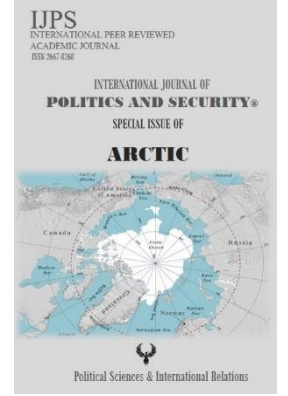


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Russia's Arctic Policy: Economic Development, Regional Priorities and Territorial Sea

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Abstract

The multifaceted impact of globalization on nature and the environment became even clearer in the 21st Century, when physical changes on the world's geography were also triggered. Explorations and regional surveys of the world at the poles have been evolved into policies on a global, regional and national scale, with changing and differentiating geographical events. The Arctic is a new area of life, including not only countries within the Arctic circle at the North Pole and riparian to the Arctic Ocean, but also extraterritorial and international organizations. This article examines a chronological time-line on the core of Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation (AZRF), aims at carrying out a comprehensive research on Russian regional and international Arctic policy within the Post-Soviet period. Russia's sea/ocean policy in the Arctic, which it has worked hard for the last thirty years, and its policies that it has implemented quickly in recent years, are planned by D.Medvedev's 'Modernization of Russia' reformist approach. This theoretical approach arose from the addition of the Russian Federal administrative structure and political culture to its IR-neo-liberalist and neo-realist policies. This article also discussed in Russia's new 'Modernization' approach. Russian and English scholarly sources were used in this article.

Keywords: Arctic Zone, Russia, Territorial Sea, Multilateral Cooperation, Regionalism.

Rusya'nın Arktik Politikası: Ekonomik Kalkınma, Bölgesel Öncelikler ve Deniz Ülkesi

Özet

Küreselleşmenin doğa ve çevreye çokyönlü etkisi, dünya coğrafyasındaki fiziksel değişimlerin de tetiklenmesiyle yirmibirinci yüzyılda daha da netleşti. Dünyanın kutuplardaki keşifleri ve bölgesel taramaları, değişen ve farklılaşan coğrafi olaylarla küresel, bölgesel ve ulusal ölçekte politikalara dönüştü. Arktik, sadece Kuzey kutbundaki Arktik Kuşağı dahilinde ve Arktik Okyanusuna kıyıdaş olan ülkelerin değil, bölge-dışı ve uluslararası örgütlerin de dahil olduğu yeni bir yaşam bölgesi haline gelmiştir. Bu makale, 21. yüzyılda Rusya'nın bölgesel ve uluslararası Arktik politikası hakkında kapsamlı bir çalışma yürütmeyi amaçlayan Rusya Federasyonu Arktik Bölgesi (RFAB) ekseninde kronolojik bir zaman çizelgesini özetlemektedir. Rusya'nın son yirmibeş yılda yoğun çalıştığı Arktik'teki deniz/okyanus politikasını ve son yıllardahızla uygulamaya koyduğu politikalarını, Medvedev'in 'Rusya'nın Modernizasyonu' yaklaşımıyla açıklamıştır. Bu teorik yaklaşım, neo-liberal yaklaşım ile neo-realist politikalarına Rusya Federal yönetim yapısı ve politik kültürünün eklenmesiyle ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu makale Rusya'nın yeni 'Modernleşme' yaklaşımıyla incelenmiş; Rusça ile İngilizce bilimsel kaynaklar kullanılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Arktik Bölgesi, Rusya, İç Denizler, Çoktarafli İşbirliği, Bölgeselcilik.

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1. Introduction

For a long period of time, the Arctic region was perceived as ‘Terra Nullius’.¹ Arctic polar region was an all-ice sea under high climatic conditions. Although many expeditions have been made in the Arctic Ocean since the 20th century, it was not completely discovered until the century. States interested in the Earth's land area also saw the Arctic as just an exploration area. This situation has changed with climate change and has undergone radical change due to the effects of the new geopolitical environment. At the end of the twentieth century, the Arctic region completely changed.

The boundary of the Arctic Circle is located at 66° 33 'N 44 “s. The area north of the Arctic Circle is called ‘the Arctic’. North is the side of the world corresponding to the direction of the North Pole.² The Arctic occupies about a sixth of the earth's surface; two-thirds of the arctic territory falls on the Arctic Ocean, the smallest ocean in the World. It consists of eight states (Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden, USA), who are responsible for the welfare of their inhabitants.³

Early seventeenth century English writer Selden, all on the high seas dominance of states that can exercise their power in areas or while arguing that their sovereignty was under their control, the Dutch Grotius, diplomat and jurist, lays out the argument for the freedom of the Sea.⁴ This historical defense is barely a hundred years old then it became a law.⁵

¹In Latin, the term *terra nullius* means "Land belonging to nobody." It does not, however, seem to have been a Roman concept. Not being great discoverers, the Romans had to acquire their empire the old-fashioned way: they fought for it. Starting in the 17th century, *terra nullius* denoted a legal concept allowing a European colonial power to take control of "empty" territory that none of the other European colonial powers had claimed. Of course, most of these "empty" territories were inhabited, so the meaning of *terra nullius* grew to include territories considered "devoid of civilized society." The most celebrated example is that of Australia, where the concept of *terra nullius* still features in lawsuits pressed by the Aboriginal peoples. Other examples of lands once considered *terra nullius* would be Siberia and the Americas.[http://homepages.gac.edu/~lwren/AmericanIdentitiesArt%20folder/American IdentitiesArt/Terra%20Nullius.html](http://homepages.gac.edu/~lwren/AmericanIdentitiesArt%20folder/American%20IdentitiesArt/Terra%20Nullius.html), (20.12.2020).

²D. D. Maksimova, Problemy i Perspektivy Razvitiya Articheskovo Regiona, Ucheb.-Met.Materiali, Rassiski Soviet po Mejdunarodnim Delam (RSMD), no 6 (2017): 51.

³Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden, USA states are members of Arctic region, who are responsible for the welfare of their inhabitants ; and all of these people's population is more than four million people.

⁴This information about Grotius is contained in the article of B.G.Akpınar's ‘Analysis of Arctic Security Policies from the Perspective of International Law: The Cases of Russia and the US’, chapter in ‘Arctic and US/Russian competition under international law’, p. 88 as (Gardiner, 2003: 392-393).

⁵Burcu Güçlü Akpınar, “Uluslararası Hukuk Çerçevesinden Arktik Güvenliği Politikalarının Analizi: Rusya ve ABD Örneği”, *Savunma Bilimleri Dergisi* 16, sy. 2 (2017): 88.



In the 20th century, with two geopolitical approaches - H.J. Mackinder and N. Spykman described important terms that help to understand modern geopolitical events. Axis area of the world.⁶ In 1904, H.J. Mackinder claimed to the Heartland theory. The theory proposed that whoever controls Eastern Europe, Eurasia controls the Heartland. It also supported the concept of world dominance. A more revised version explains that whoever controls the Heartland, controls the World Island. Whoever controls the World Island, will soon rule the world. In other words, the group or a nation or a state who dominates the Heartland, can then extend its domination over a far wider area. The Heartland has primarily been Central Asia, the high seas, and Eurasia. H.J. Mackinder described Arctic Pole or Northern Seas are 'inaccessible area' in his Heartland theory's map. The place of the Heartland in the world geography was primarily Central Asia, the Northern Sea field coast- today's Russian North Sea field and territorial sea- and Eurasia. In 1942, N. Spykman proposed another theory that opposed H. J. Mackinder's Heartland theory. The Rimland frame covers the Heartland. N. Spykman stated that Eurasia's Rimland, the coastal areas, is the key to controlling the World Island. And explained that;

'Whoever would control the Rimland, would eventually control the World Island. Whoever would control the World Island would soon control the World.'

This theory was originally proposed during the Cold War. And the Soviet Union, which is actually a pole of the bipolar world, and its 'domain'. Its immediate surroundings, were wanted to be controlled. The main problematic of these theory tie with the heart of the Soviet Union, the USSR's periphery and the meant of the World Island. Today, the area defined by both theorists in the first quarter of the 21st century is the territory of the Russian Federation. Geographical superiority passed from the USSR to Russia. Russia has a status of 'advantages of the Northern Sea routes, natural resources, energy transports' as mentioned Heartland and Rimland theories. As M.L. Lagutina mentioned also in her article, the Arctic contains large natural resources in terms of crude oil, natural gas, minerals, spring water, fish and forest, sub-arctic resources. There are two strategically important sea routes in the Arctic, one of which is the North Sea route, which is in Russia's territorial waters. The other is the Northwest Passage.

⁶Obviously, the northern boundary of the "axis area of the world" is the Russian Arctic. Modern geopolitical conditions at the turn of the twentieth century made the Arctic a center of global interests and created a new field of study and competition for international property rights. The 'Arctic Ocean Coastal States' are five countries as Russia, USA, Canada, Norway and Denmark are adjacent to the frozen Arctic Ocean. Adjacent to the coast (370 km; 230 mi) is not limited to the 200 nautical mile (EEZ) Special Economic Zone. M.L. Lagunita, "Russian Arctic Policy in the 21st Century: From International to Transnational Cooperation?", *Global Review Winter 2013*, 4-6.



It's Canadian-controlled. This passage is Marine Area connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. All economically developed countries of the world are located in the Northern Hemisphere. This indicates that the region where the mainstream of the world economy is moving north, and where this can further develop the future geopolitical and geo-economic world structure, will again be in the northern part of the world.

The length of the whole Arctic coast is 38700 km, from which Russian part consists of 22600 km. According to Gusher the size of the territories that Arctic littoral state has area: Russia – 5,842 mln. km², Canada - 1,430 mln. km², Norway - 0,746, Denmark - 0,372, and the USA – 0,126 (2009).⁷

The importance of the arctic for humanity is determined by the following:

1. The Arctic contains huge energy resources which, according to experts are the future of all mankind;
2. The Arctic is rich in related to rare and rare earth metals, minerals, ores and other raw materials of strategic importance;
3. Also in the Arctic is of huge biological resources of global importance;
4. The Northern Sea Route (NSR) and the North-West Passage (NWP) are important transport arteries. The interest of various countries in the organization and development of cross-polar flights is growing;
5. The Arctic affects the environment around the world and climate change.⁸

⁷The original dividing of the Arctic Ocean was started in 1919 when the coastal states segregated it on sectors by meridians. In 1982, after 30 years of discussions, the United Nations Convention on Law of the Sea was issued and in 1994 it came into force. The UNCLOS is the treaty that regulates the status of states' maritime zone. According to it the mineral resources "in and on the deep seabed" in the high seas "are subject to the common heritage of mankind principle" (Hoel 2009: 93), which means they do not belong to any states. This document has changed the foundation of the Arctic sectoral division: instead of the sectors of the ownership in the Arctic Ocean, the states were assigned to an exclusive economic zone of up to 200 miles from a country's baseline, which represents fewer territories than the Arctic littoral states had before. Denmark, Norway and Canada were the first to ratify the Convention. Despite the fact that the USSR did not set up the UNCLOS, the Russian Federation ratified it in 1997. The US has not ratified it yet which unable to take part in decision making over the possession of the Arctic Ocean resources. Any coastal state has got the right to make a submission to the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf for the prolongation of the area of national jurisdiction. And the most disputable part of the Arctic Ocean is the Lomonosov Ridge, which according to the 1st committee "is stretching from Greenland to Siberia, upon which Russia, Canada, and Denmark." Russia has already made its submission in 2001. According to Scott Borgerson it has claimed 460,000 square miles of resource-rich Arctic waters, including the North Pole, which could contain "as much as 586 billion barrels of oil" (2008, 63-65). But the CLCS found the proofs insufficient. According to the report of GA Russia repeated the submission in 2009. Skupchenko Julia, Oil and gas development as a factor destabilizing security situation in the Arctic. The impact of the development of oil and gas resources on the security situation in the Arctic. Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/343212420_The_impact_of_the_development_of_oil_and_gas_resources_on_the_security_situation_in_the_Arctic, (21.12.2020). Skupchenko Julia, Oil and gas development as an factor destabilizing security situation in the Arctic, 2012.

⁸ Maksimova, Problemy i perspektivy pazvitiya Articheskovo Regiona, 56.



Fundamentally new approaches to the formation of Arctic policy have been established in the USSR.⁹ These are based on positive policy changes in the economic and social life of the nation, as well as a deep realization of the problems accumulated in the region. However, no actual Arctic policy based on these new approaches has yet been planned. Scientific research was continuing. It had become secondary due to many objective and subjective factors.

Over 50 percent of the ice in the Arctic has been lost in the last decade, and as the ice pack melts, new battle lines are being drawn between Russia, China and the US in the area as they seek to assert their strategic superiority and exploit the area's valuable natural resources. Malte Humbert, Senior Fellow and Founder of the Arctic Institute, and Dr. Kim Holmén of the Norwegian Polar Institute describe the changes that the thinning of the ice are bringing now that the area is a “navigable ocean”. “It's the first area where the geopolitics are being altered because of climate change. Because the ice is melting so rapidly suddenly it's becoming a navigable ocean. You have a resurgent Russia, you have China who is coming up as the great superpower of the 21st century and the US, who has the understanding of being the world hegemon”.¹⁰

Throughout the history of the mankind the issue of resource possession was one of, if not the most frequent motive for conflicts. As you know recently the Arctic has become one of the most discussed topics in the context of exploitation of mineral resources. Kristine Offerdal explains this increasing importance of the Arctic by: - the rising oil prices and political instability of traditional importing countries; - the global climate change and new “ice-free” territories; - and the lack of more accessible for exploration reserves.¹¹

In recent years, the melting of the Arctic sea ice has been a significant phenomenon of global warming.¹² Although this is a serious problem for the global ecosystem, ecological changes are an issue with economic appeal that works in many areas in the Arctic region. In

⁹ V. R. Vartanov and A.Y. Roginko, *New Dimensions of Soviet Arctic Policy: Views from the Soviet Union*, ANNALS, AAPSS, 512, 1990. Scientific research in the Arctic received primary attention in the USSR as far back as the 1930s. Polar researchers were admired as national heroes in the Soviet Union. The successes of Arctic science have been at least partly regarded as political issues.

¹⁰BBC - The Compass: How climate change is heating up the Arctic's geopolitical landscape?, 2020.

¹¹S. Kupchenko, The impact of the development of oil and gas resources on the security situation in the Arctic, 2012. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/343212420_The_impact_of_the_development_of_oil_and_gas_resources_on_the_security_situation_in_the_Arctic (19.12.2020) <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/warming-arctic-with-less-ice-heats-up-cold-war-tensions>.

¹²Yoko Hirose, “International Cooperation In The Arctic Region: The Search And Rescue And The Barents Cooperation”, *Eurasian Journal of Social Sciences* 6, sy. 3 (2018): 37-55.



addition, the lives of all living things in the Arctic region are also at risk, depending on the Arctic ecosystem. However, the effort to generate commercial or economic income from this emerging region is stronger than the effort to protect living creatures in the area emerging from the melting ice of the Arctic. And it seems to focus more on business or strategic interests than on ecological issues. And the global warming makes it easier to use the sea route as the ice melts, so it uses the “Northern Sea Route (NSR)”¹³ and the rich natural resources in the Arctic.

Some of the non-regional states as South Korea, Republic of China, India, and Singapore has been observer statuses at the Arctic Council (AC) for seven years. Therefore, Japan is the Arctic country in the Barents Europe - Arctic Council (BEAC)¹⁴ with “observer status” despite being outside the Barents Sea. Therefore, BEAC is a global area of the Arctic region, not a regional one.

The Kremlin's strategy in the Arctic region is a subject of intense interest and widely published in both the media and literature.¹⁵ Instead of competing for Moscow and natural resources, it seems to have preferred competition with cooperation. Of course, for Russia, the idea of achieving new gains in the Arctic region with 'only cooperation' cannot be enough. It is also considering an effort to create a regional shield with 'controlled acquisition by cooperation' to increase its current high advantaged status. The first goal, perhaps not economical and strategically gain as a 'victory of Russia' is that the region remains 'under control' among the riparian countries. Russia has defined multi-purpose and multi-targeted pragmatic interests in the North Sea.

Russian academics and Arctic experts argue that in order to protect Russia's legitimate interests, it should protect the legitimate rights of the six Russian seas off the coast of the Arctic Ocean and target high-tech partnerships with the Nordic countries. Seeing Russia's intent,

¹³The Northern Sea Route (NSR) runs from the Barents Sea, near Russia's border with Norway, to the Bering Strait between Siberia and Alaska. Ships sailing through the NSR need the permission of Russian authorities, who collect transit fees and provide escorting icebreakers. The NSR has been touted as a potential rival to the Suez Canal because it could dramatically slash some journey times between Asia and Europe. For example, a ship travelling from S. Korea to Germany would take roughly 34 days via the Suez Canal and 23 via the NSR. But the Arctic route has drawbacks: a navigation season of three to four months each year, unpredictable ice conditions, high insurance fees, costly specialized vessels, and a lack of search-and-rescue teams and support infrastructure. These are some of the reasons why experts believe that the NSR will not become an economically feasible alternative before 2040. <https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2018/09/24/what-is-the-northern-sea-route>

¹⁴Cooperation in the Barents Euro-Arctic Region was launched in 1993 on two levels: intergovernmental Barents Euro-Arctic Council (BEAC) and interregional Barents Regional Council (BRC), <https://www.barentscooperation.org/en/About/Learn-More/International-Arctic,-Barents-and-Northern-cooperation>

¹⁵Alexander Sergunin and Valery Konyshev, *Russia in the Arctic: Hard or Soft Power?*, (2016), 11.



similar Scandinavian academics and experts are pleased and hopeful about the positive development of regional cooperation with other Arctic States for ten years. These experts argue that it is correct to support Russia's limited economy, technological underdevelopment, slow-constructing infrastructure plans and strong software systems. These people noted the significance of the development of the Arctic Region of the Russian Federation (AZRF) and added that Kremlin is not pursuing a policy in the North Pole like a revisionist or leading country; On the basis of a strong culture of diplomacy, international law and international organizations, Russia is trying to resolve all disputes in the region through peaceful means.

The Russian theorists and policy-makers suggested their own versions of 'the soft power theory' on the D. Medvedev's 'Modernization of Russia' concept. For example, with regard to the Russian sector of the Arctic they make emphasis on economic attractiveness of the region because of its vast natural resources and shorter sea and air routes. It is important to note that irrespectively how the Kremlin interprets the soft power concept and whether it is in tune with Nye's original definition Moscow has no intention to use coercive instruments in its Arctic policies and be a trouble-maker in the region.¹⁶ The Modernization theories popular among western scholars since the late nineteenth century also serve to illustrate the point of Russian vs. Western experiences with modernization.¹⁷

2. Russia's Arctic Regions: From Empire to Federal State System

Radically new approaches to the formation of both foreign and domestic Arctic policy has been established in the USSR.¹⁸ Although new policies were planned for the formation of both foreign and domestic Arctic policy in the USSR, it was not easy to manage the massive

¹⁶ Sergunin and Konyshv, *Russia in the Arctic: Hard or Soft Power?*, 20-21. According to this school, in the post-Cold War period key international players prefer to exercise 'soft' rather than 'hard' power because the economic, socio-cultural, institutional and legal instruments are much more efficient now than the military strength or direct political pressure. For Nye, the author of the concept, the soft power is, first and foremost, an ability to be attractive. The soft power of a country rests primarily on three resources: "its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority)" (Nye, 2004: 11).

¹⁷ R. Krumm, *The Medvedev Factor Russia's Desire to Modernize*, 2010. In his book 'Der philosophische Diskurs der Moderne' German philosopher Jürgen Habermas defined self-confidence, self-determination and self-realization as among the most important characteristics of the modern age. Openness and the courage to change were considered vital conditions for successful modernization, for which science, technology and education provided the foundation. This was associated in the twentieth century with a secular, materialistic and individualistic lifestyle that, in keeping with the zeitgeist, was considered superior to any other form of society. In other words, »Modern was anything Western Europe or the United States defined as such, and the Western method of modernization was the only successful model.

¹⁸ V.R. Vartanov and A.Y. Roginko, "New Dimensions of Soviet Arctic Policy: Views from the Soviet Union", *ANNALS, AAPSS* 512, (1990): 69.



economic mobility management and the heavy planning of the defense industry. All the ideally planned Arctic projects were only able to do a little bit of limited polar exploration. Only the upper part of the iceberg was partially explored. Soviet-era arctic research included partly military trials and scientific surface and ocean scans.

Nowadays not only Arctic countries (Russia, USA, Canada, Norway, Denmark), but also non-Arctic states (China, Japan, Great Britain, etc.) pretend to control the Arctic regions. The main wealth of the Arctic is crude oil and natural gas. Russia, led by President V. Putin, is trying to create a new Arctic Shield (similar to the Arctic shield of the USSR) for crude oil and natural gas fields development.

At the current price level and relative surplus of oil and gas on the world market, under the conditions of anti-Russian sanctions, investors do not spend money on exploration and development of Arctic offshore fields in Russia. Under current conditions, hydrocarbon production is possible only at small fields in the Barents and Kara Seas. Production in the seas of the Eastern Arctic (Laptev, East Siberian Seas, etc.) is impossible in the next twenty years. The development of crude oil and natural gas fields in the Arctic must be based on technological progress and only this can keep production profitable in the future. The crude oil and natural gas companies must be clearly aware that the marginality of international business will decrease.

The leaders of the Russian state and crude oil and natural gas industry, who placed their bets on exclusively hydrocarbon energetics in the 21st century, were wrong. They failed to take advantage of the favorable situation on the oil market in the early 2000s, and did not create any technological, infrastructural or economic backbone for the country in the future. Today, the “oil needle” is over. For Russia, the “oil drug break” = the “economic break-up” - is beginning. Covid19 will increase and accelerate the death of Russian economic system. In the future, Russia will no longer be able to exist normally by only selling oil and gas. Large-scale crude oil and natural gas production on the Russian Arctic shelf has been and will remain a Myth.

V. Putin and D. Medvedev is the duo of the ‘Russian Tandem’, which has brought a new concept to World Politics. ‘Russian Tandem’ means ‘Russian duo’, ‘Russian couple’. No such long-term, highly secure and loyal political couple has been seen in the administration of a state



that is experiencing a critical process in world politics.¹⁹From the Soviet military administration, which was withdrawn from East Germany in the spring of 1990, V. Putin took charge of the city of St. Petersburg and worked here with D. Medvedev, as lawyer. One of Putin's first jobs, when he accepted the Russian presidency in 2000, was to appoint D. Medvedev first, as first director of Gazprom and soon as Deputy Prime Minister. In 2005, Medvedev stayed Head of Russian Federation and Putin became prime minister. In the March 2012 elections, Putin again became head of state. And on this period, Medvedev was taken staff as prime minister. And Putin still on his Presidency staff, Medvedev stayed his Prime Ministry staff till beginning of 2020 Putin was changed his staff and appointed to him as a Head of National Security Council.²⁰

The “strategy of the country's development” to which Gryzlov refers is the “Putin Plan”, and it is unlikely that Medvedev would either desire or be able to deviate significantly from the fundamental features of this plan. The relationship between the two men has been described as a “Tandem” since December 2007, and the term “Tandemocracy” has been used to characterize the Russian political system since Medvedev was elected president²¹. The first reference to a “Tandem” to describe the future president-prime minister relationship was made by V. Putin in 1 October 2007 when he spoke at the *Yedinaya Rossiya Congress* about the possibility that he might become prime minister under his presidential successor. V. Putin stated: ²²

“The offer to head the government is quite realistic but it's too early to think about this now because at least two conditions need to be met for this. First, ‘United Russia’ should win the December elections to the State Duma, and second, a decent, efficient, able and modern thinking person should be elected president of the country, someone with whom one could work in tandem.”

¹⁹<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2020/01/20/russia-prepares-for-new-tandemocracy-a68967>.

²⁰For details: E.H. Kilicbeyli, “Rusya ve Avrasya Enerji Politikaları”, *Orta Asya ve Kafkaslarda Siyaset*, ed. H. Kilic and E. Toprak, (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016), 201.

²¹RIA Novosti 27 February 2008; Vesti TV 27 February 2008. From BBC Monitoring (BBCM). Channel One TV 2 March 2008. From BBCM.

²²Dmitriy Medvedev, Vladimir Putin's chosen successor and long-time protégé, was elected president in March 2008 and immediately designated Putin as prime minister. President Medvedev has continued policies established during the Putin presidency. In August 2008, the Medvedev-Putin “tandem” directed wide-scale military operations. Nichol Jim, Russian Political, Economic, and Security Issues and U.S. Interests. June 13, 2011 Congressional Research Service 7-5700. CRS Record for Congress. Russian Political, Economic, and Security Issues and U.S. Interest. <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/4e3fd9052.pdf>. Vesti TV news channel 1 October 2007. From BBCM. Once Putin made clear in December 2007 his preference for Medvedev as president, the term then entered Russia's political vocabulary. The first mention of the term tandemocracy was in early May 2008. It appears that the term was originated by the blogger Rustem Agadamov at the beginning of May 2008. From BBCM [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/123733/Russian %20Series%2010_15_Web.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/123733/Russian%20Series%2010_15_Web.pdf)



Mandatory conditions for determining the current characteristics of international cooperation in the Arctic are, first, identifying the expanding composition of participants in international cooperation, and second, studying changes in the ways of decision-making at the global, regional and national levels. The object of the study of international research and educational cooperation is the process of formation of the Arctic regional innovation system, and the subject of the study is the process of improving strategic scientific planning and effective mechanism of the decision-making process. In this regard, the political aspects of the organizational structure of global policy directions are the main criterion for changing the decision-making process in the state system of relations, i.e. in the field of socio-economic relations on the ground.²³

3. The Importance of the Arctic Zone for Russia: Political and National Priorities

Russia is more active than ever on the Arctic Region. The country has a significant population in the far North. Thirty percent of its GDP depends on the region. And as the sea ice melts, a new shipping route is opening up above Russia. They're calling it the Northern Sea Route, and once it becomes navigable, it will shorten the amount of time it takes for a cargo ship to travel between Western Europe and Asia by two weeks, compared to using the Suez Canal.²⁴

Based on the existing practice of foreign countries, it should be noted that the forms and levels of participation in co-management are diverse: from formal consultations with local residents on topical issues to the full inclusion of indigenous peoples in the management and decision-making process. Each member of the co-management performs certain functions. For example, only the state has the right to legislate and administrative resources; business has the necessary material resources to solve many problems; public organizations perform the function of monitoring and providing objective information about the situation in the region; indigenous peoples can share their traditional knowledge and management practices based on their centuries-old experience of living in this region. This is the principle of separation of powers and responsibilities laid down in the concept of co-management. At the same time, the actions

²³ N.K. Harlampyeva, *Mejdunarodnoye Nauchno-Isledevatelskoye i Obrazovatelnoye po Izucheniyo Rossiskoe Artiki : Methodoloy Issledovaniya*, 2017.

²⁴ Moran B. Samsó, J. Feliciano, *Warming Arctic with less ice heats up Cold War tensions*, 25. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/warming-arctic-with-less-ice-heats-up-cold-war-tensions>. (20.12.2020).



of all participants are aimed at solving a common problem for all, exchanging information and finding a compromise solution to an urgent issue. Back in 2008, the document “ Fundamentals of the State Policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic for the period up to 2020 and beyond “noted the importance of developing new mechanisms for implementing Russia's state policy in the Arctic-” through targeted and coordinated activities of interested federal executive groups, public authorities of the subjects of the Russian Federation, local self-government bodies, commercial and non-commercial organizations in accordance with their powers and areas of activity on the principles of public-private public relations in the Arctic partnership, as well as in the framework of cooperation of the Russian Federation with foreign states and international organizations and in this the document described the mechanisms of joint management.

In recent years, another issue that has been felt and changed in the Russian Arctic strategy is socio-economic policies. First, change began within the federal system. Afterwards, regional collaborations were established - new collaborations in the field of infrastructure development, transportation system in the construction of social space; includes corporate partnerships that develop joint areas of education and research by establishing a scientific and educational campus. The Sakhalin-2²⁵ project and the Yamal lng project²⁶ are Russia’s long-term investments in the present. And social mobility increased in these regions, and ice began to melt socially in industrial areas where hydrocarbon was first produced. NGOs, local communities and companies can collaborate. Multiple internal and external partnerships facilitate access and use of mineral and biological natural resources of the Arctic region of the Russian Federation (AZRF). The Arctic region is a producer of Russian gas (95 percent of total Russian production) and oil (about 70 percent). AZRF is also abundant in other mineral

²⁵ Although Russia planned the Sakhalin II project on the basis of LPG, LNG, the main goal is 'energy supply'. There are two phases in Sakhalin II; the first is the transport from oil production to the molpkak Sea platform; the second phase is the connection of the 300 km long pipeline to three separate platforms at sea. In this way, oil and gas can be loaded faster on ships, crossing more than 800 kilometers in this way. Environmental Protection and consumption of natural resources with minimal damage are taken into account in this partnership. For details: Kilicbeyli, “Rusya ve Avrasya Enerji Politikaları”, 193.

²⁶ The Yamal Peninsula is a strategic oil and gas resource region of Russia. According to initial estimates, more than 16,700,000,000,000 m³ of natural gas in the identified area the Reserve is located at. Within 10 years, Yamal gas 310-360. 000. 000. 000 m³ per year its output will become one of the three main Russian gas production centers with potential. Yamal oil, shipped from the offshore terminal of the Kara Sea (English-Black Sea, Russian - Karaskoye More) gate to the North ice sea in the Yamal mega project, is the first time Russia has secured natural gas production in the commercial development of highways by cargo after the discovery of new hydrocarbon fields it is used to provide. For details: Kilicbeyli, “Rusya ve Avrasya Enerji Politikaları”, 187-188.



resources.

Russia has followed the *'Rules of the Game'* in the Arctic.²⁷ As a follower of International Law, Russia supported the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) signed by the USSR in 1982. It has also played a constructive role in all regional and polar partnerships in the Arctic region. The protection of the United Nations continental shelf boundaries (CLSs) shows maximum technical and diplomatic care in the regular work of the relevant committees. The Arctic Council collaborated with its neighbors and other members. At the beginning of the 21st century, economically weakening Russia with its depressed economy faced new threats to national security in the Arctic.²⁸ Russia, whose hydrocarbon revenues are declining and has experienced an economic recession, has decided to accelerate new field research in the region, primarily to protect its national security in the Arctic. Regional or non-regional countries have begun calling for a review of international agreements in the Arctic and for the region to be regulated by a new international law. The new system of regulation, of course, included issues of how to narrow or limit Russia's territorial waters. Russia was wanted to be shown as a hard, cold and hegemon country, as in the Cold War era.

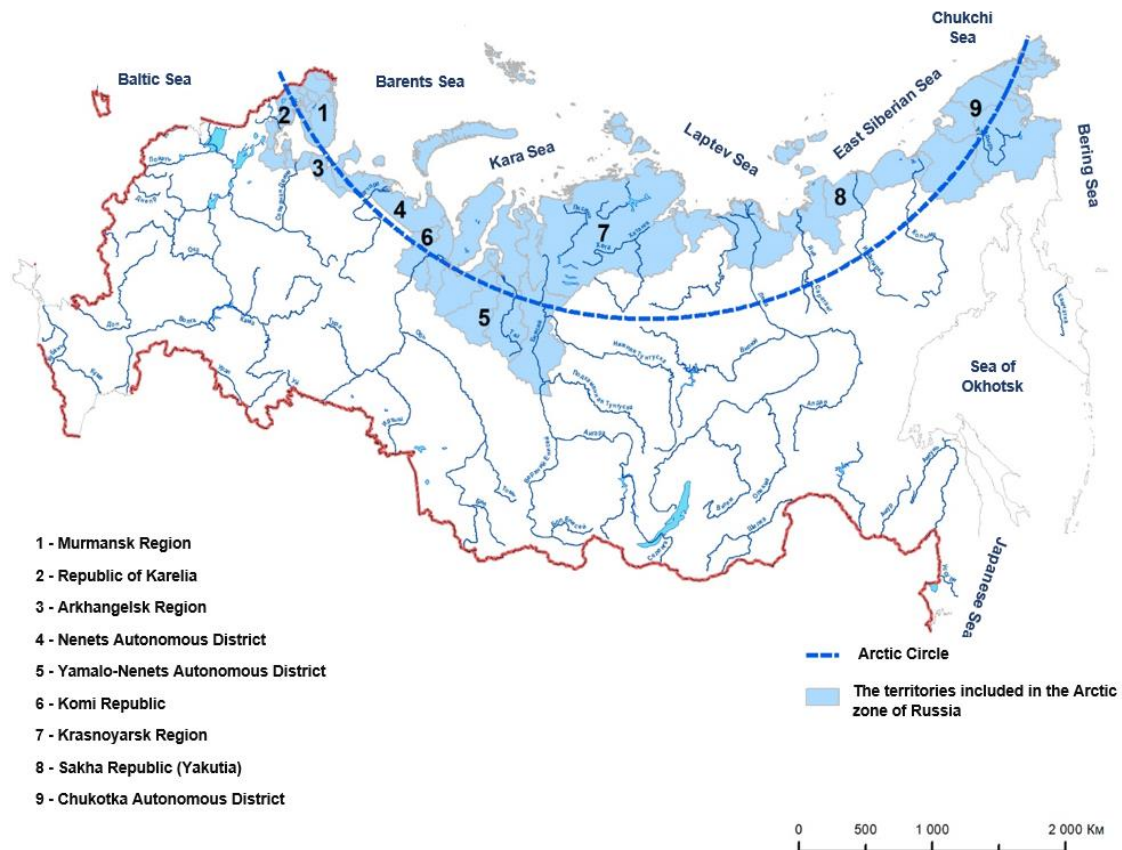
The Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation (AZRF) is a land area defined by Presidential Decree № 296 of 2 May 2014 "On Land Areas of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation", as well as adjacent inland waters, territorial sea, exclusive economic zone and continental shelf of the Russian Federation (Figure 1).

²⁷Therefore, Russia has been a constructive supporter of the Arctic Council and the Arctic Submarine of the territory since 1982. V.N. Konyshov and A.A. Sergunin, *Arctic in International Policy: Cooperation or Rivalry?*, (RISI: RISI, Moscow, 2011), 62.

²⁸ M.L. Lagutina, "Soupravleniye v Artike ili 'Articheskiye Partnerstva: Rassisky Podhod.' Mejdunarodnoye Nauchnoye Satrudnichestva v Arktike ili 'Arkticheskiye Partnerstva'", Sankt Petersburg Gasutarsvenni Universitet, 2017.



Figure 1: Map-Scheme of the Continental Part of the Arctic Zone Territory of the Russian Federation in accordance with Presidential Orders № 296 (02.05.2014) and № 287



But the “Globalization” of human interests in the Arctic, associated with the settlement of Northern territories and the depletion of natural, territorial, and other resources, has led to a growing number of far non-Arctic countries (Great Britain, China, etc.) showing interest in the Arctic. The trend of Russia's loss of leadership in the Arctic, including its maximum sectorial territory, is clearly visible. The current situation in the Arctic leaves no other chance for Russia - Russia must to intensify the economic development of the Arctic region, as without any questions of their physical loss may arise in the coming decades.

3.1. Key Zones of Development in the Russian Arctic

At present, the state economic policy in the AZRF is based on a project approach to managing socio-economic development. Development is carried out in narrow-oriented manner, concentrating around anchor points and anchor projects. In the Arctic zone of Russia, projects in the production and processing of mineral resources (including offshore resources), as well as transport and energy infrastructure projects are being implemented. The core of the

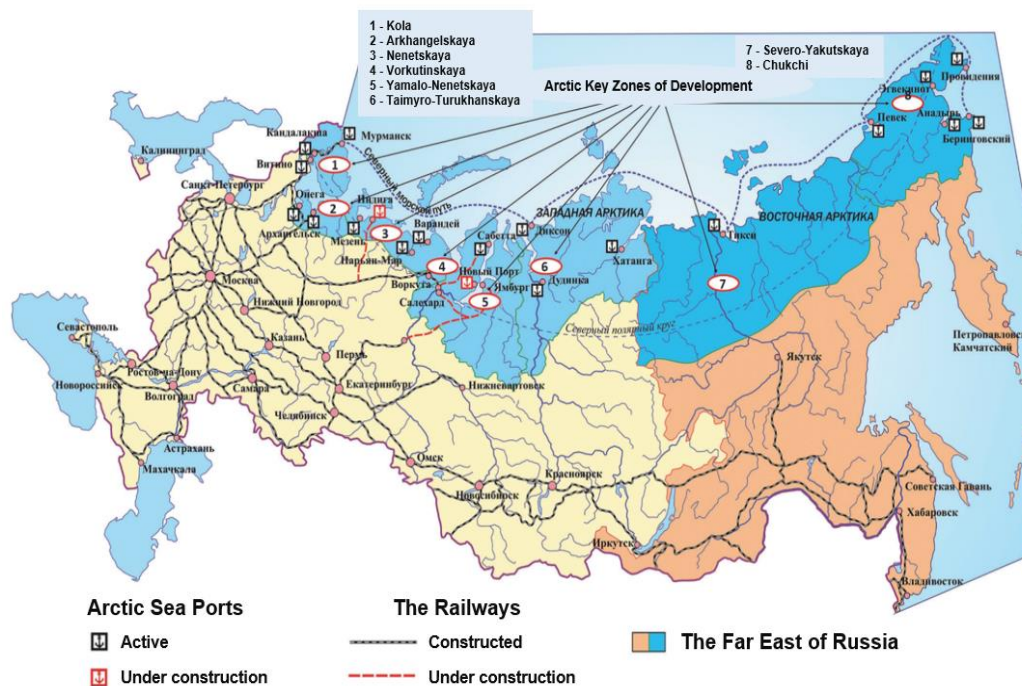


draft Federal Law “On the Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation” developed by the Ministry of Economic Development is the concept of forming a network of Key Zones of Development (KZD), which represent the most developed and perspective areas of the Russian Arctic.

KZD's around the “centers of economic development” of the Arctic territories (the largest infrastructure projects) should form a “framework” of socio-economic development. Moreover, zones are understood not only as territories, but primarily as a list of coordinated and complementary projects, as well as instruments of state support that cumulatively affect the accelerated development of regions and the Arctic in general. The Ministry of Economic Development of Russia, together with the concerned federal authorities, the Arctic regions and large companies operating in the Arctic, has chosen about 150 priority projects (ongoing or planned to be undertaken) with implementation dates up to 2030. Based on the existing administrative and territorial division, the functioning of transport hubs, resource base, as well as the prospects and potentials for social and economic development, the following key zones of development were preliminary proposed:

- 1) Kola;
- 2) Arkhangelskaya;
- 3) Nenetskaya;
- 4) Vorkutinskaya;
- 5) Yamalo-Nenetskaya;
- 6) Taimyr-Turukhankaya;
- 7) Severo-Yakutkaya;
- 8) Chukchi (Figure 2).

Taking into account the presence of strategic mineral resources in the subsoil of the Arctic, it is their development that will become “anchor” for the majority of KZDs, primarily in the Ural, Siberian and Far Eastern parts of the AZRF. Of the projects selected for implementation, production and processing of natural resources account for about 50% of all projects (geological exploration and shelf oil and gas projects account for another 7% each) - in total, almost two thirds of all projects are directly related to the development of the mineral resource base of the Russian Arctic.

**Figure 2: Key Zones of Development in the Russian Arctic**²⁹

Mineral resource centers (MRC) of hydrocarbons are already the main drivers of the AZRF's economic development. They are associated with the largest investment projects at various stages of implementation. The specifics of developing an Arctic region with underdeveloped infrastructure determine the need to concentrate efforts on building up the resource base within the MRCs with existing infrastructure solutions.

The Prirazlomny Offshore Oil MRC and Bolshoi Shtokman MRC operate on the Barents Sea continental shelf, and the Kamennomys sky Gas Pipeline MRC, Bovanenkov sky Gas Pipeline MRC, Yamal LNG MRC and Arctic LNG MRC operate on the Kara Sea shelf. The Khatang sky Perspective Offshore Oil and Gas MRC is located on the eastern coast of the Taymyr Peninsula and in the Khatang sky Bay of the Laptev Sea.

The Government of the Russian Federation will take into account the expediency of application of the existing instruments of state support increasing the investment attractiveness of the projects, such as, for example, free ports, areas of advanced development, special economic zones, industrial parks, special investment contracts, possible tax and fee benefits,

²⁹S.N. Leonov and E.A. Zaostrovskikh, "Potential of the Eastern Arctic as a Catalyst of the Russian Far East Development", *Arctic: Ecology and Economy* 4, sy. 36 (2019): 4.



etc. According to the Government's plan, KZD are not a new mechanism of benefits, but a conscious approach to the development of territories through the implementation of projects that create the basis for socio-economic development of the AZRF. All these measures should be implemented in the form of a public-private partnership based on mutual obligations between the state and business, when federal and regional authorities make efforts to lift infrastructure restrictions and/or provide preferential treatment, and companies make commitments to invest in project development and implementation.

The approach under consideration is not an absolute novelty - back in Soviet times, Territorial and Industrial Complexes (TIC), were singled out on the economic map of the USSR. They were understood as a set of interrelated and interconnected productions located next to each other, from the location of which on a certain territory additional economic effect was achieved through the use of common infrastructure, energy facilities, personnel base, etc. However, the experience of implementation of many ambitious plans in the USSR showed that their implementation was often postponed indefinitely due to refusal of key participants to meet their obligations.

Given the chosen vector of state economic policy, the coming years for the Russian economy will mean a final shift from the idea of high-tech development, (which for many years was adhered to by the Soviet Union and which turned Tsarist Russia from an agrarian to an industrialized country), in favor of a purely resource economy. Extreme natural and climatic conditions in the AZRF (including the Arctic seas shelf) dramatically increase the complexity of resource development. Intensive development of KZD is complicated by the current low geological exploration, underdeveloped infrastructure, extremely low people population, the need for special equipment and technologies adapted to the Arctic conditions. This will require huge investments in future, for which Russia has no opportunities. In addition, the resource production in the Arctic zone are more export oriented and therefore dependent on price fluctuations on world markets. Therefore, even with the successful implementation of KZD projects, Russia looks in the future only as a “resource appendage” of the world economy, and primarily of China and possibly India, but not of Western Europe.

Central to the economic model of development are gas and oil fields in the region. Implementation of projects in any KZD is possible only at the expense of the Russian budget. At the same time, revenues from sales of hydrocarbons will be received exclusively by state

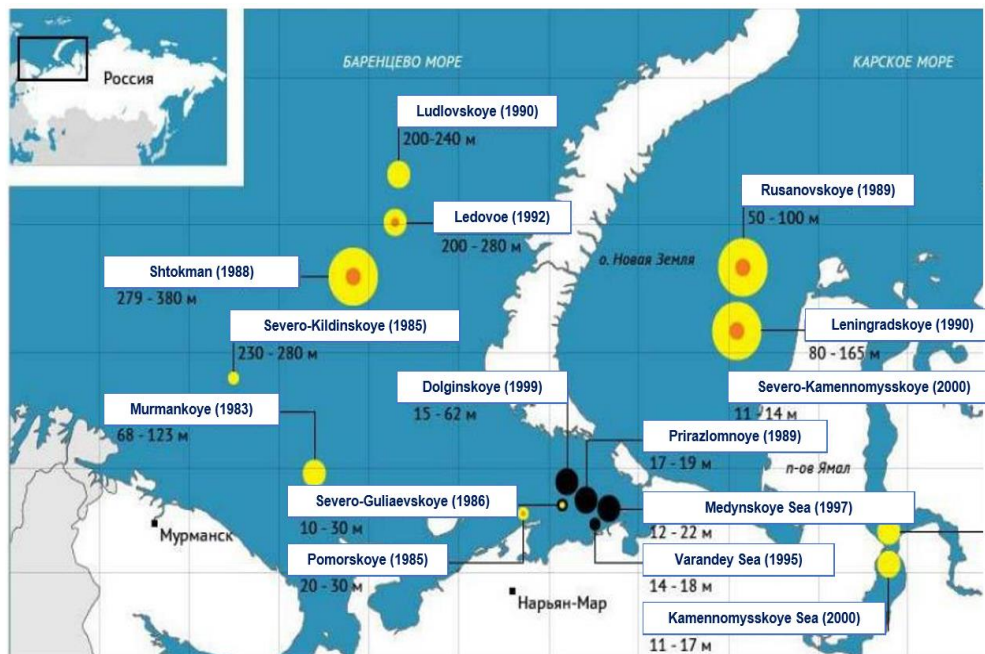


and private corporations and companies, not by the population of Arctic regions. The amount of tax exemptions offered by the Russian government results in zero benefits for the country's budget from any project. The social and scientific development of a region is declarative in general, and can only take place on the basis of a project to production or transport resources as an indirect effect.

3.2. Mineral Resource Centers of Hydrocarbon Raw Materials in the Arctic Zone

Mineral Resource Centers of hydrocarbon raw materials (MSC UVS) are the main drivers of the economic development of the Russian Arctic (Figure 3). They are associated with the largest investment projects that are at various stages of implementation.

Figure 3: Russian Oil and Gas Fields in the Arctic. *Sochneva I. SI.2020.Moscow.*



a. MSC of the Barents Sea. On the continental shelf of the Barents Sea, there are two MSC: Prirazlomny Oil Marine MSC and Bolshoy Shtokman MSC. Prirazlomny offshore oil MCC includes the Prirazlomnoye field under development. Shipping and transportation of commercial products to the world market is carried out. Bolshoy Shtokman MSC includes the Shtokman gas condensate field prepared for industrial development, as well as the distributed ice and Ludlovskoye fields. The development of this MSC is solely related to the gas market situation. The issue of organizing the extraction and transportation of raw materials does not present any technical difficulties.



b. MSC of the Kara Sea the Kamennomyssk Natural Gas Pipeline MSC, Bovanenkov Gas Pipeline MSC, Yamal LNG MSC, and Arctic LNG MSC operate on the continental shelf of the Kara Sea.

c. The Kamennomyssk natural gas pipeline MSC is a promising MSC located mainly in the waters of the Ob and Taz Bays of the Kara Sea. The mineral resource base is represented by reserves of explored (Tota-Yakhinskoye, Severo-Parusovoye) and increased to their deposits (Semakovskoye, Kamennomysskoye) and unlicensed parts of deposits (to a much lesser extent). The subsurface user is PJSC Gazprom and its subsidiaries.

d. The Bovanenkovsky natural gas pipeline MSC is located on the Yamal Peninsula, some of the fields are located on the adjacent shelf of the Kara Sea, the mineral resource base is characterized by a fairly high degree of exploration and relatively low depletion of reserves, but only 36% of them are involved in development. The involvement of new hydrocarbon reserves in development is the main way to develop this MSC.

e. Yamal LNG MSC is represented by two sections -natural gas and condensate on the basis of the Yuzhno-Tambeyskoye field prepared for industrial development. LNG production and shipment of commercial products to the world market has begun.

f. Arctic LNG MSC - is a part of MSC investment. It is located on the Gydan peninsula. Some Mineral Resource Centers are borderline, partly located on the land of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District, and partly on the adjacent water area of the Kara Sea. The subsurface users are Arctic LNG-2 LLC and NOVATEK-Yurkharovneftegaz LLC.

g. The Pobeda field discovered on the continental shelf of the Kara Sea (oil reserves of category C1 - 0.6 million tons, category C2 - 129.4 million tons, free natural gas - category C1 -17.1 billion m³, C2 - 378.5 billion m³). m³) in the future may become the Northernmost developed offshore field.

h. Rusanovskoye field (natural gas reserves of category C1 - 240.4 billion m³, category C2 – 538.6 billion m³). and Leningradskoye (natural gas reserves of category C1 - 738.4 billion m³, C2-1161.7 billion m³), located at a slight distance from the coast of the Yamal Peninsula, may in the future both form an independent MSC and be included in the developing Bovanenkov natural gas center.

3.3. Laptev Sea MSC

The Khatanga prospective offshore oil MSC is located on the eastern coast of the Taimyr Peninsula and in the waters of the Khatanga Bay of the Laptev Sea. At the Tsentralno-Olginsky



field opened by Rosneft in the Khatanga section, the only possible way to export products is sea transportation via the NSR. The decision on the feasibility of development may be made after the identification of new deposits.

4. Greater Access to the Arctic

Arctic countries have historically sought to isolate the region from large-scale geopolitical conflicts and continue to demonstrate a desire for multilateral cooperation. Until now, they have mostly respected sovereign interests, even where these interests contradict each other. In this context, there has so far been a general interest in a calm and stable Arctic, which allows Arctic countries to derive great potential benefits from increased access to resources, due to climate change. Greater access to the Arctic will increase economic activity, including the extraction of rare earth minerals and the extraction of oil and natural gas. In addition, with rising sea water temperatures, fish resources are expected to continue to migrate to higher-latitude northern areas, creating potentially new challenges for the introduction of international regulation of fishing in the central part of the SLA. It is obvious that the marine part of the Arctic will continue to open up for economic activity. Climate change will lead to the emergence of a dynamic operating environment that will significantly change the economic value of the Arctic territories and water areas.

For Russia, the situation that has developed due to Covid19 on the global hydrocarbon market means a radical reduction in export revenues – both the revenue of oil and gas companies and budget revenues. Even in the most optimistic scenario, revenues from hydrocarbon exports will decrease by two and a half times compared to pre-crisis ones. But pandemics come and go. By 2022, demand is expected to recover, but this will not solve the problem of increasing domestic competition between lobbying groups in the oil and gas industry. These groups emerged in the early 1990s as a result of privatization and the significant weakening of Russia itself as a state. The problem gradually began to grow and has already led to significant losses in the economy by 2020. The prospects for its successful resolution are not great, because it is based on the features of modern Russian capitalism.

4.1. Lobbying in the Oil and Gas Industry

In fact, lobbying in Russia has long been part of the objective political reality. Most fully and eloquently, Russian lobbying in all its forms and manifestations mediates the political struggle related to the ownership and use of raw materials, in particular hydrocarbon resources of the country. This is not accidental, because here the economic interests of Russian oil and



gas companies, the state and foreign players, associated with obtaining super-profits and possessing levers of political influence, collide. At the turn of the 21st century, Russia has firmly established a raw material specialization, often referred to as the "raw curse". Although in fact, it is more accurate to call Russia a "raw material appendage" of the world economy within the neo-colonial system. And if earlier, during the late USSR, the country was considered as a raw material appendage, first of all, of developed capitalist countries (which to a certain extent provided it with access to new technologies), then modern Russia is increasingly becoming a raw material appendage of developing countries in the Asia-Pacific Region (APR) and India.

4.2. Regional and International Cooperation on the Arctic

Russian Arctic Policy has ties with Arctic and non-Arctic states. In contrast to the simple vision of Kremlin's policies in the high north as expansionist or militaristic, it develops a balanced and broader vision in the hundreds of investment projects it has put forward. The Russia has strengthened this with scientific and diplomatic dialogues. The Barents Corporation, BEAC, Arctic Council, Convention between Russia and Norway, UNCLOS international partnerships, in which Russia is involved in harmony, each include peaceful and development.

Russia's vigorous efforts at various levels in the Arctic are related to its interactions with regional, non-Arctic states and international organizations. Similarly, Russia's foreign policies regarding the Arctic are listed in the same way - regional, extra-regional and international organizations. The concept of hegemony may be a little confused about Russia's foreign policies and Russia's policies in the Arctic, focusing and prioritizing a geopolitical past and ideological national interests and priorities. Russia's institutional efforts in the Arctic regional organizations, particularly the Arctic Council and the Barents Euro-Arctic Council, demonstrate another radical political change. It is understood that Russia has a more successful and active cooperation with Norway, Canada and Finland compared to other Arctic countries. Lagutina described the Russia's attitude towards the seven European states and five Asian states in the AZRF as uncertain, and Russia's cooperation with them as pragmatic.³⁰

a. The Barents Cooperation (BC) was established by the Kirkenes Declaration of 1993 and is a cornerstone of regional cooperation in the far north of Europe³¹. The BC was established with the aim of providing a political framework for developing cooperation with Russia and the

³⁰Yoko Hirose, "International Cooperation In The Arctic Region: The Search and Rescue and The Barents Cooperation", *Eurasian Journal of Social Sciences* 6, sy. 4 (2018): 37-55.

³¹<https://www.regjeringen.no/en/topics/high-north/barents-cooperation/id2008480/>



normalization of multilateral relations between the countries of the region and the development of cooperation with the Russian sides in the north after the dissolution of the Soviet Union³². In the city of Kirkenes, Foreign Ministers of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, the Russian Federation, Sweden and the European Commission with the the United States, Canada, France, Germany, Japan, Poland and United Kingdom state representatives participated to the conference and held the expanded cooperation in the Barents European Arctic Region

Stating that the Barents cooperation initiative is an important process, the participants stated that the Kirkenes conference will contribute to international peace and security. They mentioned that the ‘Modernization’ process that started in Russia was reforming. They thought that this modernization had an impact on Russian democracy, market reforms and the strengthening of local institutions. And that is why all of the represents of the participant states signed the Kirkenes Declaration at the end of the conference for closer regional cooperation in the Euro-Arctic Region.

b. The Arctic Council is the leading intergovernmental forum promoting cooperation, coordination and interaction among the Arctic States, Arctic Indigenous peoples and other Arctic inhabitants on common Arctic issues, in particular on issues of sustainable development and environmental protection in the Arctic.³³ The Arctic Council established in 1996 between Arctic states. The Arctic Council aimed primarily at regional harmony and cooperation. Immediately afterwards, it transformed the regional partnership that includes all components into an institutional structure. The Ottawa Declaration is the fundamental agreement in the formation of this council. The Arctic Council consists of eight states that have a coast on the Arctic Ocean. The Council sets and enforces tools, rules to encourage multilateral cooperation, coordination and interaction between member states. The Council also takes into account socio-economic issues, defends their protection and existence.

c. Cooperation in the Barents Euro-Arctic Region was launched in 1993 on two levels: intergovernmental *Barents Euro-Arctic Council (BEAC)* and interregional Barents Regional

³²https://www.barentsinfo.fi/beac/docs/459_doc_KirkenesDeclaration.pdf

³³Declaration on the Establishment of the Arctic Council Joint Communiqué of the Governments of the Arctic Countries on the Establishment of the Arctic Council - Ottawa, Canada. (19.09.1996). <https://arctic-council.org/en/about/>, https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/85/EDOCS-1752-v2-ACMMCA00_Ottawa_1996_Founding_Declaration.PDF?sequence=5&isAllowed=y



Council (BRC)³⁴. The overall aim of Barents cooperation is sustainable development, directly in line with the United Nations goals. It is a structure in which the European Union is involved. The Council aims at close long-term cooperation between countries bordering the Barents Sea, and prioritizing socio-economic targets. Members of the Barents Euro-Arctic Council are Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden and the European Commission.

5. Conclusion

Climate changes in the polar regions of the earth, on the one hand, force the lives of nations to change, and on the other hand, provide new opportunities for geographical change for a group of countries. In general, climate change significantly affects many countries around the world, while states are forced to make urgent decisions for new policies. The policies of riparian countries and non-riparian countries towards the North and South Poles in these regions are radically changing at the beginning of the 21st century. The general characteristics of the changes in the policies of countries are that they can first expand their territorial waters or create a 'new habitat' in the emerging new movement area, and then 'create the maximum benefit that they can get from this habitat, and eventually 'plan Nature Conservation'. Economically benefiting from the expanding marine space is close to the entire Arctic and overall the first goal, according to the International Development Index. For this purpose, the main features of the appropriate policy decisions:

- a. Benefit and real information,
- b. Scientific, of an expedition in the Ocean naval expansion, investment and economic returns, education and tourism opportunities,
- c. Research and localization of the education system to provide the application of multilateral cooperation to create the environment to make investments.

The world's geography has given Russia many new opportunities in the golden tray. In recent years, Russia's interests, which have the widest coast and six seas in the Arctic Ocean, are also not far from them. Russia's concentration in the Arctic was accelerated in the 1990s by the Russian tandem; the Kremlin's strategy declarations enabled all parties to take action on a federal scale, and hundreds of rational projects for the region were put forward. All parties

³⁴The Barents Regional Council (BRC) consists of representatives of the 13 regional entities that make up the Barents region as well as representatives of the three indigenous peoples of the region: the Sami, the Nenets and the Vespasian peoples. Arkhangelsk oblast has held the chairmanship since October 2013.



within the Russian Federation are aware of the urgency of Arctic work. This is why Russia attaches importance to both regional and international scientific relations, multifaceted social and economic dialogues, and dynamic relations on the basis of financial, technical and high technology. Russia is doing extraordinary work towards expanding legal frameworks and striving to exercise maximum rights in the Arctic within the framework of international law. In fact, it is precisely today, that is, in 2020, that Russia will deal at the lowest level with political tensions, extraterritorial problems and events in the world and between states, and its current priority is;

a. Covid19 outbreak protection and minimization, outbreak control,

b. Urgently realize Russia's Arctic projects. Although it is a critical and difficult period for the whole world, sheltered work can be continued in geographically remote and wide areas.

The goals are more like propaganda and slogans for a better future. In May 2020, the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment sent to the federal authorities for approval the "Strategy for the Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation until 2035", which establishes that over 15 years, oil production in the Arctic should increase more than twenty-five times, natural gas production increases minimum four times, and the volume of transport on the Northern Sea Route should increase six times. And as we know, wrongly formulated goals never lead to good results. It is worth hoping that the country's leaders will change their position and start moving into the new energy age. After all, Russia as no other country has a huge potential for future development - with territorial land, natural resources and population.

Now oil and natural gas production in the Russian Arctic is a Myth. At that moment, there is no real prerequisites for it to be different. Economic, social, legal, and environmental factors are not favorable for Arctic shelf projects.

Arctic countries have historically sought to isolate the region from large-scale geopolitical conflicts and continue to demonstrate a desire for multilateral cooperation. Until now, they have mostly respected sovereign interests, even where these interests contradict each other. In this context, there has so far been a general interest in a calm and stable Arctic, which allows Arctic countries to derive great potential benefits from increased access to resources, due to climate change. Greater access to the Arctic will increase economic activity, including the extraction of rare earth minerals and the extraction of oil and natural gas. Their research is



impossible without understanding the complex of problems and opportunities associated with the implementation of projects in the fields of transport and infrastructure, logistics, energy, bio resource extraction, ecology, social and economic sphere. In this regard, it is important to define the boundaries and develop regulatory regimes for various activities in the Arctic.

In addition, with rising sea water temperatures, fish resources are expected to continue to migrate to higher-latitude northern areas, creating potentially new challenges for the introduction of international regulation of fishing in the central part of the SLA.

It is obvious that the marine part of the Arctic will continue to open up for economic activity. Climate change will lead to the emergence of a dynamic operating environment that will significantly change the economic value of the Arctic territories and water areas. As a result, Russia's efforts to develop the emerging geopolitical situation in the region, as well as the problems arising in the internal and international strategies of the Arctic, primarily on 'economic cooperation' with regional countries and then with non-regional countries with which it can agree on an ideological basis.

Such a vision is not only strict security, but also the strategy of economic development in the Russian North, exploration of natural resources, development of transport systems, environmental policies, indigenous people, etc. Medvedev's *'Modernization of Russia'* is a multidisciplinary approach and a deep analysis of recent key themes in Russia's Arctic policies, as well as the closeness of Moscow's relations with major Arctic actors are important. Today Russian Arctic policy follows on D. Medvedev's stated as *"the political system needs to become smarter, more flexible, more modern"* and V. Putin was declared that *"Russia was founded as a super-centralized state from the very start. This is inherent in the genetic code, traditions and people's mentality."* That's why, Russian Tandem believe to their own brain teams Lavrov and Russian diplomatic councils, expert on Arctic and regional scientific institutes - and so decided on new strategies in Arctic for creating 'New Regionalism' policy. Today, Russia has been realized to Arctic Policy with all federal scientific, diplomatic and business groups and tight connections with Arctic and non-Arctic states as China, Vietnam, and India with their different Hi-Tec research institutes.



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