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RELATIONS BETWEEN POLAND AND MOLDOVA

TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICO-MILITARY DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION



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Introduction

In the current conditions of bilateral relations between Moldova and Poland, new trends in the development of military-political dialogue and cooperation are increasingly consolidated. This is due to several external and internal factors, which have become determinant in the search for optimal ways for the states to maintain national security against an extremely turbul+ent regional situation resulting from Russia's war against Ukraine. As a consequence, the range of areas of interaction in Moldovan-Polish relations is expanding, shifting the focus from the established areas of cooperation to the activation of military-political dialogue, Polish assistance in reforming Moldova's defense sector, modernization

of its armed forces and training of military personnel. At the same time, Poland is building up the potential of the military-defense complex, providing military assistance to Ukraine, and trying to diversify its military production portfolios as much as possible. All this occurs against the backdrop of an ever-increasing demand for military equipment and ammunition in Europe. According to analysts' forecasts, this trend will likely continue in the medium term. This gives Poland additional incentives to modernize its military industry in the shortest possible time, to assist the states of the region, to promote their European agenda, and thus to bring the common ground on the Eastern flank even closer together.



Brief Retrospective Review of Bilateral Cooperation between the Republic of Moldova and Poland

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Moldova and Poland on July 14, 1992, the political dialogue between the states has developed progressively, always having a friendly character. However, it was not characterized by special dynamics and intensity. It is characterized by constructiveness and is very productive, but the potential of bilateral relations is not fully disclosed, and political experts and analysts often criticize it. At the same time, the states have accumulated a solid documentary and legal base for more than three decades of joint cooperation - more than 43 bilateral treaties1 regulating various spheres of activity in various fields.

Poland is a partner of strategic importance for the Republic of Moldova, especially in the context of its European aspirations. This is the main prerequisite for intensifying political dialogue and frequent exchanges of bilateral visits and high-level contacts between the sides. Inter-parliamentary ties are intensively developing, including within the framework of the Polish-Moldovan Parliamentary Assembly², a consultative body created in 2011 to develop common views on mutually beneficial projects and their implementation. Also, the Polish authorities provide multifaceted assistance in reforming Moldova's administrative structures and economy and intensive assistance in developing agriculture.

The Polish assistance program, which has become part of the foreign policy of this state, has been a targeted tool in the rapprochement of relations not only between Poland and Moldova but also with other countries in the region over the past decade. Despite the challenges of Moldova's internal political situation and the rather inconsistent policy in promoting the pro-European vector, complicated by destructive trends in the domestic political landscape, Poland has pursued a consistent approach toward establishing closer bilateral relations, promoting cooperation and development aid initiatives. This has yielded positive results and allowed for intensifying political dialogue and cooperation in security, particularly through implementing Polish initiatives on border management, crime prevention, and public security maintenance. Bilateral trade and economic cooperation between the states has significantly expanded. With Poland's assistance, the business and investment climate in Moldova has improved, and cooperation between the parties in culture and education has strengthened.

One of the recent events in the political dialogue between the states was the visit of Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk to Chişinău in September this year, which stands as an important event in strengthening bilateral relations and the solidarity of the parties, especially in the context of Poland's support for Moldova's European way. Poland has rich experience in European integration and sees it as the only way to stabilize the region and consolidate democracy. Having made its historic choice by joining the EU two decades ago, Poland sees European integration as a national project capable,

Republic of Poland. Bilateral legal framework, https://mfa.gov.md/ro/content/republica-polona-0.

Poland in the Republic of Moldova, www.gov.pl/web/republicamoldova/moldova.

beyond its political component, of radically changing the lives of Moldovan citizens. In the face of geopolitical tensions and internal vulnerabilities in the current circumstances, a unified approach and firmness toward a European future are necessary. Only in this way can the challenges related to attempts to undermine the European way, coming from Russia, which is trying to maintain its influence in the region, be overcome.

In recent years, security issues have become one of the most pressing topics in the bilateral agenda of Moldovan and Polish parliamentarians, especially when Russia started a war against Ukraine, along with closer cooperation in the economic and energy sectors during such a critical period for the entire region. The consequences of Russia's destruction of Ukraine's energy system inevitably affect energy supply issues not only for Ukraine but also for Moldova.

For a long time, Poland has facilitated dialogue between residents on both sides of the Dniester, attempting to resolve the Transnistrian crisis by increasing confidence-building measures between the right and left banks. Poland has traditionally supported the preservation of Moldova's sovereignty and territorial integrity and continues to assist in resolving the Transnistrian issue and reintegrating the state. Additionally, in the context of the war in Ukraine, the focus previously placed on supporting territorial development and implementing infrastructure projects has somewhat shifted. Although the Agreement on Moldovan-Polish military cooperation was signed on October 27, 1998, the main focus of interaction between the states was on trade and economic cooperation, expanding the range of exported and imported goods, and implementing joint projects within Polish assistance and development programs. However, due to the extremely unstable regional situation and Russia's aggressive actions, politico-military relations between the states have intensified. After 2022, the military-political sector of bilateral cooperation involves reforming Moldova's defense sector, modernizing the armed forces, developing capabilities, and training Moldovan military personnel.



Security policy guidelines and military-political cooperation between two states in the context of Russia's war against Ukraine

Specific changes have occurred in military-political relations overall. Russia's war against Ukraine has radically shifted the direction of European security policy, triggering an increase in militarization among states and greater unity in efforts to counter hybrid warfare and Kremlin actions. Against this backdrop, there has been a noticeable convergence of the positions of the Republic of Moldova and Poland on security issues, the deepening of bilateral political dialogue, expanded high-level contacts and intensified military cooperation. The two countries have increased their participation in international forums within various multilateral formats and meetings to discuss security issues and support and assistance for Ukraine. Internal modernization processes in the defense sector accompany all of this. Additionally, both states have faced the challenge of managing the influx of Ukrainian refugees and finding ways to address it. Equally pressing has been the joint effort to find solutions to Moldova's severe energy crisis.

It is worth mentioned that Poland has sought to distance its military industry from Soviet legacy influences for military, political, and commercial reasons since the end of the Cold War. However, one modernization and investment program after another was delayed, discarded, or simply did not meet ambitions. The annexation of Crimea and the war in the Donbas region in 2014 were seen by Poland not just as military aggression from Russia, but as an expansionist policy that could lead to further military actions, which was later confirmed by Russian aggression in 2022. As a result, Poland's official political discourse began to undergo a systematic shift, primarily due to the need to change the foundations of its international political behavior in the context of militarization in the Black Sea region and rising security tensions in Europe. For example, Polish foreign policy priorities for 2012-2016³, amidst key foreign policy directions related to European politics, regional cooperation, and the need to strengthen security through long-term relationships with NATO and the EU, included building pragmatic relations with the Russian Federation, Poland's Foreign Policy Strategy for 2017-2021 noted the deterioration of the external political environment around Poland following the onset of the protracted conflict in eastern Ukraine⁴.

In 2020, as part of the updated National Security Strategy⁵, primarily in response to the growing threat from Russia, Poland launched a modernization program for its armed forces to expand the capabilities of its defense industry. After the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine and the outbreak of war, Poland's security policy orientations became very clear. Poland was one of the first countries to provide military assistance to Ukraine,

Priorities of the Polish Foreign Policy 2012–2016, https://www.bbn.gov.pl/download/1/9620/prpol.pdf.

Tomasz Pawluszko, The Foreign Policy of Poland and the problem of Political Rationale, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/365510767_The_Foreign_Policy_of_Poland_and_the_Problem_of_Political_Rationale.

National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland 2020, https://www.bbn.gov.pl/ftp/dokumenty/National_Security_Strategy_of_the_Republic_of_ Poland_2020.pdf.

modernize its military industry, and build up the capacity of its military-technical complex.

A New Stage in the Development of Poland's Military Industry

Russia's war against Ukraine has changed many things. One of the consequences of this war has been the increased demand for military equipment and ammunition in Europe. This has affected Poland's military industry, driven by a significant rise in orders from European allies who are purchasing equipment for Ukraine and replenishing their own stocks, as well as from Ukraine itself. Since Poland had stockpiles of Soviet-era equipment, which Ukraine's armed forces relied on in the first months after the invasion, Poland has become one of the largest suppliers of major arms to Ukraine since February 2022. It should be emphasized here that, thanks to the supply of military equipment transferred by Poland from the very first days of the war, the Ukrainian army was able to effectively halt the advance of Russian forces and thus encourage Western countries to provide political and military support to Ukraine. Poland donated more than three hundred tanks to the Armed Forces of Ukraine, which accounted for 30% of the Polish army's pre-war resources, or 72 Krab cannon howitzers, which accounted for more than 30% of Poland's own resources (18 were donated, and the costs of 54 more were covered by the European funds). The demand for military orders remains high, as many European countries are increasing defense spending in response to the threats posed by Russia.

Poland has already provided Ukraine with 44 packages of military aid worth 4 bil-

lion euros and intends to continue offering military assistance. Poland firmly believes that Ukraine and Poland can be free and strong together. According to statements from President Zelensky and Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk, "this is the only way to defend against Russian terror and protect our freedom and independence"⁶.

Poland also plans to continue training Ukraine's armed forces and serve as a logistical hub for Kyiv, facilitating the delivery of Western weapons through its territory. Ukraine has signed 20 such bilateral security agreements with its allies; Poland brings the total to 21. These agreements include specific provisions for long-term military and financial assistance, training of Ukrainian troops, and arms supplies.

Thus, Poland continues to be a significant importer of critical weapons systems. It is also attempting to balance imports with long-term deals aimed at developing domestic production capacities. Contracts with major foreign companies positively impact the demand for Poland's domestic military industry. Current demand means that the prospects for developing Poland's military industry in the coming years remain very strong.

In this context, Poland is actively intensifying efforts to modernize its armed forces and develop its military industry, striving to enter new markets, diversify product portfolios, and move beyond its post-Soviet legacy⁷. At the same time, the participation of Polish partners in producing and supplying imported weapons systems is a key element of military modernization and a necessary criterion when evaluating bids from foreign suppliers. This ensures revenue for Polish

Ukraine strikes security deal with Poland, https://www.politico.eu/article/ukraine-poland-security -deal-aid-package-war-russia.

⁷ The impact of the war in Ukraine on Polish arms industrial policy. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, https://www.sipri.org/commentary/blog/2023/impact-war-ukraine-polish-arms-industrial-policy.

companies and gives them access to new technologies and skills.

The Republic of Moldova in Reassessing Approaches to National Security

The Republic of Moldova has also reconsidered its approaches to security and the defense sector. Russia's war against Ukraine has brought the realization that Moldova's neutral status is not a protective mechanism and that the modernization of defense capabilities, equipping the army, and training military personnel are crucial. The unresolved Transnistrian conflict and the illegal, from the perspective of international law, presence of Russian armed forces (Operational Group of Russian Forces - OGRF) on Moldovan territory have heightened concerns about national security amid the war in neighboring Ukraine. Authorities have openly stated that to deter external attacks and ensure its defense capabilities, the Republic of Moldova urgently needs modern armed forces—properly equipped, combat-ready, well-trained, and highly operationally coordinated with external partners.

This has led to harsh critic from the Russian Federation regarding Moldova. Russian government officials and diplomats have repeatedly made statements about Moldova's militarization, the country being "pumped" with Western weapons, and pursuing policies aimed at undermining its neutrality, stressing that Moldova is being pushed toward the "Ukrainian scenario" by Western countires. An example of this is a comment from the official representative of Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Maria Zakharova, published on the official MFA website: "The current leadership of Moldova, under the guise of slogans about 'Europe-

an integration' and Russophobic rhetoric, is, continuing the implementation of the Ukrainian scenario, disastrous for the country and its people."8 In addition to harsh rhetoric, the Kremlin has employed its traditional arsenal of hard power, particularly energy blackmail, which has had negative economic consequences for Moldova.

Pro-Russian forces in Moldova have repeatedly initiated anti-government and anti-European protests, attracting prorussian proxy political parties to destabilize the internal political situation and using illegal means of financing. In the run-up to significant political events, the efforts of individual politicians, activists, and pro--Kremlin media aimed at undermining the population's support for European integration are intensified virtually permanently. A very frequent phenomenon in Moldova is the dissemination of false narratives about the country's involvement in the war, the use of Moldovan territory as a transit zone for the transfer of military equipment, participation in NATO military exercises, and Moldova's involvement in the North Atlantic Alliance activities. The levers of Russian influence on moldavian society on the eve of electoral processes and the use of hybrid pressure instruments remain.

In December 2023, in accordance with HP No. 391/2023, the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Moldova (NSS)⁹ was approved. This strategy outlines national security goals, establishes principles for promoting these goals, identifies threats, risks, and vulnerabilities undermining the state's security, and defines methods to minimize and neutralize these challenges. Efforts began to find optimal ways to strengthen the Republic of Moldova's security and defense capacity.

Commentary by the official representative of the Russian Foreign Ministry M. Zakharova on the situation in Moldova. August 15, 2024, https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/news/1965670.

Decision No. HP391/2023 of 15.12.2023 on the approval of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Moldova, https://presedinte.md/app/webroot/uploaded/Proiect%20SSN_2023.pdf.

The new Strategy aims to enhance the state's capacity to prevent and counteract risks to national security and ensure the process of European integration and cooperation with partner states. The document outlines the strategic vision for security over six years, identifies the main risks and threats to Moldova's national security, and sets the priority directions for actions in the security field. At the same time, the document highlights that the war of the Russian Federation in Ukraine currently has serious consequences for the national security of the Republic of Moldova, including in the economic, financial, energy, and public order sectors.

Following the approval of the Strategy, active efforts began to explore optimal opportunities for strengthening the security and defense capacity of the Republic of Moldova. This also affected the area of cybersecurity, as hybrid threats and cyberattacks are rapidly increasing, while the means and methods to counter them are lacking. Given this, in late December 2023, the Cabinet of Ministers approved the establishment of the National Cybersecurity Agency, aimed at enhancing the security of citizens, state, and private institutions. The new institution will implement cybersecurity policies, protect critical information infrastructure, in-

troduce a mandatory reporting mechanism for cyber incidents, and monitor service providers' compliance with cybersecurity provisions. The creation of the National Cybersecurity Agency is welcomed in the context of the growing risks to the country's cybersecurity, particularly cyberattacks on the official websites of government institutions. The Agency will also form a national cyber incident response team and create a unified national contact center to coordinate national authorities and state institutions with similar bodies in other countries. In this context, cooperation with Poland in combating Russian propaganda and hybrid warfare is very important to Moldova. In April 2023, the parties signed a Memorandum of Understanding in cybersecurity.

In 2023, Moldova's defense spending increased by nearly 70%. In the 2024 state budget, the Moldovan government allocated 1.96 billion lei to the defense sector, which is 262 million lei more than in 2023. However, the allocated amount is 3 billion lei less than the annual requirement, which would allow Moldova to get rid of Soviet-era weaponry and develop its National Army according to international standards. In January 2024, a commission was established to develop the National Defense Strategy.



Strengthening cooperation between two states amid the identification of potential security, stability, and peace threats

Regional security threats have intensified bilateral political dialogue and military cooperation between Poland and the Republic of Moldova. Military-political consultations were initiated to strengthen resilience and security capabilities. Both states are interested in restoring an international order based on the rules and principles of the UN Charter and respect for the all countries' sovereignty and territorial integrity. Moldovan-Polish defense cooperation is important for the security and European integration of the Republic of Moldova.

In this context, bilateral meetings at the highest level and negotiations between Moldovan and Polish officials have become more frequent. These discussions primarily focus on supporting the modernization of Moldova's National Army by international partners, which is necessary for Moldova to fulfill its international obligations and contribute to global security by participating in peacekeeping missions. In February 2024, Moldova signed an agreement with MESKO S.A., Poland's leading ammunition manufacturer, anti-tank, and anti-aircraft missiles, to modernize its defense sector.

Moreover, Poland provides intensive support to Moldova on its path to the EU, expanding the practice of sharing its experience through training programs and technical cooperation projects. The Polish Solidarity Fund in Moldova aids in the preparation of special forces for crisis response and the mobility of military personnel in high-risk situations. Poland advocates for the establishment of stronger ties between law enforcement agencies and society to enhance security and trust,

improving regional coordination of police forces to optimize resource allocation and response efficiency, enhancing emergency response through the rapid deployment of emergency hotline 122; implementing strict border control procedures to prevent illegal activities; modernizing border control points; and introducing effective alert systems and rapid response mechanisms for potential natural disasters.

Today, all pro-European forces in Moldova openly recognize that the support provided by Poland and other international partners is vital for strengthening Moldova's defense capabilities. Moldova faces significant challenges from Russia, and intensifying cooperation with NATO and EU member states is crucial for ensuring national security. With increasing regional tensions, Poland's support helps Moldova prepare for security challenges in the current geopolitical context. With considerable defense experience, Poland is eager to share its expertise in security and defense sector reforms with Moldova.

In one of his interviews, Poland's Ambassador to the Republic of Moldova, Tomasz Kobzdej, remarked: "We are well aware of where the military and security threats originate, and this is evidenced by what is happening in Ukraine. The threat comes from the East, from a specific country—Russia. Russia is creating dangers not only for Ukraine and the eastern flank of NATO but for the entire Euro-Atlantic architecture and Europe as a whole. What is happening in Ukraine is not just a threat to one country but to the entire continent. With a clear understanding of these threats, we, as a country, are having



discussions with the EU and NATO. We have contingency plans, military strategies, and defense plans. The threat is obvious, and it comes from a specific country—Russia. We don't have time to philosophize much; everything has been tested and proven on the front lines in Ukraine."

According to the diplomat, Poland was the first state to take decisive action when the war in Ukraine started, offering military assistance to Kyiv from its earliest days. Tomasz Kobzdej noted that Polish society and the authorities in Warsaw maintain a consolidated approach to the war in Ukraine, strongly condemning Russian aggression and contributing to its end through military means.

The regional situation forces Poland, like other countries, to invest significant resources in defense and security, develop its economy, and modernize its military arsenal. More than 4% of GDP is allocated to the defense sector. Poland firmly believes that for the Republic of Moldova to ensure its own security, it must seek new partners and invest in defense despite being a neutral state.

Since January 2023, the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Chişinău has also acted as a liaison between the Republic of Moldova and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), aiming to promote communication and public diplomacy by explaining to Moldovan society, based on Poland's experience, the advantages of joining the North Atlantic Alliance.

Security issues and possible countermeasures against hybrid warfare are increasingly subject to discussion and debate at various levels. In Moldova, within the framework of the NATO-Ukraine platform for countering hybrid warfare, for exchanging experiences on hybrid threats and challenges that arose after Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, issues related to the need to develop a culture of security among the population were raised. The main focus was strengthening dialogue and cooperation between Ukraine and Moldova's security and defense institutions and enhancing interagency cooperation. Discussions also covered opportunities for improving energy security, protecting critical infrastructure, strengthening strategic communication, and countering hybrid attacks. Representatives of NATO member countries and the EU Partnership Mission in Moldova participated in the discussions.

Support for reforms and transformations of the defense and security institutions and structures of the Republic of Moldova by NATO countries, as well as the expansion of key areas of cooperation between Moldova and the North Atlantic Alliance, are becoming increasingly relevant in enhancing resilience through partnership. Given the ongoing war in neighboring Ukraine, more Moldovan citizens see the security advantages guaranteed by NATO, although those who support the country's accession to NATO are still significantly fewer. The idea that neutrality equals security no longer aligns with current realities. It requires replacement, as do other false propagandist narratives originating from Russia that have become deeply embedded in the minds of Moldovan citizens. Effective political dialogue with NATO countries opens new opportunities for strengthening Moldova's defense sector, building its military capacity, and countering the wide range of technologies Russia uses in its hybrid warfare against Moldova. These include pressure on the internal political life through illegal financing of political parties, support for pro-Russian forces in organizing protests, interference in electoral processes, frequent cyberattacks, energy blackmail, propaganda, and disinformation. In addition, NATO continues to support Moldova's efforts on its path to EU integration.

The positive dynamics of ensuring the state's national security largely depend on the practical realization of the idea of Moldova's European future. Undoubtedly, the assistance of Polish partners in this process is of particularly important to Moldova. Along with two

other countries from the "Weimar Triangle," whose activities aim to build a common European future, Poland is helping Moldova strengthen its security and defense capacity, resist to foreign interference, and fight against Russian hybrid attacks. Additionally, these countries (Germany, France, and Poland) have played a leading role in ensuring the success of the EU enlargement process, including Ukraine and Moldova, in strengthening Europe's stability and security. Additionally, Poland and two other countries from the "Weimar Triangle," which are focused on building a common European future, are assisting Moldova in strengthening its security and defense capabilities, resisting foreign interference, and combating Russian hybrid attacks.¹⁰

They have also played a leading role in ensuring the success of the EU enlargement process through Ukraine and Moldova to enhance stability and security in Europe. Poland supports Moldova's negotiation process for EU accession. Assistance is provided both bilaterally and through relevant European mechanisms and tools.

Moldova's European integration process is regularly discussed at meetings of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Republic of Moldova and Poland, an interparliamentary advisory body created to develop common viewpoints on mutually beneficial projects. Specifically, the Moldovan-Polish Parliamentary Assembly welcomed the EU Council's decision to grant Moldova candidate status for EU membership and to begin the negotiation process. In a joint statement by the Parliamentary Assembly of Poland and Moldova, signed in Warsaw in 2023, it is noted: "The Republic of Moldova's accession process should proceed dynamically, based on the principle of meritocracy, without creating

Germany, Poland and France reaffirm their support for our country's European path, https://gov.md/ro/content/germania-polonia-si-franta-reafirma-sprijinul-pentru-drumul-european-al-tarii-noastre.

artificial obstacles, while adhering to the conditions outlined in EU treaties. Following a positive recommendation from the European Commission, we firmly believe that the EU Council's decision in December 2023 to start accession negotiations will ensure the irreversibility of Moldova's European path and provide a systemic impetus for long-term reforms."

Poland's openness to sharing experience through training programs and various technical cooperation projects is worth noting, which is crucial as Moldova works on aligning its national legislation with EU standards. Additionally, priorities in their joint efforts include establishing strong connections between law enforcement agencies and public structures to ensure security and trust; enhancing regional coordination of police forces to optimize resource allocation

and improve response efficiency; increasing emergency response effectiveness through rapid deployment via hotlines; implementing strict border control procedures to prevent illegal activities; modernizing border control points; and introducing effective alert systems and rapid response mechanisms for potential natural disasters.¹¹

Thus, the deepening of cooperation between the states against the background of identifying security problems, expanding the range of potential risks and threats to peace, and stable, sustainable development created the prerequisites for developing military-political cooperation between Poland and Moldova. The current dynamics of national and regional security problems makes it possible to focus on maintaining this trend in the bilateral dialogue of states in the medium term.

Enhancing Moldova – Poland partnership: Minister Efros meets with Polish Deputy Minister Wisniewski, https://maisigurinue.md/enhancing-moldova-poland-partnership-minister-efros-meets-with-polish-deputy-minister-wisniewski.



Conclusions

The analysis of the development of political-military dialogue and cooperation between Poland and Moldova allows for the formulation of the following conclusions:

- Bilateral cooperation between the states is becoming increasingly constructive, • and the issues of maintaining security and developing the defense sector are decisive in the current regional context. Poland's support serves as a good stimulus for Moldova in promoting its European trajectory and ensuring the conditions for maintaining stability and security. This applies to the transfer of experience in issues such as border management, prevention of cyber threats, maintaining energy security, and in matters concerning the modernization of the armed forces and improving the training level of military personnel.
- For Moldova, making all necessary efforts to join the EU is extremely important. In this regard, Poland is an excellent example of successful modernization processes and reforms, which have significantly improved the population's

living standards and increased Poland's potential, attractiveness, and image on the international stage. Polish authorities' openness in sharing experiences and best practices should be fully utilized.

The two states should more effectively exploit the new opportunities available to them to intensify established areas of cooperation and develop sectors that respond to contemporary internal and external security. The reassessment of principles and approaches to security issues has significantly stimulated Moldova's approaches to developing new conceptual, strategic documents, rethinking the principle of neutrality, and emphasizing the importance of modernizing the armed forces and expanding the potential of the national army. Under very difficult geopolitical conditions, Poland has demonstrated its readiness to assist, including military aid, and its desire to develop its own military-industrial complex to ensure security guarantees for the countires in the region.





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