

## POLITICAL PROCESSES AND INSTITUTIONS

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### Integrated Security Issues in the Basic Principles of Russian Federation State Policy in the Arctic to 2035: Experience and Prospects for Implementation \*

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**Abstract.** March 5, 2020, President of Russia V.V. Putin approved the Basic Principles of Russian Federation State Policy in the Arctic to 2035. It is a strategic planning document aimed at ensuring the national security of the Russian Federation and designed to protect Russia's interests in the Arctic. It defines goals, directions, tasks, as well as mechanisms for implementing Russian policy in the Arctic for the next 15 years. The authors analyzed the implementation results of the Basic Principles of Russia's State Policy in the Arctic until 2020 and further perspectives. The article provides a general outline of the Basic Principles of Russian Federation State Policy in the Arctic to 2035. The authors focus on the analysis of the leading national security challenges in the Arctic and enhancing integrated security of the fuel and energy complex, as well as the main directions of the implementation of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic. They are the protection of the population and territories of the Arctic zone from natural and human-made emergencies, enhancing national security in the Arctic zone, ensuring the military security of the Russian Federation, and protection of the state border of the Russian Federation. It is emphasized that the comprehensive implementation of the Basic Principles will contribute to improving the quality of life of people in the Arctic zone, socio-economic development of the country, and increasing its defense capability in the Arctic.

**Keywords:** *Russia, Arctic, Basic Principles of Russian Federation State Policy in the Arctic to 2035, threats.*

#### Introduction

Global warming, the melting of the Arctic ice, the growing availability of valuable energy and marine resources, the vast unexplored world reserves of oil, gas, and freshwater began to have a serious impact on security issues in the Arctic region.

A thorough analysis of international challenges in the field of ensuring national security in the Arctic, the problems of ensuring the defense and security of the Russian Arctic in current conditions is given in the Basic Principles of Russian Federation State Policy in the Arctic to 2035 [1] (the Basic Principles).

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***General characteristics of the Basic Principles of state policy in the Russian Federation for the next 15 years, the results of the Russian Arctic development in 2008 – 2020***

March 5, 2020. President of Russia V.V. Putin, in a decree No. 164, approved the Basic Principles of State Policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic Zone to 2035. The Ministry for the Development of the Russian Far East and the Arctic prepared the draft decree. On December 27, 2019, it was approved by the Security Council of the Russian Federation. The Basic Principles determine the goals, directions, tasks, and the mechanisms for implementing the policy of Russia in the Arctic, which has always been in the focus of the country's leadership. For decades, step by step, Russia has been increasing its presence in this region. At each stage, tasks for its development were determined.

According to this Document, six main national interests of Russia in the Arctic are identified. They can be divided into three blocks: international and military issues (ensuring the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Russia, preserving the Arctic as a territory of the peace, stable and mutually beneficial partnership); economic problems (ensuring a high quality of life and well-being of the population, the development of the Arctic zone as a strategic resource base and its rational use to accelerate the country's economic growth, the development of the NSR as a competitive national transport communication of the Russian Federation on the world market) and the problems of ecology and life of indigenous peoples (environmental protection in the Arctic, protection of the indigenous areas and traditional way of life of indigenous peoples of the Russian Arctic).

Based on national interests, the Document defines eight directions for the implementation of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic. Their characteristics are the following: the social and economic development of the Russian Arctic, as well as the development of its infrastructure; use of advanced science and technology in the interests of the Arctic development; environmental protection and safety; broader international cooperation; ensuring the protection of the population and territories from natural and human-made emergencies; ensuring public safety in the Russian Arctic; ensuring military security; and protection of the state border of the Russian Federation. It is necessary to complete 63 tasks to reach the goals. Only 17 of them are related to defense and security issues, but they guarantee socio-economic problems solution<sup>1</sup>.

Besides, the Basic Principles define several tasks that contribute to the human potential growth in the development of the Russian Arctic, improving the living conditions of the permanent Arctic population. Particular attention is paid to the provision of state support to the economically active people of Russia, ready to move to the Russian Arctic to carry out labor activities. Earlier, this idea was spoken out by the RAS corresponding member V.P. Fedorov, who proposed to provide the Arctic with organized mass resettlement. He called it his Russian megaproject, "Give us the Arctic!" [2].

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<sup>1</sup> Authors' calculations grounded on the Basic Principles.

The Basic Principles outline the results of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic in 2008–2020. A lot has been done over the past 12 years. A new Arctic legal framework was approved, the land territories of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation (AZRF) were determined, the necessary organizational measures were taken to protect the interests of the Russian Federation in the region. The State Commission for the Development of the Arctic, formed in February 2015, plays an important role in the analysis of Arctic problems. For the past five years, it identified priorities and main tasks for the coming years from a strategic planning perspective and pointed out shortcomings in various areas of life.

In the Arctic, the volume of traffic along the Northern Sea Route (NSR) gradually increased. According to the Ministry of Transport of the Russian Federation, in 2013, less than 4 million tons of cargo were transported, and in 2019 – already 30 million tons<sup>2</sup>. In the same period, conditions were created for large economic projects on the territory of the Russian Arctic: nickel production in Norilsk, commissioning of the Yamal LNG plant and the port of Sabetta, expansion of the infrastructure of the Varandey terminal, etc. Russia can rightfully be proud of these projects. But most of the planning to improve the NSR infrastructure, the construction of icebreaking, rescue and auxiliary fleets, the creation of land vehicles and aircraft to work in the severe climatic conditions of the Arctic could not be fully completed. The timing of their commissioning was postponed to the mid-2020s. The reasons for this situation are the underfunding of projects or its complete absence, as well as sanctions against Russian and foreign oil and gas companies operating in the Arctic. Most of the effective management decisions on the development of the Arctic were made only in 2018–2019, i.e., only at the final stage of implementation of the Basic Principles adopted in 2008.

As part of the NSR development, Rosatom has become its only infrastructure operator. For the LNG and gas condensate export from Yamal LNG and Arctic LNG-2, the possibility of using 28 foreign gas carriers has been established. The order of the Government of the Russian Federation of December 21, 2019, approved a plan for the development of the NSR infrastructure until 2035.

In 2010, the Northern (Arctic) Federal University named after M.V. Lomonosov was created in Arkhangelsk. It aims at training personnel for the Arctic. Currently, it trains more than 22 thousand students. It is the leading training center for young Arctic specialists.

Significantly increased the state's attention to the search, exploration, and production of hydrocarbon-related resources. The mineral resource base remains the key driver for the development of the Arctic macroregion.

During this period, the use of proper environmental management and environmental protection regimes in the Russian Arctic significantly expanded. So, if in 2014, in the Russian part of the Arctic, there were 24 specially protected natural territories of federal significance [3], then at

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<sup>2</sup> Ob'em perevozok gruzov po Sevmorputi dostig 30 mln tonn [The Volume of Cargo Transportation along the Northern Sea Route Reached 30 Million Tons]. 13.01.2020. URL: <https://sudostroenie.info/novosti/29125.html> (accessed 15 January 2020).

the beginning of 2019, there were 35<sup>3</sup>. During this period, national parks formed: Russian Arctic (2009), Onezhskoe Pomor'ye, and Berengiya (2013), Khibiny (2018).

It should be noted that cooperation between Russia and the Arctic states actively developed until 2014. Then, due to the US and EU sanctions against Russia, it was curtailed in almost all directions, except for activities within the Arctic Council. The sanctions have limited the time for strategic projects for the exploration and production of hydrocarbons on the Arctic shelf of Russia. The analysis shows the targeted sanctions demonstrate a real rivalry between states in this region for the development of its resources. In our opinion, the US and European countries are not interested in strengthening the position of our country in the Arctic region. They are leading and will continue to pursue this policy, even if their companies incur losses and exit profitable Arctic projects in Russia. In these conditions, it is important to create proprietary competitive technologies to reduce dependence on other countries in the future Arctic development.

The primary and visible achievement in the prior period in the Arctic was the strengthening of the country's defense capabilities, which contributed to maintaining the balance of forces and ensuring the necessary level of military security.

The document indicates the main internal threats to national security in the Arctic territories of Russia. These are, first, the causes and consequences of the continuing reduction in the population of the Arctic zone of Russia [4]. Also, it is the low development level of the social, transport, information, and communication infrastructure of the land areas of the Russian Arctic, incl. places of traditional residence of small indigenous peoples. The transition to a market economy, the closure of thousands of enterprises, a sharp reduction in funding for Arctic projects, low wages without considering regional payments adversely affected the quality of life of the population. It led to an increased outflow from most Arctic territories and led to their desolation. Attention is drawn to the low pace of geological exploration of promising mineral resource centers [5, 6] and the lack of a state support system for business entities providing cost and risk reduction in the implementation of economic projects, as well as to the weak development of necessary domestic technologies, and the lack of readiness of the monitoring system for environmental challenges.

An analysis of the results of the Arctic development over the past years is vital for understanding the relevance, features, and prospects for the development of the Russian Arctic for the next 15 years, considering the main challenges and threats to Russian national security in the face of growing tension with the US and Western countries.

### ***Main challenges for the national security in the Arctic***

New challenges and threats pose a task for experts to rethink the place and role of the Arctic zone of Russia in ensuring national interests, economic, social, and strategic defense development of the country, methods of state regulation of the development of the macroregion. In cur-

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<sup>3</sup> Gosudarstvennyy doklad «O sostoyanii i ob okhrane okruzhayushchey sredy Rossiyskoy Federatsii v 2018 godu» [State Report "On the State and Environmental Protection of the Russian Federation in 2018"]. URL: <http://gosdoklad-ecology.ru/2018/arkticheskaya-zona-rossiyskoy-federatsii/sostoyanieokruzhayushchey-sredy/> (accessed 10 March 2020).

rent conditions, the success of Russia's policy in the Arctic depends not only on the implementation of the already outlined strategic goals but also on the refinement of specific plans and programs, considering the rapidly changing geopolitical situation in the world and the Arctic region.

The main challenges of ensuring national security in the Arctic are manifested in the attempts of some foreign states to revise the basic provisions of international treaties regulating economic and other activities in the Arctic. It is also an attempt to create national legal regulation systems without such agreements and regional formats of cooperation. Some countries (USA, China, Japan, and Finland) seek to change the NSR navigation regime striving for its internationalization in the future, which may ultimately reduce Russia's influence in the region [7]. Senior US officials are proposing to extend the Freedom of Navigation Operation to the Northern Sea Route. On the other hand, the NSR control issue, according to A. Bartosh, is of critical importance for our country, since it is so far the only transport route capable of integrating remote areas of the High North and their resource potential into the national economy of the country<sup>4</sup>. The challenge is to incorporate the NSR into the world transit system as an effective Euro-Asian transport corridor while maintaining its sovereignty in the Russian Arctic. It is necessary to improve its infrastructure, create development conditions for container transportation, and attract the largest international shipowners and cargo owners. Pressure on Russia has intensified on issues such as determining the external borders of the continental shelf, dividing offshore areas, developing oil and gas resources in the context of environmental safety, exploiting biological resources, and access of foreign states to the NSR.

The national security challenge in the Arctic means the incompleteness of the international legal maritime delimitation regime. Non-Arctic states are trying to take advantage of the situation without the necessary rights to develop the Arctic shelf. It is so since they do not have direct access to the Arctic Ocean, but they are making political and expert efforts to weaken the already adopted legal norms in the Arctic. Such states strive to reinforce their ambitions for access to the rich natural resources of the Arctic region and its transport communications with an appropriate financial, economic, scientific, and technological capacity.

Attempts are being made to prevent the Russian Federation from carrying out legitimate economic or other activities in the Arctic by foreign states and (or) international organizations. It is especially indicative of the actions of Norway against Russia on the Spitsbergen archipelago [8]. In the message of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation S.V. Lavrov to the Foreign Minister of Norway I.M. Eriksen Sjøreide of February 4, 2020, in connection with the 100th anniversary of the Treaty of Svalbard, signed on February 9, 1920, in Paris, in terms of ensuring "equal free access" to the archipelago and the possibility of conducting economic and economic activities there "under full of equality", noted concerns about the restrictions on the use of the Russian helicopter, the procedure for deporting Russian citizens from Svalbard, the illegal establishment of

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<sup>4</sup> Bartosh A.A. *Gibridnye ugrozy voznikli v Arktike* [Hybrid Threats Arose in the Arctic]. 02.12.2016. URL: [http://nvo.ng.ru/gpolit/2016-12-02/1\\_928\\_arctic.html](http://nvo.ng.ru/gpolit/2016-12-02/1_928_arctic.html) (accessed 16 March 2020).

the so-called “fish protection zone” by Norway, the artificial expansion of nature protection zones to limit economic activity in the archipelago, and some other issues<sup>5</sup>. According to A. Todorov, matters of the legal status and regime of Svalbard’s marine spaces “can be attributed to the category of protracted disputes that do not cause, at least for now, a sharp aggravation of the situation in the region. However, this does not mean that such a situation will necessarily persist in the future. When building scenarios of events, one cannot completely exclude the possibility that some kind of “sleeping” problem will “shoot” and completely turn the tide in the Arctic”<sup>6</sup>.

The threat to national security is the military presence build-up by foreign states in the Arctic, which increases the conflict potential of the region [9]. So, in a report at an expanded meeting of the board of the Ministry of Defense of Russia in December 2018, Minister of Defense S.K. Shoigu identified the following trends in the military-political situation affecting the Arctic region<sup>7</sup>: since 2018, the second operational fleet of the U.S. Navy is being recreated; to ensure the transfer of troops from the US for their deployment in Europe, it was decided to form two new commands of the joint NATO command — the Atlantic and the joint rear command by 2022; in Norway, construction of a new radar station is underway 60 km from the Russian border; in its territory in 2018, the number of deployed units of the US Marine Corps was doubled; the number of exercises is increasing, more and more non-NATO countries, in particular Sweden and Finland, are taking part in them; the number of reconnaissance flights near the borders of Russia is growing. The US military activity in the Arctic and other areas intensified [10, 11].

In April — May 2020, NATO Defender Europe 2020 exercises took place on the territory of European countries along the western border of Russia, in which, in addition to European NATO troops, more than 20 thousand US troops and tens of thousands of military equipment were participating. The exercises have become the largest since the end of the Cold War and, notably, coincide in time with the celebration of the 75th anniversary of Victory in the Great Patriotic War. In the first decade of May 2020, maneuvers of the combined Navy forces of the NATO countries took place in the Barents Sea and included the American destroyers Porter, Donald Cook, and Franklin

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<sup>5</sup> O poslanii Ministra inostrannykh del Rossii S.V. Lavrova Ministru inostrannykh del Norvegii I.M. Eriksen Sereyde po sluchayu 100-letiya podpisaniya Dogovora o Shpitsbergene [On the Message of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia Sergey V. Lavrov to Minister of Foreign Affairs of Norway I.M. Eriksen Søreide on the Occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the Signing of the Svalbard Treaty]. 04.02.2020. URL: [https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign\\_policy/news/-/asset\\_publisher/cKNonkJE02Bw/content/id/4019093](https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/news/-/asset_publisher/cKNonkJE02Bw/content/id/4019093) (accessed 27 February 2020).

<sup>6</sup> Todorov A. Dogovor o Shpitsbergene: yarkaya mozaika intepretatsiy [Svalbard Treaty: A Vivid Mosaic of Interpretations]. 14.02.2020. URL: [https://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/analytics/dogovor-o-shpitsbergene-yarkaya-mozaika-interpretatsiy/?fbclid=IwAR2CpKLP24Jd0Re0p4IVI\\_Ui2WdqOCXCBs8w9UyLpDb8cc4mOw-bHZOD0Tg](https://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/analytics/dogovor-o-shpitsbergene-yarkaya-mozaika-interpretatsiy/?fbclid=IwAR2CpKLP24Jd0Re0p4IVI_Ui2WdqOCXCBs8w9UyLpDb8cc4mOw-bHZOD0Tg) (accessed 27 February 2020).

<sup>7</sup> Zasedanie kollegii Ministerstva oborony. Vladimir Putin prinyal uchastie v rasshirennom zasedanii kollegii Ministerstva oborony [Board Meeting of the Ministry of Defense. Vladimir Putin Took Part in an Expanded Meeting of the Board of the Ministry of Defense]. 18.12.2018. URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/59431> (accessed 25 January 2019).



Roosevelt, and the British frigate Kent, some of which was equipped with Tomahawk cruise missiles and the Aegis anti-missile defense system<sup>8</sup>.

All this is reinforced by the next attempts to discredit Russian activities in the Arctic by our geopolitical opponents. This work is carried out regularly. At different stages, it weakened, then intensified. The relevance of this problem lies in the fact that it affects the issues of the sovereignty of the Russian Federation [12]. Russia is still accused of militarizing the Arctic. Currently, special attention is paid to the facts of violation of environmental rules, pollution of its territory when using old equipment for hydrocarbon production, and other types of economic activity [13]. There is a tendency to accuse the Russian Federation of oppressing the indigenous peoples of the North. Western countries periodically remind about the radioactive loading of the Russian Arctic territories during the period of military and economic activity of the USSR. These are radioactive fallout during testing of nuclear weapons, the removal of radioactivity by the northern rivers of Russia, the operation of the USSR/Russia atomic fleet, flooded and sunken radioactive objects, etc. Currently, about 18 thousand of them were flooded in the Arctic waters of the USSR/Russia. Now, 119 out of 121 nuclear submarines that have served their life in the Arctic have passed through utilization<sup>9</sup>. Given these problems, according to the RAS academician A.A. Sarkisov, the country's leadership is making significant efforts to complete the radioecological rehabilitation of the Russian Arctic and develop a set of government acts necessary to solve this problem [14].

An analysis of the main challenges in ensuring national security in the Arctic shows that Russia needs to take adequate, timely measures aimed at maintaining parity and creating favorable conditions for protecting national interests in this important region.

### ***Russian army in the Arctic***

Russia has done a lot to strengthen security and explore the region. On December 1, 2014, a new military structure began to operate — the Joint Strategic Command “North”. The purpose of the Arctic grouping is the reliable protection of the natural resources of this region and ensuring the safety of the Northern Sea Route. Its composition included the Northern Fleet in full force, the 45th Army of the Air Force and Air Defense. At the same time, several formations and units of the Central and Eastern military districts, as well as other power structures, were transferred to the new command. The ground component of the command was a marine brigade and two Arctic motorized rifle brigades in the Murmansk Oblast. Annually, constant exercises, measures to optimize groupings of troops and military formations are held, the process of arming units with new types of weapons and military equipment is ongoing. So, for the Arctic units of the Northern Fleet recently transferred new unique radar stations “Podlet”, which at extremely low temperatures up to

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<sup>8</sup> Severnyy flot sledit za korablyami NATO v Barentsevom more [Northern Fleet monitors NATO ships in the Barents Sea]. 04.05.2020. URL: [https://rg.ru/2020/05/04/severnyj-flot-sledit-za-korablami-nato-v-barencevom-more.html?utm\\_source=yxnews&utm\\_medium=desktop&utm\\_referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fyandex.ru%2Fnews](https://rg.ru/2020/05/04/severnyj-flot-sledit-za-korablami-nato-v-barencevom-more.html?utm_source=yxnews&utm_medium=desktop&utm_referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fyandex.ru%2Fnews) (accessed 07 May 2020).

<sup>9</sup> Prezidium RAN: ochistit' Arktiku ot posledstviy «kholodnoy voyny» [Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences: to Cleanse the Arctic from the Consequences of the Cold War]. 02.12.2015. URL: <http://scientificrussia.ru> (accessed 07 May 2020).

minus 50 C simultaneously accompany up to 200 air targets. The military base “Arctic Trilistnik” created on the Alexandra Island of the Franz Josef Land Archipelago can continuously work for 18 months with 150 people. It includes two runways and is equipped with Bastion coastal missile systems. And based on the “Northern Klever” (Kotelny Island in the Laptev Sea), 250 people serve, a radar station for monitoring aircraft is operating, and the Pantsir-C1 complex for air defense<sup>10</sup>.

The Basic Principles [1, par. 19] define the main tasks in ensuring the military security of the Russian Federation in the Arctic. The main is the implementation of a set of measures aimed at preventing the use of military force against Russia, protecting its sovereignty and territorial integrity. In total, in the Arctic, it is planned to build 13 airfields, one ground aviation training ground, as well as ten radar departments and aviation guidance points. Currently, six military bases have been deployed in northern Russia: on the islands of Kotelny (Novosibirsk Islands), Alexandra Land (Franz Josef Land archipelago), Sredny (Severnaya Zemlya), as well as in the village of Rogachevo (Novaya Zemlya), Cape Schmidt and Wrangel Island (the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug). At airfields located beyond the Arctic Circle, the Su-24 bombers, Su-34 fighter-bombers, Su-25 attack aircraft, MiG-31 fighter-interceptors, and helicopters of various types will be housed. It is expected that the Tu-22, Tu-95 and Tu-160 strategic bombers will use the restored runways for refueling. All this infrastructure operates year-round<sup>11</sup>.

The task is to increase further the combat capabilities of general-purpose forces of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation, other troops, military units and bodies in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and to maintain their combat potential at a level that guarantees the solution of tasks to repel aggression against the Russian Federation and her allies.

In the grouping of troops, the role of the Northern Fleet in protecting the Arctic is growing [15, 16, 17]. It will be replenished in the next two years with three new submarines of the last, 4th generation. Already in the coming year, they will go into operation and take up the battle watch of the cruiser “Knyaz” Vladimir” and “Kazan”. And next year, the Navy is ready to put into operation a diesel-electric submarine with missiles of the caliber type on board. At the same time, submarines already in service are being modernized to continue the combat shift<sup>12</sup>. Units of the new anti-aircraft missile regiment of the Northern Fleet Air Defense Association took up combat duty in the Arctic in April 2020. S-300 complexes protect the airspace of Yakutia and the NSR<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> Nikanorov S. *Armiya Rossii kak arkticheskaya tsivilizatsiya* [The Army of Russia as an Arctic Civilization]. 17.03.2020. URL: [http://www.ng.ru/armies/2020-03-17/100\\_arctic170320.html](http://www.ng.ru/armies/2020-03-17/100_arctic170320.html) (accessed 07 April 2020).

<sup>11</sup> Arkticheskii «Bastion»: Rossiya zakryla Sevmorput' [Arctic Bastion: Russia has Closed the Northern Sea Route]. 03.12.2019. URL: [https://news.rambler.ru/army/43277422/?utm\\_content=news\\_media&utm\\_medium=read\\_more&utm\\_source=copylink](https://news.rambler.ru/army/43277422/?utm_content=news_media&utm_medium=read_more&utm_source=copylink) (accessed 01 February 2020).

<sup>12</sup> Severnyy flot popolnitsya tremya novymi podlodkami [The Northern Fleet will Replenish with Three New Submarines]. 19.03.2020. URL: <https://sm-news.ru/severnyj-flot-popolnitsya-tremya-novymi-podlodkami-58568/> (accessed 27 April 2020).

<sup>13</sup> Raschety S-300 Severnogo flota zastupili na boevoe dezhurstvo v Arktike [The S-300 Complexes of the Northern Fleet Took Up Combat Duty in the Arctic]. 03.04.2020. URL: [https://rg.ru/2020/04/03/reg-szfo/raschety-s-300-severnogo-flota-zastupili-na-boevoe-dezhurstvo-v-arktike.html?utm\\_source=yxnews&utm\\_medium=desktop&utm\\_referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fyandex.ru%2Fnews/](https://rg.ru/2020/04/03/reg-szfo/raschety-s-300-severnogo-flota-zastupili-na-boevoe-dezhurstvo-v-arktike.html?utm_source=yxnews&utm_medium=desktop&utm_referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fyandex.ru%2Fnews/) (accessed 27 April 2020).



According to the commander of the Northern Fleet, Admiral Alexander Moiseev, modernizing the bases of new submarines is actively ongoing. According to him, the multipurpose nuclear submarine Severodvinsk is already based in Zaozersk, the infrastructure for submarines of the Yasen' project has been prepared. New moorings and other coastal facilities were built in Gadzhievo to "ensure the basing of ships of modern and promising projects". Admiral noted that the fleet is simultaneously mastering new sub-boats and developing a basing system<sup>14</sup>.

An important task in ensuring military security is the improvement of the system of comprehensive control over the air, surface, and underwater conditions in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation. It is a responsible and challenging task. It is solved in collaboration with other power structures in Russia. The need to increase control is increasing due to the intensification of economic activity in the Arctic, especially shipping along the NSR.

Attention is drawn to the continuation of work on the creation and modernization of military infrastructure facilities, the provision of vital functions for general forces of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation, other troops, military formations, and bodies [18]. The military infrastructure of the Russian Arctic is being created and strengthened through the restoration of several polar airfields and military bases, which are planned to be used as dual-use facilities.

New infrastructure is being built for military units and garrisons in the High North, Siberia, and the Far East, capable of providing more than 20 thousand military personnel, their families, and civilians working at defense facilities<sup>15</sup>.

Speaking about the role of the army in the Arctic, it should be noted that at present, the level of militarization of the region does not go beyond reasonable sufficiency. However, the geopolitical situation cannot remain stable for a long time amid the aggravation of international relations in the world. The revitalization of NATO in the Arctic region could lead to a reconfiguration of security relations. The termination of contacts between the chiefs of the General Staffs of the armies of the Arctic Council member states since 2014 greatly hinders the constructive and timely resolution of military issues in this region. In the medium and long term, international risks in the Arctic, according to experts, may increase if political tension in relations between Russia and the West continues [19]. In these conditions, our state makes a lot of efforts to weaken it and increase confidence-building measures between countries.

### ***Protection and security of the state border of the Russian Federation***

The Basic Principles [1, par. 20] define the main tasks in the protection of the state border of the Russian Federation.

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<sup>14</sup> Rossiya moderniziruet bazu dlya podlodok v Arktike [Russia Modernizes a Base for Submarines in the Arctic]. 18.03.2020. URL: <https://lenta.ru/news/2020/03/18/base/> (accessed 27 April 2020).

<sup>15</sup> Stroitel'stvo voennykh gorodkov v Arktike prodolzhitsya do 2020 goda [The Construction of Military Camps in the Arctic will Continue until 2020]. 18.08.2016. URL: <http://www.arctic-info.ru/news/18-08-2016/stroitelstvo-voennyh-gorodkov-v-arktike-prodolzhitsya-do-2020-goda/> (accessed 27 September 2016).

Particular attention is paid to improving the quality of state management of border activities based on the development of information technology, which allows monitoring the situation in the sea spaces and on the sea coast, its situational analysis, and the development of agreed decisions.

Currently, the Border Service of the FSB of Russia (the Coast Guard) protects the state border of the Russian Federation in the Russian Arctic through the activities of the FSB Border Directorate for the Western Arctic Region and the FSB Border Management for the Eastern Arctic Region with centers in Murmansk and Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky<sup>16</sup>.

The tasks of the Russian Coast Guard in the Arctic region are the protection of the state border of the Russian Federation, the length of which is about 20 thousand km; protection of economic interests; monitoring of the surface situation in the waters of the Arctic seas; monitoring compliance with laws and international treaties; saving life at sea; ensuring the safety of the NSR shipping; environmental protection; implementation of radar and radio-technical surveillance in areas of industrial activity; patrolling by ships and aviation of the waters of the Arctic seas, the fishing zone of the Svalbard archipelago; ensuring sovereignty and Russian presence in the most remote territories of the Arctic (islands of the archipelagos Franz Josef Land and Severnaya Zemlya) [20].

In recent years, the number of Coast Guard units has been optimized, their technical equipment has been improved, and the border management system has been updated. Work is underway to create an automated system for monitoring the surface situation in the Arctic. To expand the capabilities of the border authorities and the development of border infrastructure in May 2017, a new base station for border patrol ships began to function in Arkhangelsk.

In areas of intensive fishing under the jurisdiction of Russia, the systematic presence of ships of the Russian border service is ensured. In recent years, border guards have significantly stepped up their efforts to counter contemporary challenges and threats to security, especially terrorism and illegal migration [21, 22].

The activity of checkpoints across the state border of the Russian Federation has been strengthened. There are currently about 20 of them in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation. Of these, three are automobile points (one on the border with Norway, two on the border with Finland), twelve sea, and five air ones. Most of them are in the Northwestern Federal District — twelve, in the Far Eastern Federal District — six (all in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug) and one each in the Ural and Siberian Federal Districts<sup>17</sup>. In connection with the strengthening of economic activity and the development of tourism in the region, their number, in our opinion, will continuously increase.

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<sup>16</sup> Perechen' pogranychnykh upravleniy FSB Rossii. Sayt Pogranychnoy sluzhby FSB Rossii [The List of Border Departments of the FSB of Russia. Site of the Border Service of the FSB of Russia]. URL: <http://ps.fsb.ru/departament.htm> (accessed 10 August 2018).

<sup>17</sup> Authors' Calculations Based on the Open Sources.

The formation of the Coast Guard ship structure is ongoing. At the end of 2016, it included 34 ships, incl. ten border patrol ships, fourteen border patrol boats, one border support ship, one border patrol ship, two border patrol vessels, and six border support boats<sup>18</sup>. In January 2017, the FSB Border Service of Russia received the leading border patrol ship of the 1st rank of project 22100 — Polyarnaya Zvezda<sup>19</sup>. No doubt, these funds are not enough for such a long Russian border.

In the section devoted to the protection and protection of the state border of Russia, attention is drawn to the development of cooperation with the border agencies (coast guards) of foreign states, incl. the delimitation of northern sea spaces. On the website of the FSB Border Service of Russia, in the section “Activities of Border Representatives in the International Legal Formation of Borders”, it is noted in this plan that “the Agreement between the former USSR and the USA on the line for delimiting sea spaces has not yet been ratified. The issue of delimiting the continental shelf and the exclusive economic zone with Norway in the Barents Sea has not been completely resolved”<sup>20</sup>. It should be borne in mind that the delimitation of the territorial sea in international law with Norway is framed. However, after the decisions of the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf expected shortly at the request of Russia, Denmark, and Canada, the question may arise about the border of the continental shelf between the three countries.

In recent years, Russia has been actively expanding its work with official representatives of departments performing the functions of the coast guards of the Arctic Council member states. So, on October 31, 2015, in the city of New London (USA), a Joint Statement was signed with them on the intention to develop multilateral cooperation in the format of the Arctic Coast Guard Forum<sup>21</sup>. It was attended by Russia, Denmark, Iceland, Canada, Norway, the USA, Finland, Sweden. Participants discussed existing security risks and threats in the Arctic. It was noted that the development of offshore deposits, the development of scientific research, tourism, and maritime traffic entails the violation of borders, illegal migration, smuggling, and the possibility of members of terrorist organizations entering the region.

Between October 17 and 21, 2016, a delegation of the FSB of Russia took part in the 17th Forum of Border Agencies / Coast Guard of the North Pacific States, held in Victoria (Canada)<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> Beregovaya okhrana Pogranichnoy sluzhby FSB Rossii – 2016 [Coast Guard of the FSB of Russia — 2016]. Russian-Ships.info. 2016. 15.12.2016. URL: <http://russianships.info/bohr/> (accessed 27 February 2017).

<sup>19</sup> Pogranichniki poluchili «Polyarnuyu zvezdu» [Border Guards Received “Polyarnaya Zvezda”]. 24.01.2017. URL: <http://www.arctic-info.ru/news/24-01-2017/pogranichniki-poluchili---polyarnuyu-zvezdu/> (accessed 27 February 2017).

<sup>20</sup> Deyatel'nost' pogranichnykh predstaviteley v mezhdunarodnom pravovom oformlenii granits. Sayt Pogranichnoy sluzhby FSB Rossii [Activities of Border Representatives in the International Legal Design of Borders. Site of the Border Service of the FSB of Russia]. URL: <http://ps.fsb.ru/international.htm> (accessed 10 August 2018).

<sup>21</sup> Itogi vstrechi rukovoditeley vedomstv, vypolnyayushchikh funktsii beregovykh okhran gosudarstv-chlenov Arkticheskogo soveta, po voprosu sozdaniya AFBO [Results of the Meeting of Heads of Departments Performing the Functions of the Coast Guards of the Arctic Council Member States on the Creation of the AFB]. 09.12.2015. URL: <http://ps.fsb.ru/smi/news/more.htm%21id%3D10321138%40fsbMessage.html> (accessed 21 May 2017).

<sup>22</sup> Itogi uchastiya v 17-m Forume pogranichnykh vedomstv/beregovykh okhran gosudarstv severnoy chasti Tikhogo okeana [Results of Participation in the 17th Forum of Border Agencies / Coast Guard of the North Pacific]. 25.10.2016. URL: <http://ps.fsb.ru/smi/news/more.htm%21id%3D10321169%40fsbMessage.html> (accessed 21 May 2017).

The Border Guard has an actual practice of interacting with colleagues from the Arctic states [23], especially with the Norwegian Coast Guard units, as well as with the US 17th Coast Guard area.

It should be noted that the Arctic Coast Guard Forum, despite some differences in the functions of departments at the national level, has enormous potential for jointly addressing regional security issues. Combining efforts will increase the level of maritime security and the safety of every person located in the Arctic.

Russia is actively studying and taking measures to possibly, exacerbate new security threats in the Arctic marine areas. Thus, following Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of December 26, 2015 No. 664, "On measures to improve public administration in the field of countering terrorism," several operational headquarters were created in the country, incl. in Murmansk and Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky. Currently, measures are being taken to ensure the safety and counter-terrorism protection of economic activity objects in the marine Arctic space of the Russian Federation.

The Fundamentals also focus on improving border infrastructure, equipping checkpoints across the state border of the Russian Federation in terms corresponding to the deadlines for implementing investment projects. Today, this question is the most acute and relevant. It is implemented through federal targeted, state, departmental, and other programs.

Ahead is a lot of work on the technical re-equipment of the border authorities, the construction of modern ice-class ships with an aviation complex, and the updating of the aircraft fleet. It is important to increase the capabilities of the federal system of intelligence and control of the airspace of Russia. The task is to complete the work on updating the system of baselines, used to measure the width of the territorial sea of the Russian Federation and the exclusive economic zone of the Russian Federation in the Arctic.

To solve these problems, the Coast Guard of the FSB of the Russian Federation should have the most exceptional opportunities to prevent, suppress and eliminate the consequences of adverse factors and phenomena that can cause material and moral damage to the country. All of this will require appropriate funding.

It must be recognized that at present, only a constant border presence in the Arctic sector of the Russian Federation allows maintaining the status quo of maritime borders until the final international recognition of Russian jurisdiction over the waters and the continental shelf.

### ***Protection of the population and territories of the Russian Arctic to emergencies of natural and technogenic nature***

Following the Basic Principles of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic for the next 15 years [1, par. 17], the main tasks for the protection of the population and territories of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation from natural and human-made emergencies are

- scientific, technical, regulatory, and methodological support of activities to protect the population and territories from natural and human-made emergencies, to ensure fire safety and safety at water bodies in arctic conditions;

- development of the Arctic integrated emergency rescue centers and fire rescue units for the elimination of accidents and emergencies in the water and mainland space, improving their structure, composition, logistics, and base infrastructure, picking up new types of equipment, considering the solved tasks in the arctic conditions;

- aviation support of measures to protect the population and territories from natural and human-made emergencies in arctic conditions.

As in 2008, in 2020, the use of the AZRF as a strategic resource base of the Russian Federation, ensuring the solution to the problems of the country's socio-economic development, remains a significant priority.

In this regard, special attention is paid to ensuring the protection of the fuel and energy complex in the Arctic from hybrid, multi-vector threats (political and economic sanctions, "technological isolation", initiating cyber-attacks, etc.). A characteristic feature of such risks is that they arise in one area and are implemented in another or several areas of security [24].

On the territory of the Arctic zone, there are more than 500 potentially dangerous industrial and infrastructure facilities that can become sources of technological emergencies, which, according to the Ministry of Emergencies, occur on average more than 100 per year. Transport accidents dominate (30%), explosions, and fires of technological equipment (24%). The High North is subject to meteorological phenomena, snowdrifts, flooding, the formation of the ravine, and river erosion.

The Ministry of Emergencies of the Russian Federation has accumulated considerable experience in preventing and eliminating emergencies in the Arctic. The EMERCOM of Russia forces is organizing the system of integrated security for the population and territories in the Arctic zone by creating 11 Arctic complex emergency rescue centers. The main goal is to increase the level of protection of the people and areas of the Arctic zone by creating an effective monitoring system, growing efficiency for actions during search and rescue, emergency rescue and other urgent operations.

As of 2016, the number of forces and means of the EMERCOM to cover the Arctic zone, considering the powers of the executive authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation and municipal entities, amounted to more than 18,000 people and 1 845 technical units. Of these, the forces and means of EMERCOM of Russia – more than 7,000 people and 597 technical units. The Arctic zone hosts six Arctic complex emergency rescue centers (Naryan-Mar, Arkhangelsk, Dudinka, Murmansk, Vorkuta, and Vytegra) [25].

Unfortunately, after 2016, the EMERCOM of Russia does not submit the State report "On the State of the Protection of the Population and Territories of the Russian Federation from Natural and Technogenic Emergencies" to its website. It offers only methodological recommendations for preparing materials for the state report, which is an interdepartmental document. Therefore, it is complicated to determine the EMERCOM's for 2017–2019, incl. the change in leadership of the ministry.

Underestimation of this factor, in our opinion, negatively affects not only the prestige of the department but also negatively affects the development and development of the Arctic. There is no doubt that the security system of the Arctic zone is an essential factor in increasing the investment attractiveness of the NSR, increasing transit traffic, and turning it into a global transport artery. It also affects the development of domestic and foreign Arctic tourism. It is the ground for a modern information and communication system for emergency calls 112 and the "Bezopasnyy Gorod" automated complex, as well as for improving interaction with the State Corporation Roskosmos, the Ministry of Health of Russia, Roshydromet, the Russian Academy of Sciences and other departments and organizations.

In modern conditions, in connection with the spread of COVID-19, one should not forget about the ongoing degradation of permafrost, which poses a real threat to the safety of the population and territories of the High North. It was the thawing of the soil and deer touching in the pestilence zone of previous years, according to experts, that led to the emergence of anthrax in August 2016 in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug. With the assistance of federal structures, within six days from the moment of diagnosis, it was possible to stop the mass death of deer and the spread of the disease among the residents of the district. In this regard, the EMERCOM of Russia faces severe tasks for the scientific forecasting and prevention of possible new natural-climatic and technogenic challenges and accidents.

### ***Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia and the Russian Guard in ensuring public safety in the Arctic***

Following the Basic Principles of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic until 2035 [1, par. 18], the main tasks in ensuring public safety in the Russian Arctic are

- bringing the structure of the internal affairs bodies of the Russian Federation and the troops of the national guard of the Russian Federation in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and the number of their employees in line with the tasks in the field of ensuring public safety, creating and modernizing the appropriate infrastructure, incl. providing housing construction;
- increasing the participation of citizens in the protection of public order, the promotion of voluntary participation of citizens in measures to protect public order, the expansion of the activities of public associations of a law enforcement orientation, primarily in remote areas where there is no law enforcement or is required their presence;
- development of measures aimed at preventing and combating crimes related to the theft of budget funds allocated for the development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation;
- reduction in the number of road traffic accidents involving harm to the life and health of citizens, reduction in the severity of their consequences.

In the Arctic zone, the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs solve important tasks [26, 27] in protecting the life, health, rights and freedoms of citizens of the Russian Federation, foreign citizens, and stateless persons, directing their primary efforts to combat crime, protecting public order, property to ensure public safety.



Particular attention is paid to issues of migration, drug trafficking, weapons, road safety. Countering the illegal extraction of biological resources, ensuring public order in regional cities, ports, airports, fuel and energy facilities, fishing cooperatives, oil, and gas production areas, developing solid minerals, and indigenous communities of the North is in the field of their attention.

However, it should be recognized that the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the Arctic zone, in comparison with other regions of the Russian Federation, is insufficiently staffed. Their infrastructure is sometimes outdated and needs to be updated and improved. Given the severe climatic conditions and vast distances, a new model of road traffic based on information technology is required.

The task of increasing the participation of citizens in the protection of public order is also relevant and necessary for the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In the interests of security, the police need to develop cooperation and interaction with local public organizations.

Important tasks in the Arctic are being addressed by the recently created Federal National Guard Service of the Russian Federation (Rosguard)<sup>23</sup>. Its main tasks are participation in the protection of public order, ensuring public safety; protection of important state facilities, special cargoes, facilities on communications; participation in the fight against terrorism and extremism.

The territorial bodies of the Russian Guard are in all subjects of the Russian Arctic. Its servicemen and employees are guarding the Bilibino Nuclear Power Plant, as well as the icebreakers of the Atomflot at their main base. They carry out a large amount of work to monitor compliance with Russian legislation in the field of arms trafficking, especially among representatives of the indigenous peoples of the North<sup>24</sup>.

The Russian Guard is involved in fulfilling the tasks established by the state program "Socio-Economic Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation". It allowed the Guard to maintain the pace of the formation and modernization of a non-stationary system for protecting the seaports of the Northern Sea Route in the last three years.

At a meeting with President of the Russian Federation V.V. Putin, on May 6, 2020, the commander in chief of the Russian Guard, Army General V.V. Zolotov reported that in 2019 the troops had adopted the first floating nuclear power plant, Akademik Lomonosov, in the water area of the Pevek seaport in Chukotka<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup>Ukaz Prezidenta RF ot 05.04.2016 № 157 «Voprosy Federal'noy sluzhby voysk natsional'noy gvardii Rossiyskoy Federatsii» [Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of April 05, 2016 No. 157 "Issues of the Federal National Guard Service of the Russian Federation"]. *Sobranie zakonodatel'stva RF* [Collection of the Legislation of the Russian Federation], April 11, 2016. no. 15, Art. 2072; Federal'nyy zakon ot 03.07.2016 g. № 226-FZ «O voyskakh natsional'noy gvardii Rossiyskoy Federatsii» [Federal Law no. 226-FZ of July 03, 2016, "On the Forces of the National Guard Service of the Russian Federation"].

<sup>24</sup>Informatsiya s sayta Federal'noy sluzhby voysk natsional'noy gvardii Rossiyskoy Federatsii [Information from the Website of the Federal National Guard Service of the Russian Federation]. URL: <http://rosgvard.ru/> (accessed 15 April 2020).

<sup>25</sup>Vstrecha s direktorom Federal'noy sluzhby voysk natsional'noy gvardii Viktorom Zolotovym [Meeting with the Director of the Federal National Guard Service Viktor Zolotov]. 06.05.2020. <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/63302> (accessed: 11 May.2020).

In 2020, it is planned to complete the re-equipment of the Sabetta port with a mobile complex, reinforced, among other things, by the marine and amphibious components. By the end of 2020, nine marine Arctic ports will be under the protection of the Russian Guard<sup>26</sup>.

The problems of activity in the Arctic for the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Russian Guard require in-depth analytical support and the necessary financial support.

### *Conclusion*

The current Basic Principles specify the state policy of Russia in the Arctic for the next 15 years, confirm the leading role of the Russian Federation in the Arctic as a mega-region. This document can serve a reasonable basis for preparing the program for the RF presidency of the Arctic Council in 2021–2023. The text is comprehensive and innovative. Its implementation will contribute to improving the quality of life of people in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, and the socio-economic development of the country, increasing its defense capabilities, military and law enforcement activities in the Arctic direction. However, it is not clear why there was no place for hydrometeorological safety in the Basic Principles, which is an essential factor in the uninterrupted functioning of the Northern Sea Route.

Fifteen years of implementation of the provisions of the Basic Principles are ahead. It is fundamentally vital to regulating the issues embodied in them for the strategic national interests in the Arctic. It should be fully considered in the Implementation Plan for the Basic Principles, the Development Strategy of the Russian Arctic and national security, in the State Program for the socio-economic development of the Arctic zone, as well as in legislative acts. The above documents must combine activities of national projects and state programs, investment plans of infrastructure companies, development programs for the Arctic regions, cities, and regions with a compact arrangement of forces and means of power structures. Only in this case, they can become a truly working legal and operational tool for the country's leadership, primarily in terms of coordinating the activities of federal executive bodies and state-owned companies to achieve Russia's strategic national priorities in the Arctic. It is crucial that the development and protection of the Arctic also consider the consequences of the current economic crisis caused by falling oil prices and the coronavirus pandemic.

Poor knowledge of the Arctic ecology, global warming processes should, in our opinion, stimulate the leadership of ministries and departments of the Arctic regions to search for environmentally-friendly technologies, effective solutions for identifying and launching large economic projects for the development of the Arctic region [28], ensuring environmental safety at the facilities of power structures [29], the further development of international cooperation on the Arctic track [30].

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<sup>26</sup> Direktor Rosgvardii general armii Viktor Zolotov otkryl rasshirenoe zasedanie kollegii vedomstva [Director of the National Guard Service Army General Viktor Zolotov opened an extended enrollment collegium of the service]. 11.03.2020. URL: <https://rosgvard.ru/ru/news/article/direktor-rosgvardii-general-armii-viktor-zolotov-otkryl-rasshirenoe-zasedanie-kollegii-vedomstva> (accessed 15 April 2020).

All the activities of Russia in the Arctic are incredibly open. The armed forces, together with the EMERCOM, the border agencies of the FSB, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Russian Guard, help to maintain the balance of power in the region, firmly uphold the country's national interests, counteract new challenges and threats to security, and fulfill the tasks of protecting the state border, continue to restore their military infrastructure, support the activities of economic entities in the exploration and production of hydrocarbons and the protection of deposits.

An analysis of the problems of integrated security in the Arctic, according to some experts, requires a rethinking of some aspects [31, 32]. Recognizing and considering the aggressiveness and strengthening of the NATO military presence in the Arctic, as well as the systematic multinational military exercises and the displacement of combat training areas in the Arctic zone, in our opinion, it should be assumed that many threats are still of demonstrative potential. It is not necessary to allow such a situation for the Russian Federation to provoke the strengthening of NATO's position in the region. Today, the Arctic is a territory of low political tension, and the successful development of multilateral international cooperation, the level of its militarization, does not go beyond reasonable sufficiency. All the problems that arise here can and should be solved based on collaboration, and the region itself can and should develop as a space for constructive interaction and security.

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