Caatsa Act and Indian Defense Sector: A Comprehensive Analysis

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Abstract

This research paper aspires to explore the possible implication of caatsa [countering American adversaries through sanction act] act. Passed by United States Congress in year 2017. The act emerged as a distinguished issue in the realm of international business. It sought to counter the threats from Russia, North Korea, Iran by means of imposing sanctions. Under the act economic sanctions are to be imposed on countries engaged in significant business with these countries. India, on one side has been a close ally of Russia historically on the other side it is also a strategic partner of USA. Finally, as a result India has found itself caught in a complex geopolitical trap. This research paper will examine the impact of caatsa on shaping of India’s foreign policy, analyse its potent ramification on India’s defence energy and diplomatic relations. India has been playing an active role in supporting the non-proliferating regime and international regime for peaceful use of outer space. Moreover, it has also been engaged actively in discussions on cyberspace. Light will be thrown on key aspect i.e., to consider ‘expectations of close ties between India and USA. In the end paper proposes policy recommendations for mitigating adverse effect.

1 INTRODUCTION

India and USA have a complex relationship marked by times of cooperation and disagreement. caatsa which stands for countering American adversaries through sanction act was enacted by United States in year 2017 with an objective of responding to perceived threats posed by Russia, Iran, North Korea. Under caatsa USA can impose economic sanctions on any country which are engaged in certain activities with above mentioned countries, that might be detrimental to US security. Historically India has been a great advocate of the interest of developing world over various global platform, depicting its potential of playing a vital role in casting regional security issues. However, shared regional security assessment and diplomatic consultations have not yet converted into policy level between India and USA in respect of Southeast Asia. Despite these complexities there are steps both the countries can take in order to better coordinate their policies. For India in context of its foreign policy key consideration is that its contributions must be recognised positively in Southeast Asia.
2. PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

Recently prime minister of India Narendra Modi was on a state official visit to USA from June 21 to June 24. The bilateral dialogues between the two countries involved high-end defence cooperation, semiconductor industry investments, and a partnership in quantum and advanced computing and AI. The deal for co-production of jet engines in India — white house called it “trailblazing” — will involve an unprecedented level of technology transfer. Although the same bilateral ties were reached upon in 2009, but the catch here is, it is not very recently when in year 2020, trump administration pressurized India to export hydroxychloroquine [drug used to treat malaria] thought to be useful in Covid treatment. Again, when the country crumbled for oxygen concentrator during April 2021 in that critical time also USA was concerned about countering China. Again, in year 2018 defence secretary Lloyd Austin warned and discussed that indies planed s400 purchase could trigger caatsa sanctions. In year 2022 the us house of representative passed legislative amendment relinquishing any punitive sanction under caatsa. So, it is evident that Indo-US relation is a lind of ripple and not straightforward. Thus, to give reader an idea of Indo-US and Indo-Russia relation and if sanctions are imposed in future by USA under caatsa then what mitigation steps can be taken is the purpose of this paper.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

Much of the studies have been done and sufficient literature is available on the caatsa act and its consequences for Indian economy. Articles, reports detailing the various dimensions of consequences of caatsa act have been referred. According to the economic times, the trump administration warned India against purchase of s400 defence system but later in same year. I.e., 2018 issued a legislation for not imposing the sanction under waiver clause [which took note of India’s commitment of diversifying defence purchase]. According Laxman Kumar Behera and g Balachandran of idsa [institute of defence studies & analysis] if caatsa is implemented in its stringent form over Russia, s-400 air defence system, project 1135.6 frigates and ka226t helicopters, will come under deterrence scanner of USA secondly caatsa will influence all joint ventures between India and Russia such as Indo Russian aviation ltd, multi-role transport aircraft ltd and brahmos aerospace. Thirdly caatsa will also affect India’s purchase of spare parts, components, raw materials and other assistance for which India is heavily rely on Russia. The analysis of this institute concluded that us sanctions are not going to be implemented on India anytime soon. But caution is must because indirectly caatsa will harm Indies economic growth. According to congressional research service, analysis was don of us caatsa sanction on turkey. The study found that being a NATO ally turkey’s 2019 deal for procurement of Russia’s s400 defence system could lead to devastative effect for its economy. Turkish export relay on us components. Research also concluded that this deal can adversely affect $2 billion potential business. Sanctions will handicap us -Turkey and Europe-turkey partnership.
4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS
the research paper will strive to answer following questions by means of its comprehensive analysis
4.1 what could be potential implication of caatsa on aggregate welfare and economic growth of India?
4.2 what might be impact of caatsa on India’s foreign trade and investment?
4.3 what strategies might be undertaken in order to mitigate the adverse effect of caatsa?

5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
this research employed the technique of qualitative approach. qualitative research is a strategy in which non-numeric data and results are collected and analysed. this tool is based on use of words. this research paper made use of purely secondary data. the data was obtained from press release or websites of government or related research. further secondary data was obtained from online mass media, related journal, literature reviews of similar research. the tool of data triangulation was used to cross verify the data authenticity. moreover, the casual mechanism between variables have been described clearly so that research questions can be answered scientifically.

6. CAATSA: OVERVIEW AND KEY PROVISION
the countering American adversaries through sanction act [caatsa] was a piece of legislation passed by us senate. on 15 June 2017, the house of representatives in us parliament voted 98 to 2 for the bill. the act aimed to target specific individuals, entities, and sectors of the economies of those countries whose actions can hamper us security. the goal of this act was to deter undesirable actions of such entities. caatsa came in resistance to backdrop of 3 events that had dire consequences on geopolitics.
IRAN’S NUCLEAR MISSILE PROGRAMM:- the us government is of opinion that any progress in Iran’s nuclear program can lead to destabilisation of middle east region. Iran has frequently posed threats to Israel, a key NATO, and us ally. caatsa empower the us president impose sanction on any party that is involved in sale or transfer of military technology to Iran.
CURBING RUSSIAN INFLUENCE:- the allegation of Russian interference in 2016 as polls, its annexation of crimea in 2014, its involvement in Syria war in 2014. recently on 24 february 2022 russian army broke a full-fledged war on Ukraine. all these events attracted caatsa sanction towards Russia. caatsa converted the previously imposed punitive measures [ that were passed by executive orders] into law so that no us president can amend, erase, or terminate these sanctions without approval of congress.
NORTH KOREA AND WEAPON OF MASS DESTRUCTION:- north Korea had a nuclear weapon military program. as of 2020 estimated missile arsenal includes 30-40 warheads. other estimates of first quarter 2023 suggest that in Korea could have over 100 nuclear weapons. north Korea has made repeated threat to south Korea and united states.
7. SIGNIFICANCE OF CAATSA IN INTERNATIONAL RELATION
CAATSA ACT hold great significance in international relation. it is regarded as a powerful tool of foreign policy buy the west including USA. this act holds the potent to affect economies of various countries including india. the implementation of caatsa on India could have certain adverse implication on Indian economy and its relationship with us and other countries. caatsa sanctions can affect various key sectors of Indian economy like finance defence and energy. the act can also result in India’s inability to procure defence equipment from Russia [ largest defence partner]. moreover, caatsa can also hinder energy trade between India and Iran. therefore, it is evident from the analysis that the act is not only influenced by domestic politics but can also have far-reaching consequences on international trade and relations.

8. KEY PROVISIONS TARGETING RUSSIA IRAN AND NORTH KOREA: PROVISIONS OF CAATSA ACT
8.1. COUNTERING IRAN'S DESTABILIZING ACTIVITIES: ACT OF 2017
CAATSA require the president to enforce sanctions against Iran’s {1} ballistic weapon or rocket or weapon of mass pulverization program, {2} the deal or exchange to Iran of military hardware or the arrangements of related specialized or budgetary help. the president may enforce sanctions against entities capable for infringement of above discussed conditions. the president may forgo the inconvenience or continuation of sanctions under discussed circumstances.

8.2. Countering Russian Influence in Europe and Eurasia: ACT OF 2017
THE CAATSA act requires the president to submit certain proposed actions to congress to end or lift sanctions against the Russian federation. the president can also waive certain sanctions related to cyber security, oil projects, financial institutions, corruption, human rights abuses, evasion of sanctions, defence and intelligence sectors, export pipelines, and state-owned assets. the bill also requires the treasury department to create a national strategy to fight terrorism and the department of state to work with the Ukrainian government to increase energy security. the law also made it so that the president can't lift, suspend, or lift sanctions without the consent of congress. section 241 of this act stipulated that, within 180 days following the date of its adoption, the minister of finance, in agreement with the director of national intelligence and the secretary of state, would submit a comprehensive report to congress, including a classified annex, containing a list of the most prominent foreign political and oligarchic figures and their "neighbourhoods with the Russian regime" and an assessment of their "relationship" with president Vladimir Putin or "other members of the ruling elite" of the Russian federation. the section also required an examination of the leadership structures and beneficial ownerships of Russian state-owned enterprises.

8.3. THE KOREAN INTERDICTION MODERNISATION OF SANCTION LAW
the act gives the president more power to punish people who do not Follow UNSCR resolutions about north Korea. US banks will not be allowed to set up correspondent accounts with north Korea, and any foreign government that sells north Korea defence
products or services will not be able to get US aid. the bill also sets out sanctions against North Korea, such as cargo and shipping, goods made in whole or in part by North Korean prisoners or forced laborers, and foreign people who hire North Korean forced laborers.

8.4. ACKNOWLEDGING SECTION 231 AND 232 OF CAATSA

The department of state remains dedicated to the full implementation of sanctions authorities under the countering America's enemies through sanctions act. We will continue to urge Russia to adhere to its obligations under the mink’s agreement and to cease its offensive cyber activities. The implementation of section 232 of the act would be in accordance with the provisions of section 212 and section 232 and would be coordinated with the United States' allies. The purpose of these sanctions is to penalize Russia for its provocative actions, including those against the United States, our allies, and our partners, to protect their energy security and public health. In accordance with section 257 of the act, it remains the United States' policy to "work with the member states of the European union and the institutions of the European union to promote the diversification and liberalization of energy markets, including the development of diversified energy sources, suppliers and routes." The focus of section 232 would be on the implementation of energy export pipelines. That of (1) originates in the Russian federation; and (2) transports hydrocarbons across a land or maritime border to be delivered to another country. Pipelines that originate outside of the Russian federation and pass through the territory of Russia would not be the subject of implementation. The focus of the application of section 232 would be on individuals who, after consultation with the minister for foreign affairs and the minister of the treasury, have, on or after 2 August 2017 (1), made an investment within the meaning of section 232(a); and (2) directly and significantly increase the Russian federation's capacity to build, construct, or modernize such export pipelines. For applying section 232, the project is deemed to have been initiated upon the signing of the contract for the project; and (3) investments and loan agreements made before 2 August 2017 are not subject to section 232(a). Section 231 of the CAATSA act 2017 says that the president has the power to put in place at least five of the sanctions listed in section 235 of the act. On September 29, 2017, the president gave the secretary of state the power to put into effect section 231 after consulting the treasury secretary. The secretary of state has identified the following people who are either part of the government of Russia’s defence or intelligence sectors or who are acting on their behalf for the purposes of section 231.

9. US INDIA STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

India and the United States' alliance has seen substantial change over the years, transitioning from a time of non-alignment to a strong strategic cooperation. This strategic alliance partnership was formally created in March 2000, signalling a turning point in the bilateral relationship of two sides. Both parties inked a nuclear accord and many defence agreements as part strategic alliance. The United States recognised India as a legitimate nuclear weapons state via the framework of this strategic alliance, despite the fact that India is not a party to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. This strategic alliance represented India’s rising ambition to align itself with world powers and was a notable shift from the country's
customary non-alignment stance. Realist ideals, which give priority to national interests above alliances or friendships, had an impact on the United States' choice to establish a strategic relationship with India. The history of India and the United States relationship is complicated, with both cooperative and antagonistic times. India's non-alignment during the Cold War led to considerable tension with the United States, which saw India as leaning towards the Soviet Union. For examining this relationship's historical background, it is crucial to comprehend the development of the India-US strategic alliance. The first ever milestone achieved in the relationship of the two countries was the summit between George W. Bush and Atal Bihari Vajpayee in the year 2001. This led to the formation of bilateral ties. Another milestone was achieved in the year 2008, when the US Senate passed civilian nuclear agreement, allowing India to buy and sell nuclear fuel technology. Then after a year i.e., in the year 2009 the then Prime Minister of India Dr. Man Mohan Singh visited USA for a state official visit. This bilateral dialogue involved several discussions on trade and nuclear power. Now the catch here is that recently Prime Minister Modi was also invited for the same state official visit this year from 20 to 24 June 2023. The joint statement issued on behalf of bilateral meeting follows as: President I.e., Mr. Joe Biden and Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi reaffirmed their desire for India and the United States to be the closest allies in the world and a partnership of democracies that is optimistic, ambitious, and self-assured as it enters the twenty-first century. The close ties of family and friendship that bind their two countries together irrevocably serve as the foundation of the India-US comprehensive global and strategic partnership. Together, they will forge an even stronger, more varied India-US alliance that will promote the hopes of their respective populations for a successful future based on respect for human rights and common values like democracy, freedom, and the rule of law. Intensifying the alliance will depend heavily on technology, with the launch of the initiative on critical and emerging technology (ICET) in January 2023 marking a significant turning point in India-US ties. In order to support their shared values and democratic institutions, the Presidents of the United States and India reaffirmed their commitment to building an open, approachable, and safe digital environment. The Presidents committed to pushing the boundaries of SP cooperation in all areas, praising India's space policy-2023 and urging greater commercial cooperation with the US and Indian industry. A memorandum of understanding (MoU) between the US and India is projected to make Indian students the biggest international student population in the US and boost their bilateral educational collaboration. The formation of a joint task force by the Association of American Universities and the top universities in India, as well as the nomination of councils on each side, were both warmly welcomed by the leaders. They also hailed the formation of the Indo-US Global Challenge Institutes, which would promote more extensive scientific collaborations and intercultural interactions between the two nations in a variety of sectors. A pilot programme to judge domestic renewals of some petition-based temporary work visas, including those for Indian citizens, was launched by the US Department of State. The Presidents emphasised how crucial it is to make it easier for people to travel between the two nations for commerce, tourism, and professional and technical exchanges. While India will operationalise its new consulate in Seattle later this year, the US aims to establish new consulates in both countries. The leaders underlined their intention to carry on continuing negotiations and highlighted
the need of a social security totalization agreement in defending the rights of cross-border employees. They also emphasised the necessity of greater cooperation in digital health platforms, pandemic preparation, and pharmaceutical supply chains. They also emphasised the need for a more comprehensive bilateral drug policy framework for the twenty-first century, with the intention of halting the manufacture of illegal drugs and global trafficking.

10. IMPORTANCE OF DEFENCE AND ENERGY COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES

It is impossible to overstate the significance of robust defence and energy cooperation between states in the globalised and linked world of today. This is especially true of India and the United States’ strategic alliance. The United States and India’s defence partnership is crucial to maintaining regional security and stability. Due to ongoing Russia-Ukraine war, the supply of defence and energy for which India rely heavily on Russia, has significantly interrupted. In such a situation, while moving ahead with open foreign policy & third world nation, USA can prove to be a good substitute for India. Both nations perceive the same threats, particularly considering China’s expanding geopolitical aspirations. The interaction between the US defence secretary and the Indian defence minister shows that both the Indian and American administrations have recognised the potential advantages of a deeper defence partnership. This conversation is comparable to that between the Indian external affairs ministry and the US state department, demonstrating the maturity and normality of their relationship. In addition, defence cooperation between India and the US goes beyond verbal exchanges to cover things like coordinated military training exercises, intelligence sharing, and technical cooperation. These joint initiatives support regional peace and stability in addition to enhancing both nations’ defence capacities. Furthermore, energy cooperation between India and the US is crucial for both nations. There is a lot of room for cooperation in this area given India’s rising energy needs and the USA’s position as a significant global energy provider. The world’s energy landscape is continually changing as nations look for dependable and environmentally friendly energy sources to support their economic development. In light of these changes, the US and India have both realised the value of bilateral energy cooperation. The United States has grown to be a prominent worldwide energy supplier as one of the world’s top energy producers and consumers. India has been looking for varied and stable energy sources to suit its demands due to its fast-expanding economy and rising energy needs. As a result, both the United States and India’s collaboration in the energy industry has become essential. India’s reliance on energy imports has been a significant source of worry since it has left the nation exposed to supply interruptions and changes in global energy prices. With its abundant energy resources and cutting-edge technology, the United States has the capacity to alleviate India’s energy security issues. The US can give India a steady supply of energy resources including crude oil, liquefied natural gas, and coal by exporting these.

11. CAATSA AND INDIA’S DEFENCE SECTOR

In terms of trade and financial activities, countries have become more intertwined as a result of the growth of global economic interdependence. Any break in these relationships can
therefore have significant effects on the economics of entire countries. Sanctions are one such possible disruption that might have a significant negative effect on a nation's economy. Sanctions are actions done by a nation or group of nations to limit or forbid certain economic transactions with another nation, typically in retaliation for alleged transgressions of international laws or regulations. One such set of penalties, the Countering America's Adversaries through Sanctions Act, has the potential to have considerable impact on the Indian economy, notably its defence industry. The CAATSA penalties, implemented by the US in 2017, are directed at nations that conduct significant business with Russia's defence and intelligence industries. The CAATSA penalties may have a big impact on India's defence industry, which has been working with Russia for a long time. For many years, India has been a significant buyer of Russian military hardware. The CAATSA fines may have a variety of effects on India's defence industry. First, the ongoing defence contracts between India and Russia may be affected by the CAATSA penalties. These agreements also cover the procurement of numerous military aircraft and crucial defence systems like the S-400 missile defence systems. Although for purchase of S-400 defence system the CAATSA was not imposed on India due to the current interest of China to curb China aggression. But dynamics will not remain same. The challenge here will be to maintain balance between US and Russia, despite the existence of a positive trajectory in relations with US and Russia. Some key challenges should be addressed. Some such challenges are (1) non-proliferation issue: India has always refused to sign the NPT because it views it as discriminatory. Since they applied only sporadically to the non-nuclear countries and validated the monopoly of the five nuclear weapon states, India has resisted international agreements aimed at preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. India's status as a nuclear power and its acquisition of nuclear weapons have raised concerns among some countries regarding non-proliferation. (2) Potential effects of regional conflicts on the collaboration present another difficulty. For instance, any expansion of hostilities or conflicts in India's neighbourhood, especially with nations like China and Pakistan, might put strain on the bilateral relationship with the United States. Also, supply of crude oil to Pakistan can lead to escalation between India and Russia. (3) The United States, Russia, and India have different agendas and interests, which is another problem. For instance, India may place a different emphasis on regional security and counterterrorism than the United States does on a global scale. Whereas it is quite possible that to combat losses of war Russia may start supplying warhead cheap crude oil to Pakistan, which can lead to cross-border security for India. (4) Additionally, there are difficulties connected to economic concerns like trade conflicts and protectionism. These difficulties can weaken or endanger the strategic alliance of India with Russia and USA.

12. STRATEGIES TO MITIGATE RISK ASSOCIATED WITH CAATSA IN INDIA'S DEFENCE SECTOR

CAATSA poses a serious threat to India's defence industry because it is one of the biggest importers of Russian defence equipment. Several tactics may be used to lessen the impact of the CAATSA act on India’s defence industry. India may first diversify its defence purchases by looking at alternative vendors and lowering its reliance on Russian weaponry. To secure a steady supply chain for defence equipment, this would include fortifying defence
connections with other nations, such as the United States and European states. Second, India may pursue waivers or exemptions from the CAATSA restrictions through diplomatic discussions with the US. During these talks, the strategic significance of the defence alliance between India and Russia and its possible repercussions might be emphasised. Thirdly, to lessen its dependency on foreign suppliers, India might invest in domestic defence production capabilities. This may be accomplished through encouraging R&D in the defence industry, offering incentives to local defence firms, and encouraging innovation through partnerships with academic institutions. India might also look to form partnerships and alliances with other countries that are struggling with the same issues the CAATSA act has created. As part of these partnerships, parties may exchange knowledge and best practices for reducing the effects of sanctions as well as look into possible joint ventures or technology transfers to improve local defence capabilities. Additionally, India may improve its defence relations with non-western nations like China. This would entail identifying areas of common national interest and looking at possibilities for cooperation in the development of defence technologies.

13. Conclusion

This research paper attempts to give a full knowledge of the problems and possibilities that arise in the context of the US-India strategic relationship by thoroughly analysing the CAATSA act and its consequences for India. It also emphasises how crucial strategic independence is for India to pursue its foreign policy goals while negotiating the difficulties the CAATSA act poses. The results of this study can help stakeholders and policymakers create effective strategies to protect India’s national interests in a world that is changing quickly.

14. KEY TAKEAWAYS AND FUTURE OUTLOOKS

The key takeaway from the CAATSA sanctions for India is that it emphasises how difficult it is for the nation to manage its ties with many international powers that have divergent interests. On the one hand, India wants to preserve a strategic relationship with the United States and fortify its connections, particularly in the fields of defence and counterterrorism. In contrast, India has long-standing diplomatic and commercial connections with Iran and Russia, both of which are subject to CAATSA penalties. Regarding the cats’ restrictions, India’s future perspective is uncertain. While the United States maintains that sanctions against nations like Turkey will be enforced to all infringers without exception, it has exhibited hesitancy in doing so (Triantama et al., 2022). As India navigates its connections with Russia and Iran, particularly in terms of defence and energy alliances, this generates a feeling of uncertainty. India needs to carefully consider its interests and the potential repercussions of disobeying or getting around the CAATSA restrictions. In order to find a solution that protects its national interests, India must continue its diplomatic discussions with the United States, Russia, and Iran.
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26. IN ORDER TO FIND A SOLUTION THAT PROTECTS ITS NATIONAL INTERESTS, INDIA MUST CONTINUE ITS DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, RUSSIA, AND IRAN.