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ON THE QUESTION OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SECURITY

The article attempts to identify and analyze the main factors and milestones in the formation and evolution of the Concept of national security of the Russian Federation. It is shown that while in the USSR this sphere was primarily, if not exclusively, about the security of the state, guarantees of its physical existence, its viability, institutions and interests, in the Russian Federation its purpose, system and structural components, goals and objectives have undergone a qualitative transformation. The main focus is on substantiating the thesis that the national security system has been brought into line with the Constitution and legislation of the Russian Federation, while its main purpose is to ensure the security of an equally multi-ethnic Russian people, state, society and individual.

Key words: *the Russian Federation, Constitution, Concept, strategy, state, policy, state security, national security, people, society.*

Along with the Constitution of the Russian Federation, the fundamental document defining the purpose, system and structural components, main parameters, priorities, and directions of national security is the Concept, and since 2009 it is the National Security Strategy, which is an officially adopted system of views and provisions aimed to protect the vital interests of the individual, society, and the state from external and internal threats. It is designed to determine the place, status and role of the state in the world community, its goals, national interests, resources and means to ensure the identification, suppression, neutralization and destruction of all real and possible external and internal threats.

As is well known, until 1988, there was almost no open domestic literature on state security issues in the USSR. Official documents used the concept of “state security,” which covered primarily, if not exclusively, the protection of the state. Scientific development of its support was carried out in closed research institutions under the KGB, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Defense and other “power” departments. Security issues were considered primarily in relation to the protection of the state system, institutions and interests of the state, for which the concept of “state security” was used until 1982. In the same year,

the concept of “public safety” was introduced to expand the scope of security. Thus, a step was taken towards ensuring the security of the public life of citizens by the state.

This trend was further developed with the coming to power of Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985, when the concept of *new political thinking* attempted to expand the scope of security for citizens, including universal values such as individual rights and freedoms.

As for the Russian Federation, a qualitatively new step was taken in this direction in 1996, when the concept of “national security” was introduced [8. P. 260]. The need for this step was determined by the requirements of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, adopted in 1993, in which one of the Central places is occupied by the section on the guarantee of human rights and freedoms. As a result, there is no need to define the security of the state and society separately. The formation of a systematic understanding of the ideological and political foundations of the national security of the Russian Federation has begun. This notion was deciphered in the document no. 1300 of December 17, 1997 entitled “Concept of national security of the Russian Federation.” The document contains the first normative definition of national security: “The national security of the Russian Federation is understood as the security of its multinational people as the bearer of sovereignty and the sole source of power in the Russian Federation” [4]. Here special attention should be paid to the provision on the security of the multinational people as the bearer of sovereignty. Its significance becomes obvious if we realize that the Concept was adopted at a time when Russia was going through the most difficult period in its modern history, when the infamous phenomenon of the “parade of sovereignty” was still not completely overcome, and many people still had concerns about the prospects for the unity of the Russian Federation.

As the vertical power was restored and Russia returned to the geopolitical arena as a great military and political power capable of defending its national interests on a par with other major players in the world politics, the first definition was supplemented and brought into line with the changing geopolitical realities. Thus, the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation until 2020, signed by the President of the Russian Federation on May 12, 2009, declares that national security means “protection of the individual, society and the state from domestic and foreign threats, which in turn ensures constitutional rights and freedoms, an appropriate quality of life for citizens, sovereignty, territorial integrity and stable development of the Russian federation, the defense and security of the state” [9]. A more detailed and refined definition is given in the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation No. 683 of December 31, 2015. Paragraph 1 of that document emphasizes that “The current Strategy is the basic strategic planning document defining the Russian Federation’s national interests and strategic national priorities, objectives, tasks, and measures in the sphere of domestic and foreign policy aimed at strengthening the Russian Federation’s

national security and ensuring the country's sustainable development in the long term." It includes the country's defense and all types of security envisioned by the Russian Federation Constitution and Russian Federation legislation – primarily state, public, informational, environmental, economic, transportation, and energy security and individual security; the Russian Federation's national interests are objectively significant requirements of the individual, society, and the state with regard to ensuring their protection and sustainable development" [10].

It is obvious that this definition corresponds to paragraph 1 of Article 17 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, according to which "In the Russian Federation recognition and guarantees shall be provided for the rights and freedoms of man and citizen according to the universally recognized principles and norms of international law and according to the present Constitution" [5].

Despite all the editorial differences, the common definition for all of these definitions is the recognition of national security as a state of protection of territorial unity, inviolability of state borders, and unconditional preservation of national-state sovereignty. As many researchers correctly point out, there can be no independent state without sovereignty [6. P. 187]. Indeed, as the world experience shows, any national state can be considered independent, able to ensure its physical existence, territorial integrity, non-interference of external forces in internal affairs, etc., only if it has an undisputed sovereignty over the entire territory under its jurisdiction. In an independent, viable state capable of defending its national interests, there can be no other authority than that of the state itself, which is exercised throughout the territory under its jurisdiction. In this territory, any parties, unions, organizations, associations, associations that claim to participate in political activities, or claim seats in the power system, can be considered legitimate only if they recognize the supremacy of state sovereignty. The problem of sovereignty affects not only the nature and purpose of power at the level of a single state, but also at the level of its relations with the outside world, among other subjects of international relations. The condition for the legitimacy of its sovereignty on its own territory is the recognition of the same rights for other States on their territories. Therefore, as K. S. Hajiyeu notes, "the formation of modern national states has become part of the process of mutual recognition of equal rights and equal sovereignty for each individual state. Accordingly, each state has the right to prevent interference in its internal affairs and to ensure its territorial integrity" [1. P. 278]. In this sphere, it is of key importance that the world community is a system of sovereign states, each of which, in accordance with its national interests, national historical, socio-cultural, political-cultural and other characteristics, independently determines its own form of government, its own national security priorities, ways and means of protecting national interests.

Any self-respecting independent sovereign state does not recognize any other authority that seeks to impose its will on it. In other words, the state has no right to allow any external forces to interfere in its internal affairs. Most importantly, it

resolutely defends the territorial unity of the country and the inviolability of internationally recognized state borders. In other words, in the system of international relations, the state acts as an equal subject with other sovereign states. If a given state is not able to enforce these principles, it does not have full sovereignty over the territory officially under its jurisdiction, as well as its own citizens. In this context, one of the key purposes and goals of the national security system is to protect national sovereignty. It is designed to ensure physical survival, vitality, free, and stable functioning and further development of the state and society, protection of the constitutional order, political, economic, defense, scientific-technological, informational and intellectual potential, historical and cultural heritage of the country. One of the main goals of the national security system is to protect and promote national interests, which determine the meaning, goals and motivations of the very existence of the state. They are formed in accordance with the real weight, place, status and role of the state in the international community and the prevailing world order, its resource capabilities, level of economic development, national and historical traditions, etc. When determining and implementing its national interests, the state takes into account the real and potential sources and nature of threats to the security of the state, objective economic, political, geopolitical and other factors, the interests of other members of the world community, etc.

There are certain indicators and thresholds, the violation of which gives grounds to say that the state is not able to defend its sovereignty and national interests. From this point of view, it is important to realize that there is a difference between vital, long-term, permanent national interests and secondary, variable, and contextual interests. Naturally, for the existence of the state and the preservation of its sovereignty, vital interests are of crucial importance, representing a set of needs, goals, and attitudes, the satisfaction of which reliably ensures the existence, viability, and effective functioning of society, the political system, and the state itself. Secondary interests are derived from vital interests.

It is the clash of vital national interests that generates all sorts of contradictions, conflicts and wars in the international arena. From this point of view, it is necessary to take into account that national interests are not a constant, once and for all, given quantity. Their priorities, time and spatial parameters are subject to more or less significant changes depending on changes in the real situation in the world in each specific historical period.

Taking into account all the above, it can be argued that the system of ensuring the national security of the Russian Federation should be understood as a set of General goals to ensure the national interests of Russia. The concept of “national security”, combining all known types of security, is multidimensional and covers the most important spheres of public life, such as economic, social, military, information, technological, etc. Along with the traditional ones, new factors of national security have become important, such as the level of development of the national economy, its competitiveness in world markets, the level of development of sci-

ence and technology, the quality of the education and health system, terrorism, inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflicts, various diseases, drug trafficking, etc.

Therefore, a successful solution to the problem of ensuring security requires a comprehensive approach to solving such global problems as resolving and managing international conflicts and building confidence, taking and implementing measures to ensure the inviolability of borders, preventing international terrorism, international cooperation in the field of human rights, the peaceful use of outer space, etc. This notion is correlated with the notions of “protection of the individual, property, society and the state;” “personal security of citizens,” “public security,” “economic security,” etc. Accordingly, we are talking about national security, based on the organic unity of interests of all three of its basic objects – an individual, society and the state from external and internal threats.

Therefore, national security is ensured by the joint efforts of all authorities at all levels. For this purpose, the state has the right to use all available economic, human, political, military, ideological and other resources.

In the context of the serious aggravation of international tension on the world stage in recent years, the question of the physical self-preservation of the state is seriously raised. It is around this goal that other fundamental characteristics of the state are developed and protected, such as national-state sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, etc. We are talking about the fact that in the current geopolitical conditions, due to a complex of known factors, the West, led by the United States, which has concentrated in its hands an unprecedented economic, technological, military and political power, and not least, economic and technological superiority, and global financial power, is almost an existential threat to Russia. In this context, the arguments of some Western and domestic analysts and politicians who talk about Russia’s weakness and its inability to resist the powerful United States and the West as a whole are also dangerous. As noted, for example, by the French analyst J.-S. Mongrenier, “Russia is perceived as a small troublemaker, which should not distract the US from the big violator, that is, the PRC” [7].

In relations between the states, especially the great nuclear powers, it is crucial to have a very clear and precise understanding of and identification of such “red lines” that cannot be crossed without far-reaching negative consequences.

Weakness is a deadly sin of any state, first of all, of any great power. Therefore, under no circumstances should Russia be allowed to reduce its status as a nuclear superpower, capable of containing the hegemonic claims of any modern nuclear power, no matter how powerful it may be. It is in this sense that we should evaluate Sergey Lavrov’s statement that Russia did not succumb to the trick of the Obama Administration, which proposed the idea of renouncing nuclear weapons by all states, reducing their number to an absolute minimum, respectively, in the Russian Federation and the United States. Given the clear advantage of the United States, especially NATO, in conventional weapons, such a reduction would

pose an existential threat to Russia's national security. As German Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel stated in an interview with *Spiegel* magazine, "in a world where predators live, it is difficult to be a herbivore" [12]. Therefore, it is natural that, as Lavrov stressed, Russia will not sign the Treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons, adopted in July 2017 at the UN Headquarters in New York [2].

It is obvious that for Russia, in this context, there is no alternative to nuclear weapons as a means of deterring aggression from a possible enemy in the twenty-first century. Therefore, it is completely justified that in its military doctrine, Russia did not confirm the previously declared commitment of the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Such an obligation would, in fact, contradict the basic premise that these weapons are not regarded as a means of warfare, but as a means of deterring a possible aggressor. Therefore, if the 1997 version of the National Security Concept provided for the use of nuclear weapons only if "there is a threat to the very existence of the Russian Federation as a sovereign state," then the 2000 version of the Concept considers its use legitimate and necessary in response not only to its use by the aggressor, but also "to large-scale aggression with the use of conventional weapons in critical situations for the national security of the Russian Federation and its allies" [3]. This provision is also enshrined in the current Military Doctrine. Its Article 27 reads: "The Russian Federation shall reserve the right to use nuclear weapons in response to the use of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction against it and/or its allies, as well as in the event of aggression against the Russian Federation with the use of conventional weapons when the very existence of the state is in jeopardy" [11].

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