

THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA IN THE CONTEXT OF TRANSITIONING TO THE NEW WORLD ORDER: RISKS AND THREATS

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Abstract

In the present times, a process of transition takes place from the unipolar world order, with the US hegemony, to the multipolar one, with China and Russia as emerging world powers. There is also an increased Turkish activity, which promotes a policy of pan-Turkism in Azerbaijan and in the Central Asian republics, but also a policy of pan-Islamism in the Arab states (especially in North Africa – for example in Libya). The tensions between the West (NATO and the EU) and the Russian Federation in the Eastern European region have a negative impact on the national security of the Republic of Moldova, which must find the optimal formula for ensuring its security.

Keywords: *Security, Eastern Europe, Russia, USA, Republic of Moldova.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The last decade saw the field of Security Studies, in the Republic of Moldova and all over the world, dealing with the widespread idea that, in the present times, a process of transition takes place from the unipolar world order established at the end of the Cold War, with the US acting as the world superpower, to a multipolar one, with China and Russia as emerging world powers. This process advances quickly in such a way that one can admit that a tripolar world order is being established, with regard to the Washington – Beijing – Moscow triangle. But other regional powers are developing, of smaller sizes, which will hold themselves smaller spheres of influence, as they will be tolerated by the big players (therefore, they will develop under the protection of one of the big players). The three world centres can be seen as empires: not only the US (CHOMSKY, 2018), but also China and Russia have a historical background which reflects the path followed by each of these states, which became empires extending to the present sizes. In 1991 Russia

lost the 14 union republics, which were part of the Soviet empire. Nonetheless, Russia remains the biggest country in the world in terms of territory. Structurally, the empire – states can be presented as entities with a strong centre (a metropolis), a large space within the state borders, which often comprises several provinces with various ethnic minorities within the empire, and beyond its state borders an empire-state also holds a security space (aimed at absorbing potential outside attacks), which comprises several satellite states (with their governments under the control of the power centre and which is established as a shared free trade economic space). In the times of the Cold War the USSR held control over countries in Central and Eastern Europe, but tried to establish such satellite states – under the control of Moscow – in other regions as well (Afghanistan is an example of such an unsuccessful attempt).

The US is trying to keep its geopolitical strongholds and its presence all around the world – a heritage even from the Cold War era, characterized by a bipolar world order, as well from the following period, when the US remained the sole superpower, therefore when a unipolar world order had been established. On the other hand, China and Russia are trying to consolidate their spheres of influence, attempting to push the US out of their peripheral regions. There are other countries as well claiming the status of emerging power centres within the multipolar world order. Consequently, one can name: India, Brazil, the Republic of South Africa – BRICS member states, as well as Iran, Japan – a country with a more assertive standing lately, becoming the second economic world power during the period of the Cold War.

One can also take notice of the Turkish activities. Although a NATO member state, it shows signs of not accepting fully the decisions of the NATO command. Ankara promotes a policy of Pan-Turkism (especially in Azerbaijan and in the post-Soviet republics in Central Asia; one must not forget the northern part of Syria, where under the pretext of defending a community of people with a Turkoman ethnic background, the Turkish Army took control over a region), but also a policy of Pan-Islamism (in Arab countries, especially in northern Africa – for example in Libya, in those territories formerly belonging to the Ottoman Empire). One must not ignore countries such as South Korea – which asserted itself as an economic power, Indonesia – with a remarkable human potential (the country with the largest Muslim population in the world) and which has good perspectives, and others as well (BRZEZINSKI & SCOWCROFT, 2009).

Of course, the European Union represents a significant economic centre at a global level – great production capacities and a sales market with around half a billion consumers. However, in terms of security, the EU, such as Israel – is part of the security structure of the Washington power centre (the EU- having “an organic” connection with NATO, in the light of the fact that most of the EU member states are also NATO members). The US still has strategic partnerships on a military level with Canada, Australia, Japan and others.

In the context of the emergence of the new power centres, one can notice the tensions between the US and the rising powers. Therefore, one can talk about the tensions between the US (on an institutional level: NATO in close connection with the EU) and the Russian Federation, especially when it comes to the Eastern European region from the post-Soviet space. Furthermore, in the context of the dispute concerning Central Asia, Moscow tries to isolate the post-Soviet republics from the other two power centres operating there; however, it did not succeed in stopping the Chinese interference in the countries in the region. These tensions determine the situation in which the present security atmosphere can be seen as turbulent. The mentioned tensions have a negative impact on the national security of the countries in the Eastern European region, including the security of the Republic of Moldova – included by

Bruxelles in the Eastern Partnership Program of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) of the EU. In their relations to the regional power centres, the concerned countries (the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine, Belarus, and those in Transcaucasia: Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan) must find the optimal formula to ensure a durable regional security, taking into the consideration and the realization, as possible, of their national interests. Of course, the national interests of each country in the region concern the ensuring of the territorial integrity and economic development (access to resources, firstly energy, and access to the sales markets). Bearing this in mind, the optimal formula is not only the access to resources and sales markets in Russia, but also to those in the EU. For Azerbaijan, there are vast possibilities of cooperation with Turkey and Iran, due to the geographical proximity and the shared values: the Turkish language in relation to Turkey, and the Shiite religion in relation to Iran.

It is noteworthy the fact that besides Belarus, all the other five countries in the group of the six post-Soviet countries of the Eastern European region are facing similar security issues – with territorial disputes, respectively with separatist regimes, with a strong outside support, especially from Russia (in the case of the Mountainous Karabakh – we see a support from Armenia as well). Therefore, the Republic of Moldova must manage the conflict concerning the eastern districts of the country (they are also called *Transnistria*), Georgia does not recognize the separation of Abkhazia and South Ossetia (recognized as independent by Russia), Ukraine does not recognize the annexation of Crimea by Russia and must deal with the conflict in Lugansk and Donetsk (Donbass). Azerbaijan had a glorious war against Armenia during the period of September 27 to November 10, 2020, and regained all its seven districts which had been occupied by Armenia during the 1994 war (9% of the territory of Azerbaijan), which are not part of the self-proclaimed Republic of Mountainous Karabakh and which had people of Azeri ethnic background. Nevertheless, following the war, Baku did not succeed in taking control over the Mountainous Karabakh. Following the peace agreement, the Russian Federation introduced a peace-keeping mission in the Mountainous Karabakh,

consolidating its presence in Transcaucasia, showing that this is its sphere of influence (up till then Moscow had a military base in Armenia, at Gyumri, near the Armenian-Turkish border).

The multitude of these conflicts is an indicator of how serious the regional security is. To a certain extent, one can admit that these conflicts favour the Russian Federation, in the sense that they close the path to these post-Soviet countries to joining NATO and the EU, remaining in the sphere of influence of Moscow. However, the support for the separatist regimes such as those in Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Donbass, Nagorno-Karabakh, is a burden for Russia, itself facing with socio-economic problems, especially after the sanctions imposed by the US and the EU countries. Some Russian experts say that, from the viewpoint of geopolitical rivalry, the continuation of the conflicts at the Russian borders represents a way of harassing and weakening the Russian state. That is the why the construction of a regional architecture in Eastern Europe should be in the interests not only of the post-Soviet countries in the region, but also of the regional power centres: Bruxelles (the projection of the military power centre in Washington) and Moscow. NATO, the EU, as well as the Russian Federation push through their diplomatic representatives towards a durable peace and stability in the region. Nonetheless, approaches differ. While some state players in the region (Georgia and Ukraine) see a guarantee of ensuring the regional security in the NATO expansion (such as it happened with the three Baltic post-Soviet republics: Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia), Russia sees the expansion of the North-Atlantic block as crossing a red line by a geopolitical rival – as NATO is perceived in Russia.

2. THE NEW WORLD ORDER: A SHORT CHARACTERIZATION

The main criteria for determining the status of an emerging geopolitical player – a power centre of the new world order include:

1. Holding high-tech capacities (not only software, but also hardware) used in the *military* field and also in the *economic* field. Therefore, a power centre is a *scientific power* (FERGUSON, 2014), and, consequently, *a military and an economic*

power. One cannot challenge the fact that it is the country which will achieve developments and implementations in the field of high-tech capacities that *shall hold the power*. Furthermore, the sizes of the power of a geopolitical centre will be directly dependent on the multitude and the efficiency of its high-tech capacities as they are developed and implemented.

2. Holding technologies aimed at the cosmic space and at the exploration of the Moon and of the other planets is another characteristic of the power centres. Presently, a geopolitical power is *a space power*: it has space programs, it launches satellites into space and so on.

3. Holding global communication platforms in regard to the cyberspace- social media (Twitter, Facebook as useful examples to illustrate this), as well as traditional mass-media (TV stations, newspapers and magazines – with an online circulation, these can reach a numerous global audience and can have a major impact)

4. A power centre extends its sphere of influence not only through its military might (establishing military facilities beyond its national borders), but firstly through *soft power*, through its ideological offer, through its cultural products, through the dream, ideals and the set of values it promotes among the other peoples (countries). To this extent, while the US promotes *the liberal democracy* (the human rights, the rule of law, the market economy and so on), China promotes the *Communist* system (based on the principle of social fairness), but adjusted to the demands of the market economy and it is possible that Russia becomes the power centre which promotes the preservation of traditional societies, based on the traditional values, firstly of the traditional religions. Consequently, under an ideological perspective, the triangle of the power centres is seen like this: Liberal-Democracy (Washington) – Communism “with a Chinese face” (Beijing) – Conservatism (Moscow).

5. A power centre is a country which ensures its biological and environmental security under the conditions of pandemics of infectious diseases. It is not out of the sudden that the releases of vaccines against the coronavirus SARS-CoV-2, which led to the respiratory disease COVID-19, were made in Russia, the US, China and the EU (Germany). All these countries supplied the

international markets with the results of their developments in the form of the vaccines.

The efforts of the state players which assert themselves fully as power centres of the new world order are aiming at the reduction of the dependency on the US. On an economic level, this thing is difficult to achieve while the global reference currency is still the US dollar. Anyway, it is estimated that China seeks a quick removal of the US from the first place of the top of the global economic powers. And because an economic power can allot significant resources from its budget to military expenses, China becomes a military power as well. Russia is a country which manages, with much fewer resources in size than those used by the US, to develop and produce very efficient modern weapons systems (supersonic rockets and so on). Its nuclear arsenal is another factor which determines its certain status of – at least – regional power, of a global power in the process of establishing and consolidating itself respectively, within the multipolar world power. Nonetheless, the weak points of Russia are its slow economic development and the population crisis (SEREBRIAN, 2014), considering its place as the country with the largest surface in the world, it needs a sizeable population, in order to maintain and explore the national territory economically, especially Siberia and the Far East.

The transition from a unipolar world order to the multipolar one would technically mean the new partition of the planet into spheres of influence, the withdrawal of the US from the remote regions of the planet while keeping a limited controlling area, the expansion of the spheres of influence of the new power centres (China and Russia) respectively. By losing its status of world superpower (or world *sole* superpower), the US will co-exist, as one of the global powers, with the other global powers. A global power projects its might over the surrounding zones and even in more remote regions through the military facilities – the example of the Russian presence in Syria (with the military intervention from 2014 onwards), of China in Africa, and the example of projecting the influence of a regional power: the Turkish presence in North Africa (Libya) and so on. To that effect, in the present times, the US remains a military power everyone should take into account,

due to the great number of the US military facilities established almost all over the world. The world and regional powers are wishing the expansion (and the US: the preservation) of their spheres of influence with the purpose of ensuring their access to the natural resources and to the sales markets.

The effort of the emerging powers – of the new geopolitical centres depends on ensuring a real *statehood: economic, technological* (digitalization, Artificial Intelligence and so on), *informational, cultural* (Internet websites, TV stations with indigenous media content – news programs, movies, TV series and so on), *ideological, scientific, medical* and so on. Only a country which does not depend any longer, according to all these criteria, on the US can establish itself a challenger to Washington.

Not lastly, one must also consider another category of players – the multinational corporations, which have a greater influence on the state leaderships – global and regional powers, through financing the election campaigns of the politicians in power and through the products and services provided to the societies of the respective countries (Google, Facebook, Twitter, Amazon and others). Through the potential of distribution of various messages and of influencing (maybe manipulation) of the people's attitudes, these companies can determine the course of the events. They establish the agenda of the international community. There are approaches that stipulate that the new world order will be (or is already) that of the multinational corporations, which will diminish the role of the nation countries (their statehood and independence) through the globalization process. Some of these corporations have greater budgets than many of the countries in the world, can use private military contractors (armies of professional military personnel) and many other attributes only countries used to have. All these give them the status of entitled players in the arena of international relations, and, maybe, of the new world order. The American scientist Noam Chomsky made a reference to this: "When we ask "Who rules the world?" we commonly adopt the standard convention that the actors in world affairs are states, primarily the great powers, and we consider their decisions and the relations among them. That is not wrong. But we would do well to keep in mind that this level of abstraction can also be highly

misleading. States of course have complex internal structures, and the choices and decisions of the political leadership are heavily influenced by internal concentrations of power, while the general population is often marginalized. That is true even for the more democratic societies, and obviously for others (...) in ours, multinational conglomerates, huge financial institutions, retail empires, and the like [rule the world]" (CHOMSKY, 2018).

One must not forget as well the fact that each multinational corporation has a central headquarters in one of the countries of the world. Influencing the government from that country, one cannot exclude a reverse pressure, from the government over the management of the corporation, with the purpose of promoting the interests of that country through the multinational corporations.

A characteristic of the current period - of transition to the new multipolar world order - is the increase of the level of national/state self-interest (Nationalism), respectively of the degree of aggression and hatred on the international scene, which is a consequence of the harsher competition between the power centres for resources and sales markets. Furthermore, a consequence of the increase in the rivalry between the geopolitical powers is the increasing rate of the fake news in the global public space. Through manipulation certain players are trying to achieve their geopolitical interests, therefore leading to information wars, which are aiming not only at the technical element - cyber-attacks, but also at the content - the distribution of fake news, with the purpose of confusing and weakening the geopolitical rival. Through the media content distributed in the global media space, a geopolitical power wishes to push for its own agenda. The rivalry between the power centres requires the geopolitical players to make efforts in order to defend their informational space, because the victory of a geopolitical power starts through the occupation of the informational space of its rival.

3. RISKS AND THREATS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NEW WORLD ORDER

In the context of the accelerated rivalry between the power centres of the multipolar

world order, in the process of consolidation, one can highlight several risks and threats to the international security:

1. One can notice the increased risk of local conflicts - wars between world/regional powers through smaller countries, which are intermediaries (proxies), with the purpose of ensuring the control over a region/over a country by a geopolitical player, ensuring the security space, but also with the purpose of achieving its economic interests through shared free trade spaces.

2. While mankind becomes more global, the risk of proliferation of various viruses increases, the occurrence of pandemics respectively. Through co-operation, mankind must find and apply efficient measures to fight against this threat.

3. The 2000 coronavirus pandemic showed how vulnerable the economy of the countries is facing these phenomena. A health crisis leads inevitably to an economic crisis, through isolationist measures, stopping economic activities imposed by the authorities. That is why economic enterprises must adjust to the new conditions by promoting, if necessary, the work from home, the online commerce and delivering products and services at the customers' homes.

4. On the other hand, the overproduction leads to the destruction of the natural resources. We see a decrease in the forested areas, the rivers, the seas and the oceans are polluted, the air is polluted. The continual degradation of the environment can lead to an environment (ecological) catastrophe, which will endanger all forms of life on the planet. Fighting against the global warming must be a priority for all the countries in the world, which are to make concerted efforts in saving the planet. The more often droughts in the last years should receive a scientific explanation, measures must be taken to restore the normal climate on Earth respectively.

5. Under the conditions of the rising tensions between the power centres and the emerging regional powers, the risk of the nuclear proliferation appears. Iran is one of the countries pushing for the development of several nuclear weapons systems. And Turkey shows an interest in this type of weaponry. That is why the danger of a nuclear war must not be excluded.

6. The economic and political degradation is the consequence of the moral (spiritual) degradation, of erasing the values or the reversal of the hierarchy of values. The moral degradation is a threat to the preservation of the national being – of the peoples of the world. If the national feeling becomes weaker, if people stop appreciating those values meant to consolidate a human community within a country, it is likely that a country with a less conscious population in regard to “who are we?” – concerning its *identity* and “for what purpose?” – concerning its *mission*, would fall and even face disappearance from the world. The peoples who disappeared in the mist of history did not manage to find and apply such principles.

These risks and threats have a universal character. They must be considered by all the current countries, but mostly by the Republic of Moldova, who even if it has a century-long history (the state was established in the year 1359), regained its independence in relatively recent times – 30 years ago, in the year 1991.

4. THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER

Seen through the analysis of the six criteria previously mentioned, the Republic of Moldova is facing problems with each of them.

1. In the context of the aggravating tensions between the world power centres in the Eastern European region, respectively in the context of the aggravating risks of starting or defrosting of some local conflicts, the political establishment of the Republic of Moldova must manage the resolve of the Transnistrian conflict in a smart, therefore, efficient manner. A serious threat to the security of the Republic of Moldova is the uncertain situation in eastern Ukraine. If the Donbass conflict morphs into a war extended to the northern area of the Black Sea coast – southern Ukraine, which mass-media sources within Russia name Novorossia, the security of the Republic of Moldova will be seriously challenged because in the case of a victory of Moscow there will be the danger of incorporating into Russia not only the non-recognized Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic, PMR, but also of several parts of the Republic of Moldova – firstly the six villages on

the left bank of the Dniester river, remained after the 1992 war under the jurisdiction of Kishinev. But one must also not exclude the danger of annexation of the entire Republic of Moldova by the decision makers in Kremlin, if the authorities in Kishinev do not succeed in receiving international security guarantees for the Moldovan state by then. Kishinev must seek and find the optimal formula to ensure its national security within the framework of a regional security architecture.

2. The 2020 coronavirus pandemic showed that the health system of the Republic of Moldova must be adjusted to the new conditions. It is necessary to:

- a) provide the regions of the country with laboratories for the identification of the virus,
- b) provide the hospital with ventilators,
- c) train the people in charge to fight against infectious diseases,
- d) establish and to produce or to procure of the best drugs used in the treatment of the infectious diseases.

The health system of the Republic of Moldova must be capable to deal with any health crisis. But the success of dealing with a pandemic concern also the efficient actions of the authorities: the establishment of the quarantine, in case of necessity, restricting border crossings to the Moldovan citizens and to the foreigners.

3. The economy of the Republic of Moldova requires a diversification and more development, with a greater emphasis on information technologies: digitalization, Artificial Intelligence. The development of local software is required as well – as an important element of ensuring the information security and the national security, respectively. The more often droughts in the last years showed that the agriculture sector of the Republic of Moldova – seen as a vital one, which ensures the food security of the people, requires an adjustment to the climate conditions – the construction and the use of watering installations. Furthermore, the Moldovan economy must adjust to the measures caused by the pandemics: the work from home, the online commerce, the distribution of products and services to the customers` homes.

4. The continual ecological degradation of the environment manifests itself visibly in the

Republic of Moldova. The Moldovan state must co-operate efficiently with the other international players with the purpose of fighting against the global warming, under the provisions of the 2015 Paris Climate Accords, which regulate the measures for the reduction of carbon emissions starting from the year 2020. It is necessary to use rationally the fewer natural resources of the Republic of Moldova. It is necessary to stop the deforestations and to forest greater areas. It is necessary to establish a clear agreement with Ukraine concerning the salvation of the Dniester River, while the construction of the hydroelectric power plant at Novodnistrovsk endangers the security of the fresh water – the distribution of fresh water to the inhabitants of Kishinev and of other Moldovan settlements. It is required to build more plants for waste processing in such a way that one stops the pollution of soil and phreatic waters with the garbage stored by various garbage processing companies operating within the national territory.

5. Under the conditions of increased tensions between the regional power centres, through its proximity to the American military facility at Deveselu (Romania), with its anti-ballistic shield facility, perceived as a threat to the national security of Russia by Russia itself, the Republic of Moldova is in danger in the case of a Russian-NATO war. That is why the Moldovan diplomacy must contribute through efficient proposals for the release of tensions between the two power centres, to the demilitarization of the region, as possible, respectively.

6. A problem faced by other countries in the world (including a world power such as the US) is the internal division. The Republic of Moldova is part of this trend and that is why the authorities in Kishinev must apply efficient measures with the purpose of societal and statehood consolidation. This requires the appeal to the moral values, which are rooted in the teachings of the Christian-Orthodox Church, of whom the vast majority of the people of the Republic of Moldova belong. The moral degradation, the decrease of the patriotic feeling is a threat to the preservation of the Moldova state on the world map. Without a national feeling (it is not about the radical or the extremist Nationalism) it is difficult to consolidate the community of a

country, of the Moldovan society respectively. And without a consolidation based on common values, especially in the present times, one must consider the risk of state partition, especially taking into account the presence on the national territory in the area on the left bank of Dniester river (Transnistria) of the Gagauz territorial autonomy, of the Taraclia district – with a majority of inhabitants of Bulgarian ethnicity and of the region in the northern part of the country where there are settlements with a compact Ukrainian population. The Moldovan authorities must identify those landmark values deemed to coagulate the multi-ethnic population of the country in such a way that the Moldovan State which saw its beginning even from the year 1359 would not disappear from the world map, as such was the case with many peoples vanishing in the mist of history, including among those who passed by the Moldovan plains during the Great Migration of the peoples. An example of the Moldovan consolidation remains Stephen the Great, who succeeded in inspiring his soldiers with resounding victories, a pride of the Moldovan people up to the present times, by assuming in the name of his Country a regional and a historic mission – the protection of Christendom (meaning of Europe) from the Ottoman danger (STEPANIUC et al., 2018).

5. CONCLUSIONS

The tensions between the West (NATO and the EU) and the Russian Federation in the Eastern European region, of which the Republic of Moldova is part, have a negative impact on its national security. The Moldovan state is at the border between two civilizational spaces: in the West it borders the West (from an institutional viewpoint: NATO/the EU) and in the East with Russia. Because Transnistria is a territory controlled by Russia de facto, one can state that the Republic of Moldova has a common border with Russia de facto. This geographical position and the current complicated regional geopolitical context, marked with the aggravation of the rivalry between the two power centres, show that the Moldovan state has a few development principles ahead, theoretically and hypothetically:

a) to integrate itself in the Western civilizational space (in the EU and, eventually, in NATO, where the main role is assumed by the US);

b) to integrate itself in the Eurasian civilizational space (the Eurasian Economic Union, UEEa), and, eventually, in the Collective Security Treaty Organization, OTSC – in which Russia plays the main role, as the economic partner of the member states;

c) acting as a neutral country it can promote a multivectorial approach, symmetrical relation with both geopolitical spaces, with both power centres of the world order respectively, with an interest in the Eastern European region – Washington and Moscow. Furthermore, the Republic of Moldova can develop relations with the third world power center – Beijing, which wishes a stronger co-operation with the countries on the European continent. Switzerland would be an illustration of such an option, as a neutral state with a successful economic development. However, such an option can be adopted on the condition that the neutrality of the Republic of Moldova be recognized by the regional powers and the international community (KISSINGER, 2015). Such a recognition includes the withdrawal of the foreign troops from the national and sovereign Moldovan soil.

The Moldovan society must be probed and the decision makers must choose the optimal solution.

The current global and regional scene can be seen as a turbulent one. We see many tendencies on this scene: the aggravating rivalry between the world powers, the aggravation of the self-interest and state Nationalism, and consequently the increase in the degree of aggression, of hatred and an inclination to confrontation and conflict. In this context, one can see an aggravated vulnerability of the smaller countries, which must establish, adopt and apply smart policies with the purpose of achieving their national interests: to survive and to develop.

Following the research made one can highlight, among others, the following conclusions:

1. In the current turbulent regional scene, due to the aggravation of rivalry between Russia and

the West in the Eastern European region, one can see the increase of risks to the security of the countries in the region, including to the national security of the Republic of Moldova.

2. The Republic of Moldova must consolidate itself through the diplomatic and peaceful resolve of the Transnistrian conflict, it must change from a geopolitical object into a geopolitical subject, from a consumer of security (with a peace-maintaining mission under foreign command) into a provider of security. Through the stability and the prosperity it seeks to achieve within the national borders, the Moldovan State must become a provider of stability and prosperity in the entire region of which it is part.

3. To ensure its military security, the Republic of Moldova must ensure its economic security, must make use of the financial resources to modernize its armed forces, its military capabilities.

4. In order to survive, the Republic of Moldova must organize itself efficiently, surpass the corruption issues and the embezzlements from the state budgets.

5. Through its consolidation, the country the Republic of Moldova can contribute to the consolidation of security in the Eastern European region.

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