the actions to be taken.

Alexander L. George said that coercive diplomacy is a defensive strategy carried out as an implication of the actions of other parties that are considered disturbing and threatening interests (Erdysta, 2020). The main idea of the way of diplomacy through coercive diplomacy is to support the request made to the opposing party with the threat of punishment to consider fulfilling the request made. In its application, the form of the method used in the Coercive Diplomacy Theory is in the form of submitting requests, threats, and deadlines made by a country to influence the target country. From the influence exerted by a country on the target country, it will be considered in its domestic policy which

will be processed into foreign policy output and provide policy responses to the influence in the form of agreeing or refusing. In this way, it can be said that the output of coercive diplomacy in the form of success or failure of influence is also determined by the target country itself.

Method

In conducting an analysis related to the Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions sanctions policy into law (CAATSA Law) as an obstacle for Indonesia in purchasing the Sukhoi Su-35, the author uses a document-based qualitative approach or desk research (Travis, 2016). Desk research is another name for secondary research. The author's role as a researcher conducting desk research is to review previous research findings to gain a broad understanding of the field. According to Strauss and Corbin qualitative method is a type of research whose research results are not obtained through statistical or calculation processes. Qualitative methods provide complex details regarding the existence of phenomena that are difficult to explain by quantitative methods. The use of qualitative methods will be oriented to the search for meaning behind the empirical reality of the existing social reality. Qualitative research is also easier to understand where the form of existing data is in the form of statements and the resulting data is descriptive.

The data collection technique used is data obtained through a literature review. The data used through the literature review includes information obtained from books, journals, articles, news, and reliable reports related to the author's research case. Data collection techniques are carried out systematically by looking for as much data as possible, then the data will be selected by the author according to research needs. The method used in the literature selection is to look for books and journals that are by the research focus, especially the CAATSA policy topic so that several articles are selected. Data analysis is one of the things that must be done by a researcher in conducting research.

Results and Discussion

MCAATSA Coercive Diplomacy as a Form of United States Power

According to Joseph Nye, the existence of power as power can be understood through a spectrum of behavior patterns carried out by a party. In understanding the behavior patterns of existing actors, it can be understood through hard power which has a spectrum of behavior in the form of command power, power is the ability possessed to change what other parties will or have done. While other behavioral patterns can be understood through a soft power perspective where there is a spectrum of behavior in the form of co-optive power and attraction, the power seeks to change an effort that will be made by other parties by influencing it so that it is by the interests they have. The co-optive spectrum is carried out through efforts to establish agenda-setting or attempt to manipulate the efforts that will be made by other parties so that the opposing party's original goals are not achieved or even change according to interests, while attraction is an effort made by presenting an attraction through culture, values. -the values and policies they have. The attraction itself will generally be successful as a public diplomacy effort if the efforts made can be attractive and attract the interest of the intended opponent.

In the context of the power possessed by America, it can be seen the pattern of behavior carried out by the United States in the international world so far through a combination of

perspectives of soft power, hard power, and even smart power. The soft power possessed by America so far is in the form of its ability to influence other parties to influence the final result through attraction rather than coercion. America as a country that has a very strong bargaining position due to its large resources makes its soft power capabilities certainly cannot be underestimated by other countries. Compared to other countries, the soft power of the United States needs to be considered by other countries because the United States is a country that has bargaining power and great ability in international political activities and also to avoid conflicts that arise.

From a hard power perspective, the United States military capability, which has a strong defense capability and posture, has become one of the elements of deterrence that has been used to protect its national interests in various regions. In addition, the involvement of the United States in various armed conflicts in several regions of the world has also shown that the United States has hard power capabilities that can put pressure on the opposing party. By paying attention to the existence of power as an instrument owned by the state in carrying out its international relations activities, especially interactions between countries, the ability of the United States of course needs to be recognized as a superpower. Uncle Sam's country is a country that currently has been and still is an actor that has advantages in military, economic, political, and sophisticated technological elements, this was added after the end of World War II and the end of the Cold War, which resulted in a victory for the United States over its main political opponent. Namely, the Soviet Union increasingly made the United States more advanced as a superpower.

Seeing the constellation of geopolitical competition between the United States and the Soviet Union in the past and Russia at this time has divided the international relations environment into two power blocks, namely the western block led by the United States and the former Soviet Union and Russia currently in the eastern block. The two actors have had a long history of conflict, especially after World War II ended. Each other tries to spread the sphere of influence as much as possible to other countries so that they will then join the power bloc. The two forces are also trying to block each other from expanding their sphere of influence with policies that combine soft power and hard power or what can be said as smart power today.

In the battle for influence with Russia, the dominance that the United States has in the construction of international politics has so far tried to be maintained with efforts built through cooperative relations with countries that are considered strategic and able to stem the expansion of influence from Russia. In addition, the United States also uses a sanctions policy approach that can be understood from the perspective of smart power. This approach is carried out through a policy framework that was passed in 2017, on August 2, Donald Trump as the incumbent President of the United States signed the policy formulation Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions into law (CAATSA Law). The birth of this policy was intended to limit Russia's influence which was considered aggressive and had disrupted world stability with hybrid war efforts launched through military operations by clandestine means as a mode of invasion of Crimea and Ukraine (Ramelan, 2020). The sanctions policy was delegated to Rex Tillerson as Secretary of State for the United States, as an element of the United States' power for the benefit of intelligence and defense. Before the enactment of the CAATSA Act, the President of the United States, Donald Trump had given the responsibility for implementing the sanctions policy to become the domain of the United States Department of State. CAATSA's policy regulates the imposition of sanctions on any entity that intentionally engages in significant transaction processes involving the

Russian defense and intelligence sectors either on or after the date the CAATSA Law was enacted. The granting of CAATSA sanctions to entities that meet the sanction criteria has no time limit.

CAATSA is a sanctions policy that was formed over the competition for influence that has been carried out by the two countries so far and added by the alleged involvement of Russia in supporting separatist groups in Ukraine, assisting the legitimate Syrian government against the interests of the United States, and indications of intervention in the election process for the President of the United States of America. which made the election results controversial in 2016. The existence of this regulation was specifically formulated to limit influence in the form of sanctions and embargoes on each party that has a defense cooperation relationship and buys weapons from Iran and Russia, including trade relations with North Korea. The policy formulation received approval from the United States Senate, having previously successfully passed the process in the United States House of Representatives, and was subsequently ratified to become a Law on August 2, 2017, by President Donald Trump (CNN Indonesia, 2020).

The sanctions policy implemented by the United States through the Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) has a broad influence on countries that will cooperate with Russia. The existence of this sanctions policy makes countries that will establish cooperative relations in the procurement of defense equipment with Russia, North Korea, and Iran will consider whether or not to continue the cooperation that will be carried out because of negative consequences that must be accepted. Judging from the aspect that is considered by the United States of America, namely defense, it can be seen as an effort to isolate the capabilities of the defense industry owned by Russia as the main competitor and will limit the options of countries in the world to establish cooperative relations with Russia and consider the United States. Union as an option to replace cooperation partners that will not have negative consequences.

The approach taken by the United States through the CAATSA policy seeks to maintain its dominant influence in the international world by using smart power. This approach is an attempt to reduce the influence of the Russian defense sector from being unsuccessful in marketing the products of its defense industry products with an element of coercion. Although it does not use military force directly, the approach taken can also be understood as a coercive diplomatic policy effort by the United States. This policy, indirectly puts pressure on other countries that have cooperative relations, not to establish cooperative relations with Russia, Iran, and North Korea. The policy implemented by the US through CAATSA is one of the political pressure efforts carried out through a coercive diplomacy scheme. In this case, the CAATSA policy issued is a form of sanctions that will be imposed on each country that has a cooperative relationship with Russia. It can be said with the existence of this sanctions policy that countries in the world will be limited in determining the direction of political relations and foreign policy, especially in matters of defense capability.

Implications of CAATSA as Indonesia's Barriers

One of the efforts of the Indonesian government to modernize the defense equipment system is by purchasing the Russian-made Sukhoi Su-35, which is an effort to increase the country's strategic defense power. The purchase of strategic defense equipment for fighter aircraft is one of the programs planned by the Ministry of Defense through the Minimum Essential Forces (MEF) policy scheme to increase Indonesia's air defense capabilities,

especially after the TNI-AU retired the F-5 Tiger in 2016 and then there was a vacancy in air defense forces because it did not continue to work. got a replacement. Therefore, the purchase of fighter aircraft made by Indonesia in cooperation with Russia is an important thing and needs to be done.

As the coercive diplomacy carried out by the United States, on February 15 2018 through the Deputy Secretary of International Security for the Non-Proliferation of Weapons at the United States Department of State, Ms. Ann Ganzer, has notified the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, that the CAATSA policy has been passed into law – the law enacted by the United States Congress to impose sanctions on Russia and countries that cooperate in defense and intelligence (Hendrajit, 2019). Seeing this phenomenon, the joint efforts to purchase the Sukhoi Su-35 fighter defense equipment carried out by Indonesia and Russia have met the criteria to be subject to CAATSA sanctions. For the Indonesian government, the existence of the threat of imposing sanctions by the United States makes Indonesia need to make careful policies. Pressure by the United States through its sanctions policy has become a separate alarm for Indonesia to continue the process of cooperative relations with Russia. This is due to the consideration that Indonesia is still relying on defense equipment produced by the United States.

At the time after being officially sworn in as Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia replacing his fellow troops at the Military Academy Ryamizard Ryacudu on October 23, 2019, Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto said that he was still considering his decision and evaluating it regarding the continuation of the purchase of the Su-35 fighter aircraft (Fajrin, 2020). Prabowo Subianto when he was elected also immediately made a working visit to several friendly countries, one of which was Russia. The visit to Russia was carried out on January 28, 2020, where he met directly with the Russian Minister of Defense Sergey Shoygu at the Russian Ministry of Defense office, in Moscow. The meeting between the two defense ministers covered several things that cooperated between the two countries. One of the issues of discussion is the continuation of cooperation in the purchase of the Sukhoi Su-35 fighter aircraft. In his meeting with Sergei Shoygu at that time, Prabowo Subianto indicated that Indonesia would continue its plan to purchase defense equipment from Russia. The indication to continue the cooperation is supported by the statement of Deputy Minister of Defense, Sakti Wahyu Trenggono who said that Indonesia did not cancel the contract to purchase the Sukhoi Su-35, and did not feel pressured by the sanctions policy from the United States. The cooperation plan for the procurement of the strategic defense equipment program has been going on for several years but has encountered several obstacles to realizing it. Russia admits that one of the obstacles is the potential sanctions imposed by the United States on Indonesia if the cooperation agreement continues.

In the ongoing process, the United States threatened to impose sanctions on the two countries, if they continued the negotiation process for a cooperative relationship to purchase fighter aircraft produced by Russia. V Kopylov, who served as Deputy Ambassador of Russia to Indonesia at the time, said that the threat of imposing sanctions by the United States would not only hurt Indonesia but also countries that wish to establish cooperation in the defense sector with Russia. (CNN Indonesia, 2019). The statement made by V Kopylov can certainly be understood by looking at the capabilities of the Russian defense industry, which is quite independent and strong and capable of becoming the main competitor of the United States, which has been dominating and threatening the existence of their defense industry. Kopylov again added that the United States also applies the

principle of unfair competition by trying to exert influence by breaking defense cooperation relations that have existed with several friendly countries of Russia, namely China, India, and Turkey through the sanctions policy that is applied.

Other negative impacts that may arise as a result of the United States sanctions policy will also hurt the Russian economic sector that is involved in defense cooperation relations with other countries. In the cooperation relationship, the purchase of Russian defense equipment involves elements of Russian banking as a medium for transactions between the two countries. In this case, the cooperation between Indonesia and Russia for the purchase of Sukhoi Su-35 fighter aircraft involves VTB Bank as the payment transaction medium. VTB Bank has a cooperative relationship with the Rosoboronexport company as a payment intermediary bank to launch the Indonesian program. VTB Bank as the transaction media of the two countries is worried that the sanctions that will be imposed will affect their banking activities, the impact of their involvement in the fighter aircraft payment transaction process is because the payment transaction scheme carried out by Indonesia will use a loan scheme provided through the Russian bank.

As part of the cooperation agreement to purchase fighter aircraft, Indonesia and Russia agreed that a total of 50% of the payment value for the procurement of Sukhoi Su-35 fighter aircraft valued at US \$ 570 million of the total agreed value of US \$ 1.14 billion will use the scheme. tradeoffs are paid using Indonesian national commodities in the form of rubber, coffee, palm oil, spices, and tea (Reuters, 2017). The agreement involving a counter-trade scheme related to the funding of the program was also negotiated by involving the Indonesian Trading Company (PT PPI) with the Russian company Rostec. In addition, the agreement reached also stated that a total of 35% of the value of the purchase of the defense equipment was carried out under an offset scheme in which the component suppliers involved in this cooperative relationship agreed to carry out joint production and a technology transfer process. This is done by referring to the rules regulated by Law no. 16 of 2012 concerning the Defense Industry Article 43 paragraph 5 (e) which states that every procurement of defense equipment originating from abroad must use a counter-trade scheme, local content, and offset of at least 85 percent, which also stipulates that the level of use of local content is lowest is 35 percent (Zainal Arifin, 2022). As an implication of the existence of the law on the defense industry, 35% of the 50% value of the payment transaction for the Sukhoi Su-35 will be in the form of using local spare parts produced by Indonesia and Russia's obligation to transfer technology from the Sukhoi Su-35 fighter. In addition, due to the existence of the sanctions policy, Russia wants to pay transactions using its national currency to avoid sanctions against its defense industry, so the two countries are also trying to negotiate the use of currency for payments to replace the United States dollar.

Indonesian Government Strategy

With a protracted process with no developments and concerns about sanctions by the United States, Indonesia is trying to find alternative policies for the initiation of cooperation in the procurement of defense equipment. The Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto is exploring cooperation with countries with the ability to produce fighter aircraft. In its later development, Indonesia received a positive response from France to establish a cooperative relationship in the procurement of defense equipment for Indonesia, one of which was fighter aircraft. With the alternative procurement of fighter aircraft to replace the Sukhoi Su-35 cooperation agreement with Russia, Indonesia has shown indications to cancel the cooperation. The indication of the

cancellation was known through a statement by the Air Force Chief of Staff (KSAU) Marshal Fadjar Prasetyo who stated with a heavy heart that he had to abandon the planned purchase of Su-35 fighter jets.

The alternative options that developed then narrowed down to the choice of Dassault Rafale and F-15 EX fighter jets where Indonesia has programmed to buy 36 Rafale jets and 8 F-15 EX units. The progress of the alternative cooperation was shown by the signing of a cooperation agreement between Indonesia and France by the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto with the French Minister of Defense Florence Parly for the acquisition of several defense equipments from the French defense industry on Thursday 10 February 2022. In addition, not long after the signing of the cooperation between Indonesia and France, Indonesia in the effort to procure fighter aircraft also received a positive response from the United States to purchase their production defense equipment in the form of the F-15 through the agreement of the United States government for the sale of 36 F-15EX fighter aircraft which will be named F-15ID for the Indonesian series.

The efforts to purchase Rafale fighter planes from France and F-15 EX from the United States carried out by Indonesia in large numbers show that Indonesia is trying to increase its defense power as a strategy to avoid the threat of CAATSA sanctions by the United States. On the other hand, this cooperation is proof that the United States has succeeded in influencing Indonesia's foreign policy, in particular not continuing the cooperative relationship to purchase Sukhoi Su-35 fighter aircraft with Russia, and is the success of the United States to expand its defense industry market using the threat of sanctions policy.

With the defense industry's capacity being still limited to meet the needs of the TNI's defense equipment, Indonesia still needs to establish cooperative relationships with other countries to support a strong national defense posture. The CAATSA sanctions policy made by the United States has succeeded in showing its power as a superpower in front of a country that has a weaker bargaining position. This is due to the many defense cooperation relations between Indonesia and the United States. Indonesia's state defense posture still relies heavily on defense equipment and technology produced by the United States, therefore the use of the coercive power of the CAATSA policy cannot be underestimated by Indonesia.

Conclusion

As a country located in a strategic area, Indonesia has high consequences for the emergence of threats to its defense and security. In the face of this threat, Indonesia seeks to make efforts to increase the capability of its defense forces through the purchase of strategic defense equipment. One of the strategic defense equipment that will be held in the Sukhoi Su-35 fighter aircraft product of the Russian defense industry. However, Indonesia's efforts in realizing the procurement of the Sukhoi Su-35 fighter aircraft encountered obstacles, namely the implementation of the Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) sanctions policy by the United States which became a threat to Indonesia and Russia.

The existence of the CAATSA sanctions policy by the United States aimed at reducing Russia's influence poses a dilemma for many countries to establish defense cooperation relations with Russia. This is proven by the process of cooperation in the purchase of

Sukhoi Su-35 fighter aircraft carried out by Indonesia and Russia which has not been realized. In this context, the sanctions policy by the United States through CAATSA has succeeded in influencing Indonesia not to continue the process of cooperation between the two countries. The sanctions policy implemented by the United States can be understood as a policy of coercive diplomacy carried out by a superpower and has succeeded in influencing Indonesia in determining its foreign policy.

With the existence of foreign policy instruments carried out by the United States using a sanctions approach, Indonesia must decide policies carefully and consider national interests. The decision to discontinue cooperation with Russia in the procurement of Sukhoi Su-35 fighter aircraft is appropriate considering the threat of sanctions imposed which can have negative implications for the country's defense posture, especially for the sustainability of Indonesian defense equipment originating from the United States or having a relationship with it. But on the other hand, if Indonesia wants to continue to work together to overcome these sanctions, Indonesia as a country that has a strategic role in the Indo-Pacific geopolitical framework can use its influence by conducting diplomacy with the United States to provide an exception policy for Indonesia to continue to be allowed to establish cooperative relations with Russia.

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