

## **Defense Diplomacy Indonesia - United Arab Emirates Through Confidence Building Measures**

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### **Abstract**

*This research paper explores the defense diplomacy efforts between Indonesia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) through confidence-building measures (CBMs) as a strategic step to strengthen bilateral relations and increase trust between the two countries. The paper begins by discussing the historical context and the importance of defense diplomacy in the post-World War II era. It then examines the concept of defense strategy and its evolution beyond military operations. The role of diplomacy, particularly soft power diplomacy, is highlighted as an essential tool in international relations. The paper further delves into the concept of defense diplomacy, its peaceful use of armed forces, and its significance in addressing security challenges and building trust among countries. The focus is on the defense diplomacy efforts between Indonesia and the UAE and their impact on regional defense and security cooperation. The researchers employ a qualitative descriptive approach and a case study design to analyze the defense industry and defense cooperation efforts within the perspective of defense diplomacy. The results and discussions section presents an analysis of Indonesia's defense strategy, highlighting the objectives, means, and approaches employed in defense diplomacy with the UAE. The paper concludes by emphasizing the importance of defense diplomacy in enhancing bilateral relations, promoting regional stability, and leveraging the strengths and resources of both countries in the defense industry.*

**Keywords:** Defense Diplomacy, Strategy, Confidence Building Measures, Indonesia and United Arab Emirates

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## **INTRODUCTION**

After World War II, the world experienced a deep change in global dynamics and international order. The war has revealed the terrible consequences of anarchist international systems, where countries compete for power and resources, often in a way that is detrimental to global stability (Donnelly, 2015). Awareness of the need for better cooperation and dialogue between countries begins to grow in response to the failure of the system. States –in the field of defense studies– play a crucial role in safeguarding their territorial sovereignty, considering the strategic environment, threats, national interests, and policies to synergize in a global context (Supriyatno, 2017). Meanwhile, states in the field of international relations are characterized by causality and conditions for cooperation among international actors, which can occur through behavioral adjustments in response to or anticipation of the choices of other actors, either through direct negotiations or shared understanding that avoids negotiations (Dougherty & Pfaltzgraff, 1990).

The discourse on strategy originates from an understanding that was initially studied as the “art of thinking for generals” (Liddell & Scott, 1996) which was later developed by Clausewitz (1984) as a “...bridge that relates military power to political purpose”. The concept of defense strategy, as outlined by Lykke (1998), which encompasses “ends-ways-and means”, was originally intended for the military community but can also be applied in military operations beyond the context of warfare with adjustments that align with the realities on the ground. However, the shift in strategy today is no longer confined to the framework of military operations

but has also evolved due to its connection to its respective "object of war" without being limited by any circumstances either any ages (Gray, 2003, p. 5).

Diplomacy in international relations requires countries to mutually need cooperation and interaction for mutual benefit, as they are unable to meet all their needs independently. Traditionally, diplomacy is considered to have three main features; these are (i) hierarchy; (ii) one-way communication with the public; and (iii) confidentiality (Bátora, 2008). Diplomacy with soft power strategy is the ability to influence other countries through appealing ideas and behavior, with the aim of changing their thinking and actions, which is considered equally important as hard power in international diplomacy (Nye, 1990). Diplomacy aims to open space for dialogue and enhance the effectiveness of national interests by involving non-state actors through "track two" or "multi-track diplomacy" approaches, referring to diplomatic methods involving non-governmental organizations and citizen diplomats. (Diamond & McDonald, 1996). Ideally, state become "track one" and "track two" represented in certain non-state actors.

Defense diplomacy (DD) encompasses the peaceful use of armed forces (excluding warfare) or military personnel, including military attaches, to achieve national goals, prevent conflicts, and utilize armed forces and related infrastructure as instruments of foreign policy and security. (Cottey & Forster, 2004) (Edmonds & Mills, 1998) (Plessis, 2008). Defense diplomacy is also related to the use of a state's defense apparatus without violence to advance the government's strategic goals through cooperation with other countries, which includes officer exchanges, ship visits, training missions, and joint military exercises, and has become an important tool in military governance to avoid the use of hard power. (Winger, 2014).

Defense diplomacy as strategy discourse emerged as an important tool in overcoming security challenges and building trust among countries. In response to a joint threat and increasingly complex security challenges, countries began to adopt the Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) to build mutual understanding, reduce tensions, and strengthen bilateral and regional relations. In this context, it is important to investigate how defense diplomacy for is an urgency that emerged after World War II and how it relates to the current global dynamics (Multazam, 2010). The ways in DD for CBMs include political cooperation, shaping shared interests' perceptions, changing military mindsets, supporting defense improvements, and promoting cross-sectoral cooperation (Cottey & Forster, 2004, pp. 15-16). In practice, this can be done through state visits, dialogues, strategic information exchanges, defense capability limitations, declarations of strategic cooperation, officer exchanges, military education, agreements on good relations, and joint military exercises. (Syawfi, 2009, p. 16).

Along with the development of global geopolitical dynamics, defense diplomacy has become an important element in relations between countries. During increasingly complex security challenges, the development of trust between countries is the main key in strengthening cooperation and maintaining regional stability. This brings Indonesia as an ASEAN country to build defense and security with various countries, both around the region and outside the region, including the UAE.

When discussing the UAE in strategic issues, they are striving to shape a "regional moderation agenda" in the face of threats from the Muslim Brotherhood and Iran, with concerns that the political victory of the Muslim Brotherhood and the nuclear agreement with Iran – according to UAE's concern about Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA)'s interpretation– could jeopardize regional stability with their partner countries, especially in the Middle East (El-Dessouki & Mansour, 2020). The UAE and its regional allies form an alliance against Iran and the Muslim Brotherhood, with the goal of creating an Arab-led regional order, restoring regional security, and combating extremism. The alliance regards the argument that Iran or political Islam can have a constructive role as naive, as Islamist political movements that

come to power often disregard democratic norms or sever ties with terrorist organizations, and the JCPOA failed to strengthen the voice of moderation in Iran or end Iran's subversive activities in the region. Iran has increased its support for its proxies in the region, fueling sectarian tensions and undermining the integrity of countries, as seen in the Houthi attacks from Yemen into Saudi Arabia using ballistic missiles from Iran, contradicting Iran's claim that its missile program is defensive. The UAE faces strategic threats from Iran, including the recruitment of sectarian militias, the development of missile capabilities, and the potential resurgence of its nuclear program (Al-Ketbi, n.d.). The UAE aims to adopt a regional approach that involves a new focus on the nuclear agreement, with a desire to expand the agreement to include strict restrictions on Iran's regional role and ballistic missile program, as well as ensuring the participation of GCC members in future negotiations. They are also prepared to cooperate with allies in imposing further economic sanctions on Iran to increase their influence in negotiations with Tehran (Bozorgmehr, 2018). The biggest challenge in forming regional consensus on Iran is gaining greater support from GCC countries and Sunni powers such as Turkey and Egypt, with Qatar maintaining close ties with the US and supporting groups not approved by the UAE, leading the UAE to continue opposing Turkish and Qatari support while questioning Ankara's stance on efforts to contain Iran. The UAE faces a dilemma between countering Iran's regional expansion and acknowledging the importance of trade relations with Iran, as well as efforts to expand economic cooperation frameworks in hopes of creating a collaborative and mutually beneficial regional climate, although the success of this approach remains uncertain.

Indonesia and the UAE established diplomatic relations in 1976. Diplomatic relations are important because they both have solidarity as a Muslim majority state. Indonesia has a large embassy in Abu Dhabi, while the UAE has an embassy in Jakarta. In addition, the two countries are members of the World Trade Organization (WTO), Non-Aligned Movement and Islamic Cooperation Organizations (OIC). The role of Indonesia and the UAE as a country that upholds the identity of moderate Islamic Islam is realized through foreign policy that is 'free-active', where there is a non-intervention principle. The Indonesian state is of the view that the achievement of community aspirations must grow internally (home grown), pay attention to the cultural factor (indigenous uniqueness) of the region, and not forced by external actors (Yuliantoro, 2011, p. 12). This is expected to be useful in resolving the socio-political turmoil that occurs in the Middle East and North Africa. The process of sharing experience conducted by Indonesia can be found in BDF (Bali Democracy Forum) IV which was attended by Jordan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, UAE, and Yemen or Institute for Peace and Democracy (IPD) through the Workshop on Egypt-Indonesia Dialogue on Democratic Transition in May 2011. In short, the implementation of moderate Islam identity in the practice of Indonesian foreign policy found two things, namely the desire of Western countries to develop a moderate Islamic network as a potential partner to compensate for terrorism networks in a number of Muslim countries and Indonesia's desires to gain a role in the international realm is a form of consistency and continuity of its perspective on the world (Andriasanti, 2015).

The researchers tested the strength of both countries through a comparative analysis. Indonesia, as the largest country in ASEAN with a significant land area, plays a crucial role in maintaining regional stability in terms of geopolitics, defense, and economy. On the other hand, the UAE, as a Middle Eastern country, has a smaller land area but a high per capita income. Indonesia ranks 15 out of 142 countries in the Global Firepower military strength ranking, while the UAE is ranked 36th (Global Firepower, 2022). Furthermore, the UAE ranks 18th in the list of national technology power, which includes internet usage, LTE users, Digital Competitiveness Score, and R&D spending, while Indonesia ranks 60th (Global Finance, 2022).

Indonesia and the UAE have also opened cooperation in the field of defense and security, starting with efforts to prevent human trafficking. According to latest research by Rafi (2002) The cooperation outlined in the MoU includes several aspects, such as providing legal protection and legal certainty for Indonesian migrant workers in the UAE, enhancing cooperation in preventing and combating human trafficking, and improving access to information and communication between the two countries regarding the protection and welfare of migrant workers. Additionally, Wisesa (2023) had researched that Indonesia and the UAE have initiated agreements between defense industry companies, which serve as the foundation for the defense industry growth, for reaching minimum essential force (MEF) third phase; support for ideal posture, industrial development (medium -term product), as well as increased international cooperation. This indicates that in the future, the diplomatic relationship between Indonesia and the UAE also presents opportunities for CBM efforts.

This study aims to investigate defense diplomacy efforts between Indonesia and the UAE through CBMs, as a strategic step to strengthen bilateral relations and increase trust between the two countries. Through historical analysis and CBMS implementation, this research will explain how the two countries have used defense diplomacy as a tool to build stronger trust and see their impact on regional defense and security cooperation in the future.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

This research applies a qualitative descriptive approach, which aims to gain an in-depth understanding of various phenomena and social realities in an ideographic manner. The qualitative approach also emphasizes inductive logic, where categories are developed based on interactions between the researcher and informants in the field or through the analysis of discovered data. As a result, qualitative research produces contextual information that can help identify patterns or theories that explain social phenomena (Sugiyono, 2017). In the context of this research, the researcher will employ a case study design approach. According to Creswell, a case study approach involves investigating a single case or examining a specific issue or problem, using that case as a specific illustration. This study will explore real-life situations, involve relevant cases, and utilize various sources of information as the basis for data collection. The case to be studied is the phenomenon of the defense industry and defense cooperation efforts within the perspective of defense diplomacy between Indonesia and the . (Creswell, 2003, p. 15).

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Indonesia Defense Strategy Related to Indonesia – UAE Defense Diplomacy**

The importance of strategy in the field of defense involves concepts such as sovereignty, national interests, and threats. It also encompasses defense diplomacy and strategic planning, which involve non-military components, including efforts related to confidence-building measures (CBMs). Data analysis within the context of defense strategy involves three main criteria: ends, means, and ways. These criteria also incorporate the diplomatic aspect and further elaborate on the concept of defense diplomacy for CBMs as one of the sub-criteria of the research.

### 1. Ends/Objective

Referring to the criteria for defense diplomacy objectives, Indonesia's defense diplomacy aims to enhance confidence-building measures as part of wider foreign policy interests. This objective also extends to the development of the defense industry towards achieving defense self-reliance. The objective is achieved by securing potential defense industry developments in the UAE, such as renewable technology, education and training, and macroeconomic circulation through bilateral investments.

### 2. Means/Resources

Indonesia possesses diverse and abundant national resources, including natural resources and a strong human resource base. The abundant natural resources, such as oil, natural gas, minerals, and other natural wealth, provide significant potential for the development of a self-reliant and rapidly growing defense industry. Additionally, educated and trained human resources give Indonesia a strategic advantage in building a competitive and independent defense industry. In the context of defense strategy, Indonesia also holds regional strength within ASEAN, which can be utilized to strengthen national security and promote regional stability. As an active member of ASEAN, Indonesia holds a strong position in facilitating regional cooperation and strengthening relations with neighboring countries. This can be achieved through defense diplomacy, which aims to enhance cooperation and build partnerships in the defense industry with other nations.

One example of defense industry cooperation that Indonesia can pursue is with the UAE. The UAE has shown a strong commitment to building their defense capabilities, and a partnership with Indonesia can benefit both parties. Indonesia can leverage UAE's technology and experience in building a robust defense industry, while the UAE can benefit from Indonesia's natural resources and human resources to enhance their defense capacity. Through defense industry cooperation with the UAE, Indonesia can strengthen its national defense capabilities and promote regional stability. Effective defense diplomacy can establish mutually beneficial partnerships and foster cooperation among countries, particularly in the areas of security and defense.

### 3. Ways/Approaches

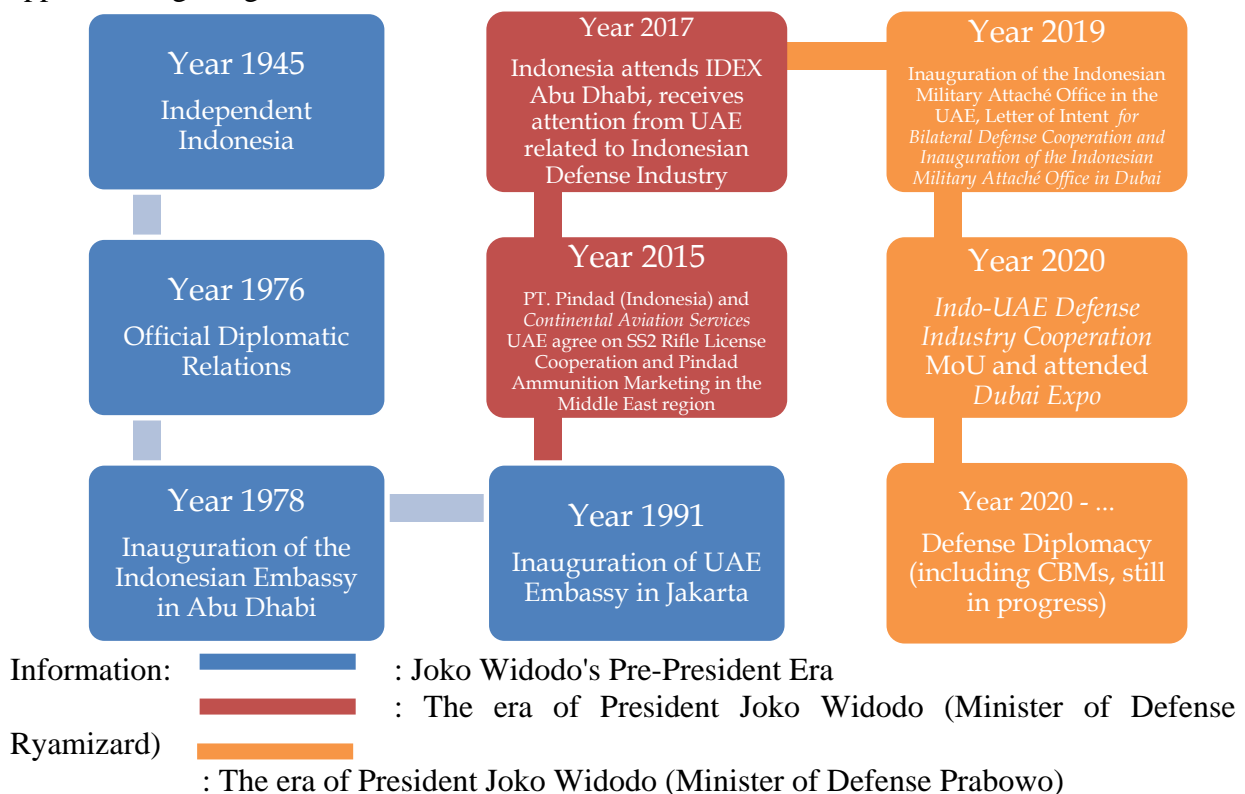
Based on the criteria outlined in the concept of national defense, as stated in the Republic of Indonesia Law No. 3 of 2002 on National Defense, defense is carried out in the face of military threats, both military and non-military. Non-military threats to national interests can be addressed by placing government institutions outside the defense sector, supported by other elements of national strength. Therefore, in conducting defense diplomacy with the UAE to create defense industry cooperation, the Indonesian government involves three main institutions in the defense and non-defense sectors to collaborate in diplomatic activities. The Ministry of Defense serves as the vanguard of defense diplomacy, responsible for formulating, monitoring, evaluating, and reporting on the implementation of international defense cooperation, including coordination with stakeholders related to the UAE defense industry. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs supports defense industry cooperation through the implementation of foreign policy with the UAE, covering various sectors such as economy, business, technology, and industry. Meanwhile, in the domestic scope, operational roles are carried out by the Defense Industry Policy Committee (KKIP) and defense industry companies entrusted with manufacturing processes, supply chain management, product diversification, business development, and education and training procurement.

In general, the Indonesian government has conducted most of the defense diplomacy activities outlined in the criteria based on the concept of defense diplomacy. However, not all of these activities are directly related to discussing defense industry cooperation. The data gathered

by the researcher has shown that the Indonesia-UAE defense industry cooperation is, in fact, an expansion of the defense sector and a concrete form of defense cooperation. It has been mentioned that the defense industry cooperation program between the two parties is part of a broader package program aimed at enhancing bilateral trade and economy. This statement aligns with the IUEA-CEPA agreement, which aims to increase political and economic self-reliance and reduce dependency on defense procurement to strengthen defense capabilities. Furthermore, this defense industry cooperation is expected to provide economic benefits to the participating countries.

### Indonesias' Diplomacy Related to Indonesia – UAE Defense Diplomacy

The Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia and the UAE continue their efforts to build CBMs (Confidence-Building Measures) through defense and education cooperation, as demonstrated by the meetings between Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto and HE Mohammed Ahmed Al Bowardi. These meetings discussed various aspects of cooperation in line with the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed in February 2020, including collaboration in the fields of science, defense industry, capacity building, information exchange, and shared views on defense and security. Although diplomatic relations between Indonesia and the UAE have been established for quite some time, the newly established bilateral defense cooperation since 2017 indicates that there is still a need for intense diplomatic processes between the two countries in the context of confidence-building measures (CBMs). This includes aspects related to the applicable legal regulations.



**Figure 1. Indonesia- Defense Diplomacy Process. Source: Researcher (2023)**

It has been explained by Nicholson (1960) that "diplomacy" derives from the Greek word "diploun," which means to fold, referring to the practice during the Roman Empire where royal travel letters were folded and sewn together, known as "diplomas." These were considered the early development of official documents related to agreements with foreign tribes outside of Rome. With the existence of these relations, these official royal letters became valuable archives

related to diplomacy, which is the study of diplomacy as part of international relations management, characterized by hierarchical features, one-way communication with the public, confidentiality, and involving political, legal, economic, social, and cultural factors. Diplomacy also involves operational institutions such as embassies, recognition, negotiations, agreements, policies, and international forums.

Considering that defense diplomacy is one part of the discourse of diplomacy, it is necessary to have a representative overview of the description of the relationship between the two countries –Indonesia and the UAE –where defense industry cooperation plays a key role in the framework of their bilateral relationship. Since both countries have played significant roles in various sectors, defense diplomacy, recently scheduled, becomes a special focus, especially under the leadership regimes of President Joko Widodo and Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan.

Morgenthau (1946) has mentioned that in diplomatic relations between countries, there are principles that are considered to ensure harmonious and mutually beneficial relationships. Indonesia and the UAE, as an example of bilateral diplomacy, seem to apply traditional paradigms with negotiation elements embedded in cooperation across various sectors, including defense industry cooperation. Furthermore, Nye (1990) also distinguishes diplomacy into hard power and soft power, where soft power involves the ability to attract and persuade others through cultural appeal, diplomatic negotiations, and the promotion of shared values. Recent research by Winger (2014) shows a correlation between defense diplomacy and the use of soft power, where persuasive and acculturative approaches can be applied without direct military involvement. Additionally, Purnama's research (2022) proves that soft power has a significant impact on the political and economic partnership between the two countries, achieved through instruments such as education, religion, and social affairs, which contribute to building the sovereignty of both parties, as well as practices of moderate religion, anti-terrorism cooperation, and defense industry collaboration, becoming key instruments in fostering diplomatic relations in the defense and security fields.

Diplomacy in the contemporary era indicates a diverse and dynamic diplomatic system, where the state is no longer the sole actor in diplomatic relations. Non-state actors also play a significant role in building trust, strength, and solidarity between nations. This is also evident in the diplomatic relationship between Indonesia and the UAE, where not only the state's role in CBMs is involved but also non-state actors.

The role of both direct diplomacy and indirect diplomacy is evident, including in facilitating bilateral relations between the two countries. Indonesia and the UAE have diplomatic relations, which primarily practice direct diplomacy. However, it is expected that the diplomacy of both countries can also play a role in indirect diplomacy, where indirect diplomacy can be an effective alternative for Indonesia to strengthen its relationship with the UAE in situations where Indonesia faces challenges with other countries outside its diplomatic relations. In this approach, the two countries can become main agents and facilitators in addressing these issues. For example, when Indonesia faces difficulties in establishing cooperation with countries in the Middle East, the UAE can act as a mediator to help Indonesia bridge its relations with those countries. Conversely, Indonesia can also assist the UAE in expanding its diplomatic network with countries in Southeast Asia with which it does not yet have established relations. By utilizing this strategy, Indonesia and the UAE can strengthen their strategic relationship and enhance cooperation in various fields.

Moreover, indirect diplomacy can be implemented through various instruments beyond official state delegations, aligning with Montville's statement (in Diamond & McDonald, 1996) that states –as track one– and track two by non-state actors are used to achieve the goals of defense industry cooperation. Additionally, all track two usages can be applied in CBMs.

### **Indonesia – UAE Defense Diplomacy for Confidence Building Measures' Progress**

It has been explained that defense diplomacy, defined as the use of a state's defense apparatus without violence to advance government strategic goals through cooperation with other countries, has become an important tool of military statecraft and global strategy for major world powers such as the United States, France, China, and the United Kingdom in their efforts to bypass the use of force and achieve objectives in global dynamics. This theory is then embodied in several concepts, one of which is through CBMs. Therefore, there is a need for defense diplomacy that tends to use soft power through shared value commodities.

Shared value commodities can serve as the basis for defense diplomacy strategies between two countries. In this regard, defense diplomacy can be interpreted as the collaborative efforts between countries in the field of defense, including the exchange of information, military training, and cooperation in defense technology development. According to Rhodes (1997), defense diplomacy can be an effective instrument in promoting a country's national interests in a global context. In this case, shared value commodities can serve as the foundation for the development of defense diplomacy strategies, especially in the efforts to build trust between the two countries. Building trust is one of the primary objectives of defense diplomacy. In this context, cooperation in the field of security and defense can help build trust between the two countries, thereby strengthening bilateral relations in the long term. In building defense diplomacy strategies, the identification and development of shared value commodities become crucial. Shared value commodities can enhance cooperation between countries in the fields of defense and security. In this case, the development of shared value commodities should be based on common interests and values upheld by both countries.

It has been previously explained that one of the objectives of diplomacy is to promote national interests. The national interests pursued by a country can become a global agenda through a series of communication networks, coordination, cooperation, and diplomatic relations with various policy stakeholders across countries, both in the form of state and non-state actors. Indonesia, as a key figure in the ASEAN, Asia, and even the world in the past few decades, must strive for diplomatic strategies that align with the global agenda.

There are at least several points from researchers that can be considered regarding the values that need to be disseminated in defense diplomacy strategies, which can be evaluated to maximize the effectiveness and success of diplomacy, especially with the . First, regarding the Global Maritime Axis (GMA). As previously explained, Indonesia has a vision as a GMA in its foreign policy. Defense diplomacy as an instrument in promoting national interests in the defense field must be implemented by incorporating this vision into the global contestation, including with the . This must be implemented in a global context and should be an integral part of Indonesia's defense diplomacy strategy, including cooperation with the . In this context, defense diplomacy should be directed towards promoting Indonesia's national interests, including strengthening bilateral cooperation in various fields such as maritime security, maritime resource management, maritime infrastructure development, and maritime tourism. By upholding these values, Indonesia can strengthen cooperation with the and achieve effective defense diplomacy goals. With this vision, one can imagine shared value commodities that can be established between both countries in the long term.

Furthermore, other shared value commodities such as religious moderation (with the majority being Islam), trade, industry, education, economy, and defense (related to counterterrorism) certainly become shared values that can be mutually exchanged by both parties, not only concerning defense and military matters but also non-defense and non-military sectors.

The researchers revealed that in the use of defense diplomacy for defense industry

cooperation, it can only be carried out by the government as track one, as well as defense industry companies and research and development institutions as track two. However, considering that the industry is a long-term prospect, the involvement of other actors should also be taken. Defense diplomacy efforts in building confidence-building measures (CBMs) between Indonesia and the UAE have the potential for mutual benefits. In this context, Indonesia can gain advantages from the UAE through the transfer of advanced defense technology and military training, which can enhance Indonesia's defense capabilities. Additionally, this cooperation can open opportunities to boost investment and trade in the defense sector between the two countries. On the other hand, the UAE can benefit from Indonesia in terms of personnel capacity development and expertise in non-conventional military operations, such as peacekeeping and disaster management. Furthermore, this collaboration can strengthen the political and economic relations between the two countries, enhance regional stability, and expand diplomatic networks and influence in the Middle East region (for Indonesia) and Southeast Asia (for the UAE). Furthermore, Indonesia's defense diplomacy efforts also aim to build constructive dialogue with the regarding strategic conflicts in the region, such as relations with Iran and the role of the Muslim Brotherhood, with the hope of achieving mutual understanding and promoting peaceful solutions in efforts to maintain regional stability.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the findings and discussions from the analyzed data, the conclusion of this research is that Indonesia's defense diplomacy strategy in the field of defense and security with the UAE fulfills the aspects of ends-means-ways. In this context, Indonesia has the objective of enhancing mutual trust as a national interest and broader foreign policy goal, which also impacts the development of the defense industry in order to achieve defense industry self-reliance. Indonesia possesses resources that support defense diplomacy in defense industry cooperation, including natural resources, human resources, and a well-established bureaucracy, combined with the production capabilities of defense industry companies, which demonstrate Indonesia's readiness to engage in long-term defense industry cooperation with the UAE. Indonesia, through the Ministry of Defense, conducts defense diplomacy in various ways that tend to prioritize soft power, such as defense exhibitions, state and industrial visits, as well as other defense and security cooperation agreements. This can be achieved through shared commodity values, which involve the principle of interdependence in safeguarding the sovereignty of both countries.

Based on the research data and conclusions above, the researcher proposes recommendations. Defense diplomacy should focus on soft power and shared value commodities. Indonesia can strengthen its defense diplomacy with the UAE by focusing on soft power and shared value commodities. Soft power can be achieved by promoting Indonesian culture and language to the people of the UAE and building good relations with civil society in the UAE. Meanwhile, shared value commodities can be realized through cooperation in various sectors that can also be integrated with the defense sector, such as security, education, religion, culture, economy, and other forms of cooperation that will provide significant economic and environmental benefits for both countries.

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