

## ORIGINAL PAPER



DOI: 10.26794/2220-6469-2021-15-1-40-49  
UDC 338.1(45)  
JEL F5

# National Interests, Strategic Goals and Long-Term Security of the Russian Federation\*

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## ABSTRACT

The state and the nation have their interests. They call them “the national interests”. Even though the study of national interests began many centuries ago, there is still no single methodology to determine national interests, let alone quantifying them. National interests largely determine the goals that society sets for itself. Thus, from the national interest “preservation and survival of society” arises the strategic goal of human society, the state, and the nation – to increase the population and ensure its security. The preservation of territorial integrity is one of the national interests, so each state has the goal to preserve its territorial integrity and maintain the territory of its habitat in a life-friendly condition. If a goal is set, there should be indicators of its achievement. For example, for the strategic goal “ensuring socio-economic well-being and growth of well-being” indicators are the volume and dynamics of income of members of the society, the unemployment rate, the coefficients of differentiation of incomes of the population and some other indexes. The author of this paper has identified seven strategic goals of a society that correspond to six universally recognized national interests. To quantify the measure of their achievement, the author selected 23 indicators. The author based his choice on the capabilities of Russian statistics. It turned out that this indicator had a downward trend in 2000–2018, and its fluctuations were damped.

**Keywords:** national interests; strategic goals; national security; Russian Federation

**For citation:** Kazantsev S.V. National interests, strategic goals and long-term security of the Russian Federation. *Mir novoi ekonomiki = The World of New Economy*. 2021;15(1):40-49. DOI: 10.26794/2220-6469-2021-15-1-40-49

\* The article was prepared based on the results of research carried out at the expense of budgetary funds according to the IEIE research plan, Project “Methods and models for substantiating the strategy for the development of the Russian economy in the changing macroeconomic reality”.



## MAIN OBJECTIVES

The national interests of the Russian Federation — objectively relevant needs of the country, satisfying which ensures realization of strategic national priorities of the Russian Federation.<sup>1</sup>

Although the doctrine of the interests of individual states was developed in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries by Machiavelli (1469–1527), developed in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries by Giovanni Botero (1544–1617) and Jean Bodin (1530–1596), there is still no unified method for defining national interests [1]. One of the reasons for this seems to be the breadth and complexity of the concept of “interest”. In a vast array of scientific works on national interests and security, national interests and politics (primarily English-speaking authors<sup>2</sup>) the most prominent national interests are: 1) preservation and survival of the nation; 2) territorial integrity; 3) political and economic independence, self-governance; 4) socio-economic well-being and welfare (material and spiritual); 5) protection from hostile attacks; 6) an honourable place in the world community; 7) environmental safety.

National interests, joint activities, relations, and interaction among members of society, a system for regulating their conduct, relations and activities, and a common area of residence form the basis for the formation of strategic goals of society. The goal — is the image that people create.<sup>3</sup> Society’s strategic goal — is the long-term goal of society. In fact, it represents some of the ideals that this society aspires to [2].

All life is genetically engineered to preserve and continue life — its own and its own species. Preservation and reproduction of human society (hereinafter simply — “society”) is, above all, an increase in the number and life expectancy of people. Therefore, **the first strategic goal of society and the State is to increase the population and ensure its security.**

“The fate of Russia, its historical perspective, — is said in the message of Russian President Vladimir Putin to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation in 2020, — depends on how many of us will be (I want to start with demographics), depends on how many children will be born in Russian families in a year, in five, ten years, what they will grow up to be, what they will do for the development of the country and what values they will support in life.” (<http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/62582>). The Decree of the President of the Russian Federation from 21 July 2020 No. 474 “On the national development goals of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2030” says softly: the national goal is “preservation of the population, health and well-being of people” (<http://publication.pravo.gov.ru/Document/View/0001202007210012>). Conservation is simply reproduction. It is not enough.

Since, in spatial and geographical terms, national interests are not limited to the territory of the State, it is in the interests of the Russian Federation — to increase the number of its citizens beyond the borders of the Russian Federation.

To maintain and to continue life, society needs development resources. Their society draws from nature, creates and reproduces. The labour force creates and reproduces resources for development (L1). Other things being equal, the number of workers directly and positively depends on the size of the population:  $L1 = f(L)$ , where  $f$  — rising function;  $L$  — a number of people.

<sup>1</sup> National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation. Approved by Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of 31 December 2015 No. 683.

<sup>2</sup> In English-language literature, the national interest has two meanings: a) “the federal government interest”; b) interest of a particular nation (ethnic group).

<sup>3</sup> “Goal — ideal, mental anticipation of result of activity”. Great encyclopedic dictionary. URL: <http://www.onlinedics.ru/slovar/bes/c/tse1.html>.



Formally, the direct linear relationship of the amount of development resources (products) produced by a society to the size of the working population is as follows:  $X(t) = L1(t) \cdot p(t)$ , where  $t$  — time index;  $p(t)$  — labour productivity.

Labour productivity, in turn, depends directly on the worker's level of skill and training and the means of production used — subject of labour, machinery and technology. The relationship between labour productivity and the quantity and quality of capital goods is recorded as a ratio:  $p(t) = k(t) \cdot b(t)$ . Here  $k(t)$  denotes the fixed capital per worker, and  $b(t)$  — denotes the fixed assets turnover ratio.

#### FIXED CAPITAL PER WORKER AND FIXED ASSETS TURNOVER RATIO, CHARACTERISTICS OF MEANS OF PRODUCTION USED BY SOCIETY

The productivity and effectiveness of the latter depends on the educational, cultural, scientific and knowledge levels achieved in the country. All these factors ultimately are determined by the number of highly educated people, the nature and quality of all levels of government in a country — human and institutional capacity.

Hence the conclusion: **the strategic goal of the Russian Federation — is to increase the number of capable, highly educated, professionally trained citizens of Russia.** The availability of such human resources — is one of the main components of the country's scientific and technological security.

Human and institutional capacities depend on the level of development and the state of society. An increase in the number of the country's able-bodied, highly educated and professionally trained population is impossible without a successful socio-economic, cultural, educational, scientific and technological, information system, ideological, organizational and political development.

Therefore, **the strategic goal is to ensure, as far as possible, the sustainable**

**development of society and all spheres of human activity** (socio-economic, cultural, educational, scientific and technological, information, ideological, organizational and managerial, political, defence, etc. within the country and within established borders outside the country). The realization of this objective will, among them, enhance the country's economic security.

The needs of modern society are: equality before the law, opportunity to participate in public life (including in the preparation and adoption of decisions), improve their well-being, and the traditional quest for justice. It is therefore in the interest of individuals, social groups and authorities to maintain the social and economic balance in society and to prevent excessive differentiation in society.

All this sets a strategic goal for the society and the state: **to prevent dangerous levels of social, economic, regional differentiation; class, religious, ethnic and other types of unwanted confrontation in society.** This is an important component of social security.

People live in a certain space, in a known area. It is therefore **the strategic objective of any State to ensure its territorial integrity and to maintain that territory in a life-friendly condition.** This requires ensuring the territorial and ecological security of society.

As long as there is a struggle on Earth for spheres of influence (economic, political, scientific and technological, cultural, information, military and technical, etc.) and for territory and natural resources (including human) **the national interest and strategic goal of society and the State is to safeguard the sovereignty of the country and protect it from all types of external threats, as well as the protection of people, property and assets from all types of natural disasters, technological disasters, new dangerous organisms and other emergencies.**



Realization of national interests, achievement of strategic goals and ensuring the security of society and its socio-political institutions enhance the ability of society to successfully overcome unfavourable living conditions, resistance to stressors, the ability not only to exist but also to develop, i.e. the resilience of society, the individual, the State. Synonymous with resilience are concepts “viable” (“the ability to live in all its manifestations, not only to exist, to adapt to living conditions, but also to develop”) [3] and “survivability” (“the ability of a machine, structure, means or system to perform its basic functions despite the damage caused” (<https://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/ruwiki/36975>).

### RESILIENCE FACTOR

National interests, strategic objectives, safety levels are usually expressed in measurable (quantitative and/or qualitative) indicators. By a change in the values of such indicators they judge about the success and failure in the implementation of national interests, fulfilment of the goals set, achievement of necessary safety levels.

In 2007, the staff of the Governance and Problem Analysis Center (Moscow) proposed a vitality rate for assessing the viability of the country, taking into account the five factors that characterize the size and dynamics of the population of the country:

$$B(t) = H(t) * [P(t) - C(t) + \Delta LEB(t)/LEB(t)] + M(t), \quad (1)$$

Here  $t$  — time interval index;  $B$  — vitality coefficient;  $H$  — the number of population;  $P$  — the number of births per 1 000 population;  $C$  — the number of deaths per 1 000 population;  $LEB$  — life expectancy at birth;  $\Delta LEB$  — increase in life expectancy at birth;  $M$  — migratory net balance (person per year) [4].

It is known that most of the indicators, used to characterize an object, are only suitable for a strictly defined set (type, class) of objects. Calculation of indicator  $B(t)$  by formula (1) as any additive value is only possible for the same physical units of measure for all components.<sup>4</sup> It is also desirable that the value of an indicator should indicate its proximity or distance to a known boundary (target or critical value). For indicator  $B(t)$ , this may be a proximity or distance from a simple reproduction of the population.

Let us consider another possible indicator of the resilience of a society in which such requirements are met. In order to obtain it, we will divide the many factors that a society is able to manage in its development into two groups.

In the first (group  $G$ ) we will include those factors increase in value of which has a positive effect on the target indicators, such as national interests, strategic goals, the development of society and the strengthening of its viability, the security of the country, etc. The factors of this group contribute to the activity, maintenance and reproduction of life. These include, for example, population size and life expectancy.

To the second (group  $Q$ ) we will attribute negative influencing factors. The increase in their values runs counter to national interests, hinders the achievement of strategic objectives, hinders development, weakens viability, reduces safety, etc. Factors in this group impede activities, make it difficult and have a detrimental effect on life (e.g., air pollution, exhaustion and lack of development resources).<sup>5</sup>

Since increasing the values of  $G$  factors improves resilience and  $Q$  — decreases it, the

<sup>4</sup> In terms of (1) this requirement is violated. The units of measurement of the indicators are different: persons on a fixed date (static indicator) and persons per year (dynamic indicator).

<sup>5</sup> “Resources — are the set of currently known means and sources of their obtaining, which are possible and available for use in solving certain and unforeseen tasks under normal, optimal and extreme conditions regardless of the time of use” [5].



following indicator (coefficient) of change in resilience in a certain period of time  $V(t)$  is proposed [6]:

$$V(t) = \frac{\sqrt[n]{\prod_i^n G(i, t)}}{\sqrt[m]{\prod_j^m Q(j, t)}}. \quad (2)$$

Here:

$t = 1, 2, \dots, T$  — time index;

$i = 1, 2, \dots, n$  — index of group  $G$  factors;

$j = 1, 2, \dots, m$  — index of group  $Q$  factors;

$G(i, t) = g(i, t) / g(i, t - 1)$  — the rate of change of factor  $i$  from group  $G$  the time interval  $t$ ;

$Q(j, t) = q(j, t) / q(j, t - 1)$  — the rate of change of factor  $j$  from group  $Q$  the time interval  $t$ ;

$g(i, t) > 0$  — value of factor  $i$  from group  $G$  the time interval  $t$ ;

$q(j, t) > 0$  — value of factor  $j$  from group  $Q$  the time interval  $t$ .

The ingredients of the ratio (1) are the growth rates, therefore each of the variables in the calculation  $g(i, t)$  и  $q(j, t)$  must be different from zero and not infinitely close to it, do not change the sign during the time period considered. The scope of application of the proposed coefficient  $V(t)$  is specifically limited to socio-economic indicators meeting such conditions.

The proposed resilience indicator is expressed in fractions of one, it is greater than zero. The value of  $V(t)$  indicates neither a high nor a low resilience of the subject(s), i.e. its absolute level. It shows the direction of the change in resilience — growth or decline — and gives an estimate of the rate of change in resilience.

The equality of the index of change of resilience to unit [ $V(t) = 1$ ] means that in time  $t$  resilience has remained at the level it was in the previous period  $t - 1$ . In real economics, this corresponds to simple reproduction.

The value of a factor greater than one [ $V(t) > 1$ ], indicates that the level of resilience

has increased (extended reproduction) and smaller than a unit [ $V(t) < 1$ ] — that resilience has decreased (reduced reproduction).

It is clear that both the set and the number of factors in the expression (2) used to assess the dynamics of the process being studied (in our case of resilience) can be changed.

Mention should also be made of the use of certain factors to increase the resilience of a society that it is able to create, reproduce, modify and use, may require a total or partial waiver for some time or permanently from one or more of the other factors. This is usually the case when comparing immediate and future, short-term and long-term costs and benefits, as well as in deciding which means and sources of development with limited resources (human, temporary, logistical, information, etc.) to expand, create and reproduce in a fixed period of time and which are not. "In order to build the future — Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A.I. Selivanov notices — special efforts are necessary, which often go to the detriment of the present, and this has to be made consciously, sacrificing the present for the future" [7].

### APPROACH TO ASSESSING THE DYNAMICS OF NATIONAL INTERESTS

Let us apply the expression (2) to assess the progress of the Russian Federation in the implementation of the seven national interests mentioned at the beginning of the article in 2001–2018. The indicators chosen to characterize them are shown in the *table*. The availability of statistics has also been taken into account in the indicators presented.

Among the parameters presented in the *table* for calculation by formula (2) are those included in the lists of economic security indicators contained in the Economic Security Strategy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2030 (approved by Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of





Table

### Baseline indicators selected for assessing the implementation of national interests

Indicator designation	Baseline indicator
National interest: <b>Preservation and survival of the nation</b>	
G1	Population
G2	Life expectancy at birth
Q1	General population morbidity, newly diagnosed patients
National interest: <b>Territorial integrity of the country</b>	
G3	Length of railway tracks
G4	Length of paved public roads
Q2	Inequality of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation in terms of GRP *
Q3	Inequality of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation in the level of real disposable cash income *
National interest: <b>Political and economic independence</b>	
G5	Domestic R&D costs adjusted for GDP deflator
G6	Industrial output (at comparable prices)
G7	Agricultural output (at comparable prices)
Q4	Share of chemical industry, rubber, machinery, equipment and vehicles in Russian imports
National interest: <b>Socio-economic well-being and welfare gains</b>	
G8	Real disposable money income of the population
G9	Annual average number of employed in the economy
Q5	Decile coefficient of funds
National interest: <b>Protection from hostile attacks</b>	
G10	National defence spending adjusted for GDP deflator
G11	Population at working age
G12	Ratio of revenues of the consolidated budget of the Russian Federation to its expenditures
Q6	Level of depreciation of fixed assets
National interest: <b>A worthy place in the world community</b>	
G13	The share of GDP of the Russian Federation in the GDP of the world
G14	Share of Russian exports in world exports
National interest: <b>Environmental security</b>	
G15	Fixed capital investments for environmental protection and rational use of natural resources adjusted for GDP deflator
Q7	Volume of pollutants emitted into atmosphere
Q8	Volume of discharge of polluted sewage

\* – the value of the inequality is calculated as the ratio of the maximum value of the indicator in the Russian Federation to the minimum value of the indicator.

Source: compiled by the author.



13 May 2017 № 208) and in the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of 21 July 2020 № 474 “On the national development goals of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2030” (signed 21 July 2020). Some of them were taken unchanged, some were modified. The former include, for example, the share of Russian gross domestic product in world gross domestic product, the degree of depreciation of fixed assets, and the decile coefficient of funds. The second — is the ratio of the consolidated budget revenues to its expenditures. The list of national security indicators includes a deficit in the federal budget and a deficit in the consolidated budget of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation. The value of the budget deficit can change from positive to negative and negative to positive at times and be equal to zero. This makes it impossible to calculate its growth rate. Therefore, the ratio of the budget’s income to its expenditure is used to calculate according to formula (2). The same can be done in cases with other indicators, in the dynamic series of which there are both positive and negative values, and which are the sum of two other values with the same signs (plus or minus).

In addition to the above-mentioned criterion for the selection of the starting points for the calculation of the formula (2) — the possibility of calculating their growth rate — another principle of their selection is used in this work: the indicators should not be expressed through each other. For example, in the Russian Federation’s Economic Security Strategy 2030 two indicators do not satisfy this principle. First, index of volume of gross domestic product, second, share of fixed investment in gross domestic product. The same parameter, gross domestic product, is used in their calculation. Let us see how it will look if one include them in formula (2).

Denote gross domestic product through  $X(t)$  in time  $t$ ,  $I(t)$  — amount of fixed investment. If

both of these indicators are in group  $G$ , which is logical, then their product will be:

$$X(t)/X(t-1) \cdot I(t)/X(t) = I(t)/X(t-1).$$

This is a different measure — the share of fixed investment in GDP in the previous period.

Assume that the volume index of gross domestic product is in groups  $G$  (inclusion in group  $Q$  is illogical), and the share of fixed investment in gross domestic product — is in group  $Q$ . Then their ratio in terms of (2) would be:  $X^2(t) / [X(t-1) \cdot I(t)]$ .

The meaning of the ratio is unclear.

In order to avoid such cases, the principle of not including indicators expressed through each other was adopted. In general, the application of this principle does not exclude all indicators that directly or indirectly (through other indicators) affect each other’s values. For example, it is natural to assume that, all other things being equal, the dynamics of the volume of industrial output directly influences the share of gross domestic product in world GDP and the share of Russian exports in the exports of all countries of the world.

Statistical verification showed a significant linear correlation of the growth indices of these indicators (linear correlation coefficients are 0.777 and 0.738 respectively) in the study period (2001–2018) with the bilateral confidence level  $\alpha = 0,01$ . A significant linear correlation ( $R^2 = 0.9787$ ) has also been found for indices of changes in the share of the gross domestic product of the Russian Federation in world GDP and the share of Russian exports in world exports. This means that excluding one of these shares from the calculation of the index will not have a noticeable impact on the trajectory of the coefficient  $V(t)$ , but will only change its value (if the index of change in the share of exports of the Russian Federation in world exports is excluded, the value of  $V(t)$

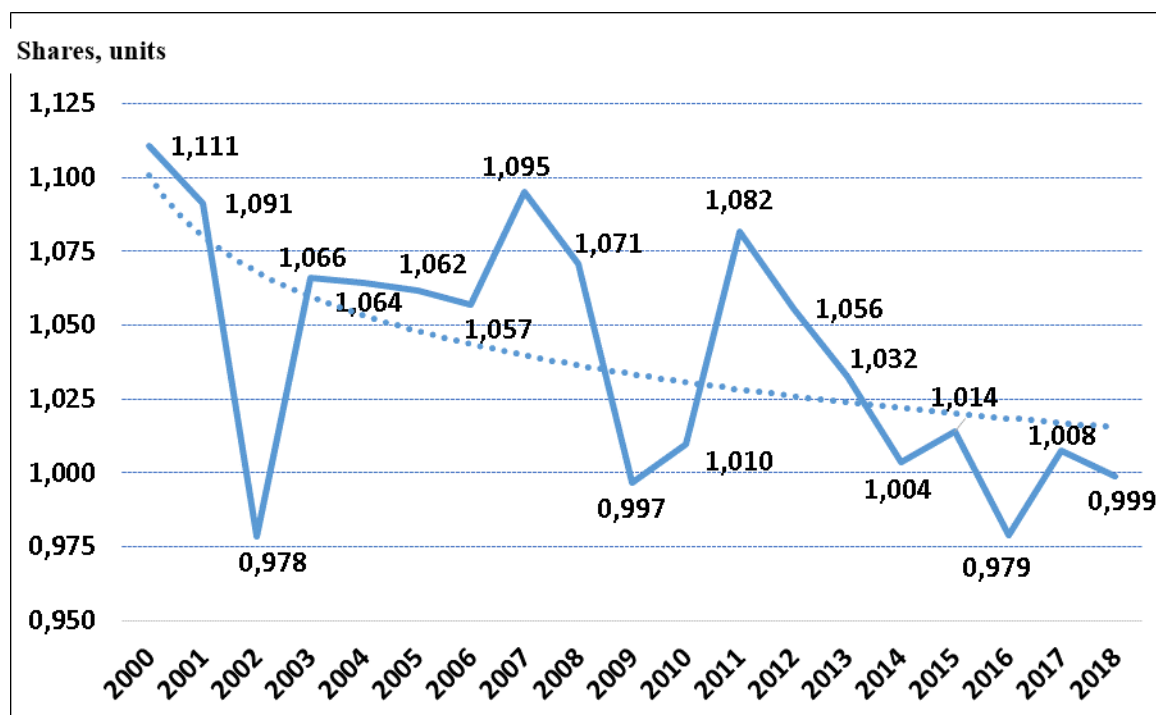


Fig. 1. Dynamics of the coefficient  $V(t)$  in 2001–2018, shares of unit

Note: Dashed indicates the power line of the trend ( $y = 1.1009x^{0.027}$ ,  $R^2 = 0.311$ ).

Source: the author's calculation based on data from Rosstat and the World Bank.

will change from  $-2.4$  to  $+1.7$  per cent of its reference value).

It is important to note that the indices in question are chosen as indicators of the dynamics of the national interests under discussion, rather than as factors for achieving the latter.

### EVALUATION OF THE DYNAMICS OF THE REALIZATION OF RUSSIA'S NATIONAL INTERESTS

The assessment of the dynamics of realization of the seven national interests under our consideration with the help of the baseline indicators (see the table above) and expression (2) was made on the basis of the official data of the Federal State Statistics Service of the Russian Federation (Rosstat) and the World Bank's World Development Indicators. The indices of change of values of these indicators (in unit shares) are calculated

for 2001–2018. They are different from zero and are not infinitely close to it. The resulting evolution of the coefficient  $V(t)$  is shown in fig. 1.

The high level of dependence of the Russian Federation's economy on world commodity and financial markets has led to a consequentially low level of its resilience in the years of the greatest influence of economic crises and sanctions imposed on the Russia. In 2002, the economy of the Russian Federation experienced the effects of the dot-com crisis<sup>6</sup> (2000–2001); 2009 was the year of the strongest impact on European economies and the Russian Federation of the global financial and economic crisis 2008–2010[8]. In 2012, the U.S. Real Estate and Financial

<sup>6</sup> "Dot-com is a term used to refer to companies whose business model is based entirely on work within the Internet. The term comes from English "dot-com" — top-level domain. com, which has mainly registered sites of commercial organizations". URL: [dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/ruwiki/9131](http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/ruwiki/9131).



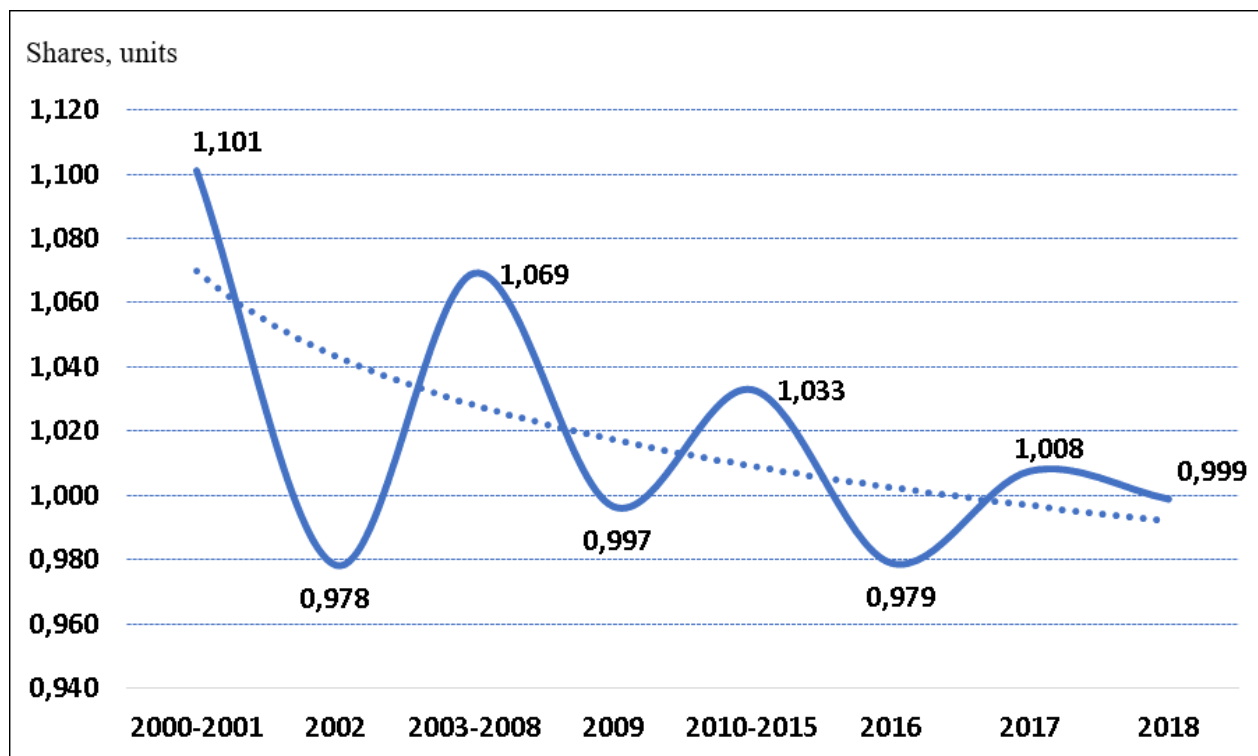


Fig. 2. Average annual  $V(t)$  changes during periods of its growth and decline, fractions of a unit

Note: Dashed indicates the power trend line ( $y = 1.07x^{0.036}$ ,  $R^2 = 0.3591$ ).

Source: the author's calculation.

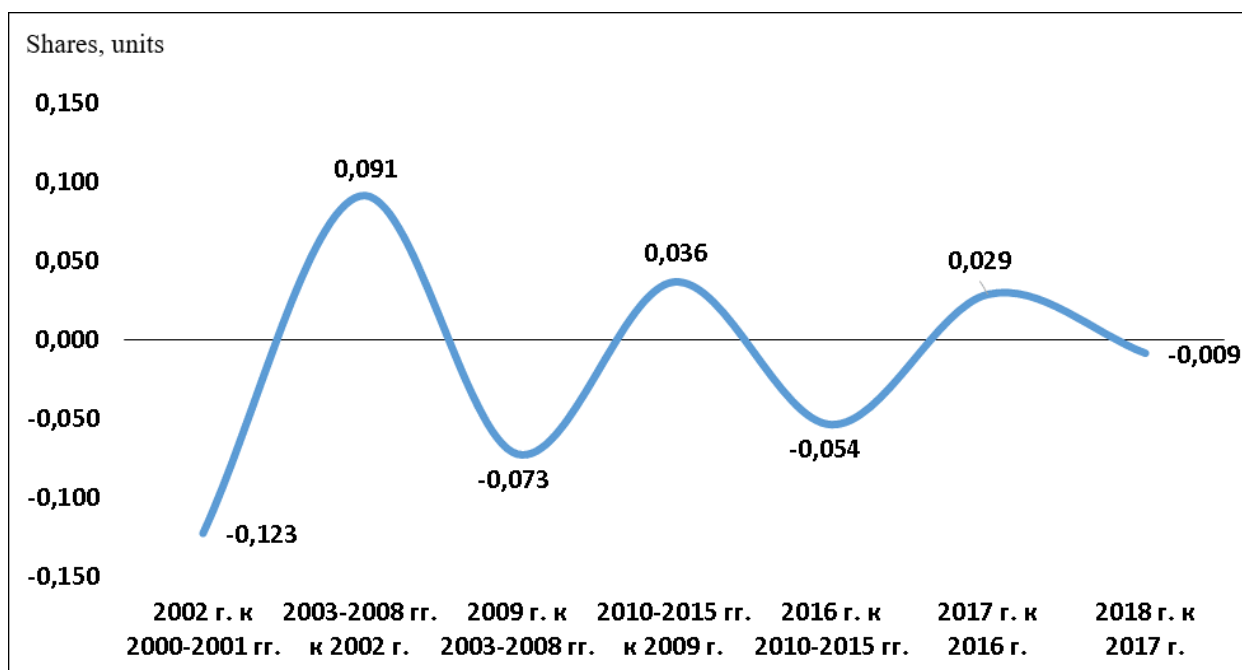


Fig. 3. The damping of the ratio  $V(t)$  fluctuations in 2001–2018, fractions of a unit

Source: the author's calculation.

Credit System Crisis, aggravated by the consequences of hurricane “Sandy”, spread throughout the world. In the same year “the second wave” of the global financial and economic crisis 2008–2010 took place in the eurozone states.<sup>7</sup> Since 2014, the economy of the Russian Federation has been under pressure from anti-Russian sanctions implemented by 42 States.

In general, the values of the indicator of the dynamics of the realization of the national interests of Russia  $V(t)$  in 2001–2018 showed a downward trend, which

in *fig. 1* is represented by the trend line. In this case, the oscillation amplitude of this indicator fades in time (*fig. 2*) and its dynamics show a trend towards simple reproduction<sup>8</sup> (*fig. 3*), which corresponds to  $V(t) = 1$ .

It appears that the evolution of the rate of change in the resilience of the Russian economy, as shown in *fig. 2* and *3*, is a matter of concern. After overcoming the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic, such a trend should be resolutely overcome!

<sup>7</sup> European Economic Forecast. Autumn 2012. European Economy 7/2012. Fiscal Sustainability Report. European Economy 8/2012.

<sup>8</sup> The calculations showed that excluding one or more of the indicators in the table from formula (2) did not fundamentally change the trajectory of the indicator  $V(t)$ .

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The article was received on 22.10.2020; revised on 10.11.2020 and accepted for publication on 15.12.2020. The author read and approved the final version of the manuscript.