

## AN ANALYSIS OF “THE NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION UNTIL YEAR 2020”<sup>1</sup>

**Maj. Gen. (ret.) Prof. Constantin MINCU, PhD, Doctoral Supervisor**  
- Member of the Academy of Romanian Scientists -

*The article presents, in a short manner, some of the most important aspects of the political, economic and cultural evolution of post-Soviet Russia, as a result of some major events that took place during the last years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, that led to designing and approving “ The National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation until 2010”.*

*We consider that getting familiar with today’s Russian leaders’ approaches to state construction, economic and financial strengthening, enforcement of defense and domestic security that were developed within the above mentioned “Strategy” could be of interest for international security experts.*

The political, economic, military and cultural evolution of the Russian Federation after the collapse of the Soviet Union has been and will be permanently in the attention of political and military specialists from all over the world and, especially of the those from the United States of America and Europe.

**After the implosion produced** in the aftermath of the events caused by the Fall of the Berlin Wall (November 9<sup>th</sup>, 1989) and especially of the more and more complicated internal situation in the former Soviet Union, in the early '90s fourteen member states separated and declared their independence, amounting to 130 million inhabitants out of which 24.12 million Russian ethnics, representing approximately 18.5 % of these populations (appendix 1).

**Even in this situation, Russia** continues to be, in spite of her loss, a homogenous country, covering ten time zones, from the Kaliningrad enclave located at the Baltic Sea, until the Sakhalin Island in the East; it is a land full of huge unpopulated areas, having enormous potential and a population of over 143 million people, out of which 15 million are Muslim.

**The main political leaders** of the present world, and also specialists grouped in various think-tanks associated to the relevant political military groups agree that “Russia<sup>2</sup> continues to be a power having enormous military resources, among which more than 10,000 different nuclear weapons; she is also an energetic giant, with oil reserves, which, at

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<sup>1</sup> Document approved through the Russian Federation President’s Decree, no. 537, May 12, 2009

<sup>2</sup> Michael Stürmer, *Putin and the New Russia*, Litera Internațional Printing, Bucharest, 2009.

the present exploitation rate, can last over 30 years, natural gas being sufficient for more than 180 de years”.

**Analysts recommend** not to forget either the Old Russian ambiguity of historical, cultural and geopolitical nature regarding the image of Europe and Asia, or the new oscillation between the still weak elements of democracy and inevitably the strong ones of autocracy.

As far as the global issues are concerned, the world can ask, quite rightfully, whether Russia is part of an emergent multi-polar equilibrium or whether she strives to have a say – first of all a veto regarding all the issues that come up in this world, mainly in Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, the Extended Middle East and Central Asia.

**There are other elements to be taken into account:**

- **Can Russia** be convinced to support, except for her manifest interests, those Pan American elements that continue to be key elements for globalization, like the World Trade Organization (WTO), the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund?
- **Is Russia going to support** the remains of the world’s order after the end of the Cold War and of the nuclear bi-polar global system?
- **Is yesterday’s revolutionary power going to become** the stabilizer of the global postindustrial organization form?
- **Russia, obviously, has got** the potential to go in one or direction another, to be a stabilizing force or a stability provider. So far, the direction she is heading to is not clear. The direction she is going to choose depends, to a great extent, on the West, on her cohesion, on her art to govern and on her real capacity of understanding Russia.
- **For Today’s Europe,** it would be fatal, indeed, to be caught between a resurgent Russia and a declining American peace, and for the North Atlantic Alliance this would be an enormous difficulty.

It is not too late, yet, to hope for reconciliation between forces. There are other arguments as well – China’s rise in the Far East is a major challenge, which is true for the case of the threat of radical Islam in the Middle East, or in the form of Iran’s nuclear ambitions, or under the form of the results of terrorism.

Additionally, one has to mention the dramatic climate change and the spread – difficult to control – of the mass destruction weapons, terrorism and ungovernable countries, cyber war and organized crime.

All these aspects that haunt the world are a problem, equally great for Russia and for the Western nations as well.

**At this point,** it is suitable to present, briefly, the Russian Federation’s new visions regarding her **national security strategy** (Federal Law no. 537, Mai 12, 2009).

**From the very beginning,** we have to mention that this document is centered on Russia’s institutional construction, on economic consolidation and diversification, on social issues, on the development of science, technologies and education and less on military issues.

**Main Thesis of the Strategy:**

- The document states that **“the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation until the year 2020 is an officially recognized system of strategic priorities, objectives and actions in the field of internal and foreign affairs determining the condition of national security and a sustainable development of the state from a long term perspective”**;
- **The main difference** as compared to the previous documents (1997 and 2000) consists in the fact that national security is defined as **“a condition for the protection of the individuals, of the society and of the state against internal and external perils, allowing the insurance of constitutional rights, of a dignified standard of living for the citizens, sovereignty, territorial integrity and a sustainable development of the Russian Federation, the State’s defense and security”**. All this can be achieved through the fulfillment of certain strategic priorities.
- **Five criteria are defined** for the evaluation for the state of the national security, which determines, up to a certain extent, the characteristics of the strategy as a complex approach document for the development of the State’s fields of activity, with active participation of the civil society in this respect. These are:
  - The level of unemployment;
  - The level of consume costs growth;
  - The level of the State’s internal and foreign debts;
  - The level of provision of resources for health, culture, education and science;
  - The level of annual renewal of weapons, military and special equipment and the level of provision with military and technical engineering staff.
- **This strategy confirms Russia’s intention** to enter the five world leading economies by 2020, her conceptual basis being:
  - To maintain her way of life, her national-structural identity and Russia’s territory;
  - To guarantee meeting each individual’s material needs and her people’s needs, in general;
  - To meet the social-spiritual needs without which multilateral development and identification of the personality, of the society and of the State is unconceivable.
- **This document gives importance to the „lessons learned” from the past few years, stating that Russia:**
  - has overcome the consequences of the political and socio-economic crisis of the end of the XX<sup>th</sup> century;
  - has stopped the decrease of the living standard and of the quality of life for the Russian citizens;
  - has resisted the pressure of nationalism and international A terrorism;
  - has prevented discrediting of her constitutional society;
  - has preserved her sovereignty and territorial integrity;

- has reestablished the possibilities of her competition growing possibilities and of recognition of her national interests as a key topic in international relations.
- **The strategy defines Russia's long term national interests as follows:**
  - democracy and development of the civil society, national economic completion growth;
  - ensurance of a sustainable constitutional society, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Russian federation;
  - transformation of the Russian Federation into a world power whose activity is directed towards sustainability of strategic stability and partnership relations, under the circumstances of a multi – polar world (p.a. – an ambitious and difficult objective to reach and maintain, in the present and future dynamics of the world, especially by the emergence of new centers of political and economic power);
- **The main priorities of Russia's national security strategy are considered to be:**
  - National defense;
  - State and social security;
- **To these other priorities are added:**
  - Improvement of the quality of life of the Russian citizens by guaranteeing personal security, as well as the proper living standard;
  - Economic growth obtained, above all, through the development of a national innovation and investment system in human capital (so far the basis consisted of export of raw materials and energy) ;
  - Science, technology, education, health and culture will develop through the enforcement of the role of the State and the improvement of the state- private sector partnership;
  - Ecology of vital systems and rational use of nature sustainable through a balanced use and development of new technologies and rational reproduction of the country's natural potential;
  - Strategic stability and equal strategic partnership able to contribute to strengthening the development of the multi-polar model in the organization of the world based on Russia's active participation;
- **Foreign Policy** is oriented towards meeting the above mentioned objectives and priorities, through the following measures:
  - Russia will start from the fact that the United Nations (UN), its Security Council, are the core element of stability for the international relations system;
  - At the same time, Russia will enforce cooperation of multilateral units like "Group 8 – G8" Russia, India, China (RIC), Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRIC);
  - Russia will use the possibilities of other informal international institutions;

- **Russia's Foreign Policy Priority** remains the development of bilateral relations and multilateral cooperation with the member states of the Confederation of Independent States (CIS).
- **The Strategy mentions the negative world tendencies that may influence Russia's security:**
  - Probable relapse of unilateral force approaches in international relations, contradictions between the main participants in the world politics;
  - Dangerous spread of WMDs and their getting in terrorists' hands, as well as improvement of illegal forms of activities in the cybernetic, biologic and high technology fields;
  - High computer technology conflagration;
  - Threats against the stability of emerging and developed countries;
  - Development of nationalist tendencies, of xenophobia, separatism and extremism by force, including religious socialist slogans;
  - Tense demographic situation at world level and environmental problems (uncontrolled and illegal migration, drugs, human trafficking, other forms of international organized crime);
  - Pandemic diseases due to unknown viruses;
  - Increasing water deficit.
- **The Strategy states that the global negative tendencies mentioned above are the source of a complex threatening system for Russia's national security:**
  - **In the military field:**
    - **The policies of some foreign leading nations** directed towards obtaining supremacy, first of all strategic nuclear forces, through the development of high precision means, informative and of high technological level for carrying out armed combat; **Development of strategic weapons** for nuclear procurement, of unilateral creation of a missile defense system and of militarization of the proximate outer space, capable to lead to a new arms race; the spread of nuclear, chemical, biological technology to produce weapons of mass destruction.
  - **In the state and social security field:**
    - **Intelligence activity** and other secret services and special organizations' activities of foreign states as well as of those of the individuals oriented towards causing prejudice to the Russian Federation;
    - **Activity of terrorist organizations**, groups and individuals directed towards changing the constitutional basis of the Russian Federation, disrupting the normal operation of the state institutions and organizations, destruction of the military and industrial objectives, of the enterprises and institutions ensuring the vital activity of the society;
    - **Intimidation** of the population;

- **Extremist activity** of nationalist, religious, ethnic organizations and of other organizations and structures oriented to destroying the territorial unity and integrity of the Russian Federation, to destabilizing the political and social situation in the country;

▪ **In the economic field:**

- Sticking to the **raw material export** model for the development of the national economy;
- High dependence on the external economic situation, losing control on the national resources;
- Deterioration of the condition of raw materials for the energetic industry;
- Uneven regional development, law stability and insufficient protection of the national financial system;
- Maintaining the conditions necessary for corruption and dilapidation in the financial system as well as migration of capital;
- Crisis in the financial banking system at global and regional level;
- Increase of competition in the fight for shortage of raw materials, water and food;
- Backwardness in the development of high technologies;
- High strategic risk due to a too high dependency on changing the external environment.

- **In the field of science, technologies and education:**

- Backwardness in changing technologies, dependency on imported equipment, devices and basic electronic components, strategic materials;
- Unsanctioned transfer over the borders of indigenous technologies to foreign competitors;
- Unilateral abusive sanctions in the relations between scientific and educational organizations and Russia;
- Insufficient development of the legal normative basis and weak motivation in the field of innovation and industrial politics;
- The low level of social protection of the technicians, engineers, teachers and professors and their reduced number affecting the main stream and superior educational system;

▪ **In the field of health:**

- Emergence of epidemic and pandemic diseases at large scale, mass spread of HIV infection, tuberculosis, of tobacco and alcohol addiction.
- Reduced efficacy, insufficient level of medical insurances and of medical staff income, low financing level for the

development of a superior medical system, unfinished health legislation aiming at increasing access of the population to medical services

▪**In the field of culture:**

- Influence of mass culture production oriented towards marginal strata needs;

▪**In the field of ecology:**

- Sticking to the production of an important number of dangerous products whose activity leads to the destruction of the ecologic equilibrium;
- Ignoring the legal provisions and monitoring;
- Depletion of the country's mineral raw materials, reduction of mineral resources of strategic importance;
- In the elaborated and approved strategy, **the Russian Federation**, considers a **negative influence against the international situation** on a medium term perspective can be caused by:
  - The situation in Iraq and Afghanistan;
  - The conflicts in the Near and Middle East;
  - Certain conflicts in South Asia and Africa, in the Korean peninsula;
  - The critical situation of depositing dangerous wastes and objects, especially in countries having an unstable political situation;
  - Uncontrolled spread of ordinary weapons by the state;
  - The possibility of solving certain situations created by the concrete fight for raw materials using military force, that leads to destroying the force equilibrium near the Russian Federation borders and of the borders of her allies.
  - The risk of increasing the number of countries detaining nuclear weapons;
  - NATO's plans of extending NATO's military infrastructure towards Russia's borders and their attempts of granting them global operations that are not in contradiction with the international legislation in force.

For the first time, **in the presented document**, the role of the civil society in carrying out the thesis of the strategy is stressed out; it is mentioned that insurance of national security consists in maintaining the legal and institutional mechanisms, as well as the possibilities in point of resources of the state and of the society at a level that meets the **Russian Federation's national interests**.

It is assessed that the state of the Russian Federation's national security depends directly on the country's economic potential and on the efficacy of the functioning of the national security insurance system.

In the final part, the document defines the legal normative and information basis for the realization of a real strategy. Respectively, it is underlined that „realization of a real strategy is insured based on the consolidation of the efforts and resources of the organs of the state power, of the civil society institutions, oriented towards the protection of the Russian Federation’s national interests by the complete use of all the political, organizational, social-economical, legal, special and any other measures elaborated within Russia’s strategic planning”.

The Russian Federation must become the mobilizing factor for the development of the national economy, improvement of the population’s quality of life, enforcement of the national defense, of the legal and state security, increase of the competition capacity and of Russia’s international prestige. I consider that a careful study of the Strategy by interested Romanian specialists can shape an answer to the question: to what extent is Russia heading irreversibly towards the political behavior of a modern democratic state and how predictable will be her actions in the international arena in the future years?

#### **RUSSIAN ETHNICS IN STATES SEPARATED FROM THE USSR<sup>3</sup>**

No.	Country	Total of population - millions -	Out of which Russian ethnics	
			%	In figures - millions -
1	Kazakhstan	16,9	37,0	6,253
2	Kyrgyzstan	4,5	21,5	0,967
3	Tajikistan	5,7	3,5	0,200
4	Uzbekistan	5,7	8,3	0,473
5	Turkmenistan	5,7	8,3	0,473
6	Azerbaijan	7,4	5,6	0,414
7	Armenia	3,7	2,0	0,074
8	Moldova	4,4	13,0	0,572

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<sup>3</sup> Source: **Michael STÜRMER**, *Putin and the New Russia*, Litera Internațional Printing House, Bucharest, 2009, (p. 6)



No.	Country	Total of population - millions -	Out of which Russian ethnics	
			%	In figures - millions -
9	Ukraine	52,1	22,0	11,462
10	Belarus	10,4	13,2	1,403
11	Lithuania	3,8	8,6	0,327
12	Latvia	2,7	33,8	0,913
13	Estonia	1,6	30,3	0,485
14	Georgia	5,4	2,0	0,108
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>130</b>	<b>18,55</b>	<b>24,124</b>

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