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**The Role of Subnational Actors in the Implementation of the Arctic policy of the Russian Federation (on the example of Saint Petersburg)**

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## INTRODUCTION

**Relevance of the research topic.** The trends since the early 1990s towards globalization, increased interaction between international actors, the rapid development of digital infrastructure and progressive urbanization should have brought the world closer together by facilitating the movement of people, capital, goods and services, information, educational flows and culture.<sup>1</sup> Although the COVID-19 pandemic and the ensuing restructuring of the international political arena led to a rapid abandonment of previous humanist, integrationist and liberalizing aspirations, the achievements of the previous ‘era’ have in part been preserved. One of them was the high importance of certain administrative-territorial units, which are major political and economic centers, places of concentration of capital, information and technological innovations, centers of culture, scientific and creative activity. A special role is assigned to large cities, which are the fulcrums of the federal center in the implementation of both domestic and foreign policies. With sufficient resources – both tangible and intangible – they acquire a unique strategic status, becoming a kind of nodes in which the threads of financial, industrial, educational, technological and other domestic policies are closely woven together, and acting as centers of concentration of sustainable international contacts involving foreign investors, immigrants of various kinds (highly and low-skilled personnel, returning compatriots, etc.), tourists, etc.<sup>2</sup> Traditionally, researchers have predicted a great future for cities, seeing them as full participants in transnational networks formed by state and non-state actors involved in international relations.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> McClory, J. The Soft Power 30: A global ranking of soft power 2018 / J. McClory, P. Abeywardena, N. J. Cull et al. – Portland : USC Center on Public Diplomacy, 2018. – P. 12. – Text : direct.

<sup>2</sup> Grincheva, N. The Soft Power of Smart Cities: The Giant Missing Bit / N. Grincheva. – Text : electronic // Australian Institute of International Affairs : [website]. – URL: <http://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/soft-power-smart-cities-giant-missing-bit/> (accessed 11.11.2022).

<sup>3</sup> Castells, M. The rise of the network society. – Chichester : Wiley-Blackwell, 2009. – pp. 411–412. – ISBN 9781405196864. – Text : direct.

The legislation of the Russian Federation defines the special status of the three cities, in particular Saint Petersburg, recognized as a city of federal significance,<sup>4</sup> which equates them with other subnational actors (republics, krais, oblasts, etc.) that are part of the state. The special position allows a city of federal significance not only to regulate the life of citizens within its administrative-territorial boundaries in accordance with the federal course, but also to become a participant in foreign economic and international relations with appropriate notification to the federal level authorities.<sup>5</sup> In this way, a city of federal significance finds itself as an actor involved in the implementation of policies of particular interest to the ‘center’.

The latest “Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation”, approved on 31 March 2023, makes the Arctic course a priority: the sustainable development of the region becomes one of the primary tasks that the state intends to pursue.<sup>6</sup> Although the role of subnational actors in this process is not mentioned, their activities in the field of establishing and strengthening international and foreign economic relations are generally assessed as important for the development of relations between the Russian Federation and foreign countries.<sup>7</sup> Thus, it can be argued that some of the measures aimed at implementing the Arctic policy of the Russian Federation are the responsibility of the regions. So, the place assigned to Saint Petersburg in this area became known at the end of the 2010s, when actions were taken to form institutional structures executing “state policy in the development of research, cultural, socio-economic, environmental and other links between Saint Petersburg and the regions of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, as well as coordination of activities and executive authorities of Saint Petersburg in this

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<sup>4</sup> Russian Federation. Laws. Constitution of the Russian Federation : [adopted by popular vote on December 12, 1993, with amendments approved during the national vote on July 1, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://kremlin.ru/acts/constitution> (accessed 11.11.2022). [In Russian]

<sup>5</sup> Miller, D. G. Concept and specificity of a city of federal significance / D. G. Miller. – Text : direct // Education and law. – 2022. – № 12. – P. 59. – DOI 10.24412/2076-1503-2022-12-58-61. [In Russian]

<sup>6</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On approval of the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation : Decree № 229 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on March 31, 2023]. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: [https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign\\_policy/official\\_documents/1860586/](https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/official_documents/1860586/) (accessed 11.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem.

sphere”<sup>8</sup>. Consequently, it is possible to speak of several planes – local, inter-regional and international – in which a city of federal importance pursues a course of priority for the central government.

The relevance of the topic is predetermined by the rather interesting practice of involving a city of federal significance in politics, involving active activities both in the domestic and foreign policy spheres, expressed in a wide range of activities in various fields, including economic, scientific, educational and other important for policy implementation in the area under consideration. The case is all the more curious because Saint Petersburg, the center of the North West Federal Okrug, is not part of the Arctic zone and cannot be described as the most obvious candidate for the role of a ‘fulcrum’ for Arctic public policy.

**Degree of scientific development of the research topic.** The issues explored in this paper can be divided into three key groups: the first relates to the issue of federalism and concerns the policies implemented in the context of power-sharing between the ‘center’ and the regions; the second focuses on the situation of subnational actors, their place and role in the current context; the third is the Arctic policy of the state in all its multifaceted nature, which is being implemented in the context of assigning a substantial part of its tasks to the individual federal subjects.

Interest in federalism, which had degenerated from philosophical conceptions of the proper structure of the state, increased rapidly at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries when political scientists, both Russian and foreign, were faced with the case of the Russian Federation being created on the territory of the disintegrated Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and sought approaches to comprehend the political system of a large state uniting diverse subnational units under its rule. The curiosity of scientists was also sharpened by the recent formation of the European Union, which in its spirit went back to the federal principles laid down in the papers

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<sup>8</sup> Lobanov, A.V. Key tasks and directions of Saint Petersburg’s work on Arctic affairs of significance / A.V. Lobanov, V.A. Ryazantseva. – Text : direct // Basis. – 2020. – № 1 (7). – P. 81. [In Russian]

of famous figures of the Reformation era H. Zwingli<sup>9</sup>, H. Bullinger<sup>10</sup> and J. Althusius, who raised in his “Politica” questions of the formation of territorial unions based on strong civil society.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to the ideas that arose in Protestant Europe, the basis for the further development of views on federalism was the well-established theory of ‘classical’ federalism created by American thinkers – A. Hamilton, J. Madison, J. Jay,<sup>12</sup> as well as the “theory of states’ rights”, based on views of T. Jefferson.<sup>13</sup> The vast theoretical field was regularly supplemented by multidirectional works on the problems of federalism, among which it is worth highlighting, for example, the paper of J. Clark, who considered the idea of cooperative federalism as the specifics of interaction between the US federal government and state authorities in matters of resource allocation.<sup>14</sup> However, a full-fledged systematization of accumulated information and incremental knowledge began in the 20th century. A. Dicey,<sup>15</sup> K. Wheare,<sup>16</sup> W. Riker<sup>17</sup> studied the phenomenon of federalism, trying to define it and correlate theory with practice, highlighting the conditions for the emergence of federations and their main characteristics. The particular attention that foreign political scientists have paid and continue to pay to the case of federalism can be seen in the studies of D.

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<sup>9</sup> Zwingli, H. Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli / H. Zwingli. – Text : electronic // Online Library of Liberty : [website]. – URL: <https://oll.libertyfund.org/title/zwingli-selected-works-of-huldreich-zwingli> (accessed 15.11.2022).

<sup>10</sup> Bullinger, H. The Decades / H. Bullinger. – Text : electronic // Monergism : [website]. – URL: <https://www.monergism.com/decades-ebook> (accessed 15.11.2022).

<sup>11</sup> Althusius, J. Politica / J. Althusius. – Text : electronic // Online Library of Liberty : [website]. – URL: <https://oll.libertyfund.org/title/althusius-politica> (accessed 15.11.2022).

<sup>12</sup> Hamilton, A. The Federalist Papers / A. Hamilton, J. Jay, J. Madison. – Text : electronic // Library of Congress : [website]. – URL: <https://guides.loc.gov/federalist-papers/full-text> (accessed 15.11.2022).

<sup>13</sup> Jefferson, T. The Kentucky Resolutions / T. Jefferson. – Text : electronic // The papers of Thomas Jefferson : [website]. – URL: <https://jeffersonpapers.princeton.edu/selected-documents/kentucky-resolutions-1798> (accessed 15.11.2022).; Jefferson, T. The Virginia Resolutions / T. Jefferson. – Text : electronic // National Constitution Center : [website]. – URL: <https://constitutioncenter.org/the-constitution/historic-document-library/detail/james-madison-the-virginia-resolutions-1798> (accessed 15.11.2022).

<sup>14</sup> Clark, J. P. The Rise of a New Federalism: Federal-State Cooperation in the United States / J. P. Clark. – New York : Columbia University Press, 1938. – 156 p. – Text : direct.

<sup>15</sup> Dicey, A. V. Introduction to the study of the law of the Constitution / A. V. Dicey. – 8<sup>th</sup> Revisited ed. – Carmel : Liberty Fund, 1982. – 585 p. – ISBN-13 978-0865970038. – Text : direct.

<sup>16</sup> Wheare, K. C. Federal government / K. C. Wheare. – Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1953. – 278 p. – Text : direct.

<sup>17</sup> Riker, W. Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance / W. Riker. – Boston ; Toronto : Little Brown, 1964. – 169 p. – Text : direct.

Elazar,<sup>18</sup> D. Wright<sup>19</sup> and other specialists.<sup>20</sup> The issue of the interpenetration of a theoretically meaningful understanding of the federation and the experience gained by analyzing practical cases – actually existing states with a federal structure - was raised in 1996 by R. Watts,<sup>21</sup> who argued that the states we recognize in practice as federations can be extremely different in their state and the nature of the political institutions implemented.<sup>22</sup> This idea has become dominant in the study of federalism: for example, in the early 2000s, A. Auer pointed out that “The inherent diversity, great flexibility and surprising dynamics of federalism make it difficult to define this particular state structure in precise terms. Federalism is a process much more than a given state of institutions and regulations.”<sup>23</sup> Thus, the study of federalism has gone along the path of separate directions and cases.

The Russian case is covered in sufficient detail in the works of both foreign and Russian scientists. The formation and development of Russian federalism was considered by such foreign political scientists as G. Lapidus,<sup>24</sup> P. Söderlund,<sup>25</sup> J.

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<sup>18</sup> Elazar, D. J. *American Federalism: A View from the States* / D.J. Elazar. – New York : Thomas Y. Crowell, 1966. – 228 p. – Text : direct.; Elazar, D. J. *Cooperation and Conflict, Readings in American Federalism* / D.J. Elazar. – Itasca : F. E. Peacock Publishers. – 1969. – 660 p. – Text : direct.; Elazar, D. J. *The Politics of American Federalism* / D.J. Elazar. – Lexington : Heath. – 1969. – 229 p. – Text : direct.; Elazar, D. J. *Exploring Federalism* / D. J. Elazar. – Tuscaloosa : University of Alabama Press. – 1987. – 335 p. – Text : direct.; Elazar, D. J. *The Covenant Connection: From Federal Theology to Modern Federalism* / D. J. Elazar, J. Kincaid. – New York [et al.] : Lexington Books, 2000. – 327 p. – ISBN 0-7391-0026-2. – Text : direct.

<sup>19</sup> Wright, D. S. *Understanding intergovernmental relations* / D. S. Wright. – Pacific Grove : Brooks-Cole, 1988. – 511 p. – Text : direct.

<sup>20</sup> Stepan, A. *Federalism and Democracy: Beyond the U.S. Model* / A. Stepan. – Text : direct // *Journal of Democracy*. – 1999. – № 4 (10). – pp. 19–34.; Lane, J.-E. *The Riddle of Federalism: Does Federalism Impact on Democracy?* / J.-E. Lane, S. Ersson. – Text : direct // *Democratization*. – 2005. – № 2 (12). – pp. 163–182. – DOI <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510340500069220>.; Benz, A. *Making Democracy Work in a Federal System* / A. Benz. – Text : direct // *German Politics*. – 2015. – № 1 (24). – pp. 8–25. – DOI <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644008.2014.921906>.; Kropp, S. *The Ambivalence of Federalism and Democracy: The Challenging Case of Authoritarianism – With Evidence from the Russian Case* // S. Kropp. – Text : direct // *Configurations, Dynamics and Mechanisms of Multilevel Governance* / N. Behnke, J. Broschek, J. Sonnicksen (eds.). – London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2019. – pp. 213–229. – Text : direct. – DOI 10.1007/978-3-030-05511-0\_12.

<sup>21</sup> Watts, R. L. *Comparing Federal Systems in the 1990s* / R. L. Watts. – Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations. – 1996. – 126 p. – ISBN 0-88911-589-3. – Text : direct.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* P. 1–2.

<sup>23</sup> Auer, A. *The constitutional scheme of federalism* / A. Auer. – Text : direct // *Journal of European Public Policy*. – 2005. – № 12 (3). – P. 429–430. – DOI <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501760500091166>.

<sup>24</sup> Lapidus, G. W. *Asymmetrical federalism and state breakdown in Russia* / G. W. Lapidus. – Text : direct // *PostSoviet Affairs*. – 1999. – № 15 (1). – pp. 74–82.

<sup>25</sup> Söderlund, P. *The Dynamics of Federalism in Russia: A Study of Formal and Informal Power Resources of the Regional Chief Executives in Russian Centre-Region Relations* / P. Soederlund. – Abo : Abo Akademis Press, 2006. – 175 p. – ISBN 951-765-306-9. – Text : direct.

Kahn,<sup>26</sup> A. Konitzer and S. Wegren,<sup>27</sup> J. Martinez-Vasquez,<sup>28</sup> K. Ross,<sup>29</sup> and others. As for Russian researchers, the formation of the specifics of the ‘center – regions’ relationship and the activity of the subjects of the federation within the given framework, characteristic of the Russian Federation at different stages of its history, can be traced in the works of the outstanding political geographer L. Smirnyagin,<sup>30</sup> R. Turovsky,<sup>31</sup> I. Busygina,<sup>32</sup> who considers Russian federalism in close connection with the transformation of the political regime from the beginning of the 1990s to the present, L. Smorgunov,<sup>33</sup> A. Starodubtsev,<sup>34</sup> G. Shaikhutdinova,<sup>35</sup> A. Libman<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> Kahn, J. *Federalism, democratization, and the rule of law in Russia* / J. Kahn. – Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2002. – 338 p. – ISBN 10 0199246998. – Text : direct.

<sup>27</sup> Konitzer, A. *Federalism and political recentralization in the Russian Federation: United Russia as the party of power* / A. Konitzer, S. K. Wegren. – Text : direct // *Publius: The journal of federalism*. – 2006. – № 4 (36). – pp. 503–522. – DOI <https://doi.org/10.1093/publius/pjl004>.

<sup>28</sup> Martinez-Vazquez, J. *Asymmetric Federalism in Russia: Cure or Poison?* / J. Martinez-Vazquez. – Text : direct // *Fiscal Fragmentation in Decentralized Countries: Subsidiarity, Solidarity and Asymmetry* / R. M. Bird, R. D. Ebel (eds.). – Cheltenham : Edward Elgar Publishing, 2007. – pp. 227–266.

<sup>29</sup> Ross, C. *Federalism and Inter-governmental Relations in Russia* / C. Ross. – Text : direct // *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*. – 2010. – № 2 (26). – pp. 165–187. – DOI <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523271003712476>.

<sup>30</sup> Smirnyagin, L. V. *Russian federalism: paradoxes, contradictions, prejudices* / L. V. Smirnyagin. – Moscow : Moscow Public Science Foundation, 1998. – 71 p. – ISBN 5-89554-026-0. – Text : direct. [In Russian]; Smirnyagin, L. V. *Public geography. Federalism. Regionalism: Publications of 1989-2005* / L. V. Smirnyagin. – Moscow : KomKniga, 2005. – 464 p. – ISBN 5-484-00061-0. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>31</sup> Turovsky, R.F. *Political regionalism* / R.F. Turovsky. – Moscow : Publishing house HSE, 2006. – 787 p. – ISBN 5-7598-0357-3. – Text : direct. [In Russian]; Sharafutdinova, G., *The politics of federal transfers in Putin’s Russia: regional competition, lobbying, and federal priorities* / G. Sharafutdinova, R. F. Turovsky. – Text : direct // *Post-Soviet Affairs*. – 2017. – Vol. 33, №. 2. – pp. 161–175. – DOI <https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2016.1163826>.

<sup>32</sup> Busygina I. M. *Model ‘centre – periphery’, federalism and the problem of Russian state modernization* / I. M. Busygina. – Text : direct // *Political Science*. – 2011. – № 4. – pp. 53–70. [In Russian]; Busygina I. M. *On the benefit of failure: the experience of Russia for the study of comparative federalism* / I. M. Busygina, M. G. Filippov. – Text : direct // *Vestnik of the Permian University. Series: Political Science*. – 2020. – № 3 (14). – pp. 6–19. – DOI [10.17072/2218-1067-2020-3-6-19](https://doi.org/10.17072/2218-1067-2020-3-6-19). [In Russian]

<sup>33</sup> *Comparative federalism and Russian problems of federal relations* / edited by L.V. Smorgunov and Y.N. Solonin. – Saint Petersburg: Saint Petersburg University, 2008. – 307 p. – ISBN 978-5-288-04795-4. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>34</sup> Starodubtsev, A. *Federalism and regional policy in contemporary Russia* / A. Starodubtsev. – New York : Routledge, 2018. – 176 p. – ISBN 978-1-472-46150-6. – Text : direct.

<sup>35</sup> Shaikhutdinova, G. R. *Contemporary Russian federalism: Delimitation of jurisdictional subjects and powers* / G. R. Shaikhutdinova. – Berlin : Springer, 2020. – 92 p. – ISBN 978-94-6265-374-0. – Text : direct.

<sup>36</sup> Libman, A. *Federalism in China and Russia* / A. Libman, M. Rochlitz. – Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2019. – 232 p. – ISBN: 978 1 78897 218 5. – Text : direct.; Libman, A. *Russian Federalism and Post-Soviet Integration: Divergence of Development Paths* / A. Libman. – Text : direct // *Europe-Asia Studies*. – 2011. – Vol. 63, №. 8. – pp. 1323–1355



In this context, it is interesting to consider the issue of unity and subsidiarity of state power in the Russian Federation, raised in the papers of A.E. Bankovsky<sup>37</sup> and O.I. Pimenova<sup>38</sup>.

An analysis of the research literature shows that political scientists are quite unanimous on the issue of the transformation of the powers of the federal subjects as the ‘center’ strengthens. The problem is addressed in both legal and political science terms, with cities of federal significance being the subject of further analysis. Thus, N. Pakhomova, S. Kamolov and A. Pavlyuk note the lack of uniform legal criteria defining the status of these federal subjects, suggesting that the significance of such subnational actors should be assessed taking into account “the specifics of the political, cultural, economic situation [...], the presence of strategically important objects and [...] specific territorial structure, which is reflected in the organization of governance”<sup>39</sup>. D. Miller draws attention to the “peculiarities of historical development, as well as the combination of economic, military and political reasons”<sup>40</sup> that predetermined the special position of such cities. Accordingly, it can be argued that Saint Petersburg as a subject within the Russian Federation has its “territorial, political, cultural, economic, ethno-national and linguistic characteristics, its ‘image’, its networks of contact in the sphere of international cooperation”.<sup>41</sup>

The capabilities of the federal subjects can be classified into four areas: internal (local), inter-regional within the state, ‘center-federal’ and paradiplomatic. In an attempt to denote the full breadth of regional activity below the state level, R.

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<sup>37</sup> Bankovsky, A. E. Principles of unity and subsidiarity in the organization of state power of the Russian Federation: constitutional legal research: diss. ... cand. of jurid. sciences: 12.00.02 / Bankovsky Arthur Evgenievich; – Alt. state. un-t; Place of defense: Tyumen. state. un-t. : Barnaul, 2013. – 223 p. [In Russian]

<sup>38</sup> Pimenova, O. I. Federalism and subsidiarity in the system of domestic relations: some theoretical and practical aspects of their interaction (on the example of the Russian Federation) / O. I. Pimenova. – Text : direct // State and law. – 2017. – № 4. – P. 5–16. [In Russian]

<sup>39</sup> Pakhomova, N. M., Features of cities of federal significance: gaps in legislation / N. M. Pakhomova, S. G. Kamolov, A. V. Pavlyuk. – Text : direct // Problems of Economics and Legal Practice. – 2018. – № 4. – P. 94. [In Russian]

<sup>40</sup> Miller, D.G. Concept and specificity of a city of federal significance / D.G. Miller. – Text : direct // Education and law. – 2022. – № 12. – P. 59. – DOI 10.24412/2076-1503-2022-12-58-61. [In Russian]

<sup>41</sup> Gomelauri, A. S. The subject of the federation as a state’s “soft power” channel (by the example of Saint Petersburg) / A. S. Gomelauri. – Text : direct // Via in tempore. Story. Political science. – 2020. – Vol. 47, № 3. – pp. 659. – DOI 10.18413/2687-0967-2020-47-3-658-668. [In Russian]

Turovsky suggested using the term “subnational policy”<sup>42</sup>. This term is firmly entrenched in foreign discourse, but was not well known in Russian discourse. Accordingly, the region is defined as a “subnational actor”, which makes it possible to indicate its activity in the political space with the whole range of interactions in the vertical, horizontal and local dimensions.<sup>43</sup>

Considering the activities of subnational actors on the example of the Arctic course of Saint Petersburg, it is important to emphasize that we are talking not only about the analysis of its strategy in the context of domestic policy. Although significantly limited in opportunities as a result of the 2022 crisis, the city of federal significance still has great potential in the context of paradiplomacy, which at one time became one of the reasons for its involvement in the implementation of the state’s Arctic policy. The entry of Russian cities and regions into the international arena has become the object of numerous studies. F. Zolotarev considers the phenomenon of paradiplomacy, expressed in the establishment of external relations by the constituent subjects of the Russian Federation, as well as the role of city-regions in the context of participation in world processes,<sup>44</sup> E. Beidina, A. Novikova and O. Pogulich assess the influence of the geographical position of the region on the development of its external cooperation,<sup>45</sup> A. Naronskaya analyzes the influence of regional elites on the establishment of foreign relations by the region.<sup>46</sup> L. Rustamova puts forward the version of the ‘compensatory’ power of regions: in conditions of high conflict, the international participation of regions becomes

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<sup>42</sup> Turovsky, R. F. Subnational politics: introduction to a possible theory / R. F. Turovsky. – Text : direct // Journal of Political Philosophy and Sociology of Politics “Politia. Analysis. Chronicle. Forecast”. – 2014. – № 4 (75). – P. 88–89. [In Russian]

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>44</sup> Zolotarev F. E. Zolotarev, F. E. Subnational level of Russia’s foreign policy: analysis of external relations of subnational actors. – Text : direct // Vestnik of Moscow State Linguistic University. Social Sciences. – 2022. – № 2 (847). – pp. 33–42. – DOI 10.52070/2500-347X\_2022\_2\_847\_33. [In Russian]; Mikhaylenko E. B., The phenomenon of the city-region: the problems of theoretical interpretations / E. B. Mikhaylenko, F. E. Zolotarev. – Text : direct // Ars Administrandi. – 2022. – № 4. – pp. 572–588. – DOI <https://doi.org/10.17072/2218-9173-2022-4-572-588>. [In Russian]

<sup>45</sup> Beydina, T. E. Cooperation between Zabaikalsky Krai and China: operation of regional factors in view of external sanctions / T. E. Beydina, A. V. Novikova, O. V. Pogulich. – Text : direct // Izvestiya Irkutskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. – 2016. – № 17. – pp. 23–32. [In Russian]

<sup>46</sup> Naronskaya, A. G. The role of the regional elite in the development of international activities of the subject of the federation (the experience of the Sverdlovsk region) / A. G. Naronskaya. – Text : direct // Ars Administrandi. – 2019. – №. 3 (11). – pp. 384–400. – DOI 10.17072/2218-9173-2019-3-384-400. [In Russian]

necessary to maintain previous contacts and mediation between state-level authorities.<sup>47</sup> Meanwhile, the role of the federal subjects as paradiplomatic actors in the context of Russian Arctic policy has not been fully explored, nor is there a full-fledged analysis of the transformation of regional activities under the impact of the 2022 crisis.

Several papers on the activities of subnational units involved in the implementation of Arctic policy are worth highlighting: A. Sergunin and V. Konyshev have addressed the issue of the formation of “soft power” by the northern regions of Russia (the Arkhangelsk and Murmansk oblasts, the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous okrug, etc.) in view of clashes of inter-state interests in the Arctic region,<sup>48</sup> while various cases of cooperation have been examined by Y. Zaika<sup>49</sup> and O. Zaretskaya<sup>50</sup>. Although the active involvement of regions in the implementation of Arctic policy can be considered a relatively recent phenomenon, the role of Saint Petersburg in this direction is hardly mentioned in the scientific literature.<sup>51</sup>

It is important to emphasize that the analysis of the role of subnational units in the Arctic policy of the state was mainly carried out in the pre-crisis period and, therefore, without taking into account new factors: meanwhile, the political space was significantly transformed under the influence of the Ukrainian crisis, which led not only to a reorientation in the field of cooperation, but and increased risks,

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<sup>47</sup> Rustamova, L.R. External relations of the Russian border regions / L.R. Rustamova. – Text : direct // Bulletin of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University). – 2022. – № 15 (1). – pp. 177–206. – DOI 10.24833/2071-8160-2022-1-82-177-206. [In Russian]

<sup>48</sup> Sergunin, A. Russia in the Arctic: Hard or Soft Power? / A. Sergunin, V. Konyshev. – Stuttgart : Ibidem-Verlag, 2016. – 190 p. – ISBN-13: 978-3-8382-0753-7. – Text : direct.

<sup>49</sup> Zaika, Y. V. Cross-border cooperation as a factor of self-development of the Russian Arctic regions (by the example of the Murmansk region) / Y. V. Zaika. – Text : direct // Corporate governance and innovative development of the economy of the North: Bulletin of Research Center for Corporate Law, Management and Venture Capital Investment of Syktyvkar State University. – 2019. – № 4. – pp. 43–53. – DOI 10.34130/2070-4992-2019-4-43-53. [In Russian]

<sup>50</sup> Zaretskaya, O. V. Russian-Norwegian ties and transformation of bilateral cooperation at the end of XX century (on the example of Arkhangelsk Region) / O. V. Zaretskaya. – Text : direct // Vestnik (Herald) of Saint Petersburg University. International Relations. – 2022. – Vol. 15, № 4. – pp. 451–466. – DOI <https://doi.org/10.21638/spbu06.2022.407>. [In Russian]

<sup>51</sup> Lobanov, A. V. Saint Petersburg as a centre for ensuring innovative development of the Arctic (based on materials of the exposition of the International Arctic Forum “The Arctic: Territory of Dialogue”) / A. V. Lobanov, V. A. Ryazantseva. – Text : direct // Basis. – 2019. – № 9 (6). – pp. 89–96. [In Russian]; Lobanov, A. V. Key tasks and directions of work of Saint Petersburg Committee on Arctic Affairs / A. V. Lobanov, V. A. Ryazantseva. – Text : direct // Basis. – 2020. – № 1 (17). – pp. 80–85. [In Russian]

primarily in the field of security.<sup>52</sup> In the current context, T. Golovina and T. Khorolskaya point out the high strategic importance of the Arctic zone for the Russian Federation: the considerable wealth that the Arctic holds is becoming a subject of great political and industrial interest, which is a challenge for the subarctic states.<sup>53</sup> Of particular concern to researchers are the activities of NATO and unfriendly states in the region.<sup>54</sup> Cooperation with friendly states on the Arctic issue is reflected in the works of D. Veselova,<sup>55</sup> E. Moreva and S. Bekulova,<sup>56</sup> B. Krasnopolsky<sup>57</sup> and other scholars<sup>58</sup>. Among foreign researchers, M. Paul and G. Swistek,<sup>59</sup> L. Odgaard,<sup>60</sup> J. Wilhelmsen and A. Hjermmann,<sup>61</sup> J. Staun<sup>62</sup> and B.

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<sup>52</sup> Maksakova, M. A. Revisiting the Arctic Strategy of Russia up to 2035 // M. A. Maksakova. – Text : direct // *The Handbook of the Arctic: A Broad and Comprehensive Overview*. – Singapore : Springer Nature Singapore, 2022. – pp. 53–73. – Text : direct.

<sup>53</sup> Golovina, T. A. Regional and sectoral development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation / T.A. Golovina, T. E. Khorolskaya. – Text : direct // *Bulletin of the Academy of Knowledge*. – 2023. – № 54 (1). – pp. 82–88. [In Russian]

<sup>54</sup> Zhuravel, V.P. NATO and Russia's national security issues in the Arctic / V.P. Zhuravel. – Text : direct // *Scientific and Analytical Bulletin of the Institute of Europe RAS*. – 2021. – № 2. – pp. 55-61. – DOI <http://dx.doi.org/10.15211/vestnikieran220215561>. [In Russian]; Zhuravel, V. P. Problem of Arctic development under sanction pressure on Russia / V. P. Zhuravel. – Text : direct // *Scientific and Analytical Bulletin of the Institute of Europe of Russian Academy of Sciences*. – 2022. – № 2. – pp. 32–40. – DOI <http://dx.doi.org/10.15211/vestnikieran220223240>. [In Russian]; Khlopov, O. A. Strategy of Russia and NATO in the Arctic: Possible Scenarios / O. A. Khlopov. – Text : direct // *Sociology*. – 2021. – № 2. – pp. 136-145. [In Russian]; Morozov A. V. Modern challenges to military security of Russian Federation in the Arctic / A. V. Morozov, A. A. Zubarev, A. D. Khryapov. – Text : direct // *Voennaya Mysl*. – 2022. – № 12. – pp. 6–11. [In Russian]; Zagorsky, A. V. Military-political situation in the Arctic: pockets of tension and ways of de-escalation / A. V. Zagorsky, A. V. Todorov. – Text : direct // *The Arctic and the North*. – 2021. – № 44. – pp. 79–102. – DOI 10.37482/issn2221-2698.2021.44.79. [In Russian]

<sup>55</sup> Veselova D. N. Main directions of cooperation between the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China in the Arctic / D.N. Veselova. – Text : direct // *Management Consulting*. – 2022. – № 12 (168). – pp. 42–61. – DOI 10.22394/1726-1139-2022-12-42-61. [In Russian]

<sup>56</sup> Moreva E. L., Bekulova S. R. Sustainable development strategies of North American countries, China and India as a factor of the Arctic region security. – Text : direct // *National Security*. – 2023. – № 1. – pp. 13-27. – DOI 10.7256/2454-0668.2023.1.39290. [In Russian]

<sup>57</sup> Krasnopolsky, B. H. International cooperation in the Arctic: new challenges, threats and risks / B. H. Krasnopolsky. – Text : direct // *Spatial Economics*. – 2022. – Vol. 18, № 2. – pp. 183–191. – DOI <https://dx.doi.org/10.14530/se.2022.2.183-191>. [In Russian]

<sup>58</sup> For ex.: Xuan L. Strategic interests of Russia and China in the Arctic / L. Xuan. – Text : direct // *Society: Politics, Economy, Law*. – 2022. – № 10 (111). – pp. 36–43. – DOI <https://doi.org/10.24158/pep.2022.m5>. [In Russian]

<sup>59</sup> Paul, M. Russia in the Arctic: development plans, military potential, and conflict prevention / M. Paul, G. Swistek. – Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik-SWP-Deutsches Institut für Internationale Politik und Sicherheit, 2022. – 41 p. – Text : direct.

<sup>60</sup> Odgaard, L. Russia's Arctic Designs and NATO / L. Odgaard, J. Wilhelmsen, A. R. Hjermmann. – Text : direct // *Survival*. – 2022. – Vol. 64, №. 4. – pp. 89–104. – DOI 10.1080/00396338.2022.2103259.

<sup>61</sup> Wilhelmsen, J., Russian certainty of NATO hostility: Repercussions in the Arctic / J. Wilhelmsen, A. R. Hjermmann. – Text : direct // *Arctic Review on Law and Politics*. – 2022. – Vol. 13. – pp. 114–142.

<sup>62</sup> Staun, J. A Two-Faced Russia? Civilian Interests and Great Power Politics in the High North / J. Staun. – Text : direct // *Handbook on Geopolitics and Security in the Arctic. Frontiers in International Relations: The High North Between Cooperation and Confrontation*. – Cham : Springer, 2020. – pp. 3–21.

Schaller<sup>63</sup>, J.-F. Payette, M. Landriault, S. Roussel<sup>64</sup> and others analyze the difficulties faced by the Russian Federation in the field of Arctic cooperation in the current context. However, the place and role of subnational actors involved in implementing Arctic policy in the new context remain unexplored.

The presented analysis of the literature on the topic of this dissertation leads to the conclusion that there is no comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of subnational actors' activity in the context of the Arctic policy of the Russian Federation, as well as the lack of attention to Saint Petersburg as a region involved in the implementation of state interests. This study aims to contribute to a broader understanding of the role of subnational actors in the realization of Russia's Arctic interests.

**The object of the research** is the subnational actor in the implementation of the Arctic policy of the Russian Federation.

**The subject of the research** is the specifics of the participation of a subnational actor (using Saint Petersburg as an example) in the implementation of interregional and paradiplomatic interaction within the framework of the Arctic policy of the Russian Federation.

**The main purpose of this research** is to identify the specifics of the involvement of a subnational actor (using Saint Petersburg as an example) in the implementation of domestic and foreign policy measures to implement the Arctic strategies of the Russian Federation.

This purpose entails a number of **research objectives**:

1. to characterize the phenomenon of subnational actorhood in the context of federalism theory on the basis of the works of Russian and foreign researchers;
2. to identify the specifics of Russian subnational actors' activities in the context of 'center – regions' interaction;

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<sup>63</sup> Schaller, B. *The Non-Arctic Dimension of Military Security—Russia and the West Between Regional Cooperation and Geopolitical Confrontation* / B. Schaller. – Text : direct // *Handbook on Geopolitics and Security in the Arctic. Frontiers in International Relations: The High North Between Cooperation and Confrontation*. – Cham : Springer, 2020. – pp. 323–342.

<sup>64</sup> *Mapping Arctic Paradiplomacy: Limits and Opportunities for Sub-national Actors in Arctic Governance* / J.-F. Payette, M. Landriault, S. Roussel (eds). – London : Routledge, 2022. – 225 p. – Text : direct.

3. to define the content, characteristics and perspectives of the Arctic policy of the Russian Federation;

4. to investigate the specifics of Arctic policy implementation at the federal and regional levels, focusing on the activities of the state's Arctic actors;

5. to analyze the case of Saint Petersburg by examining the resource potential of the city demanded in the implementation of international policies;

6. to characterize the role of Saint Petersburg as a participant in inter-regional Arctic cooperation;

7. to identify Saint Petersburg's experience and opportunities for engagement with foreign actors on Arctic issues.

**The chronological framework** of the research covers the period from December 1991, i.e. the date of the collapse of the USSR and the formation of the Russian Federation, up to the present day, which enables the formation of a model of relations between the federal center and subnational actors, as well as the involvement of the latter in implementing state policy in the Arctic, to be fully highlighted. However, it is worthwhile to make an important remark: a brief retrospective analysis, covering the period from the eleventh century to the present day, has been used in studying Russia's experience of Arctic exploration and development.

**The geographical framework** of the study is limited to the territory of the Russian Federation: special attention is paid to the federal city of Saint Petersburg, as well as the federal subjects included in the Arctic zone – the Murmansk and Arkhangelsk Oblasts, the Nenets, Chukotka and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrugs, the Komi, Karelia and Sakha (Yakutia) Republics, and Krasnoyarsk Krai.

**Theoretical and methodological basis of the research.** The specificity of this dissertation research has led to the application of a comprehensive methodology with reliance on systemic, institutional, constructivist and structural-functional approaches, which allows us to consider the state space as a field of existence of various structures that have their own identities and claims. The study of the multilevel system of international relations makes it possible to comprehend the

specifics of the position of domestic entities with their own characteristics, resources, institutions in their attempt to represent and implement their interests in the external sphere, and also allows us to focus on the relations arising between the key objects of analysis: the subjects of the federation, the federal center and the actors of the foreign policy field with which these subjects are trying to interact.

Within the framework of these approaches, various kinds of general scientific methods are used: the method of analysis and synthesis of scientific information, the formal-logical method, the comparative method, the method of non-formalised analysis of sources. The method of historical review is used in the study of the formation of ‘center – regions’ relations in the Russian Federation, as well as in the study of the evolution of the Arctic policy of the state and the country’s participation in international Arctic affairs. A special role is given to such a qualitative research method as a case study. Saint Petersburg, a constituent subject of the Russian Federation, was selected as a case study. The federal center has assigned it a special place in the implementation of Arctic policy. Such a choice was based on a number of factors, including Saint Petersburg’s geographical location, historical development, possession of significant capital in scientific, technical, economic and other spheres, representation in foreign space, a wide network of international contacts, etc. The elements of actor, formal-legal and other approaches applied to the case study are in line with the interdisciplinary spirit of the research.

**Empirical basis of the research.** The basis of the source base for the study was constituted by official documents framing the main provisions of the federal structure of the state as well as the policy directions of the Russian Federation as a whole and of the city of federal significance Saint Petersburg in particular.

In writing the thesis, various legal acts establishing the ‘centre-regional’ structure of the Russian Federation were used, including the Constitution and other power-sharing documents.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Russian Federation. Laws. Constitution of the Russian Federation : [adopted by popular vote on December 12, 1993, with amendments approved during the national vote on July 1, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://kremlin.ru/acts/constitution> (accessed 3.01.2023). [In Russian]; Federal Treaty: Treaty on the delimitation of jurisdiction and powers between the federal state authorities

Of particular relevance are the documents defining Russia's policy on Arctic issues. Firstly, these are agreements at the international level, such as the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, adopted in 1982,<sup>66</sup> to which Russia has committed itself through Regulation № 717 of 16 June 1997 “On the procedure for approving lists of geographical coordinates of points defining the outer limits of the continental shelf of the Russian Federation”,<sup>67</sup> which gave rise to much debate later on,<sup>68</sup> multilateral and bilateral agreements to strengthen international Arctic cooperation,<sup>69</sup> and other documents, including acts of international organizations and programs to address Arctic issues.<sup>70</sup> Secondly, strategic documents at the federal level declaring the specifics of public administration and defining the leading directions of state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic area, including the “Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation” of 31 March 2023,<sup>71</sup> “Fundamentals of State Policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic to 2035”<sup>72</sup>, “Strategy for Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and National Security Provision for the Period to 2035”<sup>73</sup>, the State Program of the

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of the Russian Federation and the authorities of the sovereign republics within the Russian Federation: [signed on March 31, 1992]. – Text : electronic // Information and legal portal “Garant” : [website]. – URL: <https://constitution.garant.ru/act/federative/170280/> (accessed 3.01.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>66</sup> United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea : [ratified by the Federal Law of the Russian Federation of February 26, 1997 № 30]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and normative-technical documents. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/1900747> (accessed 3.01.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>67</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. About the affirmation of the lists of geographical co-ordinates of points determining the external borders of Russian Federation continental shelf : Decree № 717 : [adopted by the Government of Russian Federation on June 16, 1997]. – Text : electronic // Garant Information and Legal Portal. - URL: <https://base.garant.ru/11900727/> (accessed 3.01.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>68</sup> Zhudro, I. S. On modernization of the international legal concept of justification of external borders of the continental shelf of the Russian Federation in the Arctic / I. S. Zhudro. – Text : direct // International Public and Private Law. – 2015. – № 6. – P. 10–14. [In Russian]

<sup>69</sup> For ex.: Ilulissat Declaration : [adopted in Ilulissat, Greenland on 28 May 2008]. – Text : electronic // National University of Singapore : Centre for International Law : [website]. – URL: <https://cil.nus.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/2008-Ilulissat-Declaration.pdf> (accessed 3.01.2023).

<sup>70</sup> For ex.: Arctic Council. – Text: electronic // Arctic Council : [website]. – URL : <https://arctic-council.org/ru/> (accessed 3.01.2023). [In Russian]; Barents Euro-Arctic Council. – Text: electronic // Council of the Barents Euro-Arctic Region : [website]. – URL: <https://barents-council.org/> (accessed 3.01.2023). [In Russian]; etc.

<sup>71</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On approval of the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation : Decree № 229 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on March 31, 2023]. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: [https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign\\_policy/official\\_documents/1860586/](https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/official_documents/1860586/) (accessed 9.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>72</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On Fundamentals of State Policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic until 2035 : Decree № 164 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on March 5, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/45255/page/1> (accessed 4.01.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>73</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. About Strategy for Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and National Security Provision for the Period to 2035 : Decree № 645 : [adopted by the President of the Russian



Russian Federation “Social and Economic Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation”<sup>74</sup>, etc. Thirdly, the regional acts approving and regulating the framework for the subnational actors: the decrees of the Saint Petersburg government “On the Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs”<sup>75</sup> and “On ensuring measures for the development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation”<sup>76</sup>, as well as the acts at the level of the Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs,<sup>77</sup> etc.

Finally, official information on the inter-regional and international activities of the federal subjects involved in Arctic issues, territorially or otherwise.<sup>78</sup>

**The academic novelty** of the research is represented by the following provisions:

- clarified the concept of “subnational actor” in the context of the federal state as an institutional participant of public policy;

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Federation on October 26, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/45972> (accessed 4.01.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>74</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On Approval of the State Program of the Russian Federation “Social and Economic Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation”. Decree № 484 : [adopted by the Government of Russian Federation on March 30, 2021]. – Text : electronic // Information and legal portal “Garant”. – URL: <https://base.garant.ru/400534977/> (accessed 4.01.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>75</sup> Saint Petersburg. Decrees. About the Committee of Saint Petersburg for Arctic Affairs: Decree № 163 : [adopted by the Government of Saint Petersburg on February 28, 2018]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and normative-technical documents : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/556684857> (accessed 4.01.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>76</sup> Saint Petersburg. Decrees. On Ensuring Measures in the Interests of Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation № 93 : [adopted by the Government of Saint Petersburg on February 8, 2018]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and normative-technical documents : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/556495255> (accessed 4.01.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>77</sup> Normative legal acts of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/documents/> (accessed 4.01.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>78</sup> Murmansk Oblast. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy of the Murmansk Region : [website]. – URL: <https://minec.gov-murman.ru/> (accessed 5.01.2023). [In Russian]; Nenets Autonomous Okrug. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Nenets Autonomous Okrug : [website]. – URL: <https://digital.adm-nao.ru/> (accessed 5.01.2023). [In Russian]; Chukotka Autonomous Okrug // Official website of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug: [website]. – URL: <https://xn--80atapud1a.xn--p1ai/> (accessed 5.01.2023). [In Russian]; Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug. – Text : electronic // Department of External Relations of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug : [website]. – URL: <https://inter.yanao.ru/> (accessed 5.01.2023). [In Russian]; Arkhangelsk region. – Text : electronic // Government of the Arkhangelsk region : [website]. – URL: <https://dvinaland.ru/> (accessed 5.01.2023). [In Russian]; The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). – Text : electronic // Ministry for External Relations and Affairs of the Peoples of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) : [website]. – URL: <https://mvsdn.sakha.gov.ru/> (accessed 5.01.2023). [In Russian]; Krasnoyarsk territory. – Text : electronic // Official portal of the Krasnoyarsk territory : [website]. – URL: <http://www.krskstate.ru/> (accessed 5.01.2023). [In Russian]; Republic of Karelia. – Text : electronic // Official Internet portal of the Republic of Karelia : [website]. – URL: <https://gov.karelia.ru/> (accessed 5.01.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/> (accessed 5.01.2023).

- identified the Russian specifics of using the potential of subnational actors in the context of the system of relations ‘center – regions’ and revealed that formal and informal practices created by the federal center form the framework for policy implementation by the subjects of the Russian Federation;

- demonstrated that the involvement of subnational actors in solving multifaceted problems of the Arctic policy of the Russian Federation in the context of ‘center-regional’ interaction is dictated by the complexity of the object of the Russian state’s policy due to the increased attention to the region from other states of the world, including those that have no direct territorial connection with the Arctic;

- proved that in ensuring the development of the Russian Arctic territories the heterogeneity of the regions included in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation should be taken into account, which determines the inclusion of non-Arctic subnational actors with significant resources (financial and economic, scientific, educational, cultural, etc.) in the implementation of Arctic policy;

- determined that the choice of Saint Petersburg as a subnational actor involved in the implementation of the Arctic policy of the Russian Federation is conditioned by a number of factors: geographical location, developed infrastructure, positive image, high degree of scientific, educational and industrial development, a wide range of twinning relations with foreign countries, favourable investment climate, etc.;

- justified the significance of the possibility of reorienting subnational actors to co-operate with representatives of friendly Asian states, including on Arctic issues, which is caused by the deepening global crisis of international relations.

**The theoretical significance of the research** relates to the study of the role of subnational actors involved in the implementation of the policies adopted by the federal center. Given that the theory of federalism is an extremely broad phenomenon and cannot be based on the empirical experience of a single state, an extension of knowledge in this field to the Russian case study seems a meaningful contribution to the discussion. The study of the role of subnational actors in the

context of intersubjective, ‘center-regional’ and international interaction was conducted in line with the criteria of scientific validity and provided crucial information demonstrating the potential for research into the role of subnational actors, which can be used to further conceptualize the potential for regional participation in the implementation of the state’s Arctic policy.

**The practical significance of the research** lies in the fact that the presented conclusions demonstrate the need to involve the regions in the implementation of the national policy of the state, as well as the importance of using discussion platforms to coordinate interests in controversial issues of domestic and international nature in the interests of the development of cooperation, etc.

The obtained results create the most complete picture of the involvement of the subjects in solving the problems of the Arctic region, and, therefore, can be recommended for use in the development of Arctic policy programs by both the federal center and the subjects of the Russian Federation. The conclusions drawn about the regions’ potential in the field of Arctic policy can be taken into account in the formation of strategies for achieving foreign policy goals at the federal level.

In addition, the proceedings of this paper can be used in the development of training courses in political science and international relations, as well as in the preparation of training manuals and analytical reports on the foreign policy of the Russian Federation and the specifics of regional activities in the field of international interaction.

**Provisions made for defense:**

1 The transformation of federal policy in the Russian Federation over the last three decades has entailed a significant change in the position of subnational units. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the constituent subjects of the Russian Federation were given enough freedom to enter the international arena and begin to establish active cooperation with its representatives. However, as the federal center strengthened, the subnational actors lost their power and capacity, which was

mitigated by the “soft power” policy<sup>79</sup> and openness declared by the state until the mid-2010s. The exacerbation of the Ukrainian crisis in February 2022 led to a sharp restriction of subnational actors’ activity, destroying established channels of interaction and forming a “channel of acceptable cooperation” where ties at the subnational level are limited to friendly and neutral representatives of the international space.

2. The Arctic dimension has a high priority within Russian state policy, which has led to the federal center’s desire to promote the region’s full-scale development, including using the potential of the constituent entities. However, not all of the Arctic subjects have the resources and capacity to enter the international arena, nor the desire to establish interregional links.

3. The formation of the resource capital of the subjects of the Russian Federation is made at the expense of federal and local resources. Federal can include various forms of financial support, nationwide political and cultural trends and other, regional – geographical location, economic specifics due to the specific geopolitical situation, historical experience, behavior of elites, scientific and technological progress, etc. Differences in available resources at both the federal and local level create disparities in the potential of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation.

4. The federal center, taking into account geopolitical, economic and other factors, entrusts the implementation of tasks in line with the developed political course to subnational actors with sufficient resource capital, what has been done in giving the federal city of Saint Petersburg Arctic competences, despite its formal non-inclusion in the state’s Arctic zone.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Gomelaury, A. S. On the question of perception of the phenomenon of “soft power” in the context of Russian foreign policy / A. C. Gomelaury. – Text : direct // Questions of political sciences. – 2020. – Vol. 10, № 11 (63). – pp. 3316-3323. – DOI 10.35775/PSI.2020.63.11.029. [In Russian]

<sup>80</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On the land territories of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation : Decree № 296 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on May 2, 2014]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/38377> (accessed 16.03.2023). [In Russian]; Russian Federation. Laws. On state support for entrepreneurial activity in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation: Federal Law № 193 of July 13, 2020 : [adopted by the State Duma on July 7, 2020 : approved by the Federation Council on July 8, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/45677> (accessed 16.03.2023). [In Russian]

5. The Arctic policy area, in which subnational actors are involved, has retained its importance for the Russian Federation, despite significant changes in foreign and domestic policy in the early 2020s, which resulted in a refocusing of the federal center on the borders with Ukraine and a mutual rejection of further cooperation with some former foreign partners. At the moment, it is possible to talk about Russia's reorientation in the foreign policy space towards the developing Asian countries that are expressing interest in the Arctic region.

6. The development of the Russian Federation's Arctic strategies requires supporting the cooperative intentions of subnational actors with friendly and neutral foreign partners at various levels, who are interested in investment projects, scientific, technical and other assistance that contribute to the achievement of federal foreign policy goals. Accordingly, the task of subnational actors becomes to reorient the areas of cooperation following the federal center.

**Validity degree and approbation of the research results.** The validity of the research is determined by a wide range of scientific sources, writings by Russian and foreign political scientists specializing in federalism, subnational cooperation and Arctic issues, as well as materials based on applied data, including reports and accounts based on statistical indicators and reflecting legal conflicts over ownership of the Arctic territories.

The provisions described in this study were presented in the form of articles in a number of Russian scientific journals included in the list recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation:

1. Gomelauri, A. S. The federal subjects as actors of the state policy of "soft power" (on the example of the Russian Federation) / A. S. Gomelauri. – Text : direct // Issues of national and federal relations. – 2020. – № 5 (26). – pp. 1226–1232. – DOI 10.18413/2687-0967-2020-47-3-658-668. [In Russian]
2. Gomelauri, A. S. Public policy digitalization problem in the context of increasing the Russian Federation's soft power / A. S. Gomelauri, A. M. Kaplunenko

– Text : direct // Bulletin of Volga Institute of Management. – 2020. – Vol. 20, № 4. – pp. 113–119. – DOI 10.22394/1682-2358-2020-4-113-119. [In Russian]

3. Gomelaury, A. S. On the question of perception of the phenomenon of “soft power” in the context of Russian foreign policy / A. C. Gomelaury. – Text : direct // Questions of political sciences. – 2020. – Vol. 10, № 11 (63). – pp. 3316-3323. – DOI 10.35775/PSI.2020.63.11.029. [In Russian]

4. Gomelaury, A. S. The subject of the federation as a state’s “soft power” channel (by the example of Saint Petersburg) / A. S. Gomelaury. – Text : direct // Via in tempore. Story. Political science. – 2020. – Vol. 47, № 3. – pp. 658–668. – DOI 10.18413/2687-0967-2020-47-3-658-668. [In Russian]

5. Gomelaury, A. S. Methods of “soft power” measuring: a comparative analysis of rankings / A. S. Gomelaury. – Text : direct // Modern Science and Innovations. – 2020. – № 4. – pp. 154-161. – DOI 10.37493/2307-910X.2020.4.23. [In Russian]

6. Gomelaury, A. S. French “soft power” in the context of the pandemic: Limiting traditional ways of influence / A. S. Gomelaury. – Text : direct // Locus: People, Society, Culture, Meanings. – 2021. – Vol. 12, № 3. – pp. 114–121. – DOI 10.31862/2500-2988-2021-12-3-114-121.

7. Gomelaury, A. S. Arctic transformations: Russia declares “hard power” / A. S. Gomelaury. – Text : direct // Vlast. – 2021. – № 4 (29). – pp. 108–113. [In Russian]

As also in other journals included in the Russian Science Citation Index.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Gomelaury, A. S. Presentation of political systems in international space in the era of COVID-19: external consequences of internal inefficiency / A. C. Gomelaury. – Text : direct // Stability of political systems in the conditions of global challenges of modernity. Collection of theses of XI International Youth Scientific Conference. – Saint-Petersburg, 2021. – pp. 36–38. [In Russian]; Gomelaury, A. S. Specifics of promoting Russia’s image on the European arena since 2014 / A. S. Gomelaury. – Text : direct // Russia in the Global World: New Challenges and Opportunities: Collection of Works of VII International Student Scientific Conference. – Saint Petersburg, 2019. – pp. 171–183. [In Russian]; Gomelaury A. S. Specifics of implementation of “soft power” strategies in the COVID-19 era / A. S. Gomelaury. – Text : direct // XI South Russian Political Science Congress “Modern Paradigm of State Interests: Concept and Post-Soviet Reality”. Collection of theses of Russian on-line conference with international participation. – Rostov-on-Don – Taganrog, 2021. – pp. 222–225. [In Russian]; Gomelaury A. S. Participation of regions in the implementation of “soft power” of the Russian Federation in the context of Arctic policy/ A. S. Gomelaury. – Text : direct // Development of the North Arctic region: History and traditions of the Arctic peoples in changing climatic conditions. Materials of the Russian scientific-practical conference with international participation. Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation; Federal State Autonomous Educational Institution of Higher Education; M.V. Lomonosov Northern (Arctic) Federal University. – Arkhangelsk, 2021. – pp. 103–107. [In Russian]

The main ideas contained in the paper were presented at the conference: the Seventh International Student Research Conference ‘Russia in the Global World: New Challenges and Opportunities’, Saint Petersburg, 29 March 2019; the XI International Youth Scientific Conference ‘Sustainability of Political Systems in the Context of Global Challenges of Modernity’, Saint Petersburg, 12 December 2020; the Russian National Scientific and Practical Conference with International Participation, organized by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation, the Federal State Autonomous Educational Institution of Higher Education and Lomonosov Northern (Arctic) Federal University of Arkhangelsk, 29 – 30 April 2021; the XI South Russian Political Science Convention ‘The Modern Paradigm of State Interests: Concept and Post-Soviet Reality’, Rostov-on-Don, 26 – 30 October 2021; the Neva Forum ‘Reforms in Russia: from Peter the Great to the Present’, Saint Petersburg 23 – 25 June 2022; the V Russian National Scientific and Practical Conference ‘The Future of the Arctic Starts Here’, organized by the Murmansk Arctic University branch in Apatity, 25 – 26 April 2023; the XVI Russian scientific conference (with international participation) ‘Political, economic and socio-cultural aspects of regional management in the European North’, Syktyvkar, 26 – 28 April 2023.

**The structure of the dissertation** consists of an introduction, three chapters, conclusion and bibliography, which lists books, articles and other sources of information. The introduction presents the structure of the research: justifies the relevance of the topic study, briefly analyses the extensive source base on the problem in question, defines the object, subject, purpose and objectives set for the researcher. In addition, the following elements are described: methodological basis, scientific novelty, and statements to be defended. Finally, a list of research papers has been compiled in which the study was validated. The first chapter of this dissertation is devoted to understanding the theoretical and applied foundations of federalism and the ‘center-region’ system that has emerged in Russia. The second chapter, divided into two semantic parts, analyses the Arctic policy of the Russian Federation as well as the activities of the state’s Arctic actors in establishing

interregional and international agreements and participating in international organizations to develop the Arctic region. The third chapter includes a case study of Saint Petersburg: the factors that determined its choice for the role of actor in the implementation of 'centre' Arctic policy strategies, the place and role of the federal city in Russian Federation Arctic policy, its position as a subnational actor in interregional and international Arctic cooperation, and an overview of the prospects for establishing and strengthening Saint Petersburg as an actor of national Arctic policy significance.



# CHAPTER 1. THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR STUDYING THE PLACE AND THE ROLE OF SUBNATIONAL ACTORS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF STATE POLICY

## 1.1. Subnational Actor as an Object of Political Science Research

Analysis of subnational actors is impossible without context. The framework for the existence of actors of this type is set by the theory of federalism, although complex and multifaceted, it undoubtedly determines the position and role of sub-state entities in the modern world. In this dissertation research, we will not go back to the theological and philosophical principles of the theory of federalism, but we will note the conceptual ideas necessary for further analysis of the case we have chosen.

It is believed that the first attempt to delineate the boundaries of the concept of federalism was made in the 1950s by K. Wheare.<sup>82</sup> The scientist noted that “by the federal principle I mean the method of dividing powers so that general and regional governments are each, within a sphere, coordinate and independent”<sup>83</sup>. The idea of K. Wheare was developed by the famous American political scientist W. Riker, who approached the formulation of the definition with greater accuracy. He proposed to consider federalism as such “a political organization in which the activities of government are divided between regional governments and a central government in such a way that each kind of government has some kind of activities on which it makes final contributions”<sup>84</sup>. These definitions are quite broad, without introducing a number of clear criteria for defining federalism. Indeed, it should be borne in mind that it is difficult to select them: researchers suggest that “there are as

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<sup>82</sup> Obi, E. A. The Theory, Practice and Current Trends in Federalism / E. A. Obi. – Text : direct // Journal of Social Service and Welfare. – 2019. – № 1 (5). – P. 31. – DOI <http://dx.doi.org/10.20431/2455-0043.0501005>.

<sup>83</sup> Wheare, K. C. Federal government / K. C. Wheare. – Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1953. – P. 10. – Text : direct.

<sup>84</sup> Riker, W. Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance / W. Riker. – Boston ; Toronto : Little Brown, 1964. – P. 101. – Text : direct.

many federalisms as there are federal states, each one considering its own specificities as being absolutely essential to the very concept of federalism”<sup>85</sup>. Thus, when considering federalism, two paths can be taken, which in their essence complement each other. The first suggests that one should try to limit the concept of federalism, choosing a certain direction for analysis. The second one proposes to proceed from empirical experience and rely on the study of specific cases, using the inductive method of ascent from particular cases to theoretical generalization.

One of those who tried to develop criteria for framing the concept of federalism was A. Auer, who pointed out three basic principles, the combination of which makes it possible to determine the federalism of the state:<sup>86</sup>

- the principle of autonomy, which means that in a number of areas the regions exercise self-government regardless of the center: they have their own authorities and institutions – executive, legislative, judicial, can adopt their own laws and be guided by them, control some financial flows – can make decisions on tax collection;

- the principle of superposition, which establishes restrictions on regional sovereignty: the powers of subnational units are subject to the legal order established by higher authorities;

- the principle of participation, supplementing the previous idea: according to A. Auer, the legal authority of the federal center not only dominates the regional one, but is also closely intertwined with it, forming a single legal order. Accordingly, the subjects participate in the establishment and implementation of federal norms and policies.

Undoubtedly, the researcher’s attempt to propose principles that unite various examples of federal states looks overly optimistic, or at least does not correspond to all practical cases of federalism, since it is true mainly for democracies and may seem somewhat debatable when analyzing states with other political regimes. The concept of D. Wright, proposed by him in the late 1980s, gives a great freedom to

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<sup>85</sup> Auer, A. The constitutional scheme of federalism / A. Auer. – Text : direct // Journal of European Public Policy. – 2005. – № 12 (3). – P. 421. – DOI <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501760500091166>.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid. P. 421–422.

the researcher. Then, based on the experience of states, the scientist compiled three models of federalism, which made it possible to classify known states according to the degree of strengthening of the ‘center’:<sup>87</sup>

- a model of coordinating authority, in which regional governments have a wide level of authority and are quite autonomous in their actions;

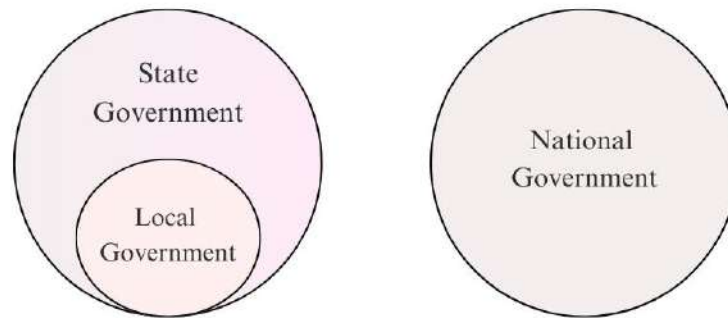


Figure 1. Model of coordinating authority.<sup>88</sup>

- a model of overlapping authority, which implies control by a higher authority over the activities of a lower one, while maintaining some autonomy of the latter;

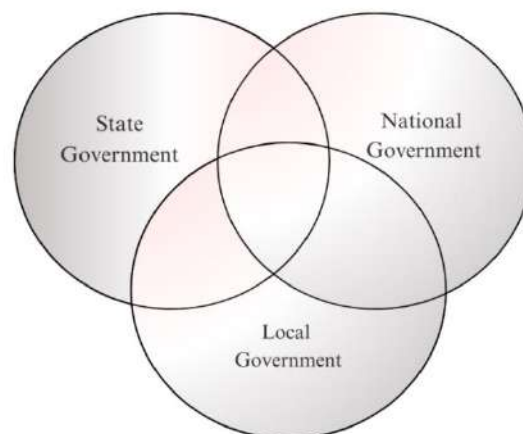


Figure 2. Model of overlapping authority.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Wright, D. S. Understanding intergovernmental relations / D. S. Wright. – Pacific Grove : Brooks-Cole, 1988. – P. 40. – Text : direct.

<sup>88</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>89</sup> Ibidem.

- and a model of inclusive authority, in which regional and local power are built into a rigid hierarchical vertical and are dependent on the decisions of the ‘center’.

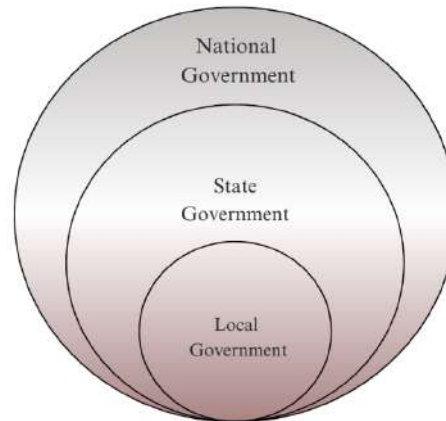


Figure 3. Model of inclusive authority.<sup>90</sup>

The concept of D. Wright in general terms allows us to talk about the key structural characteristic of federations – the position of the regions in relation to the ‘center’. The scientist, while not denying the rigidly built vertical within the framework of the theory of federalism, does not abandon the idea of the complete dependence of lower authorities on decisions made at a higher level. Meanwhile, not every researcher agrees with this approach.

For example, R. Watts denies federations a strict centralization of the administrative apparatus, arguing that federalism – as a normative principle – is based on a combination of self-government, carried out in solving some problems, and joint management in solving others,<sup>91</sup> and the very concept of federation presupposes the existence of specific forms of political organization in which “there are two (or more) levels of government thus combining elements of shared-rule (collaborative partnership) through a common government and regional self-rule

<sup>90</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>91</sup> Watts, R. L. Comparing Federal Systems in the 1990s / R. L. Watts. – Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations. – 1996. – P. 1. – ISBN 0-88911-589-3. – Text : direct.

(constituent unit autonomy) for the governments of the constituent units”<sup>92</sup>. R. Watts is more categorical in his judgments, finding the model of overlapping authority as the only true conceptual framework that defines the subjects of the federation as sovereign units to a certain extent,<sup>93</sup> and rejecting the existence of formal federations, when de jure existing federal institutions of the subject level have only a nominal character, in fact being completely dependent on the federal center.

Based on the views of R. Watts, it can be assumed that subnational actors may have different territorial features, geo-economic position, national composition, structure of governing institutions and other characteristics, but in the context of the theory of federalism, their degree of freedom from regulation by the ‘center’ will be considered decisive and autonomy in decision making. Let us note that the scientist goes further and, detailing the specific features inherent in federal political systems, notes as defining:<sup>94</sup>

- the presence of at least two levels of government (federal, regional), which are not identical to each other in terms of their functions;
- an established normative legal act that has the highest legal force (constitution), which is not subject to unilateral change by decision of the federal center, and amendments require the consent of a significant part of the population of most subjects of the federation;
- the distribution of legislative and executive powers enshrined in the constitution between the two systems of government, which have a certain autonomy and dispose of their own resources;

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid. P. 8.

<sup>93</sup> Departing from our analysis, it is worth making a remark from a retrospective position, adding that the conceptual approaches outlined in the works of scientists of past years should be treated with a reasonable degree of criticism: the views of researchers are often influenced by practical experience and the “agenda” that dominates the political space during the period of writing. For example, R. Watts, which we are considering, gravitates towards the liberal optimism characteristic of the early 2000s, which is reflected in his writings. Pronounced trends towards globalization, decentralization, ideas about nation-states as an “old-fashioned” phenomenon [Watts, R. L. Comparing Federal Systems in the 1990s / R. L. Watts. – Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations. – 1996. – P. 5–6. – ISBN 0-88911-589-3. – Text : direct.] now, no doubt less popular, left their mark on the ideas he set forth. This statement can be considered valid for other cases of analysis presented at different times and under different conditions.

<sup>94</sup> Watts, R. L. Comparing Federal Systems in the 1990s / R. L. Watts. – Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations. – 1996. – P. 9. – ISBN 0-88911-589-3. – Text : direct.

- the existence of a representative body through which subnational actors can convey their positions on political and other significant issues to the federal center;
- the presence of a body that plays the role of an arbitrator in conflicts between different levels of government;
- the operation of institutions and mechanisms facilitating cooperation in areas where powers overlap.

Thus, from the point of view of foreign researchers,<sup>95</sup> federalism in its practical expression is invariably associated with strong democratic support, which, however, does not always correspond to reality. In fact, if one turns to any well-known ‘democracy index’ – from the British research and analytical organization The Economist Intelligence Unit to the American Freedom House – one can find that a significant percentage of states with a federal political system is characterized by a certain degree of lack of freedom and is assessed in terms of ‘transitivity’, ‘hybridity’ and ‘authoritarianism’.<sup>96</sup> Consequently, the structural and institutional features listed by R. Watts in a number of federal states may be of an exclusively nominal nature or not exist at all.

The problem of scientific ideas about federalism as a phenomenon associated with democracy and in conflict with authoritarianism is raised by S. Kropp.<sup>97</sup> Based on the ideas outlined in the papers of A. Stepan,<sup>98</sup> A. Benz,<sup>99</sup> J.-E. Lane and S. Ersson,<sup>100</sup> who put forward the hypothesis that federalism does not always correspond to democracy, and in some cases can contribute to the laying of

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<sup>95</sup> For ex.: Elazar, D. J. *Exploring Federalism* / D. J. Elazar. – Tuscaloosa : University of Alabama Press. – 1987. – P. 107–109. – ISBN 10 0817305750. – Text : direct.

<sup>96</sup> Democracy Index 2022. – Text : electronic // EIU: The Economist Intelligence Unit : [website]. – URL: <https://www.eiu.com/n/campaigns/democracy-index-2022/> (accessed 20.01.2023); Global Freedom Status/Democracy Status. – Text : electronic // Freedom House : [website]. – URL: <https://freedomhouse.org/explore-the-map?type=fiw&year=2023> (accessed 20.01.2023).

<sup>97</sup> Kropp, S. *The Ambivalence of Federalism and Democracy: The Challenging Case of Authoritarianism – With Evidence from the Russian Case* // S. Kropp. – Text : direct // *Configurations, Dynamics and Mechanisms of Multilevel Governance* / N. Behnke, J. Broschek, J. Sonnicksen (eds.). – London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2019. – P. 225–226. – Text : direct. – DOI 10.1007/978-3-030-05511-0\_12.

<sup>98</sup> Stepan, A. *Federalism and Democracy: Beyond the U.S. Model* / A. Stepan. – Text : direct // *Journal of Democracy*. – 1999. – № 4 (10). – pp. 19–34.

<sup>99</sup> Benz, A. *Making Democracy Work in a Federal System* / A. Benz. – Text : direct // *German Politics*. – 2015. – № 1 (24). – pp. 8–25. – DOI <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644008.2014.921906>.

<sup>100</sup> Lane, J.-E. *The Riddle of Federalism: Does Federalism Impact on Democracy?* / J.-E. Lane, S. Ersson. – Text : direct // *Democratization*. – 2005. – № 2 (12). – pp. 163–182. – DOI <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510340500069220>.

authoritarian principles of governance, the researcher comes to the conclusion that authoritarianism and federalism fully coexist in practice, and the combination of these two phenomena can demonstrate difficult-to-predict dynamics.<sup>101</sup> According to S. Kropp, federalism can facilitate the transition from democracy to autocracy with the incorporation of subnational actors into a rigid power vertical, but this situation is characterized by sufficient fragility: the heterogeneity of regions breaks the monolithic political regime.<sup>102</sup> Indeed, one can agree with this statement, which is quite within the framework of the concept of authoritarian uncertainty formulated by A. Schedler, who pointed out that authoritarianism faces institutional and informational problems that produce regime instability.<sup>103</sup> The first is that the central government will be threatened by public discontent, opposition groups, and dissatisfied elites; the second is the lack of objective information about the attitude of society and officials who, lacking confidence in the government, may oppose the established regime by virtue of their capabilities. Thus, regions (taking into account their asymmetry) are a destabilizing factor for authoritarian states.

The question of the relationship between federalism and the political regime established in the state is of interest not only to foreign researchers but also to Russian researchers, for whom the topic in question has proved to be highly relevant. I. Busygina and M. Filippov, analyzing the Russian case in the context of federal building, came to the conclusion that the survival of federalism depends on support from other institutions, including political parties and regional elites, who choose the path of democratic competition, not yielding to the desire of the center to integrate them into a hierarchical system in exchange for granting personal privileges to negotiable representatives of sub-level elites.<sup>104</sup> A. Starodubtsev

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<sup>101</sup> Kropp, S. The Ambivalence of Federalism and Democracy: The Challenging Case of Authoritarianism – With Evidence from the Russian Case // S. Kropp. – Text : direct // Configurations, Dynamics and Mechanisms of Multilevel Governance / N. Behnke, J. Broschek, J. Sonnicksen (eds.). – London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2019. – P. 225–226. – Text : direct. – DOI 10.1007/978-3-030-05511-0\_12.

<sup>102</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>103</sup> Schedler, A. The Politics of Uncertainty: Sustaining and Subverting Electoral Authoritarianism / A. Schedler. – New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. – P. 1. – ISBN 0199680329. – Text : direct.

<sup>104</sup> Busygina, I. M. On the benefits of failure: Russia's experience for research on comparative federalism / I. M. Busygina, M. G. Filippov. – Text : direct // Bulletin of the Perm University. Series: Political science. – 2020. – № 3 (14). – C. 10–16. – DOI 10.17072/2218-1067-2020-3-6-19. [In Russian]

considered it possible to characterize authoritarian federations, called by some researchers a theoretical oxymoron,<sup>105</sup> as “decentralized, but unitary”<sup>106</sup> structures, which is explained by the liquidation of the institution of autonomous regional power as such in the presence of a strong federal center.

In such difficult conditions, there are subnational actors that depend on the political and administrative architecture of federal states, which largely determines the activities carried out by the regions at the local, interregional, “center-federal” and paradiplomatic levels. Attention to the regions as active participants in the political space began to be paid at the end of the 20th century, which was due to the increased interest of political scientists in the globalization trends that swept the world, as well as the neoliberal views of researchers on the world, clearly dominant at that time. The first attempts at comprehension showed that the very concept of region has not been elaborated in political theory. M. Keating noted that the region is “an elusive concept, covering a variety of territorial levels and a range of social contents”<sup>107</sup>. Accordingly, the broadest possible definition would allow it to be interpreted as an entity located at the “intermediate territorial level between the state and the locality”<sup>108</sup>. Narrowing interpretations add various economic, cultural and political characteristics to the definition of the region, but do not allow to come to a unified form of definition that summarizes everything that these territorial units represent in practice. Analyzing the concept of a region, P. Schmitt-Egner proposes to consider it as “a spatial partial unit of medium size and intermediary character whose material substratum is based on territory”<sup>109</sup>. Exploring the region as a unit and space of action,<sup>110</sup> the scientist evaluates it in the context of nation-states as a

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<sup>105</sup> Kropp, S. *The Ambivalence of Federalism and Democracy: The Challenging Case of Authoritarianism – With Evidence from the Russian Case* // S. Kropp. – Text : direct // *Configurations, Dynamics and Mechanisms of Multilevel Governance* / N. Behnke, J. Broschek, J. Sonnicksen (eds.). – London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2019. – P. 216. – Text : direct. – DOI 10.1007/978-3-030-05511-0\_12.

<sup>106</sup> Starodubtsev, A. *Federalism and regional policy in contemporary Russia* / A. Starodubtsev. – New York : Routledge, 2018. – P. 15. – ISBN 978-1-472-46150-6. – Text : direct.

<sup>107</sup> Keating, M. *The New Regionalism in Western Europe, Territorial Restructuring and Political Change* / M. Keating. – Cheltenham : Edward Elgar, 1998. – P. 9. – ISBN 1858985277. – Text : direct.

<sup>108</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>109</sup> Schmitt-Egner, P. *The Concept of ‘Region’: Theoretical and Methodological Notes on its Reconstruction* / P. Schmitt-Egner. – Text : direct // *Journal of European Integration*. – 2002. – № 3 (24). – P. 181. – DOI 10.1080/07036330270152196.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid. P. 184.



“subnational actor”<sup>111</sup>, thus emphasizing the specifics of its position. Although, of course, not all states divided into regions can be considered national, the concept of “subnational actor” has taken root in political science, and, despite regular attempts to introduce substitute terms into the discussion (for example, “sub-federal unit” or “sub-state actor”)<sup>112</sup>, is quite well-established, significantly prevailing in research works on the relevant topics.<sup>113</sup>

Active attempts to comprehend subnational actors within the framework of political science run into a significant obstacle: the idea itself is so vast, and the diversity of regions in the world is so great that the desire to bring them to a common denominator is often doomed to failure. This is why analysis of subnational actors has traditionally been somewhat one-sided: researchers focus on the consideration of geographical features, economic role, political participation, ethno-confessional specificity, paradiplomatic or other aspirations of specific actors, with a fair amount of caution in creating classifications and applying the induction method to derive theoretical generalizations on based on a review of several case studies. This feature was noted by A. Isserman in the early 1990s: “there is one characteristic common to, and in a sense forced upon all forms of regional theories and analysis-the use of parts of the whole as conceptual or operating units and the lack of complete generality”<sup>114</sup>. Since then, as O. Dubrovina noted, there have been no significant

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid. P. 187.

<sup>112</sup> The term “sub-federal unit” or “sub-state actor” is used in the works of Russian political scientists, representing an obvious attempt to shift English-language concepts to Russian-speaking soil. So, for example, V.G. Blagodatskikh and A.A. Kerimov state: “The term “sub-federal unit” was proposed by the American J. Kincaid”, however, referring to the work of J. Kincaid himself, it can be found that in relation to the formations of the sub-state level, he uses the English word “subnational”. [Blagodatskikh, V. G. The concept of paradiplomacy in political science discourse: the essence and main directions of research / V. G. Blagodatskikh, A. A. Kerimov. – Text : direct // Socio-political sciences. – 2017. – № 6. – P. 32. [In Russian]; Kincaid, J. Foreign Relations of Constituent Units / J. Kincaid. - Winnipeg: Forum of Federations, 2001. – pp. 1–10. – Text : direct.]. S.P. Arteev, who used the term “substate actor” in his review, notes: “by substate actors, we mean regions of states”, thus equating this concept with the content of “subnational actor”. [Arteev, S. P. Substate actors in the system of international relations / S. P. Arteev. – Text : direct // Bulletin of MGIMO. – 2016. – № 5 (50). – P. 167. [In Russian]] Accordingly, not finding a significant conceptual difference between the options used and recognizing them as identical, in this study we will prefer to use the term “subnational actor” translated from English by the method of tracing, which is due to the greater degree of its fixation in Russian political science.

<sup>113</sup> According to the statistical analysis of articles presented in the leading electronic scientific libraries of the Runet Elibrary [<https://elibrary.ru/>] and CyberLeninka [<https://cyberleninka.ru/>]). As of 04/15/2023 in the Elibrary library of articles on political science, where the term “subfederal” is used – 1659; “substate” – 425; “subnational” – 3336; in the CyberLeninka library “sub-federal” – 134; “substate” – 127; “subnational” – 980.

<sup>114</sup> Isserman, A. M. Lost in Space? On the History, Status, and Future of Regional Science / A. M. Iceman. – Text : direct // The Review of Regional Studies. – 1993. – № 1 (23). – P. 6. – DOI <https://doi.org/10.52324/001c.9101>. To:

changes in political science.<sup>115</sup> This is probably why scholars prefer not to define ‘subnational actor’ itself, presumably considering the term intuitively.

Offering a formulation for such a multifaceted phenomenon as a ‘subnational region’, O. Dubrovina writes: “this is a territory that is part of the state, endowed with a certain status for the implementation of administrative functions, occupying a position between the state and local levels of government and not being a subject of international law”<sup>116</sup>. Starting from this concept, which seems to be a fairly comprehensive description of a subnational region, it should be added that, introducing the concept of a ‘subnational actor’, researchers traditionally focus on the phenomenon of actorhood, which in one way or another focuses on the region’s activities in the field of international politics.

So, P. Tsygankov quite unequivocally defines an actor as a “participant in international relations”, endowed with:<sup>117</sup>

- resources (actual and potential);
- the ability to effectively manage them;
- the ability to make decisions and implement strategies that have weight in the international space, taking into account their own interests.

In addition, the actor must be recognized by other participants in international politics, and his actions must be taken into account by them when forming their own strategies.<sup>118</sup>

S. Arteev, who focused in his work on a combination of objective and subjective factors that determine the successful entry of a subnational actor into the

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Isard, W. Notes on the Origins, Development, and Future of Regional Science / W. Isard // Papers of the Regional Science Association. – 1979. – № 43. – pp. 9– 22.

<sup>115</sup> Dubrovina, O. Y. Regional dimension of foreign policy: essence and content / O. Y. Dubrovina. – Text : direct // Power. – 2013. – №. 3. – P. 77. [In Russian]

<sup>116</sup> Ibid. P. 78.

<sup>117</sup> Tsygankov, P. A. Actors and factors in international relations and world politics / P. A. Tsygankov. – Text : direct // “Privatization” of world politics: local actions – global results / ed. M. M. Lebedeva. – Moscow : Godin-B. – 2008. – P. 35. [In Russian]

<sup>118</sup> Ibidem.

sphere of international activity. The scientist identifies four criteria for the formation of a subject as an actor in the foreign policy field:<sup>119</sup>

- availability of resources;
- understanding of one's own interests and development of a strategy;
- activity, expressed in "diverse interaction with actors of different types in various fields (negotiations, self-presentation, etc.)"<sup>120</sup>;
- recognition and influence gained at the moment when the other side begins to take into account the actor status of the regions.

Consequently, a subnational actor is a part of the territory of the state that has a certain status that gives it special rights and obligations, and occupies a position between the central level and the locality, which allows it to aggregate resources and have sufficient powers to participate in international politics. Meanwhile, it is certainly important to emphasize that the activity of subnational actors in the foreign policy space is under the patronage of the state, which is ensured both by relevant legal acts and by more informal methods of pressure exerted by the 'center' on subordinate regions.

Researchers T. Cohn and P. Smith represent the entire scale of connections available to a subnational actor as follows:

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<sup>119</sup> Arteev, S. P. Evolution of the international relations of the Komi Republic with Hungary: dis. ... cand. of polit. sciences: 23.00.04 / Arteev Sergey Pavlovich; – Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation : Moscow, 2018. – P. 42. [In Russian]

<sup>120</sup> Ibidem.

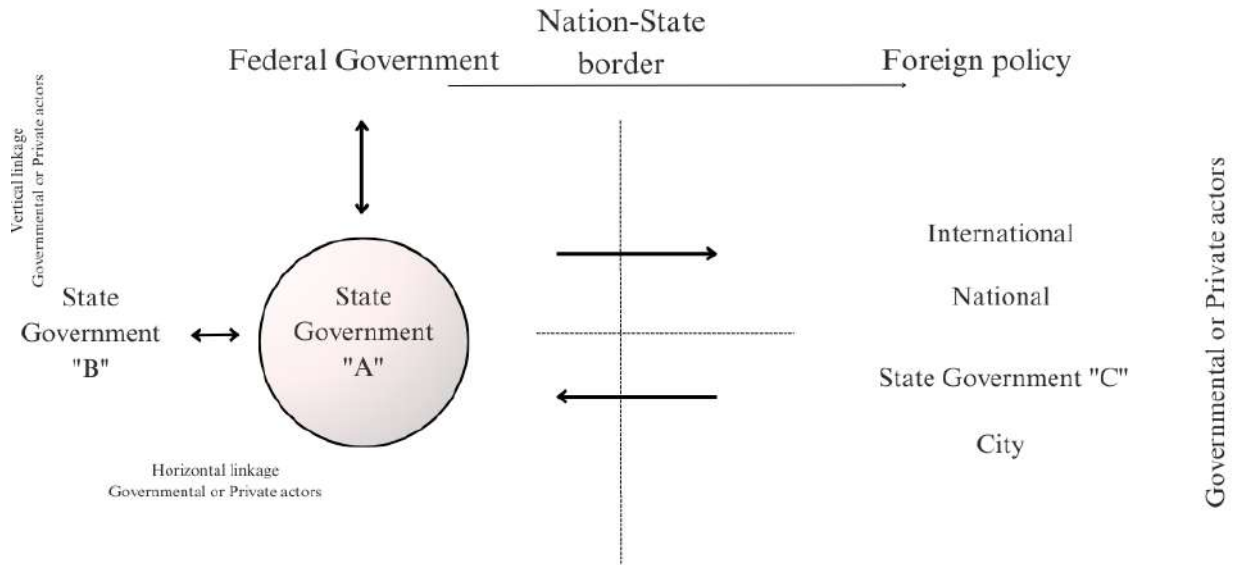


Figure. 4. Relationships of the subnational actor.<sup>121</sup>

However, as S. Kropp points out, the breadth of ties established by subnational actors depends on the system of encouragement and deterrence defined at the state level, which causes restrictions not only on establishing interregional contacts,<sup>122</sup> but also on the activity of regions in the field of foreign policy. In the first case, a strong 'center' may limit horizontal coordination between regions in order to prevent the emergence of strong sub-federal unions that pose a threat to federal power.<sup>123</sup> In the second, subnational actors can act as agents of the 'center', either without sufficient freedom and resources to ensure independent entry into the international arena as a sovereign unit, or if they have the potential, exchanging it for various kinds of preferences (financial, elite support from center, etc.).

In the scientific literature, consideration of the involvement of subnational actors in international processes, taking into account factors that play a deterrent or encouraging role in the conditions of Russian reality, can be found in the papers of

<sup>121</sup> Cohn, T. Subnational governments as International actors: Constituent Diplomacy in British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest / T. Cohn, P. J. Smith. – Text : direct // BC Studies. – 1996. – № 110. – P. 28.

<sup>122</sup> Kropp, S. The Ambivalence of Federalism and Democracy: The Challenging Case of Authoritarianism – With Evidence from the Russian Case // S. Kropp. – Text : direct // Configurations, Dynamics and Mechanisms of Multilevel Governance / N. Behnke, J. Broschek, J. Sonnicksen (eds.). – London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2019. – P. 225. – Text : direct. – DOI 10.1007/978-3-030-05511-0\_12.

<sup>123</sup> Ibidem.

A. Granberg,<sup>124</sup> I. Busygina and E. Lebedeva,<sup>125</sup> O. Plotnikova and O. Dubrovina,<sup>126</sup> I. Logvinova,<sup>127</sup> M. Lebedeva,<sup>128</sup> M. Kolykhalov<sup>129</sup> and other researchers.

A. Granberg draws attention to the following groups of factors: geographical, socio-economic and political-legal.<sup>130</sup>

A similar classification is followed by I. Busygina and E. Lebedeva, indicating the significant role of the following factors:

- geographic (economic and geographical position, as well as position in relation to the ‘center’ – central, peripheral, semi-peripheral, proximity to the state border, etc.);

- socio-economic (resource potential, natural landscape conditions, development of industries, investment activity, etc.);

- political and legal (specifics of the intra-regional political situation, stability and interests of local political elites, etc.).<sup>131</sup>

O. Plotnikova and O. Dubrovina note such criteria as the specifics of the position of subnational actors in terms of the state structure, location relative to the

<sup>124</sup> International and foreign economic relations of the subjects of the Russian Federation / ed. A. G. Granberg. – Moscow : Nauchnaya kniga, 2001. – 352 p. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>125</sup> Busygina, I. M. Subjects of the Federation in international cooperation / I. M. Busygina, E. B. Lebedeva. – Text : direct // Analytical notes of the Scientific and Coordinating Council for International Studies MGIMO (U) of the Russian Foreign Ministry. – 2008. – №. 3 (32). – pp. 1–31. [In Russian]

<sup>126</sup> Plotnikova, O. V. International relations of regions of states: characteristics and features / O. V. Plotnikova, O. Y. Dubrovina. – Moscow : INFRA-M, 2016. – 192 p. – ISBN 978-5-91768-652-3. – Text : direct. [In Russian]; Plotnikova, O. V. Typology of Russian regions in the context of problems of international cooperation and regionalization / O. V. Plotnikova, O. Y. Dubrovina. – Text : direct // Bulletin of the Novosibirsk State Pedagogical University. – 2016. – № 3 (31). – P. 69–75. – DOI 10.15293/2226-3365.1603.07. [In Russian]

<sup>127</sup> Logvinova, I. V. Coordination of international and foreign economic relations of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation / I. V. Logvinova. – Moscow : MGIMO-University. – 2018. – 238 p. – ISBN 978-5-9228-1838-4. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>128</sup> Lebedeva, M.M. Transformation of the role of cities and intrastate regions in world politics / M.M. Lebedeva. – Text : direct // Oikumena. Regional Studies. – 2019. – № 1 (48). – pp. 7–16. – DOI 10.24866/1998-6785/2019-1/7-16. [In Russian]

<sup>129</sup> Kolykhalov, M. I. Analysis and classification of the main factors that determine the modern international relations of the regions of states / M. I. Kolykhalov. – Text : direct // Regionology. – 2019. – №. 2 (27). – pp. 270–289. – DOI 10.15507/2413-1407.106.027.201902.270-289. [In Russian]

<sup>130</sup> International and foreign economic relations of the subjects of the Russian Federation / ed. A. G. Granberg. – Moscow : Nauchnaya kniga, 2001. – P. 167. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>131</sup> Busygina, I. M. Subjects of the Federation in international cooperation / I. M. Busygina, E. B. Lebedeva. – Text : direct // Analytical notes of the Scientific and Coordinating Council for International Studies MGIMO (U) of the Russian Foreign Ministry. – 2008. – №. 3 (32). – P. 17. [In Russian]

state border, geopolitical and geo-economic features, economic and social potential.<sup>132</sup>

M. Kolykhalov proposes to take into account the following reasons that influence the formation of international and foreign economic relations by the regions:<sup>133</sup>

- determined by the form of government;
- characterizing the geopolitical position (location in a certain region of the world, the degree of remoteness from state borders, the success of the infrastructural position - proximity to key transport hubs, access to the sea, etc.);
- features of socio-economic development (natural resource complex, tax and investment policy, technological and industrial development, cooperation agreements with foreign administrative-territorial entities, etc.);
- confessional-specific characteristics (international relations, formed on the basis of the fact that the population of the region belongs to a certain religion);
- ethnic characteristics (external relations based on belonging to one ethnic group);
- factors inherent in 'special types of regions' (the presence of a developed self-awareness, the desire for self-determination, etc.).

Taking into account the classifications presented above, we can conclude that there are two significant categories (with a set of subparameters) that predetermine the entry of subnational actors into the international space:

- characteristics, predetermined by immutable (objective) factors (geographical, geopolitical, as well as the specifics of historical development);

At the same time, geographical and geopolitical factors include:

- geographical location, suggesting the presence of a certain landscape with remarkable natural complexes (mountains, seas, lakes, etc.);

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<sup>132</sup> Plotnikova, O. V. Typology of Russian regions in the context of problems of international cooperation and regionalization / O. V. Plotnikova, O. Y. Dubrovina. – Text : direct // Bulletin of the Novosibirsk State Pedagogical University. – 2016. – № 3 (31). – P. 69–75. – DOI 10.15293/2226-3365.1603.07. [In Russian]

<sup>133</sup> Kolykhalov, M. I. Analysis and classification of the main factors that determine the modern international relations of the regions of states / M. I. Kolykhalov. – Text : direct // Regionology. – 2019. – №. 2 (27). – P. 276–277. – DOI 10.15507/2413-1407.106.027.201902.270-289. [In Russian]

- location on the world map and the map of the country, which determines the presence of borders with neighboring states or their absence, the development of transport infrastructure and the availability of the formation of trade and tourist routes, the position of the subject in relation to the federal center (capital), the location of geostrategic nodes in the region, etc.;

- climatic conditions, which often determine the development of the agricultural and manufacturing sectors (the agricultural sector has a significant share in the economy of the southern regions, the industrial sector in the northern regions);

- the presence of mineral deposits, which contributes to the development of the region and its representation at the world level (oil and gas deposits, precious stones, ores of precious metals, rare earth metals, etc.).

Among the factors determined by the historical development of the region, primarily include:

- national-ethnic composition (which is especially important in the case of subjects formed on a national-territorial basis, which plays an important role in presenting a single 'image' of the region in the state arena and in international relations);

- religious practices (the fact that most of the inhabitants of an administrative-territorial unit belong to a certain confession, which often makes it possible to establish ties with states and regions where the same religion is practiced – an example of this is the extensive network of international contacts of the Republic of Chechnya, which is part of the Russian Federation)<sup>134</sup>;

- cultural attitudes (established cultural patterns in the behavior of the population of the region associated with national, ethnic, or civil culture, which are taken into account when forming the image of the region as a whole).

• If the predetermined characteristics are highly stable and practically unchanged, then the next series of parameters that influence the development of

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<sup>134</sup> Ramzan Kadyrov on relations with the Arab states, the Chechen war and plans for the future. – Text : electronic // Chechen Republic today : [website]. – URL: <https://chechnyatoday.com/news/330395> (accessed 27.01.2023). [In Russian]

paradiplomatic relations by the subject of the federation can be classified as variable, i.e. parameters that tend to change over a medium or short period of time. Among them:

- social resources (the number of inhabitants of the region, the dispersal of the population in the territory, the percentage of the able-bodied population, etc.);
- the level of economic development;
- resources provided by the center (subsidized and credit support, as well as other types of assistance that contribute to the region's entry into the international space, including the provision of certain types of benefits and opportunities);
- media representation of the subject in the foreign press;
- the degree of development of the digital infrastructure;<sup>135</sup>
- the interest of regional political elites in the development of international relations, and their activity in this area;<sup>136</sup>
- intra-regional policy pursued in the fields of culture, sports, tourism, industry, attracting investments, congress activities, as well as in the field of security and interethnic relations.<sup>137</sup>

Thus, we can talk about a whole range of characteristics that influence the propensity of a subject of the federation to establish and support international relations and foreign economic cooperation.

Before the Ukrainian crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic, when the optimism of researchers was more significant, and the positions of neoliberal scientists were stronger than ever, political scientists suggested that the increasing influence of administrative-territorial entities operating under the auspices of central governments made them actors in world politics, having the opportunity to form

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<sup>135</sup> Gomelauri, A. S. Public policy digitalization problem in the context of increasing the Russian Federation's soft power / A. S. Gomelauri, A. M. Kaplunenko – Text : direct // Bulletin of Volga Institute of Management. – 2020. – Vol. 20, № 4. – pp. 113–119. – DOI 10.22394/1682-2358-2020-4-113-119. [In Russian]

<sup>136</sup> Naronskaya, A. G. The role of the regional elite in the development of international activities of the subject of the federation (the experience of the Sverdlovsk region) / A. G. Naronskaya. – Text : direct // Ars Administrandi. – 2019. – №. 3 (11). – P. 388. – DOI 10.17072/2218-9173-2019-3-384-400. [In Russian]

<sup>137</sup> According to: Study of the international image of Saint Petersburg based on the results of media monitoring from January 1 to December 10, 2019. – Saint Petersburg : Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg, 2019. – P. 7–17. [In Russian]



their ‘soft power’ based on the above complex resources and use it both in the state and in their own interests.

The idea that “states are by no means the only actors in world politics”<sup>138</sup>, put forward back in the 1970s by the ideologists of ‘soft power’ J. Nye and R. Keohane, was developed by M. Castells, who identified the growing role of cities and regions that integrate to international networks.<sup>139</sup> And then it found its continuation in the works of specialists who believed that it was time to consider subnational actors as full-fledged players present in the international space, on an equal footing with individuals, corporations and various kinds of communities that have sufficient resources (material and symbolic) to influence others.<sup>140</sup>

As U. Vyas notes, in the context of globalization, intrastate regions are becoming more and more active participants in international relations with the help of ‘soft power’ – i.e. “the ability to get what you want through attraction, rather than coercion or payments”<sup>141</sup> – defending your interests (as well as the interests of the state of which they are part) by establishing cultural and business ties with foreign partners (an example of this is the interaction between sister cities, association with regions of other countries to stimulate exchanges and economic development, etc.).<sup>142</sup>

The specificity of the ‘soft power’ of subnational actors, according to U. Vyas, lies in the fact that, having their own uniqueness based on historical experience, geographical location, economic structure, linguistic and cultural characteristics and other significant factors, cities and regions can act not only in as mouthpieces of state-level policy, but also to produce their own, pursuing, first of all, their own

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<sup>138</sup> Nye, J. *Transnational Relations and World Politics: An Introduction* / J. Nye, R. Keohane. – Text : direct // International Organization. – 1971. – № 3 (25). – P. 330.

<sup>139</sup> Castells, M. *The rise of the network society*. – Chichester : Wiley-Blackwell, 2009. – P. 411–412. – ISBN 9781405196864. – Text : direct.

<sup>140</sup> Nye, J., Keohane, R. *Transnational Relations and World Politics: An Introduction* / J. Nye, R. Keohane. – Text : direct // International Organization. – 1971. – № 3 (25). – P. 338; 344–345.

<sup>141</sup> Gavel, D. *Joseph Nye on Smart Power: A video interview with Joseph Nye* / D. Gavel. – Text : electronic // Harvard Kennedy School: Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/joseph-nye-smart-power> (accessed 27.01.2023).

<sup>142</sup> Vyas, U. *Soft power in Japan-China relations: State, sub-state and non-state relations* / U. Vyas. – London ; New York : Routledge, 2011. – P. 47; 105-106. – ISBN 9780415855358. – Text : direct.

interests.<sup>143</sup> At the same time, cooperation, thanks to the presence of open channels of communication, as well as the free movement of ideas, information, people, goods and services, is complementary and enriching.<sup>144</sup> Thus, sub-state formations (cities and regions) become not just representatives of the ‘soft power’ of the state, but also create their own, sometimes quite attractive and in demand, ‘soft power’,<sup>145</sup> which is determined by the presence of their own uniqueness, which differs from the uniqueness of the country as a whole.<sup>146</sup>

C. Weng and X. Sui, focusing on urban formations, point to the importance of intangible resources in the formation of ‘soft power’, which include the local environment, culture, as well as the ‘quality’ of the population, expressed in social cohesion, a high level of trust developed creative potential of citizens.<sup>147</sup> These factors create a distinctive image of an intrastate education, reflecting its individuality, the values and ideals it defends, as well as forming its brand, intuitively recognizable by residents of other regions and states.<sup>148</sup> At the same time, the brand reputation of such entities can be used by national governments in their own interests.<sup>149</sup> G. Clark expands the ideas about the material and non-material values of sub-state actors, including openness and tolerance, inviolability of personal freedoms and private life, trade and entrepreneurship, meritocracy, etc. among the significant elements.<sup>150</sup>

N. Grincheva, assessing the significant role of domestic formations in the field of international relations, also notes that in modern conditions, cities stand out on the world stage along with national governments as “key players in international

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid. P. 105.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid. P. 47; 106.

<sup>145</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid. P. 105.

<sup>147</sup> Wen, C. *City Branding in China: practices and professional challenges* / C. Wen, X. Sui // *Branding Chinese Mega-Cities: Policies, Practices and Positioning* / P. O. Berg, E. Bjorner (eds.). – Cheltenham : Edward Elgar, 2014. – P. 125.

<sup>148</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>149</sup> Coll, J. M. *Cities Emerging Soft Power: 5 Key Advantages for Improved Global Governance* / J. M. Coll. – Text : electronic // Barcelona Centre for International Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://www.cidob.org/en/publications/publication\\_series/opinion/seguridad\\_y\\_politica\\_mundial/cities\\_emerging\\_soft\\_power\\_5\\_key\\_advantages\\_for\\_improved\\_global\\_governance](https://www.cidob.org/en/publications/publication_series/opinion/seguridad_y_politica_mundial/cities_emerging_soft_power_5_key_advantages_for_improved_global_governance) (accessed 28.01.2023).

<sup>150</sup> Clark, G. *The Making of a World City: London 1991 to 2021* / G. Clark. – Chichester : Wiley-Blackwell, 2014. – P. 193. – ISBN 10 1118609743. – Text : direct.

relations”<sup>151</sup>. This is facilitated by the rapid pace of economic development of cities in an era of increasing urbanization, attracting investment flows, labor, development of international relations, which creates a favorable atmosphere for the formation of “unique urban identities”<sup>152</sup> that attracts the attention of not only residents of other regions of the country, but also foreigners. Thus, cities become significant centers of ‘soft power’.<sup>153</sup>

It should be noted that Russian researchers largely share the ideas of their foreign colleagues, believing that cities that create their unique images through creative practices form a ‘soft power’ guided by “clear strategies [...] of image and branding”<sup>154</sup>.

Thus, a comprehensive analysis makes it possible to identify the most important aspects that determine the actions of subnational actors included in a state with a federal structure.

First, we come to the conclusion that the political and administrative architecture predetermines the activity of subnational actors in the field of establishing interregional ties, as well as paradiplomatic cooperation. The degree of rigidity of the vertical built by the ‘center’, which is created not without the support of subnational elites, further sets the framework for opportunities for regions that, under strong pressure from the center, are ‘agents of the state’ in the international space, where they act as spokesmen for the interests of the federal government.

Secondly, the federal center is inclined to establish a system of incentives and restraints, fixed both in legal acts and in less formal ways, to regulate the activity of the subjects of the federation in establishing horizontal and vertical ties both within the state and when entering the foreign policy space, which is determined, first of all, by the interests of the ‘center’ itself. It is worth noting that the strengthening of

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<sup>151</sup> Grincheva, N. The Soft Power of Smart Cities: The Giant Missing Bit / N. Grincheva. – Text : electronic // Australian Institute of International Affairs : [website]. – URL: <http://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/soft-power-smart-cities-giant-missing-bit/> (accessed 28.01.2023).

<sup>152</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>153</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>154</sup> Soft power: theory, resources, discourse / ed. by O.F. Rusakova. – Ekaterinburg : Publishing House “Discourse-Pi”, 2015. – P. 94. – ISBN 978-5-98728-044-7. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

the ties of the subnational actor may cause fears of the federal authorities, who are worried about the formation of strong regional blocs, as well as excessively close relations with foreign actors, who get the opportunity to exert a destabilizing influence on the region and promote their interests, in turn using the subnational actor as an agent of influence.

Thirdly, the study shows that not every region can be defined as a subnational actor, since the phenomenon of actorhood itself implies the involvement of the region in international politics, which is determined by the corresponding geographical location, socio-economic potential, resource base and other characteristics inherent in it.

Fourthly, the features of subnational actors, including their historical past, cultural component and ethno-national specificity, form a unique image that becomes recognizable when they enter the international space. So, accordingly, 'attractive' cities / regions appear, which, thanks to the resources at their disposal, have the opportunity to produce what theorists call 'soft power', i.e. "the ability to influence others through tools of cooperation in shaping a program of action, persuading and exerting a positive attractive influence to achieve the desired results"<sup>155</sup>.

Finally, it is important to note that the establishment of contacts by a subnational actor both inside and outside the country often has a beneficial effect on its development. The political weight of the actor is increasing, the economic potential is growing, which is facilitated by an improved investment climate and cooperation in the commercial and industrial sphere, scientific and cultural exchange also brings mutual benefits, which forms the brand of the city / region as a whole.

Further, considering the case of the Russian Federation, we will analyze the position of subnational actors in the context of entering the international space, determine the opportunities and limitations set by the 'center', as well as the

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<sup>155</sup> Nye, J. *The Future of Power* / J. Nye. – New York : Public Affairs, 2011. – P. 21. – ISBN-10 1610390695. – Text : direct.

specifics of establishing foreign policy contacts and the features of their practical expression.

## **1.2. Activities of Subnational Actors in the Framework of the State Policy of the Russian Federation: Opportunities and Limitations**

The Russian Federation is a state with a special history of development, which emerged as a result of the disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The exceptional position of Russia is largely due to its official status as the legal successor of the USSR,<sup>156</sup> which gives rise to normative rights and obligations and determines the symbolic and spiritual path that fits into the framework of the imperial model, so often mentioned in the papers of political scientists.<sup>157</sup>

Currently, the Russian Federation consists of 89 constituent entities, including 24 republics, 9 krais, 48 oblasts, 3 federal cities, 1 autonomous oblast and 4 autonomous okrugs.<sup>158</sup> The federal policy, implemented at the level of the ‘center’, sets the boundaries of the activity of subnational formations that are part of the Russian Federation, defining at the legislative level, as well as through informal practices, pressure, opportunities and restrictions on the activities of the latter. Thus, the federal center influences the internal (local) policy of the subjects, their participation in interregional interaction, involvement in paradiplomatic cooperation, etc., covering almost all areas of activity of subnational actors.

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<sup>156</sup> Russian Federation. Laws. Constitution of the Russian Federation : [adopted by popular vote on December 12, 1993, with amendments approved during the national vote on July 1, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://kremlin.ru/acts/constitution> (accessed 1.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>157</sup> For ex.: Achkasov, V. A. Russian ethnofederalism: formation and development prospects / V. A. Achkasov, A. I. Abalyan. – Text : direct // Vestnik VolGU. Series 4: History. Regional studies. International relationships. – 2021. – № 3. – pp. 203–216. – DOI <https://doi.org/10.15688/jvolsu4.2021.3.18>. [In Russian]; Partsvania, V. R. Evolution of Russia’s Imperial Essence: On the Concept of “Imperiality” by V. Inozemtsev and A. Abalov / V. R. Partsvania. – Text: direct // Sociodynamics. – 2021. – № 10. – pp. 37–50. – DOI [10.25136/2409-7144.2021.10.36481](https://doi.org/10.25136/2409-7144.2021.10.36481). [In Russian]; Kharlanov, A. S. Evolution of Russian National Security Doctrines as a Basic Condition for Sovereignization and Imperial Revival / A.S. Kharlanov. – Text : direct // Innovations and investments. – 2021. – № 4. – pp. 56–58. [In Russian]

<sup>158</sup> Russian Federation. Laws. Constitution of the Russian Federation : [adopted by popular vote on December 12, 1993, with amendments approved during the national vote on July 1, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://kremlin.ru/acts/constitution> (accessed 1.02.2023). [In Russian]

The issue of the participation of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation in international activities remains not fully studied,<sup>159</sup> despite regular attempts to comprehend – more intensive in the early 2000s, undertaken in the works of O. Plotnikova,<sup>160</sup> A. Makarychev,<sup>161</sup> V. Tolstykh,<sup>162</sup> O. Alexandrov,<sup>163</sup> N. Markushina and N. Kharlampeva,<sup>164</sup> I. Busygina and E. Lebedeva,<sup>165</sup> and less – since the 2010s, expressed in the works of O. Dubrovina,<sup>166</sup> S. Arteev,<sup>167</sup> I. Logvinova.<sup>168</sup> In part, this can be explained by the still debatable for the modern scientific community the issue of belonging of intrastate regions to the actors of the international arena,<sup>169</sup> in part, by the fairly rapid transformation of the position of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation in the context of the ‘center – regions’ system. The degree of freedom of action of intrastate regions in the field of world politics, regulated by the federal center, is one of the key factors predetermining the establishment of international cooperation by them.

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<sup>159</sup> Arteev, S. P. International relations of Russian regions and the center: the evolution of coordination / S. P. Arteev. – Text : direct // Bulletin of MGIMO. – 2019. – № 5 (12). – P. 181. – DOI 10.24833/2071-8160-2019-5-68-181-192. [In Russian]

<sup>160</sup> Plotnikova, O. V. Theory, system and practice of international relations of regions / O. V. Plotnikova. – Novosibirsk : Publishing House of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. – 2004. – 262 p. – ISBN 5769207426. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>161</sup> Makarychev, A. S. Russian regions as international actors / A. S. Makarychev. – Nizhny Novgorod : N. A. Dobrolyubova State Linguistic University of Nizhny Novgorod. – 2000. – 114 p. – ISBN 5-85839-075-7. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>162</sup> Tolstykh, V. L. International activities of the subjects of the Russian Federation / V. L. Tolstykh. – Moscow : International relations. – 2004. – 176 p. – ISBN 5-7133-1220-8. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>163</sup> Aleksandrov, O. B. Regions in Russia’s foreign policy. The role of the North-West / O. B. Aleksandrov. – Moscow : MGIMO. – 2005. – 187 p. – ISBN 5-9228-0185-6: 300. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>164</sup> Markushina, N. Y. Northwestern Federal District: External Relations / N. Y. Markushina, N. K. Kharlampyeva. – Saint Petersburg : Publishing House of Saint Petersburg University. – 2008. – 260 p. – ISBN 978-5-288-04662-9. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>165</sup> Busygina, I. M. Subjects of the Federation in international cooperation / I. M. Busygina, E. B. Lebedeva. – Text : direct // Analytical notes of the Scientific and Coordinating Council for International Studies MGIMO (U) of the Russian Foreign Ministry. – 2008. – №. 3 (32). – pp. 1–31. [In Russian]

<sup>166</sup> Dubrovina, O. Y. Regional dimension of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation / O. Y. Dubrovina. – Novosibirsk : Publishing house of NSTU. – 2012. – 192 p. – ISBN 978-5-7782-2046-1. – Text : direct. [In Russian]; Plotnikova, O. V. International relations of regions of states: characteristics and features / O. V. Plotnikova, O. Y. Dubrovina. – Moscow : INFRA-M, 2016. – 192 p. – ISBN 978-5-91768-652-3. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>167</sup> Arteev, S. P. Evolution of the international relations of the Komi Republic with Hungary: dis. ... cand. of polit. sciences: 23.00.04 / Arteev Sergey Pavlovich ; – Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation : Moscow, 2018. – 307 p. [In Russian]

<sup>168</sup> Logvinova, I. V. Coordination of international and foreign economic relations of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation / I. V. Logvinova. – Moscow : MGIMO-University. – 2018. – 238 p. – ISBN 978-5-9228-1838-4. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>169</sup> Arteev, S. P. Evolution of the international relations of the Komi Republic with Hungary: dis. ... cand. of polit. sciences: 23.00.04 / Arteev Sergey Pavlovich ; – Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation : Moscow, 2018. – P. 38. [In Russian]

Interaction between the federal center and the subjects of the Russian Federation is traditionally viewed through the prism of the system of relations ‘center – regions’, which is strikingly different at various stages of the formation of post-Soviet Russia.

Researchers identify three key periods characterizing the relationship between the center and the regions:<sup>170</sup>

- 1991 – 1993: rapid decentralization, autonomization of subjects of the federation wishing to obtain political and economic independence;

- 1994 – 2000: the formation of an asymmetric federation, the hallmarks of which were the ongoing process of decentralization, the uneven distribution of powers to the regions – the observed asymmetry in relations between the regions and the federal center, in which one region received more preferences than the other, the lack of a clear regulation of interaction between the center and the regions, the bilateral nature of relations, due to the weakening of the federal government and significant powers concentrated in the hands of the regional elites;

- 2000 – to the present: with the coming to power of President V.V. Putin, the structure of relations between the federal center and the subjects of the federation has undergone significant changes: with the strengthening of the center, the regions gradually lost their freedoms, gaining a place in a rigidly built ‘vertical of power’.

These stages also determined the formation of external relations by Russian regions. I. Logvinova notes that during the existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the entry of the union republics into the international arena was considerably limited, being controlled by the Union center.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Lapina, N. Y. Relations “center – regions” in modern Russia: the limits of centralization / N. Y. Lapina. – Text : electronic // Online edition of the Center for Research and Analytics of the Foundation for Historical Perspective “Perspektiva” : [website]. – URL: [http://www.perspektivy.info/book/otnosheniya\\_centra\\_i\\_regiy\\_v\\_sovremennoj\\_rossii\\_predely\\_centralizatsii\\_2007-06-06.htm](http://www.perspektivy.info/book/otnosheniya_centra_i_regiy_v_sovremennoj_rossii_predely_centralizatsii_2007-06-06.htm) (accessed 2.02.2023). [In Russian]; Turovsky, R. F. Political regional studies / R. F. Turovsky. – Moscow: SU-HSE, 2006. – 227–261 p. – ISBN 5-7598-0357-3. – Text : direct. [In Russian]; Grigoriev, N. A. The modern stage of the evolution of the system of relations “center – regions” / N. A. Grigoriev. – Text : direct // Bulletin of the North-Eastern Federal University of M. K. Ammosov. – 2014. – № 2. – P. 159. [In Russian]; Shaikhutdinova, G. R. Contemporary Russian federalism: Delimitation of jurisdictional subjects and powers / G. R. Shaikhutdinova. – Berlin : Springer, 2020. – 92 p. – ISBN 978-94-6265-374-0. – Text : direct.

<sup>171</sup> Logvinova, I. V. Coordination of international and foreign economic relations of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation / I. V. Logvinova. – Moscow : MGIMO-University. – 2018. – P. 36. – ISBN 978-5-9228-1838-4. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

I. Busygina and E. Lebedeva distinguish three periods of regulation of international relations of subjects formed as a result of the formation of the Russian Federation.<sup>172</sup> However, of course, given that the study of these specialists in the field of federalism was published in 2008, at the moment it needs to be supplemented, which we will make based on the works of other researchers, as well as giving our own assessment of the changes that have occurred as a result of the Ukrainian crisis of 2022, which (due to the relative novelty of events) is not fully covered in modern scientific literature in the context of the impact on the exit of regions into the international space. So:<sup>173</sup>

- 1991 – 1994: the weakening of the center that followed the collapse of the USSR provided an opportunity for subnational actors to independently determine the degree of participation in international relations, which, it is worth emphasizing, was the result of processes not regulated by federal law: the subjects of the federation, exercising their right to establish international and foreign economic relations, significantly went beyond the scope of powers defined by the Constitution of the Russian Federation;

- 1995 – 1998 were characterized by a desire to strengthen control by the federal center, expressed, among other things, by attempts to regulate the interaction of intrastate regions with foreign policy actors at the legislative level;

- 2000 – 2022: with the beginning of recentralization, the scope of competencies of intrastate entities was subject to revision. The federal center took steps towards centralizing the external activity of the regions,<sup>174</sup> which, however, was not fully implemented. As S. Arteev noted, the Russian subjects had the opportunity to develop foreign policy ties with a fairly neutral position of the center,

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<sup>172</sup> Busygina, I. M. Subjects of the Federation in international cooperation / I. M. Busygina, E. B. Lebedeva. – Text : direct // Analytical notes of the Scientific and Coordinating Council for International Studies MGIMO (U) of the Russian Foreign Ministry. – 2008. – №. 3 (32). – P. 17. [In Russian]

<sup>173</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>174</sup> Ibidem. Op. cit. Sergunin, A. A. Legal regulation of the international activities of Russian regions / A. A. Sergunin, M. I. Rykhtik // Russian regions as international actors / A. S. Makarychev (eds). – Nizhny Novgorod, 2000. – P. 59. [In Russian]



which does not prevent, but does not encourage such activities.<sup>175</sup> And one can really agree with this statement.

- 2022 – present: if before that the exit of subnational actors into the foreign policy space was regulated by the will of the center, which limited or, conversely, encouraged individual subjects in the development of their relations, then in 2022 there were significant changes that have not yet been comprehended from the point of view of science. As a result of the events that began on February 24, 2022 and prompted an immediate reaction from the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France and other countries of the world,<sup>176</sup> many ties were suspended or completely severed by Russia's former allies and partners.<sup>177</sup> Accordingly, it was not the decision of the federal center or the preferences of the subnational actors of the Russian Federation themselves that influenced the refusal of subnational actors from foreign policy cooperation, which can be called a rather uncharacteristic phenomenon compared to previous periods. Despite the instability of the situation, which can be changed at any moment as a result of the actions of states, it can be assumed that this period will become a transformational one for subnational actors. Currently, there is a reorientation of the Russian Federation towards the countries of Asia, Africa, South America<sup>178</sup> will also lead to the establishment of subnational ties in this direction.

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<sup>175</sup> Arteev, S. P. International relations of Russian regions and the center: the evolution of coordination / S. P. Arteev. – Text: direct // Bulletin of MGIMO. – 2019. – № 5 (12). – P. 184. – DOI 10.24833/2071-8160-2019-5-68-181-192. [In Russian]

<sup>176</sup> Russia Sanctions Database. – Text : electronic // Atlantic Council : [website]. – URL: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/econographics/russia-sanctions-database/> (accessed 2.02.2023).; EU sanctions against Russia explained. – Text : electronic // The Council of the EU/The European Council : [website]. – URL: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/sanctions/restrictive-measures-against-russia-over-ukraine/sanctions-against-russia-explained/> (accessed 2.02.2023).

<sup>177</sup> Vasilyeva, M. Humanitarian ties: which EU cities break ties with sister cities in the Russian Federation / M. Vasilyeva. – Text : electronic // Izvestia : [website]. – URL: <https://iz.ru/1381488/mariia-vasileva/gumanitarnye-uzy-kakie-goroda-es-razryvaiut-sviasi-s-pobratimami-v-rf> (accessed 2.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>178</sup> Experts called relations with China the best despite the “quiet” withdrawal of companies: How Moscow and Beijing are building partnerships under sanctions. – Text : electronic // RBC : [website]. – URL: <https://www.rbc.ru/politics/06/09/2022/631224d39a7947d7c07c3dd5> (accessed 2.02.2023). [In Russian]; Iran and Russia improve relations. – Text: electronic // Russian news agency “Iran.ru” : [website]. – URL: [https://www.iran.ru/news/politics/120698/Iran\\_i\\_Rossiia\\_uluchshayut\\_otnosheniya](https://www.iran.ru/news/politics/120698/Iran_i_Rossiia_uluchshayut_otnosheniya) (accessed 2.02.2023). [In Russian]; Peskov: Russia will actively participate in the work of the BRICS summit. – Text : electronic // RIA Novosti : [website]. – URL: <https://ria.ru/20230426/peskov-1867850114.html> (accessed 2.02.2023). [In Russian]

Analyzing the experience of subnational actors, it is worth noting that the possibility of the subjects of the federation entering the international arena to represent both state and regional interests is influenced by a number of trends, partly due to the legislative framework formed after the collapse of the USSR, partly due to the desire of the federal authorities to integrate the subjects into the power vertical through formal and informal pressure practices, as well as by the atmosphere in the international space and the declared position of the federal subjects in the international arena.

On March 31, 1992, the plenipotentiary representatives of the Russian Federation, on the one hand, and the plenipotentiary representatives of its constituent subjects (republics, territories, regions, autonomous oblast, autonomous okrug, and the two cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg) on the other, signed treaties on the delimitation of the jurisdiction and powers between the federal authorities of the Russian Federation and the authorities of the subjects of the federation.<sup>179</sup> These agreements, designed to curb separatist sentiments in the regions (in particular, the case of Tatarstan and the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria, which refused to sign this document), were called the “Federal Treaty”<sup>180</sup>. Despite a certain asymmetry in the powers of administrative-territorial units with different names (for example, the status of entities endowed with sovereignty was assigned to the republics)<sup>181</sup>, all three treaties had a unified position on the issues of the external activities of the regions and their entry into the international field, recognizing the regions as “independent participants in international and foreign economic relations”<sup>182</sup>. Meanwhile, the coordination of activities in this area was referred to joint jurisdiction only in the case of republics, territories, regions and cities: the

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<sup>179</sup> Federal Treaty: Treaty on the delimitation of jurisdiction and powers between the federal state authorities of the Russian Federation and the authorities of the sovereign republics within the Russian Federation: [signed on March 31, 1992]. – Text : electronic // Information and legal portal “Garant” : [website]. – URL: <https://constitution.garant.ru/act/federative/170280/> (accessed 3.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>180</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>181</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>182</sup> Ibidem.

coordination of external relations of the autonomous region and autonomous districts was determined by the jurisdiction of purely federal authorities.<sup>183</sup>

The adoption of the Constitution of the Russian Federation on December 12, 1993, which replaced the Constitution of the RSFSR of 1978, was intended not only to consolidate the result of the confrontation between the two largest political forces of the new state (on the one hand, President B. Yeltsin, backed by members of the Government and a number of regional leaders, and, on the other hand, Vice-President A. Rutskoi, the Supreme Council, headed by R. Khasbulatov, representatives of the Congress of People's Deputies), which gave rise to an open crisis of power in September-October 1993, which ended in the victory of the pro-presidential bloc, but also to demonstrate the strengthening of the center, which has resolved contradictions in the highest spheres of power and is now striving to stabilize relations with the regions. The new Constitution did not include an indication of the status of the subject of the federation in the context of international relations, limiting itself to the statement that the coordination of international and foreign economic relations of the regions is the joint responsibility of the subjects and the federal center<sup>184</sup> (this point remains unchanged in the Constitution, which was reformed in line with the nationwide vote of 1 July 2020 to introduce a number of amendments to the country's basic law)<sup>185</sup>. It should be noted that this constitutional provision is also reflected in the regulatory legal acts of the regions: for example, the Charter of the federal city of Saint Petersburg notes that the issues of coordination of international and foreign economic relations of Saint Petersburg, as well as the implementation of international treaties of the Russian Federation, are

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<sup>183</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>184</sup> Constitution of the Russian Federation. Initial edition (from 25.12.1993 to 13.01.1996). – Text : electronic // “Constitution of Russia” : [website]. – URL: <http://konstitucija.ru/1993/1/> (accessed 3.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>185</sup> Russian Federation. Laws. Constitution of the Russian Federation : [adopted by popular vote on December 12, 1993, with amendments approved during the national vote on July 1, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://kremlin.ru/acts/constitution> (accessed 3.02.2023). [In Russian]

under the joint jurisdiction of the federal authorities and the city of federal significance.<sup>186</sup>

The procedure for coordinating international and foreign economic relations was detailed by the Federal Law of January 4, 1999 № 4 “On the Coordination of International and Foreign Economic Relations of the Subjects of the Russian Federation”, which, like a number of earlier laws that addressed the issue of international cooperation in the context of federal-regional relations,<sup>187</sup> stated on the prevailing position of the center (which was only strengthened by the amendments made to the said federal law in 2015, which assigned the Ministry of Economic Development of the Russian Federation the duty to coordinate draft agreements on the establishment of international and foreign economic relations planned for conclusion by the state authorities of the subjects of the federation)<sup>188</sup>.<sup>189</sup> If the previous regulatory legal acts were of a rather mild guiding nature (for example, Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of March 12, 1996 № 375 “On the coordinating role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation in

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<sup>186</sup> Charter of Saint Petersburg : [adopted by the Legislative Assembly of Saint Petersburg on February 14, 1998]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and normative-technical documentation : [website]. – URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/8308279> (accessed 3.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>187</sup> About: Russian Federation. Laws. On international treaties of the Russian Federation : Federal Law of July 15, 1995 № 101 : [adopted by the State Duma on June 16, 1995]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and normative-technical documentation : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/9012279> (accessed 4.02.2023). [In Russian]; Russian Federation. Laws. On state regulation of foreign trade activities : Federal Law of October 13, 1995 № 157 : [adopted by the State Duma on July 7, 1995 : approved by the Federation Council on July 21, 1995]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/8383> (accessed 4.02.2023). [In Russian]; Russian Federation. Decrees. On the Basic Provisions of Regional Policy in the Russian Federation : Decree № 803 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on June 3, 1996]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/9452> (accessed 4.02.2023). [In Russian]; Russian Federation. Decrees. On the coordinating role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation in pursuing a unified foreign policy line of the Russian Federation : Decree № 375 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on March 12, 1996]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/34205> (accessed 4.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>188</sup> Russian Federation. Laws. On Amendments to Articles 4 and 5 of the Federal Law “On the Coordination of International and Foreign Economic Relations of the Subjects of the Russian Federation” : Federal Law № 255 dated July 13, 2015 : [adopted by the State Duma on June 30, 2015 : approved by the Federation Council on July 8, 2015]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/39912> (accessed 4.02.2023). [In Russian]; Russian Federation. Decrees. On the federal executive body authorized to carry out the functions provided for by paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 4 of the Federal Law of January 4, 1999 № 4 “On the Coordination of International and Foreign Economic Relations of the Subjects of the Russian Federation”. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/420294909> (accessed 4.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>189</sup> Russian Federation. Laws. On the coordination of international and foreign economic relations of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation : Federal Law of January 4, 1999 № 4 : [adopted by the State Duma on December 2, 1998]. – Text: electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/13347> (accessed 4.02.2023). [In Russian]

pursuing a unified foreign policy line of the Russian Federation” put forward a requirement for the subjects to inform the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation “on the implementation of international activities and international relations”<sup>190</sup>, as well as to consider proposals affecting the “foreign policy interests of Russia” after agreement with the center;<sup>191</sup> Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of June 3, 1996 № 803 “On the main provisions of regional policy in the Russian Federation” among the goals of regional policy determined the need to coordinate the activities of the federal center and the subjects of the state in the implementation of international treaties, taking into account regional interests when concluding such treaties and strategizing foreign policy, supporting international and foreign economic cooperation between the regions, in particular, close contacts between the subjects of the federation and the CIS countries, etc.<sup>192</sup>), then a new the federal law introduced a rather rigid framework for the international activity of the regions. This legal act left the subjects the right to develop international and foreign economic contacts, understood as “carried out in trade, economic, scientific, technical, environmental, humanitarian, cultural and other areas of communication with foreign partners”<sup>193</sup>. The number of such partners included subjects of foreign federal states and administrative-territorial formations of foreign states, in addition, the right of the regions of the Russian Federation to take part in the work of “international organizations within the framework of bodies created specifically for this purpose”<sup>194</sup> was noted, as well as, with the consent of the Government, interact with public authorities of foreign countries.<sup>195</sup> However, it is quite possible to say

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<sup>190</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On the coordinating role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation in pursuing a unified foreign policy line of the Russian Federation : Decree № 375 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on March 12, 1996]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/34205> (accessed 4.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>191</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>192</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On the Basic Provisions of Regional Policy in the Russian Federation : Decree № 803 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on June 3, 1996]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/9452> (accessed 4.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>193</sup> Federation. Laws. On the coordination of international and foreign economic relations of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation : Federal Law of January 4, 1999 № 4 : [adopted by the State Duma on December 2, 1998]. – Text: electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/13347> (accessed 4.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>194</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>195</sup> Ibidem.

that the adopted federal law limited the powers of the regions in the sphere of interaction with foreign actors, in fact, taking away the independence assigned to them by the Federal Treaty. In addition to this law, on February 1, 2000, was adopted a Decree that established a multi-stage system for coordinating international and foreign economic relations of subjects of the federation,<sup>196</sup> as well as structured rules for registering agreements.<sup>197</sup>

The final loss of powers received by individual subjects (republics) under the Federal Treaty was declared by the decision of the Constitutional Court of December 6, 2001 № 249, which, in particular, clarified the issue of the status of the region in the context of international relations: were not considered as “independent participants in international and foreign economic relations and relations”<sup>198</sup>, except in cases where this does not contradict the Constitution.<sup>199</sup> In addition, the subjects

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<sup>196</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On the adoption by the Government of the Russian Federation of decisions on consent to the implementation by the subjects of the Russian Federation of international and foreign economic relations with public authorities of foreign states : Decree № 91 : [adopted by the Government of the Russian Federation on February 1, 2000]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and regulatory documents : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/901753322#7D20K3> (accessed 5.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>197</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On approval of the Rules for State Registration of Agreements on the Implementation of International and Foreign Economic Relations Concluded by State Authorities of the Subjects of the Russian Federation : Decree № 552 : [adopted by the Government of the Russian Federation on July 24, 2000]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and regulatory documents : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/901765547> (accessed 5.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>198</sup> Russian Federation. Definitions of the Constitutional Court. At the request of the President of the Republic of Bashkortostan for an official clarification of the Ruling of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation of April 19, 2001 at the request of the Plenipotentiary Representative of the President of the Russian Federation in the Volga Federal District for an official clarification of the Ruling of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation of June 27, 2000 at the request of a group of deputies of the State Duma for verification compliance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation of certain provisions of the constitutions of the Republic of Adygea, the Republic of Bashkortostan, the Republic of Ingushetia, the Republic of Komi, the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania and the Republic of Tatarstan : Definition № 249: [adopted by the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation on December 6, 2001]. – Text : electronic // Information and legal portal “Garant” : [website]. – URL: <http://base.garant.ru/12125477/#friends> (accessed 5.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>199</sup> Thus, the Constitution of the Komi Republic states that “The Komi Republic is an independent participant in international and foreign economic relations, agreements with other republics, territories, regions, autonomous regions, autonomous districts of the Russian Federation, if this does not contradict the Constitution of the Russian Federation” (Republic of Komi. Laws. The Constitution of the Republic of Komi: [adopted on February 17, 1994]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and regulatory documents : [website]. – URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/951600634> (accessed 5.02.2023). [In Russian], a similar wording in the Constitution of the Republic of Bashkortostan “The Republic of Bashkortostan is an independent participant in international and foreign economic relations and relations, except for those that are voluntarily transferred under the Treaty to the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation” with reference to a not sufficiently generalized provision Constitution, and the Federal Treaty, which included a provision on the sovereignty of the republics, was recognized by the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation as invalid. (Russian Federation. Definitions of the Constitutional Court. At the request of the President of the Republic of Bashkortostan for an official clarification of the Ruling of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation of April 19, 2001 at the request of the Plenipotentiary Representative of the President of the Russian Federation in the Volga Federal District for an official clarification of the Ruling of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation of June 27, 2000 at the request of a group of deputies of the State Duma for verification compliance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation of certain provisions of the constitutions of the Republic

(republics) lost the opportunity to “enter into relations with other states, conclude international treaties and exchange diplomatic, consular, trade and other representations”<sup>200</sup>, as well as “participate in the activities of international organizations”<sup>201</sup> since these powers testified to the sovereignty of the republics, which contradicted Articles 3 (part 1), 4 (parts 1 and 2), 5, 66 (parts 1 and 5) and 71 (clause “b”) of the Constitution of the Russian Federation.<sup>202</sup> It should be noted that such trends were a step towards the formation of strong state power,<sup>203</sup> reducing and then levelling the threat of the collapse of the Russian Federation and the loss of state sovereignty.

So, the period of independence of the regions in the early – mid-1990s was replaced by the transition of the federal center to a gradual restriction of the powers of subjects in the second half of the 1990s, and, as noted earlier, continued with the stage of building a “vertical of power”, characterized by the deprivation of subnational actors obtained under conditions the weakening of the center of powers, which also affected the external activity of the subjects of the federation, both in the field of its formal regulation and informal control.

The legal regulation of the interaction between the center and the regions in the context of the activities of the latter within the framework of international relations was characterized in the early 2000s by bringing the legislative acts of the subjects of the federation into line with the Constitution of the Russian Federation

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of Adygea, the Republic of Bashkortostan, the Republic of Ingushetia, the Republic of Komi, the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania and the Republic of Tatarstan : Definition № 249: [adopted by the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation on December 6, 2001]. – Text : electronic // Information and legal portal “Garant” : [website]. – URL: <http://base.garant.ru/12125477/#friends> (accessed 5.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>200</sup> Russian Federation. Definitions of the Constitutional Court. At the request of the President of the Republic of Bashkortostan for an official clarification of the Ruling of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation of April 19, 2001 at the request of the Plenipotentiary Representative of the President of the Russian Federation in the Volga Federal District for an official clarification of the Ruling of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation of June 27, 2000 at the request of a group of deputies of the State Duma for verification compliance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation of certain provisions of the constitutions of the Republic of Adygea, the Republic of Bashkortostan, the Republic of Ingushetia, the Republic of Komi, the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania and the Republic of Tatarstan : Definition № 249: [adopted by the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation on December 6, 2001]. – Text : electronic // Information and legal portal “Garant” : [website]. – URL: <http://base.garant.ru/12125477/#friends> (accessed 5.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>201</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>202</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>203</sup> Volkova, A. V. Formation of public administration system in Russia : political and axiological approach : dis. .... doctor of political sciences : 23.00.02 / Volkova Anna Vladimirovna ; – Saint-Petersburg State University : Saint-Petersburg, 2014. – pp. 150–151. [In Russian]

and other federal acts, which consolidated the subordinate position of the regions.<sup>204</sup> The legislative base contributed to the strengthening of the role of the center. Thus, the federal law of December 8, 2003 № 164 “On the Fundamentals of State Regulation of Foreign Trade Activities”, which replaced a similar act adopted in 1995,<sup>205</sup> specified the powers of the regions in the field of foreign trade activities, significantly limiting them.<sup>206</sup> Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of November 8, 2011 № 1478 “On the coordinating role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation in pursuing a unified foreign policy line of the Russian Federation”, which replaced the previous Decree,<sup>207</sup> announced the enforcement of the principle of unity in the field of foreign policy in the context of the international activity of the regions subordinate to the center, as well as the need to coordinate steps in the field of international cooperation (from considering proposals and signing acts to meetings, consultations, trips), while noting the importance of federal assistance to subjects in the development of external relations.<sup>208</sup> Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of May 7, 2012 № 605 “On measures to implement the foreign policy course of the Russian Federation”

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<sup>204</sup> Russian Federation. Definitions of the Constitutional Court. At the request of the President of the Republic of Bashkortostan for an official clarification of the Ruling of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation of April 19, 2001 at the request of the Plenipotentiary Representative of the President of the Russian Federation in the Volga Federal District for an official clarification of the Ruling of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation of June 27, 2000 at the request of a group of deputies of the State Duma for verification compliance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation of certain provisions of the constitutions of the Republic of Adygea, the Republic of Bashkortostan, the Republic of Ingushetia, the Republic of Komi, the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania and the Republic of Tatarstan : Definition № 249: [adopted by the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation on December 6, 2001]. – Text : electronic // Information and legal portal “Garant” : [website]. – URL: <http://base.garant.ru/12125477/#friends> (accessed 5.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>205</sup> Russian Federation. Laws. On state regulation of foreign trade activities : Federal Law of October 13, 1995 № 157 : [adopted by the State Duma on July 7, 1995 : approved by the Federation Council on July 21, 1995]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/8383> (accessed 5.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>206</sup> Russian Federation. Laws. On the basics of state regulation of foreign trade activities : Federal Law of December 8, 2003 № 164 : [adopted by the State Duma on November 21, 2003 : approved by the Federation Council on November 26, 2003]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/20277> (accessed 5.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>207</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On the coordinating role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation in pursuing a unified foreign policy line of the Russian Federation : Decree № 375 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on March 12, 1996]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/34205> (accessed 5.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>208</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On the coordinating role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation in pursuing a unified foreign policy line of the Russian Federation : Decree № 1478 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on November 8, 2011]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/34205> (accessed 5.02.2023). [In Russian]



did not at all mention the activity of the regions in the context of the Russian Federation promoting its interests through the implementation of the foreign policy course.<sup>209</sup> Finally, Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of January 16, 2017 № 13 “On Approval of the Fundamentals of the State Policy of Regional Development of the Russian Federation for the Period Until 2025”, recognizing, among other things, Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of June 3, 1996 № 803 “On the main provisions of the regional policy in the Russian Federation”<sup>210</sup>, also did not pay attention to aspects of the international and foreign economic activity of the subjects.<sup>211</sup> Thus, it is possible to talk about the aspiration of the center not only to fully control the international relations of the regions, but also to eliminate indications of the role that can and do administrative-territorial units in the international field. It is worth noting that a similar trend can be partly observed in the example of coordinating documents representing the state’s point of view on the policy being implemented (or requiring implementation) in the international space. Thus, having studied the Foreign Policy Concepts of the Russian Federation adopted in different years – in 1993, 2000, 2008, 2013 and 2016, it can be found that the role of the subjects of the federation as “independent participants in international and foreign economic relations”,<sup>212</sup> if their activities do not contradict the Constitution and federal legislation, the importance of the principle of unity of the federal and regional external courses, as well as taking into account the interests of individual subjects in the conduct of federal foreign policy, is noted only in the first Concept, adopted in 1993.<sup>213</sup> The concept of 2000 focuses on the federal

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<sup>209</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On measures to implement the foreign policy of the Russian Federation : Decree № 605 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on May 7, 2012]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/35269> (accessed 6.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>210</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On the Basic Provisions of Regional Policy in the Russian Federation : Decree № 803 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on June 3, 1996]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/9452> (accessed 6.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>211</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On approval of the Fundamentals of the State Policy of Regional Development of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025 : Decree № 13 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on January 16, 2017]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/41641> (accessed 6.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>212</sup> The Concept of foreign policy of the Russian Federation. Moscow : Diplomatic Bulletin, 1993. – № 1–2. – pp. 3–23. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>213</sup> Ibidem.

center's assistance to “subjects of the Russian Federation in their implementation of international cooperation with strict observance of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Russian Federation”<sup>214</sup>. A similar provision is contained in the Concept of 2008, which, however, introduces an indication of the strict subordination of the activity of subjects to the federal center, assessing the role of the former in the field of international and foreign economic policy as a “reserve for bilateral relations [...] in trade, economic, humanitarian and other fields”<sup>215</sup>. These provisions of the 2008 Concept were also transferred to the next document – the Concept published in 2013.<sup>216</sup> Finally, the Concept of 2016, fixing the complete subordination of the regions to the federal center, no longer included the requirement to respect sovereignty, as a self-evident fact that does not require additional written declaration.<sup>217</sup> In addition, significant changes of a logical, semantic and content nature were made to this document: the first ones include the replacement of the word “assistance”, one of the meanings of which is “joint action”<sup>218</sup>, with a partial synonym for “help”, which has a more hierarchical meaning; to the second – a detailed indication of the specifics of the assistance provided, which is of a legal, expert advisory and other nature.<sup>219</sup>

The reduced attention to legal regulation indicated that the regions were fully embedded in the hierarchical “vertical” and were ready to comply with the federal center’s instructions and follow the course proposed by it, without requiring

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<sup>214</sup> The Concept of foreign policy of the Russian Federation : [approved by the President of the Russian Federation June 28, 2000]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and regulatory documents : [website]. – URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/901764263> (accessed 6.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>215</sup> The Concept of foreign policy of the Russian Federation : [approved by the President of the Russian Federation July 12, 2008]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation: [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/news/785> (accessed 6.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>216</sup> The Concept of foreign policy of the Russian Federation : [approved by the President of the Russian Federation February 12, 2013]. – Text : electronic // Information and legal portal “Garant” : [website]. – URL: <https://www.garant.ru/products/ipo/prime/doc/70218094/> (accessed 6.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>217</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On approval of the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation : Decree № 640 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on November 30, 2016]. – Text : electronic // Information and legal portal “Garant” : [website]. – URL: <https://www.garant.ru/products/ipo/prime/doc/71452062/> (accessed 6.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>218</sup> Contribution. – Text : electronic // Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language by T. F. Efremova : [website]. – URL: <https://www.efremova.info/word/sodejstvie.html#.X1VOqNozY2w> (accessed 6.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>219</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On approval of the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation : Decree № 640 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on November 30, 2016]. – Text : electronic // Information and legal portal “Garant” : [website]. – URL: <https://www.garant.ru/products/ipo/prime/doc/71452062/> (accessed 6.02.2023). [In Russian]

legislative confirmation of the federal government's authority to regulate their rights to conduct external activities. Such deformed regulation, however, did not, until recently, indicate a decline in the regions' activity in the space of international relations. In a scientific paper published in 2019, S. Arteev notes that subnational actors still maintained international contacts and international activities, while often going beyond the legal provisions contained in the state's legislative acts.<sup>220</sup>

Prior to the aggravation of the Ukrainian crisis in 2022, the subjects of the Russian Federation were quite widely represented in the foreign policy space, which was considered more 'friendly' in relation to the state. The Russian delegation headed by A. Drozdenko, Governor of the Leningrad Region, was present at the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe,<sup>221</sup> an advisory body on issues of local and regional democracy among Council of Europe member states.<sup>222</sup> Further, individual subnational actors actively cooperated with foreign states, including those out of the 'inner circle' of the Russian Federation (for example, the history of the international cooperation between Hungary and the Komi Republic is given in the dissertation paper of S. Arteev)<sup>223</sup>, and also maintained contacts with the presidents of various countries (for example, the activities of the President of the Republic of Tatarstan R. Minnikhanov, who maintained contact with the heads of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Turkey, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and other CIS countries,<sup>224</sup> and the leader of the Chechen Republic R. Kadyrov, carrying out

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<sup>220</sup> Arteev, S. P. International relations of Russian regions and the center: the evolution of coordination / S. P. Arteev. – Text : direct // Bulletin of MGIMO. – 2019. – № 5 (12). – P. 184–185. – DOI 10.24833/2071-8160-2019-5-68-181-192. [In Russian]

<sup>221</sup> Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe. – Text : electronic // Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://council.gov.ru/services/reference/10404/> (accessed 7.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>222</sup> A European Assembly of local and regional elected representatives. – Text : electronic // Council of Europe : [website]. – URL: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/congress/overview/> (accessed 7.02.2023).

<sup>223</sup> Arteev, S. P. Evolution of the international relations of the Komi Republic with Hungary: dis. ... cand. of polit. sciences: 23.00.04 / Arteev Sergey Pavlovich ; – Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation : Moscow, 2018. – 307 p. [In Russian]

<sup>224</sup> News. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Republic of Tatarstan : [website]. – URL: <https://president.tatarstan.ru/rus/index.htm/news/> (accessed 7.02.2023). [In Russian]; Gimatdinov, R. Participation of regions in the implementation of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation / R. Gimatdinov, I. Nasyrov, E. Sadykova. – Text : electronic // The International Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://interaffairs.ru/jauthor/material/2223> (accessed 7.02.2023). [In Russian]

similar practices<sup>225</sup>). As an example of informal support by the federal center for the international activities of a subnational actor, which involves the latter going beyond the restrictions imposed by law, one can mention the program of the head of the Chechen Republic, R. Kadyrov upon returning to their homeland from Syria and Iraq the wives and children of those who left to fight in the Middle East (this issue was dealt with on behalf of the head of the republic by his representative in the countries of the Middle East and North Africa Z. Sabsabi)<sup>226</sup>. Of course, not all the ties of subnational actors formalized since the 1990s – both formal and informal – have been severed, but there is now talk of substantially revising them.

Summing up the analysis of the powers in the field of international relations that the constituent entities of the Russian Federation have, in the context of the ‘center-regions’ relationship system until 2022, it could be concluded that, despite a significant formal restriction on the external activity of subnational actors, they were still quite involved participants, which, however, was regulated not only by the legal framework, but also by developed informal practices of interaction between regional elites and federal authorities. As follows from the above, the development of international relations among the subjects of the federation was different, which was due to a number of significant factors. Undoubtedly, there was a significant asymmetry in the position of the subjects of the Russian Federation,<sup>227</sup> which was the result of political factors (different constitutional and legal status, proximity to the center, etc.), economic, social and other nature. Differences in the position of the subjects influenced the development of international contacts, as well as the readiness of administrative-territorial entities to enter the external arena. In addition, it was the inequality of domestic actors that predetermined the specifics of the

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<sup>225</sup> News. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Head of the Chechen Republic : [website]. – URL: <http://chechnya.gov.ru/press-sluzhba/novosti/> (accessed 7.02.2023). [In Russian]; Ramzan Kadyrov on relations with the Arab states, the Chechen war and plans for the future. – Text : electronic // Chechen Republic today : [website]. – URL: <https://chechnyatoday.com/news/330395> (accessed 7.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>226</sup> The speaker of the Chechen Parliament spoke about the effective work of Ramzan Kadyrov on the return of Russian citizens from the hot spots of the Middle East. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Head of the Chechen Republic : [website]. – URL: <http://www.parlamentchr.ru/press-centre/news/6363-spiker-chechenskogo-parlamenta-rasskazal-ob-effektivnoj-rabote-ramzana-kadyrova-po-vozvrashcheniyu-iz-goryachikh-tochek-blizhnego-vostoka-grazhdan-rossii> (accessed 7.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>227</sup> Ivanov, A. M. Asymmetry in the federal structure of Russia / A. M. Ivanov. – Text : direct // Philosophy of Law. – 2009. – № 6. – pp. 135–140. [In Russian]

possession of certain resources, which formed the basis of the diplomacy conducted by the regions, and also served as a kind of capital for the formation of strategies in the framework of interaction with foreign actors in general.

The presence of significant differences between the constituent entities of the Russian Federation is still recognized at the federal level: for example, according to the “Fundamentals of the State Policy of Regional Development of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025”, approved by Presidential Decree № 17 of February 16, 2017, among the factors and conditions that have influence on regional development, geographical, climatic, demographic, socio-cultural characteristics of the subjects of the federation, as well as their socio-economic achievements, the uneven concentration of people and industries in the regions, the development of infrastructure, etc.<sup>228</sup> These features of the position of the subjects had an impact on the international relations of the regions, the recognition of their image abroad, their attractiveness in the eyes of foreigners.

However, the structure of opportunities and limitations of even influential subnational actors has changed significantly as a result of the events of February 24, 2022, which marked the rapid aggravation of the Ukrainian crisis, which had significant consequences for the Russian Federation: all levels of government – federal, regional and local – were affected. The spheres of politics – both domestic and foreign – have undergone significant changes.

Anticipating further analysis, it is worth emphasizing that, in general, the directions of foreign policy to date have been set by the “National Security Strategy” adopted back in mid-2021, which clearly indicated a significant deterioration in the geopolitical situation, largely due to the actions of Western countries seeking to isolate Russian Federation in the international space and destroy from within, provoking social and economic instability.<sup>229</sup> Among other acts that marked the

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<sup>228</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On approval of the Fundamentals of the State Policy of Regional Development of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025 : Decree № 13 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on January 16, 2017]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/41641> (accessed 8.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>229</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation: Decree № 400: [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on July 2, 2021]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of

official course of the state on the world stage, one should point to the order of the Government of the Russian Federation of March 5, 2022,<sup>230</sup> which fixed the list of foreign countries and territories unfriendly to Russia, which was based on the previously adopted federal law that introduced measures to stop (or suspend) cooperation with the states that have taken a critical position in relation to the Russian Federation.<sup>231</sup> Currently, the list of “unfriendly” includes 49 states (including the USA, Canada, most European countries, including all members of the European Union, Great Britain, Norway, Switzerland, Iceland, Albania, Monaco, Liechtenstein, San Marino, North Macedonia, Ukraine, Montenegro and Andorra, as well as Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Australia, New Zealand, Micronesia and the Bahamas).<sup>232</sup> It is worth emphasizing that the recognition of “unfriendliness” does not entail an instant and complete severance of ties with the listed states: the aforementioned federal law does not imply an imperative rigidity of measures of influence and counteraction, establishing, however, the possibility of refusing international cooperation, prohibiting or restricting imports and export, various kinds of interaction with organizations and citizens of unfriendly states and, equally, other measures that will be considered acceptable by the President of the Russian Federation.<sup>233</sup> It is important to note that the actions of the Russian side are

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the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/47046/page/1> (accessed 8.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>230</sup> Russian Federation. Orders. On approval of the list of foreign states and territories committing unfriendly actions against the Russian Federation, Russian legal entities and individuals : Order № 430: [adopted by the Government of the Russian Federation on March 5, 2022]. – Text : electronic // Information and legal portal “ConsultantPlus” : [website]. – URL: [https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons\\_doc\\_LAW\\_411064/e8730c96430f0f246299a0cb7e5b27193f98fdaa/](https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_411064/e8730c96430f0f246299a0cb7e5b27193f98fdaa/) (accessed 8.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>231</sup> Russian Federation. Laws. On measures to influence (counter) unfriendly actions of the United States of America and other foreign states : Federal Law of June 4, 2018 № 127 : [adopted by the Government of the Russian Federation on May 22, 2018 : approved by the Federation Council on May 30, 2018]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/43117> (accessed 8.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>232</sup> Russian Federation. Orders. On approval of the list of foreign states and territories committing unfriendly actions against the Russian Federation, Russian legal entities and individuals : Order № 430: [adopted by the Government of the Russian Federation on March 5, 2022]. – Text : electronic // Information and legal portal “ConsultantPlus” : [website]. – URL: [https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons\\_doc\\_LAW\\_411064/e8730c96430f0f246299a0cb7e5b27193f98fdaa/](https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_411064/e8730c96430f0f246299a0cb7e5b27193f98fdaa/) (accessed 8.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>233</sup> Russian Federation. Laws. On measures to influence (counter) unfriendly actions of the United States of America and other foreign states : Federal Law of June 4, 2018 № 127 : [adopted by the Government of the Russian Federation on May 22, 2018 : approved by the Federation Council on May 30, 2018]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the

often retaliatory in nature, becoming a reaction to the declared aggression of other states, expressed in the desire to limit Russia's sovereignty through political and economic measures,<sup>234</sup> to withdraw the state from international organizations, to prevent diplomatic contacts and the establishment of trade relations, thus weakening the country's economy and destabilizing the political and social situation.<sup>235</sup>

The complication of the situation had an impact on the adoption of the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, approved on March 31, 2023, that is, a year after the Ukrainian crisis entered the acute phase, when the consequences of the step taken by the Russian Federation had already taken on quite clear outlines, and the vectors of further development with a certain degree of probability could be predicted. The new Concept became a document declaring “revolutionary changes”<sup>236</sup> in the international space, and its rhetoric was strikingly different from the previous Concept adopted in 2016, which (like the Concept of 2013) envisaged building a foreign policy course taking into account the mechanisms of “soft power”<sup>237</sup>, recognized at that time as “an integral part of modern international politics”<sup>238</sup>. Now the fair biblical principle ‘an eye for an eye’ has prevailed in politics, expressed in fairly straightforward words: “Russia’s attitude towards other

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President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/43117> (accessed 8.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>234</sup> Radikov, I. V. Sanctions as a brake on Russia's development and a catalyst of citizens' distrust in state power / I. V. Radikov. – Text : direct // Trajectories of political development of Russia: institutions, projects, actors : proceedings of the Russian scientific conference RPSA with international participation, Moscow, 06-07 December 2019 / Moscow : Moscow Pedagogical State University, 2019. – P. 330. [In Russian]

<sup>235</sup> EU restrictive measures against Russia over Ukraine (since 2014). – Text : electronic // The Council of the EU/The European Council : [website]. – URL: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/sanctions/restrictive-measures-against-russia-over-ukraine/> (accessed 8.02.2023).; Ukraine-/Russia-related Sanctions. – Text : electronic // U.S. Department of the Treasury : [website]. – URL: <https://ofac.treasury.gov/sanctions-programs-and-country-information/ukraine-russia-related-sanctions> (accessed 8.02.2023).

<sup>236</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On approval of the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation : Decree № 229 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on March 31, 2023]. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: [https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign\\_policy/official\\_documents/1860586/](https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/official_documents/1860586/) (accessed 9.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>237</sup> The Concept of foreign policy of the Russian Federation : [approved by the President of the Russian Federation February 12, 2013]. – Text : electronic // Information and legal portal “Garant” : [website]. – URL: <https://www.garant.ru/products/ipo/prime/doc/70218094/> (accessed 9.02.2023). [In Russian]; Russian Federation. Decrees. On approval of the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation : Decree № 640 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on November 30, 2016]. – Text : electronic // Information and legal portal “Garant” : [website]. – URL: <https://www.garant.ru/products/ipo/prime/doc/71452062/> (accessed 6.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>238</sup> The Concept of foreign policy of the Russian Federation : [approved by the President of the Russian Federation February 12, 2013]. – Text : electronic // Information and legal portal “Garant” : [website]. – URL: <https://www.garant.ru/products/ipo/prime/doc/70218094/> (accessed 9.02.2023). [In Russian]

states and interstate associations is determined by the constructive, neutral or unfriendly nature of their policy towards the Russian Federation”<sup>239</sup>.

The tightening of the position of the federal center on issues of interaction with foreign countries, due to the destabilization of international relations, could not but have an impact on the subjects of the Russian Federation.

Firstly, we are talking about the polarization of the world space: in conditions when foreign states are divided into ‘friendly’ and ‘unfriendly’, the federal center, coordinating the actions of subnational actors, determines the direction of convergence of subjects by establishing formal and informal control measures. According to the Concept, the vector of establishment of ties by subnational actors in the near future is quite unambiguous: the states of the Middle East, the Asia-Pacific region, Latin America and Africa.<sup>240</sup> Thus, the subjects of the federation embedded in the ‘vertical of power’ are under pressure from the federal center and are not capable of maintaining relations with former partners who have passed into the category of ‘unfriendly’, as well as independently establishing ties with national or subnational actors from this category. At the moment, one can only try to predict the degree of freedom of action of subjects in establishing relationships with foreign ‘friendly’ actors, when Russia’s turn towards new allies is completed and the situation stabilizes. The concept does not provide any additional clarifications on this matter: “the subjects of the Russian Federation, within the limits of their powers, carry out international and foreign economic relations, taking into account the great importance of interregional and border cooperation for the development of relations between the Russian Federation and foreign states”<sup>241</sup>.

Secondly, as rightly noted in the aforementioned Concept, the first step towards refusing to cooperate with Russia was taken by foreign unfriendly states:<sup>242</sup> the implementation of sanctions pressure that affected the political, financial,

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<sup>239</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On approval of the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation : Decree № 229 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on March 31, 2023]. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: [https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign\\_policy/official\\_documents/1860586/](https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/official_documents/1860586/) (accessed 9.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>240</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>241</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>242</sup> Ibidem.



economic, cultural and other spheres of life of Russian society, the severing of ties – diplomatic, trade and others – could not but affect the subjects of the federation. A situation has developed in which the former foreign partners refused to interact at the sublevel, retaining contacts at the state level in an insignificant form.

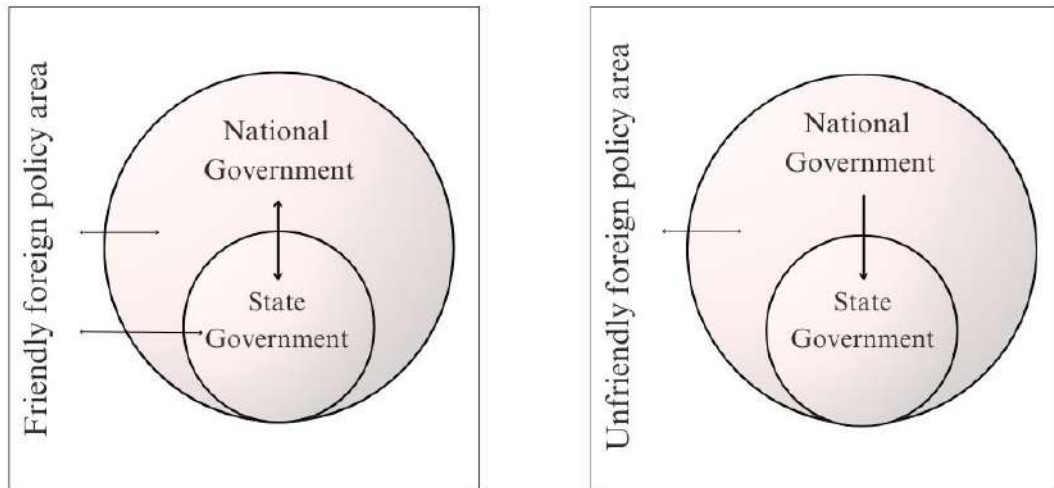


Figure. 5. Interaction between the federal center and the subject of the federation (subnational actor) in the conditions of a friendly foreign policy environment and in an unfriendly environment.

So, summarizing the foregoing, we can draw a number of significant conclusions, which we came to based on the results of a study based on the work of leading Russian and foreign experts in the field of federalism and regional studies, legal acts and documents that determine the key directions of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation and the framework policy in relation to subnational actors expressing a desire to form their foreign policy strategies, as well as other sources containing information about changes in foreign and domestic political relations over the past three decades.

The collapse of the USSR marked centrifugal tendencies, which forced the federal center to make concessions to individual subjects of the federation in order to preserve the integrity of the state. The pronounced asymmetry of the subjects, which was enshrined in the Federal Treaty adopted in 1992, marked their differences

in entering the international arena and establishing external relations: subnational actors declared sufficient independence of their participation (for the republics, territories, regions and cities, a regime was established for the joint conduct of international and foreign economic relations).<sup>243</sup> However, since the mid-1990s, the federal center began to strive for a gradual increase in control over the subjects, including in the area of their access to the foreign policy space, curbing the craving of subnational actors to exceed the legally defined powers. Since the early 2000s, the recentralization process has been significantly tightened with the help of legislative measures, pressure on regional elites, etc.: in one way or another, the subjects were deprived of their former freedom of action, integrating into the power vertical. At present, according to some researchers, the Russian Federation, due to the specifics of state power, can be attributed to territorially decentralized, but inherently unitary<sup>244</sup> states, which is due to the complete subordination of subjects to the will of the federal center. Accordingly, such a hierarchization of relations was reflected in the exit of the subjects of the federation into the international space: if in the early 1990s they autocratically and willingly entered into agreements with foreign partners, then in the future they were unable to maintain relations in the prescribed volume,<sup>245</sup> which was due to increased control by the federal government center. At the moment, the subjects of the federation do not have the opportunity to independently participate in international politics, however, as a result of the transition of coordination functions to the federal level, the state got the opportunity to push the subjects to establish relations in the right direction, thus making subnational actors loyal allies and guides acting in fulfillment of federal interests.

In addition to the process of verticalization of power, the change in the foreign policy situation as a result of the Ukrainian crisis that began in 2014 and its aggravation in February 2022 became decisive for the constituent entities of the

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<sup>243</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>244</sup> Starodubtsev, A. Federalism and regional policy in contemporary Russia / A. Starodubtsev. – New York : Routledge, 2018. – P. 15. – ISBN 978-1-472-46150-6. – Text : direct.

<sup>245</sup> Orlov, V. Y. Foreign policy and Russian regions / V. Y. Orlov. – Text : direct // International life. – 2000. – № 10. – P. 47–49. [In Russian]

Russian Federation. By the middle of 2023, it becomes quite obvious that the world in relation to the Russian Federation has been divided into ‘unfriendly’ and ‘friendly’ parts, where there is practically no room left for neutral states. If the rapid break in interaction with unfriendly countries occurred as early as 2022, then the strengthening of contacts with ‘friendly’ ones as a result of the Russian Federation’s foreign policy turn is rather slow: however, as soon as new ties are consolidated at the interstate level, the time will come for the participation of subnational actors. Accordingly, the development of friendly relations with China, India and other states of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America will become a powerful prerequisite for establishing contacts at the sublevel. Further development of strategies and their implementation will fall on the subjects of the federation, which will embody the ideas of the federal center, developing interaction on economic, scientific, educational, technological, innovative, cultural and other important issues.

Thus, the foreign policy situation and the position of the federal center in relation to the subjects of the federation have created a rigid framework for subnational actors to realize their potential in the field of foreign policy. It is worth emphasizing that the activities of subjects, in addition to ‘external’ factors, are limited or, conversely, encouraged by internal factors. Among the latter are geographical characteristics, the degree of socio-economic development, confessional and cultural foundations, ethnic diversity (or, conversely, uniformity), the availability of valuable resources, and, importantly, the will of local political elites.

In the following, using the example of the Arctic policy of the Russian Federation, which is a promising area of interstate and sub-state cooperation even in the conditions of contemporary instability, we will consider the activities of subnational actors and their involvement in the implementation of complex multidimensional tasks.

## **CHAPTER 2. ARCTIC POLICY OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION IN THE CONTEXT OF ‘CENTER-REGIONAL’ INTERACTION**

### **2.1. Features and Prospects of the Arctic policy of the Russian Federation**

The Arctic is a region that has acquired special significance in the international political space in recent decades, becoming a point of intersection of the geo-economic interests of large states. The study of the Arctic region is proceeding at a rapid pace – of course, not only in a political way – geologists, biologists, environmentalists are studying various issues related to the territories of the Arctic. The accumulation of a vast body of knowledge about the Arctic zone is still in process and has not been systematized at the moment.

Scientists do not agree even on fundamental issues. Until now, there is no single definition of the Arctic, nor the specification of the boundaries of the region: numerous versions put forward by experts based on the topics they study become the subject of discussion, being revised and supplemented with new elements. The fundamental characteristic, from which scientists traditionally start, is geographical, it is on its basis that the definitions contained in encyclopedias and dictionaries are built.

According to the Great Russian Encyclopedia, the Arctic is “the northern polar region of the Earth, including the northern margins of the continents Eurasia and North America (except for the southern parts of Greenland Island and the Labrador Peninsula), the Arctic Ocean (except for the eastern and southern parts of the Norwegian Sea) with islands, as well as the adjacent parts of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans”<sup>246</sup>. This definition allows us to speak only about the geographical location of the region without taking into account its specificity as an object of geopolitical and geo-economic interests of the leading world powers. Almost verbatim, the notion

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<sup>246</sup> Kotlyakov, V. M. Arctic / V. M. Kotlyakov, V. E. Hain, V. N. Gutsulyak, A. I. Danilov. – Text : electronic // Great Russian Encyclopedia 2004 – 2017 : [website]. – URL: <https://old.bigenc.ru/geography/text/3452274> (accessed 27.02.2023). [In Russian]

of the Arctic also appears in the strategic documents of the Russian Federation.<sup>247</sup> However, scientific studies reveal a broader view of the region. For example, N. Kharlampieva proposes to use a systematic approach in considering the Arctic phenomenon, i.e. to assess it by a set of components.<sup>248</sup> A. Sergunin and V. Konyshchev make a similar point, arguing that it is important to study the Arctic comprehensively – as a geographical subject with its own territorial specificity, and taking into account the political contexts stemming in particular from the region's position.<sup>249</sup> Indeed, this approach to the study of the Arctic zone can be seen as justified: the Arctic is a region of attraction for states, which is taken into account in international policy frameworks.

In order to consider the potential of the Arctic region, it is necessary to define the territorial boundaries of the area we are considering. As a precursor to further analysis, it is worth noting that the Arctic space – including land and sea areas – is still not divided in a way that is satisfactory to all parties concerned. And, perhaps just as importantly, it is not yet defined unambiguously, not even by the Arctic states.<sup>250</sup>

The Arctic territories (covering an area of 40,3 million km<sup>2</sup>)<sup>251</sup> have traditionally been included:<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On Fundamentals of State Policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic until 2035 : Decree № 164 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on March 5, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/45255/page/1> (accessed 27.02.2023). [In Russian]; Russian Federation. Decrees. About Strategy for Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and National Security Provision for the Period to 2035 : Decree № 645 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on October 26, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/45972> (accessed 27.02.2023). [In Russian]; Russian Federation. Decrees. On the land territories of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation : Decree № 296 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on May 2, 2014]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/38377> (accessed 27.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>248</sup> Kharlampieva, N. K. Evolution of the concept of the Arctic / N. K. Kharlampieva. – Text : direct // Natural resources of the Arctic and Subarctic. – 2014. – № 3 (75). – P. 6. [In Russian]

<sup>249</sup> Konyshchev, V. N. The Arctic in international politics: cooperation or rivalry? / V. N. Konyshchev, A. A. Sergunin. – Moscow: Russian Institute for Strategic Studies, 2011. – P. 15. – ISBN 978-5-7893-0135-7. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>250</sup> Kochemasova E. Y. On some scientific approaches to defining the borders of the Arctic / E. Y. Kochemasova, V. P. Zhuravel', N. B. Sedova. – Text : direct // The Arctic and the North. – 2019. – № 35. – P. 159-161. – DOI 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.35.158. [In Russian]

<sup>251</sup> Ibidem. P. 159.

<sup>252</sup> Lukin, Y. F. Multidimensional space of the Arctic / Y. F. Lukin. – Arkhangelsk: NArFU, 2017. – P. 18. – Text: direct. [In Russian]

- the margins of the Eurasian and North American continents;
- a large part of the Arctic Ocean with the marginal seas – the Barents, Kara, East Siberian, Chukchi, Greenland, Norwegian, White and Laptev, Beaufort, Lincoln and Baffin Seas and islands – from the largest island on Earth, Greenland (2 166 086 km<sup>2</sup>)<sup>253</sup> to the small Kaffeklubben (0.7 km long and 300 m wide)<sup>254</sup>, excluding the coastal islands of Norway;
- adjacent parts of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

The Arctic – Russia, the United States, Canada, Norway, Denmark (including Greenland and the Faroe Islands), Sweden, Finland, Iceland<sup>255</sup> – and other interested states have taken different approaches in an attempt to divide the territories mentioned above.

The understanding that the Arctic was becoming an object of territorial disputes came at the beginning of the 20th century, when in 1908-1909 two Americans at once – Frederick Cook and Robert Peary with their teams – reached the North Pole and challenged each other's right to primacy.

The patriotic Peary quickly became known for his ambitious statement: “I have today hoisted the national ensign of the United States of America at this place, which my observations indicate to be the North Pole axis of the earth, and have formally taken possession of the entire region, and adjacent, for and in the name of the President of the United States”<sup>256</sup>. However, the traveler's statement was not taken seriously at the international level: at the beginning of the 20th century, the concept of property rights was already different from that in the conditional 15th century, when such a statement, confirmed by force and authority, would have been regarded differently. However, although there was no recognition of the US right to

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<sup>253</sup> Greenland. – Text : electronic // WorldData : [website]. – URL: <https://www.worlddata.info/america/greenland/index.php> (accessed 28.02.2023).

<sup>254</sup> The Northernmost Points Of The Northernmost Countries In The World: Kaffeklubben Island. – Text : electronic // World Atlas : [website]. – URL: <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/the-northernmost-points-of-the-northernmost-countries-in-the-world.html> (accessed 28.02.2023).

<sup>255</sup> Declaration on the Establishment of the Arctic Council : [adopted on 19 September 1996]. – Text : electronic // Electronic Collection of Legal and Regulatory and Technical Documents. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/901880137> (accessed 28.02.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>256</sup> Stafford, E. P. Peary and the North Pole: Not the Shadow of a Doubt / E.P. Stafford. – Text : electronic // Proceedings. – 1971. – Vol. 97/12/826. – URL: <https://www.usni.org/magazines/proceedings/1971/december/peary-and-north-pole-not-shadow-doubt> (accessed 28.02.2023).

these territories by other actors in the world's political space, the idea of partitioning the Arctic was accepted for consideration.

The first decisive step was taken by Canada. As early as 1907, Canadian Senator P. Poirier made a proposal: “a country whose possession today goes up to the Arctic regions will have a right, or should have a right, or has a right, to all the lands that are to be found in the waters between a line extending from its eastern extremity north, and another line extending from the western extremity north. All the lands between the two lines up to the North Pole should belong and do belong to the country whose territory abuts up there”<sup>257</sup>. And as early as 1925, the Canadian Parliament introduced an amendment to the Northwest Territories Act, which de facto declared the state's sovereign authority over the possessions up to the North Pole.<sup>258</sup> This gesture has set an example for other countries: firstly, by demonstrating the need for territorial delimitation and the legal assignment of land and sea areas to specific states, and secondly, by establishing the sectoral principle of dividing the Arctic. It is worth noting, however, that not all actors involved accepted the “sectoral option” imposed by Canada as the most successful way of delimiting the Arctic. The United States and Western countries proposed the “internationalization” of the Arctic territories: accordingly, the Arctic was to be an area of international administration, with all of its riches coming under common ownership.<sup>259</sup> Clearly, such a profitable option for states with no geopolitical grounds to lay claim to Arctic assets has been the subject of protracted debate,<sup>260</sup> which, however, has met with quite natural opposition from countries with significant Arctic acquisitions and no intention of being deprived of income from their use. Given the substantial resources of the Arctic, some of which have yet to be fully discovered, it can be argued that the region is still something of a ‘risk zone’, representing a ‘tidbit’ for some

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<sup>257</sup> Pharand, D. *Canada's Arctic waters in international law* / D. Pharand. – Cambridge : Cambridge University Press. – 1988. – P. 10. – ISBN 9780511565458. – Text : direct.

<sup>258</sup> Timtchenko, L. *The Russian Arctic Sectoral Concept: Past and Present* / L. Timtchenko. – Text : direct. // *Arctic*. – 1997. – Vol. 50, № 1. – P. 29.

<sup>259</sup> Makagon, A. V. *Main concepts, conflicts and legal foundations of the international Arctic regime* / A. V. Makagon. – Text : direct // *Ocean Management*. – 2019. – № 1 (4). – P. 6. [In Russian]

<sup>260</sup> *Ibidem*.

ambitious non-Arctic states (and states without substantial Arctic holdings) seeking to the best of their ability to reap dividends from wealth not their own.

The next version of the division of the Arctic was the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, adopted in 1982. Article 76 of the document, which, however, was not ratified by all countries, including the Arctic (USA), formally enshrines the right of coastal states to apply to the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf to expand territories beyond 200 nautical miles if the shelf extends beyond the indicated lines,<sup>261</sup> which was regarded as the transfer of the off-shelf zone to international control.<sup>262</sup> Thus, if the states that have ratified the Convention claim to expand the water area, they must prove that part of their continental shelf is directly related to the bottom structure. Such attempts have already been made, including by Russia, which ratified the said Convention back in 1997. Thus, on December 20, 2001, the Russian Federation for the first time submitted an official submission to the UN, declaring a requirement for a significant movement of external borders beyond the established 200 miles. The basis for the application was the assertion that the underwater Mendeleev Ridge and the eastern part of the underwater Lomonosov Ridge, located in the Arctic Ocean, are a natural continuation of the Eurasian continent.<sup>263</sup> However, Russia did not receive a positive response:<sup>264</sup> additional studies were needed to confirm the state's argument. The Russian Federation did not back down from its demands: in subsequent years, more than one study was carried out (in 2005 and 2007, the Russian Research Institute of Geology and Mineral Resources of the World Ocean sent expeditions on the scientific vessel "Akademik Fedorov" and the icebreaker "Rossiya" to the

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<sup>261</sup> United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea : [ratified by the Federal Law of the Russian Federation of February 26, 1997 № 30]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and normative-technical documents. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/1900747> (accessed 1.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>262</sup> Makagon, A. V. Main concepts, conflicts and legal foundations of the international Arctic regime / A. V. Makagon. – Text : direct // Ocean Management. – 2019. – № 1 (4). – P. 6. [In Russian]

<sup>263</sup> Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS) Outer limits of the continental shelf beyond 200 nautical miles from the baselines: Submissions to the Commission : Submission by the Russian Federation. – Text : electronic // United Nations : [website]. – URL: [https://www.un.org/depts/los/clcs\\_new/submissions\\_files/submission\\_rus.htm](https://www.un.org/depts/los/clcs_new/submissions_files/submission_rus.htm) (accessed 1.03.2023).

<sup>264</sup> Oceans and the law of the sea. Report of the Secretary-General: Recommendations of the Commission in regard to the submission made by the Russian Federation. – Text : electronic // United Nations : [website]. – URL: <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N02/629/28/PDF/N0262928.pdf?OpenElement> (accessed 1.03.2023).



Lomonosov Ridge to explore the zone of articulation with the mainland; in 2007, the research expedition “Arktika-2007” took place on the apparatus “Mir”, in which A. Chilingarov, A. Sagalevich, V. Gruzdev and other polar scientists took part, setting the main task of collecting soil and water samples, etc.),<sup>265</sup> which made it possible to form a geological and geophysical base to confirm the requirements of Russia. The information obtained as a result of the expeditions made it possible to submit a new version of the application in 2015, additions to which were submitted in 2021, and then in February 2023.<sup>266</sup> It is worth noting that the right to expand borders, after it became known about the wealth that the Arctic holds, was used by more than one Russian Federation: similar claims to territories were made at different times by Norway, Denmark and Canada,<sup>267</sup> and the requirements of the latter partially coincide with Russian,<sup>268</sup> which allows us to talk about the intersection of the interests of the two countries.

Summarizing the aforementioned, one can conclude that, although the “conventional”<sup>269</sup> approach is currently considered to be the dominant one, in which most of the Arctic states operate, however, given the current geopolitical situation as well as the mutual claims of actors in the political space, whose geopolitical and geoeconomics interests clash in the Arctic region,<sup>270</sup> a rethink of the existing system

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<sup>265</sup> Partial revised submission of the Russian Federation to the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf in respect of the continental shelf of the Russian Federation in the Arctic Ocean. – 2015. – 35 p. – ISBN 978-5-8481-0191-1. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>266</sup> Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS) Outer limits of the continental shelf beyond 200 nautical miles from the baselines: Submissions to the Commission: Partial revised Submission by the Russian Federation. – Text : electronic // United Nations : [website]. – URL: [https://www.un.org/depts/los/clcs\\_new/submissions\\_files/submission\\_rus\\_rev2.htm](https://www.un.org/depts/los/clcs_new/submissions_files/submission_rus_rev2.htm) (accessed 1.03.2023).

<sup>267</sup> Ibragimov, A. M. Territorial claims of the Arctic states on the Arctic continental shelf / A. M. Ibragimov, U. N. Ustarkhanov. – Text: direct // Legal Bulletin of the Dagestan State University. – 2017. – Vol. 24, № 4. – P. 106. – DOI 10.21779/2224-0241-2017-24-4-104-108. [In Russian]

<sup>268</sup> Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS) Outer limits of the continental shelf beyond 200 nautical miles from the baselines: Submissions to the Commission: Partial Submission by Canada. – Text : electronic // United Nations : [website]. – URL: [https://www.un.org/depts/los/clcs\\_new/submissions\\_files/submission\\_can1\\_84\\_2019.html](https://www.un.org/depts/los/clcs_new/submissions_files/submission_can1_84_2019.html) (accessed 1.03.2023); Communications received with regard to the partial submission made by Canada to the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf: Russia. – Text : electronic // United Nations : [website]. – URL: [https://www.un.org/depts/los/clcs\\_new/submissions\\_files/can1\\_84\\_2019/2019\\_12\\_03\\_RUS\\_NV\\_UN\\_001\\_en.pdf](https://www.un.org/depts/los/clcs_new/submissions_files/can1_84_2019/2019_12_03_RUS_NV_UN_001_en.pdf) (accessed 1.03.2023).

<sup>269</sup> Makagon, A. V. Main concepts, conflicts and legal foundations of the international Arctic regime / A. V. Makagon. – Text : direct // Ocean Management. – 2019. – № 1 (4). – P. 6. [In Russian]

<sup>270</sup> National Strategy for the Arctic region / Washington : White House, 2022. – P. 5. – URL: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/National-Strategy-for-the-Arctic-Region.pdf> (accessed 3.03.2023). – Text : electronic.

of “fixing” Arctic territories is possible in the future. Thus, it remains to be emphasized that there is currently no single treaty that clearly defines the Arctic possessions of all the geographically linked states of the Arctic. The legal regime of the region is determined by general international law, regulations adopted by individual Arctic states, as well as other treaties and agreements, and is still open to revision. Although the Arctic states often choose a strategy of openness by inviting representatives of foreign states and corporations to cooperate, they are more attentive to the protection of sovereignty,<sup>271</sup> which in the present context is of particular relevance. Consequently, a key challenge for Russia is to secure its borders in the Arctic space, all the more so as the rights of the state are secured by its centuries-long presence in the Arctic zone.

The history of the exploration of the Arctic territories is inextricably linked with the history of Russia as a whole. According to the information that has come down to us, transmitted in the Patriarchal (Nikon) chronicle, in 1032 a certain Uleb from Veliky Novgorod, together with his squad, went to the “Iron Gates”,<sup>272</sup> that is, to the strait between the Kara and Barents Seas, which is now called the “Kara Gates”<sup>273</sup>. Thus, as early as the 11th century – the period of the establishment of the ancient Russian state - warriors and traders began to pave routes to the lands of the Arctic. Already rich in known treasures – furs – the Arctic lands attracted seekers of fortune, ready to risk their lives for a profit. Such expeditions, as in the case of Uleb, often resulted in many casualties<sup>274</sup> – not everyone could endure the harsh conditions of the northern territories. Moreover, local residents also gave a resolute rebuff: from the Novgorod Chronicle, one can learn about clashes with Ugra and Murmans, who

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<sup>271</sup> Konyshov V. N. The Arctic – 2018: is the spirit of the Ilulissat Declaration alive? / V. N. Konyshov, A. A. Sergunin. – Text: electronic // Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC) : [website]. – URL: <https://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/analytics/arktika-2018-zhiv-li-dukhlulissatskoy-deklaratsii/> (accessed 3.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>272</sup> The Chronicle Collection, called the Patriarch’s or Nikon’s Chronicle // The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. – Saint Petersburg : Publishing house of Edward Prats, 1862. – Vol. IX. – P. 79. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>273</sup> Belov, M. I. Arctic seafaring from ancient times to the middle of XIX century / M. I. Belov // History of discovery and development of the Northern Sea Route / Arkt. scientific-research inst. of Ministry of Maritime Fleet of USSR / edited by J. J. Gakkel et al. – Moscow : Rechnoy transport, 1956. – P. 34. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>274</sup> The Chronicle Collection, called the Patriarch’s or Nikon’s Chronicle // The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. – Saint Petersburg : Publishing house of Edward Prats, 1862. – Vol. IX. – P. 79. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

did not want to put up with newcomers.<sup>275</sup> With the strengthening of Moscow and its rise above Novgorod, Muscovites already went to the North,<sup>276</sup> establishing their authority over vast territories, so appealing in this time of valuable furs.

By decree of the Grand Duke of Moscow Ivan III in 1499, the Pustozersky prison was founded, which became the first major Russian outpost beyond the Arctic Circle (the now disappeared Pustozersk was located 20 kilometers from modern Naryan-Mar, the administrative center of the Nenets Autonomous Okrug). Monasteries were built: around the 12th century, the Archangel Michael Monastery was built on Cape Pur-Navolok (modern Arkhangelsk); at the end of the 14th century, at the mouth of the Northern Dvina (modern Severodvinsk), the Nikolo-Korelsky Monastery arose; in 1533, on the Pechenga River (modern Murmansk region), a monastery was organized – these and other monasteries turn out to be a kind of ‘center of attraction’ in the Russian North. In monasteries where the economy is established, they give shelter to service people and merchants. Near the strong monastery walls, promising protection, settlers are built, cities arise. Trade is actively conducted in the North, including with foreigners (for example, the British and Dutch set up trading posts near Arkhangelsk, which became an international port by the end of the 16th century).<sup>277</sup>

The construction of strongholds gives impetus to further advancement. At the turn of the 16th – 17th centuries, presumably, Prince V. Rubets-Mosalsky founded the first polar city of Mangazeya (on the Taz River of the modern Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug) – another significant outpost that established the power of the royal governors over the region, who were responsible, among other things, for

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<sup>275</sup> For ex.: Novgorod First Chronicle of the Senior and Junior Editions / M. N. Tikhomirov, A. N. Nasonov (eds). – Moscow ; Leningrad : Publishing House of the AS USSR, 1950. – P. 233. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>276</sup> Belov, M. I. Arctic seafaring from ancient times to the middle of XIX century / M. I. Belov // History of discovery and development of the Northern Sea Route / Arkt. scientific-research inst. of Ministry of Maritime Fleet of USSR / edited by J. J. Gakkel et al. – Moscow : Rechnoy transport, 1956. – P. 36. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>277</sup> Goldin, V. I. Arkhangelsk in Arctic history and geopolitics / V. I. Goldin. – Text : direct // Vestnik of Northern (Arctic) Federal University. Series: Humanities and social sciences. – 2019. – № 1. – P. 6. – DOI 10.17238/issn2227-6564.2019.1.5. [In Russian]

collecting tribute from the conquered local tribes. The sea route from Arkhangelsk to Mangazeya – the Mangazeya sea route – is being mastered by merchants.<sup>278</sup>

In the 1640s, the Russians reached Chukotka: first by land, and then S. Dezhnev, together with his Cossacks, made a difficult transition by water, rounding the Chukotsky Nose.<sup>279</sup> In general, the 17th – 18th centuries become the time of more thorough Arctic research: maps and drawings are compiled, according to which, in the 1720s – 1730s, the scientist and statesman I. Kirillov will create the first printed geographical atlas, known as the Atlas of the Russian Empire,<sup>280</sup> the Great Northern Expedition of 1733 – 1743 brings significant territorial acquisitions and research results.

The mission of I. Tolstoukhov, M. Vagin, Y. Permyakov, V. Bering, D. and Kh. Laptev, S. Malygin, S. Chelyuskin and other pioneers<sup>281</sup> who actively, though not without considerable difficulties, sometimes resulting in loss of life, explored the Arctic spaces, was continued in the following century. In the early 1820s two major expeditions took place: one led by the renowned polar explorer and navigator F. Wrangel, who surveyed the Arctic Ocean coastline from the mouth of the Kolyma River to the Kolyucha Bay; the other led by F. Litke, who described the Novaya Zemlya archipelago and the shores of the White Sea.<sup>282</sup> The next scientific expedition of F. Litke – the around-the-world voyage, which lasted from 1826 to 1829 – made it possible to collect the richest material on the coast of the Kamchatka Peninsula and the islands of the Bering Sea.<sup>283</sup> Arctic exploration took several directions: scientists and navigators were not so much concerned with geographic discoveries as with the special features of the area, including its economic potential.

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<sup>278</sup> History of Russian Arctic exploration: from Pomor ships to nuclear-powered icebreakers. – Text : electronic // Investment portal of Russian Arctic zone : [website]. – URL: <https://arctic-russia.ru/article/istoriya-osvoeniya-russkoy-arktiki-ot-pomorskikh-kochey-k-atomnym-ledokolam/> (accessed 4.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>279</sup> Ibidem.; Saveliev, I. V. Early Russian settlements in Alaska: myth or reality / I. V. Saveliev. – Text : direct // Vestnik of the Northern (Arctic) Federal University. Series: Humanities and Social Sciences. – 2012. – № 5. – P. 25. [In Russian]

<sup>280</sup> Atlas of the All-Russian Empire. Collection of maps by I. K. Kirilov / I. K. Kirilov. – Saint Petersburg, 1722 – 1737. – 41 p. [In Russian]

<sup>281</sup> History of Russian Arctic exploration: from Pomor ships to nuclear-powered icebreakers. – Text : electronic // Investment portal of Russian Arctic zone : [website]. – URL: <https://arctic-russia.ru/article/istoriya-osvoeniya-russkoy-arktiki-ot-pomorskikh-kochey-k-atomnym-ledokolam/> (accessed 4.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>282</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>283</sup> Ibidem.

For example, the expedition of A. Bunge and E. Toll', which set out in 1884 for the Yana, Indigirka and Kolyma river systems, had among its tasks the natural-historical and physical study of the "Arctic Sea coastline"<sup>284</sup>. Later, in 1910 – 1915, a hydrographic campaign was organized by I. Sergeev – B. Vilkitsky, which was to find out the specifics of the passage of ships along the Northern Sea Route.<sup>285</sup>

It is worth noting that Russia was competing with representatives of other countries in the development of the Arctic: the British (expedition of J. Franklin, G. Nares, etc.), Austro-Hungarians (in 1873 – 1874 K. Weyprecht and J. Payer discovered the Franz Josef Land archipelago), Swedes (in the late 1880s an expedition led by A.E. Nordenskiöld, Norwegians (a series of expeditions of F. Nansen to Greenland and the North Pole in the 1880s – 1890s, R. Amundsen's campaign to the magnetic North Pole in 1903 – 1905, etc.), Americans (the previously mentioned expeditions of R. Peary and R. Cook to the North Pole in late 1908 – 1909, etc.). It is important to emphasize that not all of the listed campaigns were of an exclusively scientific nature, such as, for example, the Russian-Swedish research expedition of 1899 – 1901 to Svalbard, formed to carry out geodetic and topographic measurements.<sup>286</sup>

It certainly can be said that by the 1900s, a romantic halo had formed around the Arctic in general and the North Pole in particular. Many lands had already been explored and the idea of the heroic conquest of the North Pole, a symbolically significant geographic feature, captured most minds.

The increased interest shown in the Arctic by foreigners was one of the reasons why decrees were adopted to regulate activities in the region. One of the first significant attempts at "comprehensive" regulation was Decree № 28747, adopted by the Senate on September 4, 1821, which determined the territories of

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<sup>284</sup> Dokuchaev, A. Y. Russian polar expedition and Russia's geopolitical interests at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Part 2. Expeditions of E. V. Toll and their geopolitical significance / A. Y. Dokuchaev, F. V. Kulakov, G. R. Krehan, A. G. Gurbanov, K. V. Lobanov, E. B. Kurdyukov, V. N. Smolyaninova, M. V. Polyakova. – Text : direct // Vestnik of Vladikavkaz. – 2021. – № 3. – P. 37. – DOI 10.46698/j0597-8589-1160-o. [In Russian]

<sup>285</sup> Karelin, V.A. Last expedition of Admiral B.A. Vilkitsky (from the history of development of the Northern Sea Route) / V.A. Karelin. – Text : direct // Science. Society. Defence. – 2019. – № 1 (18). – P. 2. – DOI 10.24411/2311-1763-2019-10180. [In Russian]

<sup>286</sup> Ibid. P. 37–38.

Russian possessions in the Kuril and Aleutian Islands, as well as in Eastern Siberia and North-West America, the rules for access to them by foreign nationals, the specifics of interaction aimed at ensuring fair trade, etc.<sup>287</sup> This was followed by a series of treaties with Sweden, the United States and Great Britain, defining issues such as borders, trade, commerce and so on.<sup>288</sup> The active cooperation with representatives of foreign countries, although generating considerable income, could not fail to cause justified concern: the state's main objective was seen as expanding economic cooperation while ensuring territorial integrity.

In 1894, the Minister of Finance S. Witte drew attention to the region, who saw many benefits in the development of the northern lands.<sup>289</sup> The technological development of the empire by that time already made it possible to take an unprecedented step: to equip transport communications connecting Arkhangelsk, the “gates of the Arctic”, with Vologda, to which the railway from Saint Petersburg was supposed to go.<sup>290</sup> It would contribute to the development of trade, including foreign trade. In addition, it was planned to build a port on the Murmansk coast, where the navy would be based to protect state borders.<sup>291</sup> Ambitious geopolitical and geo-economic projects were not fully implemented (the death of Emperor Alexander III, who patronized the development of the Arctic, prevented): in 1898, the Arkhangelsk – Vologda railway was laid, by 1905 – Vologda – Saint Petersburg, but from the idea of building the naval base on Murman, Nicholas II, who came to power, resolutely refused.<sup>292</sup> Meanwhile, as history has shown, the strategy of S. Witte was

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<sup>287</sup> Russian Empire. Decrees. On Enforcement of Regulations about Sailing Limits and About the Order of Littoral Communication along the Shores of Eastern Siberia, North-Western America and the Aleutian and Kuril Islands, etc. 1821. : Decree № 28747. – Text : electronic // Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire : [website]. – URL: [https://nlr.ru/e-res/law\\_r/search.php](https://nlr.ru/e-res/law_r/search.php) (accessed 5.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>288</sup> Convention Between the United States of America and His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, Relative to Navigating, Fishing, Etc., in the Pacific Ocean : [April 17, 1824; ratifications exchanged January 11, 1825; proclaimed January 12, 1825]. – Text : electronic // Explore North : [website]. – URL: <http://www.explorenorth.com/library/history/bl-rusus1825.htm> (accessed 5.03.2023).; Vylegzhanin, A. N. UN Convention on the Law of the Sea and the legal regime of the Arctic shelf / A. N. Vylegzhanin, I. P. Dudykina. – Text : direct // Vestnik of Voronezh State University. Series: Law. – 2017. – № 1 (28). – P. 288. [In Russian]

<sup>289</sup> Churakova, O. V. Committee for helping Pomors of Russian North (1894 - 1908) / O.V. Churakova. – Text : electronic // PORA Expert Center : [website]. – URL: <https://goarectic.ru/society/komitet-dlya-pomoshchi-pomoram-russkogo-severa-1894-1908/> (accessed 5.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>290</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>291</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>292</sup> Ibidem.; Northern railway : the history. – Text : electronic // Russian Railways : [website]. – URL: <https://szd.rzd.ru/ru/5000> (accessed 5.03.2023). [In Russian]

prophetic: the outbreak of the First World War made the construction of an ice-free port really necessary. And in 1915, in order to simplify communication with the allies (member countries of the Entente), the construction of the Murmansk seaport began, which was supposed to simplify the transportation of goods between states, becoming the “northern exit to Europe”<sup>293</sup>. A year later, the Romanov-on-Murman (present-day Murmansk) railway was laid. It was supposed to be built as part of an extensive Russian railway network, not only for military reasons, but also to provide substantial economic benefits in the future.<sup>294</sup>

Russia declared its claims to the Arctic territories both at an unofficial level and in a rather formal way. D. Ivanov wrote about an incident that occurred in 1900: “the timely appearance of a Russian expedition in northern waters showed the Americans the existence of government supervision over our coast [...]. Simultaneous appearance in the Nome Daily News, the most widespread newspaper, in the first place of an article [...] detailing the Americans’ prohibition to search on Russian territory, along with a warning that violating Russian laws threatens those guilty with heavy punishments, including forced labor in Russian mines, should have made a strong impression”<sup>295</sup>. As for official statements, in 1916 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire sent foreign states “a note on the inclusion in its territory of all the lands ‘located north of the Asian coast of the Russian Empire’”<sup>296</sup>.

So, Russia’s plans to develop the vast Arctic territories were of a significant scale, but their further implementation was hindered by the revolutionary events of

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<sup>293</sup> Fedorov, P. V. Romanov-on-Murman in government documents of the Russian Empire / P. V. Fedorov // III Ushakov readings, [Murmansk, 2-4 March 2006] / Federal Agency on Education, Murmansk State Pedagogical University [and others]. – Murmansk, 2006. – P. 14. – Text : electronic // Electronic library “Kolsky Sever”. – URL: [http://kolanord.ru/html\\_public/col\\_avtory/FedorovPV/FedorovPV\\_Romanov\\_na\\_Murmane\\_2006/](http://kolanord.ru/html_public/col_avtory/FedorovPV/FedorovPV_Romanov_na_Murmane_2006/) (accessed 5.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>294</sup> Ibid. P. 16; 18.

<sup>295</sup> Dokuchaev, A. Y. Russian polar expedition and Russia's geopolitical interests at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Part 2. Expeditions of E.V. Toll and their geopolitical significance / A. Y. Dokuchaev, F. V. Kulakov, G. R. Krehan, A. G. Gurbanov, K. V. Lobanov, E. B. Kurdyukov, V. N. Smolyaninova, M. V. Polyakova. – Text : direct // Vestnik of Vladikavkaz. – 2021. – № 3. – P. 38. – DOI 10.46698/j0597-8589-1160-o. Op. cit. Ivanov D. V. The Forgotten Margin. Results of two expeditions to the Chukchi Peninsula, outfitted in 1900-1901. V.M. Vonlyarsky, in connection with a project to establish gold mining in this area. – Saint Petersburg: Printing house of A. S. Suvorin, 1902. – 62 p. [In Russian]

<sup>296</sup> Fedoseev L. Russian possessions in the Arctic. History and problems of international legal status / Fedoseev L. – Text : electronic // TASS : [website]. – URL: <https://tass.ru/info/6312329> (accessed 5.03.2023). [In Russian]

1917. During the period of changes of power, foreign intervention and civil war that occurred in the late 1910s, there were significant difficulties in continuing scientific research and developing stable balanced trade and economic relations in the Arctic zone.<sup>297</sup> Thus, the transformation of the Russian Empire into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics suspended the previous ‘Arctic processes’ for several years: however, measures to maintain dominance in the Arctic were taken as early as 1920, when V. Lenin signed a decree on the establishment of the Northern Scientific and Fishing Expedition, which was supposed to be engaged in research activities in the field of solving Arctic issues.<sup>298</sup> All areas were systematically covered: oceanographic, geological, soil and botanical, livestock, economic and statistical, etc.<sup>299</sup>

In 1926, the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR adopted a resolution “On Declaring the Lands and Islands Located in the Arctic Ocean to be the Territory of the USSR”<sup>300</sup>, which is not only consolidated the existing status quo, but also predetermined the borders of the state’s Arctic territories for many years to come. The Union’s sovereignty was extended to “lands which have been discovered, as well as those which may hereafter be discovered, and which have not been declared as territories of other countries prior to the publication of this regulation”<sup>301</sup>, “situated in the Arctic Ocean, north of the coast of the Union SSR to the North Pole within between the meridians thirty-two degrees four minutes and thirty-five seconds east of Greenwich, running along the eastern side of Vaida Bay through the triangulation mark at Cape Kekurskoe, and the meridian one

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<sup>297</sup> Kuznetsov, N. A. White in the Arctic. The year 1918. Forgotten pages of the history of exploration and development of the North during the Civil War / N. A. Kuznetsov. – Text : direct // Zvezda. – 2018. – № 7. – pp. 170–193. [In Russian]

<sup>298</sup> Northern Research Expedition. – Text : electronic // Kola North : [website]. – URL: [http://lexicon.dobrohot.org/index.php/%D0%A1%D0%95%D0%92%D0%95%D0%A0%D0%9D%D0%90%D0%AF\\_%D0%9D%D0%90%D0%A3%D0%A7%D0%9D%D0%9E-%D0%9F%D0%A0%D0%9E%D0%9C%D0%AB%D0%A1%D0%9B%D0%9E%D0%92%D0%90%D0%AF\\_%D0%AD%D0%9A%D0%A1%D0%9F%D0%95%D0%94%D0%98%D0%A6%D0%98%D0%AF](http://lexicon.dobrohot.org/index.php/%D0%A1%D0%95%D0%92%D0%95%D0%A0%D0%9D%D0%90%D0%AF_%D0%9D%D0%90%D0%A3%D0%A7%D0%9D%D0%9E-%D0%9F%D0%A0%D0%9E%D0%9C%D0%AB%D0%A1%D0%9B%D0%9E%D0%92%D0%90%D0%AF_%D0%AD%D0%9A%D0%A1%D0%9F%D0%95%D0%94%D0%98%D0%A6%D0%98%D0%AF) (accessed 5.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>299</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>300</sup> Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Decrees. On Declaring as the Territory of the Union of SSR the Lands and Islands in the Arctic Ocean : [adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Union of SSR on April 15, 1926]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and normative-technical documents : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/901761796> (accessed 5.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>301</sup> Ibidem.



hundred and sixty-eight degrees forty-nine minutes and thirty seconds West of Greenwich, running along the middle of the strait separating the Ratmanov and Krusenstern islands of the Diomid island group in the Bering Strait”<sup>302</sup>. So, the Soviet Union had clearly defined the sector to which it extended its authority. However, the decree declared claims solely to land territories (lands and islands), and additional clarifications<sup>303</sup> made in later years did not settle the division of maritime areas.

Exploring the Arctic was a challenge well within the framework of the Soviet ideological model: the fully unexplored and uninhabited northern frontier stimulated labor enthusiasm and research fervor to overcome difficulties. From the mid-1920s, the development of the periphery begins.<sup>304</sup> Drawing on the experience of the Russian Empire and achievements in land development, a network of polar stations began to be restored (the first stations were built in the 1880s, later joined by weather and radio stations at Khatanga, Vaygach and Dickson Island, etc., whose activities were suspended in 1918 – 1920): In 1922 a meteorological station was built on the Gulf of Obninsk, in 1923 on the Matochkin Strait, in 1928 on Cape Shalaurova and later others – the USSR hydrometeorological service became an organized structure.<sup>305</sup> The icebreaking fleet is expanding, the foundation of which was also laid during the Russian Empire: the icebreaking steamers “Bellavenchur” (renamed

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<sup>302</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>303</sup> Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. Decrees. On the administration of the islands of the Arctic Ocean Wrangel and Herold : [adopted by the Council of People’s Commissars on 10 June 1926]. – Text : electronic // Regulatory Document Base : E-dossier : [website]. – URL: <https://e-ecolog.ru/docs/bOaRovtvQzocIDpzMaJMb> (accessed 5.03.2023). [In Russian]; Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. Decrees. On management of the Arctic Ocean islands : [adopted by the Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People’s Commissars on November 10, 1929]. – Text : electronic // Regulatory Document Base : E-dossier : [website]. – URL: [https://e-ecolog.ru/docs/xVR1\\_oXSQBFpPFzHOuZZe](https://e-ecolog.ru/docs/xVR1_oXSQBFpPFzHOuZZe) (accessed 5.03.2023). [In Russian]; Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. Decrees. On additions to Article I of the Resolution of the Russian Central Executive Committee and Council of People’s Commissars of November 10, 1929 “On management of Arctic Ocean islands” : [adopted by the Russian Central Executive Committee and Council of People’s Commissars on March 2, 1933]. – Text : electronic // Regulatory Document Base : E-dossier : [website]. – URL: <https://e-ecolog.ru/docs/XNorMQAi-8NMmWclr-D56> (accessed 5.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>304</sup> Gomelauri, A. S. Arctic transformations: Russia declares “hard power” / A. S. Gomelauri. – Text : direct // *Vlast*. – 2021. – № 4 (29). – P. 109. [In Russian]

<sup>305</sup> Romanenko, F. A. Polar management of the Main Northern Sea Route and the work of polar stations in 1932–1963 / F. A. Romanenko, N. M. Ezhova. – Text : direct // *Polar Readings – 2019. Arctic: management issues : Proceedings of the seventh scientific and practical conference “Polar Readings – 2019. State and public organizations in the management of the Arctic: past, present, future”*, Saint Petersburg, April 29–30, 2019. – Saint Petersburg : Paulsen, 2020. – P. 552–556. – ISBN 978-5-98797-264-9. [In Russian]

“Alexander Sibiryakov”), “Bonavenchur” (renamed “Vladimir Rusanov”), “Alexander Sedov”, “Sadko”, “Taimyr”, the icebreaker “Krasin” and other ships become part of the Soviet fleet, eventually being joined by the Soviet-built “V. Molotov”, “I. Stalin” and others.

Explorations and the increase of the fleet served the economic development of the state and, last but not least, the exploitation of resources. While in earlier centuries the wealth of the Arctic was seen in furs, harvested fish and other things – mainly resources of a biological nature, at the beginning of the twentieth century it was already a question of the minerals stored in the subsoil. The first geological explorations were carried out as early as the 1910s, but the revolution interrupted oil exploration activities. It was only in the late 1920s that the Soviet government returned to the issue, based on scientists’ assumptions that there was an oil-bearing area in the north of the country: a search for new fields in the north began.<sup>306</sup> In 1930, the Chibiu field was discovered near the Ukhta and Chibiu rivers, where oil production began on a commercial scale, and five years later development of the Yaregskoye field began.<sup>307</sup> Geological prospecting leads to the discovery of other minerals – coal, platinum group metals, and later oil, gas and condensate deposits.

However, large-scale development of territories requires well-established ways of export and supply. Back in 1932, to organize the economic development of the Arctic, the Main Directorate of the Northern Sea Route was created, which was supposed to ensure the development of the transport system and other infrastructure tailored to the needs of the economy. Railways are being laid, mines, mining and metallurgical plants, sawmills are being built, port construction work is underway – the Arctic needs a system for delivering what is mined to the consumer – settlements are emerging that later grew into cities (Igarka, Naryan-Mar, Vorkuta, Norilsk, etc.).

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<sup>306</sup> Kuryatnikov, V. N. On the geopolitical aspects of the creation of a new oil base of the USSR in the 30s - 50s. XX century. Part II / V. N. Kuryatnikov. – Text: direct // Bulletin of SamSU. – 2006. – № 10–1 (50). – P. 101–102. [In Russian]

<sup>307</sup> Kontorovich, A. E. Oil and gas of the Russian Arctic: the history of development in the XX century, resources, strategy for the XXI century / A. E. Kontorovich. – Text: direct // Science first hand. – 2015. – № 1 (61). – P. 47. [In Russian]

With the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, the economic and research aspect of the development of the Arctic gives way to the problem of security: the Northern Sea Route, convenient for the transport of goods, and the only ice-free port – Murmansk – become strategic goals of the Nazi invaders, and therefore their defense is a task of paramount importance for the Soviet troops. The formation of a system of defenses, the strengthening of the Murmansk direction where a port operated during the war to receive Allied lend-lease supplies (Arctic convoys) and provide ship repairs, and the active resistance of the defenders of the Arctic Circle had a significant impact on the course of military operations. In October 1944, Soviet forces took the offensive and by November the region was liberated. The victory had significant consequences for the entire Arctic: firstly, by leading to the development of the Northern Fleet, and secondly, by defining the security of the territories as one of the factors for further development.

It should be noted that in the following decades, up until the collapse of the USSR, the development of the Arctic region had already predetermined vectors of advancement: exploration of mineral deposits (including oil and gas) and the unfolding of their industrial production, establishment of trade and economic relations both within the state and beyond through an extensive network of sea, river and, in some cases, rail transport, ensuring security (which remained relevant during the Cold War), etc. It is important to underline that the Arctic was, among other things, a platform for the USSR to demonstrate state strength and gain a reputation in international space.<sup>308</sup> Thus, in February and April 1934, Soviet citizens closely followed the rescue of the crew and passengers of the icebreaking steamer “Chelyuskin”, which had been crushed by the ice. In the difficult conditions of the polar winter, the pilots transported people from the ice floe to the mainland, which became a symbol of unparalleled courage and heroism.<sup>309</sup> In 1937, the whole world

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<sup>308</sup> Gomelauri, A. S. Arctic transformations: Russia declares “hard power” / A. S. Gomelauri. – Text : direct // Vlast. – 2021. – № 4 (29). – P. 109–110. [In Russian]

<sup>309</sup> Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Decrees. On conferring the title of Hero of the Soviet Union to the pilots who rescued the Chelyuskinites: [Decree of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR of April 20, 1934]. – Text: electronic // Old newspapers : Trud : [website]. – URL: <http://oldgazette.narod.ru/trud/21041934/text1.html#6> (accessed 10.03.2023). [In Russian]

was watching V. Chkalov's record-breaking non-stop flight from Moscow to Vancouver (Washington, USA) via the North Pole. In the 1950s and beyond, under the conditions of the Cold War, a more explicit, although not publicized in the media and not intended for the general public, demonstration of the 'hard power' of the state was made: The Novaya Zemlya archipelago in the Barents Sea was the site of a nuclear weapons test site where 132 explosions were conducted during its operation (i.e. until 1990).<sup>310</sup> In 1977, the technological achievements of the USSR were expressed differently: the nuclear-powered icebreaker "Arktika", manufactured at the Baltic Shipyard in Leningrad, became the first ship to reach the geographical North Pole. The event marked the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution: the crew planted the flag of the Soviet Union at the pole.

The collapse of the state and the ensuing difficult years for the Russian Federation, which was formed at the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, had a negative impact on the Arctic region. The impossibility to maintain development strategies at the same level has led to the degradation of the 'Soviet legacy': a sharp decline in economic activity, expressed in the closure of enterprises (mines, factories, plants), the suspension of research and development, the reduction of cargo traffic on the Northern Sea Route, led to a large-scale outflow of unemployed people, the elimination of dozens of northern villages and 'spatial compression' of cities, social decay.<sup>311</sup> With the strengthening of the Russian Federation, which was struggling to recover from the damage caused in almost all spheres of society in the 1990s, changes have also occurred in the Arctic region, although certainly not all negative trends have been corrected.

Analyzing the Arctic policy of the Russian Federation, it is worth noting that researchers suggest that it should be considered in the light of ideas that may have influenced the views of policy makers and, as a consequence, changed approaches

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<sup>310</sup> Sych, Y. G. Radio-ecological situation on Novaya Zemlya archipelago / Y.G. Sych, L.V. Dubinko. – Text : direct // Arctic: Ecology and economy. – 2012. – № 1 (5). – pp. 48–59. [In Russian]

<sup>311</sup> Zamyatina, N. Y. "Not according to the classics". How settlement of Arctic cities began / N. Y. Zamyatina. – Text : electronic // PORA Expert Center : [website]. – URL: <https://goarctic.ru/work/s-chego-nachinalos-rasselenie-arkticheskikh-gorodov/> (accessed 10.03.2023). [In Russian]

to the Arctic territories. For example, A. Sergunin and V. Konyshev described the Russian discourse on the Arctic as a struggle between two sides: neo-liberalists who advocate a value-based approach to the Arctic territories as a global commons that should be made a zone of global governance with a focus on environmental and social well-being, and pragmatic neorealists who see the Arctic as a strategic resource of the state with a focus on the economic merits of the region, which consequently generates discussions on Russian policy in a security context.<sup>312</sup> However, it is clear that the proponents of neo-liberalism had no meaningful influence on the formulation of the Russian Federation's Arctic foreign policy strategy. Accordingly, it is proposed to take it as axiomatic that in the process of its formation and consolidation, the federal government was not prepared to share its rights to ownership of the Arctic and its riches by transferring them to the supranational level. Thus, the only question that arises is the extent to which Arctic subjects are regulated and the tools and mechanisms for implementing Arctic policy. It should be considered in two closely related ways: firstly, in terms of normative and legal regulation, and secondly, in terms of the implementation of the said measures and the achievement of practical results.

Despite the difficult political and economic situation in the state, the problem of the rapid degradation of the northern regions in the 1990s was noticed by the state: in 1996, Federal Law № 78 to which a policy of 'state protectionism' was established over the northern regions, which provided benefits and support for "creating favorable conditions for efficient economic activity, rational use of natural resources, environmental protection, ensuring a decent life for the population and sustainable development of this region"<sup>313</sup>. The protectionist measures listed in the law, of course, did not guarantee a rapid improvement in the situation in the Arctic, although they laid the foundation for further work on the problems of the northern

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<sup>312</sup> Sergunin, A. *Russia in the Arctic: Hard or Soft Power?* / A. Sergunin, V. Konyshev. – Stuttgart : Ibidem-Verlag, 2016. – P. 35–37. – ISBN-13: 978-3-8382-0753-7. – Text : direct.

<sup>313</sup> Russian Federation. *Laws. On the bases of state regulation of social and economic development of the Russian Federation North : Federal Law № 78 of June 19, 1996: [adopted by the State Duma on May 24, 1996 : approved by the Federation Council on June 5, 1996].* – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/9606> (accessed 10.03.2023). [In Russian]

regions of the country. In 1998, there was a discussion about passing a law on the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation,<sup>314</sup> the relevance of which was due to the difficult situation in the Arctic region at the time, but budget deficits and a number of other factors forced lawmakers to shelve the idea of comprehensive development of the Arctic.<sup>315</sup> Meanwhile, the Arctic region was not completely removed from the agenda: “Concept of National Security of the Russian Federation”, adopted in 2000, where legislators pointed out the need to develop “mechanisms for maintaining life and economic development of especially crisis regions and regions of the Far North”<sup>316</sup> as soon as possible.

In addition, in 2000, the “Concept of State Support for the Economic and Social Development of the Northern Regions” was also adopted, which defined a wide range of assistance to the northern entities, divided into three categories according to their level of wealth: economically underdeveloped, depressed and actively developing.<sup>317</sup> Rather characteristically, the Arctic subjects, later separated by legislators from the general ‘North’ into a separate group,<sup>318</sup> were included in different groups (Yamal-Nenets AO, the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) – classified as developing, Karelia – as depressive, etc.).<sup>319</sup> It is worth noting that by the time the concepts were adopted, some actions aimed at developing the entities had already

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<sup>314</sup> Russian Federation. Draft Federal Law. On the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation : [submitted for consideration on 9 July 1998]. – Text : electronic // Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://council.gov.ru/activity/documents/4335/> (accessed 10.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>315</sup> Russian Federation. Bill № 98061514-2. On the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation. – Text : electronic // Legislative Support System : [website]. – URL: <https://sozd.duma.gov.ru/bill/98061514-2> (accessed 10.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>316</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On the Concept of National Security of the Russian Federation : Decree № 24 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on 10 January 2000]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/14927/page/1> (accessed 10.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>317</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On the Concept of State Support for the Economic and Social Development of the Regions of the North : [adopted by the Government of the Russian Federation on March 7, 2000]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and regulatory documents : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/901756699> (accessed 12.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>318</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On the land territories of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation : Decree № 296 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on May 2, 2014]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/38377> (accessed 12.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>319</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On the Concept of State Support for the Economic and Social Development of the Regions of the North : [adopted by the Government of the Russian Federation on March 7, 2000]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and regulatory documents : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/901756699> (accessed 12.03.2023). [In Russian]

been taken: for example, the construction of the Yamal-Europe gas pipeline started in 1994, which went into operation in 2006.<sup>320</sup> Overall, gas supplies to Europe are beginning to increase,<sup>321</sup> which requires the continuation of efforts to find and develop new gas fields and infrastructure (since 1997, work has started on a major project, the Nord Stream 1 gas pipeline, which will be completed in 2005)<sup>322</sup>. Also, deposits with other minerals (copper-nickel ores, etc.) are being developed, which also determines the implementation of plans to develop railway transport (the Obskaya-Bovanenkovo and other railways are being laid) and to transport goods by the Northern Sea Route.<sup>323</sup>

In 2008, the key objectives of the Russian Federation in the Arctic, as well as the means for achieving them, were defined in the “Principles of State Policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic to 2020 and Beyond”,<sup>324</sup> the development of which resulted in part from the negotiations among the five Arctic states in Greenland’s Ilulissat and the adoption of the Ilulissat Declaration, which outlined the main Arctic challenges requiring inter-state cooperation to overcome them.<sup>325</sup>

The adopted Principles emphasized the Arctic region as a resource base which makes a significant contribution to the socio-economic development of the state.<sup>326</sup> Consequently, the document identified measures to expand and modernize the

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<sup>320</sup> “Yamal – Europe”: Gas supplies to Western Europe. – Text : electronic // Gazprom: [website]. – URL: <https://www.gazprom.ru/projects/yamal-europe/> (accessed 12.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>321</sup> History of deliveries of Soviet and Russian gas to Europe. – Text : electronic // Kommersant : [website]. – URL: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/3650812> (accessed 12.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>322</sup> Nord Stream: The main gas pipeline linking Russia and Germany along the bottom of the Baltic Sea. – Text : electronic // Lenta.ru : [website]. – URL: <https://lenta.ru/lib/14160423/> (accessed 12.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>323</sup> Sigachev, S. The Northern Sea Route as a National and International Transport Communication / S. Sigachev. – Text : electronic // Engineering protection : [website]. – URL: <https://territoryengineering.ru/infrastrukturnaya-revoljutsiya/severnoj-morskoj-put-kak-natsionalnaya-i-mezhdunarodnaya-transportnaya-kommunikatsiya/> (accessed 12.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>324</sup> Russian Federation. Orders. Strategy for the development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and ensuring national security for the period up to 2020 : Order № 1969 : [approved by the President of the Russian Federation on September 18, 2008]. – Text : electronic // Government of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://static.government.ru/media/files/2RpSA3sctElhAGn4RN9dHrtzk0A3wZm8.pdf> (accessed 12.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>325</sup> Ilulissat Declaration : [adopted in Ilulissat, Greenland on 28 May 2008]. – Text : electronic // National University of Singapore : Centre for International Law : [website]. – URL: <https://cil.nus.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/2008-Ilulissat-Declaration.pdf> (accessed 12.03.2023).

<sup>326</sup> Russian Federation. Orders. Strategy for the development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and ensuring national security for the period up to 2020 : Order № 1969 : [approved by the President of the Russian Federation on September 18, 2008]. – Text : electronic // Government of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://static.government.ru/media/files/2RpSA3sctElhAGn4RN9dHrtzk0A3wZm8.pdf> (accessed 12.03.2023). [In Russian]

extraction of resources and their delivery to consumers/consumers using technology and technology, and to ensure the region's security, all directly linked to the desire to preserve the Arctic's wealth.<sup>327</sup> It is interesting to note that the social problems, which had already emerged at that time, were hardly mentioned in the Principles.<sup>328</sup>

In pursuance of the Principles, the “Strategy for Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and National Security for the Period to 2020” was elaborated, highlighting more clearly the problems hindering Arctic development, as well as the risks and threats to the well-being of the territories, among them:<sup>329</sup>

- harsh natural and climatic conditions;
- the focal character of land development;
- dependence on supplies of food and other important commodities;
- underdevelopment and depreciation of existing infrastructure;
- imbalances in the labor market;
- worsening demographic conditions,
- lack of equipment and inadequate technology
- negative anthropogenic impact on the environment;
- low standard of living of indigenous northern peoples, etc.

The latter problem was so acute that there was already an attempt in 2009 to devote sufficient attention to caring for human capital, expressed in support for indigenous peoples in the Far North, who have not been spared from the Arctic twists and turns (neither the development of Arctic capacities nor the recession of the 1990s).<sup>330</sup>

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<sup>327</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>328</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>329</sup> Russian Federation. Orders. Strategy for the development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and ensuring national security for the period up to 2020 : Order № 1969 : [approved by the President of the Russian Federation on September 18, 2008]. – Text : electronic // Government of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://static.government.ru/media/files/2RpSA3sctElhAGn4RN9dHrtzk0A3wZm8.pdf> (accessed 12.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>330</sup> Russian Federation. Orders. On the approval of the Concept for the Sustainable Development of Indigenous Minorities of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation: Decree № 132 : [adopted by the Government of the Russian Federation on February 4, 2009]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and regulatory documents : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/902142304> (accessed 12.03.2023). [In Russian]



The incompatibility of customary ways of life with the new economic conditions, lack of competitiveness in the modern economy, reduction of the territories available for economic activities, pollution of rivers and reservoirs previously available for fishing, high unemployment, increased morbidity, high infant mortality and comparatively short life expectancy, alcoholism<sup>331</sup> and other problems, all posed a direct threat to the small peoples of the North. The recognition of indigenous peoples' right to a traditional way of life led to the development of programs to compensate for the environmental and other damage caused to their "habitat"<sup>332</sup>. Accordingly, state support measures to address some of the problems included both legally enacted financial and economic tools to reduce the burden on indigenous families in the Far North – benefits, subsidies, business support measures, quotas for the use of biological resources,<sup>333</sup> and social – ensuring access to education (including through nomadic schools), quality of health services, infrastructure, etc.<sup>334</sup>

The implementation of population subsidies, the development of the transport network, and the encouragement of entrepreneurial activity in the Arctic has raised a significant question for the state: which territories should be considered Arctic? The answer was given by Decree № 296 of the President of the Russian Federation of 2 May 2014 "On the land territories of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation"<sup>335</sup>. According to this regulatory legal act, the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation includes land territories amounting to 5 million km<sup>2</sup>,<sup>336</sup> adjoining

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<sup>331</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>332</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>333</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>334</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>335</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On the land territories of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation : Decree № 296 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on May 2, 2014]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/38377> (accessed 12.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>336</sup> Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs: Statistics. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg : Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/statistic/#:~:text=%D0%90%D1%80%D0%BA%D1%82%D0%B8%D1%87%D0%B5%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%8F%20%D0%B7%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%B0%20%D0%A0%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%81%D0%B8%D0%B9%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%B9%20%D0%A4%D0%B5%D0%B4%D0%B5%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%86%D0%B8%D0%B8.%20%2D,%D0%BF%D0%BB%D0%BE%D1%89%D0%B0%D0%B4%D0%B8%20%D0%BC%D0%BB%D0%BD.%20%D0%BA%D0%B2.%20%D0%BA%D0%BC> (accessed 12.03.2023). [In Russian]

“internal sea waters, territorial sea, exclusive economic zone and continental shelf of the Russian Federation”<sup>337</sup>.

The established legislative framework, which provided multidimensional regulation of Arctic issues – from geographical location to economic and social issues – provided the impetus for the creation of relevant institutions. In 2015, in order to increase the effectiveness of various programs and projects implemented in the Arctic, the State Commission for the Development of the Arctic was founded. It was entrusted with the functions of “clarifying the goals and objectives of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic”<sup>338</sup>, monitoring the effectiveness of programs and projects implemented in the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation (AZRF), etc.<sup>339</sup> At present, the Institute is the main federal coordinating body ensuring interaction between federal executive authorities and executive authorities of the constituent territories of the Russian Federation, local governments and other bodies and organisations involved in the implementation of tasks affecting the development of the ASRF.<sup>340</sup> In the mid-2010s, the work on a federal law “On the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation” began, but, despite subsequent discussions, it was never adopted.<sup>341</sup>

Active activities in the field of mineral extraction and transportation (oil shipment from the Prirazlomnaya Offshore Ice-Resistant Fixed Platform (OIRFP) started in 2014; the Sabetta sea port for liquefied natural gas (LNG) transport along the Northern Sea Route in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Region was completed in

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<sup>337</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On the land territories of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation : Decree № 296 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on May 2, 2014]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/38377> (accessed 12.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>338</sup> State Commission for the Development of the Arctic: General information. – Text : electronic // State Commission for the Development of the Arctic : [website]. – URL: <https://arctic.gov.ru/about-us-overall/> (accessed 12.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>339</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On the State Commission for the Development of the Arctic : Decree № 50 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on February 3, 2015]. – Text : electronic // Information and legal portal “Garant” : [website]. – URL: <https://base.garant.ru/70901032/> (accessed 12.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>340</sup> State Commission for the Development of the Arctic: General information. – Text : electronic // State Commission for the Development of the Arctic : [website]. – URL: <https://arctic.gov.ru/about-us-overall/> (accessed 12.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>341</sup> The Concept of the draft federal law “On the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation”. – Text : electronic // Information and analytical portal “Arctic Today” : [website]. – URL: <https://www.arctic-today.ru/index.php/arkticheskoe-zakonodatelstvo/101-kontseptsiya-proekta-federalnogo-zakona-ob-arkticheskoy-zone-rossijskoj-federatsii> (accessed 12.03.2023). [In Russian]

2018; construction of the Nord Stream-2 gas pipeline began in 2018; the Yamal LNG plant was fully commissioned by 2019, etc.) is facilitated by the state: in 2020, Federal Law № 193 “On State Support for Entrepreneurial Activity in the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation” was adopted.<sup>342</sup> This legal act defined the system of management of the Arctic Zone, specifying the key areas and powers of federal agencies, management companies, public council, residents of the AZRF, paying attention to investment activities in the region, customs procedures, etc.<sup>343</sup>

In 2020, another landmark document, the “Strategy for Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and National Security for the Period to 2035”<sup>344</sup>, was adopted, which was more optimistic than the previous one.<sup>345</sup> However, while increased economic activity and technologization can be seen as a positive outcome of the state’s Arctic policy, environmental and social problems, as well as increased conflict potential, can be classified as negative aspects accompanying the development of the Arctic region.<sup>346</sup> Thus, it can be argued that despite some improvement since 2008,<sup>347</sup> the Russian Federation is facing largely similar challenges:<sup>348</sup>

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<sup>342</sup> Russian Federation. Laws. On state support for entrepreneurial activity in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation: Federal Law № 193 of July 13, 2020 : [adopted by the State Duma on July 7, 2020 : approved by the Federation Council on July 8, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/45677> (accessed 12.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>343</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>344</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. About Strategy for Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and National Security Provision for the Period to 2035 : Decree № 645 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on October 26, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/45972> (accessed 13.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>345</sup> Russian Federation. Orders. Strategy for the development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and ensuring national security for the period up to 2020 : Order № 1969 : [approved by the President of the Russian Federation on September 18, 2008]. – Text : electronic // Government of the Russian Federation. – URL: <http://static.government.ru/media/files/2RpSA3sctElhAGn4RN9dHrtzk0A3wZm8.pdf> (accessed 13.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>346</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. About Strategy for Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and National Security Provision for the Period to 2035 : Decree № 645 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on October 26, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/45972> (accessed 13.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>347</sup> Russian Federation. Orders. Strategy for the development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and ensuring national security for the period up to 2020 : Order № 1969 : [approved by the President of the Russian Federation on September 18, 2008]. – Text : electronic // Government of the Russian Federation. – URL: <http://static.government.ru/media/files/2RpSA3sctElhAGn4RN9dHrtzk0A3wZm8.pdf> (accessed 13.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>348</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. About Strategy for Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and National Security Provision for the Period to 2035 : Decree № 645 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on October 26, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/45972> (accessed 13.03.2023). [In Russian]

- the need to promote multi-vector economic development through the expansion of the oil and gas sector and mining in general, entrepreneurship, investment, infrastructure (with a focus on maritime transport for the transport of goods by the Northern Sea Route), etc.;

- contribute to the social improvement of the region (growth of employment of the population, modernisation of the system of medical and educational services, etc.);

- reduce adverse environmental impacts caused by human activities, among others;

- ensure territorial security in a conflict-prone environment by enhancing the combat capabilities of Russian troops in the Arctic.

Since 2020, other legal and regulatory acts have been adopted, partly affecting the development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation,<sup>349</sup> but the Strategy can be called a largely predictive document, at least in terms of the growing conflict in the global arena, as confirmed by the events of 2022, which significantly changed the international arena. A significant aggravation of the Ukrainian crisis, resulting in the imposition of sanctions on Russia by European and North American countries, has resulted in a complicated situation around the Arctic. Firstly, a significant number of foreign companies involved in the development of the Russian Arctic zone have left the state, curtailing their investment, technological and other programs (in particular, Van Oord, Boskalis, Jan de Nul, DEME, involved in infrastructure projects, Metso Outotec, Halliburton, Caterpillar, which supplied equipment and machinery for the development, oil and gas companies British Petroleum, Wintershall Dea, Shell, Vitol Group, ExxonMobil, Total Energies,

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<sup>349</sup> For ex.: Russian Federation. Orders. On the transport strategy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2030 with a forecast for the period up to 2035 : Order № 3363 : [adopted by the Government of the Russian Federation on November 27, 2021]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and regulatory documents : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/727294161> (accessed 13.03.2023). [In Russian].; Russian Federation. Decrees. On approval of the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation : Decree № 229 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on March 31, 2023]. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: [https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign\\_policy/official\\_documents/1860586/](https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/official_documents/1860586/) (accessed 9.05.2023). [In Russian]

etc.).<sup>350</sup> Secondly, trade in minerals with several countries, including the European Union states, has been halted.<sup>351</sup> Thirdly, the activities of international dialogue platforms, including the Arctic Council and the Barents Euro-Arctic Council (BERC), which are directly involved in the sustainable development of the region, have been suspended in full format, “frozen”, or completely stopped.<sup>352</sup> Consequently, deprived of the opportunity to interact with former partners, Russia has been faced with the need to implement import-substitution measures and to reorient trade and economic relations in particular and policy in general towards friendly states (of which China and India have a special place).<sup>353</sup>

Further aggravation of relations with unfriendly states over Arctic issues is likely,<sup>354</sup> which may be due not only to the complex international situation, but also to the availability of the resources that the Arctic holds. The continental shelf of the Russian Federation, according to preliminary estimates, “contains more than 85.1 trillion cubic meters of combustible natural gas, 17.3 billion tons of oil (including gas condensate)”<sup>355</sup> as well as significant reserves of nickel and copper, as well as

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<sup>350</sup> Shevchenko, I. Which companies left Russia: a list for April 24, 2023 / I. Shevchenko. – Text : electronic // GrandGuide : [website]. – URL: <https://grandguide.ru/kakie-kompanii-uhodyat-iz-rossii/#neft> (accessed 13.03.2023). [In Russian]; Malysheva, N. Without the Big Four / N. Malysheva. – Text : electronic // PortNews : [website]. – URL: <https://portnews.ru/comments/3179/> (accessed 13.03.2023). [In Russian]; Finnish engineering company Metso Outotec. – Text : electronic // RBC : [website]. – URL : <https://www.rbc.ru/rbcfreenews/644672719a7947f247c6fda4> (accessed 13.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>351</sup> Caprile, A. EU sanctions on Russia: Overview, impact, challenges / A. Caprile, A. Delivorias. – Text : electronic // European Parliament : [website]. – URL: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2023/739366/EPRS\\_BRI\(2023\)739366\\_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2023/739366/EPRS_BRI(2023)739366_EN.pdf) (accessed 13.03.2023).

<sup>352</sup> Arctic Council. – Text: electronic // Arctic Council : [website]. – URL : <https://arctic-council.org/ru/> (accessed 13.03.2023). [In Russian]; Barents Euro-Arctic Council. – Text: electronic // Council of the Barents Euro-Arctic Region : [website]. – URL: <https://barents-council.org/> (accessed 13.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>353</sup> Nan, Ya., Sino-Russian Cooperation in the Arctic: Current Situation, Challenges and Development Priorities / Ya. Nan, G. Peijing. – Text: direct // Economic and social changes: facts, trends, forecast. – 2022. – Vol. 15, №. 3. – pp. 259–273. – DOI 10.15838/esc.2022.3.81.14. [In Russian]

<sup>354</sup> Russian Federation. Orders. On approval of the list of foreign states and territories committing unfriendly actions against the Russian Federation, Russian legal entities and individuals : Order № 430: [adopted by the Government of the Russian Federation on March 5, 2022]. – Text : electronic // Information and legal portal “ConsultantPlus” : [website]. – URL: [https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons\\_doc\\_LAW\\_411064/e8730c96430f0f246299a0cb7e5b27193f98fdaa/](https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_411064/e8730c96430f0f246299a0cb7e5b27193f98fdaa/) (accessed 15.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>355</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. About Strategy for Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and National Security Provision for the Period to 2035 : Decree № 645 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on October 26, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/45972> (accessed 15.03.2023). [In Russian]

significant reserves of nickel, cobalt, zinc, tungsten, titanium, platinum, palladium, gold and other minerals.<sup>356</sup>

The challenges and dangers facing the state were set out in the “Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation”, adopted on March 31, 2023, which for the coming years predetermined the key interests of the state, taking into account the transformation processes and their impact on the Arctic zone space.<sup>357</sup> This strategic document traditionally listed among the priorities the issues of Arctic economic development (with special attention paid to the transport artery – the Northern Sea Route), social protection of the indigenous population of the region and ensuring environmental sustainability, but security was recognized as the framework for them.<sup>358</sup> Given the instability and large-scale foreign policy threats, as well as the transition of the Arctic states to the category of “unfriendly”, Russia identified as a priority:<sup>359</sup>

- establish mutually beneficial cooperation with ‘friendly’ non-Arctic countries interested in interaction on Arctic issues (including the use of the Northern Sea Route, which plays a significant role in establishing trade and economic ties between the Russian Federation and states in need of its resources);

- neutralize the negative influence of the countries that are hostile to Russia and try to hinder the development of the Arctic zone.

The new course requires decisive action on the part of the state.

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<sup>356</sup> Bortnikov, N. S. Arctic resources of non-ferrous and noble metals in a global perspective / N. S. Bortnikov, K. V. Lobanov, A. V. Volkov, A. L. Galyamov, K. Y. Murashov. – Text : electronic // Arctic: ecology and economy. – 2015. – 1 (17). – URL: [https://nedradv.ru/nedradv/ru/page\\_industry?obj=679da7a35f7b792499173f1ff634a4ee](https://nedradv.ru/nedradv/ru/page_industry?obj=679da7a35f7b792499173f1ff634a4ee) (accessed 15.03.2023). [In Russian]; Volkov, A.V. Arctic mines and their work / A. V. Volkov. – Text : electronic // PORA Expert Center : [website]. – URL: <https://goarctic.ru/work/arkticheskie-rudniki-i-kak-oni-rabotayut/> (accessed 15.03.2023). [In Russian]; Information about condition and prospects of use of mineral raw material base in the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation as of 15.03.2021. The information was prepared by “VSEGEI” under the State Target № 049-00016-21-00 of the Federal Subsurface Management Agency of 14.01.2021. – Text : electronic // Rosnedra : [website]. – URL: <https://www.rosnedra.gov.ru/data/Fast/Files/202104/45bb8bcc7b844220954744c0149a86f4.pdf> (access 15.03.2023).

<sup>357</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On approval of the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation : Decree № 229 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on March 31, 2023]. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: [https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign\\_policy/official\\_documents/1860586/](https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/official_documents/1860586/) (accessed 9.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>358</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>359</sup> Ibidem.

So, our analysis has shown that the Russian Federation has a long experience of developing the Arctic territories. Over several centuries, the state, taking into account its developmental capabilities, has made incremental progress in conquering the Arctic spaces: providing research, extracting resources, developing infrastructure networks, regulating processes in the Arctic region through legislation, paying special attention to socio-economic issues.

Given the current international context, the Arctic is now a high-risk region due to the interest shown in its riches by foreign states, facilitated in part by territorial disputes that remain unresolved. Thus, in addition to developing the Arctic space and using it as efficiently as possible, a state faces the problem of ensuring the security of its Arctic territories. One way of deterring foreign aggression and providing protection is to actively engage the forces of subnational actors, which will be fully discussed in the next part of the paper.

## **2.2. The Involvement of Subnational Actors in the Implementation of the Russian Federation's Arctic Policy**

The Arctic can be assessed within the framework of Russian federal policy as a region:

- with rich resource potential, including large reserves of minerals (deposits of oil and gas, platinum group metals, etc.), as well as bio-resources (commercial fish species and unique animals included in the Red Book);
- with a focal point of developed industry (oil and gas platforms, mining and smelting plants, enrichment plants, etc. are operating in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation);
- with critical transport infrastructure (transport links with a network of sea and river ports form both a system of domestic routes and contribute to the shortest communication with several foreign countries via the Northern Sea Route, which is

ensured by the expansion of the Russian icebreaker fleet,<sup>360</sup> railway construction is moving at a slower pace - ambitious projects announced in the 2000s (“Belkomur” (White Sea – Komi – Ural); “Barentskomur” (Barents Sea – Komi – Ural) and others) are de jure in progress and de facto frozen)<sup>361</sup>;

- a military-strategic presence, due to a possible confrontation with North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member states;

- the socially difficult situation (inhabitants of vast Arctic territories face significant problems due to climate, long distances and small populations, preservation of traditional ways of life (in the case of indigenous peoples), unemployment and other factors, resulting in lack of education and medical support for indigenous peoples, ‘dying’ towns and settlements established in the USSR, but losing their viability in the modern context, and other difficulties);

- with exacerbated environmental problems caused by anthropogenic interference (including radioactive pollution from nuclear weapons testing, peaceful underground nuclear explosions in Yakutia, radioactive waste dumping by military plants in rivers flowing into the Arctic Ocean, nuclear reactor burial in the Barents and Kara Seas from the 1960s to the 1990s, mining and processing facilities, nuclear icebreaker traffic, etc.).<sup>362</sup>

Thus, the Arctic is a complex area that needs a great deal of attention from the federal center, as expressed in the region’s approach to sustainable development, where “a process of change in which the exploitation of natural resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of scientific and technological development, personal development and institutional change are mutually consistent and

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<sup>360</sup> Projects: Universal nuclear icebreakers of project 22220. – Text : electronic // Baltiysky Zavod : [website]. – URL: <https://www.bz.ru/sudostroenie/projects/> (accessed 15.03.2023). [In Russian]; Mishustin took part in the acceptance ceremony of the Arktika icebreaker. – Text : electronic // TASS : [website]. – URL: <https://tass.ru/politika/9773955> (accessed 15.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>361</sup> Babayeva, V. A project without guarantees: will a railway and a port be built in Indiga? / V. Babaeva. – Text: electronic // PORA Expert Center : [website]. – URL: <https://goarctic.ru/work/proekt-bez-garantiy-postroyat-lizheleznuyu-dorogu-i-port-v-indige/> (accessed 15.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>362</sup> Khvostova, M.S. Problems of radioecology of the Arctic region of Russia / M.S. Khvostov. – Text : direct // Russian Arctic. – 2019. – № 4. – P. 59. [In Russian]; Heininen, L. Russian Policy in the Arctic: How to Avoid a New Cold War / L. Heininen, A. Sergunin, G. Yarovoy // Valdai: International Discussion Club. – Arkhangelsk : Northern (Arctic) Federal University named after M.V. Lomonosov, 2014. – P. 14–15. – ISBN 978-5-906757-04-3. – Text : direct. [In Russian]



strengthen present and future capacities to meet human needs and aspirations”<sup>363</sup>. This comprehensiveness, reflected in the key strategic development documents we analyzed earlier (paragraph 2.1.), necessitates active interaction between the federal center and the constituent entities in order to solve problems, much of which can be relegated to the subnational level without compromising state sovereignty.

However, the involvement of the federal entities in the implementation of foreign policies is complicated by their heterogeneity. In this context, it should be noted that the onshore part of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation is divided into asymmetrical territorial units, and although the establishment of the vertical power structure has resulted in these asymmetrical federal characteristics being de facto lost by the subjects,<sup>364</sup> one can still speak of some heterogeneity that still determines their status. Before turning to an analysis of ‘center-regional’ behavior and the entry of subnational actors into the international arena, the circle of players should be outlined. According to the legal acts establishing the zoning of the Arctic, they are fully part of the AZRF:<sup>365</sup>

- Murmansk Oblast;
- Nenets Autonomous Okrug;
- Chukotka Autonomous Okrug;
- Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug.

Other constituent entities of the federation are only partially located in the AZRF. These include:<sup>366</sup>

- municipal district (MO) of Vorkuta, Inta, Usinsk, Ust-Tsilemsky of the Republic of Komi;

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<sup>363</sup> Levina, E.I. The concept of “Sustainable Development”. Basic provisions of the concept / E. I. Levin. – Text : direct // Bulletin of the Tambov University: Series: Humanities. – 2009. – № 11 (79). – P. 113. [In Russian]

<sup>364</sup> Shaikhutdinova, G.R. Contemporary Russian federalism: Delimitation of jurisdictional subjects and powers / G.R. Shaikhutdinova. – Berlin : Springer, 2020. – P. 15–16; 20. – ISBN 978-94-6265-374-0. – Text : direct.

<sup>365</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On the land territories of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation : Decree № 296 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on May 2, 2014]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/38377> (accessed 16.03.2023). [In Russian]; Russian Federation. Laws. On state support for entrepreneurial activity in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation: Federal Law № 193 of July 13, 2020 : [adopted by the State Duma on July 7, 2020 : approved by the Federation Council on July 8, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/45677> (accessed 16.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>366</sup> Ibidem.

- municipalities of Mezensky, Onezhsky, Primorsky, Leshukovsky and Pinezhsky municipal districts, as well as municipal district “City of Arkhangelsk”, “City of Novodvinsk”, “Severodvinsk”, “Novaya Zemlya” of Arkhangelsk Oblast;
- Abyysky, Allaihovsky, Anabarsky national (Dolgano-Evenki), Bulunsky, Verkhoyansky, Verkhoyansky, Zhigansky national Evenki, Momsky, Nizhnekolymsky, Oleneksky national Evenki, Srednekolymsky, Ust-Yansky, Eveno-Byantaysky national districts of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)
- Norilsk city district, as well as the Taimyrsky Dolgano-Nenetsky municipal district, Turukhansky district and the rural settlements of Surinda, Tura, Nidym, Uchami, Tutonchany, Yessey, Chirinda, Ekonda, Kislokan, Yukta of Krasnoyarsk Krai;
- municipalities of Belomorskiy, Louhskiy, Kemskiy, Kalevalskiy national, Segezhskiy municipal districts and Kostomuksha urban district of the Republic of Karelia;
- lands and islands located in the Arctic Ocean, which are fixed by the above-mentioned resolution of 1926 and other acts adopted in the USSR.<sup>367</sup>

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<sup>367</sup> Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Decrees. On declaring lands and islands located in the Arctic Ocean as the territory of the USSR : [adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the USSR on April 15, 1926]. – Text: electronic // Electronic fund of legal and regulatory documents : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/901761796> (accessed 17.03.2023). [In Russian]



Figure 6. Map of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation.<sup>368</sup>

All of these subnational actors – the republics of Komi, Sakha (Yakutia) and Karelia, the Nenets, Yamalo-Nenets and Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, the Murmansk and Arkhangelsk regions, as well as the Krasnoyarsk Krai – are directly involved in the development of the state Arctic policy, which is primarily due to their territorial position, and also cooperate with each other in accordance with the multilateral “Agreement on cooperation in the implementation of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic between the highest executive bodies of state power of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, the territories of which are fully or partially included in the land territories of the Russian Arctic”<sup>369</sup>, adopted

<sup>368</sup> Zamyatina, N. Y. The future of Russian Arctic urbanization / N. Y. Zamyatina. – Text : electronic // Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration : [website]. – URL: <https://urban.ranepa.ru/intervyu/nadezhda-zamyatina-1/budushchee-rossiyskoy-arkticheskoy-urbanizatsii/> (accessed 17.03.2023). [Map prepared by A.V. Poturaeva, postgraduate student of Moscow State University Geography Department, by order of ANO “Institute of Regional Consulting”]. [In Russian]

<sup>369</sup> Agreement on cooperation in the implementation of Russian state policy in the Arctic between the highest executive bodies of state power of the RF subjects, the territories of which are fully or partially included in the ASRF land

in 2016, signed by representatives all Arctic regions with the exception of the Republic of Karelia.<sup>370</sup>

In addition, non-Arctic subnational actors are also involved in the formation and implementation of policy, whose role is determined by their high importance in general – the federal cities of Moscow and Saint Petersburg.

Finally, secondary tasks affecting the development of the Arctic fall on the neighboring regions of the Arctic and are carried out by them in different ways (through inter-subject cooperation through macroregions – federal districts and economic regions, which, according to Y. Lukin, has a positive impact on the development of the Arctic subjects;<sup>371</sup> through interaction within the framework of international organizations (until 2022, the Far Eastern regions – Khabarovsk and Kamchatka, as well as the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug were part of the Northern Forum – an organization that supports the communicative aspirations of northern subnational actors – along with 5 other subjects representing the Russian Arctic, the US state of Alaska, the Korean province of Gangwon, Icelandic Akureyri and Finnish Lapland),<sup>372</sup> etc.

Thus, Arctic policy appears to be a space where a limited number of subnational actors operate on the Russian side, comprising three significant groups: the Arctic actors themselves; the ‘guides’ and ‘facilitators’ – the federal center represented by Moscow and Saint Petersburg (whose role will be covered in detail in the paragraphs of chapter 3); and the domestic and international partners who provide support to improve the situation in the Arctic.

Let us focus on the study of the first category of actors, those territorially involved in the implementation of Arctic policy. Their behavior broadly shares the same defining characteristics as other constituent entities of the Russian Federation:

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territories. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Arctic development and economy of Murmansk region : [website]. – URL: [https://minec.gov-murman.ru/about/obsch\\_sovet/novosti/soglacsh.pdf](https://minec.gov-murman.ru/about/obsch_sovet/novosti/soglacsh.pdf) (accessed 18.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>370</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>371</sup> Lukin, Y. F. Hybridity of multifaceted Arctic in Covid 2020 / Y. F. Lukin. – Arkhangelsk : Bulatov Publishing House. V. N. Bulatov SAFU, 2021. – P. 29. – ISBN 978-5-261-01546-8. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>372</sup> Vasiliev, V. N. The Northern Forum: Annual Report. 2022 / V. N. Vasiliev. – Text : electronic / Yakutsk : Secretariat of the Northern Forum, 2022. – P. 10–11. – URL: <https://www.northernforum.org/ru/news-ru/northernforum-news/1063-nf-annual-report-release> (accessed 18.03.2023). [In Russian]

having taken advantage of the freedom granted them by the weak ‘center’ in the early 1990s, they became active participants in foreign policy cooperation, establishing contacts not only within the state borders but also outside of it, but the subsequent centralization of power has caused a decline in their capacity and aspiration to carry out international interaction. Consequently, the actors approached the period of strategizing, documenting and institutionalizing Arctic policy, i.e. by the 2010s, with reduced authority to establish international contacts. One cannot ignore the impact that the events of the 2020s had on the activities of subnational actors, when the COVID-19 pandemic, which limited inter-actor contacts, was followed by a worsening of the Ukrainian crisis, which resulted in numerous sanctions restrictions and a break in cooperation with former partners, which also affected the Russian Arctic zone.<sup>373</sup> Currently, the Arctic subjects of the Russian Federation are guided in their actions by the “Strategy for the Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and National Security for the Period to 2035”, adopted in 2020, which warns of increasing conflicts in the context of international space and defines key development areas for each Arctic subject.<sup>374</sup>

### *Murmansk Oblast*

The Murmansk Oblast can be considered one of the most developed subjects in the context of Arctic policy implementation, which is due to a series of factors that dispose the region to an open position. Geographically, the Murmansk Oblast borders two foreign countries, Finland and Norway, and is bordered by the White Sea and the Barents Sea. Consequently, ports play an important role in the region's infrastructure: Murmansk is considered the largest ice-free port beyond the Arctic Circle, allowing ships to sail along trade routes without icebreaker escort, thereby making shipping costs cheaper. In general, there are 3 ports (Murmansk, Kandalaksha, Vitino), 2 civil-passenger airports (Murmansk, Lovozero), a network

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<sup>373</sup> Meeting on the development of the Arctic zone : the website of the President of Russia. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/deliberations/68188> (accessed 18.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>374</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. About Strategy for Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and National Security Provision for the Period to 2035 : Decree № 645 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on October 26, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/45972> (accessed 27.02.2023). [In Russian]

of railways (Saint Petersburg – Murmansk line, etc.) and roads (the Kola Highway goes to the Norwegian border, etc.) in the Murmansk region. The developed infrastructure and economic potential of the region (rich in iron, copper and nickel ores) determine the investment attractiveness of the region.<sup>375</sup> To regulate Arctic policy in the Murmansk Oblast, the Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy was established with responsibility for interregional and international cooperation on Arctic issues, closely linked to the region's economic strategies.<sup>376</sup> As part of international cooperation, the Government of the Murmansk Region has at various times concluded 51 bilateral agreements with other subjects of the Russian Federation, six of which are Arctic (the exceptions were the Chukotka and Nenets AO).<sup>377</sup> In addition, in 2016, a multilateral agreement on cooperation between the Arctic subjects that intend to pursue a joint policy in the field of Arctic exploration and development also entered into force and was signed by the Murmansk region.<sup>378</sup>

Analysis of the international agreements on cooperation aimed at improving the situation in the region suggests that the Murmansk Oblast has not only acted at a regional level in the foreign policy arena, but has moved up a notch by entering into cooperation agreements with the state in the early 1990s, a result of the 'freedoms' we discussed earlier (Chapter 2, Paragraph 1). In 1994, for example, the regional government concluded an agreement with the Republic of Belarus, which was implemented through road maps, demonstrating the reality and strength of the relationship between the two unequal actors.<sup>379</sup> In addition, the Murmansk Oblast

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<sup>375</sup> National rating of the state of the investment climate. – Text : electronic // Investment portal of the Murmansk region : [website]. – URL: <https://invest.nashsever51.ru/pages/natsionalnyy-reyting> (accessed 18.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>376</sup> Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy of the Murmansk Region: Areas of activity. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy of the Murmansk Region : [website]. – URL: <https://minec.gov-murman.ru/activities> (accessed 18.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>377</sup> Register of agreements on cooperation with the regions of the Russian Federation. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy of the Murmansk Region : [website]. – URL: [https://minec.gov-murman.ru/activities/foreign\\_activity/sub02/sub01/reestr/](https://minec.gov-murman.ru/activities/foreign_activity/sub02/sub01/reestr/) (accessed 18.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>378</sup> Agreement on cooperation in the implementation of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic between the highest executive bodies of state power of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, the territories of which are fully or partially included in the land territories of the Russian Arctic. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy of the Murmansk Region : [website]. – URL: [https://minec.gov-murman.ru/about/obsch\\_sovet/novosti/soglacsh.pdf](https://minec.gov-murman.ru/about/obsch_sovet/novosti/soglacsh.pdf) (accessed 18.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>379</sup> Register of cooperation agreements with the CIS countries. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy of the Murmansk Region : [website]. – URL: [https://minec.gov-murman.ru/activities/foreign\\_activity/sub02/sub01/sng/](https://minec.gov-murman.ru/activities/foreign_activity/sub02/sub01/sng/) (accessed 18.03.2023). [In Russian]

had bilateral treaties with neighboring countries Norway, Finland and Sweden<sup>380</sup> before the crisis in 2022, and the Oblast had extensive twinning and partnership relations with representatives from 13 countries worldwide.<sup>381</sup> Adhering to the strategy of multi-format cooperation, the Murmansk Oblast carried out cross-border cooperation with foreign Arctic and subarctic actors within the framework of the Barents Regional Council, the Norwegian Barents Secretariat, the Northern Dimension, as well as the ‘Kolarctic’ and ‘Interreg Baltic Sea Region’,<sup>382</sup> which aimed to ensure development in different areas of the subject’s responsibility – economic, social, environmental, etc. Currently, the international activity of the Murmansk region in the format of cooperation with the Arctic states and the implementation of Arctic programs within the framework of the activities of international organizations has its limitations: in 2022, ties with individual administrative-territorial units of unfriendly states (Norwegian Tromsø, Swedish Luleå, Finnish Rovaniemi, etc.),<sup>383</sup> cooperation through international organizations has been frozen (since March 3, 2022, the European Commission has suspended the participation of the Russian Federation in the implementation of the ‘Kolarctic’ cross-border cooperation program; on 9 March 2022, the Barents/Euro-Arctic Regional Council, which had been operating since 1993 on the basis of the ideas set out in the Kirkenes Declaration and under which the Barents Regional Council existed, ceased its cooperation with Russia, and in September 2023 the Russian Federation announced its withdrawal from BERC;<sup>384</sup> in March 2022, cooperation

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<sup>380</sup> Register of international cooperation agreements. – Text: electronic // Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy of the Murmansk Region: [website]. – URL: [https://minec.gov-murman.ru/activities/foreign\\_activity/sub02/sub01/sotrudnichestve/](https://minec.gov-murman.ru/activities/foreign_activity/sub02/sub01/sotrudnichestve/) (accessed 18.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>381</sup> Sister cities and partner territories of the Murmansk region. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy of the Murmansk Region : [website]. – URL: [https://minec.gov-murman.ru/activities/foreign\\_activity/sub02/sub01/pobratimy/](https://minec.gov-murman.ru/activities/foreign_activity/sub02/sub01/pobratimy/) (accessed 19.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>382</sup> Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy of the Murmansk Region: International Relations. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy of the Murmansk Region : [website]. – URL: <https://minec.gov-murman.ru/activities/intercoop/> (accessed 19.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>383</sup> Sister cities and partner territories of the Murmansk region. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy of the Murmansk Region : [website]. – URL: [https://minec.gov-murman.ru/activities/foreign\\_activity/sub02/sub01/pobratimy/](https://minec.gov-murman.ru/activities/foreign_activity/sub02/sub01/pobratimy/) (accessed 19.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>384</sup> Russia has withdrawn from the Barents Council. – Text : electronic // RIA.Novosti : [website]. – URL: <https://ria.ru/20230918/sovet-1897035562.html> (accessed 19.09.2023). [In Russian]

between the European Union, Iceland, Norway and Russia was suspended within the Northern Dimension, etc.).<sup>385</sup>

### *Nenets Autonomous Okrug*

Nenets AO is an equal territorial subject that is part of Arkhangelsk Oblast and at the same time a subject of the Russian Federation,<sup>386</sup> which is due to its specific position. Despite a large territory of 176 thousand km<sup>2</sup>,<sup>387</sup> 41 thousand people live in Nenets AO: the explanation lies in the climatic features of the subject, which is fully part of the AZRF. The capital of NAO, Naryan-Mar, located on the Pechora River, which flows into the Pechora Sea, is home to more than half of the region's population.<sup>388</sup> Low population density and, consequently, low population density, special climatic conditions and geographical location predetermine the low level of infrastructure development: no railways, and a small network of roads. The main means of transport remain aviation (airports in Naryan-Mar and the shift village of Varandey), sea and river communications (ports of Naryan-Mar, Varandey and Amderma). Meanwhile, the active development of minerals (oil, gas, gold, manganese ores, hard coal, etc.) requires the development of a transportation network, which was noted in the ambitious Arctic Development Strategy to 2035, which outlined plans for further field development, the construction of a new port of Indiga, the Sosnogorsk – Indiga railway (part of the Barentskomur project), the Naryan-Mar – Usinsk highway, the reconstruction of existing ports, etc.<sup>389</sup>

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<sup>385</sup> About the Regional Council. – Text : electronic // The Barents Euro-Arctic Council : [website]. – URL: <https://barents-council.org/barents-regional-council/about-the-council> (accessed 19.03.2023); The Northern Dimension and the Northern Dimension Institute. – Text : electronic // The Northern Dimension : [website]. – URL: <https://northerndimension.info/> (accessed 19.03.2023).

<sup>386</sup> Charter of the Arkhangelsk Region: [adopted by the Arkhangelsk Regional Assembly of Deputies (Decision № 36 of May 23, 1995)]. – Text : electronic // Government of the Arkhangelsk region : [website]. – URL: <https://dvinland.ru/region/charter/> (accessed 20.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>387</sup> The number of resident population of the Russian Federation by municipalities as of January 1, 2023. – Text : electronic // Federal State Statistics Service : [website]. – URL: <https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/12781> (accessed 20.03.2023). [In Russian]; Information on the availability and distribution of land in the Russian Federation as of 1.01.2019 (in the context of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation). – Text : electronic // Rosreestr : [website]. – URL: <https://rosreestr.gov.ru/activity/gosudarstvennoe-upravlenie-v-sfere-ispolzovaniya-i-okhrany-zemel/gosudarstvennyy-monitoring-zemel/sostoyanie-zemel-rossii/gosudarstvennyy-natsionalnyy-doklad-o-sostoyanii-i-ispolzovanii-zemel-v-rossiyskoy-federatsii/> (accessed 20.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>388</sup> Naryan-Mar. – Text : electronic // Official website of the administration of the city of Naryan-Mar : [website]. – URL: <https://adm-nmar.ru/city/obshchaya-informatsiya/> (accessed 20.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>389</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. About Strategy for Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and National Security Provision for the Period to 2035 : Decree № 645 : [adopted by the President of the Russian



Accordingly, taking into account the conditions for the development of the Nenets Autonomous Okrug, it is difficult to talk about the presence of extensive ties in the subject, both interregional and international. However, the NAO seeks to establish cooperation, which is enshrined in its Charter, following which the subject participates in interregional activities in order to improve the ecological situation and protect the natural environment, as well as in the interests of meeting the needs of the inhabitants of the region, including representatives of indigenous peoples.<sup>390</sup> In addition to the multilateral agreement on harmonizing Arctic development policies between the Arctic regions, excluding Karelia,<sup>391</sup> Nenets Autonomous Okrug has bilateral agreements with 10 subjects of the Russian Federation, including three Arctic regions – Archangelsk Oblast, Komi and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug.<sup>392</sup> International relations are represented by contacts made with Norway (Rogaland Council) and Vietnam (Baria-Vungtau Province),<sup>393</sup> cooperation within an international organization – the Regional Council of the Barents/Euro-Arctic Council – with administrative-territorial units of Sweden, Norway and Finland,<sup>394</sup> and the Northern Forum, where the regions of the USA, South Korea, Norway and Iceland were presented until 2022.<sup>395</sup> Representatives of the Nenets AO participated

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Federation on October 26, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/45972> (accessed 20.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>390</sup> Charter of the Nenets Autonomous Okrug (with amendments and additions). – Text : electronic // Constitutions and Charters of the subjects of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: [https://constitution.garant.ru/region/ustav\\_nenetsk/chapter/741609f9002bd54a24e5c49cb5af953b/](https://constitution.garant.ru/region/ustav_nenetsk/chapter/741609f9002bd54a24e5c49cb5af953b/) (accessed 20.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>391</sup> Agreement on cooperation in the implementation of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic between the highest executive bodies of state power of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, the territories of which are fully or partially included in the land territories of the Russian Arctic. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy of the Murmansk Region : [website]. – URL: [https://minec.gov-murman.ru/about/obsch\\_sovet/novosti/soglacsh.pdf](https://minec.gov-murman.ru/about/obsch_sovet/novosti/soglacsh.pdf) (accessed 20.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>392</sup> Nenets Autonomous Okrug: International and Interregional Relations. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Nenets Autonomous Okrug : [website]. – URL: <https://digital.adm-nao.ru/informaciya-o-meropriyatiyah-provodimyh-departamentom/mezhdunarodnye-i-mezhregionalnye-svyazi/> (accessed 20.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>393</sup> Ibidem.; Agreements of the Nenets Autonomous Okrug. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: [https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign\\_policy/economic\\_diplomacy/vnesneekonomiceskie-svazi-sub-ektov-rossijskoj-federacii/1748089/](https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/economic_diplomacy/vnesneekonomiceskie-svazi-sub-ektov-rossijskoj-federacii/1748089/) (accessed 20.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>394</sup> About the Regional Council. – Text : electronic // The Barents Euro-Arctic Council : [website]. – URL: <https://barents-council.org/barents-regional-council/about-the-council> (accessed 22.03.2023).

<sup>395</sup> Vasiliev, V. N. The Northern Forum: Annual Report. 2022 / V. N. Vasiliev. – Text : electronic / Yakutsk : Secretariat of the Northern Forum, 2022. – P. 10–12. – URL: <https://www.northernforum.org/ru/news-ru/northernforum-news/1063-nf-annual-report-release> (accessed 22.03.2023). [In Russian]

in the ‘Kolarctic’ 2014 – 2020 program,<sup>396</sup> the Northern Axis – Barents Link<sup>397</sup> transport project with Finland, Norway and Sweden, and the Norwegian Barents Secretariat’s programs.<sup>398</sup>

### *Chukotka Autonomous Okrug*

Chukotka Autonomous Okrug is the sixth largest region of the Russian Federation, but one of the sparsely populated: less than 50,000 people live in the territory of autonomous okrug.<sup>399</sup> It is located at the north-eastern tip of the country, bordering three Russian entities – Yakutia, Kamchatka Krai and Magadan Oblast – as well as the United States of America. It is bounded by three seas – the East Siberian, Chukchi and Bering seas – which predetermine the presence of seaports forming part of the Northern Sea Route infrastructure – in Anadyr (Chukotka's largest city with a population of 15,000), Pevek, Provideniya Bay (Port of Provideniya), Ugolnaya Bay (Bering port), Egvekinot Bay (Egvekinot port), but severe climatic conditions complicate navigation.<sup>400</sup> The economy of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug is built on large reserves of minerals (gas, oil, gold, tungsten and copper ores, brown and hard coal, tin, etc.) and, as a result, the developing mining industry, such activities as reindeer herding and fishing.<sup>401</sup> The expansion of

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<sup>396</sup> Kolarctic program. – Text : electronic // Kolarctic : [website]. – URL: <https://kolarctic.info/ru/> (accessed 22.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>397</sup> The Northern axis – Barentslink. – Text : electronic // Kolarctic : [website]. – URL: <https://narfu.ru/nabl/> (accessed 22.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>398</sup> Nenets office. – Text : electronic // The Norwegian Barents Secretariat : [website]. – URL: <https://barents.no/nb/contact-information-nenets> (accessed 24.03.2023).

<sup>399</sup> The number of resident population of the Russian Federation by municipalities as of January 1, 2023. – Text : electronic // Federal State Statistics Service : [website]. – URL: <https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/12781> (accessed 24.03.2023). [In Russian]; Information on the availability and distribution of land in the Russian Federation as of 1.01.2019 (in the context of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation). – Text : electronic // Rosreestr : [website]. – URL: <https://rosreestr.gov.ru/activity/gosudarstvennoe-upravlenie-v-sfere-ispolzovaniya-i-okhrany-zemel/gosudarstvennyy-monitoring-zemel/sostoyanie-zemel-rossii/gosudarstvennyy-natsionalnyy-doklad-o-sostoyanii-i-ispolzovanii-zemel-v-rossiyskoy-federatsii/> (accessed 24.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>400</sup> Chukotka Autonomous Okrug: General information. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug : [website]. – URL: <https://xn--80atapud1a.xn--p1ai/o-regione/obshchie-svedeniya/> (accessed 24.03.2023). [In Russian]; Anadyr. – Text : electronic // Great Russian Encyclopedia : [website]. – URL: <https://bigenc.ru/c/anadyr-039f08> (accessed 22.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>401</sup> Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. Orders. On approval of the Plan for the Social Development of the Economic Growth Centers of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug for the period up to 2025: Decree № 292 : [adopted by the Government of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug on June 22, 2018]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug : [website]. – URL: <https://xn--80atapud1a.xn--p1ai/plan-soc-razv-ctntr-ekonom-rosta-CHAO/> (accessed 22.03.2023). [In Russian]

infrastructure and the development of the mineral resource complex are key areas in the strategy for the development of the Chukotka territories.<sup>402</sup>

The remoteness and underpopulation of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug led to the underdevelopment of ties, both interregional and international. Chukotka has practically no bilateral agreements with other constituent entities of the Russian Federation (with the exception of cooperation agreements with the federal city of Moscow, the Republic of Sakha and the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug)<sup>403</sup>, as well as multilateral ones (the exception is the agreement on the implementation of the state Arctic policy, signed by all Arctic regions Russia, except for the Republic of Karelia)<sup>404</sup>.

Chukotka's paradiplomatic ties are also quite limited:<sup>405</sup> the only agreement demonstrating the existence of some ties with the administrative-territorial units of foreign states is the twinning agreement between Anadyr and the American city of Bethel.<sup>406</sup> In addition, the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug participates in the activities of the Northern Forum, a non-profit organization that promotes cooperation on the

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<sup>402</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. About Strategy for Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and National Security Provision for the Period to 2035 : Decree № 645 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on October 26, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/45972> (accessed 25.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>403</sup> Agreement between the Government of Moscow and the Government of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug on trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and regulatory documents : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/537974544> (accessed 24.03.2023). [In Russian]; Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) and the Government of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug on trade, economic, scientific, technical, social and cultural cooperation. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) : [website]. – URL: <https://mineconomic.sakha.gov.ru/Document/soglasheniya/soglashenie-mezhdu-pravitelstvom-rs-ja-i-pravitelstvom-chukotskogo-avtonomnogo-okruga-o-torgovo-ekonomicheskome-nauchno-tehnicheskome-sotsialnom-i-kulturnom-sotrudnichestve> (accessed 24.03.2023). [In Russian]; Agreement between the Government of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug and the Government of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug on cooperation in trade, economic, scientific, technical, social, cultural and other spheres. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug : [website]. – URL: <https://interyamal.ru/pages/dolgosrochnye-tselevye-programmy/mezhregionalnaya-deyatelnost/soglasheniya-o-sotrudnichestve/> (accessed 24.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>404</sup> Agreement on cooperation in the implementation of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic between the highest executive bodies of state power of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, the territories of which are fully or partially included in the land territories of the Russian Arctic. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy of the Murmansk Region : [website]. – URL: [https://minec.gov-murman.ru/about/obsch\\_sovet/novosti/soglacsh.pdf](https://minec.gov-murman.ru/about/obsch_sovet/novosti/soglacsh.pdf) (accessed 24.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>405</sup> International cooperation. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug : [website]. – URL: <https://xn--80atapud1a.xn--p1ai/depirod/activity/mezhdunarodnoe-sotrudnichestvo/> (accessed 24.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>406</sup> The official joining of the city of Bethel with Anadyr, U.S.S.R. as Sister Cities. – Text : electronic // City of Bethel : [website]. – URL: <http://www.cityofbethel.org/vertical/Sites/%7B86032ACB-92B0-4505-919A-3F45B84FEC9%7D/uploads/%7BEFEDEA86-3466-4370-A7D0-E88B43BA40CF%7D.PDF> (accessed 24.03.2023).

development of cooperation between the northern regions in the face of modern challenges.<sup>407</sup>

Thus, despite the resource wealth, the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug can be characterized as a subject that is extremely narrowly represented in the interregional and international field.

### *Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug*

The Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug is one of the largest constituent entities of the Russian Federation in terms of area, it does not belong to the densely populated territories of the country – half a million people live in the YNAO.<sup>408</sup> This Arctic subject can be called relatively developed: on the territory of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug there are two cities with a population of more than 100 thousand people (Novy Urengoy and Noyabrsk) and 12 settlements with a population of more than 5 thousand people, which predetermined the infrastructural development of the YNAO.<sup>409</sup> There are 9 airports in the region, the large Arctic sea port of Sabetta on the coast of the Gulf of Ob of the Kara Sea, river ports (Salekhardsky, Nadymsky, Urengoy), a railway network (a branch of the Northern Railway with the Labytnanga transport hub, the Obskaya – Bovanenkovo – Karskaya railway line, which used for the transportation of goods, the line Novy Urengoy – Tyumen, etc.), roads have been laid. An extensive infrastructure contributes to the development of industry, which is based on the development of oil, gas and other minerals (lead-zinc and copper ores, iron, molybdenum, chromium, etc.). ‘Gazprom’ and ‘Novatek’ corporations are active in the region, the ‘Yamal LNG’ project is being implemented, and the priority areas for its

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<sup>407</sup> Vasiliev, V. N. The Northern Forum: Annual Report. 2022 / V. N. Vasiliev. – Text : electronic / Yakutsk : Secretariat of the Northern Forum, 2022. – P. 10–12. – URL: <https://www.northernforum.org/ru/news-ru/northernforum-news/1063-nf-annual-report-release> (accessed 26.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>408</sup> The number of resident population of the Russian Federation by municipalities as of January 1, 2023. – Text : electronic // Federal State Statistics Service : [website]. – URL: <https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/12781> (accessed 24.03.2023). [In Russian]; Information on the availability and distribution of land in the Russian Federation as of 1.01.2019 (in the context of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation). – Text : electronic // Rosreestr : [website]. – URL: <https://rosreestr.gov.ru/activity/gosudarstvennoe-upravlenie-v-sfere-ispolzovaniya-i-okhrany-zemel/gosudarstvennyy-monitoring-zemel/sostoyanie-zemel-rossii/gosudarstvennyy-natsionalnyy-doklad-o-sostoyanii-i-ispolzovanii-zemel-v-rossiyskoy-federatsii/> (accessed 24.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>409</sup> The number of resident population of the Russian Federation by municipalities as of January 1, 2023. – Text : electronic // Federal State Statistics Service : [website]. – URL: <https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/12781> (accessed 24.03.2023). [In Russian]

development are the expansion of the industrial complex and infrastructure for processing and transporting mined minerals.<sup>410</sup>

Developed industry and infrastructure determine the high economic and investment attractiveness of the YNAO. Accordingly, the subject appeals not only to regional, but also to international interest and has a wide network of contacts. Interregional relations are represented by agreements with 30 subjects of the Russian Federation, 8 of which are among the Arctic.<sup>411</sup> In addition, the YNAO carries out multilateral cooperation within the framework of the project for the implementation of a coordinated Arctic policy in the socio-economic field and other important areas.<sup>412</sup>

The subject was quite active in international interaction before the start of the pandemic, which limited the possibility of entering the international arena, and the geography of cooperation was particularly wide: for example, in 2018, the pre-pandemic year, the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug was in contact with representatives of 73 states, and interaction, with France, Germany, China, Finland, Kazakhstan, the Republic of Belarus, Hungary, Kyrgyzstan and Austria was the most intense.<sup>413</sup> In addition, the YNAO has a number of agreements with the administrative-territorial units of foreign states, including the Arctic, some of which were terminated in 2022.<sup>414</sup> The region is a member of an international organization

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<sup>410</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. About Strategy for Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and National Security Provision for the Period to 2035 : Decree № 645 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on October 26, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/45972> (accessed 24.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>411</sup> Interregional activity. – Text : electronic // Department of External Relations of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug : [website]. – URL: <https://inter.yanao.ru/activity/5669/> (accessed 24.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>412</sup> Agreement on cooperation in the implementation of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic between the highest executive bodies of state power of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, the territories of which are fully or partially included in the land territories of the Russian Arctic. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy of the Murmansk Region : [website]. – URL: [https://minec.gov-murman.ru/about/obsch\\_sovet/novosti/soglacsh.pdf](https://minec.gov-murman.ru/about/obsch_sovet/novosti/soglacsh.pdf) (accessed 26.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>413</sup> International activity. – Text : electronic // Department of External Relations of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug : [website]. – URL: <https://inter.yanao.ru/activity/5660/> (accessed 24.03.2023). [In Russian]; Report on the results of the international activities of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug in 2018. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug : [website]. – URL: <https://inter.yanao.ru/documents/reports/48687/> (accessed 24.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>414</sup> Sisterhood ties. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug : [website]. – URL: <https://interyamal.ru/pages/dolgosrochnye-tselevye-programmy/mezhdunarodnaya-deyatelnost/munitsipalnye-obrazovaniya/pobratimskie-svyazi/> (accessed 24.03.2023). [In Russian]; Cooperation agreements. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug : [website]. – URL:

– the previously mentioned Northern Forum.<sup>415</sup> Further events in the international space predetermined the negative dynamics in the line of external contacts in all spheres from economic to cultural.

### *Komi Republic*

The Komi Republic is the only Arctic subject of the Russian Federation that has no access to the sea, which largely predetermined the features of its economic and social complex. In general, the basis of the economic development of the region is the timber industry and mining (oil, gas, coal, manganese, copper, titanium, bauxite ores, gold, etc.). The large resource potential of the Komi Republic (Timan-Pechora oil and gas province, Pechora coal basin, Yaregskoye deposits, a significant forest complex, etc.) led to the formation of the infrastructure of the republic (the cities of Vorkuta, Inta, Usinsk were built near mineral deposits). The largest settlement with a population of more than 200 thousand people<sup>416</sup> – Syktyvkar – is the transport hub of the republic, where air, rail, road and river routes converge. The development of mineral resource centers, processing complexes and related infrastructure for the transportation of raw materials and materials, as well as ensuring the transport accessibility of certain areas have become a priority in accordance with the Strategy for Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation until 2035.<sup>417</sup>

Among the state institutions of the republic there is no single body that determines the international and interregional contacts of Komi, including in the field of Arctic issues. According to the data published on the website of the Government of the Republic in 2019: “The Government of the Komi Republic

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<https://interyamal.ru/pages/dolgosrochnye-tselevye-programmy/mezhregionalnaya-deyatelnost/soglasheniya-o-sotrudnichestve/> (accessed 24.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>415</sup> Vasiliev, V. N. The Northern Forum: Annual Report. 2022 / V. N. Vasiliev. – Text : electronic / Yakutsk : Secretariat of the Northern Forum, 2022. – P. 10–12. – URL: <https://www.northernforum.org/ru/news-ru/northernforum-news/1063-nf-annual-report-release> (accessed 24.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>416</sup> Estimation of the population of the Republic of Komi by municipalities and the capital as of January 1, 2022 – 2023 (taking into account the results of the All-Russian population census of 2020). – Text : electronic // Territorial body of the Federal State Statistics Service for the Republic of Komi : [website]. – URL: <https://11.rosstat.gov.ru/population> (accessed 24.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>417</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. About Strategy for Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and National Security Provision for the Period to 2035 : Decree № 645 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on October 26, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/45972> (accessed 25.03.2023). [In Russian]

considers international and foreign economic relations as an important factor in the comprehensive development of the region, contributing to its inclusion in interregional and international economic, cultural, educational and other ties”<sup>418</sup>, however, up to the present From the moment, information about the concluded international and interregional agreements and action plans carried out in the framework of strengthening cooperation is not presented in the electronic space by the official authorities of the subject.<sup>419</sup> Based on the data published in 2019, it should be assumed that in the interregional plane, the Komi Republic carried out active interaction with Moscow, the Moscow and Kirov regions, as well as the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, in the international plane – with the administrative-territorial units of the Republic of Belarus (Grodno region), China (Shanxi and Shandong provinces), Finland and Norway, cooperating, among other things, on issues of Arctic development within the framework of regional branches of the Barents Euro-Arctic Council,<sup>420</sup> however, the relevance of the information, given the age of its publication, is questionable. It seems possible to conclude that the Komi Republic does not show a systematized interest in establishing cooperative ties both in the domestic and foreign policy contexts.

### *Arkhangelsk Oblast*

The Arkhangelsk region, which includes Nenets Autonomous Okrug, a constituent subject of the Russian Federation that has a separate subject status and at the same time is part of another constituent subject,<sup>421</sup> is one of the most populated

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<sup>418</sup> International and interregional cooperation. – Text : electronic // Government of the Komi Republic : [website]. – URL: [https://gov.rkomi.ru/deyatelnost\\_pravitelstva/mezdunarodnye-i-mezregionalnye-svazi/mezdunarodnoe-i-mezregionalnoe-sotrudnicestvo](https://gov.rkomi.ru/deyatelnost_pravitelstva/mezdunarodnye-i-mezregionalnye-svazi/mezdunarodnoe-i-mezregionalnoe-sotrudnicestvo) (accessed 25.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>419</sup> Ibidem.; National relations. – Text : electronic // Government of the Komi Republic : [website]. – URL: <https://xn--h1adghi.xn--p1ai/pages/51> (accessed 25.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>420</sup> International and interregional cooperation. – Text : electronic // Government of the Komi Republic : [website]. – URL: [https://gov.rkomi.ru/deyatelnost\\_pravitelstva/mezdunarodnye-i-mezregionalnye-svazi/mezdunarodnoe-i-mezregionalnoe-sotrudnicestvo](https://gov.rkomi.ru/deyatelnost_pravitelstva/mezdunarodnye-i-mezregionalnye-svazi/mezdunarodnoe-i-mezregionalnoe-sotrudnicestvo) (accessed 25.03.2023). [In Russian]; On the international and foreign economic relations of the Republic of Komi. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <https://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/ru/ru-ko/1770334/> (accessed 25.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>421</sup> Charter of the Arkhangelsk Region: [adopted by the Arkhangelsk Regional Assembly of Deputies (Decision № 36 of May 23, 1995)]. – Text : electronic // Government of the Arkhangelsk region : [website]. – URL: <https://dvinaland.ru/region/charter/> (accessed 25.03.2023). [In Russian]

Arctic areas, although it is much smaller than the other Arctic constituent subjects in terms of area.<sup>422</sup>

The historical development of the Arkhangelsk Oblast, taking into account centuries of development and the active expansion of trade and economic contacts, predetermined its openness to establishing foreign relations, which was greatly facilitated by its geographical location (the major cities of the subject – Arkhangelsk, Severodvinsk, Novodvinsk were built at the mouth of the Dvina River with access to the White Sea) and resource wealth (forest and water complexes, mineral resources with deposits of oil, gas, bauxites, lead and zinc, as well as polymetallic and manganese ores, etc.). Thus, the economic development of the Arkhangelsk region is based on the industrial sphere (represented by the “Sevmash”, the “Titan” company, the leader of the Russian paper industry “Ilim”, etc.) and a developed trade infrastructure (seaports with year-round navigation and river ports that operate before the ice sets). As a consequence, the development of transport infrastructure, the industrial cluster (in particular, shipbuilding, as well as the production of machinery for oil and gas extraction, wood processing, etc.), the fishing sector, etc., are traditionally priorities for the Arkhangelsk region.<sup>423</sup>

The specifics of the structural development of the Arkhangelsk region require the establishment of a network of interregional contacts. It is interesting to note, however, that while there is an Agreement defining interregional coordination of Arctic policy in general,<sup>424</sup> the Arkhangelsk Region has concluded bilateral

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<sup>422</sup> The number of resident population of the Russian Federation by municipalities as of January 1, 2023. – Text : electronic // Federal State Statistics Service : [website]. – URL: <https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/12781> (accessed 25.03.2023). [In Russian]; Information on the availability and distribution of land in the Russian Federation as of 1.01.2019 (in the context of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation). – Text : electronic // Rosreestr : [website]. – URL: <https://rosreestr.gov.ru/activity/gosudarstvennoe-upravlenie-v-sfere-ispolzovaniya-i-okhrany-zemel/gosudarstvennyy-monitoring-zemel/sostoyanie-zemel-rossii/gosudarstvennyy-natsionalnyy-doklad-o-sostoyanii-i-ispolzovanii-zemel-v-rossiyskoy-federatsii/> (accessed 25.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>423</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. About Strategy for Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and National Security Provision for the Period to 2035 : Decree № 645 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on October 26, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/45972> (accessed 25.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>424</sup> Agreement on cooperation in the implementation of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic between the highest executive bodies of state power of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, the territories of which are fully or partially included in the land territories of the Russian Arctic. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy of the Murmansk Region : [website]. – URL: [https://minec.gov-murman.ru/about/obsch\\_sovet/novosti/soglacsh.pdf](https://minec.gov-murman.ru/about/obsch_sovet/novosti/soglacsh.pdf) (accessed 26.03.2023). [In Russian]



agreements on cooperation in socioeconomic and other areas with the Murmansk Oblast, Karelia, the Nenets and Yamal-Nenets AO, and the Komi Republic, thus excluding such major representatives of the Russian Arctic as Krasnoyarsk Territory, Yakutia and the Chukotka AO.<sup>425</sup> Furthermore, unlike some Arctic regions, the Arkhangelsk region does not have its own executive body responsible for implementing policies for sustainable development in the Arctic.

The active involvement of the Arkhangelsk Oblast in international affairs began in the 1990s and was characterized by a wide range of networking activities, not excluding “people-to-people diplomacy”<sup>426</sup>. Over the years, the Arkhangelsk region and its territorial units have concluded friendship agreements and cooperation agreements with representatives of the administrative-territorial entities of the United States (Greater Portland, Waterville), France (Mulhouse), Germany (Emden, Neustadt, Freiberg), Norway (provinces of Troms, Finnmark, Nordland, the cities of Vardø, Tromsø and other territorial associations), Sweden (Kiruna, Yusdal), Finland (Oulu, Northern Ostrobothnia, Kainuu), Abkhazia (Sukhum), Serbia (Vojvodina), Bulgaria (Gabrovo), Israel (Ashdod), as well as with the Government of Belarus and the Government of Armenia (and individual territorial units of these republics). Over the years, the Arkhangelsk region and its territorial units have concluded friendship agreements and cooperation agreements with representatives of the administrative-territorial entities of the United States (Greater Portland, Waterville), France (Mulhouse), Germany (Emden, Neustadt, Freiberg), Norway (provinces of Troms, Finnmark, Nordland, the cities of Vardø, Tromsø and other territorial associations), Sweden (Kiruna, Yusdal), Finland (Oulu, Northern Ostrobothnia, Kainuu), Abkhazia (Sukhum), Serbia (Vojvodina), Bulgaria (Gabrovo), Israel (Ashdod), as well as with the Government of Belarus and the Government of Armenia (and individual territorial units of these republics).<sup>427</sup>

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<sup>425</sup> Interregional relations of the Arkhangelsk region. – Text : electronic // Government of the Arkhangelsk region : [website]. – URL: <https://dvinaland.ru/foreign/#cookies=yes> (accessed 25.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>426</sup> History of international relations of the Arkhangelsk region. – Text : electronic // Government of the Arkhangelsk region : [website]. – URL: <https://dvinaland.ru/foreign/#cookies=yes> (accessed 25.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>427</sup> International relations of the Arkhangelsk region. – Text : electronic // Government of the Arkhangelsk region : [website]. – URL: <https://dvinaland.ru/foreign/#cookies=yes> (accessed 25.03.2023). [In Russian]

The implementation of targeted Arctic cooperation since the 1990s has been carried out by the Arkhangelsk region through the Regional Council of the Barents Euro-Arctic region, which includes representatives of Finland, Norway and Sweden,<sup>428</sup> since the mid-2000s – through the Kolarctic cross-border cooperation program.<sup>429</sup> It is important to emphasize that from 2022 to the present, the interaction of the Arkhangelsk region, as well as other constituent entities of the Russian Federation, with representatives of unfriendly states and individual organizations (including Arctic cooperation) is carried out with restrictions, is considered suspended or stopped completely.

*Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)*

The Republic of Sakha is the largest subject of the Russian Federation in terms of area, but its population does not even reach 1 million people.<sup>430</sup> From the north, the region is washed by the waters of the East Siberian Sea and the Laptev Sea, which contributes to the economic development of the subject, whose economy has a resource-raw material model and is based on the extraction and processing of minerals (oil, gas, coal, gold, diamonds, lead-zinc ore, etc.). Yakutia can be considered a transport-developed region: it has an international and federal airport, as well as airports of regional importance, sea and river ports (Tiksi, Zeleny Mys, etc.), a railway network (Amur-Yakutsk Mainline, etc.), car roads. Meanwhile, in the next decade, it is planned to expand the transport potential by dredging large rivers, modernizing the port of Tiksi, which will contribute to the further development of the mineral resource complex of Yakutia.

The dynamics of the development of the region has led to an interest in interregional and interstate cooperation, which is reflected in the data of the Ministry

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<sup>428</sup> About the Regional Council. – Text : electronic // The Barents Euro-Arctic Council : [website]. – URL: <https://barents-council.org/barents-regional-council/about-the-council> (accessed 25.03.2023).

<sup>429</sup> Kolarctic program. – Text : electronic // Kolarctic : [website]. – URL: <https://kolarctic.info/ru/> (accessed 26.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>430</sup> The number of resident population of the Russian Federation by municipalities as of January 1, 2023. – Text : electronic // Federal State Statistics Service : [website]. – URL: <https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/12781> (accessed 26.03.2023). [In Russian]; Information on the availability and distribution of land in the Russian Federation as of 1.01.2019 (in the context of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation). – Text : electronic // Rosreestr : [website]. – URL: <https://rosreestr.gov.ru/activity/gosudarstvennoe-upravlenie-v-sfere-ispolzovaniya-i-okhrany-zemel/gosudarstvennyy-monitoring-zemel/sostoyanie-zemel-rossii/gosudarstvennyy-natsionalnyy-doklad-o-sostoyanii-i-ispolzovanii-zemel-v-rossiyskoy-federatsii/> (accessed 26.03.2023). [In Russian]

for Foreign Relations and Affairs of the Peoples of the Republic of Sakha.<sup>431</sup> According to the Concept of Interregional Relations of Yakutia, adopted in 2009, the priority tasks for the subject are the tasks of formalizing the legal framework for cooperation, increasing the efficiency of implementing agreements and programs, and stimulating trade relations.<sup>432</sup> To achieve the goals set, the Sakha Republic signed a multilateral Agreement on the coordination of the Arctic policy with the Arctic regions of the Russian Federation (excluding Karelia),<sup>433</sup> bilateral cooperation agreements were concluded with 44 regions (4 of which are the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, the Krasnoyarsk Territory and the Murmansk area - belong to the Arctic).<sup>434</sup> International cooperation until 2022 was represented by interaction with the countries of Asia (India, China, South Korea, Japan, Mongolia, Turkey), Europe (Poland, Germany, Finland, France), North America (Canada, USA), CIS member states ( Republic of Belarus and Tajikistan).<sup>435</sup> In addition, Yakutia cooperated within the framework of the Northern Forum.<sup>436</sup>

### *Krasnoyarsk Krai*

The Krasnoyarsk Krai is the second largest among the subjects of the Russian Federation and the most populated among the Arctic regions with a population of

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<sup>431</sup> Ministry for External Relations and Affairs of the Peoples of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). – Text : electronic // Ministry for External Relations and Affairs of the Peoples of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) : [website]. – URL: <https://mvstdn.sakha.gov.ru/> (accessed 26.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>432</sup> The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). Decrees. On the approval of the Concept of Interregional Relations of the Republic of Sakha № 341: [Decree of the Government of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) dated August 27, 2009] : [website]. – Text : electronic // Ministry for External Relations and Affairs of the Peoples of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). – URL: <https://mvstdn.sakha.gov.ru/deya/federativnye-otnosheniya/kontseptsija-mezhregionalnyh-svjazey-respubliki-saha-jakutija> (accessed 26.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>433</sup> Agreement on cooperation in the implementation of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic between the highest executive bodies of state power of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, the territories of which are fully or partially included in the land territories of the Russian Arctic. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy of the Murmansk Region : [website]. – URL: [https://minec.gov-murman.ru/about/obsch\\_sovet/novosti/soglacsh.pdf](https://minec.gov-murman.ru/about/obsch_sovet/novosti/soglacsh.pdf) (accessed 26.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>434</sup> Register of concluded intergovernmental agreements with subjects of the Russian Federation. – Text : electronic // Ministry for External Relations and Affairs of the Peoples of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) : [website]. – URL: <https://mvstdn.sakha.gov.ru/deya/federativnye-otnosheniya/reestr-zakljuchennyh-mezhpravitelstvennyh-soglashenij-s-subektami-rossijskoj-federatsii-po-sostojaniju-na-dekabr-2018-g> (accessed 26.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>435</sup> The international cooperation. – Text : electronic // Ministry for External Relations and Affairs of the Peoples of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) : [website]. – URL: <https://mvstdn.sakha.gov.ru/deya/mezhdunarodnoe-sotrudnichestvo> (accessed 26.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>436</sup> Vasiliev, V. N. The Northern Forum: Annual Report. 2022 / V. N. Vasiliev. – Text : electronic / Yakutsk : Secretariat of the Northern Forum, 2022. – P. 10–12. – URL: <https://www.northernforum.org/ru/news-ru/northernforum-news/1063-nf-annual-report-release> (accessed 26.03.2023). [In Russian]

more than 2 million 800 thousand people.<sup>437</sup> The territorial specificity of the region is determined not only by its rather high population, but also by its geographical position - like most of the Arctic subjects, the Krasnoyarsk territory has access to the sea - the Kara and Laptev. The main water artery is the Yenisei River, along the banks of which cities were built – Dudinka, Igarka, Lesosibirsk. Russia's northernmost city, Norilsk, a major metallurgical center, is also located in the Krasnoyarsk Territory. In general, the metallurgical, fuel and energy and timber industries are the basis for the economic development of a region rich in minerals (oil, gas, nickel ores, platinum, coal, etc.). Accordingly, the infrastructure corresponds to the development of the region: in the Krasnoyarsk Territory there are 4 seaports (Igarka, Dudinka, Dikson, Khatanga), airports (international in Krasnoyarsk, regional in Khatanga, Yeniseisk, Tura, etc.), a network of railways and roads.

The Krasnoyarsk Krai has many years of experience in international and interregional cooperation. In 1998, the first agreements were concluded with other subjects of the Russian Federation (Stavropol Territory, Moscow and Kostroma Regions), since then, agreements on trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation have been drawn up regularly: to date, the Krasnoyarsk Territory has 39 bilateral agreements on cooperation, including 3 with the Arctic regions (Murmansk oblast, Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug and the Republic of Sakha), as well as three interregional ones – the Agreement on cooperation in the implementation of the Arctic policy, which was signed by all Arctic regions, with the exception of the Republic of Karelia, the Agreement in the field of tourism development with the republics of Tyva, Altai and Khakassia and the “Siberian Agreement” with regions interested in the economic, investment and tourism

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<sup>437</sup> The number of resident population of the Russian Federation by municipalities as of January 1, 2023. – Text : electronic // Federal State Statistics Service : [website]. – URL: <https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/12781> (accessed 27.03.2023). [In Russian]; Information on the availability and distribution of land in the Russian Federation as of 1.01.2019 (in the context of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation). – Text : electronic // Rosreestr : [website]. – URL: <https://rosreestr.gov.ru/activity/gosudarstvennoe-upravlenie-v-sfere-ispolzovaniya-i-okhrany-zemel/gosudarstvennyy-monitoring-zemel/sostoyanie-zemel-rossii/gosudarstvennyy-natsionalnyy-doklad-o-sostoyanii-i-ispolzovanii-zemel-v-rossiyskoy-federatsii/> (accessed 27.03.2023). [In Russian]

development of Siberia.<sup>438</sup> Interregional cooperation is in the sphere of regulation of the External Relations Department of the Governor of the Krasnoyarsk Krai. The key foreign partners of the region are the Republic of Belarus, China and Austria.<sup>439</sup> The subject interacts with representatives of the Arctic and non-Arctic states within the framework of the previously mentioned “Northern Forum” and the Association of Regional Administrations of the Countries of Northeast Asia.<sup>440</sup> In May 2023, a new executive body, the Council for the Development of the North and the Arctic, was created in the Krasnoyarsk Territory, which is expected to focus on the economic, infrastructural, social and environmental development of the region.<sup>441</sup>

### *Republic of Karelia*

The Republic of Karelia is a subject of the Russian Federation that borders on Finland, being one of the three Arctic regions of the country that have a common border with foreign countries. In addition, Karelia has access to the White Sea, Ladoga and Onega lakes, the White Sea-Baltic Canal is a significant water artery. The hydrographic network of the region predetermined its economic structure: the main sector, in addition to industry and forestry, is fishing.

The geographical position of Karelia for many years determined its position as a transit region, which is a kind of transit point on the way from Saint Petersburg to Finland, where international highways and railways lead. Petrozavodsk has an international airport. The status of the subject and its infrastructure should have contributed to the development of interregional and international relations, however, at present, Karelia does not have a systematized system of cooperation: the official

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<sup>438</sup> Agreements with subjects of the Russian Federation. – Text: electronic // Official portal of the Krasnoyarsk Territory: [website]. – URL: <http://www.krskstate.ru/ved/soglash> (accessed 27.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>439</sup> Agreements on the implementation of international and foreign economic relations. – Text : electronic // Official portal of the Krasnoyarsk Territory : [website]. – URL: <http://www.krskstate.ru/ved/soglash/soglash> (accessed 27.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>440</sup> Vasiliev, V. N. The Northern Forum: Annual Report. 2022 / V. N. Vasiliev. – Text : electronic / Yakutsk : Secretariat of the Northern Forum, 2022. – P. 10–12. – URL: <https://www.northernforum.org/ru/news-ru/northernforum-news/1063-nf-annual-report-release> (accessed 27.03.2023). [In Russian]; International cooperation. – Text : electronic // Official portal of Krasnoyarsk Krai : [website]. – URL: <http://www.krskstate.ru/ved/inter> (accessed: 27.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>441</sup> The Council for Development of the North and the Arctic has been established in the Krasnoyarsk Krai. – Text : electronic // Official portal of Krasnoyarsk Territory : [website]. – URL: <http://www.krskstate.ru/press/news/arctic/0/news/108555> (accessed 27.05.2023). [In Russian]

Internet portal of the republic does not provide data on interaction with other subjects, as well as representatives of foreign states.<sup>442</sup>

The analysis allows us to point out the existence of 22 agreements concluded with the subjects of the federation,<sup>443</sup> but the question of the implementation of cooperation agreements is still open. Based on the data of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it can be concluded that Karelia has ties with the Republic of Belarus, as well as the administrative-territorial units of Finland, Sweden, Norway, China, the USA, Germany, Estonia, Lithuania, Armenia, Greece, but their preservation at the moment is in question.<sup>444</sup> Multilateral cooperation of Karelia with representatives of foreign states was carried out through the Barents Regional Council and within the framework of the Kolarctic program.<sup>445</sup>

So, the study of the potential of 9 Arctic regions of the Russian Federation made it possible to formulate a number of conclusions that will form the basis of further scientific work.

It should be noted that the key characteristics of the subjects of the federation, united according to the principle of belonging to the Arctic zone of Russia, are quite different. Although it must be recognized that all subjects have a high resource potential and, therefore, have a high economic priority for the country, their

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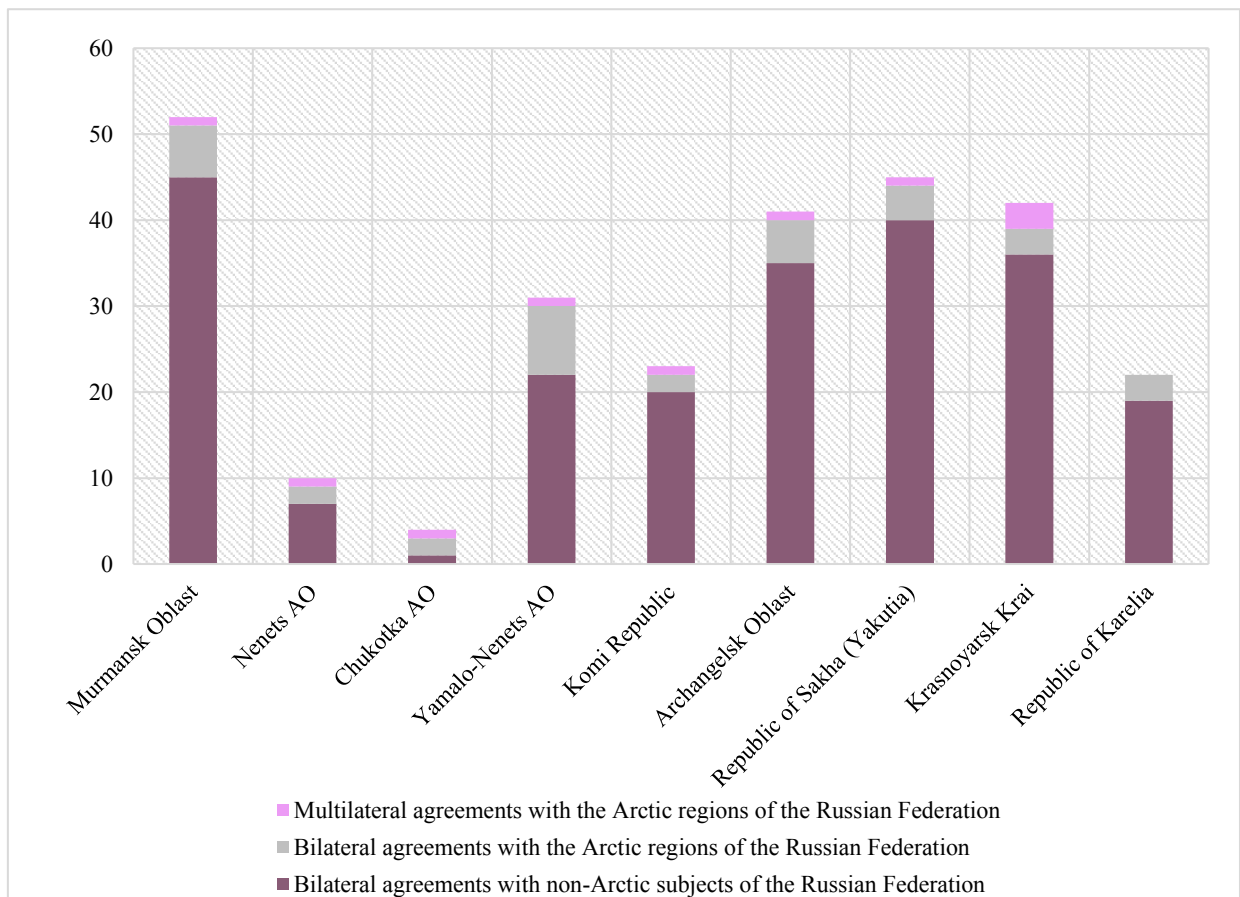
<sup>442</sup> Republic of Karelia. – Text : electronic // Official Internet portal of the Republic of Karelia : [website]. – URL: <https://gov.karelia.ru/> (accessed 29.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>443</sup> Karelia has Agreements with the Arkhangelsk, Leningrad, Murmansk, Vologda, Kemerovo, Novgorod, Orel, Kostroma, Pskov, Tambov and Vladimir Oblast, Yamalo-Nenets and Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug, the Republics of Tatarstan, Chechnya, Karachay-Cherkessia, Kabardino-Balkaria, North Ossetia-Alania, Adygea, Dagestan, the federal cities of Moscow and Saint Petersburg.

<sup>444</sup> Republic of Karelia. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: [https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign\\_policy/economic\\_diplomacy/vnesneekonomiceskie-svazi-sub-ektov-rossijskoj-federacii/1784536/#:~:text=%D0%9A%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%B8%D1%8F%20%D1%81%201999%20%D0%B3.%20%D0%B2%D0%B7%D0%B0%D0%B8%D0%BC%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%B9%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B2%D1%83%D0%B5%D1%82,%D0%BF%D0%BE%20%D0%BB%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%B8%20%D0%B3%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%BE%D0%B2%20%2D%20%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%B1%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B8%D0%BC%D0%BE%D0%B2](https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/economic_diplomacy/vnesneekonomiceskie-svazi-sub-ektov-rossijskoj-federacii/1784536/#:~:text=%D0%9A%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%B8%D1%8F%20%D1%81%201999%20%D0%B3.%20%D0%B2%D0%B7%D0%B0%D0%B8%D0%BC%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%B9%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B2%D1%83%D0%B5%D1%82,%D0%BF%D0%BE%20%D0%BB%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%B8%20%D0%B3%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%BE%D0%B2%20%2D%20%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%B1%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B8%D0%BC%D0%BE%D0%B2) (accessed 29.03.2023) [In Russian].

<sup>445</sup> About the Regional Council. – Text : electronic // The Barents Euro-Arctic Council : [website]. – URL: <https://barents-council.org/barents-regional-council/about-the-council> (accessed 29.03.2023).; Tender procedure for the evaluation of Russian-Finnish border crossing development projects under the Kolarctic, Karelia and South-East Finland-Russia programmes has been announced. – Text : electronic // Kolarctic : [website]. – URL: <https://kolarctic.info/ru/news-and-events/%d0%be%d0%b1%d1%8a%d1%8f%d0%b2%d0%bb%d0%b5%d0%bd-%d1%82%d0%b5%d0%bd%d0%b4%d0%b5%d1%80-%d0%bd%d0%b0-%d0%be%d1%86%d0%b5%d0%bd%d0%ba%d1%83-%d0%bf%d1%80%d0%be%d0%b5%d0%ba%d1%82%d0%be%d0%b2-%d1%80%d0%b0/> (accessed 29.03.2023) [In Russian].

infrastructural development is not uniform. A special regional environment is also formed by other factors, including the specifics of the geographical location, population, etc. Accordingly, in a number of cases, individual Arctic regions do not have sufficient opportunities for presentation at the state and, moreover, international level. The above-analyzed example of Chukotka can be indicative, where the population, despite the size of the territories, barely exceeds 45 thousand people, and the geographical location, characterized by remoteness from Europe, climate, underdeveloped infrastructure and other factors do not favor the establishment of ties.



Graph. 1. The structure of agreements adopted by the Arctic regions within the Russian Federation.<sup>446</sup>

<sup>446</sup> Murmansk Oblast. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy of the Murmansk Region : [website]. – URL: <https://minec.gov-murman.ru/> (accessed 30.03.2023). [In Russian]; Nenets Autonomous Okrug. - Text: electronic // Official website of the Nenets Autonomous Okrug : [website]. – URL: <https://digital.adm-nao.ru/> (accessed 30.03.2023). [In Russian]; Chukotka Autonomous Okrug // Official website of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug: [website]. – URL: <https://xn--80atapud1a.xn--plai/> (accessed 30.03.2023). [In Russian]; Yamalo-Nenets

Based on the above information, as well as on the structure of agreements that were concluded between the Arctic and Arctic/Non-Arctic regions of the Russian Federation, it is possible to determine the degree of interest of the regions in establishing cooperation ties. And if it is possible to do this in the context of domestic activity at the moment, then the study of entering the foreign policy space is hampered by the lack of open data and the instability of the situation as a whole.

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Until 2022, the main cooperation of the Arctic regions of the Russian Federation was in contacts with the administrative-territorial formations of the Arctic states, as well as with representatives of the countries of Central Europe (France, Germany). However, the coronavirus pandemic froze cooperation mechanisms (which has predominantly had an impact on inter-state interaction)<sup>447</sup>, and the aggravation of the Ukrainian crisis in 2022 contributed to their interruption (using the example of the Murmansk region, the only entity that submitted a list of foreign subnational actors (albeit possibly incomplete), terminated or suspended

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Autonomous Okrug. – Text : electronic // Department of External Relations of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug : [website]. – URL: <https://inter.yanao.ru/> (accessed 30.03.2023). [In Russian]; Komi Republic. – Text : electronic // Government of the Komi Republic : [website]. – URL: <https://gov.rkomi.ru/> (accessed 30.03.2023). [In Russian]; Archangelsk Oblast. – Text : electronic // Government of the Arkhangelsk region : [website]. – URL: <https://dvincialand.ru/> (accessed 30.03.2023). [In Russian]; The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). – Text : electronic // Ministry for External Relations and Affairs of the Peoples of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) : [website]. – URL: <https://mvstdn.sakha.gov.ru/> (accessed 30.03.2023). [In Russian]; Krasnoyarsk territory. – Text : electronic // Official portal of the Krasnoyarsk Krai : [website]. – URL: <http://www.krskstate.ru/> (accessed 30.03.2023). [In Russian]; Republic of Karelia. – Text : electronic // Official Internet portal of the Republic of Karelia : [website]. – URL: <https://gov.karelia.ru/> (accessed 30.03.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg; Committee for the Arctic : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/> (accessed 30.03.2023). [In Russian]. The analysis of mentions on the Internet about the cooperation of the Komi Republic revealed data on the conclusion of interregional agreements with the federal cities of Moscow and Saint Petersburg, the republics of Tatarstan, Chuvashia, Dagestan, Chechnya, Crimea, Murmansk, Kirov, Samara, Vologda, Yaroslavl, Kurgan, Pskov, Novgorod, Orenburg, Kemerovo, Rostov and Tula regions, Perm Territory, Khanty-Mansiysk and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug).

<sup>447</sup> Gomelauri, A. S. French “soft power” in the context of the pandemic: Limiting traditional ways of influence / A. S. Gomelauri. – Text : direct // Locus: People, Society, Culture, Meanings. – 2021. – Vol. 12, № 3. – pp. 114–121. – DOI 10.31862/2500-2988-2021-12-3-114-121.



interaction with the region,<sup>448</sup> we can say that Sweden, Finland, Norway no longer seek to resolve Arctic issues together with Russia, which is also true for a number of other European countries that have refused to cooperate within the framework of international organizations and programs). Nevertheless, Russia is currently mobilizing opportunities for the implementation of polar strategies of interaction in foreign policy. Researchers believe that before the events of 2022, the Russian Federation and its allies (member countries of the BRICS, an organization that, it should be noted, continues its sustainable development)<sup>449</sup> had two ways: continue to maintain the status quo in an atmosphere of competition with the United States and Western countries or try to undermine and replace the existing order.<sup>450</sup> The first steps towards changing the relatively balanced multipolar system were taken in February 2022, which led to the division of the world (at least for Russia) into two blocs: NATO member countries and “supporting” states. Accordingly, the obvious course towards Europe, which the constituent entities of the Russian Federation adhered to until 2022, has been replaced by a period of uncertainty, when previous agreements have been suspended or terminated, and new ones have not yet been concluded.

Thus, the consideration of the Arctic policy pursued since 2022 is possible in two planes: ‘hard’, where various methods of pressure<sup>451</sup> are used in relation to the Western bloc, and ‘soft’, aimed at creating attraction,<sup>452</sup> in relation to partners from developing countries, including China, India, Vietnam, African states, etc. ‘Hard’ and ‘soft’ forces are traditionally seen as two ways to achieve a goal through influence on others, but their nature and the resources involved in the

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<sup>448</sup> Sister cities and partner territories of the Murmansk region. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy of the Murmansk Region : [website]. – URL: [https://minec.gov-murman.ru/activities/foreign\\_activity/sub02/sub01/pobratimy/](https://minec.gov-murman.ru/activities/foreign_activity/sub02/sub01/pobratimy/) (accessed 30.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>449</sup> BRICS. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Economic Development of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: [https://www.economy.gov.ru/material/directions/vneshneekonomicheskaya\\_deyatelnost/mnogostoronnee\\_ekonomicheskoe\\_sotrudnichestvo/briks/](https://www.economy.gov.ru/material/directions/vneshneekonomicheskaya_deyatelnost/mnogostoronnee_ekonomicheskoe_sotrudnichestvo/briks/) (accessed 30.03.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>450</sup> Hameiri, S., Jones, L., & Heathershaw, J. (2019). Reframing the rising powers debate: state transformation and foreign policy. *Third World Quarterly*, P. 2. doi:10.1080/01436597.2019.1594182.

<sup>451</sup> Nye, J. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* / J. Nye. – New York : Public Affairs, 2004. – P. 5. – ISBN 10 1586482254. – Text : direct.

<sup>452</sup> Ibidem.

implementation are different.<sup>453</sup> Due to the specifics of the required resources and the scale of decisions made, the policy of ‘hard’ measures cannot be developed and implemented at the level of subnational actors, whose interaction with other actors in the international space can range from ‘soft’ to neutral (in the absence of contacts in general).

The resource base of the subjects of the federation is involved in the implementation of strategies that lie in a ‘soft’ direction,<sup>454</sup> and, according to researchers, Russia used this potential of subnational units in the implementation of its Arctic policy, which, although sustained in an alarmist spirit,<sup>455</sup> but, in accordance with the plans, trade development, needs organization and strengthened ties with foreign countries.

Meanwhile, on the way to establishing relations between the Arctic regions and potential partners from among friendly states, there are a number of obstacles, including geographical remoteness and, in some cases, the lack of extensive experience in concluding and implementing partnership agreements (among such subjects are the Chukotka and Nenets Autonomous Okrug, Komi Republic). Therefore, it seems important to talk about the need to search for an intermediary actor who could represent the Arctic entities in the external space. A very interesting example would be the case of Saint Petersburg, a city of federal significance, which is among the active participants in the state’s Arctic policy.

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<sup>453</sup> Ibid. P. 7.

<sup>454</sup> Gomelaury, A. S. The federal subjects as actors of the state policy of “soft power” (on the example of the Russian Federation) / A. S. Gomelaury. – Text : direct // Issues of national and federal relations. – 2020. – № 5 (26). – P. 1230. – DOI 10.18413/2687-0967-2020-47-3-658-668. [In Russian]

<sup>455</sup> Sergunin, A., Konyshchev, V. Russia in the Arctic: Hard or Soft Power? / A. Sergunin, V. Konyshchev. – Stuttgart : Ibidem-Verlag, 2016. – P. 37. – ISBN-13: 978-3-8382-0753-7. – Text : direct.

## **CHAPTER 3. THE CASE OF SAINT PETERSBURG AS A SUBNATIONAL ACTOR INVOLVED IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION'S ARCTIC POLICY**

### **3.1. Saint Petersburg as a Resource Aggregator in the Context of Implementing the State's Arctic Strategy**

The choice of Saint Petersburg as a subnational actor involved in the implementation of Arctic policy was by no means obvious. The federal city of Saint Petersburg does not legally or geographically belong to the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation,<sup>456</sup> nor does it have the same high status – political, economic, cultural and symbolic – as the state capital Moscow, which accumulates all processes and exercises control over the activities of the federal subjects.

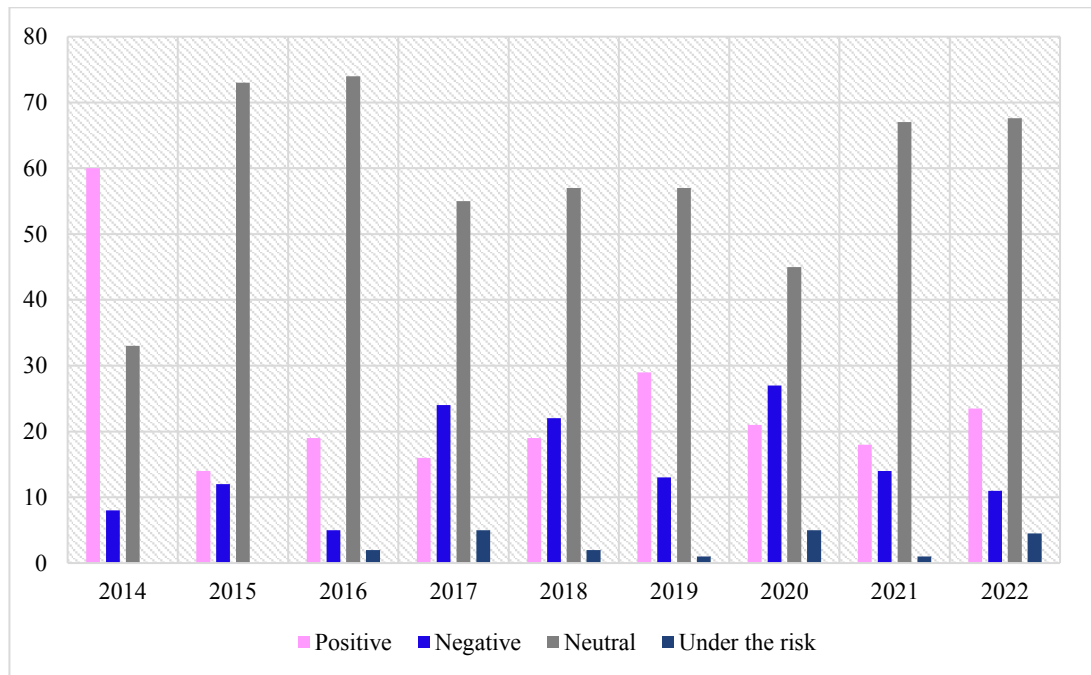
However, in the late 2010s, the incorporation of Saint Petersburg into the state's Arctic policy began, including its considerable potential as a subnational actor with its own recognizable international image and wide network of links with foreign representatives. In analyzing the case of a city of federal significance engaged in a promising – not only until the transformational year 2022, but at the moment – direction, it is necessary to identify the factors which prompted the federal center to secure Saint Petersburg's status as a participant in Arctic policy. First and foremost, it is worth considering them in terms of the 'soft' resource that the subnational actor has, and hence special attention should be paid to the potential that is of most interest to representatives of foreign society and political elites.

The statistics presented in the annually published reports, based on analysis of the information agenda in the foreign press where Saint Petersburg appears, show

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<sup>456</sup> Russian Federation. Laws. Constitution of the Russian Federation : [adopted by popular vote on December 12, 1993, with amendments approved during the national vote on July 1, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://kremlin.ru/acts/constitution> (accessed 5.04.2023). [In Russian]

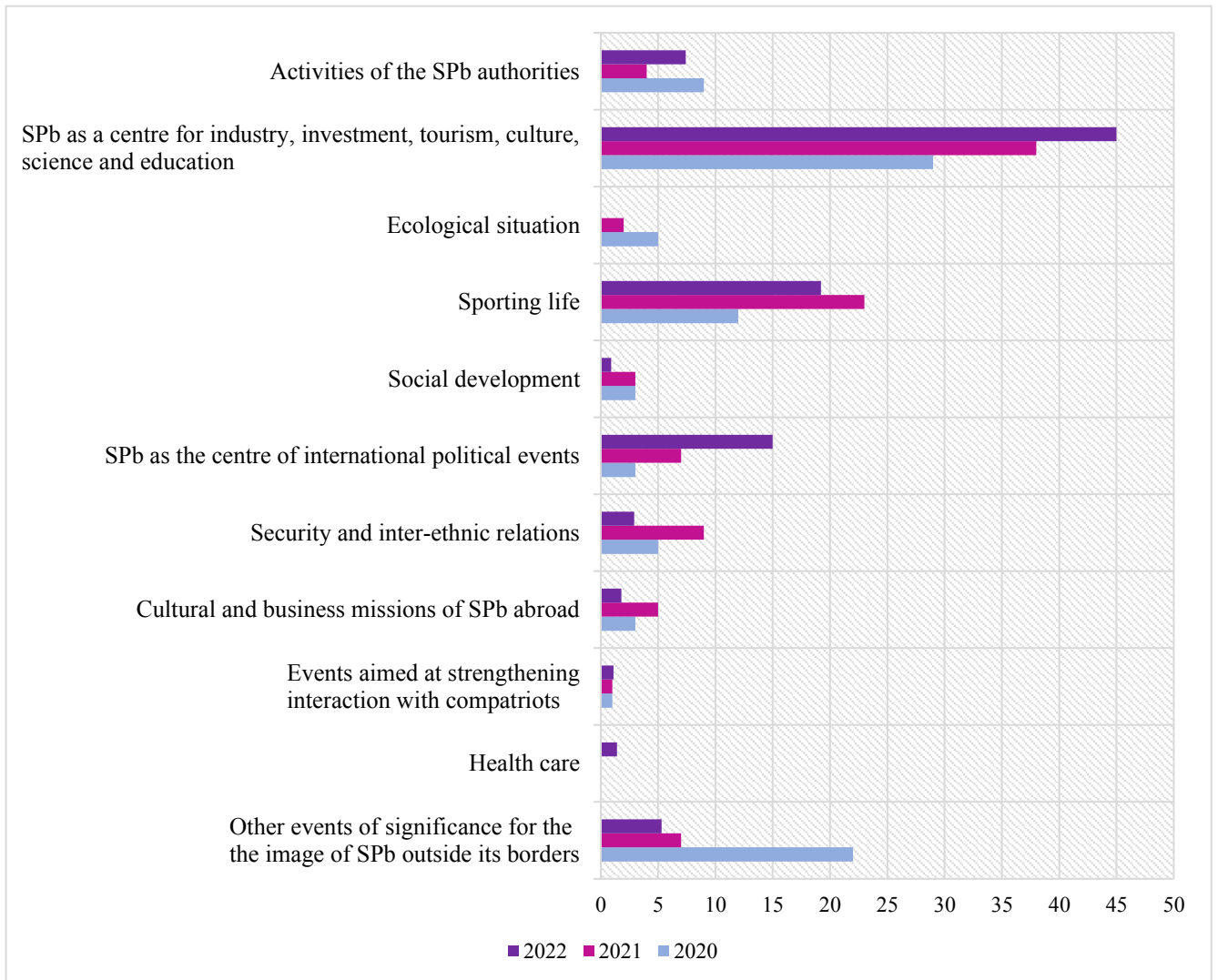
a high interest in the city by representatives of the foreign media and society, with neutral and positive opinions significantly prevailing over negative ones:



Graph 2. Changes in the tone of references to Saint Petersburg in foreign language media publications (%).<sup>457</sup>

Publications that mention Saint Petersburg have the following thematic structure:

<sup>457</sup> Nikiforov A.A. Analysis of the information foreign field of Saint Petersburg for 2022 (except for countries included in the list of unfriendly states approved by the Order of the Government of the Russian Federation of March 5, 2022 № 430). – Saint Petersburg : Saint Petersburg State University, 2022. – P. 5. [It is important to note that, guided by the terms of reference, the selection of publications for 2022 excluded countries included in the list of unfriendly states, approved by the Order of the Government of the Russian Federation of March 5, 2022 № 430]. – Text : electronic // Committee on External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. - URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/static/writable/ckeditor/uploads/2023/01/09/37/%D0%9E%D1%82%D1%87%D0%B5%D1%82\\_%D0%90%D0%BD%D0%B0%D0%BB%D0%B8%D0%B7\\_%D0%B8%D0%BD%D1%84%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BC%D0%B0%D1%86%D0%B8%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B3%D0%BE\\_%D0%B7%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%83%D0%B1%D0%B5%D0%B6%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B3%D0%BE\\_%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%BB%D1%8F\\_%D0%A1%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%BA%D1%82-%D0%9F%D0%B5%D1%82%D0%B5%D1%80%D0%B1%D1%83%D1%80%D0%B3%D0%B0\\_%D0%B7%D0%B0\\_2022\\_%D0%B3%D0%BE%D0%B4.pdf](https://www.gov.spb.ru/static/writable/ckeditor/uploads/2023/01/09/37/%D0%9E%D1%82%D1%87%D0%B5%D1%82_%D0%90%D0%BD%D0%B0%D0%BB%D0%B8%D0%B7_%D0%B8%D0%BD%D1%84%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BC%D0%B0%D1%86%D0%B8%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B3%D0%BE_%D0%B7%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%83%D0%B1%D0%B5%D0%B6%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B3%D0%BE_%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%BB%D1%8F_%D0%A1%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%BA%D1%82-%D0%9F%D0%B5%D1%82%D0%B5%D1%80%D0%B1%D1%83%D1%80%D0%B3%D0%B0_%D0%B7%D0%B0_2022_%D0%B3%D0%BE%D0%B4.pdf) (accessed 5.04.2023). [In Russian]; Study of the international image of Saint Petersburg based on the results of media monitoring from January 1 to December 10, 2019. – Saint Petersburg : Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg, 2019. – 247 p. [In Russian]



Graph 3. Mentions of Saint Petersburg in the foreign press by thematic sections (%)<sup>458</sup>

<sup>458</sup> Nikiforov A.A. Analysis of the information foreign field of Saint Petersburg for 2022 (except for countries included in the list of unfriendly states approved by the Order of the Government of the Russian Federation of March 5, 2022 № 430). – Saint Petersburg : Saint Petersburg State University, 2022. – P. 5. [It is important to note that, guided by the terms of reference, the selection of publications for 2022 excluded countries included in the list of unfriendly states, approved by the Order of the Government of the Russian Federation of March 5, 2022 № 430]. – Text : electronic // Committee on External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. - URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/static/writable/ckeditor/uploads/2023/01/09/37/%D0%9E%D1%82%D1%87%D0%B5%D1%82\\_%D0%90%D0%BD%D0%B0%D0%BB%D0%B8%D0%B7\\_%D0%B8%D0%BD%D1%84%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BC%D0%B0%D1%86%D0%B8%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B3%D0%BE\\_%D0%B7%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%83%D0%B1%D0%B5%D0%B6%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B3%D0%BE\\_%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%BB%D1%8F\\_%D0%A1%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%BA%D1%82-](https://www.gov.spb.ru/static/writable/ckeditor/uploads/2023/01/09/37/%D0%9E%D1%82%D1%87%D0%B5%D1%82_%D0%90%D0%BD%D0%B0%D0%BB%D0%B8%D0%B7_%D0%B8%D0%BD%D1%84%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BC%D0%B0%D1%86%D0%B8%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B3%D0%BE_%D0%B7%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%83%D0%B1%D0%B5%D0%B6%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B3%D0%BE_%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%BB%D1%8F_%D0%A1%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%BA%D1%82-)

Based on the presented data, it can be argued that the most covered and, therefore, interesting topic for society is the activity of Saint Petersburg in the field of economy (industry, attracting investments, congress activities), as well as scientific, educational, cultural, tourist and sports fields. In addition, much attention is paid to Saint Petersburg as a participant in international events, which indicates its special status as an actor on the world stage.

Thus, considering the city, taking into account its resource base, which can be used in the interests of the state when Saint Petersburg is involved in the implementation of strategies with access to the international space, one should take into account the characteristics that predetermined its position. As part of this research, analyzing the role of Saint Petersburg in the implementation of the Arctic policy of the Russian Federation, it is necessary to identify the key geopolitical, economic and other factors that led to the formation of the city as a subnational actor of Arctic significance.

*Saint Petersburg: population, migration, tourism*

The population of Saint Petersburg, according to a preliminary estimate for 2023 is 5 598 486 people,<sup>459</sup> which puts it in third place among the largest cities in Europe (after Moscow and London).<sup>460</sup> The structural composition of the population makes it possible to characterize Saint Petersburg as a city with a dominant number of residents who identify themselves as Russians (> 80%), Ukrainians, Azerbaijanis, Belarusians, Armenians, Kazakhs, Uzbeks and representatives of other CIS countries are especially widely represented among other nationalities.<sup>461</sup>

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<sup>459</sup> Petersburg in numbers. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/helper/day/> (accessed 5.04.2023). [In Russian]; Preliminary estimate of the resident population as of January 1, 2023 (taking into account the results of the 2020 Russian Population Census). – Text : electronic // Department of the Federal State Statistics Service for Saint Petersburg and the Leningrad Region : [website]. – URL: <https://78.rosstat.gov.ru/folder/27595> (accessed 5.04.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>460</sup> Largest cities in Europe by population. – Text : electronic // Geocities : [website]. – URL: <https://geogoroda.ru/citizens/europe> (accessed 5.04.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>461</sup> The population of Saint Petersburg according to Rosstat. – Text : electronic // Rosstat: Statistics and indicators : [website]. – URL: <https://rosinfostat.ru/naselenie-sankt-peterburga/> (accessed 5.04.2023). [In Russian]; The main results of the Russian population census in Saint Petersburg: Population by citizenship / Federal State Statistics Service Office of the Federal State Statistics Service for Saint Petersburg and the Leningrad Region (PETROSTAT). – Saint Petersburg : Petrostat. – 2022. – P. 28. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

It should be noted that citizens of countries that were previously part of the USSR came to the Russian Federation as a more successful state from an economic point of view.<sup>462</sup> Moreover, Saint Petersburg, as a large city with a developed industrial sector and the presence of vacancies, actively attracts citizens from neighboring countries (Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, etc.): the number of issued works permits and patents is steadily growing.<sup>463</sup>

The COVID-19 pandemic and the aggravation of the Ukrainian crisis have significantly affected the interest of foreigners in Russia: firstly, in general, there has been a decrease in the number of foreign citizens arriving in the country for work, business, educational and tourism purposes,<sup>464</sup> and secondly, significantly the structure of visitors has changed – the number of citizens from unfriendly states has decreased, the number of citizens arriving from India, Iran, and a number of African countries has increased.<sup>465</sup> A similar trend is highly likely to continue in 2023 – 2024, when the last pandemic restrictions by Russia-friendly states will be finally lifted and work and tourist flows will begin to recover after the ‘COVID-19 break’. True, this will be achieved if the Russian Federation is able to reduce the tension around the Ukrainian situation, stabilize the economic situation and ensure the safety of people entering its territory.

If the negative effects that impede the restoration of communications are at least reduced, then Saint Petersburg will be able to improve its position, which was pretty shaken under the influence of the already mentioned external ‘shocks’.<sup>466</sup>

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<sup>462</sup> GDP by countries. – Text : electronic // The World Bank : [website]. – URL: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD> (accessed 5.04.2023).

<sup>463</sup> Passport of Saint Petersburg. – Saint Petersburg : Committee for Science and Higher Education, 2021. – P. 34. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2022/10/03/%D0%9F%D0%B0%D1%81%D0%BF%D0%BE%D1%80%D1%82\\_%D0%A1%D0%9F%D0%B1\\_2021.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2022/10/03/%D0%9F%D0%B0%D1%81%D0%BF%D0%BE%D1%80%D1%82_%D0%A1%D0%9F%D0%B1_2021.pdf) (accessed 5.04.2023). – Text : electronic. [In Russian]

<sup>464</sup> Selected indicators of the migration situation in the Russian Federation for January – December 2019 with distribution by country and region. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <https://xn--b1aew.xn--p1ai/dejatelnost/statistics/migracionnaya/item/19365693/> (accessed 6.04.2023). [In Russian]; Selected indicators of the migration situation in the Russian Federation for January – December 2022 with distribution by country and region. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <https://xn--b1aew.xn--p1ai/dejatelnost/statistics/migracionnaya/item/35074711/> (accessed 6.04.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>465</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>466</sup> The decline in the position of Saint Petersburg as an attractive destination for tourists is evidenced not only by statistics on tourism in general (in 2019, 4,187,536 people entered the Russian Federation for tourism purposes, and 306,753 people), but also the disappearance of the city from popular tourist ratings where he traditionally occupied

*Saint Petersburg: geographical position and transport accessibility*

Saint Petersburg is the second largest city in the Russian Federation after Moscow and the third largest in Europe, with an area of 1439 km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>467</sup> It is located in the northwest of the country in the temperate climate zone. The city borders on the Leningrad region, however, given the access to the Baltic Sea through the Gulf of Finland, it has ‘foreign neighbors’ – primarily Finland and Estonia. It is also important to note the sufficient proximity of the city to the capital of Russia – Moscow, which leads to their close cooperation.

Due to its geographical location, Saint Petersburg is a convenient transport hub where air routes intersect (Pulkovo International Airport, Levashovo Airport under reconstruction, which can be upgraded to meet the needs of civilian flights), sea and river routes (Bolshoy Port, passenger port “Marine Façade”, Seaport, Sea fishing and commercial ports, “Petrolesport”, multifunctional port “Bronka”, etc.), railway routes (Vitebsk, Ladoga, Moscow, Finland stations).

Passenger transport, including waterborne transport, was seen as a promising destination, providing Saint Petersburg with a regular flow of tourists; the same is true for freight transport – sea routes have been used for decades to develop a network conditioning the flow of imports and exports, but since 2020, the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, freight and passenger flows have been significantly reduced by closing national borders. Further, the ongoing transportation was affected by sanctions packages introduced by states unfriendly to Russia, which

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high places. [Selected indicators of the migration situation in the Russian Federation for January – December 2019 with distribution by country and region. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <https://xn--b1aew.xn--p1ai/dejatelnost/statistics/migracionnaya/item/19365693/> (accessed 6.04.2023). [In Russian]; Selected indicators of the migration situation in the Russian Federation for January – December 2022 with distribution by country and region. – Text : electronic // Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <https://xn--b1aew.xn--p1ai/dejatelnost/statistics/migracionnaya/item/35074711/> (accessed 6.04.2023). [In Russian]; World’s Leading City Destination. – Text : electronic // World Travel Awards : [website]. – URL: <https://www.worldtravelawards.com/award-worlds-leading-city-destination-2022> (accessed 6.04.2023).; Top 100 City Destinations: 2019 Edition. – Text : electronic // Euromonitor : [website]. – URL: <https://go.euromonitor.com/white-paper-travel-2019-100-cities> (accessed 27.04.2023).; Top 100 City Destinations: 2022 Edition. – Text : electronic // Euromonitor : [website]. – URL: <https://www.euromonitor.com/top-100-city-destinations-index-2022/report> (accessed 6.04.2023).]

<sup>467</sup> The largest cities in Europe by area. – Text: electronic // Geocities : [website]. – URL: <https://geogoroda.ru/big-cities/europe> (accessed 6.04.2023). [In Russian]



provided for the restriction of trade.<sup>468</sup> Statistics show that the greatest damage as a result of the events of 2022 was caused to sea and river transport networks:<sup>469</sup> if in 2021 the cargo turnover of the seaport “Bolshoy Port” was (62 031.2 thousand tons), then in 2022 – 38 776.8 thousand tons, which is 37.4% lower;<sup>470</sup> the cargo turnover of the Bronka port for the specified period decreased by 61.9%, amounting to 1 403.3 thousand tons.<sup>471</sup> At present, it can be assumed that, as transport routes are reoriented towards “friendly” and “neutral” states, maritime cargo and passenger transportation will begin a gradual recovery process.

### *Saint Petersburg: economy and investment climate*

The industrial development of Saint Petersburg has faced serious challenges in recent years, which, like other risks for the Russian Federation as a whole, were due to the global pandemic and its consequences, as well as the Ukrainian crisis, the effects of which also had a negative impact on the recovery from restrictions, introduced as a result of the spread of the COVID-19 virus, the economy.

Statistics on the gross regional product allows us to note a stable increase until the beginning of the crisis period. It should be noted that, despite the regular increase in the money supply (billion rubles), in fact (i.e., taking into account inflationary pressure), the indicators show a negative scenario:

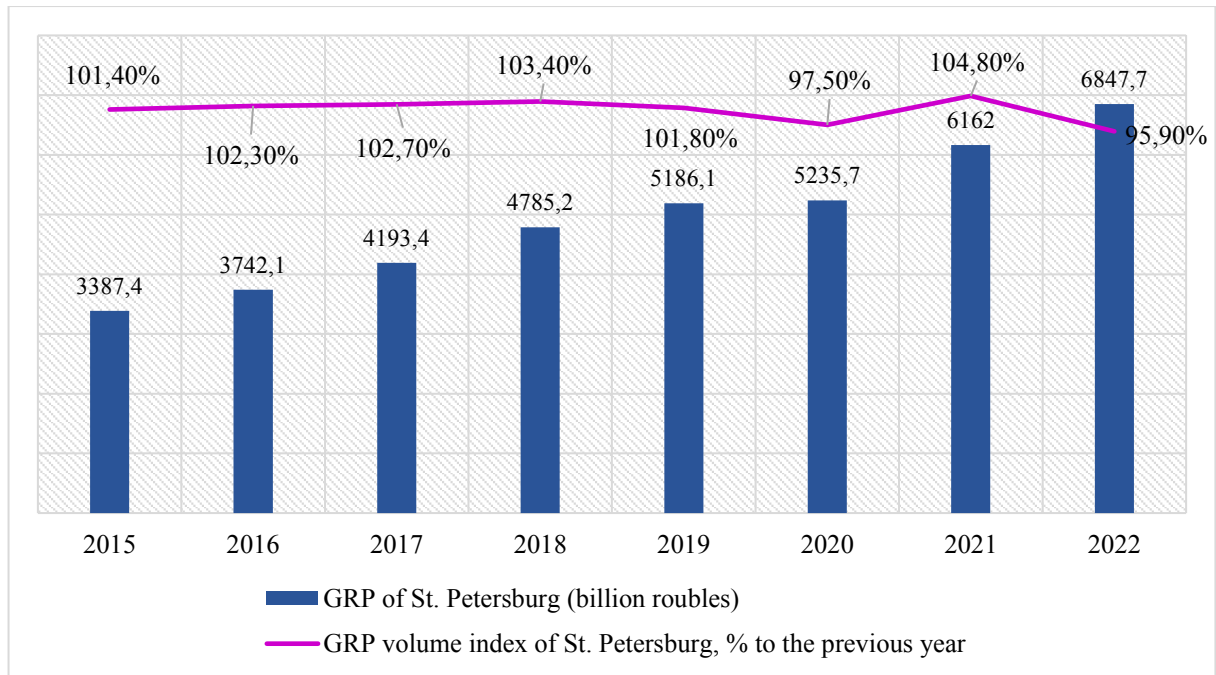
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<sup>468</sup> Passport of Saint Petersburg. – Saint Petersburg : Committee for Science and Higher Education, 2021. – P. 15–16. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2022/10/03/%D0%9F%D0%B0%D1%81%D0%BF%D0%BE%D1%80%D1%82\\_%D0%A1%D0%9F%D0%B1\\_2021.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2022/10/03/%D0%9F%D0%B0%D1%81%D0%BF%D0%BE%D1%80%D1%82_%D0%A1%D0%9F%D0%B1_2021.pdf) (accessed 5.04.2023). – Text : electronic. [In Russian]; Industry statistics: Maritime transport. – Text : electronic // Saint Petersburg state public institution “Agency for External Transport” : [website]. – URL: <http://avt.spb.ru/vodnyj-transport/otraslevaja-statistika/> (accessed 6.03.2023). [In Russian]; Russia Sanctions Database. – Text : electronic // Atlantic Council : [website]. – URL: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/econographics/russia-sanctions-database/> (accessed 6.04.2023).; EU sanctions against Russia explained. – Text : electronic // The Council of the EU/The European Council : [website]. – URL: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/sanctions/restrictive-measures-against-russia-over-ukraine/sanctions-against-russia-explained/> (accessed 6.04.2023).

<sup>469</sup> It is important to emphasize that rail and air transportation suffered less damage as a result of the events of 2020-2022 and are actively recovering in 2023: Oktyabrskaya Railway. – Text : electronic // Russian Railways : [website]. – URL: <https://ozd.rzd.ru/ru/4012> (accessed 7.04.2023). [In Russian]; Airport indicators. – Text : electronic // Pulkovo: Saint Petersburg Airport : [website]. – URL: [https://pulkovoiairport.ru/about/about\\_pulkovo/performance/](https://pulkovoiairport.ru/about/about_pulkovo/performance/) (accessed 7.04.2023). [In Russian]; The passenger traffic of Pulkovo for the 1st quarter of 2023 exceeded 3.9 million people. – Text : electronic // Pulkovo: Saint Petersburg Airport : [website]. – URL: [https://pulkovoiairport.ru/about/press\\_center/news/40849/](https://pulkovoiairport.ru/about/press_center/news/40849/) (accessed 7.04.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>470</sup> Sea transport. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: Transport Committee : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_transport/vneshnij-transport/morskoj-transport/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_transport/vneshnij-transport/morskoj-transport/) (accessed 7.04.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>471</sup> Ibidem.



Graph 4. Dynamics of Gross Regional Product (GRP) of Saint Petersburg.<sup>472</sup>

Related trends were a deterioration in wholesale and retail trade turnover, a significant (11.5% year-on-year) increase in the consumer price index due to a significant inflation rate, a decrease in the real income of the population, which was not offset by nominal wage growth (accrued real average wages also declined).<sup>473</sup> However, that import substitution strategies, which preserve economic stability and ensure the development of innovative capacity,<sup>474</sup> have begun to show results: the industrial production index increased by 3.2% in 2022 compared to 2021, which indicates a positive trend in industry:<sup>475</sup> although there is still a decline in some

<sup>472</sup> Committee for Economic Policy and Strategic Planning of Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_econom/statistic/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_econom/statistic/) (accessed 7.04.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>473</sup> Results of the socio-economic development of Saint Petersburg: January – December 2022. – Saint Petersburg: Committee for Economic Policy and Strategic Planning of Saint Petersburg, 2023. – P. 4–5. – Text : electronic // Committee for Economic Policy and Strategic Planning of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://cedipt.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2023/02/17/%D0%A1%D0%9F%D0%A0%D0%90%D0%92%D0%9A%D0%90\\_%D0%A7%D0%9F\\_%D1%8F%D0%BD%D0%B2%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%8C-%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%B1%D1%80%D1%8C\\_2022.pdf](https://cedipt.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2023/02/17/%D0%A1%D0%9F%D0%A0%D0%90%D0%92%D0%9A%D0%90_%D0%A7%D0%9F_%D1%8F%D0%BD%D0%B2%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%8C-%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%B1%D1%80%D1%8C_2022.pdf) (accessed 7.04.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>474</sup> Smorgunov, L. V. Import substitution policy and innovative development in the regions of the Russian Federation / L. V. Smorgunov. – Text : direct // Trajectories of political development of Russia: institutions, projects, actors : proceedings of the Russian scientific conference RPSA with international participation, Moscow, 06–07 December 2019 / Moscow: Moscow Pedagogical State University, 2019. – P. 372. [In Russian]

<sup>475</sup> Results of the socio-economic development of Saint Petersburg: January – December 2022. – Saint Petersburg: Committee for Economic Policy and Strategic Planning of Saint Petersburg, 2023. – P. 7–9. – Text : electronic //

sectors (electrical equipment, general machinery, computers, optical products, etc.), we can assume that, as production of goods and parts for equipment previously imported from foreign countries begins to improve, and the manufacturing sector recovers, the import substitution strategies will continue to grow.

A striking indicator of the subject's attractiveness in terms of implementing economic projects has traditionally been foreign trade turnover, investment from abroad and other indicators indicating the prospects of expanding the production of goods and services on the basis of established interaction with foreign actors. Since the early 2000s, foreign investment in Saint Petersburg has shown consistently positive results, due to its large population, expanding industrial complex, developed transport and logistics structure (taking into account the possibility of communication by sea routes through the Baltic Sea), etc.<sup>476</sup> The decline as a result of the global financial crisis in 2008 was soon reversed:<sup>477</sup> foreign business saw Saint Petersburg as a promising area for investment. However, the bulk of investments (> 80%) were in trade and other loans: investments in manufacturing and other assets had a smaller share and increased slowly, being directly dependent on the political atmosphere in Russia (for example, in 2014 – 2015, as a result of the Ukrainian crisis events, a new decline was recorded, followed by a slow growth afterwards).<sup>478</sup>

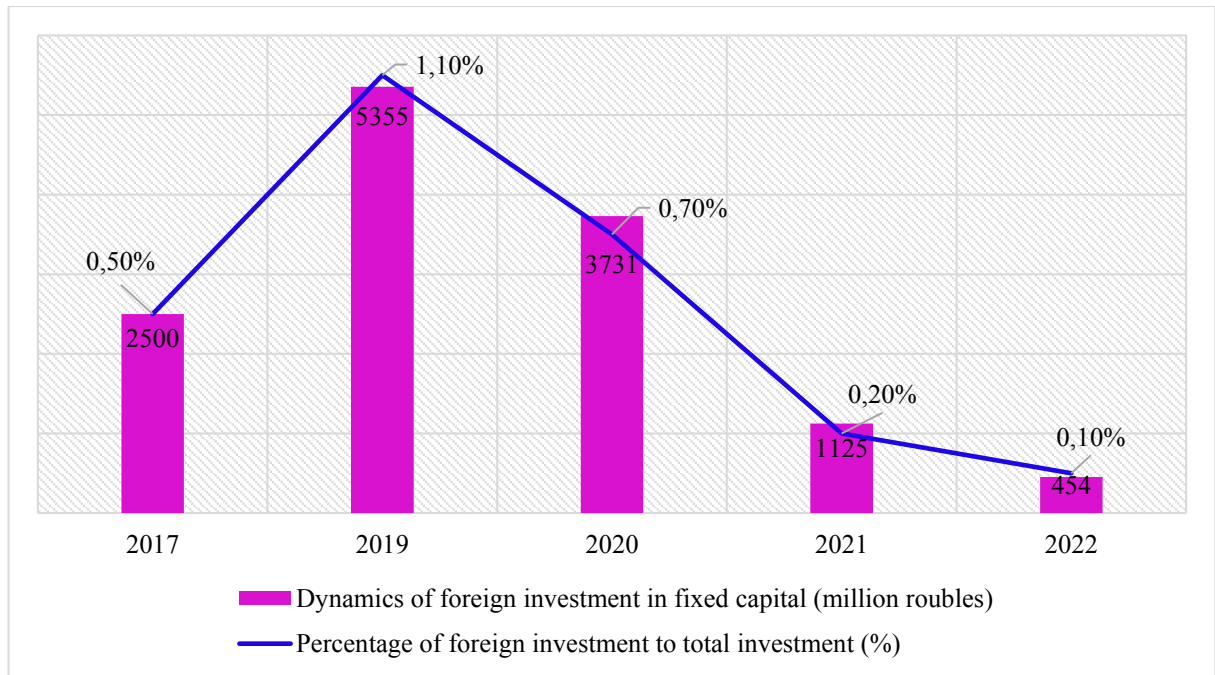
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Committee for Economic Policy and Strategic Planning of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://cedipt.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2023/02/17/%D0%A1%D0%9F%D0%A0%D0%90%D0%92%D0%9A%D0%90\\_%D0%A7%D0%9F\\_%D1%8F%D0%BD%D0%B2%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%8C-%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%B1%D1%80%D1%8C\\_2022.pdf](https://cedipt.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2023/02/17/%D0%A1%D0%9F%D0%A0%D0%90%D0%92%D0%9A%D0%90_%D0%A7%D0%9F_%D1%8F%D0%BD%D0%B2%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%8C-%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%B1%D1%80%D1%8C_2022.pdf) (accessed 7.04.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>476</sup> Investment strategy of Saint Petersburg for the period up to 2030. – Saint Petersburg, 2015. – P. 9-10; 13. – Text : electronic // Investment portal of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://spbinvestment.ru/content/uploadfiles/%D0%98%D0%BD%D0%B2%D0%B5%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B8%D1%86%D0%B8%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%8F%20%D1%81%D1%82%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B5%D0%B3%D0%B8%D1%8F\\_small.pdf](https://spbinvestment.ru/content/uploadfiles/%D0%98%D0%BD%D0%B2%D0%B5%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B8%D1%86%D0%B8%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%8F%20%D1%81%D1%82%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B5%D0%B3%D0%B8%D1%8F_small.pdf) (accessed 7.04.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>477</sup> Volkov, A. M. Foreign investments in the economy of Saint Petersburg and the Leningrad region / A. M. Volkov. – Text : direct // World economy and international relations. – Vol. 62, № 6. – 2018. – P. 68. – DOI 10.20542/0131-2227-2018-62-6-67-76. [In Russian]

<sup>478</sup> Ibid. P. 68–69.



Graph 5. Dynamics of foreign capital investment in Saint Petersburg.<sup>479</sup>

Decrease in investments in fixed capital (i.e., the costs of construction, reconstruction and re-equipment of existing industrial and other enterprises, as well as the costs of housing, cultural and domestic construction (excluding small businesses)),<sup>480</sup> which has manifested itself since 2020 (see graph 3), quite clearly indicates the deterioration of the investment climate and the unwillingness of foreign companies to have long-term investments in projects in Saint Petersburg, which is generally associated with the departure of foreign business representatives from Russia, including companies engaged in tourism and hotel business, etc.<sup>481</sup> In 2022,

<sup>479</sup> Investments: Operational information: 2017–2022. – Text : electronic // Department of the Federal State Statistics Service for Saint Petersburg and the Leningrad Region : [website]. – URL: <https://78.rosstat.gov.ru/folder/29078> (accessed 7.04.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>480</sup> Investments in fixed assets. – Text : electronic // Department of the Federal State Statistics Service for Saint Petersburg and the Leningrad Region : [website]. – URL: [https://78.rosstat.gov.ru/storage/mediabank/inv\\_met.pdf](https://78.rosstat.gov.ru/storage/mediabank/inv_met.pdf) (accessed 7.04.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>481</sup> Ludwig, A. To live or survive: what will happen to the economy of Saint Petersburg after the departure of foreign companies / A. Ludwig. – Text : electronic // FederalPress : [website]. – URL: <https://fedpress.ru/article/3212412> (accessed 28.04.2023). [In Russian]; Gorbunova, E. At the ninth month. What kind of IT employers did Petersburg lose and what to expect from those who remained / E. Gorbunova. – Text : electronic // Fontanka : [website]. – URL: <https://www.fontanka.ru/2022/10/28/71774528/> (accessed 28.04.2023). [In Russian]; Volchkov, S. Experts explained what will happen to the port of Saint Petersburg after the departure of the largest foreign shipping companies / S. Volchkov. – Text : electronic // ATI.SU : [website]. – URL: <https://news.ati.su/article/2022/03/11/eksperty-objasnili-cto-budet-s-portom-sankt-peterburga-posle-uhoda-krupnejshih-inostrannyh-sudohodnyh-kompanij-933389> / (accessed 28.04.2023). [In Russian]

it was noted that in Saint Petersburg, the number of companies with foreign participation is 2 888 (out of 52 countries, and 82% of them are states characterized by an unfriendly attitude towards the Russian Federation), and their assets in the territory of the subject are estimated at \$ 1.7 billion.<sup>482</sup> By 2023, a number of companies announced that they would no longer work in Russia, which led to tax losses in the city's budget.<sup>483</sup>

If the above indicators demonstrate the onset of a difficult period for the Russian economy and the participation of foreign business in it, then a full-fledged analysis of foreign economic activity could make it possible to predict a further negative scenario for partnership with foreign companies, or indicate an ongoing reorientation from unfriendly European and North American countries to more positively assessing the possible cooperation with Russia to Asian, Arab and African states, however, in the reports for 2022, these data are hidden: “in accordance with the decision of the Government of the Russian Federation, customs statistics data on foreign trade of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation are temporarily not published”<sup>484</sup>.

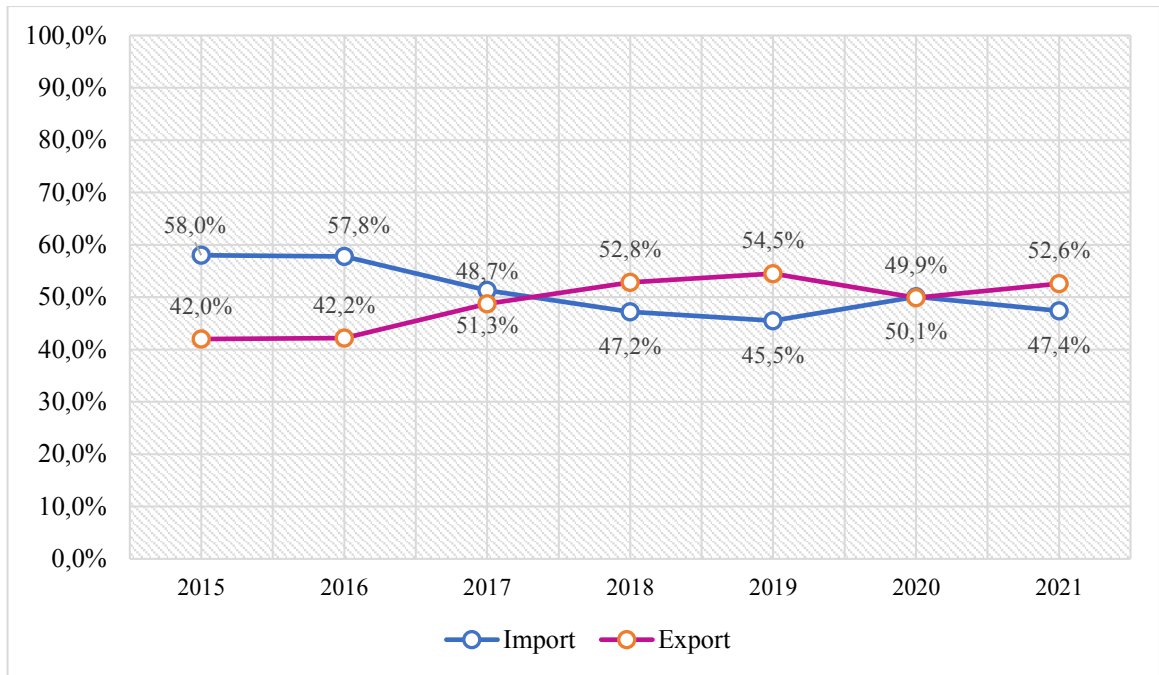
Accordingly, within the framework of the study, it remains only to rely on data for previous years, which were presented in strategic documents reflecting the situation in the field of economic development of Saint Petersburg.

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<sup>482</sup> The share of foreign companies in Saint Petersburg does not exceed 1.2% - expert. – Text : electronic // Vedomosti. Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: <https://vedomosti-spb.ru/economics/news/2022/03/30/915893-dolya-inostrannih-kompanii> (accessed 28.04.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>483</sup> The budget of Saint Petersburg in 2022 received less than 3.4 billion rubles due to the departure of foreign companies. – Text : electronic // Vedomosti. Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: <https://vedomosti-spb.ru/economics/news/2023/03/14/966387-byudzh-et-peterburga-nedopoluchil> (accessed 28.04.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>484</sup> Results of the socio-economic development of Saint Petersburg: January – December 2022. – Saint Petersburg: Committee for Economic Policy and Strategic Planning of Saint Petersburg, 2023. – 27 p. – Text : electronic // Committee for Economic Policy and Strategic Planning of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://cedipt.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2023/02/17/%D0%A1%D0%9F%D0%A0%D0%90%D0%92%D0%9A%D0%90\\_%D0%A7%D0%9F\\_%D1%8F%D0%BD%D0%B2%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%8C-%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%B1%D1%80%D1%8C\\_2022.pdf](https://cedipt.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2023/02/17/%D0%A1%D0%9F%D0%A0%D0%90%D0%92%D0%9A%D0%90_%D0%A7%D0%9F_%D1%8F%D0%BD%D0%B2%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%8C-%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%B1%D1%80%D1%8C_2022.pdf) (accessed 7.04.2023). [In Russian]



Graph 6. Dynamics of the foreign trade turnover of Saint Petersburg.<sup>485</sup>

<sup>485</sup> Results of the socio-economic development of Saint Petersburg: January – December 2015. – Saint Petersburg: Committee for Economic Policy and Strategic Planning of Saint Petersburg, 2016. – 27 p. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/static/writable/ckeditor/uploads/2016/03/24/%D0%9E%D0%B1%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%BB%D0%B5%D0%BD%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%8F%20%D1%81%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%BA%D0%B0%20%D0%A7%D0%9F%20%D1%8F%D0%BD%D0%B2%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%8C-%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%B1%D1%80%D1%8C2015.pdf> (accessed 28.04.2023). – Text : electronic. [In Russian]; Results of the socio-economic development of Saint Petersburg: January – December 2016. – Saint Petersburg: Committee for Economic Policy and Strategic Planning of Saint Petersburg, 2017. – 22 p. – URL: – <https://www.gov.spb.ru/static/writable/ckeditor/uploads/2017/02/01/%D0%A7%D0%9F%20%D1%8F%D0%BD%D0%B2-%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BA%202017.pdf> (accessed 28.04.2023). – Text : electronic. [In Russian]; Results of the socio-economic development of Saint Petersburg: January – December 2017. – Saint Petersburg: Committee for Economic Policy and Strategic Planning of Saint Petersburg, 2018. – 22 p. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/static/writable/ckeditor/uploads/2018/02/01/%D0%A1%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%BA%D0%B0%20%D0%A7%D0%9F\\_%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%B1%D1%80%D1%8C\\_2017.pdf](https://www.gov.spb.ru/static/writable/ckeditor/uploads/2018/02/01/%D0%A1%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%BA%D0%B0%20%D0%A7%D0%9F_%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%B1%D1%80%D1%8C_2017.pdf) (accessed 28.04.2023). – Text : electronic. [In Russian]; Results of the socio-economic development of Saint Petersburg: January – December 2018. – Saint Petersburg: Committee for Economic Policy and Strategic Planning of Saint Petersburg, 2019. – 22 p. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/static/writable/ckeditor/uploads/2019/02/04/55/%D0%A1%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%BA%D0%B0\\_%D0%A1%D0%AD%D0%A0\\_2018\\_%D0%B3%D0%BE%D0%B4.pdf](https://www.gov.spb.ru/static/writable/ckeditor/uploads/2019/02/04/55/%D0%A1%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%BA%D0%B0_%D0%A1%D0%AD%D0%A0_2018_%D0%B3%D0%BE%D0%B4.pdf) (accessed 28.04.2023). – Text : electronic. [In Russian]; Results of the socio-economic development of Saint Petersburg: January – December 2019. – Saint Petersburg: Committee for Economic Policy and Strategic Planning of Saint Petersburg, 2020. – 22 p. – URL: [https://cedipt.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2020/02/05/%D0%A1%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%BA%D0%B0\\_%D0%A7%D0%9F\\_%D1%8F%D0%BD%D0%B2%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%8C-%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%B1%D1%80%D1%8C\\_2019.pdf](https://cedipt.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2020/02/05/%D0%A1%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%BA%D0%B0_%D0%A7%D0%9F_%D1%8F%D0%BD%D0%B2%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%8C-%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%B1%D1%80%D1%8C_2019.pdf) (accessed 28.04.2023). – Text : electronic. [In Russian]; Results of the socio-economic development of Saint Petersburg: January – December 2020. – Saint Petersburg: Committee for Economic Policy and Strategic Planning of Saint Petersburg, 2021. – P. 12. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/static/writable/ckeditor/uploads/2021/02/02/42/%D0%A1%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%BA%D0%B0\\_%D0%A7%D0%9F\\_%D1%8F%D0%BD%D0%B2%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%8C-%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%B1%D1%80%D1%8C\\_2020.pdf](https://www.gov.spb.ru/static/writable/ckeditor/uploads/2021/02/02/42/%D0%A1%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%BA%D0%B0_%D0%A7%D0%9F_%D1%8F%D0%BD%D0%B2%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%8C-%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%B1%D1%80%D1%8C_2020.pdf) (accessed 28.04.2023). – Text : electronic. [In Russian]; Results of the socio-economic development of Saint Petersburg: January – December 2021. – Saint Petersburg: Committee for Economic Policy and Strategic Planning of Saint Petersburg, 2022. – P. 12. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/static/writable/ckeditor/uploads/2022/02/03/48/%D0%A1%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B0%D>

Based on the data on import-export operations for 2015-2021, it can be concluded that since 2018, exports have (albeit often slightly) dominated Saint Petersburg's foreign trade turnover. Traditionally, the largest share in the structure of exports was occupied by raw materials (mineral products, timber, metals, etc.) and less often – products from raw materials, in the structure of imports – machinery, equipment, vehicles, food products.<sup>486</sup>

It seems possible to conclude that, taking into account the inclusion of a number of export and import goods in the category of sub-sanctions,<sup>487</sup> the volume of foreign trade turnover of Saint Petersburg was significantly reduced (which is indirectly evidenced by the significant decrease in shipping, which we have already pointed out earlier).<sup>488</sup>

So, after a brief analysis of Saint Petersburg as a subject of business processes, it should be noted that up to the crisis period (which began with the coronavirus pandemic, when states closed borders on the way of people, goods and services in order to slow down the spread of COVID-19, and continued with the aggravation of Ukrainian problems), the economic indicators of the city testified to a confident development. A positive trade balance formed as a result of the prevalence of exports over imports, the growing dynamics of the gross regional product and other indicators made it possible to count on attracting investments and further cooperation with states that actively maintained relations with Saint Petersburg in the economic field (including with Great Britain, Germany, Cyprus, USA, Switzerland, which occupy leading positions in the field of foreign trade cooperation).<sup>489</sup> However, the crisis situation, expressed in the rupture of ties and

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<sup>486</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>487</sup> EU sanctions against Russia explained. – Text : electronic // The Council of the EU/The European Council : [website]. – URL: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/sanctions/restrictive-measures-against-russia-over-ukraine/sanctions-against-russia-explained/> (accessed 29.04.2023).

<sup>488</sup> Sea transport. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: Transport Committee : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_transport/vneshnij-transport/morskoj-transport/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_transport/vneshnij-transport/morskoj-transport/) (accessed 29.04.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>489</sup> Foreign economic activity. – Text : electronic // Department of Federal State Statistics Service in Saint Petersburg and Leningrad region : [website]. – URL: <https://78.rosstat.gov.ru/folder/27053> (accessed 29.04.2023). [In Russian]

mutual sanctions pressure, led to a decrease in activity in trade and investment areas. The issue of restoring previous contacts at the moment has a negative outlook, but with the participation of Saint Petersburg in establishing relations with Asian and other neutral or Russian-friendly states, a change of financial and economic partners is likely, which will be loyal to the development of export-import relations, investment in production and real estate of the subject level.

*Saint Petersburg: science and education*

Saint Petersburg accounts for more than 10% of the scientific potential of the Russian Federation.<sup>490</sup> About 350 scientific organizations are located in the city, including universities, institutes, research institutions, etc.<sup>491</sup>

The competitive advantage of Saint Petersburg not only in the Russian but also in the international arena is the presence of highly qualified personnel and high-tech centers with tools available for research work,<sup>492</sup> which leads to a high rating of Saint Petersburg educational institutions. Thus, according to the international index QS World University Rankings Saint Petersburg State University, ITMO and Peter the Great Saint Petersburg Polytechnic University are included in the list of 400 best universities in the world.<sup>493</sup>

The high status of Saint Petersburg scientific and educational institutions attracts students from other subjects of the federation, as well as from foreign countries. A very interesting trend is the lack of influence of crisis events on the growing dynamics of representatives of foreign countries who want to get their education in Saint Petersburg.<sup>494</sup> It can be assumed that students from unfriendly

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<sup>490</sup> Passport of Saint Petersburg. – Saint Petersburg : Committee for Science and Higher Education, 2021. – P. 40. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2022/10/03/%D0%9F%D0%B0%D1%81%D0%BF%D0%BE%D1%80%D1%82\\_%D0%A1%D0%9F%D0%B1\\_2021.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2022/10/03/%D0%9F%D0%B0%D1%81%D0%BF%D0%BE%D1%80%D1%82_%D0%A1%D0%9F%D0%B1_2021.pdf) (accessed 29.04.2023). – Text : electronic. [In Russian]

<sup>491</sup> Saint Petersburg is one of the largest scientific and educational centres in Russia. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Government: Committee on Science and Higher Education : [website]. – URL: <http://knvsh.gov.spb.ru/> (accessed 29.04.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>492</sup> Passport of Saint Petersburg. – Saint Petersburg : Committee for Science and Higher Education, 2021. – P. 41. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2022/10/03/%D0%9F%D0%B0%D1%81%D0%BF%D0%BE%D1%80%D1%82\\_%D0%A1%D0%9F%D0%B1\\_2021.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2022/10/03/%D0%9F%D0%B0%D1%81%D0%BF%D0%BE%D1%80%D1%82_%D0%A1%D0%9F%D0%B1_2021.pdf) (accessed 29.04.2023). – Text : electronic. [In Russian]

<sup>493</sup> QS World University Rankings 2022. – Text : electronic // World University Rankings : [website]. – URL: <https://www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/world-university-rankings/2022> (accessed 29.04.2022).

<sup>494</sup> Results of the Committee on Science and Higher Education in 2018 / Government of Saint Petersburg: Committee on Science and Higher Education. – Saint Petersburg, 2019. – P. 20. – Text : direct.; Results of the Committee on



countries, who were previously insufficiently represented (among the leading countries in terms of the number of foreign students from unfriendly countries, Latvia was in first place (245 people in the 2021/2022 academic year)<sup>495</sup>, will be replaced by citizens of states that are more loyal in relation to Russia (where China occupies the leading position with 8 852 students in the 2021/2022 academic year)<sup>496</sup>.

At the moment, it is difficult to predict whether the positive dynamics will continue in the 2023/2024 academic year, however, the statistics provided by individual educational institutions allow us to talk about the continuing high interest of foreigners in studying in Saint Petersburg.<sup>497</sup>

### *Saint-Petersburg: culture and values*

The cultural capital of Saint Petersburg was formed over three centuries. Founded in 1703 by the Russian sovereign Peter I, since 1712 the city began to be considered the capital of the Russian Empire, and, playing such a significant role, was a center of attraction and a ‘melting pot’ for representatives of various peoples who wanted to embody their ideas and projects on Russian soil.

A multifaceted and eclectic culture is represented by an extensive heritage that has survived to this day and is being multiplied at the present time. A number of places that are significant for Saint Petersburg have their own recognizable image – the Hermitage museum complex, which houses the masterpieces of Leonardo da Vinci, Rembrandt, Titian and other old masters, the Mariinsky Theater, where world-famous stars who have earned fame in the field of art perform. In general, there are more than 9,000 monuments of cultural significance in Saint Petersburg, and the historical center of the city is listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.<sup>498</sup> It

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Science and Higher Education in 2021 / Government of Saint Petersburg: Committee on Science and Higher Education. – Saint Petersburg, 2022. – P. 223–228. – Text : direct.

<sup>495</sup> Results of the Committee on Science and Higher Education in 2021 / Government of Saint Petersburg: Committee on Science and Higher Education. – Saint Petersburg, 2022. – P. 223–228. – Text : direct.

<sup>496</sup> Ibidem. P. 224.

<sup>497</sup> For ex.: The number of applications from foreign applicants for budgetary places in self-selection of SPbU has increased by 15%. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Government: Committee for Science and Higher School : [website]. – URL: <http://knvsh.gov.spb.ru/news/view/5687/> (accessed 5.05.2022). [In Russian]

<sup>498</sup> Passport of Saint Petersburg. – Saint Petersburg : Committee for Science and Higher Education, 2021. – P. 55. – URL: <https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2022/10/03/%D0%9F>

is also worth noting that Saint Petersburg, its sights and atmosphere, were described in the books of prominent authors of classical literature, popular among educated foreigners.

S. Arteev classifies Saint Petersburg as an extroverted entity that is open to establishing new connections, which is largely due to the specifics of the city,<sup>499</sup> which, since its foundation by Peter the Great, has fully earned the status of a “window to Europe”, predetermined by its special proximity to European countries in cultural and even value terms. According to a study by O. V. Popova, it was typical for Petersburgers of the late 2010s to consider themselves as “a typical inhabitant of a highly cultured Europe”<sup>500</sup>. Although the identification “I am a Petersburger” and “I am a Russian” significantly exceeded the European identity, it nevertheless remained significant for the citizens.<sup>501</sup> Such a position – the desire for a global sense of self, probably significantly reduced as a result of the events of 2020 – 2022 – was partly due to the historically established positive attitude of local residents to contacts with representatives of foreign powers. The issue of maintaining this trend is currently ambiguous, but it cannot be emphasized that at the time of the choice of Saint Petersburg as a participant in the Arctic policy, the general context of international relations was significantly different from the modern one.

*Saint Petersburg: on the issue of institutional design and practical  
implementation of international relations*

International relations of Saint Petersburg are regulated by the law “On international cooperation, international and foreign economic relations of Saint Petersburg” dated June 18, 2008. The specified act defined the powers of the Legislative Assembly and the Governor of Saint Petersburg in the field of regulating

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<sup>499</sup> Arteev, S. P. Russia’s foreign policy: “soft power” of the regions / S. P. Arteev. – Text: direct // Bulletin of Moscow University. Series 25: International Relations and World Politics. – 2021. – № 1 (13). – P. 39. – DOI 10.48015/2076-7404-2021-13-1-32-57. [In Russian]

<sup>500</sup> Popova, O. V. Territorial identity of Petersburgers: European vs. local and regional / O. V. Popova. – Text : direct // Formation of Modern European Identity in the Framework of EU Integration: Social and Cultural Dimension / ed. by E. V. Viktorova. – Saint Petersburg: Saint Petersburg State University of Economics. – 2018. – P. 136. [In Russian]

<sup>501</sup> Ibid. P. 133–134.

relations, concluding agreements, opening representative offices, holding negotiations, etc., established areas of financing (payment of membership fees for the subject's participation in international organizations, holding international events, receiving foreign delegations, support of international cooperation programs, implementation of targeted programs, etc.).<sup>502</sup> In accordance with Saint Petersburg Government Resolution № 5 of 13 January 2004, the goals and objectives of the Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg were defined, which performs the functions of managing the interaction of the Governor of Saint Petersburg and the Government of Saint Petersburg with representatives of other units of the state and international space.<sup>503</sup> It is worth noting that the area of control of this Committee includes not only specific issues of an instrumental nature, including the development and implementation of international cooperation programs on various issues (cultural, educational, etc.), but also such general issues as the formation of a positive image of Saint Petersburg abroad.<sup>504</sup> The goals of presenting the subject in the foreign policy space are achieved through interaction with government officials and non-governmental organizations of foreign states, holding conferences, supporting exhibition and fair activities, etc.<sup>505</sup> It seems quite interesting that the international activity of Saint Petersburg is not strategized by a single Concept that would set out the key vectors of subnational cooperation, which would make it possible to unify the activities of institutions that carry out multidirectional work to establish and maintain ties.<sup>506</sup>

Soon after the collapse of the USSR and the formation of the Russian Federation, Saint Petersburg actively joined in the establishment of domestic and

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<sup>502</sup> Saint Petersburg. Laws. On international cooperation, international and foreign economic relations of Saint Petersburg : [adopted by the Legislative Assembly of Saint Petersburg on June 18, 2008]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and regulatory documents : [website]. – URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/8477187> (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>503</sup> Saint Petersburg. Decrees. About the Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : Decree № 5 : [adopted by the Government of Saint Petersburg on January 13, 2004]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and normative-technical documents : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/8387508> (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>504</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>505</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>506</sup> Gomelauroi, A. S. The subject of the federation as a state's "soft power" channel (by the example of Saint Petersburg) / A. S. Gomelauroi. – Text : direct // Via in tempore. Story. Political science. – 2020. – Vol. 47, № 3. – pp. 658–668. – DOI 10.18413/2687-0967-2020-47-3-658-668. [In Russian]

foreign political relations, taking into account the freedom of action that the subjects of the federation received in the early 1990s with a weak “center”. Since 1992, Saint Petersburg began to adopt Cooperation Agreements with the republics of Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Sakha (Yakutia), Chuvashia, Kalmykia, Tyva, Buryatia and Kabardino-Balkaria, as well as the Vologda and Pskov regions, which were part of Russia, the city has registered Representative offices of the subjects of the federation,<sup>507</sup> began to conclude twinning agreements with Russian cities, which testified to the openness to the establishment of equal sub-federal ties, due to the development vector chosen for Saint Petersburg by the first mayor Anatoly Sobchak, who has exercised authority from 1991 to 1996. As we have noted before (see Chapter 1, paragraph 2), the tightening of the “power vertical” has reduced the influence of such formal practices of inter-regional cooperation, which have, however, been partially preserved at the institutional level,<sup>508</sup> and also led to the restriction of the activities of representatives of political elites no longer seeks to pursue a foreign policy at a similarly high – both literally<sup>509</sup> and figuratively – level.

At the international level, Saint Petersburg has shown a similarly strong interest in establishing links, especially as the city had experience of participating in the state's foreign policy activities through documented partnerships with foreign cities and regions as far back as the Soviet period. The establishment of contacts to strengthen friendly interaction in the fields of culture and science, as well as mutual support in various spheres, began for Saint Petersburg (then Leningrad) in the 1950s. The first sister city was Finnish Turku in 1953, and until the early 1990s new links were established based on strict selection criteria (access to the sea, high cultural and

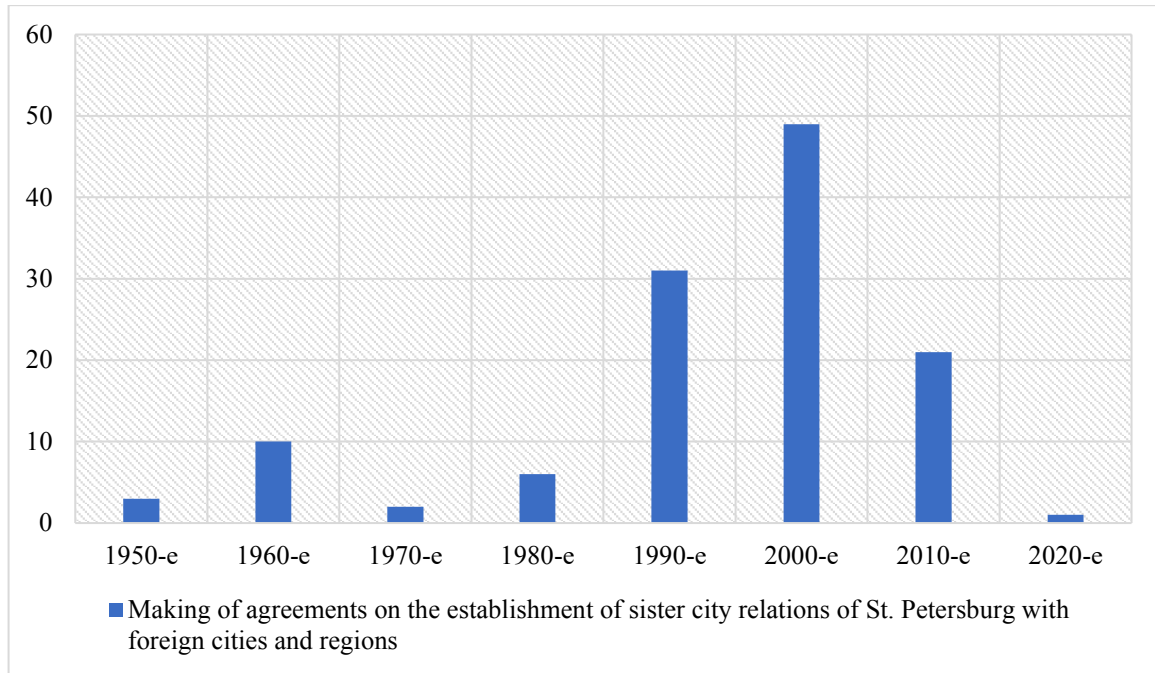
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<sup>507</sup> Sister cities of Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Project “Multinational Petersburg” : [website]. – URL: <https://www.sites.google.com/site/463pobratimi/home/metodiceskaa-kopilka> (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>508</sup> List of cooperation agreements between Saint Petersburg and the subjects of the Russian Federation, Russian partner cities. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: <https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/sankt-peterburg-regiony-rossii/perechen-soglashenij/> (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian]; Representative offices of constituent entities of the Russian Federation in Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: <https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/sankt-peterburg-regiony-rossii/predstavitelstva-subektov-rossijskoj-federacii-v-sankt-peterburge/> (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>509</sup> A. Sobchak was active at the federal level, meeting, among others, US Presidents R. Nixon, R. Reagan and B. Clinton, helped organise the international Goodwill Games held in Saint Petersburg in 1994, etc.

scientific significance of the city approximately equal to Leningrad's, etc.).<sup>510</sup> After the collapse of the Soviet Union, however, this strategy was reconsidered and the 1990s and early 2000s were marked by a rapid expansion of ties due to the considerable freedom the city gained in foreign affairs.

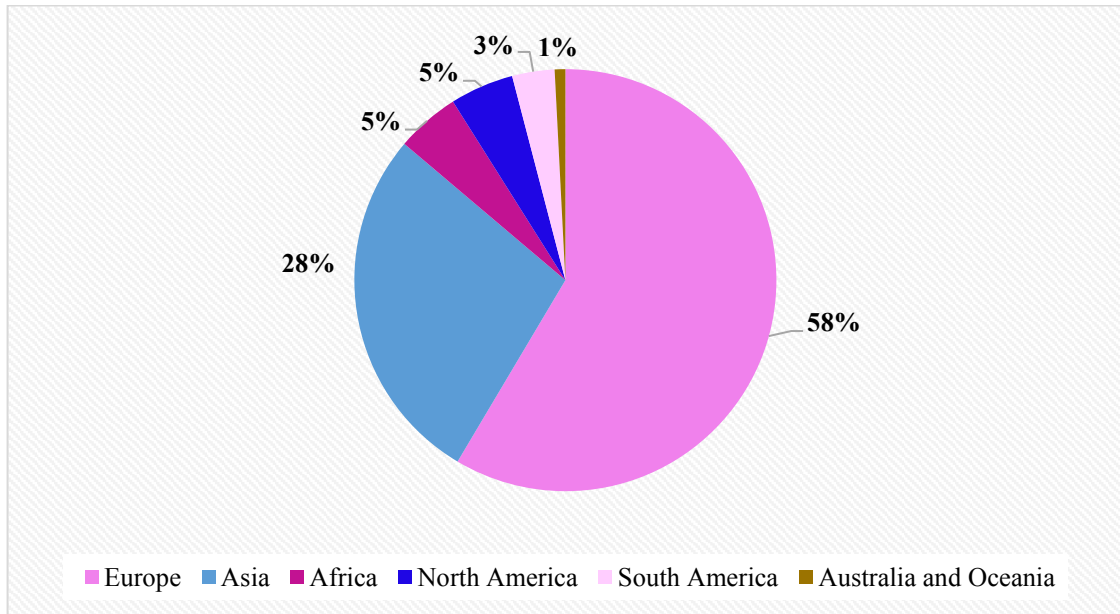


Graph 7. Conclusion of agreements on the establishment of sister city relations of Saint Petersburg with foreign cities and regions.<sup>511</sup>

Analyzing the specifics of the “sister cities” of Saint Petersburg, one can notice that its network of contacts significantly extended beyond Europe, although it was the European macro-region that remained dominant:

<sup>510</sup> Sister cities: what does it mean? Gorod+ has found out what “sister-cities” are, which cities have become “relatives” of Saint Petersburg and why it is necessary. – Text : electronic // Gorod+ : [website]. – URL: <https://gorod-plus.tv/article/50502> (accessed 6.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>511</sup> Sister cities of Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Project “Multinational Petersburg” : [website]. – URL: <https://www.sites.google.com/site/463pobratimi/home/metodiceskaa-kopilka> (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian]; Cooperation of Saint Petersburg with foreign cities and regions: Archive. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg: WayBackMachine : [website]. – URL: [https://web.archive.org/web/20161225203123/http://www.kvs.spb.ru/sotrudnichestvo\\_sankt-peterburga\\_s\\_zarubezhnimi\\_gorodami\\_i\\_regionami19](https://web.archive.org/web/20161225203123/http://www.kvs.spb.ru/sotrudnichestvo_sankt-peterburga_s_zarubezhnimi_gorodami_i_regionami19) (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian]; Cooperation of Saint Petersburg with foreign cities and regions. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: <https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/sankt-peterburg-strany-mira/sotrudnichestvo-sankt-peterburga-s-zarubezhnymi-gorodami-i-regionami/> (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian]



Graph 8. Establishment of sister city relations between Saint Petersburg and foreign cities and regions (% in relation to the macro-region).<sup>512</sup>

It is worth emphasizing that not all ties have been preserved to date, which was the result of geopolitical transformations in the international arena (for example, in 2008, due to the complication of Russian-Georgian relations, the cooperation agreement between Saint Petersburg and Tbilisi was terminated).<sup>513</sup> Saint Petersburg's interaction with foreign actors was particularly damaged as a result of the events of 2022, when a number of representatives of former foreign partners announced a complete break in cooperation (like Polish Krakow and Gdansk, Swedish Gothenburg, Estonian Tallinn, etc.), other cities and the regions preferred to announce a suspension (temporary freeze) of contacts (among others, the cities of Finland and Germany).<sup>514</sup> At the moment, according to the data presented on the

<sup>512</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>513</sup> Nizhegorodtsev, D. Petersburg is not friends with Tbilisi / D. Nizhegorodtsev. – Text : electronic // Vzglyad : [website]. – URL: <https://yandex.ru/turbo/vz.ru/s/society/2008/9/11/206859.html> (accessed 6.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>514</sup> Sherkunova, N. The Finnish city of Turku suspended sister city relations with Saint Petersburg / N. Sherkunova. – Text : electronic // Moskovsky Komsomolets : [website]. – URL: <https://spb.mk.ru/politics/2022/02/28/finskiy-gorod-turku-priostanovil-pobratimskie-otnosheniya-s-peterburgom.html> (accessed 6.05.2023). [In Russian]; Asadchiy, A. Are you a brother or not a brother to me: In Smolensk, they do not regret breaking sister city relations with Warsaw / A. Asadchiy. – Text : electronic // Kommersant : [website]. – URL: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/5249903> (accessed 6.05.2023). [In Russian]; Vasilyeva, M. Humanitarian ties: which EU cities break ties with sister cities in

website of the Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg, 86 foreign cities and 30 regions have agreements on bilateral cooperation with the subject of the federation.<sup>515</sup> The dominant states in terms of the number of established ties are Finland (8 sister cities and regions), Sweden (7 sister cities and regions), China (6 sister cities and regions), however, it should be noted, despite the cooperation secured de jure, de facto interaction with Finland and Sweden is suspended.<sup>516</sup>

The cooperation of Saint Petersburg with foreign actors was not limited to twinning. The city of federal significance sought to develop ties in the European macro-region, paying special attention to the Baltic region. The subnational actor played an important role in the creation in 1992 of the Council of the Baltic Sea States, with which he continued to maintain collaborative relations until the withdrawal of the Russian Federation from the Council on May 17, 2022.<sup>517</sup> In addition, representatives of Saint Petersburg until 2022, when the aggravation of the Ukrainian crisis led to a mutual rejection of previous agreements between Russia and unfriendly states, participated in the activities of the Nordic Council,<sup>518</sup> the Baltic Sea States Subregional Co-operation,<sup>519</sup> the Conference of Peripheral Maritime Regions (the Baltic Sea Commission, which also included the Arctic Task Force, which deals with the issues of sustainable development of the Arctic, taking into account the position of the countries of the European Union),<sup>520</sup> the Union of

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the Russian Federation / M. Vasilyeva. – Text : electronic // *Izvestia* : [website]. – URL: <https://iz.ru/1381488/mariia-vasileva/gumanitarnye-uzy-kakie-goroda-es-razryvaiut-sviazi-s-pobratimami-v-rf> (accessed 6.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>515</sup> Cooperation of Saint Petersburg with foreign cities and regions. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: <https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/sankt-peterburg-strany-mira/sotrudnichestvo-sankt-peterburga-s-zarubezhnymi-gorodami-i-regionami/> (accessed 6.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>516</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>517</sup> Khudoley, K.K. Saint Petersburg in the Baltic region / K.K. Khudoley, D. A. Lanko. – Text : direct // Baltic region. – 2009. – № 1 (1). – pp. 64–76. [In Russian]; In Smolny discussed cooperation between Saint Petersburg and the Council of the Baltic Sea States. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg : Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/225126/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/225126/) (accessed 6.05.2023). [In Russian]; Council of the Baltic Sea States: History. – Text : electronic // Council of the Baltic Sea State : [website]. – URL: <https://cbss.org/about-us/history/> (accessed 6.05.2023).

<sup>518</sup> Nordic Co-operation. – Text : electronic // Nordic Co-operation : [website]. – URL: <https://www.norden.org/en> (accessed 6.05.2023).

<sup>519</sup> Baltic Sea States Subregional Co-operation. – Text : electronic // Baltic Sea States Subregional Co-operation : [website]. – URL: <https://www.bsssc.com/structure-1> (accessed 6.05.2023).

<sup>520</sup> Baltic Sea Commission. – Text : electronic // Union of the Baltic Cities : [website]. – URL: <https://cpmr-baltic.org/> (accessed 6.05.2023).; Arctic Task Force. – Text : electronic // Union of the Baltic Cities : [website]. – URL: <https://cpmr-baltic.org/policy-work/arctic/> (accessed 6.05.2023).

Baltic Cities,<sup>521</sup> the Northern Forum (although not being a direct member, but actively cooperating with them in the framework of the project and research activities)<sup>522</sup>, as well as other organizations that interact on the issues of balanced development of territories.

The crisis events of 2022 also had an impact on the work of information business centers opened by Saint Petersburg abroad. June 1, 2022, in addition to centers operating ((or, in some cases, suspended) in China (Beijing), Greece (Alexandroupolis), Germany (Hamburg), Italy (Milan), Armenia (Yerevan)),<sup>523</sup> an informal representative office was opened in Serbia (Belgrade), which should contribute to the expansion of business and social cooperation.<sup>524</sup>

So, a multidimensional analysis of Saint Petersburg, carried out taking into account the main characteristics of the city of federal significance, allows us to speak about the significant potential inherent in it as a subnational actor. Firstly, Saint Petersburg has a favorable geographical position, being adjacent to the states of Europe and being a transport hub, which is largely due to its proximity to the sea. Secondly, the above factors, combined with a significant size of the economically active population, make it attractive in terms of financial and trade development, which may attract interest from foreign investors. Thirdly, the scientific, educational and cultural significance of the city provides extensive opportunities for the formation of various kinds of networks in which students, scientists and other representatives of the foreign public are involved, who become conductors of the

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<sup>521</sup> Union of the Baltic Cities. – Text : electronic // Union of the Baltic Cities : [website]. – URL: <https://ubc.net/> (accessed 6.05.2023).

<sup>522</sup> Vasiliev, V. N. The Northern Forum: Annual Report. 2022 / V. N. Vasiliev. – Text : electronic / Yakutsk : Secretariat of the Northern Forum, 2022. – 117 p. – URL: <https://www.northernforum.org/ru/news-ru/northern-forum-news/1063-nf-annual-report-release> (accessed 6.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>523</sup> Information business centers of Saint Petersburg abroad. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: <https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/sankt-peterburg-strany-mira/informacionnye-delovyie-centry-sankt-peterburga-za-rubezhom/> (accessed 6.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>524</sup> Founding of the Information Business Center of Saint Petersburg in Belgrade. – Text : electronic // Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Russian Federation: [website]. – URL: <https://www.tikrf.org/ru/%D0%BE%D1%81%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%B5-%D0%B8%D0%BD%D1%84%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BC%D0%B0%D1%86%D0%B8%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B3%D0%BE-%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%BE%D0%B3%D0%BE/> (accessed 6.05.2023). [In Russian]



actor's 'soft power' in the world. Finally, the extroversion in establishing foreign policy relations and the readiness to discuss significant international issues within organizations of interstate and sub-state significance observed since the 1990s, when Saint Petersburg acquired sufficient independence in foreign policy matters, subsequently limited by the verticalization of 'center-regional' relations, has given the city a reputation as an active participant in international processes, with sustained long-term contacts with other actors on the international scene. However, it is impossible not to note that the aggravation of the Ukrainian crisis of 2022, which generated a number of negative effects at the level of the Russian Federation as a whole, also had an impact on the position of Saint Petersburg. The termination of agreements and contracts – both at the initiative of unfriendly actors in the international field (organizations, countries, regions, cities) and at the initiative of Russia itself, the withdrawal of several Western companies from federal (and regional) markets, the termination of transport links (transportation of people and goods by sea, rail and air) and other consequences of the harsh sanctions struggle, although not leading to destabilization in Saint Petersburg in general, have substantially reduced its attractiveness as a partner in the foreign policy space. The subject of the federation turned out to be completely dependent on the state's reputational status, and the decisions made, often at the national level, shaped the track it would follow in the present and future. Thus, for Saint Petersburg as a subnational actor, the only possible vector of development seems to be: following the federal center to turn towards neutral and friendly countries, which allows it to make the preserved resource potential. Interaction at the subnational level with actors in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other macro-regions will allow Saint Petersburg not only to facilitate the implementation of the state's plans, but also to fully realize its own interests. It should be noted that Saint Petersburg has already

embarked on this path, developing ties with Vietnam,<sup>525</sup> Myanmar,<sup>526</sup> Indonesia,<sup>527</sup> Ethiopia,<sup>528</sup> India,<sup>529</sup> Laos,<sup>530</sup> Equatorial Guinea<sup>531</sup> and other states.<sup>532</sup> It is important to emphasize that the subnational actor has not abandoned its ambitions, which is supported by the federal center, which praises the city's potential: it is now planned to promote "Saint Petersburg's image as one of the world's leading centers of

<sup>525</sup> For ex.: Vietnamese Komsomol members contributed to landscaping and beautification of Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/259026/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/259026/) (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian]; The centre for Russian language learning was opened in Hanoi. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee on foreign relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/258332/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/258332/) (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian]; Russian State Pedagogical University named after A.I. Herzen intensifies cooperation with Vietnamese partners. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/257713/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/257713/) (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian].

<sup>526</sup> A delegation of experts in the field of public diplomacy from the Republic of the Union of Myanmar was received in Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official site of St Petersburg Administration: Committee for External Relations of St Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/259037/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/259037/) (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian]; Troika of South-East Asian countries supported Good Samaritan. – Text : electronic // Official site of St.-Petersburg Administration: Committee on external relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/259030/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/259030/) (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian]; In Smolny there was a meeting with military attache of Myanmar. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee on foreign relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/257658/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/257658/) (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian].

<sup>527</sup> Saint Petersburg and Indonesia discussed cooperation in the field of shipbuilding. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/259011/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/259011/) (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian].

<sup>528</sup> Saint Petersburg is expanding cooperation with the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/239946/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/239946/) (accessed 7.05.2023). [In Russian].

<sup>529</sup> A meeting of businessmen from Saint Petersburg and India took place. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/258927/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/258927/) (accessed 7.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg and India discussed cooperation in the energy sector and logistics. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/256265/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/256265/) (accessed 7.05.2023). [In Russian].

<sup>530</sup> Saint Petersburg and Laos are strengthening cultural and humanitarian cooperation. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/256987/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/256987/) (accessed 7.05.2023). [In Russian].

<sup>531</sup> Cooperation with the Republic of Equatorial Guinea was discussed in Smolny. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/255634/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/255634/) (accessed 7.05.2023). [In Russian].

<sup>532</sup> Saint Petersburg. Orders. On approval of Plan of international and inter-regional activity of Saint Petersburg Committee on foreign relations for 2023 : [adopted by the Government of Saint Petersburg. Committee on foreign relations]. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Saint Petersburg Committee on foreign relations : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/static/writable/ckeditor/uploads/2022/12/26/15/%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%B50004.pdf> (accessed 7.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg. Orders. On approval of the List of arrangements for participation in international specialized trade exhibitions and fairs, specialized symposiums and conferences, for competitions, campaigns (including advertising) to promote goods (products), services, results of intellectual activities of entities, industrial activities in Saint Petersburg to world markets in 2023 : [adopted by the Government of Saint Petersburg. Committee for Industrial Policy, Innovations and Trade of Saint Petersburg]. – Text : electronic // Committee for Industrial Policy, Innovations and Trade of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://cipit.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2023/01/27/%D0%9F%D0%A0%D0%98%D0%9A%D0%90%D0%97\\_%D0%9F%D0%9E\\_%D0%92%D0%AB%D0%A1%D0%A2%D0%90%D0%92%D0%9A%D0%90%D0%9C\\_1-%D0%9F.pdf](https://cipit.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2023/01/27/%D0%9F%D0%A0%D0%98%D0%9A%D0%90%D0%97_%D0%9F%D0%9E_%D0%92%D0%AB%D0%A1%D0%A2%D0%90%D0%92%D0%9A%D0%90%D0%9C_1-%D0%9F.pdf) (accessed 7.05.2023). [In Russian]

international events, which has adapted to the current environment in the face of sanctions”<sup>533</sup>.

### **3.2. Saint Petersburg as an Actor in Inter-regional Arctic Cooperation**

Considering Saint Petersburg in the context of cooperation with the subjects of the Federation included in the Arctic zone on the development of the region, we should proceed from the previously established provisions about the significant resource wealth of the city, expressed not only in the “internal capital”, but also in the presence of an extensive network of foreign policy relations, which was relevant up to 2022 and is currently undergoing a transformational stage. Accordingly, Saint Petersburg’s activity as an actor of intersubjective interaction was limited not only by such a significant factor as the system of “center-regional” pressure, but also by the current situation in the international space, which will determine either the transition of both the Russian Federation as a whole and Saint Petersburg in particular to a qualitatively new partnership or lead to stagnation in the foreign policy field, caused by the new ‘cold war’.

Nevertheless, to explore Saint Petersburg’s place and role in the country’s Arctic policy, as well as its actions as an actor in the foreign policy space, one should look back to the early 2010s, when this topic became relevant.

Information that Saint Petersburg is interested in comprehensive implementation of Arctic projects appears in the early 2010s. In 2013, the first reports on cooperation in Arctic projects were heard in the speeches of representatives of subject-level political elites I. Dvinsky, Head of the City Administration, during a working meeting with D. Kobylkin, Governor of Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, stated the importance of cooperation in developing

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<sup>533</sup> Saint Petersburg has begun large-scale preparations for the BRICS+ municipal forum. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/257183/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/257183/) (accessed 7.05.2023). [In Russian]

promising Arctic destinations.<sup>534</sup> Combining the resource potential of the federal subjects – “in terms of Arctic cooperation, Saint Petersburg has a significant research base, while the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug is a recognized center of the Russian Arctic and has great practical experience and potential for further exploration and development of the Arctic territories”<sup>535</sup> – becomes an important idea, which has predetermined the vectors of Saint Petersburg’s further aspirations in its interaction with the Arctic actors.

However, it took another three years for Saint Petersburg’s role as a center of Arctic competence to be recognized at an official level. On 24 September 2016, the Russian Government issued Order № 2016 “On Approval of the Composition of the Organizing Committee for Preparing and Holding the International Arctic Forum ‘The Arctic: Territory of Dialogue’”, which designated Saint Petersburg as the venue for the regular holding of the forums,<sup>536</sup> which marked its leading position as an “interregional and international communication platform”<sup>537</sup> for discussing Arctic issues in general, and the development of the AZRF in particular. However, most of the work to establish the city as a full-fledged participant in the implementation of the state’s Arctic policy was carried out in 2018, as evidenced by a whole series of regulations adopted at the time, as well as the establishment of relevant institutions under whose auspices the “formation of the Arctic cluster, which will bring together educational, scientific and production enterprises for the effective exploration and development of the Arctic”<sup>538</sup> was expected.

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<sup>534</sup> On October 25 a working meeting between Igor Borisovich Dvinsky, Saint Petersburg Vice-Governor and Head of Saint Petersburg Administration, and Dmitry Nikolayevich Kobylkin, Governor of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, was held as part of the Days of Saint Petersburg in the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: <https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/news/19177/?page=129> (accessed 8.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>535</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>536</sup> Russian Federation. Orders. On Approval of the Organizing Committee for Preparing and Holding the International Arctic Forum “The Arctic: Territory of Dialogue” № 2016 : [adopted by the Government of the Russian Federation on September 24, 2016]. – Text : electronic // Civil Legislation of the Russian Federation. – URL: <https://lawnotes.ru/pravitelstvo/rasporyazhenie-pravitelstva-rf-ot-24.09.2016-n-2016-r> (accessed 8.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>537</sup> Comprehensive study of the regions of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation. Main directions of Saint Petersburg cooperation in the Arctic / Saint Petersburg : National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE – Saint Petersburg) commissioned by the Committee of Saint Petersburg of the Arctic Affairs, 2020. – P. 16. – Text : direct.

<sup>538</sup> Saint Petersburg. Laws. On the Strategy of socio-economic development of Saint Petersburg for the period up to 2035 № 771-164 : [adopted by the Legislative Assembly of Saint Petersburg on December 19, 2018]. – Text :

Among the legal acts that determine the Arctic competence of Saint Petersburg, the key ones are Decree of the Government of Saint Petersburg dated February 8, 2018 № 93 “On ensuring measures in the interests of the development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation”<sup>539</sup> and Decree of the Government of Saint Petersburg dated February 28, 2018 № 163 “On the Committee of Saint Petersburg of Arctic Affairs”<sup>540</sup>, which established the Committee for Arctic Affairs at the level of a city of federal significance.

The Committee for Arctic Affairs has the status of an executive authority subordinate to the Government of Saint Petersburg, which is responsible for carrying out state policy in the field of “research, cultural, socio-economic, environmental and other links between Saint Petersburg and the regions of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation”<sup>541</sup>.

The Committee’s key tasks include:<sup>542</sup>

- to cooperate “with public authorities and non-governmental organizations of foreign countries, cities and constituent entities of the Russian Federation, as well as with international organizations”<sup>543</sup>;
- ensuring coherence of cooperation between the subject-level public authorities on economic, social, environmental and other issues affecting the Arctic region;
- creating conditions for the development of links between the subjects of the Arctic Zone and Saint Petersburg;
- to fully facilitate the integrated development of the constituent entities of Russia’s Arctic zone.

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electronic // Electronic fund of legal and normative-technical documents : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/551979680> (accessed 8.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>539</sup> Saint Petersburg. Decrees. On Ensuring Measures in the Interests of Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation № 93 : [adopted by the Government of Saint Petersburg on February 8, 2018]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and normative-technical documents : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/556495255> (accessed 8.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>540</sup> Saint Petersburg. Decrees. About the Committee of Saint Petersburg of the Arctic Affairs: Resolution № 163 : [adopted by the Government of Saint Petersburg on February 28, 2018]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and normative-technical documents : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/556684857> (accessed 8.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>541</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>542</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>543</sup> Ibidem.

In order to fulfil the above-mentioned tasks, the Committee performs monitoring functions, organizes approved projects and programs, promotes cultural relations, attracts qualified specialists and scientists, protects the environment, deals with environmental issues and analyses their implementation, through working groups, scientific advisory centers, various kinds of commissions, etc.<sup>544</sup>

It should be noted that at the outset of the intensification of Saint Petersburg's presentation of the state's Arctic policy, it was highly likely that the city would assume responsibility for developing cooperation with representatives of foreign states, thus becoming a kind of intermediary between remote Arctic actors and representatives of the international arena, which could facilitate the development of the Russian Arctic in investment, trade, industrial-innovation and other kinds of directions.<sup>545</sup> However, in the current version, given the transformational trends dominating at the state level, Saint Petersburg's Arctic competences have been limited, and the activities of the Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs are predominantly focused on "coordinating the activities of the executive bodies of state power of Saint Petersburg on issues relating to integrated socio-economic development of the Arctic, and on cultural development and ensuring environmental safety in the Arctic"<sup>546</sup>. It should be emphasized that this "narrowness" of functions performed de facto by the Committee has been criticized by the competent authorities: as early as 2021, the Accounts Chamber of Saint Petersburg, conducting an assessment of the activities of the Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs, concluded that "the Committee's activities largely duplicate those of the Committee for External Relations, the Committee for Labor and Employment, the Committee for Culture, the Committee for Industrial Policy, Innovations and Trade, and the state programs implemented by the Committee are not directly related to the development

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<sup>544</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>545</sup> Comprehensive study of the regions of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation. Main directions of Saint Petersburg cooperation in the Arctic / Saint Petersburg : National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE – Saint Petersburg) commissioned by the Committee of Saint Petersburg of the Arctic Affairs, 2020. – P. 16. – Text : direct.

<sup>546</sup> Saint Petersburg. Decrees. About the Committee of Saint Petersburg for Arctic Affairs: Decree № 163 : [adopted by the Government of Saint Petersburg on February 28, 2018]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and normative-technical documents : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/556684857> (accessed 8.05.2023). [In Russian]

of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation, and are not in line with the Committee's objectives"<sup>547</sup>. Accordingly, it can be recognised that despite the significant role that Saint Petersburg has assumed within the framework of state Arctic policy, the effectiveness of institutional implementation becomes a debatable issue.

So, cooperation between Saint Petersburg and other subjects of the Russian Federation on Arctic issues is overseen by a number of executive bodies of the city, including the Committee for Industrial Policy, Innovation and Trade of Saint Petersburg, the Committee for Science and Higher Education, the Committee for Tourism Development, etc., which act within their authority, while the Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs ensures, as noted above, that they interact in a coordinated manner. This approach is partly due to the broad areas of cooperation between Saint Petersburg and the other subjects of the Russian Federation, among which is of particular importance:<sup>548</sup>

- promotion of economic, commercial, scientific-educational, innovative-technical, social, cultural and other ties;
- implementation of joint projects in the above areas;
- establishment of interaction at the level of authorities and business representatives;<sup>549</sup>
- supporting businesses and public organizations in need of partners in other actors;
- preparation of research and demonstration events (conferences, seminars, exhibitions, etc.) to strengthen links between authorities, entrepreneurs and other stakeholders;

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<sup>547</sup> Audits of public authorities: Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs (2019-2020 and the elapsed period of 2021). - Text : electronic // Control and Accounts Chamber of Saint Petersburg : [website]. - URL: [https://ksp.org.ru/deyatelnost-organizatsii/rezultaty-proverok-kontrolnaya-deyatelnost/organy-gosudarstvennoy-vlasti/?ELEMENT\\_ID=966](https://ksp.org.ru/deyatelnost-organizatsii/rezultaty-proverok-kontrolnaya-deyatelnost/organy-gosudarstvennoy-vlasti/?ELEMENT_ID=966) (accessed 8.05.2023).

<sup>548</sup> Areas of cooperation with Russian regions. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee of Saint Petersburg of the Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/sankt-peterburg-regiony-rossii/napravleniya-sotrudnichestva-s-regionami-rf> (accessed 8.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>549</sup> News. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: The Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/?page=1> (accessed 8.05.2023). [In Russian]

- coordinating the accumulation of resources from the Arctic constituent entities of the Russian Federation to strengthen the city's capacity.

Saint Petersburg has cooperation agreements with the Republic of Karelia, the Komi Republic, the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), the Arkhangelsk and Murmansk Regions, the Krasnoyarsk Territory, the Nenets and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrugs.<sup>550</sup> Thus, the only exception is the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, which has no agreements on interaction with the city.

### *Saint Petersburg – Murmansk Oblast*

The Agreement on Trade and Economic, Scientific and Technical, Social and Cultural Cooperation between Saint Petersburg and the Murmansk region can be called the earliest among the other agreements concluded with the Arctic subjects: it was signed in 2000.<sup>551</sup> The parties agreed to cooperate in law-making, economics, trade, science, high technology, education, health, culture, tourism and environmental activities, but there was no separate agreement on cooperation in the Arctic.<sup>552</sup> It was not presented in the Plan of measures 2014 – 2017 either, which set out the strategic areas of engagement for the actors.<sup>553</sup> Only as a result of supplementing the Agreement with a paragraph on Arctic cooperation, introduced in 2018,<sup>554</sup> it was envisaged that Saint Petersburg and relevant institutions (the Committee for Arctic Affairs) be included in the development and expansion of the Arctic territories of the Murmansk region, which was conditioned by the Action Plan

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<sup>550</sup> List of cooperation agreements between Saint Petersburg and the subjects of the Russian Federation, Russian partner cities. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: <https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/sankt-peterburg-regiony-rossii/perechen-soglashenij/> (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>551</sup> Agreement between administration of Saint Petersburg and administration of Murmansk region on co-operation in trade and economic, scientific and technical, cultural and social fields of March 17, 2000. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/05/Murmanskaya\\_obl.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/05/Murmanskaya_obl.pdf) (accessed 8.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>552</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>553</sup> Protocol to Agreement between Saint-Petersburg Administration and Murmansk Region Administration on cooperation in trade-economic, scientific-technical, cultural and social fields from 17.03.2000. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/05/Murmansk\\_29012014.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/05/Murmansk_29012014.pdf) (accessed 8.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>554</sup> Protocol to Agreement between Saint-Petersburg Administration and Murmansk Region Administration on cooperation in trade-economic, scientific-technical, cultural and social fields from 17.03.2000: Article 15-1. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/05/Murmansk\\_29012014.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/05/Murmansk_29012014.pdf) (accessed 8.05.2023). [In Russian]



for 2019 – 2021, in which the emphasis was placed on the economic and scientific-innovative spheres of interaction.<sup>555</sup>

*Saint Petersburg – Nenets Autonomous Okrug*

The cooperation agreement with the Nenets Autonomous Okrug, which became one of the latest agreements concluded by the city of federal significance with other subjects of the federation, was adopted in 2018, although interaction between the two subjects has a longer tradition: thus, back in 2013, a representative office of the Nenets Autonomous Okrug was opened in Saint Petersburg, which was supposed to guarantee the strengthening of cooperation in both the scientific and technical and humanitarian spheres.<sup>556</sup> The Arctic (in the context of its socio-economic and environmental development, as well as the preservation and promotion of culture) was mentioned among other bases of cooperation.<sup>557</sup> Therefore, according to the Plan of measures 2018 – 2022, the Committee for Arctic Affairs was involved in promoting industrial cooperation, developing labor exchange and training for students for Arctic exploration, and ensuring research and development activities involving educational organizations.<sup>558</sup> As noted in the Agreement – it is automatically prolonged after a five-year term, but although it is still in force,<sup>559</sup> no new joint roadmaps have been agreed between Saint Petersburg and the Nenets Autonomous Okrug.

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<sup>555</sup> Plan of measures “road map” for 2019 – 2021 for implementation of Agreement between Saint Petersburg Administration and Murmansk Region Administration on cooperation in trade-economic, scientific-technical, cultural and social fields dated 17.03.2000. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/08/22/%D0%9F%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%BD\\_%D0%BC%D1%83%D1%80%D0%BC.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/08/22/%D0%9F%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%BD_%D0%BC%D1%83%D1%80%D0%BC.pdf) (accessed 8.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>556</sup> A representative office of the Nenets Autonomous Okrug was opened in Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/press/governor/31184/> (accessed 8.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>557</sup> Agreement between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Administration of the Nenets Autonomous Okrug on trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation of 25 May 2018. – Text: electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/NAO\\_Soglashenie.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/NAO_Soglashenie.pdf) (accessed 9.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>558</sup> Plan of measures “road map” for cooperation between Saint Petersburg and Nenets Autonomous Okrug in 2018 – 2022. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/NAO\\_Plan18-22.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/NAO_Plan18-22.pdf) (accessed 8.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>559</sup> Agreement between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Administration of the Nenets Autonomous Okrug on trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation of 25 May 2018. – Text: electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/NAO\\_Soglashenie.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/NAO_Soglashenie.pdf) (accessed 9.05.2023). [In Russian]

*Saint Petersburg – Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug*

Relations between Saint Petersburg and the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug are declared by the “Agreement on Trade, Economic, Scientific, Technical, Social and Cultural Cooperation”, signed in 2006, two years after the Okrug Representative Office was opened in Saint Petersburg.<sup>560</sup> The Agreement briefly outlined the main areas of cooperation that are quite standard for agreements of this kind: economic development, improvement of the quality of life, concern for youth, assistance to scientific organizations, and assistance to scientific organizations are the most significant aspirations of the federation subjects.<sup>561</sup> The above-mentioned are presented in the Plan of Measures for 2007 – 2012, and, after its expiration, in a more specific Plan for 2013 – 2017, which already touches upon the resource potential of the Yamal-Nenets AO whose development needs the assistance of Saint Petersburg, which can provide representative (international) support, assistance in problems of entrepreneurship, promotion of scientific innovations, etc.<sup>562</sup> It should be noted that no new document was adopted at the end of the 2013 – 2017 Plan, nor were additional agreements formed on the Arctic issue, which had become relevant by the end of the 2010s.

*Saint Petersburg – Komi Republic*

In 1996, the Representative Office of the Komi Republic was opened in Saint Petersburg, which was entrusted with the responsibility of ensuring interaction between the subject and the authorities of the North-West region of Russia.<sup>563</sup> In 2008, the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Government of the Republic of

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<sup>560</sup> Representative Office of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug in Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Representative Office of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug in Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: <https://spb.yanao.ru/about/> (accessed 9.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>561</sup> Agreement between Saint Petersburg and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug on trade-economic, scientific-technical, social and cultural cooperation of December 13, 2006. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/05/Yanao\\_2006.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/05/Yanao_2006.pdf) (accessed 9.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>562</sup> Ibidem; Supplementary Agreement to the Agreement between Saint Petersburg and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug on trade-economic, scientific-technical, social and cultural cooperation of December 13, 2006. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/05/Yanao2012.pdf> (accessed 9.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>563</sup> Representative Office of the Republic of Komi in the North-West region of the Russian Federation. – Text: electronic // Representative Office of the Komi Republic in the North-West region of the Russian Federation: [website]. – URL: <https://spb.rkomi.ru/predstavitelstvo-respubliki-komi-v-severo-zapadnom-regione-rossiyskoy-federacii/polnomochiya> (accessed 9.05.2023). [In Russian]

Komi signed an Agreement on Trade and Economic, Scientific and Technical, Social and Cultural Cooperation, which laid the foundation for long-term cooperation on major issues, including trade and industry, presentation (exhibition and fair activities), research involving educational institutions, tourism, transport and others.<sup>564</sup> Based on this document, the Plan of measures was developed from 2013 to 2016, which predetermined the forms of interaction between the subjects.<sup>565</sup> The Arctic cooperation between Saint Petersburg and the Republic of Komi, as in other cases, was consolidated by the additionally signed Protocol of 25 May 2018, briefly outlining the vectors of Arctic cooperation.<sup>566</sup> As a consequence, the Saint Petersburg Arctic Committee has been included among the implementers of the joint strategies, as reflected in the roadmaps 2018 – 2022 and 2021 – 2024, which nevertheless did not include separate (exclusively Arctic) activities.<sup>567</sup> In general, it should be noted that the plans referred to were largely similar: in particular, the Committee for Arctic Affairs was involved in carrying out joint activities to develop the AZRF, ensuring the participation of representatives of the republic in Arctic events held in Saint Petersburg, and facilitating direct contacts between entrepreneurs from both entities.<sup>568</sup>

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<sup>564</sup> Agreement between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Government of the Republic of Komi on trade-economic, scientific-technical, social and cultural co-operation of September 3, 2008. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/04/SoglRespRomi.pdf> (accessed 9.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>565</sup> Protocol on amendments to the Agreement between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Government of the Republic of Komi on trade-economic, scientific-technical, social and cultural cooperation. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/04/Komi\\_Protokol2013.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/04/Komi_Protokol2013.pdf) (accessed 9.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>566</sup> Protocol to the Agreement between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Government of the Republic of Komi on trade-economic, scientific-technical, social and cultural co-operation of September 3, 2008. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/RKomi\\_Arctic.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/RKomi_Arctic.pdf) (accessed 9.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>567</sup> Plan of measures “road map” for implementation of Agreement between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Government of the Republic of Komi on trade-economic, scientific-technical, social and cultural cooperation for 2018 – 2022. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/RKomi\\_Plan18-22.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/RKomi_Plan18-22.pdf) (accessed 9.05.2023). [In Russian]; Plan of measures “road map” for the development of cooperation between Saint Petersburg and the Republic of Komi for 2021 - 2024 years. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2021/06/09/%D0%94%D0%9A\\_%D0%9A%D0%BE%D0%BC%D0%B8.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2021/06/09/%D0%94%D0%9A_%D0%9A%D0%BE%D0%BC%D0%B8.pdf) (accessed 9.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>568</sup> Ibidem.

*Saint Petersburg – Sakha Republic (Yakutia)*

Interaction with the Sakha Republic is based on the Agreement on Trade and Economic, Scientific and Technical, Social and Cultural Cooperation, which was signed in 2012 and involves active trade and economic integration in various sectors, including fuel, mining and stone-processing, engineering and others to ensure effective public-private partnerships.<sup>569</sup> Economic development of the subjects and the creation of favorable conditions for society are key areas of cooperation between Saint Petersburg and Yakutia, with the main focus on the development of resources representing the wealth of the Republic, as well as the provision of appropriate infrastructure for mining and processing of minerals. Although the Agreement itself does not contain points on cooperation in the Arctic, such information is contained in the 2018 Supplementary Agreement in a model statement, implying cooperation in the fields of economy, social issues, culture and environmental security.<sup>570</sup> It should be noted that the Plan of measures for 2013 – 2015 did not imply separate measures for the implementation of policies aimed at the development of the Arctic territories.<sup>571</sup> At the same time, it is Arctic cooperation that comes to the fore in the roadmap for 2019 – 2021, which specifies a list of joint targeted actions (in particular, the comprehensive investment project to modernize the Tiksi seaport, the creation of the AZRF Distributed Situation Centre, etc.), as well as several related ones that could have a positive impact on AZRF development (for example, the construction of the Zhatai shipyard on the Lena River).<sup>572</sup> Rather interestingly, in

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<sup>569</sup> Agreement between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Government of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) on trade-economic, scientific-technical, social and cultural cooperation of November 27, 2012. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/04/Saha.pdf> (accessed 10.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>570</sup> Supplementary Agreement to the Agreement between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Government of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) on trade-economic, scientific-technical, social and cultural co-operation of November 27, 2012. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/RSY\\_Arctic.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/RSY_Arctic.pdf) (accessed 10.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>571</sup> Agreement between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Government of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) on trade-economic, scientific-technical, social and cultural cooperation of November 27, 2012. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/04/Saha.pdf> (accessed 10.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>572</sup> Plan of measures “road map” for cooperation between Saint Petersburg and the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) for 2019-2021 to the Agreement between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Government of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) on trade and economic, scientific and technical, social and cultural cooperation of November 27, 2012. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs :

2022, a new ‘road map’ for 2022 – 2026 (which is not typical of all the Arctic actors cooperating with Saint Petersburg) was drawn up, expanding the Arctic activities: in addition to continuing the reconstruction of Tiksi, the new document contained indications for the development of the Northern Sea Route, the development of the AZRF industrial complex, and the socio-economic development of the zone as a whole.<sup>573</sup> In addition, the Committee of Saint Petersburg of the Arctic Affairs has been made responsible for implementing measures to create and strengthen innovative infrastructure and technologies, shipbuilding, the development of industrial cooperation, nature conservation, etc.<sup>574</sup> Overall, cooperation between Saint Petersburg and Yakutia can be assessed as relatively active and dynamic.

### *Saint Petersburg – Arkhangelsk Oblast*

In 2014, the Representation of the Arkhangelsk Oblast was established in Saint Petersburg, which was entrusted with the responsibility of assisting in establishing relations between the city of federal significance and the region, as well as representing and protecting the interests of the latter.<sup>575</sup>

In 2015, between Saint Petersburg and the Arkhangelsk region was concluded the “Agreement on Trade, Economic, Scientific, Technical and Cultural Cooperation”, aimed at increasing mutual trade turnover, stimulating entrepreneurship, establishing conditions for establishing production clusters, integrative business structures and infrastructure development, assistance in the field of scientific and technical developments, exchange of experience in organizing

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[website]. – URL:  
[https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/05/17/%D0%AF%D0%BA%D1%83%D1%82%D0%B8%D1%8F\\_%D0%B4%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B6%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%8F\\_%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%82%D0%B0\\_10042019.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/05/17/%D0%AF%D0%BA%D1%83%D1%82%D0%B8%D1%8F_%D0%B4%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B6%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%8F_%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%82%D0%B0_10042019.pdf) (accessed 10.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>573</sup> Roadmap for development of cooperation between Saint Petersburg and the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) for 2022 – 2026. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL:  
[https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2022/09/30/%D0%94%D0%9A\\_%D0%A0%D0%B5%D1%81%D0%BF%D1%83%D0%B1%D0%BB%D0%B8%D0%BA%D0%B0\\_%D0%A1%D0%B0%D1%85%D0%B0\\_%D0%AF%D0%BA%D1%83%D1%82%D0%B8%D1%8F\\_17.06.2022.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2022/09/30/%D0%94%D0%9A_%D0%A0%D0%B5%D1%81%D0%BF%D1%83%D0%B1%D0%BB%D0%B8%D0%BA%D0%B0_%D0%A1%D0%B0%D1%85%D0%B0_%D0%AF%D0%BA%D1%83%D1%82%D0%B8%D1%8F_17.06.2022.pdf) (accessed 10.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>574</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>575</sup> Representative Office of the Arkhangelsk region in Saint Petersburg. - Text: electronic // Representative Office of the Arkhangelsk region in Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: <http://arhpred29.ru/company/> (accessed 10.05.2023). [In Russian]

events to establish a network of foreign economic contacts, etc.<sup>576</sup> In general, the Agreement has a predominantly economic focus and does not contain information on cooperation in the field of Arctic issues. However, the 2018 Protocol introduces an addition that can be called a ‘typical article’ due to its inclusion in a number of other agreements with the subjects of the AZRF.<sup>577</sup> This clarification indicates the development of interaction in the socio-economic, cultural and environmental spheres of the Arctic.<sup>578</sup> Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the ‘road map’ from 2016 to 2018 did not include joint work on Arctic issues, while the Plan for 2019 to 2021 contained a rather limited number of measures in the field of Arctic development, providing, first, assistance from the subject authorities to educational organizations carrying out scientific research in the Arctic (with a focus on the activities of the Arctic Floating University – sea expeditions under the aegis of the Northern (Arctic) Federal University named after M.V. Lomonosov),<sup>579</sup> and, secondly, to promote cooperation between industrial and technological organizations involved in developments for the Arctic and representatives of the authorities.<sup>580</sup> In 2022, a new ‘road map’ was not created and, therefore, at the

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<sup>576</sup> Agreement between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Government of the Arkhangelsk Region on trade-economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation of June 18, 2015. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/05/Arhangelsk\\_2015.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/05/Arhangelsk_2015.pdf) (accessed 11.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>577</sup> For ex.: Supplementary Agreement to the Agreement between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Government of Krasnoyarsk Territory on trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation of 17 November 2016. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/Krasnoyarsk\\_Arctic.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/Krasnoyarsk_Arctic.pdf) (accessed 11.05.2023). [In Russian]; Supplementary Agreement to the Agreement between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Government of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) on trade-economic, scientific-technical, social and cultural co-operation of November 27, 2012. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/RSY\\_Arctic.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/RSY_Arctic.pdf) (accessed 11.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>578</sup> Protocol to the Agreement between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Government of the Arkhangelsk Region on trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation of 18 June 2015 : Article 47-1. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/Arhangelsk\\_Arctic.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/Arhangelsk_Arctic.pdf) (accessed 10.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>579</sup> Arctic Floating University. – Text : electronic // Northern (Arctic) Federal University : [website]. – URL: [https://narfu.ru/science/expeditions/floating\\_university/](https://narfu.ru/science/expeditions/floating_university/) (accessed 10.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>580</sup> Protocol to the Agreement between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Government of the Arkhangelsk Region on trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation of 18 June 2015. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/05/Protocolarhobl.pdf> (accessed 11.05.2023). [In Russian]; Plan of measures “road map” for the development of cooperation between Saint Petersburg and the Arkhangelsk region for 2019 – 2021 to the Agreement between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Government of the Arkhangelsk region on trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation of 18 June 2015. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs: [website]. – URL:

moment there is no talk of expanding (at least de jure) areas of interaction between Saint Petersburg and the Arkhangelsk region along the Arctic line.

*Saint Petersburg – Krasnoyarsk Krai*

At the institutional level, contacts between Saint Petersburg and Krasnoyarsk Krai are formalized by the Agreement on Trade, Economic, Scientific, Technical and Cultural Cooperation, signed in 2016.<sup>581</sup> This agreement envisaged strengthening bilateral ties for long-term and stable cooperation on financial and industrial, trade, transport and logistics, scientific, innovation, tourism and other issues, contributing to increasing the effectiveness of actions taken at the political level to improve the well-being of the population of the federal subjects.<sup>582</sup> In accordance with Article 20 of the document, cooperation on Arctic affairs was limited to “research, management and development [...] through the exchange of delegations through [...] forums, congresses, seminars and conferences”<sup>583</sup>. The supplementary Agreement, concluded in 2018, extended the scope of Arctic cooperation between Saint Petersburg and Krasnoyarsk Krai to the area of socio-economic, cultural and environmental issues.<sup>584</sup> The Plan to implement the ideas presented in the agreement between 2017 and 2021 did not include any reference to the Arctic.<sup>585</sup> It should be noted that, despite the considerable time that has passed

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[https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/05/17/%D0%90%D1%80%D1%85%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B3%D0%B5%D0%BB%D1%8C%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%8F\\_%D0%BE%D0%B1%D0%BB\\_-\\_%D0%B4%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B6%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%8F\\_%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%82%D0%B0\\_10042019.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/05/17/%D0%90%D1%80%D1%85%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B3%D0%B5%D0%BB%D1%8C%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%8F_%D0%BE%D0%B1%D0%BB_-_%D0%B4%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B6%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%8F_%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%82%D0%B0_10042019.pdf) (accessed 11.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>581</sup> Agreement between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Government of Krasnoyarsk Krai on trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation № 115 of 22.11.2016. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/05/Soglashenie\\_Krk.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/05/Soglashenie_Krk.pdf) (accessed 11.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>582</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>583</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>584</sup> Supplementary Agreement to the Agreement between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Government of Krasnoyarsk Territory on trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation of 17 November 2016. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/Krasnoyarsk\\_Arctic.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2018/05/28/Krasnoyarsk_Arctic.pdf) (accessed 11.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>585</sup> Plan of measures “road map” for the development of cooperation between Saint Petersburg and the Krasnoyarsk Territory for 2017 – 2021. – Text : electronic // Official site of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [site] – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2017/06/09/%D0%9F%D0%9B%D0%90%D0%9D\\_%D0%9C%D0%95%D0%A0%D0%9E%D0%9F%D0%A0%D0%98%D0%AF%D0%A2%D0%98%D0%99\\_%D0%B4%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B6%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%8F\\_%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%82%D0%B00001.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2017/06/09/%D0%9F%D0%9B%D0%90%D0%9D_%D0%9C%D0%95%D0%A0%D0%9E%D0%9F%D0%A0%D0%98%D0%AF%D0%A2%D0%98%D0%99_%D0%B4%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B6%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%8F_%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%82%D0%B00001.pdf) (accessed 11.05.2023). [In Russian]

since the signing of the Agreement and the end of the roadmap, no new activities contributing to the unity of political aspirations on Arctic issues have been proposed.

*Saint Petersburg – Republic of Karelia*

The interaction of Saint Petersburg with the Republic of Karelia, whose territories are partially included in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation,<sup>586</sup> has been carried out for almost two decades on the basis of the Agreement on Trade, Economic, Scientific, Technical and Cultural Cooperation,<sup>587</sup> concluded in 2004. This document provides for the creation of favorable conditions (economic, financial, legal) for business development, implementation of investment strategies and mutually beneficial projects, realization of commodity supplies, encouragement of small entrepreneurship, expansion of business contacts, as well as joint actions in the field of establishing foreign economic relations and attracting foreign partners.<sup>588</sup> In addition, special attention was paid to the development of research and information and communication links, cooperation between educational institutions, cultural and sports contacts, environmental activities, the implementation of integrated social programs, etc.<sup>589</sup> It is worth emphasizing that despite the rather extensive range of issues covered in the Agreement, as well as in the later Memorandum<sup>590</sup> signed in 2014 and the Protocol<sup>591</sup> with the ‘road map’ for 2015 – 2020, the parties did not touch upon the Arctic issues. Arctic issues were only

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<sup>586</sup> Russian Federation. Decrees. On the land territories of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation : Decree № 296 : [adopted by the President of the Russian Federation on May 2, 2014]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/38377> (accessed 15.05.2023). [In Russian]; Russian Federation. Laws. On state support for entrepreneurial activity in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation: Federal Law № 193 of July 13, 2020 : [adopted by the State Duma on July 7, 2020 : approved by the Federation Council on July 8, 2020]. – Text : electronic // Official website of the President of the Russian Federation : [website]. – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/45677> (accessed 15.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>587</sup> Agreement between Saint Petersburg and Republic of Karelia on co-operation in trade-economic, scientific-technical, cultural and social fields of 6.12.2004. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: [https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/04/Kareliya\\_Rep.pdf](https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2019/03/04/Kareliya_Rep.pdf) (accessed 15.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>588</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>589</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>590</sup> Memorandum between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Government of the Republic of Karelia on the implementation of measures to prepare for the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Republic of Karelia. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2017/11/08/memoplan.pdf> (accessed 15.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>591</sup> Protocol to Agreement between Saint Petersburg and Republic of Karelia on co-operation in trade-economic, scientific-technical, cultural and social fields from 6.12.2004. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/media/uploads/userfiles/2017/11/08/protokolplan.pdf> (accessed 15.05.2023). [In Russian]



touched upon in the new Agreement, which was concluded in 2022 with the aim of intensifying interaction for a five-year period.<sup>592</sup> It was foreseen that Saint Petersburg and Karelia would jointly promote a favorable investment environment to attract interested business representatives to the republic's Arctic regions, cooperate on issues of social and cultural development (in particular, preserving the traditional wealth of Finno-Ugric peoples settled in the Arctic territories), as well as in suppressing environmental threats in the Arctic.<sup>593</sup>

### *Saint Petersburg – Chukotka Autonomous Okrug*

Unlike a number of other federal subjects that have institutionalised interaction with Saint Petersburg, the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug remains unrepresented in the inter-regional dialogue space: there are currently no cooperation agreements between the two subjects, including on Arctic issues.<sup>594</sup>

Thus, after conducting an extensive analysis of the documentation, which allows us to fully determine the basis for bilateral cooperation between Saint Petersburg and the Arctic federal subjects, we can draw the following conclusions:

- Saint Petersburg has cooperation agreements with 8 of the 9 Arctic federal subjects (the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug was the exception);
- at the end of the 2010s, on one day – 25 May 2018 – Saint Petersburg signed additional protocols to earlier agreements (or entered into new agreements in 2018 – 2022 with an article already included) on cooperation on Arctic development with 7 of 8 subjects (Murmansk Oblast, Nenets Autonomous Okrug, Komi Republic, Sakha (Yakutia), Karelia, Arkhangelsk Oblast and Krasnoyarsk Krai, with Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug being the exception);
- despite the existence of active agreements and experience of cooperation within the framework of road maps, currently Saint Petersburg does not have

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<sup>592</sup> Agreement between the Government of Saint Petersburg and the Government of the Republic of Karelia on cooperation in trade-economic, scientific-technical, cultural and social fields of August 5, 2022. – Text : electronic // Information-legal portal “Garant” : [website]. – URL: <https://base.garant.ru/406617561/5ac206a89ea76855804609cd950fcdf/> (accessed 15.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>593</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>594</sup> List of cooperation agreements between Saint Petersburg and the subjects of the Russian Federation, Russian partner cities. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: <https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/sankt-peterburg-regiony-rossii/perechen-soglashenij/> (accessed 15.05.2023). [In Russian]

operational action plans with most of the Arctic federal subjects (with the exception of the Komi Republic and Sakha (Yakutia))<sup>595</sup> and, as a consequence, its capacity to pursue strategic policies in line with bilateral work on Arctic issues is limited. Meanwhile, a number of projects have been (or are in the process of being) implemented as part of the measures envisaged by agreements and action plans concluded between Saint Petersburg and the regions, including the modernization of the Zhatai shipyard in the Sakha Republic; the design of the “Arctica” type nuclear icebreaker and the ‘Akademik Lomonosov’ floating power unit by the Saint Petersburg ‘Aisberg’ Central Design Bureau when the above projects were implemented by Baltic Shipyard, a specialist in the fields of shipbuilding and mechanical engineering, the construction of the ice-resistant ‘North Pole’ platform for research in the Arctic Ocean; the construction by ‘Sredne-Nevisky Shipyard’ of the river-sea class passenger ship ‘Andrey Dubensky’ for work on the Yenisei River (Krasnoyarsk Krai), etc.<sup>596</sup>

It should be emphasized that there is an extensive pool of initiated and not yet fully implemented projects where the resources and capacities available in Saint Petersburg can be applied:<sup>597</sup>

- in the shipping and shipbuilding sector (reconstruction of berths in Petrozavodsk (Karelia). Petrozavodsk (Karelia), continuation of work on the ship repair and shipbuilding complex in Zhatai (Yakutia), reconstruction of the Beringovskiy seaport (Chukotka AO) and Indiga deepwater port (Nenets AO), modernization of the Arkhangelsk seaport to ensure traffic on the Northern Sea Route and creation of a berth in the Solovets archipelago (Arkhangelsk region), modernization of Murmansk Commercial Seaport (Murmansk region), etc.);

- in mechanical engineering and energy (construction of a logging equipment plant and rehabilitation of the ‘Avangard’ engineering plant in the Republic of

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<sup>595</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>596</sup> Comprehensive study of the regions of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation. Main directions of Saint Petersburg cooperation in the Arctic / Saint Petersburg : National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE – Saint Petersburg) commissioned by the Committee of Saint Petersburg of the Arctic Affairs, 2020. – P. 125. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>597</sup> Ibid. P. 126–153.

Karelia; modernization and commissioning of a new power generation unit at the Neryungri power plant in the Sakha Republic, etc.);

- in the oil and gas sector (construction of a liquefied natural gas (LNG) plant in the Arkhangelsk region, construction of LNG production lines in the Murmansk region, development of oil and gas fields (Zapadno-Ozernoye, Verkhne-Telekajskoye) in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, etc.);

- in non-ferrous metallurgy (development of the 'Tirekhtyakh' tin deposit in the Sakha Republic and 'Pyrpakai' in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, construction of a mining and processing plant at the lead-zinc ore deposit in the Arkhangelsk Region, modernization of the Talnakh Concentrator, Copper and Nadezhda Plants in the Krasnoyarsk Territory, organization of the Ust-Yana mineral resource cluster in the Sakha Republic, etc.);

- in the stone processing sector (construction of a mining and smelting complex to process platinum group metals in Krasnoyarsk Krai and a mining and processing plant in Arkhangelsk Oblast, development of diamond deposits in Yakutia, development of the 'Lobash-1' gold-copper deposit, 'New Sands' gold deposit, 'Stationnoe' basalt deposit, 'Chevzhavara' gabbro-diabase deposit, construction of a stone processing plant in Kondopoga and 'Karelian Stones' stone-cutting plant in the Republic of Karelia, etc.);

- in the coal industry (development of the 'Kabaktinskoye' field and construction of mining and processing complexes 'Inaglinsky' and at the 'Denisovskaya' mine in the Republic of Sakha, development of anthracite deposits and construction of the West Taimyr industrial cluster in the Krasnoyarsk Krai, construction of a coal mine and plant within the framework of the 'Usinskaya-1' project, as well as the development of the 'Verkhnesyryaginskoye' deposit in the Komi Republic, modernization and expansion of operations at the Anadyr, Amaam and Verkhne-Alkatvaamskoye coal deposits in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, etc.);

- in the timber and wood-processing industries (expansion of wood-processing production in Karelia, including construction of a chipboard plant and fuel briquette

production lines, modernization of the Velsk, Ustyia, Pestovo and other wood-processing complexes in the Arkhangelsk region, etc.);

- in the transport and logistics sector (modernisation of the Khibiny airport in the Murmansk Region, construction of railways as part of the Northern Latitudinal Railway project, ‘Sosnogorsk – Indiga’, ‘Igarka – Norilsk’ railways, ‘Bovanenkovo – Sabetta’, ‘the White Sea – Komi – Ural’ railway (Yamalo-Nenets and Nenets Autonomous Okrugs, Arkhangelsk Region, Krasnoyarsk Territory, the ‘Syktyvkar – Naryan-Mar’ road in the Komi Republic, etc.);

- in the fishing and fisheries sector (expansion of the fish processing complex in Murmansk Oblast, a fodder production plant in the Kondopoga district of Karelia, etc.).

Thus, we can conclude that in 2018, the state authorities were quite optimistic about interregional cooperation, which was due to the possibility of using Saint Petersburg as a subnational actor presenting the Arctic federal entities in the foreign policy arena. Given the city’s image in the international arena, Saint Petersburg was intended to be an intermediary, a “transshipment base” and a “fulcrum” for investors interested in developing Arctic resources, companies creating equipment for exploration and mining operations, transport companies, etc.

As a result of the changes in 2022 and the breakdown of contacts with most of the former partners, Saint Petersburg’s intended role has been undermined, which explains some of the stagnation seen at the moment. Nevertheless, it is quite possible to speak of the city’s retained potential. Lacking rich resources – minerals, timber and fisheries – Saint Petersburg has a well-developed technological base, as well as a large research and development potential. The design and technological enterprises are represented by the Central Maritime Research Institute, “Aisberg” Central Design Bureau, “Morstroy”, plant “Baltiysky”, Shipbuilding Technology Centre, 51 Central Design and Technology Institute for Shipbuilding, “Gazpromneft” Science and Technology Centre and other organizations that play a significant role in the

import substitution strategies actively pursued by Russia.<sup>598</sup> A total of 220 companies (118 industrial, 41 scientific, 25 educational, 13 tourism, 9 logistics, 7 public and 7 cultural sectors) are involved in the development of the Arctic, according to the 2022 data.<sup>599</sup>

Having defined the role of Saint Petersburg in the sphere of inter-regional Arctic cooperation, it is necessary to move on to the issue of Saint Petersburg's interaction with representatives of foreign states in order to be able to forecast its changing role in the Russian Federation's Arctic policy and to determine whether it can be used as an intermediary between the Arctic subjects of the Russian Federation and representatives of administrative-territorial units of foreign states, given the conditions suggested by the new reality.

### **3.3. Saint Petersburg's Interaction with Russian and Foreign Partners on Russia's Arctic Policy**

Previously, we have mentioned on several occasions Saint Petersburg's long history of cooperation with representatives of foreign states due to the development experience and the importance that the city has in the political space of the Russian Federation (Chapter 3, paragraph 1). Since 2018, when the legal and regulatory framework was formed and a specialized institution – the Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs established with Arctic competencies,<sup>600</sup> the city of federal significance had to use the actor potential to ensure the presentation of the Arctic competence in international space, as well as actively involve representatives of foreign states (state and subnational levels, as well as corporations and businesses

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<sup>598</sup> Saint Petersburg to the Arctic : Saint Petersburg Catalogue of Arctic Competences / Saint Petersburg Government : the Committee for Arctic Affairs. – Saint Petersburg : PremiumPress Publishing House. 2022. – P. 26–106. – Text : direct. [In Russian]

<sup>599</sup> Ibid. P. 6.

<sup>600</sup> Saint Petersburg. Decrees. About the Committee of Saint Petersburg of the Arctic Affairs: Resolution № 163 : [adopted by the Government of Saint Petersburg on February 28, 2018]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and normative-technical documents : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/556684857> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]

willing to contribute to Arctic development). Thus, attention should be drawn to the steps that have been taken in this area.

External cooperation issues are within the remit of the Saint Petersburg Committee for External Relations,<sup>601</sup> but the Arctic line of cooperation is not highlighted as clearly in its activities as in those of the Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs, which routinely carries out cooperation between Saint Petersburg and public authorities and non-governmental organizations of foreign countries, cities and other entities.

An analysis of the news agenda on the official website of the Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs provides an insight into the Committee's activities since 14 May 2018.<sup>602</sup> From the very beginning, the activity of the body was expressed in cooperation with the subjects of the federation (in particular, with the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, the Nenets Autonomous Okrug, the republics of Komi, Karelia and Sakha, the Arkhangelsk and Murmansk regions)<sup>603</sup>, Russian

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<sup>601</sup> Saint Petersburg. Decrees. About the Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : Decree № 5 : [adopted by the Government of Saint Petersburg on January 13, 2004]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and normative-technical documents : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/8387508> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>602</sup> Active formation of the Committee and organisation of its work is underway. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/135660/> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>603</sup> Representatives of the Committee held working meetings in the Representations of the Arkhangelsk Region and the Komi Republic in Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/136120/> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]; Outcome of the Committee representatives' visit to the Republic of Karelia: cooperation in implementation of Arctic programmes. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/144716/> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]; Chairman of the Committee and Deputy Governor of the Nenets Autonomous Okrug discussed prospects for cooperation in education. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/139608/> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]; The Chairman of the Committee participated in an interdepartmental meeting led by the Governor of Saint Petersburg on strengthening the role of Saint Petersburg industry and science in Arctic development, and held a working meeting with a delegation from the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/138922/> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]; The focus of the working meeting between the Chairman of the Committee and the representative of the Republic of Komi in the North-West region of the Russian Federation: environmental problems in the northern territories. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/139850/> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg's Arctic competences are in demand in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/141653/> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]; A representative of the Committee as a member of Saint Petersburg delegation took part in the VII Murmansk International Business Week. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/151383/> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]

scientific, educational and research structures involved in the development Arctic territories, (Polar Commission of the Russian Geographical Society, Research Institute of the Arctic and Antarctic, the Kola Scientific Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences, etc.)<sup>604</sup>, state enterprises (“Avangard”, “Vozrozhdenie”, etc.)<sup>605</sup>, cultural and museum centers (“Icebreaker “Krasin””, the Museum of the Arctic named after G. Sedov, the Russian Ethnographic Museum)<sup>606</sup>. A step towards the development of a strategized policy was an attempt to analyze the needs of the Arctic subjects and establish ways of direct interaction with their representatives.<sup>607</sup>

The desire for international cooperation was less pronounced in 2018. Firstly, it marked the beginning of cooperation with the Arctic Council (an international organization within which Russia cooperates with Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and the United States on Arctic issues)<sup>608</sup> on scientific and

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<sup>604</sup> Chairman of the Committee held a working meeting with the head of the Arctic and Antarctic Research Institute. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/135802/> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]; Chairman of the Committee participated in the meeting of the Polar Commission of the Russian Geographical Society in the Great Hall of the RGS Headquarters in Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/135934/> (accessed for 18.05.2023). [In Russian]; A working meeting was held between the Chairman of the Committee and a representative of the Kola Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/139951/> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>605</sup> Employees of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs paid a working visit to Avangard enterprise. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/140039/> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]; Employees of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs paid a working visit to “Vozrozhdeniye” enterprise. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/141100/> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]; Photo report: First day of the VIII International Forum “Arctic: Present and Future”. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/153019/> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>606</sup> Museum “Icebreaker “Krasin”” and Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs agreed to create a cultural and educational project. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/142600/> (accessed 19.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs and the Russian Museum of Ethnography have agreed to develop projects in the Arctic together. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/154473/> (accessed 19.05.2023). [In Russian]; Committee representative took part in celebrations to mark the 45th anniversary of the G. Sedov School Museum of the Arctic. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/151382/> (accessed 19.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>607</sup> Joint meeting of 3 working groups on development of cooperation between Saint Petersburg and regions of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation was held. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/149941/> (accessed 19.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>608</sup> Arctic Council. – Text: electronic // Arctic Council : [website]. – URL : <https://arctic-council.org/ru/> (accessed 19.05.2023). [In Russian]

educational issues.<sup>609</sup> Secondly, participation in the Saint Petersburg International Economic Forum, which brought results only within the framework of interregional cooperation, the XI Saint Petersburg International Innovation Forum and the XXII International Forum “Russian Industrialist”, the VIII International Forum “The Arctic: the Present and the Future”, the VI International Arctic Legal Forum “Conservation and sustainable development of the Arctic: legal aspects”, dedicated to ecology and environmental conservation), as well as “Offshore Marintec Russia 2018”, an international exhibition of shipbuilding achievements.<sup>610</sup> Thirdly, interaction with representatives of administrative-territorial units of other countries: cooperation on Arctic issues was discussed with the vice-governor of the Japanese prefecture of Hokkaido.<sup>611</sup> Thus, Saint Petersburg managed to present itself as an actor of Arctic importance, aggregating data on the resources of the subjects of the federation, business representatives, research and cultural organizations, which could form the basis of its activities. In addition, the first steps were taken to enter the international level, although significant success was not achieved.

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<sup>609</sup> The Committee has started interaction with the Arctic Council. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/142066/> (accessed 19.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg will host the VIII International Forum “The Arctic: the Present and the Future” from 5 to 7 December 2018. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/150930/> (accessed 19.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>610</sup> “Into the Arctic - through and through!”: during SPIEF-2018, the Saint Petersburg Government and the regions of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation signed cooperation agreements. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Arctic Affairs Committee : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/136717/> (accessed 19.05.2023). [In Russian]; Preparations for Saint Petersburg International Innovation Forum and International Forum “Russian Industrialist” are underway. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee on Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/150636/> (accessed 19.05.2023). [In Russian]; Representatives of the Committee participated in the VI International Arctic Legal Forum “Conservation and Sustainable Development of the Arctic: Legal Aspects”. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/152668/> (accessed 19.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg will host the VIII International Forum “The Arctic: Present and Future” from 5 to 7 December 2018. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/150930/> (accessed 19.05.2023). [In Russian]; Committee Chairman Herman Shirokov welcomed guests and participants to Offshore Marintec Russia 2018 at the plenary session and took part in the opening of the conference and exhibition. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/147262/> (accessed 19.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>611</sup> During the visit to Saint Petersburg, a delegation from Hokkaido Prefecture (Japan), headed by Vice-Governor Y. Tsuji discussed cooperation in the field of Arctic exploration. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/151747/> (accessed 19.05.2023). [In Russian]



In 2019, the Committee for Arctic Affairs continued to adhere to the previous strategy, which can be defined in the words of G. Shirokov, the head of the Committee: “it is important to combine [...] the experience and efforts of all regions, build cooperative ties in training personnel, creating the necessary infrastructure, attracting investments”<sup>612</sup>. Accordingly, to a greater extent, the activities of the Committee were focused on interregional cooperation: plans for joint events were drawn up with the Arkhangelsk Region, the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) and the Krasnoyarsk Territory,<sup>613</sup> economic issues were discussed with representatives of the subjects of the Arctic zone as a whole (with the exception of the Chukotka Autonomous Region)<sup>614</sup>, agreements were concluded in the sphere of commercial and industrial cooperation for the needs of the Arctic,<sup>615</sup> etc.<sup>616</sup>

Although in 2019 there were statements about the definition of Saint Petersburg “the sea and polar capital of Russia”<sup>617</sup> expressed by A. Chilingarov, Special Representative of the President of the Russian Federation for International

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<sup>612</sup> Saint Petersburg and Krasnoyarsk Krai agree on cooperation in Arctic development. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/162548/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>613</sup> Photo report: First day of the V International Arctic Forum “The Arctic: Territory of Dialogue”. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/162343/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]; In Smolny there was a meeting of Committee Chairman German Shirokov with Lev Levit, representative of the Governor of the Arkhangelsk Region for Arctic development, and management of the region’s representation in Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/155496/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>614</sup> Saint Petersburg Committee on Arctic Affairs and representative offices of Russian Arctic Zone regions in Saint Petersburg discussed plans for interaction in 2019. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/156532/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>615</sup> Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs signed a number of agreements at the innovation forum. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/177224/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>616</sup> For ex.: Saint Petersburg’s Arctic competences are in demand in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia): The Committee took part in organizing the business program of the 4-day stay of a delegation from the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/157130/> (accessed on 20.05.2023). [In Russian]; The meeting of the Public Council discussed the issues of interaction with the regions of the AZRF, development of international cooperation, and promotion of the Arctic competences of Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Arctic Affairs Committee : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/168277/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg this week became a platform to discuss construction of transport infrastructure in the Arctic and issues of preservation of languages of small indigenous peoples of Russia. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/165932/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>617</sup> Saint Petersburg hosted the congress “The Arctic - Territory of Unification of Competences”. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/171837/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

Cooperation in the Arctic and Antarctic, it should be noted that efforts to justify this status were mainly concentrated in the domestic political plane. In the context of international cooperation, the following actions have been taken:

- Saint Petersburg became the venue of the V International Arctic Forum “The Arctic: Territory of Dialogue”, where the industrial, scientific and educational cluster of the city was presented to representatives of international business circles from 52 countries of the world, which led to the signing of contracts for almost 70 billion rubles;<sup>618</sup>

- participant of the Saint Petersburg International Economic Forum; IX International Forum “Arctic: present and future”; XII Saint Petersburg International Innovation Forum, which presented products in the field of mechanical engineering and instrumentation of Saint Petersburg enterprises; international shipbuilding exhibition “NEVA 2019”;<sup>619</sup> 14th International exhibition and conference on the development of oil and gas resources of the Russian Arctic and the continental shelf of the CIS countries – RAO/CIS Offshore 2019; International Forum “Arctic Circle”, where the working group of Saint Petersburg met with S. Royal,

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<sup>618</sup> Saint Petersburg exposition at the V International Arctic Forum “The Arctic: Territory of Dialogue”. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/162341/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]; Holding the International Arctic Forum in 2021 will contribute to attracting more than 100 billion rubles to the development of the Arctic. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/211714/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>619</sup> On day zero of SPIEF 2019 Committee Chairman German Shirokov discussed the use of Saint Petersburg’s potential in the development of polar territories. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/167000/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg presented its Arctic competences at the IX International Forum “Arctic: the present and the future”. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/178679/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]; Mechanisms of promoting innovative products of Saint Petersburg enterprises to the regions of the AZRF will be discussed at the Innovation Forum in Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/176874/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs and the Saint Petersburg Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs signed a cooperation agreement on the margins of PIIF-2019. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/177301/> (accessed on 20.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg will host the 15th International Exhibition and Conference on Civil Shipbuilding, Navigation, Port Activities, Ocean and Shelf Development “NEVA 2019” on 17-20 September. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/172899/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]; In early October Saint Petersburg will host the 14th International Exhibition and Conference on Oil and Gas Resources Development of the Russian Arctic and CIS Continental Shelf - RAO/CIS Offshore 2019. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/172619/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

Ambassador of France for the Arctic and Antarctic Affairs, L. Kullerud, President of the University of the Arctic (UArctic), A. Sturludottir, Mayor of the Icelandic city of Akureyri, T. L. Thorhallsdottir, vice-mayor of the Icelandic city of Reykjavik,<sup>620</sup>

- received foreign delegations within the framework of the VIII International meeting of representatives of member states and observer countries of the Arctic Council.<sup>621</sup>

Thus, it should be recognized that the Committee for Arctic Affairs, which continued its active policy of aggregating data from the subjects of the federation, as well as industrial, scientific and educational organizations, was realized to a greater extent in the interregional space, reducing international activity to participation in congress and exhibition activities and rare meetings of working groups with foreign delegations within the framework of major events, due to the specific nature of its work (restrictions imposed on the Committee's international work, carried out only on behalf of the Government or the Governor of Saint Petersburg and in cooperation with other executive bodies of the city, in particular with the Committee for External Relations)<sup>622</sup>.

In 2020, the activities of the Committee for Arctic Affairs were less active, due to measures to prevent the spread of the COVID-19 virus, leading to the cancellation or postponement of forums, conferences and meetings. So, during this period, the Committee for Arctic Affairs focused on the development of public-private partnerships, establishing links between the Arctic subjects of the federation

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<sup>620</sup> Chairman of the Committee headed the Saint Petersburg delegation at the annual Arctic Assembly. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/175389/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>621</sup> Chairman of the Committee participated in the eighth international meeting of the Arctic Council member states. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/174534/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>622</sup> Saint Petersburg. Decrees. About the Committee of Saint Petersburg for Arctic Affairs: Decree № 163 : [adopted by the Government of Saint Petersburg on February 28, 2018]. – Text : electronic // Electronic fund of legal and normative-technical documents : [website]. – URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/556684857> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

and industrial enterprises.<sup>623</sup> In addition, it was announced about the activities of Saint Petersburg in the development of the Northern Sea Route.<sup>624</sup>

The only major international event was the Eurasian Event Forum held in the city, where the issues of promoting the Russian product in the international field were discussed.<sup>625</sup> Among the less significant are an international seminar on environmental efficiency with the participation of representatives from Finland and Sweden, and an international conference on shipbuilding and the development of high-tech equipment for the needs of the Arctic.<sup>626</sup> Meanwhile, Saint Petersburg has

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<sup>623</sup> Signed Cooperation Agreement between Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs and Autonomous Nonprofit Organization “Expert Centre - Project Office for Arctic Development”. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/183866/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs held a videoconference with representatives of the Komi Republic on the implementation of mechanisms to support entrepreneurship and development of technoparks in the regions of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/182118/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg to the Arctic: more than 200 organisations of the Northern Capital are ready to offer their goods and services for the needs of the Arctic. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/204391/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]; In the course of the International Forum OMR 2020 agreements were reached on cooperation on the development of the Northern Sea Route. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/198260/> (accessed on 20.05.2023). [In Russian]; The results of Saint Petersburg business mission to the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) are summed up. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/199181/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs assisted Saint Petersburg companies in concluding state contracts worth more than 1 billion rubles with enterprises of the Russian Federation Arctic Zone. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/201156/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs and the Ministry for the Development of Arctic and the Affairs of the Peoples of the North of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) signed a cooperation agreement. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/199269/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg will send an official delegation to Yakutia. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/192920/> (accessed on 20.05.2023). [In Russian]; Committee conducts a business mission to Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/184742/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>624</sup> Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs implements departmental project “Intensification of Saint Petersburg participation in the development of shipping along the Northern Sea Route”. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/198585/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs participated in the discussion of prospects for the development of the Northern Sea Route. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/192643/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>625</sup> Representatives of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs participated in the business programme of Eurasian Event Forum 2020. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/181709/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>626</sup> Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs participated in the organisation of an international workshop on improving environmental efficiency. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration:

retained its position as a coordinating center for the development of the Arctic and, as a result, an international business platform for solving Arctic problems.<sup>627</sup>

In 2021, as restrictions imposed as a result of the coronavirus pandemic were gradually lifted, the activities of the Committee for Arctic Affairs were on the path of progress. Still paying considerable attention to strengthening ties between industrial enterprises, transport and logistics and research organizations and subjects of the Russian Arctic, as well as directly expanding interaction within the framework of interregional cooperation, including on the NSR,<sup>628</sup> the Committee for Arctic Affairs was represented at the Saint Petersburg the International Economic Forum, which discussed the development of the Northern Sea Route, trade and economic

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Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/182114/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg will host an international exhibition and conference on shipbuilding and development of high-tech equipment for the development of the Arctic and continental shelf. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/194855/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>627</sup> Saint Petersburg hosted the Congress “Russia in the Arctic Council. Potential of Saint Petersburg”. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/196169/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>628</sup> Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs has assisted Saint Petersburg companies in concluding contracts with enterprises in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation worth about 5 billion roubles. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/205243/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]; A working meeting was held on the role of Saint Petersburg in the development of the Northern Sea Route. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/205577/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]; Funds from the federal budget have been allocated for implementation of the cluster project. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/205634/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]; Scientific and educational organisations of Saint Petersburg consolidate their efforts in the field of Arctic region studies. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/206929/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg transport, logistics, forwarding and public companies have expressed interest in the development and commercial use of the Northern Sea Route. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/206938/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs will arrange a business mission to Nenets Autonomous Okrug from 29.03.2021 to 01.04.2021. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/208554/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]; Heads of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs and heads of representations of constituent entities of the Russian Federation in Saint Petersburg, which are fully or partially part of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, took part in the Council meeting. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/208854/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg enterprises have doubled the number of contracts with AZRF regions in seven months of 2021. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/219804/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg official delegation goes to Nenets Autonomous Okrug with business mission. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/210296/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs launched a new project “Saint Petersburg - Arctic Economy”. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/215659/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]

cooperation, and industrial and technological development; took part in the 15th International Conference on the Development of the Resources of the Russian Arctic and the Continental Shelf of the CIS Countries – RAO/CIS Offshore 2021; exhibition-conference on ship technologies “NEVA-21”; the International Seminar on Arctic Technologies, where joint projects of Peter the Great Saint Petersburg Polytechnic University and the Finnish company Mikkelin Kehitysyhtiö Miksei Oy (CBC ENI Russia-Finland), as well as the Finnish Lappeenranta-Lahti University of Technology were presented; an international conference on the problems of transport infrastructure in the Arctic, attended by representatives of the United States, Poland, France and other countries; Russian-Canadian conference on the Arctic, etc.<sup>629</sup>

Finally, important milestones were the signing of a Memorandum of Cooperation with the Arctic Economic Council, which includes representatives from the United States, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Canada, Denmark, South Korea and

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<sup>629</sup> On the margins of SPIEF - 2021 a meeting of Working Group “Saint Petersburg Aggregator of Northern Sea Route cargo turnover” was held. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/215451/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]; The 15th International Conference and Exhibition on Oil and Gas Resources Development of the Russian Arctic and Continental Shelf RAO/CIS Offshore 2021 has started in Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/222271/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]; Representatives of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs participated in the events of XVI International Exhibition and Conference “NEVA – 2021”. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/222370/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]; International workshop on Arctic materials and technologies was held in Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/214789/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg hosts international conference ‘Arctic Transport Accessibility: Networks and Systems’. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/215446/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]; New opportunities for regional and international economic cooperation between Russia and Canada: a Russian-Canadian conference on the Arctic took place at Saint Petersburg State University. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/211173/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]; International scientific-practical conference “Arctic Days in Saint Petersburg – 2021: international scientific cooperation in the Arctic in the era of climate change” started in the Northern Capital. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/226654/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]; The First International Interdisciplinary Scientific and Practical Conference “Man in the Arctic 2021 – Arctic as a Challenge” opened. - Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. - URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/226168/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]

other countries,<sup>630</sup> as well as the preparations for the international forum “The Arctic: Territory of Dialogue”, which was scheduled for April 2022.<sup>631</sup>

Accordingly, 2022 was supposed to be a landmark year for Saint Petersburg. It was expected that the city would become a venue for a large-scale event: delegations from 50 countries of the world were announced at “The Arctic: Territory of Dialogue” forum, the presence of Russian President V. Putin.<sup>632</sup> However, the worsening of the Ukrainian crisis led to the postponement of the forum<sup>633</sup> until June 2022: “The Arctic: Territory of Dialogue” program was presented at the Saint Petersburg International Economic Forum.<sup>634</sup>

It should be noted that although the cooperation of Saint Petersburg with foreign partners was generally reduced due to the refusal of interaction on the part of the member states of the European Union, the states of North America and other actors in the international space, the Committee for Arctic Affairs established contacts with representatives of China on issues of implementation of joint commercial and scientific projects in the Arctic.<sup>635</sup> In addition, the SPIEF was held, where statements about the importance of the Arctic region were made, as well as other international summits, conferences and forums that touched upon the problems of territorial security, socio-economic, technological and infrastructural development, development of mineral deposits, expansion of shipping along the

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<sup>630</sup> Saint Petersburg establishes interaction with the Arctic Economic Council. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/215233/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]; Members. – Text : electronic // Arctic Economic Council : [website]. – URL: <https://arcticeconomiccouncil.com/members/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>631</sup> Saint Petersburg has begun organisational preparations for the VI International Forum “The Arctic: Territory of Dialogue”. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/224387/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>632</sup> Preparations for the International Forum “The Arctic: Territory of Dialogue” move into practice. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/231737/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>633</sup> VI International Arctic Forum “The Arctic: Territory of Dialogue” postponed. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/234021/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>634</sup> “The pivot to the East will happen through the North”: ‘The Arctic: Territory of Dialogue’ program was inaugurated at SPIEF 2022. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration : Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/239870/> (accessed 25.05.2023).

<sup>635</sup> Representatives of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs and Consulate General of the People’s Republic of China in Saint Petersburg discussed cooperation prospects. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/234453/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]

Northern Sea Route, etc.<sup>636</sup> Saint Petersburg also participated in the activities of the Arctic Economic Council.<sup>637</sup> Nevertheless, the results of the year concluded that international cooperation and implementation of joint project work with former foreign partners was not feasible.<sup>638</sup>

It must be concluded that in 2022, Saint Petersburg's activity in the interregional sphere, which formed a resource for the city to enter the international arena as a subnational actor of Arctic importance, was also relatively reduced. Bilateral contacts on Arctic development issues were predominantly with the

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<sup>636</sup> Outcomes of SPIEF-2022 Arctic programme: focus on Northern Sea Route development, infrastructure projects and tourism. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/240086/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs participated in the VI International Arctic Summit “Arctic: Prospects, Innovations and Regional Development”. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/239603/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]; The Arctic is one of the main themes of Saint Petersburg International Economic Forum 2022. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/239484/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg hosts VI International Arctic Summit “Arctic: prospects, innovations and regional development”. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/239431/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]; First Deputy Chairman of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs spoke about interregional projects at the forum “Arctic: Present and Future”. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/251478/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]; Chairman of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs presented the stand of the Northern Capital at the XII International Forum “Arctic: Present and Future”. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/251219/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]; Chairman of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs took part in the IX International Arctic Legal Forum. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/250385/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]; International scientific-practical conference “Transport of Russia: problems and prospects – 2022” started in Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/249278/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]; EEF 2022: results of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs' participation. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/245181/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs will present Arctic competencies of the Northern Capital at Offshore Marintec Russia 2022 exhibition and conference. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/245203/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]; OMR 2022 exhibition discussed the prospects of new technologies for the Russian Arctic. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/245598/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg hosted the XIII International Exhibition and Forum “Weather. Climate. Water / Remote sensing of Earth / Green economy”. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/242226/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>637</sup> EEF 2022: Chairman of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs participated in the meeting of the Arctic Economic Council. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/245029/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>638</sup> IV Northern Forum on Sustainable Development: experts discuss changes in the platform's work in the new international environment. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/250697/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]



republics of Sakha and Komi, which showed a willingness to work together to build up import substitution in technology and equipment.<sup>639</sup> It should be noted that the rate of increase in trade turnover was the follow: while the results of 2021 showed 1 216 contracts worth 31.3 billion rubles between enterprises and organizations in Saint Petersburg and representatives of the Arctic regions, in 2022 there will be 1 800 contracts worth 33.2 billion rubles.<sup>640</sup>

Data for the first half of 2023 demonstrates that the Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs has focused on inter-regional cooperation with the subjects of the AZRF and strengthening ties within the science and industry cluster, and, with few exceptions,<sup>641</sup> has not been involved in building relationships with possible foreign partners.

This analysis has led to a number of important conclusions about the specific situation of Saint Petersburg:

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<sup>639</sup> Saint Petersburg and the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) strengthen cooperation in science and education. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/235689/> (accessed 25.05.2023) [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs and the Ministry for the Development of Arctic and the Affairs of the Peoples of the North of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) strengthen cooperation. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/250745/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]; The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) is considering the possibility of organizing northern delivery via Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/231088/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]; Chairman of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs held negotiations with the First Deputy Chairman of the Government of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/251438/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]; Saint Petersburg Business Mission to the Republic of Komi has started. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/247846/> (accessed 25.05.2023) [In Russian]; “There are points of contact everywhere”: the participants of Saint Petersburg business mission to the Komi Republic summed up the first results. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/248408/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]; Negotiations on cooperation between Saint Petersburg and Yakutia enterprises continued in Smolny. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/247211/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>640</sup> Saint Petersburg’s trade turnover with Arctic regions of the Russian Federation exceeded 30 billion rubles in 2021. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/229960/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]; Trade turnover of Saint Petersburg with the Arctic regions of Russia in 2022 was 33,2 billion rubles. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/253411/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]

<sup>641</sup> Saint Petersburg hosts XII Russian-Chinese meeting ‘Cooperation in the Arctic under new conditions’. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/261053/> (accessed 11.06.2023). [In Russian]

- firstly, Saint Petersburg has institutions with Arctic competences, including the Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs, but the effectiveness of the institutional structure is a debatable issue due to overlapping functions as well as the limitations imposed by the overlapping powers of the executive authorities;

- secondly, the activities of Saint Petersburg institutions enable cooperation with the Arctic regions of the Russian Federation on a wide range of issues; organize interaction between representatives of business structures (e.g. through Business Missions to the Arctic regions)<sup>642</sup>, civil society organizations, cultural centers; and, finally, maintain links with foreign partners by proposing strategies and options for cooperation and by discussing trade and economic issues based on aggregated data on the Arctic zone;

- thirdly, the above-mentioned competences of Saint Petersburg have allowed the city to form a special resource base that enables it to act as a subnational actor of Arctic significance;

- fourth, the Ukrainian crisis of 2022 has significantly reduced the interest in the Russian Arctic on the part of unfriendly states, and the previously established ties have been “frozen”, which has made it necessary to strengthen interaction with friendly and neutral states interested in the Arctic issue;

Thus, the research conducted in this chapter has allowed us to consider the position of Saint Petersburg, a city that has added Arctic competences to its overall ‘attractive’ resources, a kind of narrowly focused superstructure that is nevertheless important for positioning Saint Petersburg as a subnational actor. In addition of resources, the city has a legal and regulatory framework that encourages it to establish interregional and international ties, as well as relevant institutions with Arctic competences. The Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs, established in mid-2018, plays a leading role in establishing interaction on Arctic issues.

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<sup>642</sup> For ex.: Saint Petersburg business summarised the first results of the Business Mission to the Murmansk Region. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/262419/> (accessed 30.06.2023). [In Russian]

It should be noted that the beginning of the comprehensive realization of Saint Petersburg's Arctic ambitions came at a difficult time: first, business activity was suspended by the COVID-19 pandemic, followed by a difficult period of aggravated Ukrainian relations, which entailed the establishment of harsh mutual sanctions with several unfriendly states, previously considered to be important partners of Russia. Thus, even when encouraged by the federal center to play an important role in the Arctic policy of the state, Saint Petersburg has not been able to fulfil its full potential. However, it is important to emphasize that the city has retained its resources, which are used for cooperation with representatives of states interested in the development of the Russian Arctic.

## CONCLUSION

The Arctic policy of the Russian Federation is going through challenging times. The actors involved have faced the challenges posed by the crisis trends that have engulfed the world since the COVID-19 pandemic, when direct cooperation and joint projects were frozen due to border closures, and the worsening Ukraine crisis that followed the pandemic divided the world into ‘friendly’/neutral and ‘unfriendly’ to Russia, with the latter abandoning engagement on a number of political, economic and other important issues, including in the Arctic. Thus, as of today, it is possible to say that the subnational actors of the Russian Federation, whose activities are embedded in international strategies at the federal level, are in a phase of transformational uncertainty: some contacts (mainly with European and North American countries) have been suspended or severed, others (with Eastern, Latin American and African countries) need to be established and developed.

Based on the current challenges facing the state, in this research paper we addressed the problem of identifying the specifics of subnational actors’ involvement in the implementation of domestic and foreign policy measures to implement the Arctic strategies of the Russian Federation. Particular attention was paid to the case of the federal city of Saint Petersburg, which was assigned a special role in the implementation of Russia’s Arctic policy.

In accordance with this problem, which predetermined the objective of our study, we set the following objectives, which made it possible to formulate a number of conclusions that characterize the current situation in a comprehensive way with the benefit of hindsight, and to pay due attention to the present situation, which due to its transformational specificity has a large foreseeing potential.

Thus, the following conclusions can be drawn:

Describing the phenomenon of subnational actorism in the context of federalism theory on the basis of the papers of Russian and foreign researchers, we can conclude that a subnational actor – a part of the state territory possessing a status that grants it special rights and duties, and occupying a position between the central

and local (local) levels of power – is characterized by the ability to aggregate resources “attractive” to representatives of international space and have sufficient powers to participate in international cooperation in the field of international relations. The latter, in turn, is conditioned by the degree of rigidity of the vertical power structure constructed by the federal center: however, even when it is framed according to the principle of inclusion, subnational units retain the ability to enter the international arena, albeit predominantly as agents of the federal center.

The center’s strong position determines the development of a system of incentives and disincentives expressed in formal and informal measures which, depending on the interests of the center, serve to restrict contacts between subnational actors or, on the contrary, facilitate them. It should be emphasized that the inter-regional activity of the administrative-territorial units of the federation is also subject to control: the federal center’s fears may be caused by the possibility of strong and influential blocks of a sub-territorial character forming, which acquire the ability to exert pressure on the federal authorities.

Finally, it should be noted that subnational actors traditionally find themselves involved in the ‘soft’ strategies of the state, which is predetermined, firstly, by the nature of their resources, which have economic, scientific, educational, cultural and religious content due to historical experience and degree of development, and, secondly, by the spectrum of possibilities outlined by the federal center seeking to protect its sovereign rights.

Analysis of the specific activities of Russian sub-national actors in the context of the ‘center-regions’ power structure allowed the case study to trace changes in the position of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation from the 1990s to the present, assessing their opportunities to enter the international space.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the subjects faced a weakened center with neither sufficient powers nor instruments to exert pressure, which predetermined the extensive powers of the individual regions in the field of international relations, as enshrined in the Federal Treaty of 31 March 1992. The actors took advantage of the rights and opportunities that had been provided and

rushed to enter the foreign policy arena, but the ensuing centralization of power, due to the need to curb 'centrifugal' tendencies and prevent the threat of disintegration of the federation, gradually forced them to abandon the maintenance of a significant number of established ties. Legislative measures, informal pressure on regional elites and other methods of embedding the subjects in a hierarchical 'power vertical' have led to a natural result: subnational actors have become completely subordinated to the will of the federal center, which has significantly affected their activities in the international arena. It should be noted that the center has failed to structure the activities of subnational actors by clearly defining the boundaries of authority and proposing strategies of action for each subject. Thus, many subnational actors find themselves in limbo, lacking clear action plans that could be proposed by the federal government, and fearing to exercise excessive autonomy, which is not to the liking of the center. At the same time, some subnational actors have been engaged by the center in accordance with its interests, although generally declared in the political field, but not elaborated upon (such as the role of Saint Petersburg in the state Arctic policy). Consequently, it must be concluded that by limiting the capacity of subnational actors, the state is not fully realizing the coordinating functions it has assumed.

As the crisis circumstances of recent years have shown, the activity of Russian subnational actors has become dependent not only on the alignment of the 'center-regional' system, but also on developments in the foreign policy space. The COVID-19 pandemic led to the closure of borders and the consequent suspension of direct interaction, including at the subnational level, leading to a temporary 'freeze' in communications. The exacerbation of the Ukrainian crisis, which began in 2022, and its consequences for the Russian Federation, expressed in the division of the world arena into 'friendly'/neutral and 'unfriendly' parts and in the introduction of mutual sanctions with the latter, predetermined a transformational turn: the rejection of cooperation with Europe and North America and the beginning of rapprochement with Asian and African states. The subnational actors were faced with the breakdown of cooperation ties established in previous years, the suspension of

interaction with previous partners and other negative consequences of the crisis that shook the global arena. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the beginning period will not be stagnant for subnational actors: the strengthening of cooperation with foreign states, including India and China, at the federal level, as well as the preservation of individual ties with other friendly states, provide an opportunity to reorient the potential of subnational actors in line with new public policies.

A special case study for this dissertation is the case of the Arctic, which, regardless of the upheavals reshaping the world, continues to be important to the Russian Federation. In defining the content, characteristics and prospects of the Arctic policy of the Russian Federation, we conclude that the great economic potential of the Arctic region, which holds vast mineral reserves, makes it a risk zone that requires the vigilance of the state. Unresolved territorial disputes and the complex situation accompanied by the suspension or complete termination of the Russian Federation's activities within the framework of multilateral and bilateral Arctic cooperation organizations and programs (Arctic Council, Barents/Euro-Arctic Council, 'Kolarctic', etc.) exacerbate the issue of Arctic security.

Examining the specifics of Arctic policy implementation at the federal and regional levels, with a focus on the activities of nine Arctic subjects of the state involved in it according to the territorial principle – the Murmansk and Arkhangelsk oblasts, the Nenets, Chukotka and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrugs, the Komi, Karelia and Sakha (Yakutia) republics, and Krasnoyarsk Krai, it can be concluded that the regions have different approaches to interregional and international cooperation on Arctic issues, which can be explained by their varying degrees of industrial and infrastructural development, geopolitical location, historical experience, and the presence of modern institutions ready to ensure the establishment and maintenance of links. Among the leaders with a high interest in subnational cooperation on Arctic issues are the Murmansk region, where the Ministry of Arctic Development and Economy is responsible for ensuring cooperation contacts, the Arkhangelsk region, which, like Murmansk until the events of 2022, actively maintained contacts with the administrative-territorial units of the

Arctic states not only through bilateral cooperation, but also through international organizations and programs, including the Barents Regional Council and ‘Kolarctic’ as well as the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) and Krasnoyarsk Krai. The remote and sparsely populated Chukotka AO is the least willing to cooperate. It is interesting to emphasize that, even with a wide network of interregional and international contacts, the Arctic subjects of the Russian Federation do not always strive to interact with each other (the example of the Sakha Republic, which, having 40 agreements with other Russian subjects, has concluded only four with Arctic ‘neighbors’ is illustrative).

The underdevelopment of the individual Arctic constituent subjects and the disinclination to find foreign partners who could become investors and suppliers actively contributing to Arctic development has prompted the federal center to look for an intermediary who would take on the function of presenting the Arctic constituent entities in the international space, thus establishing interaction between the subjects of the Russian Federation and foreign partners. In 2018, this role was assigned to the federal city of Saint Petersburg, due to the subnational actor’s wide network of international contacts, its geopolitical location, its high level of development and its ‘Europeanisation’, which attracted representatives from Europe and North America, including business structures, in interaction with which Russia saw significant opportunities.

Saint Petersburg urgently set up a coordinating institution, the Committee for Arctic Affairs, which ensured that bilateral cooperation agreements were concluded with the Arctic subjects of the Russian Federation, the aggregation of information on the needs of the Arctic subjects, the coordination of activities of Petersburg research centers and productions to meet the Arctic demand for technology and equipment, participation in international forums, conferences and congresses to discuss problems and perspectives for the development of the Arctic. Interestingly, Saint Petersburg’s broad inter-regional and scientific-industrial links became a resource for the city, a base on which it could draw as part of its sub-national activities. However, Saint Petersburg has not been able to strategize and structure



the areas of its intermediary activities to the full. The coronavirus pandemic broke out at the end of 2019 and led to a suspension of interaction between representatives of different countries, followed by the escalating Ukrainian crisis, which resulted in many relations with previous partners being severed or 'frozen' for an indefinite period; consequently, Saint Petersburg was not able to fulfil its mission.

At present, Saint Petersburg retains its Arctic competences, which, given the "freezing" of contacts with unfriendly states, allows it to refocus on strengthening ties with representatives of friendly and neutral states.

Thus, as part of this research paper, we analyse the case of a sub-national actor, the federal city of Saint Petersburg, involved in implementing the state's Arctic policy, which enabled us to conclude that there is considerable potential which, if Russia reorients itself internationally (from unfriendly European and North American countries to friendly Asian states and other cooperative actors), could be used to promote development of the Russian Arctic.

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377. Chairman of the Committee participated in the eighth international meeting of the Arctic Council member states. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/174534/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

378. Chairman of the Committee participated in the meeting of the Polar Commission of the Russian Geographical Society in the Great Hall of the RGS Headquarters in Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/135934/> (accessed for 18.05.2023). [In Russian]

379. The Chairman of the Committee participated in an interdepartmental meeting led by the Governor of Saint Petersburg on strengthening the role of Saint Petersburg industry and science in Arctic development, and held a working meeting with a delegation from the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/138922/> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]

380. Chairman of the Committee held a working meeting with the head of the Arctic and Antarctic Research Institute. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL:

<https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/135802/> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]

381. Chairman of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs presented the stand of the Northern Capital at the XII International Forum “Arctic: Present and Future”. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/251219/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]

382. Chairman of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs took part in the IX International Arctic Legal Forum. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/250385/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]

383. Chairman of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs held negotiations with the First Deputy Chairman of the Government of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/251438/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]

384. Representatives of the Committee participated in the VI International Arctic Legal Forum “Conservation and Sustainable Development of the Arctic: Legal Aspects”. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/152668/> (accessed 19.05.2023). [In Russian]

385. Representatives of the Committee held working meetings in the Representations of the Arkhangelsk Region and the Komi Republic in Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL:

<https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/136120/> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]

386. Representatives of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs and Consulate General of the People's Republic of China in Saint Petersburg discussed cooperation prospects. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/234453/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]

387. Representatives of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs participated in the business programme of Eurasian Event Forum 2020. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/181709/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

388. Representatives of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs participated in the events of XVI International Exhibition and Conference “NEVA – 2021”. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/222370/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]

389. A representative of the Committee as a member of Saint Petersburg delegation took part in the VII Murmansk International Business Week. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/151383/> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]

390. Committee representative took part in celebrations to mark the 45th anniversary of the G. Sedov School Museum of the Arctic. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/151382/> (accessed 19.05.2023). [In Russian]

391. Representative offices of constituent entities of the Russian Federation in Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: <https://kvs.gov.spb.ru/sankt-peterburg-regiony-rossii/predstavitelstva-subektov-rossijskoj-federacii-v-sankt-peterburge/> (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian]

392. Representative Office of the Arkhangelsk region in Saint Petersburg. - Text: electronic // Representative Office of the Arkhangelsk region in Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: <http://arhpred29.ru/company/> (accessed 10.05.2023). [In Russian]

393. Representative Office of the Republic of Komi in the North-West region of the Russian Federation. – Text: electronic // Representative Office of the Komi Republic in the North-West region of the Russian Federation: [website]. – URL: <https://spb.rkomi.ru/predstavitelstvo-respubliki-komi-v-severo-zapadnom-regione-rossiyskoy-federacii/polnomochiya> (accessed 9.05.2023). [In Russian]

394. Representative Office of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug in Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Representative Office of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug in Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: <https://spb.yanao.ru/about/> (accessed 9.05.2023). [In Russian]

395. Holding the International Arctic Forum in 2021 will contribute to attracting more than 100 billion rubles to the development of the Arctic. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/211714/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

396. Audits of public authorities: Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs (2019-2020 and the elapsed period of 2021). - Text : electronic // Control and Accounts Chamber of Saint Petersburg : [website]. - URL: <https://ksp.org.ru/deyatelnost-organizatsii/rezultaty-proverok-kontrolnaya->

deyatelnost/organy-gosudarstvennoy-vlasti/?ELEMENT\_ID=966 (accessed 8.05.2023).

397. Kolarctic program. – Text : electronic // Kolarctic : [website]. – URL: <https://kolarctic.info/ru/> (accessed 26.03.2023). [In Russian]

398. Ramzan Kadyrov on relations with the Arab states, the Chechen war and plans for the future. – Text : electronic // Chechen Republic today : [website]. – URL: <https://chechnyatoday.com/news/330395> (accessed 27.01.2023). [In Russian]

399. Russian State Pedagogical University named after A.I. Herzen intensifies cooperation with Vietnamese partners. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/257713/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/257713/) (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian].

400. Register of concluded intergovernmental agreements with subjects of the Russian Federation. – Text : electronic // Ministry for External Relations and Affairs of the Peoples of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) : [website]. – URL: <https://mvsdn.sakha.gov.ru/deya/federativnye-otnoshenija/reestr-zakljuchennyh-mezhpravitelstvennyh-soglashenij-s-subektami-rossijskoj-federatsii-po-sostojaniju-na-dekabr-2018-g> (accessed 26.03.2023). [In Russian]

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[In Russian]

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[federacii/1784536/#:~:text=%D0%9A%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%B8%D1%8F%20%D1%81%201999%20%D0%B3.%20%D0%B2%D0%B7%D0%B0%D0%B8%D0%BC%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%B9%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B2%D1%83%D0%B5%D1%82,%D0%BF%D0%BE%20%D0%BB%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%B8%20%D0%B3%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%BE%D0%B2%20%2D%20%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%B1%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B8%D0%BC%D0%BE%D0%B2](https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/economic_diplomacy/vnesneekonomiceskie-svazi-sub-ektov-rossijskoj-federacii/1784536/#:~:text=%D0%9A%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%B8%D1%8F%20%D1%81%201999%20%D0%B3.%20%D0%B2%D0%B7%D0%B0%D0%B8%D0%BC%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%B9%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B2%D1%83%D0%B5%D1%82,%D0%BF%D0%BE%20%D0%BB%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%B8%20%D0%B3%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%BE%D0%B2%20%2D%20%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%B1%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B8%D0%BC%D0%BE%D0%B2) (accessed 29.03.2023). [In Russian].

405. Republic of Karelia. – Text : electronic // Official Internet portal of the Republic of Karelia : [website]. – URL: <https://gov.karelia.ru/> (accessed 30.03.2023). [In Russian]

406. Komi Republic. – Text : electronic // Government of the Komi Republic : [website]. – URL: <https://gov.rkomi.ru/> (accessed 30.03.2023). [In Russian]

407. The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). – Text : electronic // Ministry for External Relations and Affairs of the Peoples of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) : [website]. – URL: <https://mvsdn.sakha.gov.ru/> (accessed 30.03.2023). [In Russian]

408. The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) is considering the possibility of organizing northern delivery via Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: the Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/231088/> (accessed 25.05.2023).

[In Russian]

409. Russia has withdrawn from the Barents Council. – Text : electronic // RIA.Novosti : [website]. – URL: <https://ria.ru/20230918/sovet-1897035562.html> (accessed 19.09.2023). [In Russian]

410. Heads of Saint Petersburg Committee for Arctic Affairs and heads of representations of constituent entities of the Russian Federation in Saint Petersburg, which are fully or partially part of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, took part in the Council meeting. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/208854/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]

411. Saint Petersburg to the Arctic: more than 200 organisations of the Northern Capital are ready to offer their goods and services for the needs of the Arctic. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/204391/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

412. Saint Petersburg to the Arctic : Saint Petersburg Catalogue of Arctic Competences / Saint Petersburg Government : the Committee for Arctic Affairs. – Saint Petersburg : PremiumPress Publishing House. 2022. – 466 p. – Text : direct.

413. Saint Petersburg and India discussed cooperation in the energy sector and logistics. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/256265/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/256265/) (accessed 7.05.2023). [In Russian].

414. Saint Petersburg and Indonesia discussed cooperation in the field of shipbuilding. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/259011/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/259011/) (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian].



415. Saint Petersburg and Krasnoyarsk Krai agree on cooperation in Arctic development. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/162548/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

416. Saint Petersburg and Laos are strengthening cultural and humanitarian cooperation. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/256987/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/256987/) (accessed 7.05.2023). [In Russian].

417. Saint Petersburg and the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) strengthen cooperation in science and education. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/235689/> (accessed 25.05.2023) [In Russian]

418. Saint Petersburg establishes interaction with the Arctic Economic Council. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/215233/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]

419. Saint Petersburg will send an official delegation to Yakutia. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/192920/> (accessed on 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

420. Saint Petersburg has begun large-scale preparations for the BRICS+ municipal forum. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/257183/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/257183/) (accessed 7.05.2023). [In Russian]

421. Saint Petersburg has begun organisational preparations for the VI International Forum “The Arctic: Territory of Dialogue”. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/224387/> (accessed 25.05.2023). [In Russian]

422. Saint Petersburg is one of the largest scientific and educational centres in Russia. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Government: Committee on Science and Higher Education : [website]. – URL: <http://knvsh.gov.spb.ru/> (accessed 29.04.2023). [In Russian]

423. Saint Petersburg presented its Arctic competences at the IX International Forum “Arctic: the present and the future”. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/178679/> (accessed 20.05.2023). [In Russian]

424. Saint Petersburg hosts international conference ‘Arctic Transport Accessibility: Networks and Systems’. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/215446/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]

425. Saint Petersburg is expanding cooperation with the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/239946/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/239946/) (accessed 7.05.2023). [In Russian].

426. Saint Petersburg. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: Committee for the Arctic : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/> (accessed 30.03.2023). [In Russian]

427. Information on the availability and distribution of land in the Russian Federation as of 1.01.2019 (in the context of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation). – Text : electronic // Rosreestr : [website]. – URL:

<https://rosreestr.gov.ru/activity/gosudarstvennoe-upravlenie-v-sfere-ispolzovaniya-i-okhrany-zemel/gosudarstvennyy-monitoring-zemel/sostoyanie-zemel-rossii/gosudarstvennyy-natsionalnyy-doklad-o-sostoyanii-i-ispolzovanii-zemel-v-rossiyskoy-federatsii/> (accessed 27.03.2023). [In Russian]

428. Northern railway : the history. – Text : electronic // Russian Railways : [website]. – URL: <https://szd.rzd.ru/ru/5000> (accessed 5.03.2023). [In Russian]

429. Northern Research Expedition. – Text : electronic // Kola North : [website]. – URL: [http://lexicon.dobrohot.org/index.php/%D0%A1%D0%95%D0%92%D0%95%D0%A0%D0%9D%D0%90%D0%AF\\_%D0%9D%D0%90%D0%A3%D0%A7%D0%9D%D0%9E-%D0%9F%D0%A0%D0%9E%D0%9C%D0%AB%D0%A1%D0%9B%D0%9E%D0%92%D0%90%D0%AF\\_%D0%AD%D0%9A%D0%A1%D0%9F%D0%95%D0%94%D0%98%D0%A6%D0%98%D0%AF](http://lexicon.dobrohot.org/index.php/%D0%A1%D0%95%D0%92%D0%95%D0%A0%D0%9D%D0%90%D0%AF_%D0%9D%D0%90%D0%A3%D0%A7%D0%9D%D0%9E-%D0%9F%D0%A0%D0%9E%D0%9C%D0%AB%D0%A1%D0%9B%D0%9E%D0%92%D0%90%D0%AF_%D0%AD%D0%9A%D0%A1%D0%9F%D0%95%D0%94%D0%98%D0%A6%D0%98%D0%AF) (accessed 5.03.2023). [In Russian]

430. The Northern axis – Barentslink. – Text : electronic // Kolarctic : [website]. – URL: <https://narfu.ru/nabl/> (accessed 22.03.2023). [In Russian]

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433. Barents Euro-Arctic Council. – Text: electronic // Council of the Barents Euro-Arctic Region : [website]. – URL: <https://barents-council.org/> (accessed 13.03.2023). [In Russian]

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<http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/deliberations/68188> (accessed 18.03.2023). [In Russian]

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436. A meeting of businessmen from Saint Petersburg and India took place. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Administration of Saint Petersburg: Committee for External Relations of Saint Petersburg : [website]. – URL: [https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c\\_foreign/news/258927/](https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_foreign/news/258927/) (accessed 5.05.2023). [In Russian]

437. A working meeting was held on the role of Saint Petersburg in the development of the Northern Sea Route. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/205577/> (accessed 23.05.2023). [In Russian]

438. A working meeting was held between the Chairman of the Committee and a representative of the Kola Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences. – Text : electronic // Official site of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/139951/> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]

439. Joint meeting of 3 working groups on development of cooperation between Saint Petersburg and regions of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation was held. – Text : electronic // Official website of Saint Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/149941/> (accessed 19.05.2023). [In Russian]

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Petersburg Administration: Committee for Arctic Affairs : [website]. – URL: <https://www.gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/arkt/news/140039/> (accessed 18.05.2023). [In Russian]

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444. The speaker of the Chechen Parliament spoke about the effective work of Ramzan Kadyrov on the return of Russian citizens from the hot spots of the Middle East. – Text : electronic // Official website of the Head of the Chechen Republic : [website]. – URL: <http://www.parlamentchr.ru/press-centre/news/6363-spiker-chechenskogo-parlamenta-rasskazal-ob-effektivnoj-rabote-ramzana-kadyrova-po-vozvrashcheniyu-iz-goryachikh-tochek-blizhnego-vostoka-grazhdan-rossii> (accessed 7.02.2023). [In Russian]

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