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The Arctic as a constantly evolving multidimensional space*

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Abstract. The author analyzes the main approaches to the multidimensionality of the Arctic and the factors that enhance the role of the Arctic in modern conditions. Special attention is paid to the research made by NArFU (Yu.F. Lukin) and the Institute of Europe of RAS (N.M. Antyushina). In conclusion the author underlines the need for systematic work on the Arctic consciousness and involvement of the Russian citizens in the Arctic affairs. Along with the analysis of the growing role of Russia and the European countries in the Arctic, the article is concerned with cooperation between Russia and China. It is revealed that Beijing's current foreign policy in the Arctic is productive, businesslike, benevolent and long-term for Russia. The emerging problems and difficulties are resolving through negotiations on a mutually beneficial basis. It is also concluded that the presence of large Asian states in the Arctic Council leads to a deescalate tensions due to disagreements between Russia and the West over the situation in Syria and Ukraine. The author tried to determine the level of militarization in the Arctic and its impact on the possibility of conflicts in the region. It is concluded that in modern conditions a long-term Arctic megaproject could become a powerful Arctic consolidation factor. In the article, the author uses methods of political science and humanities: comparative analysis, historical approach, institutional and prognostic methods, incl. the analysis of possible scenarios for the further development of the Arctic Council by Yu.F. Lukin.

Keywords: Natalia Antyushina, Arctic, Yuriy Lukin, Russia, the Arctic Council, China, NArFU.

Introduction

The Arctic as an object and subject of research is studied by many scientific disciplines. In the humanities, the problem of the multidimensionality of the Arctic, in our opinion, is the most fruitfully studied by the doctor of historical sciences, professor Yuriy Fedorovich Lukin [1, 2, 3, Lukin Yu.F.]. One should agree with the thesis of the scientist that “the Arctic as a single conjugate and interpenetrating object of research conceptually requires the integration of existing branches of scientific knowledge based on an interdisciplinary approach, and in practice, it requires the cooperation of the available resources of Arctic societies, states and business, [2, Lukin, Yu.F., p. 3].

On March 30, 2017 in Arkhangelsk at the IV International Arctic Forum “Arctic: Territory of Dialogue”¹, President of Russia V.V. Putin said: “Our goal is to ensure sustainable development of the Arctic, and this is the creation of modern infrastructure, development of resources, development of industrial base, improving the quality of life of the indigenous peoples of the North, pre-

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¹ The International Arctic Forum “Arctic: Territory of Dialogue” has become one of the most representative events dedicated to the Arctic issues held in Russia in recent years. The program of the event included a plenary session, as well as 13 thematic sessions. Almost 2,500 participants from 31 countries took part in the events of the forum. Among them: 3 presidents of the Arctic states: Russia, Finland and Iceland, the Vice Premiers of the Russian Government and the State Council of the PRC, 5 foreign ministers, 11 heads of ministries and departments of the Russian Federation, governors of all regions of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, deputies of the State Duma of the Russian Federation and members of the Council of Federation, more than 50 representatives of the Arctic municipalities, and about 450 representatives of the media.

serving their distinctive culture, their traditions”². This speech of the President covers all aspects of the Arctic development, allows us to imagine its full-fledged activity model and to take a comprehensive look at the present and future of the Arctic region. This conceptual approach was the basis for an extended round table “Modern Arctic: Issues of International Cooperation, Politics, Economy and Security” at the RAS Institute of Europe [4, Govorova N.V., Zhuravel V.P., Samylovskaya E.A.].

In the book “The Multidimensionality of the Arctic Space”, Lukin Yu.F. considers seven basic dimensions of the multidimensional Arctic space: geographical natural objects and discoveries; Arctic biota, environmental protection; internal administrative and territorial structure; Arctic society; geocultural space; economy of the Arctic region; and geopolitics [2, Lukin Yu.F., p. 3]. The author also gives their detailed description.

Moreover, in our opinion, in addition to known indicators and characteristics that are extremely important, it is necessary to update the new knowledge and trends in the development of the multidimensionality of the Arctic space, to systematize them due to the current problems of the global Arctic community.

In this regard, it is important to investigate recent studies by the RAS scientists, representatives of higher education institutions of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation, as well as materials of conferences on Arctic issues.

General characteristics of the Arctic

The territory of the Arctic is limited to 8-member states of the Arctic Council (the USA, Canada, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Iceland and Russia), it covers an area of 40.3 million km², and it is home to 532 million people. The Arctic territories are home to 4.6 million people.

The Arctic states are 5 countries: the USA, Canada, Norway, Denmark and Russia. The Arctic territories of Russia make up 44% of the total area of the Arctic, Canada — 21%, Denmark — 14%, Norway — 13%, the United States — 8%. The Arctic region of the United States includes the northern territories of Alaska; in Canada it is Nunavut, the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, and Nunavik in the province of Quebec in the north above the 55th parallel because over 90% of it is made up of indigenous Inuit and Eskimos. In Denmark, this is Greenland and the Faroe Islands; in Norway — the provinces Nordland, Troms and Finnmark, the Spitsbergen archipelago and the island of Jan Mayen; in Finland — the northernmost and largest region of the country Lapland (Lappi). In Sweden, the Arctic territories include Norrbotten, the largest area of the country, about 22% of its area. The length of the Arctic coast of all countries is 38.7 thousand km [2, Lukin Yu.F., pp. 63, 65-66].

² Vystuplenie Prezidenta Rossijskoj Federacii Vladimira Putina na plenarnom zasedanii IV Mezhdunarodnogo arkticheskogo foruma “Arktika — territoriya dialoga” 30 marta 2017 g. v Arhangelske. [Speech by President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin at the plenary session of the IV International Arctic Forum “Arctic: Territory of Dialogue” on March 30, 2017 in Arkhangelsk.] URL: <https://www.arctic.gov.ru/FilePreview/6bf7cc0d-2c6d-e711-80d2-00155d006312?nodeId=4370391e-a84c-e511-825f-10604b797c23> (accessed: 11 January 2018). [In Russian]

If the Arctic is limited to the South only by the conventional line of the Arctic Circle ($66^{\circ} 33'44''\text{N}$), then its area is 21 million km^2 . If the southern boundary of the Arctic coincides with the southern boundary of the tundra zone, then its area is about 27 million km^2 , which is 3 times more than the Europe [2, Lukin Yu.F., pp. 42, 77, 78].

In 2015, the GDP of the Arctic G20³ amounted to 64.8% of the total GDP of all countries of the Earth. The most Arctic states are living in debt. Public debt as a percentage of GDP for 2016 was 98.8% (16th place) in Canada; the USA — 73.8% (39th place); Finland — 64.9% (52nd place); Iceland — 56.6% (72nd place); Sweden — 41.4% (114th place); Denmark — 39.6% (119th place); Norway — 32.2% (140th place); China — 20.1% (163rd place), and Russia — 13.7% (169th place)⁴. According to this indicator, Russia and China have the best indicators among 180 countries of the world. The United States have the world's largest public debt of \$ 20 trillion [2, Lukin Yu.F., pp. 126, 128].

The Arctic is the circumpolar region of the Earth, located around the North Pole. These are the coastal territories of the three continents of North America, Northern Europe, the North of Eurasia and the eight Arctic states; the Arctic deep-water basin is in the central part of the Arctic ocean directly around the North Pole; 10 seas: Greenland, Norwegian, Barents, White, Kara, Laptev, East Siberian, Chukchi, Beaufort, Baffin, and Fox-Basin Bay; numerous straits and gulfs of the Canadian Arctic Archipelago; northern parts of the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. The Arctic islands and archipelagos: Vaigach, Wrangel, Greenland, Dixon, Franz Josef Land, Canadian Arctic Archipelago, Queen Elizabeth, Novaya Zemlya, Novosibirsk, Nordenskiöld, Severnaya Zemlya, Spitsbergen, etc. [2, Lukin Yu.F., p. 18].

In the Arctic we have up to 25 000-26 000 species or about 1.5% of the described species of modern biota of the Earth, but the total Arctic biota itself is only 0.6-0.7% of the world [2, Lukin Yu.F., p. 46].

The water areas of the Arctic Ocean hide three important transport marine communications of global significance: The Northern Sea Route (NSR), the Northwest Passage, the Central Circumpolar Way, that could play a significant role in the global economy, especially in the development of the world trade soon.

The significance of the Arctic does not diminish with time, but grows, acquiring even an essentially non-economically-pragmatic entity, but some completely different metaphysical, sacral value. The Arctic region is perceived as a reserve ecological space of the world. In the Arctic, people see a global reservoir of clean air, fresh water (a third of the world's freshwater reserves), and it also appears as the cleanest territory. Speaking about the last factor, we should pay attention to clearing the territory of garbage left by previous economic activities, including the problem of radioactive objects flooded in the Arctic waters of the USSR/Russia [5, Tagilova O.A., Kirilov A.G.].

³ Switzerland became the Arctic Council observer-state in May 2017.

⁴ Gosudarstvennyj dolg stran za 2016 god [The public debt of the countries for 2016]. URL: <http://total-rating.ru/1906-gosudarstvennyj-dolgstranza-2016-god.html> (accessed: 16 January 2017). [In Russian]

It is not ruled out that this could be the reason for speculation and attacks on the part of Western countries about Russia's inability to ensure the environmental safety of the Arctic. In modern complex political conditions, they systematically use environmental problems as a pretext for creating reputational problems and difficulties for Russia, like doping problems in sport.

The ethnic composition of the Arctic is diverse. The number of indigenous people in Greenland is almost 82% of the total population; Canada's Arctic territories — 50.8%; Alaska — 14.9%; Norway — 8.6% to 12.9%; Sweden — 7.9% to 9.9%; Finland — 3.7%. [6, Sokolova F.Kh.] It should be remembered that in the places of their settlement, indigenous peoples are first settlers, and this imposes additional moral obligations on the Arctic states.

As of 01.01.2016, there were more than 13,000 specially protected natural areas of federal, regional and local significance in the Russian Federation with a total area of 207.5 million hectares (including the sea area) or 12.1% of the territory of Russia [2, Lukin Yu.F., p. 57].

The basis of the geocultural space in the Arctic was formed by three major civilizations: Western European (Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Finland); Russian (Slavic, Russian, Soviet and Eurasian) and North American in the US and Canada [2, Lukin Yu.F., p. 95].

For the Arctic population, the predominant Christian religion is Catholicism, Protestantism, Orthodoxy and common Christian values [2, Lukin Yu.F., pp. 101-105]. It should be noted that Islam is becoming the second most important religion because of large-scale migration processes in several European countries, [7, Zaikov K.S., Kotlova E.S., Zhuravel V.P.].

The complex natural conditions of the Arctic (permafrost, low atmospheric temperatures, polar night, short summer and long winter) exert a strong influence on the quality of the social sphere, human health and work; complicate the work of transport, the efficiency and safety of mining and maritime transportation; exploitation of the Arctic infrastructure; accessibility of marine bioresources; development of fisheries, reindeer herding, and traditional indigenous economy.

The above information should be explained and disseminated among the citizens of the United States, Canada, Norway, Denmark and Russia, so that everywhere not only residents of the Arctic regions, but the entire population feel and realize that their state is the Arctic.

Causes of increased interest in the Arctic space

First, it is the resource potential of the Arctic, huge reserves of hydrocarbon fuels - oil and natural gas. But it should be noted that the actual availability of these resources has been confirmed only by 2-3%. In this case, there are enormous difficulties in their extraction from the bowels of the Arctic shelf.

Secondly, this is the transport value of the NSR for transporting goods from Asia to Europe and back and the development of subsoil use in the Arctic zone of Russia [8, Ivanov G.V.; 9, Todorov A.A.]. There are many advantages here, so the NSR shortens the route from Hamburg to Shanghai, which saves fuel costs for each ship, and avoids the risks of pirate attacks. But at the

same time, it should be kept in mind that for today the volume of cargo transportation via the NSR is low. In 2017, it reached a record of 10.8 million tons⁵ and it is only one tenth of a percent of the volumes transported through the Suez Channel.

Third, the unfinished design of the demarcation of the international northern maritime areas and the Arctic shelf. The legal basis for the borders of the exclusive rights of certain states in the Arctic is the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which, in fact, is the only international legal basis for resolving legal disputes in the Arctic Ocean [10, Vylegzhanin A.N., Dudykina I.P.].

Fourthly, it is melting ice, changing weather and warming. In 2006, open water expanded to the North Pole in August. In 2016, the ice area was 4.14 million km² and an average was 2.56 million km² less than in 1979–2000. Many experts suggest that in the second half of the 21st century, most of the Arctic water area in the summer will be completely free of ice. This opens prospects for the carriage of goods via the Arctic seas.

It should also be noted that warming in the Arctic affects the rise in sea level and changes in weather conditions, provokes emissions of methane from the soil due to the melting of permafrost, affects the circulation of the ocean due to the influx of warm fresh water, which can cause the melting of the ice shelf of Greenland.

Climatic changes have a negative impact on the ecosystems of the region: there is a shift in the zones of traditional spread of plant and animal habitats. Changes in the landscape and habitat of animals are more likely to affect indigenous people, who consider the traditional way of life to be the most vulnerable in terms of environmental impacts.

Thus, a rise in temperature in the Arctic region may lead to the spread of infections and pollutants. The number of insects and mites that transmit infectious diseases increases. Thus, e.g., dengue fever, Lyme disease and malaria may become widely spread. There is also a risk of spreading water and foodborne infections, as warming will create favorable conditions for the multiplication of pathogen microorganisms⁶.

Fifth, the growing role of Russia and the countries of Europe in the Arctic⁷ [11, Antiushina N.M.; 12, Govorova N.V.; 13, Danilov D.A.]. 6 of the 8 countries of the Arctic Council are European (Russia, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Iceland); 7 of the 13 countries of the Arctic Council observers are also European countries (Britain, Germany, France, Spain, Netherlands, Italy, Poland and Switzerland). It is important to note that the five AC countries are members of NATO

⁵ The index for the NSR cargo shipments in 2017 from the report at the roundtable discussion "Development of the Arctic Mining: Innovation and Logistics" at the National Research Technological University "MISIS" January 30, 2018, made by the acting president of FGKU "Administration of the Northern Sea Route" N.A. Monko.

⁶ Yngvar Thomassen provyol v SAFU otkrytuyu lekciyu o vliyaniy izmeneniya klimata na zdorove cheloveka. [Yngvar Thomassen held an open lecture in SAFU on the impact of climate change on human health] URL: <https://narfu.ru/life/news/university/307899/> (accessed: 26 February 2018). [In Russian]

⁷ Aleksandrov O.V. Interesy i priority arkticheskoy strategii Evrosoyuza. [Alexandrov O.V. Interests and priorities of the Arctic strategy of the European Union]. URL: <http://www.vestnik.mgimo.ru/razdely/mezhdunarodnye-otnosheniya/interesy-i-priority-arkticheskoy-strategii-evrosoyuza> (accessed: 30 May 2016). [In Russian]

[14]. In December 2015 Sweden and Finland stated that they are ready to join the ranks of the alliance by 2020 [15, Gromyko A.L., Plevako N.S.].

To understand the spatial nature of the Arctic, it is necessary to analyze the policies and Arctic strategies of the European countries of the Arctic Council: Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Sweden and Finland.

For Norway, the policy in the Arctic is perhaps more important than for the other countries in the Northern Europe. In 2003, the country adopted the document "To the North! Exploring Opportunities in the Arctic Region". In 2006, Norway published the Government Strategy in the Northern Regions, in 2009 supplemented with the report "New Structural Elements in the North" that clarified the main activities for the long term. In 2011, a new strategic document "The Far North — Vision and Strategy", was approved. The Far North and the Arctic were declared the country's top priorities. The main provisions of the Norwegian policy are leadership in scientific research of the North, the development of mineral and biological resources, the development of sea transport routes, the recognition of the principles of international maritime law, the creation of a full system of cooperation with the Arctic and northern European countries, and the economic development of the northern part of Norway. It should be noted that in the Arctic Norway focuses on research and the training of qualified personnel, which makes it possible to effectively use the resources of the North. These areas are given strategic importance in ensuring further economic and social development of the country [11, Antiushina N.M., pp. 25-35; 2, Lukin Yu.F., pp. 199-202].

For the first time, the postulates of the Danish Arctic policy were formulated in 2008 in the doctrine "Arctic in the Transitional Period: proposals for a strategy for active action in the Arctic region". In August 2011, the "Strategy of the Kingdom of Denmark in the Arctic for the period 2011-2020" was adopted. Denmark enters the Arctic region through its self-governing territories - Greenland and the Faroe Islands. The priorities of the Danish-Greenland policy in the Arctic are energy and mining, trade and tourism, shipping, education and science, preservation of the environment [11, Antiushina N.M., pp. 13-16; 2, Lukin Yu.F., pp. 204-205].

In May 2008, Iceland adopted the strategy "The Arctic at a tipping point. Proposals for strategic actions in the Arctic region"; a year later, the report "Iceland in the Far North" (April 2009) was prepared. On March 28, 2011, the Althing resolution on the Arctic strategy of Iceland was adopted, in which the key provisions (principles) of the Arctic policy of the country were formulated. Five months later, in August, the "Strategy of the Kingdom of Denmark for the Arctic for the period 2011-2020" was approved. A special feature of the Icelandic strategy is the emphasis on bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Arctic. The country does not pretend to expand its sovereignty in the Arctic, it intends to rely on the Arctic Council, NATO and the EU to address all the major issues arising in the Arctic. Its priorities are expanding the use of renewable energy resources and considering the interests of fishing, developing cooperation in the field of education and scientific and technical research. Iceland connects the prospects for the development of

transport in the Arctic not only with shipping, but also with air transport. Iceland opposes the militarization of the Arctic beyond the limits of national jurisdiction [11, Antiushina N.M., pp. 16-20; 2, Lukin Yu.F., pp. 205-206].

The first time Finland published its strategy in the Arctic region on December 2, 2010. It was developed in four main areas: the environment and climate; economic activity and know-how; transport and infrastructure, and indigenous peoples of the North. It stresses the importance of preserving the stability and peaceful character of the region; recognizes the existence of threats to the vulnerable natural environment of the Arctic; priority is given to the development of maritime navigation and related infrastructure; the participation of indigenous peoples in international cooperation is supported [11, Antushina N.M., pp. 54-61]. It should be noted that after the first Soviet-Finnish war, in 1920-1944 Finland had the access to the Arctic Ocean through the area of Pechenga (Petsamo). After the occupation of this area by the Red Army, it was included in the Murmansk region of the RSFSR. The transition of Petsamo to the USSR was confirmed by Art. 2 of the Peace Treaty between the USSR and Finland on February 10, 1947.⁸ Since May 2017 Finland presides in the Arctic Council [16, Zhuravel V.P.].

In Sweden, the document “Arctic: National Strategy of Sweden” was adopted in May 2011. The priorities of the state in the Arctic are: study of climate change, environmental policy orientation, sustainable use of Arctic natural resources, humanitarian dimension, consideration of the interests of indigenous peoples, development of positive cooperation between countries — participants of the Arctic Council, observance of international law, first, the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea [11, Antiushina N.M., pp. 61-64; 2, Lukin Yu.F., p. 204].

Sixthly, a special role in the development of the Arctic belongs to the cooperation of Russia and China on the Arctic track. Currently, cooperation between our countries on the Arctic track is considered as an integral part of the interface between the initiative for the formation of the Great Eurasian Partnership and the Chinese initiative “One Latitude — One Way”. According to Chinese experts, the PRC looks at the NSR as a potential branch of its “Silk Road” [17, Li Jingyu, Zhang Chengyao; 18, Sun Xiuwen].

An unconditional driver here is Yamal LNG. In December 2017 the first technological line to produce liquefied natural gas (LNG) was started at the Yamal LNG plant on the Ob Bay in the port of Sabetta. Its capacity is 5.5 million tons of LNG per year, and the total planned capacity of the entire plant (three lines) is 16.5 million tons per year. In addition to LNG, the plant will annually produce up to 1.1 million tons of condensate. On December 5, gas liquefaction began in the production mode. The Yamal LNG plant is the second in Russia (the first operating since 2009 in the South of Sakhalin) and the second in the world built in the Arctic (the first one has been operating since 2007 on the Norwegian island of Melkoya in the Barents Sea). However, the Yamal LNG plant

⁸ Mirnyj dogovor s Finlyandiej (10 fevralya 1947 goda) // SSSR — Finlyandiya / Okrestnosti Peterburga. [The Peace Treaty with Finland (February 10, 1947) // USSR - Finland / Neighborhoods of Petersburg] URL: <http://www.aroundspb.ru/finnish/docs/peace1947.php> (accessed: 06 December 2017).

is 1.5 times as powerful as Sakhalin and almost 4 times as Norwegian. In addition, it ranks first in the world in terms of latitude - 65 km north of the Norwegian LNG plant, 90 km north of the Bovanenkovo gas field, 101 km north of the Endicott oilfield in Alaska and 225 km north of the Prirazlomnaya platform, which produces prey oil in the Pechora Sea. The construction of the plant began in 2014 and was organized by the rotational method. In 2017 more than 30 thousand people were brought in to work daily, delivered to Sabetta by air transport to a specially constructed airport of international class [19, Bogoyavlensky V.I.].

The largest Chinese company CNPC owns 20% in this project; another 9.9% are invested by the Silk Road Fund. Sending the first gas carrier of the Yamal-LNG company from the port of Sabetta on December 8, 2017, during a meeting with Chinese representatives, the President of Russia V.V. Putin said: "The silk road reached the North. We will unite it with the Northern Sea Route, and there will be what is needed, and the Northern Sea Route will be made by Silk"⁹. According to Chinese forecasts, by 2020 the NSR will account for up to 15% of the Chinese foreign trade cargo, mainly container shipments, which corresponds to approximately 800 billion euros [20, Grinyaev S.N.].

In January 2018, the Press Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China published the White Paper on the Arctic, where China was called a "near-Arctic state". China understands that participation in the development of the Arctic, the development of the NSR is possible only with the interaction with Russia, therefore, within the framework of its Arctic doctrine, it stated that they would play by the already existing rules, in accordance with the requirements of international law. In addition, both countries appear to be natural allies in conditions of fierce competition and the complication of the international situation caused by the negative impact of US and European Union sanctions against Russia. As A.V. Zagorski, the contradictions between the Russian Federation and the PRC in matters of the legal status of the NSR and the rules of navigation are not deep-seated and can be resolved based on the rights and legitimate interests of all countries, including non-Arctic ones [21, Zagorski A.V.].

Modern foreign policy of Beijing on the Arctic track is positive in relation to Russia, mostly benevolent and long-term. The emerging problems and difficulties are solved through negotiations on a mutually beneficial basis. China, in our opinion, is currently an important ally of Russia in the development of the Arctic; it should be borne in mind that the Arctic is an important, but not a priority of China's foreign policy [22, Zhuravel V.P.].

Seventh, it is important to determine the level of militarization that has gripped the Arctic space and its influence on the possibility of conflicts in the region between states.

⁹ Putin poobeshchal sdelat shyolkovym severnyj morskoy put. 08.12.2017. [Putin promised to make the Silk Road the Silk Road. 12/08/2017.] URL: <https://riafan.ru/1005193-putin-poobeshal-sdelat-shelkovym-severnyi-morskoi-put> (accessed: 26 February 2018).

It is important to assess the military potential of Russia [23, Zhuravel V.P., Sinchuk Yu.V.] and foreign states [14, Sinchuk Yu.V., Zhuravel V.P.; 24, Zhuravel V.P.; 25, Zagorski A.V.] on the Arctic territories.

The northern border has an extremely important military-strategic importance for ensuring national security. According to a number of experts [2, Lukin Yu.F., pp. 185-198; 26, Gornova A.M.; 27, Kravchuk A.A.; 28, Petrenko I.Ya.], possible threats to Russia's national security in the Arctic region are: strengthening the military presence in the Arctic of the Arctic states and other NATO countries; the growth of the combat capabilities of the coalition and national armed forces (primarily the Navy) of the United States and NATO; development of sea-based missile defense and early warning systems; the increase in the activity of special services of foreign states in conducting reconnaissance activity in the Arctic and on the border territory of the Russian Federation; conducting multinational military exercises and shifting combat training areas to the Arctic zone; an increase in the US military satellite group aimed at the Arctic; the desire of the Norwegian leadership to change the status of the Spitsbergen archipelago as a demilitarized zone, to reduce and in the long term completely push out Russia from the archipelago; counteraction to fishing activities in the Norwegian economic zone by tightening the requirements for fishing vessels in fishing areas and illegal actions against them by the Norwegian authorities; the desire of a number of foreign states (the United States, Norway, Japan, China and Canada) to give the Northern Sea Route the status of an international transport route.

NATO can deploy a full-scale group of armed forces in the Arctic against Russia within a month. Since 1995, about 200 exercises of national and joint armed forces of the countries participating in the North Atlantic Alliance have been held on the territory and coastal waters of Norway [29, Skulakov R.M., Fadeyev V.M.]

The actions of the Arctic and other states to increase their economic and military presence in the Arctic objectively require Russia to take adequate measures aimed at maintaining parity and creating favorable conditions for the protection of national interests in this important region.

Based on the Northern fleet, a new military structure — the United strategic command “North” — was created and has been operating since December 1, 2014. Since 2012, the long-range trips of surface ships of the Northern fleet to the Arctic ocean have resumed. Since 2015, the Northern fleet has been conducting exercises in its waters almost every month. In total, 13 airfields, one ground-based aviation ground, as well as 10 radar departments and air guidance points are planned to be built in the Arctic, which will allow to complete the creation of the Arctic group of troops.

It should be noted that the level of militarization of the Arctic does not go beyond reasonable sufficiency. Despite the sharp deterioration of relations between Russia and the West, the overall situation in the Arctic remains stable. Regional cooperation has not been sacrificed to the current deterioration of Russia's relations with the US and other Western countries. However, in the medium and long term, international risks in the region may increase if political tensions be-

tween Russia and the West continue to persist and intensify. The impetus for these processes may be carried out by the US and European countries provocations and false reports.

We note that only the measures taken by Russia are currently helping to maintain the balance of power in the region and maintain the state of the Arctic as an area of peace.

Conclusion

In modern conditions, in our opinion, there is a preparation for reformatting the belonging of the Arctic. Calls for the internationalization of the Northern Sea Route and the North-West Passage are increasingly being made, and it is proposed to extend the Antarctic Treaty to the Arctic. The Arctic region is not an isolated enclave of international life, living under different rules, not like the rest of the world.

According to Yuri F. Lukin, there are three possible ways of its transformation in the short, medium and long term:

- Preservation of the previous model of the Arctic Council: to leave everything as it is, without fundamental changes, without stopping the activities of the Arctic Council in the traditional format, without touching on still topical political issues of military security, geopolitics, economy;
- Modernization of the Arctic Council in the medium term, considering the growing role and influence of observer States, the activities of the Arctic economic Council, the expansion of the range of issues discussed;
- Transformation of the Arctic Council into a standard international organization of a regional nature with the right to adopt legal acts that are sources of international public law. [2, Lukin Yu.F., pp. 213-214].

In our view, changing the functionality of the Arctic Council is connected both with objective trends within the organization itself and with the processes taking place directly in the Arctic region and around it.

On the part of the observer countries of the AC: China, Japan, South Korea, Singapore and India, as well as major European States, we hear statements that not only countries with their Arctic territories, but also states that have the appropriate industrial, technological and financial potential to work effectively in this region should be directly related to the Arctic. China's White paper emphasizes that the current situation in the Arctic goes beyond the Arctic States or the Arctic region as such. It is noted that non-regional states do not have territorial sovereignty in the Arctic, but have rights to research, navigate, overflight, fish and lay of underwater cables and pipelines in the high seas and other relevant marine areas in the Arctic ocean, the right to exploration and exploitation of resources in the region in accordance with the international law.

The sanctions have hit hard on cooperation in the Arctic and the development of the Arctic region. [30, Voronkov L.S.; 31, Zagashvili V.S.]. The US and the European Union sanctions affected 90% of Russian oil companies and almost the entire gas sector. European companies have been banned from providing drilling, well testing and geophysical research services in Russia in deep-water and shale fields, as well as in the Arctic. In our view, the US and European countries are not

interested in strengthening our country's position in the Arctic region. They are and will be conducting a policy of systemic pressure on Russia, even if their companies get losses and come out of profitable Russian Arctic projects. The targeted nature of the sanctions is aimed at countering our country's efforts to develop the Arctic. Under these conditions, "sanctions against Russia give it a reason to partly rethink its own policy, namely to pay more attention to home economic development" [32, Gromyko A.A., Fedorov V.P.]. Our needs when working on the shelf were more than 90% satisfied by imported equipment. The attraction of modern Western technologies can and should be combined with the innovative development of the national production and scientific base. The economic complex concentrated in the Arctic region of Russia should not be vulnerable to external pressure and discriminatory actions.

In our view, the presence of the major Asian States in the Arctic Council may lead to a decrease in the overall degree of tension in connection with the consequences of disagreements between Russia and the West over the situation in Syria and Ukraine. These countries have not joined the sanctions against Russia, but we must also see that they are quickly trying, sometimes aggressively, to occupy a niche that has been freed from the US and the European Union. Building relations with the Arctic Asian countries, we should consider that none of them will be able to independently ensure the implementation of their economic interests in the Arctic. It is also important for us to realize that the developing the Russian Arctic territories to consolidate their status, developing infrastructure and extracting natural resources requires attracting large-scale investments, incl. foreign ones. But here we should not cross the red line, preserving and respecting national interests.

It is important to improve the activities of states in the vast territory of the Arctic. All the AC countries have relevant structures that implement state policy in the Arctic. In Russia, in February 2015, the state Commission for the development of the Arctic was established. It's been 3 years. In our view, the Commission has achieved the main goal: it has figured out what not to do in the Arctic, what to do and what to do first. [33, Antiushina N.M., Zhuravel V.P.; 34, Zhuravel V.P.; 35, Fedorov V.P.]. Also, 8 support zones for the development of the Arctic have been identified, which will allow to implement large infrastructure projects in the Russian polar zone, to intensify navigation along the Northern sea route, to modernize transport and other infrastructure, to create facilities for security and communication in ports. All this will have a positive impact on the socio-economic development of these areas.

There are many unsolved problems in the Russian Arctic. The region is characterized by an outflow of population, a high degree of depreciation of fixed assets, underdeveloped infrastructure. The problems of energy, information and transport security of remote settlements are being slowly solved. Icebreaking and river fleet largely obsolete. The issues of legal provision of guarantees and compensation for persons working in the Arctic region have not been resolved. The forms of support for entrepreneurship are not fully clear. It is necessary to strengthen the monitoring of climate change and the state of permafrost [33, Antiushina N.M., Zhuravel V.P.].

It should also be considered that the Arctic territories of the Russian Federation are developed differently, each region has its own challenges, problems, tasks and priorities [36]. It is necessary to integrate the Arctic regions into a single transport system and the common economic space of the country.

To solve these problems on behalf of the state, a commission of the Ministry of Economic Development of Russia has formed a list of priority projects for the development of the Russian Arctic: 145 projects with total funding of 4.8 trillion rubles, 3.75 trillion of them — from extra-budgetary sources [33, Antiushina N.M., Zhuravel V.P.].

In the article “Arctic transformations” [35, p. 13] RAS Corresponding member Fedorov V. P., a man who gave a lot in his life and work to the development of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), rightly raises the question of a more attentive, promising and patriotic attitude of the state and the population to the Arctic. He notes: “it seems that in modern conditions, a powerful factor in the consolidation of Russia can serve its own mega-project. Let's call it “Development of the Arctic” (in common parlance — “Give the Arctic!”)”.

With these wonderful words aimed at the future, I would like to conclude this article. There is no doubt that the measures taken by the country's leadership will gradually solve the accumulated problems, because it is understood that the Arctic is an important and promising territory of our state. It is necessary to work systematically on the formation of the Arctic consciousness and involvement in the Arctic affairs among the citizens of Russia.

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