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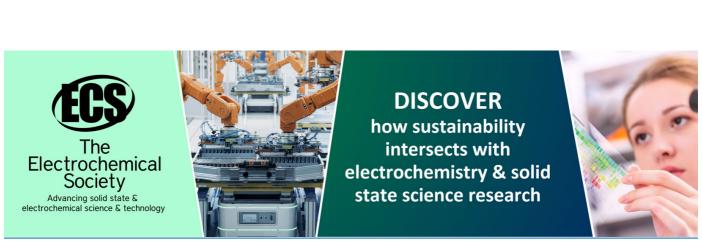
Analysis and improvement of the directions of strategic regulation of the process of ensuring the security of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation

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Analysis and improvement of the directions of strategic regulation of the process of ensuring the security of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation

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Abstract. Issues of strengthening the security of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation (AZRF) are increasingly considered today by authorities at various levels and in scientific research of leading institutions. The basis for ensuring national security is strategic planning based on long-term conceptual documents and a structured system of managerial decisionmaking. A special feature of the modern approach to strengthening the security of the Russian Arctic is an integrated approach that pays attention not only to such security components as military and environmental security, but also to its equally important types: strategic transport and energy security. The paper considers the content of conceptual approaches to the process of ensuring integrated security of the Arctic territories at the Federal level, analyzes the system of strategic documents for the development of the Arctic adopted in recent years. It is concluded that the state does not pay enough attention to the economic component of the complex security of the Russian Arctic. Possible ways to improve the efficiency of regulation of economic security issues in the AZRF are considered. To do this, it is proposed to make adjustments to the currently being developed Strategy for the development of the Russian Arctic until 2035; allocation of the Arctic as a separate object when adjusting the Strategy of economic security of the RF until 2030, specification of mechanisms for monitoring the level of economic security based on the addition of a set of indicators presented in the Program of socio-economic development of the AZRF.

1. Introduction

In recent years, the scientific community has significantly increased its interest in the development of Arctic territories. At the same time, the growth of interest is observed not only in countries that have access to the Arctic ocean and the territory beyond the Arctic circle, but also in those that are interested in using a variety of Arctic resources. Russia is one of the countries that is very active in the Arctic. This is due to several factors such as large areas of the Arctic zone in the country (the area of the Arctic territories of Russia is 3.7 million square kilometers, accounting for about 21% of the total area), a long coastline along the Arctic ocean (40 thousand kilometers or more than 65% of the total coastline of Russia), the growing importance of the Northern sea route and increased interest in this transportation artery from the world's leading powers [1]. The Russian Arctic regions are characterized by harsh climatic conditions, a specific way of economy based on such industries as fishing, mining, transport [2], significantly different living conditions [3], outflow and aging of the population [4]. Ensuring the security of the Arctic territories is one of the main strategic tasks of the state regional policy in Russia.

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2. Main part

Issues of ensuring the security of Arctic territories are raised in key documents regulating the development of the Russian Arctic. The first document was adopted in 2008. They were "Fundamentals of state policy of the RF in the Arctic for the period up to 2020 and beyond" [5] (hereinafter - "Fundamentals of state policy... up to 2020"). The document highlights military security and environmental security as specific elements of security in the Arctic territories, which are given considerable attention (in particular, the goals and objectives of military and environmental security, measures to implement state policy and strategic planning directions necessary to achieve them). These components of complex security are covered in the most detail in modern scientific research. In particular, issues of environmental security are devoted to the work of such scientists as Bratanovsky S. N. etc. [6] (analyzed the legal basis of regulation and organizational mechanisms to ensure environmental safety), I. Russkova et al. [7] (ensuring an acceptable level of environmental safety in the development of Arctic shelf projects), S. Gutman [8] et al. (formation of environmental safety monitoring systems for the Arctic regions and the AZRF as a whole). Numerous studies of such authors as Zhuravel A.V. [9], Zagorsky A.V. [10], Konyshev V. N. and Sergunin A. A. [11] are devoted to the military component of security.

Five years after the adoption of the "Fundamentals of state policy... until 2020", the Government approved The "strategy for the development of the AZRF and ensuring national security for the period up to 2020 "(hereinafter – the" Strategy 2020") [12]. From the point of view of ensuring the security of the Arctic territories, the main risks and threats identified in the document to the current socio-economic state of the AZRF are of interest. Risks and threats were classified in four areas. The most detailed description of negative factors in the social and economic spheres was provided in the "Strategy 2020". Despite the fact that in the document the concept of security, as in the "Fundamentals of state policy... until 2020", is applied to such components as military security and environmental security, a detailed description of the priority areas for the development of the Arctic territories (which, in fact, became the basis of the Strategy 2020) allows us to speak about the importance of ensuring economic, transport and energy security for these territories. At the same time, it should be noted that the lack of direct allocation of these types of integrated security in the Strategy 2020 did not allow us to form mechanisms for monitoring and ensuring them.

It is interesting to compare the risks and threats to the socio-economic development of the AZRF identified in the "Strategy 2020 "and the main challenges listed in the" Strategy of economic security of the RF for the period up to 2030 "[13] (hereinafter – the "Strategy of economic security"). The analysis has shown that the economic risks inherent in the Arctic territories are specific and generally not typical for the rest of Russia. Of the nine threats in the economic sphere identified in the "Strategy 2020", six differ from the challenges identified in the "Strategy for economic security of the Russian Federation". These threats are related to the specific economic structure of the AZRF, complex climatic conditions and the territorial remoteness of the Arctic from Federal centers. These threats include: lack of technologies for exploration and development of hydrocarbon reserves on the shelf of the Arctic ocean, high energy intensity of industrial production and low labor productivity, insufficient development of navigation and hydrographic support for Maritime navigation, lack or lack of space monitoring of continental and marine areas of the AZRF, low level of development of the information and telecommunications sphere, which does not allow providing high-quality services to the population living in the Arctic territories, irrational organization of energy infrastructure in the Arctic. Among the economic development threats in the Russian Arctic, overlapping with the national calls in the "Strategy 2020" indicated a high degree of aging and depreciation of fixed assets in key industries, low level of transport infrastructure development and a significant degree of territorial differentiation of regions of the AZRF, which leads to uneven development between the leading and depressed areas in the Russian

Another important step in the system of ensuring comprehensive security of the AZRF, made in the "Strategy 2020", was the presentation of the characteristics of the socio-economic development of the AZRF, which are represented by indicative indicators. However, the lack of consistency in their

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presentation and the lack of classification of indicators for individual components of complex security should be noted as a drawback.

In addition to the above-mentioned two main strategic documents, more than 1,500 decrees, laws, resolutions and orders aimed at the development of the Arctic were adopted by the end of 2018 [14].

In 2014, a Program for socio-economic development of the AZRF was developed to specify the mechanisms for implementing the priorities for the development of the Arctic territories set out in the "Strategy 2020" [15]. The program attempted to combine activities aimed at the development of the Arctic territories stated in other strategic documents (in total, the document presented activities of about 20 Federal planning documents). At the same time, the program presented the main provisions of sub-Federal strategic documents that define the development of such subjects of the Russian Federation as the Arkhangelsk and Murmansk regions, the republics of Komi and Sakha (Yakutia), the Krasnoyarsk territory, the Nenets, Chukotka and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous districts (subjects fully or partially included in the AZRF). The Program also included the largest and most significant projects implemented in the Russian Arctic by state corporations, major private entities, institutions of higher education and scientific organizations. Despite the positive significance of the adoption of the Program, its implementation in practice was associated with objective difficulties. First of all, there was no approved funding in the document, and the system of activities of the Program, in fact, was a list of areas and projects declared in other strategic documents, United by a common place of implementation – the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation.

Realizing the need to improve the effectiveness of the Program, in 2017 the Government adopted changes that, first, allowed to extend the implementation period of the program for five years (until 2025), and, secondly, to secure funding for each event of the program in significant amounts [16]. Currently, the state program "Socio-economic development of the AZRF for the period up to 2020" is a current document (since its adoption, the Program has been amended four times, including twice in 2019), which defines the main projects and directions for the development of this territory, as well as their resource and financial support. Despite the fact that measures aimed at strengthening the integrated security of the Arctic territories are not highlighted in the document as a separate area, most of the measures contribute to ensuring the main components of security: military, economic, information, environmental, energy, transport and other types. The total amount of budget resources that should be allocated for the implementation of the Program's activities is more than 190 trillion rubles (up to 50 trillion rubles a year in 2021-2025). The current version of the Program contains three subroutines. The first is aimed at forming reference zones in the territory of the AZRF, as well as providing conditions for the socio-economic development of this macroregion. The second one contains measures for the development of the Northern sea route. The third one provides for a set of measures aimed at providing projects in the field of environmental management (primarily, the oil and gas industry) and industrial enterprises with modern equipment and technologies. The distribution of funding within the framework of these three routines (the first routine accounts for about 69% of the total amount of funding for the second and third – to approximately 19% and 12%, respectively) shows that on the basis of the formation of a network of support zones, the Russian Government sees the greatest prospects of development of the AZRF. At the same time, the effectiveness of such priorities of state policy in the development of the Russian Arctic in scientific circles raises certain doubts [17].

Another feature of the distribution of funding for this Program is the lack of balance of funding in areas. A significant share of the Program's funding (from 62% to 84% in 2019-2025) is allocated to the activities of the Ministry of defense [18], while the remaining key areas, including the socio-economic development of the Arctic territories, will be funded in much smaller amounts.

It should be noted that if the Program "Socio-economic development of the AZRF for the period up to 2020" is adjusted and changed as necessary, then the Strategy 2020 is a document that was adopted in 2013, and many of the provisions of this document are not relevant today or do not correspond to new macroeconomic challenges and geopolitical conditions. Thus, the state faces the task of developing a new strategic document that defines the future of the Russian Arctic. This document may be adopted as early as 2020. Currently, there is an active public discussion of the Draft strategy for the development

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of the Arctic until 2035. This document is expected to include not only the previously identified areas of implementation of the national security complex in the Arctic territories, including: the deployment and modernization of military facilities and maintaining the combat readiness of the armed forces, the creation of a modern monitoring system (including through space surveillance projects) and navigation, the implementation of a complex of hydrographic works, but also fundamentally new, aimed at strengthening Russia's presence in the Arctic and strengthening the socio-economic situation of the Arctic regions. Among the significant areas that can significantly increase the level of transport, economic, energy and other components of the security of the Russian Arctic, the Strategy 2035 may include such areas as the creation of a national ice service, support for industries that are strategically important for the Arctic regions of the RF (shipbuilding, ship repair, fishing industry), reconstruction and development of ports and port infrastructure throughout the Northern sea route.

One of the steps towards the adoption of the Strategy until 2035 is the adoption in March 2020 of the "Fundamentals of state policy of the RF in the Arctic for the period up to 2035" [19]. This document allowed to review approaches to the strategic development of the Russian Arctic in accordance with modern challenges. In particular, the document reveals the state of national security in the Arctic, provides the goals, directions and tasks of state policy in this region, and generally lists the main mechanisms for implementing such a policy. The main goal of the document is to ensure the protection of the national interests in the Arctic. Despite the fact that the new document has the same structure as the" public policy Framework ... until 2020", the documents have a number of significant differences, presented in table 1.

Table 1. Differences between the Fundamentals of the Russian Federation's state policy in the Arctic for the period up to 2020 [5] and up to 2035 [19]

Comparison criteria	Fundamentals of the state policy for the period up to 2020 [5]	Fundamentals of the state policy for the period up to 2035 [19]
National interests in the Arctic	Strategic resource base; zone of peace and cooperation; environmental conservation and development of the Northern sea route	Supplemented with the priority of ensuring a high quality of life for the population in the Arctic
Threats and challenges to national security in the Arctic	Not represented	They are presented in sufficient detail and in a variety of ways
Goal-setting	Represented by a hierarchy: national interests – main goals and strategic priorities – main tasks in the following areas	Presented by the hierarchy: national interests-goals – main directions of state policy implementation – main tasks in the areas
Public policy objectives	They are grouped into five areas: socio-economic development, military security, border protection, environmental security, information technology and communications, and science and technology	The number of areas where tasks are presented has been significantly increased. The tasks in such areas as infrastructure development, science and technology development, and development of international cooperation are given separately
Mechanism for implementing state policy	Not represented	The stated need for the adoption of the "strategy of development of the AZRF and

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		national security for the period up to 2035" and the "strategy of development of Arctic tourism in Russia". The bodies for implementing state policy in the Arctic are specified (the President of the Russian Federation – leadership, the State Commission for Arctic development-coordination). The source of funding for the declared activities is indicated.
Indicators of the effectiveness of state policy implementation	Not represented	They are separated into a separate section, but they are not grouped by areas or tasks, as well as targets or thresholds

The analysis of the "Fundamentals of state policy... until 2035", adopted in March 2020, suggests that a significant step forward has been made in the field of strategic planning for the development of the Russian Arctic, which should become the basis for the adoption of many important regulatory documents.

In recent years, several bodies have been created at the Federal level, whose tasks included, among other things, ensuring the security of the Arctic territories.

Discussions about the form and status of the body that forms the principles and directions of state policy in relation to the Arctic territories have been conducted since the beginning of 2010. By 2015, there were three views on this issue. According to the first point of view, it was necessary to create a Ministry-level body that would be responsible for the development of the AZRF. According to the second opinion, the optimal way to regulate various processes in the Arctic was to form a state Commission that would have the broadest possible representation of all interested parties (Federal, regional and municipal authorities, public organizations, state and private economic entities operating in the territory under consideration). The third alternative view suggested the formation of a new Arctic Federal district, which would unite the regions that are fully or partially included in the AZRF, and building a management system in the Arctic based on the formed principles of Federal district management in Russia. As a result of discussions by the Government, the second option was chosen [20].

In 2015, the State Commission for Arctic development under the Government of the Russian Federation was established, its main task is to protect Russia's national interests in the AZRF. To fulfill this task, the Commission was given broad powers, including improving the effectiveness of military deployment in the Arctic, solving problems in the field of transport support, including the development of the Northern sea route, realizing the resource potential of the Arctic, developing ways to improve the quality of life of the population living in the Arctic territories, and organizing interstate cooperation on the development of the Arctic. The Commission was initiated by the President of the Russian Federation, who in 2014 at a meeting of the security Council declared the need to create such a body. At the time of its creation, the Commission consisted of 80 members, including members of the Government, heads of regions whose territory is fully or partially included in the AZRF, presidential envoys to Federal districts, heads of public and private large structures operating in the Arctic. Such a wide membership made the work of the Commission ineffective, and the process of making important decisions lengthy and time-consuming. In this regard, later the composition and structure of the Commission was repeatedly revised. Currently, the Commission has 44 members and meets more frequently, but evaluating the effectiveness of its work remains a debatable issue.

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Since February 2019, the Ministry for the development of the Far East has been renamed the Ministry for the development of the Far East and the Arctic, which allowed the Russian Government to focus on the development and comprehensive security of the Arctic territories as a separate object of a strategically important macro-region. This decision, in fact, was a recognition of the need for the government of to build and implement a separate direction of state policy and management in the Russian Arctic and the lack of efforts made for the development of the Arctic territories by the State Commission for Arctic development under the Government. In addition, assigning new functions to the Ministry of regional Development will solve the problem of territorial subordination, which was associated with the fact that until recently part of the AZRF (part of the territory of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) and the Chukotka Autonomous district) were under the jurisdiction of the Ministry, while the Ministry's competence did not extend to other regions of the AZRF.

In addition to the two key state bodies, certain powers to manage the development and national security of the Russian Arctic are vested in the Council for the Arctic and Antarctic, which is a permanent expert Advisory body to the Council of the Federation. The Council's functions include analyzing legislation regulating the development of the AZRF and developing proposals for its improvement, evaluating the effectiveness of proposed international and Russian Arctic projects, and monitoring the implementation of state policy in the Arctic (including military and environmental security issues). Analogous functions are implemented by the Committee on regional policy and problems of the North and Far East under the State Duma of the Russian Federation, while the object of management of this body is much wider than the territory of the AZRF.

It should be noted that in recent years, steps have been taken to build a system of governing bodies of the AZRF as a special strategically important macro-region, and the functions and powers of such bodies have been expanded. Considering the organization of work of these bodies in the Annex to the issues of integrated security, it should be noted that at the moment, when declaring the importance of this area, there is no specific distribution and consolidation of security functions between different bodies, and work on individual components of integrated security is not systematized (first of all, such important as economic, energy, transport). The integrated security monitoring system has not been fully implemented, and the relationship between the approved development directions of the Arctic territories and safety indicators has not been worked out. The concept documents, reflecting the importance of work in the field of ensuring the security of the AZRF, are devoid of specifics and insufficiently systematized on individual components of security, primarily economic security. All this makes it possible to speak about the need to improve the comprehensive security of the AZRF and its individual components.

3. Conclusion

Analysis of the strategic regulation of the process of ensuring the security of the AZRF has shown that there are a significant number of problems in this area. These problems include the following: lack of consistency and interrelation between separate strategic documents of the Federal level, search for optimal forms of building the state system of management bodies of the Arctic territories up to the present time; the lack of speed of any change in the strategic documents regulating the processes of socio-economic development of Arctic regions, the shift of funding for the development of the AZRF towards defense projects; the absence of real efforts to implement many of the stated strategic documents trends (especially socio-economic development of Arctic regions).

In order to improve the effectiveness of integrated security in the AZRF the following areas should be implemented:

- 1. Accelerate the adoption of the Strategy until 2035. About five years passed between the approval of the document "Fundamentals of state policy until 2020" and "Strategy 2020". The same situation should not happen again. The adoption of the new "state policy Framework until 2035" in March 2020 should ensure the adoption of the new Strategy in the minimum period (until the end of 2020).
- 2. To Consider the issues of ensuring the security of the AZRF in a comprehensive manner (currently, only such elements of integrated security as military and environmental are indicated in strategic

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documents), including by highlighting such key components as economic, transport, energy, and others. In particular, the strategic documents should disclose the content of these elements of national security, create a list of criteria for each type of security that can be used to periodically monitor the level of security in individual regions and the AZRF as a whole, as well as thresholds and targets.

- 3. Select the AZRF as a separate object in the" Strategy for economic security of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2030". It is necessary to highlight the features of this territory that affect the level of economic security, to define additional criteria for assessing the economic security of the Arctic regions, and specific measures and measures aimed at strengthening economic security.
- 4. Gradually shift the focus when making changes to the state program "Socio-economic development of the AZRF" from the military block to the financing of activities aimed at the socio-economic and infrastructural development of the Arctic territories.

The implementation of these directions will increase the effectiveness of strategic regulation of the process of ensuring national security in the AZRF, take a comprehensive approach to its strengthening and balance the development of this territory in all directions.

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