

Federal State-Funded Educational Institution of Higher Education
The Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public
Administration

Manuscript copyright

Novozhilov Viktor Feodosievich

**THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION'S STATE POLICY FOR THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARCTIC ZONE: CURRENT STATUS AND
PROSPECTS**

Specialty 23.00.02 – Political Institutes, Processes and Technologies
(Political Sciences)

Abstract of the thesis presented for earning the degree
of Candidate of Political Sciences

Moscow - 2020

The main results of V.F. Novozhilov's thesis "The Russian Federation's state policy for the development of the Arctic zone: status and prospects"

Research Topicality is driven by the need for a comprehensive scientific analysis of the Russian Federation's state policy for the development of the Arctic zone. Taking into account the fact that geopolitical competition for the region is constantly increasing, there is a demand for research aimed at assessing the current situation and forecasting its development to devise scientifically based approaches to the formation and implementation of the Russian state's policy in the region. The constant amplification of the development's dynamics of the situation in the region is accompanied by the regular release of the Russian Federation's strategic planning documents related to the Arctic. The emergence of new challenges, risks, dangers and threats necessitates constant theoretical study of the formation's and implementation's problems of Russian state policy in the Arctic. The identification and scientific understanding of a complex set of problems of the development of the region and ensuring its security is important for state authorities, state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation and local self-government, civil society institutions, including the business community. All actors, interested in the well-being and development of the region, need to consolidate their efforts when the country's leadership articulates this need. Hence, the development of proposals and recommendations for solving the problems of the region, specific management decisions, all listed needs a theoretical justification.

The object of the research is the state policy of the Russian Federation for the development of the Arctic zone.

The subject of the research is the main problems of the implementation of the Russian Federation's state policy for the development of the Arctic zone.

The goal of the research is to identify the problems of the Russian Federation's state policy in the Arctic region and, based on the application of several specific research methods, to suggest a set of measures optimizing this policy.

The tasks of the research.

1. Define the Russian Federation's state policy for the development of the Arctic zone and conduct its analysis.

2. Explore by using specific methods (content analysis and comparative analysis) strategic planning documents that set out the guidelines of Russia's state policy for the development of the Arctic zone.

3. Conduct a risk-oriented analysis of the Russian Federation's state policy for the development of the Arctic zone.

4. Disclose the geopolitical features of the implementation of the Russian Federation's state policy for the development of the Arctic zone.

5. Identify the main political and administrative problems of the implementation of the Russian Federation's state policy for the development of the Arctic zone.

6. Work out the suggestions for solving the identified problems of implementing the Russian Federation's state policy for the development of the Arctic zone.

Methodology and methods of the research.

The theoretical and methodological approaches used in the study are general philosophical methods, sociological, historical and specific political science methods, including content analysis and comparative analysis of documents, SWOT analysis, expert survey, statistical analysis and ranking.

As an empirical basis and statistical sources of research, the author uses national statistical indicators to analyze the geopolitical distribution of the territory, population and GDP of the states of the circumpolar area. Besides the author applies results of an expert survey conducted in the Arkhangelsk region (to study the socio-political, infrastructural, economic and geopolitical issues of the Arctic region). An expert survey was also conducted on the research topic.

The scientific novelty of the thesis.

1. In the study the Russian Federation's state policy for the development of the Arctic zone is substantiated and for the first time defined. The corresponding definition is absent in the scientific literature and in the documents of Russia's strategic planning, though at the same time, similar terms are actively used in modern political and scientific discourse, including official documents. The author's perception of this state policy is based on the recognition of the coordinating function of the state in the process of making and implementing managerial decisions joint with civil society structures and business. This understanding of the state's role, as the analysis of the content of strategic planning documents shows, corresponds to the guidelines of the country's leadership towards the development of the region and ensuring its security. As a result, the Russian Federation's state policy for the development of the Arctic zone is defined as a management process carried out by the institutions of state power to consolidate the resources and efforts of all stakeholders in order to solve the key problems of the Arctic zone and create conditions for its sustainable and safe development.

2. By conducting a content analysis, it was found that the Russian Federation's strategic planning documents, which are manifesting the official position (*The Basics of the State Policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic for the Period till 2020 and for a Further Perspective* and *The Strategy for the Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and National Security up to 2020*) do not enough express the goal reflected in their titles. The analysis method made it possible to state that in the provisions contained in the documents, the problems of ensuring security significantly prevail over the problems of the development of the region. Moreover, the topic of the socio-economic and other development of the Arctic in the first of these documents, contrary to the declared title, is presented much weaker than in the second one. Furthermore, the topic of security is expressed much more strongly in the former than in the latter. The current situation focuses on improving the mechanisms for the participation of representatives of the scientific and expert community in the process of developing

strategic planning documents related to the state policy towards the Arctic zone. As a result of the analysis, the problems of shaping a policy for the development of the Arctic zone were also identified: a) incomplete legal regulation of the activities of state authorities for the development of the Arctic zone, especially in terms of division of powers and financing large projects; b) insufficient quality of elaboration of economic (trade, resource development, etc.) and environmental (scientific research, environmental protection, etc.) issues in documents. A comparative analysis of the strategic planning documents of Russia, the United States and China regarding the Arctic conducted for the first time made it possible to establish that international players recognize the importance of the region as a strategic resource base and geopolitical object. Despite the established difference in positions, countries recognize that international cooperation can ensure sustainable prosperity, stability and security for the region in the context of presence on its territory.

3. The study of the strategies implemented by the Arctic countries, the content and direction of which were identified through the analysis of their documents and statements of officials, made it possible to identify the geopolitical risks of the implementation of the Russian Federation's state policy for the development of the Arctic zone. It has been substantiated that Russia and other Arctic states should focus on Arctic solidarity and partnership, that implies a constant striving for a constructive dialogue between the authorities, business, and civil society when it comes to the development of the Arctic. Russia's policy for the development of the Arctic is aimed at preventing the revision of the historically established legal regime. The geopolitical struggle for the Arctic is a "struggle for the future", since the extraction of natural resources requires advanced technologies. Beside it is significantly more costly than extraction in milder climate conditions. The development of sea transport routes requires the introduction of new materials and technologies for the construction of an icebreaker fleet. Russia needs to promote and support international initiatives and cooperation projects of the Arctic states. For that reason it will be able to consolidate its role as a key player in the region. Passively following the strategies of other countries, Russia risks losing its priority in the development of the Arctic, allowing the possibility of mining in its ancestral territories, the coast and on the seabed. The initiative should be manifested in scientific research, which implies two-way transfers of technologies related to the use of new materials and technologies for human survival in high latitudes. Cooperation in developed technological areas is in demand in the context of global instability. Due to the creation of technologies for the mining and processing of natural resources in high latitudes, Russia will be able to make them one of the innovative components of its economy. It was also found that, despite the prevention of further militarization of the Arctic, the decisive advantage will be given to the country that provides a military presence in the region.

4. It was disclosed that in the process of implementing Russia's state policy for the development of the Arctic zone, the risks associated with the lack of its infrastructural support are accumulating. When more remote states start showing

increasing interest to the region, infrastructural development becomes a priority task. When exploring the region, it is especially necessary to comprehend the experience of generations of polar explorers, first of all, the experience of survival in extreme conditions. The ecological factor of development is one of the connecting elements of the international strategy for the development of the Arctic and at the same time one of the controversial ones. Undoubtedly, the maximum focus of the state policy of Russia on the creation of environmentally friendly technologies for the mining and processing industries, the production of renewable biological resources is needed. The maintenance of ecology should be of a comprehensive international nature and ensure the establishment of a productive and free transfer of environmentally friendly technologies. As the analysis of geopolitical and environmental risks shows, the development of the Arctic should not be directed on military-territorial and resource confrontation, but on the mainstream of environmental, tourist, scientific and cultural cooperation. The main value of the Arctic and the main goal of Russia's policy for its development are not only natural resources, but a unique variety of renewable biological resources and unique northern cultures. In this context environmental programs have not only ethical, but also utilitarian and pragmatic significance, since concern for nature can result in an increase in the aesthetic demand for tourism and an increase in income from it. The developed infrastructure will make it possible to attract specialists to work in the northern latitudes and thereby ensure the discovery of natural resources and, later, their possible gradual mining. While preserving indigenous ethnic groups, it is necessary to develop a special type of northern tolerance, which is not characterized by a struggle for resources, but, on the contrary, the maximum degree of everyday altruism. It is in the extreme conditions of the Arctic that real humanity manifests itself, requiring from any person an increased level of sympathy and selfless desire to help. But in the context of globalization, there is a possibility of a change in the northern type of tolerance towards the predominance of personal identification and competition.

5. The SWOT analysis of *The Basics of the State Policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic for the Period till 2020 and for a Further Perspective* ensured the identification of urgent problems in the implementation of the Russian Federation's state policy for the development of the Arctic zone. As a result, a significant difference was found between the identified problems and the assessments set out in specialized sources and literature. Subsequently, an expert survey was conducted in the interests of transferring the solution of problems into a managerial direction to rank the obtained results depending on the degree of importance of the problems for public authorities, public authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation and local self-government. The most important were the problems of ecology, financial support of the Arctic's state policy and socio-economic development. Less essential problems, according to the experts, were the problems of uncertainty of the internal borders and Russia's composition of the Arctic zone, the lack of dialogue between the state and commercial and non-commercial organizations on the development of the region, the lack of interest of these organizations in resolving this issue and the lack of a

constructive dialogue between Russia and the world community. According to the results of the ranking, it was found that the most promising can be named the use of design and programming methods, target programs and changing the role of the state into a co-investor and business partner. The study identifies a set of measures to solve or minimize the detected problems of Russian state policy for the development of the Arctic zone.

The following provisions are brought up for defense:

1. In terms of theoretical and applied approaches to the study of the prospects for the Arctic's region development a comprehensive political science analysis has shown the need for a relatively separate study of two areas of state policy towards this region from the perspective of compliance with the national interests of modern Russia: a) the sphere of state policy formation and b) the sphere of its implementation. The Russian Federation's state policy for the development of the Arctic zone is defined as a management process carried out by the institutions of state power to consolidate the resources and efforts of all interested parties in order to solve the key problems of the Arctic zone and create conditions for its sustainable and safe development.

2. There are quite real problems in the formation of the Russian Federation's state policy for the development of the Arctic zone. Among them:

- security issues prevail over development issues in the strategic planning Russian documents for the development of the Arctic zone;
- the legal regulation of the activities of state authorities for the development of the Arctic zone has not been completed, especially in terms of the division of powers and financing large projects;
- economic (trade, resource development, etc.) and environmental issues (scientific research, environmental protection, etc.) lack sufficient refining.

3. The conducted risk-oriented analysis of the Russian Federation's state policy for the development of the Arctic zone allows to assert the following. European states consider geopolitical goals in the region as a priority, while for Asian countries economic interest still comes to the fore. Today the Asian states are attracted by northern resources that will support the development of their industries despite them having non-Arctic nature. China, India, Japan, South Korea, Singapore and the Philippines, i.e. the most technologically and industrially developed states of Asia, are actively and persistently promoting their interests in the Arctic region. Scientific research and technological as well as financial participation in mining programs is the main political instrument of satisfying economic interests and infiltration into the Arctic zone used by Asian countries.

4. The socio-economic development of the Russian Federation's Arctic zone, the growth of the economic power of the region and the expansion of opportunities for using the potential resource of the region may significantly slow down due to a number of factors. In addition to difficult natural and climate conditions, remoteness from the main industrial centers, the focal nature of the industrial and economic development of territories and the high resource intensity of the work carried out, there is also the underdevelopment and weak activity of

civil society institutions, ethnopolitical problems connected with small peoples of the North and attempts by the West to destabilize the socio-political situation in the region.

5. Currently the main problems typical for the implementation of the Russian Federation's state policy for the development of the Arctic zone are:

- lack of dialogue on a mutually beneficial basis between the Russian Federation and other countries on the Arctic's development and investment in the Russian Federation's Arctic zone;
- insufficient dialogue between the Russian state and commercial and non-commercial organizations on the Arctic development, as well as the situation when large companies and business structures are involved in the process of investing in the Russian Federation's Arctic zone;
- the lack of certainty in the composition of the Russian Federation's Arctic Zone as well as the blurring of internal borders impedes the coordination of interaction between the Russian Federation's state authorities, local self-government and associations of small indigenous peoples of the North;
- commercial and non-commercial organizations lack interest in the development of the Russian Federation's Arctic zone. As a result it may affect Russia's participation in international forums, the process of improving the quality of life of the indigenous population and the social conditions of economic activity in the Arctic, modernization and development of the region's infrastructure;
- the high cost of conducting economic and other activities in the region repels commercial organizations, reduces their interest in taking part in the development of the region;
- the complexity of solving the problem of preserving the unique ecological systems of the Arctic due to the low stability of these systems and their dependence on anthropogenic impacts, which are quite serious in the context of the expansion of the resource base of the Russian Federation's Arctic zone. Preserving and protecting the natural environment of the Arctic is becoming a difficult task in the face of increasing economic activity in the region.

6. In the course of the study, proposals aimed at optimizing the Russian Federation's state policy for the development of the Arctic zone were designed:

- provide packages of investment projects by attracting experienced professional consulting organizations;
- organize effective marketing activities in the region, relying on the experience of already successful areas of the economy (research, mining, trade, etc.);
- change the role of the state, which should act as an investor and / or partner for many Arctic projects, primarily socially oriented ones;
- development of tourism infrastructure at the expense of travel companies (maybe even foreign ones);
- the state can offer preferential conditions for organizations operating in the Russian Federation's Arctic zone, or organize special economic zones in the region (possibly due to reduced taxation or lasting tax holidays);

- carry out additional advertising campaigns in the region to attract investors;
- develop new state programs (possibly with the support of international organizations) aimed at preserving the ecological system of the Arctic: the creation of sanctuaries, scientific research bases, etc. These projects would also attract investors and provide jobs;
- develop "ecotourism" in the region, etc.

Evaluation of research results

The author presented the results of the thesis at scientific events. The author also used research materials during training sessions with students of the Northern (Arctic) Federal University. The author published the results of sociological research, in the arrangement and implementation of which he took part.

The list of author's publications.

The author has published six articles in editions included in the List of Leading Russian Peer-Reviewed Scientific Journals recommended by the State Commission for Academic Degrees and Titles under the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation, in which the main scientific results of these should be published:

1. Novozhilov V.F. Theoretical Aspects for Development of Political Planning System in Modern Russia. *Administrative Consulting*. 2015. No. 10. P. 48-53.
2. Novozhilov V.F. Russian Arctic Project: Political Goal-Setting and Expert Assessment. *Vlast' (The Authority)*. 2016. Vol. 24. No. 9. P. 37-42.
3. Novozhilov V.F. The Interaction of the Power and Business Structures as a Determining Factor in the Process of Implementation of the Russian Arctic Project: Policy and Project Management // *Science and education: economy and economics, entrepreneurship, law and management*. 2016. No. 4. P. 85-88.
4. Novozhilov V.F. System and Political Basis of Russia's Activity in the Arctic Zone // *Vlast' (The Authority)*. 2017. Vol. 25. No. 11. P. 49-53.
5. Novozhilov V.F., Tsyplakov A. The problem of political tools to reduce the geopolitical danger of the Arctic region // *Science and education: economy and economics, entrepreneurship, law and management*. 2019. No. 7. P. 139-143.
6. Averin A., Ponedelkov A., Lyakhov V., Novozhilov V. National Security Priorities In The State Policy Of Development Of Arctic Zone Of Russian Federation // *State and Municipal Management. Scholar Notes*. 2019. Vol. 3. P. 202-206.
7. V.F. Novozhilov. State policy on the development of the Northern territories of Russia // *Science and education: economy and economics, entrepreneurship, law and management*. 2019. No. 11. P. 136-139.

Other publications:

1. Vasetsky D.A., Volkov V.A., Novozhilov V.F. Results of a selective sociological survey of experts from the Arkhangelsk region // *Power, business, civil society: interaction models (domestic and foreign experience)*. Information

analytical materials of the Round Table with international participation. - Rostov-on-Don: Publishing House of the Russian Academy of National Economy and State Administration, 2016. P. 36-49.

2. Novozhilov V.F. The role of Russian elites in the implementation of the modern Arctic project // Study of Elites and Development Strategy of Contemporary Russia: Materials of the Second All-Russian Congress of Elite Studies with International Participation held on 21-22 October, 2016, Publishing House of the Russian Academy of National Economy and State Administration 2016. P. 836-843.

3. Novozhilov V.F. (and others). Political aspects in the scientific understanding of the state's regulation system in the sphere of environmental protection of the Russian Federation // Environmental Protection as a Factor in the Socio-Economic Development of the Territories of Municipalities: Experience and Problems: Materials of the All-Russian Scientific-Practical Conference with International Participation held on 14-15 April, 2017, Rostov-on-Don. - Rostov-on-Don: Publishing House of the Russian Academy of National Economy and State Administration, 2017. P. 494-501.

4. Novozhilov V.F. (and others). Russian elitology: innovative responses to the challenges of the modern world // Materials of the Third All-Russian Congress of Elite Studies with International Participation held on 15-16 February, 2019, Vol. 2. - Rostov-on-Don: Publishing House of the Russian Academy of National Economy and State Administration, 2019. P. 163-170; 279-283; 287-292.

5. Novozhilov V.F. (and others). Local self-government in the context of the global challenges of modern Russia: Collection of Materials of a Scientific-Practical Conference with International Participation held on 4-5 April, 2019. - Rostov-on-Don: Publishing House of the Russian Academy of National Economy and State Administration, 2019. P. 124-135; 356-362.

The thesis consists of an introduction, three chapters, two paragraphs each, a conclusion and a list of references (185 titles).



V.F. Novozhilov