

THE ARCTIC DIRECTION OF NORWAY'S POLICY: A DOCTRINAL BASIS

**Yermek
CHUKUBAEV**

candidate of historical sciences, associate professor of the Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Head of Department of international relations and world economy, Almaty, Kazakhstan, ScopusID 57131156600, ORCID 0000-0001-7000-024X

**Dastan
KALIBEKULY***

doctoral student of the Kazakh National University named after Al-Farabi, Almaty, Kazakhstan, dastan_kalibekuly@mail.ru

**Adilbek
YERMEKBAYEV**

PhD (international relations), associate professor of the Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan, ScopusID 57209836474, ORCID ID 0000-0002-8464-8220

DOI: 10.52123/1994-2370-2022-658
UDC 327(4/9); 930.22(4/9)
CICSTI 11.25.91

Abstract. The article examines the features of the doctrinal basis of the Norwegian policy in the Arctic, as well as the military-political strategy to ensure the security of the region. The doctrinal framework of Norwegian policy will put Arctic strategy at the forefront. It has been established that Norway owns the systemic regulation of the legal issues of the Arctic region among the Scandinavian countries, serving at the same time as a kind of model for working out mechanisms to defend interests at the regional and international levels. At the same time, it is Norway that owns an innovative approach to the development of hydrocarbons in the Arctic, to the development of a green economy, which are based on environmental protection, the introduction of science-intensive technologies, incl. alternative energy sources. The doctrinal basis of Norwegian policy towards the Arctic region is characterized by specific directions, where the priority is mainly international cooperation, business development, knowledge development, infrastructure, environmental protection and emergency preparedness. The conceptual basis of Norway's doctrines in the field of Arctic region policy consists of the integration of knowledge, science and business, with the aim of sustainable development of the Arctic. In the doctrinal basis of Norway, security issues and the military-political strategy in relation to the Arctic region play an important role. These issues are regulated by such international relations as NORDAC (Nordic Armaments Cooperation), NATO and the maintenance of bilateral relations and partnership with Russia. In Norway's security policy, the main role is played by the NATO strategy, which is based on systemic exercises of practicing military action in the Arctic and the fulfillment of certain missions by Norway due to the recent Crimean events.
Keywords: Arctic region, doctrinal basis of Norway, Arctic strategy, military policy, military-political strategy, international cooperation.

JEL codes: Y80, F52, N44.

Аңдатпа. Мақалада Арктикадағы норвегиялық саясаттың доктриналық негізінің ерекшеліктері, сондай-ақ аймақтың қауіпсіздігін қамтамасыз етудің әскери-саяси стратегиясы қарастырылған. Норвегиялық саясаттың доктриналық негізі Арктикалық стратегияны бірінші орынға қояды. Норвегия – Скандинавия елдерінің арасында Арктикалық аймақтың құқықтық мәселелерін жүйелі түрде реттеу жұмысымен ерекшеленеді, сонымен қатар басқа мемлекеттер үшін аймақтық және халықаралық деңгейде өз мүддесін қорғау механизмін әзірлеудің үлгісі болып табылады. Норвегия Арктикадағы көмірсутек қорын игеруге, қоршаған ортаны қорғауға, баламалы энергетика мен ғылымды қажет ететін технологияларды енгізуге негізделген жасыл экономиканы дамытуда инновациялық көзқарасымен ерекшеленеді. Норвегияның Арктикалық аймаққа қатысты саясатының доктриналық негізі нақты бағыттармен сипатталады, ондағы басымды, негізінен халықаралық ынтымақтастық, бизнес пен білімді дамыту, инфрақұрылым, қоршаған ортаны қорғау және төтенше жағдайларға дайындық болып табылады. Норвегияның Арктика аймағындағы саяси доктриналарының тұжырымдамалық негізі Арктиканың тұрақты дамуы мақсатында білім, ғылым мен бизнестің бірігуінен тұрады. Норвегия доктринасында Арктикалық аймаққа қатысты қауіпсіздік мәселелер мен әскери-саяси стратегия маңызды рөл атқарады. Бұл мәселелер NORDAC (Скандинавиялық қару-жарақ ынтымақтастығы), НАТО сияқты халықаралық қатынастармен және Ресеймен екіжақты қарым-қатынас пен серіктестікті қолдау арқылы реттеледі. Норвегияның қауіпсіздік саясатында басты рөл НАТО стратегиясы болып табылады, ол Арктикадағы әскери іс-қимылдың жүйелі жаттығуларына және соңғы Қырым оқиғаларына байланысты Норвегияның белгілі бір миссияларды орындауына негізделген.

Түйін сөздер: Арктикалық аймақ, Норвегияның доктриналық негізі, Арктикалық стратегия, әскери саясат,

* Corresponding author: D. Kalibekuly, dastan_kalibekuly@mail.ru

әскери-саяси стратегия, халықаралық ынтымақтастық.
JEL кодтары: Y80, F52, N44.

Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются особенности доктринальной основы норвежской политики в Арктике, а также военно-политическая стратегия по обеспечению безопасности данного региона. Доктринальная основа норвежской политики ставит во главе угла арктическую стратегию. Установлено, что Норвегии принадлежит системное регулирование правовых вопросов Арктического региона среди Скандинавских стран, послужив при этом определенной моделью по проработке механизмов отстаивания интересов на региональном и международном уровнях. При этом именно Норвегии принадлежит инновационный подход по освоению углеводородного сырья в Арктике, по развитию зеленой экономики в основе которых лежит защита окружающей среды, внедрение наукоемких технологий, в т.ч. альтернативных источников энергии. Доктринальная основа норвежской политики в отношении Арктического региона характеризуется конкретными направлениями, где в приоритете в основном международное сотрудничество, обмен знаниями, развитие инфраструктуры, защита окружающей среды и обеспечение готовности к чрезвычайным ситуациям. Концептуальная основа доктрин Норвегии в области политики Арктического региона состоит из интеграции знания, науки и бизнеса, с целью устойчивого освоения Арктики. В доктринальной основе Норвегии немаловажную роль играют вопросы безопасности и военно-политическая стратегия по отношению Арктического региона. Эти вопросы регулируются такими международными отношениями, как NORDAC (Nordic Armaments Cooperation), НАТО и поддержание двусторонних отношений и партнерства с Россией. В политике безопасности Норвегии основную роль играет стратегия НАТО, которая основана на системных учениях отработки военных действий в Арктике и выполнения определенных миссий со стороны Норвегии в силу последних крымских событий.

Ключевые слова: Арктический регион, доктринальная основа Норвегии, арктическая стратегия, военная политика, военно-политическая стратегия, международное сотрудничество.

JEL коды: Y80, F52, N44.

Introduction

the Arctic region is one of the most important, strategic regions in world politics. Despite its geographical remoteness from world centers, where modern geopolitical trends are being developed, the Arctic appears to be a strategic region for the Northern states. The measurement of international relations in the Arctic is multilateral, and covers various aspects of interstate cooperation, and to some extent rivalry (Østhagen, 2021). Modern trends in international relations, such as the consolidation of the common foreign policy of the European Union, the confrontational state of relations between Russia and the West, in particular with NATO, the geopolitical rise of China and its implementation of an active geo-economic strategy, global environmental climate change, all this undoubtedly actualizes the Arctic the policy of the states participating in the formations of regional policy in the North.

The global significance of the regions of the North and the Arctic is determined, first, by their role in shaping the planet's climate; secondly, the presence of huge reserves of natural resources, in particular, hydrocarbons in the offshore fields of the Arctic; thirdly, the military-strategic and transport-communicative significance of the region.

The Arctic region covers in territorial dimension eight sovereign states that have an exclusive economic zone (EEZ) and their

territories border on each other: Russia, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Finland and Sweden. The borders of the States of the region are determined by international law – the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (*Convention the United Nations on the law of the sea, 1982*). Despite the fact that the delimitation of borders is determined by international law, there are a number of problems. For example, regional participants have common disputes over some territories, as there was a dispute between Russia and Norway, but in September 2010, an agreement was signed on the delimitation of maritime spaces and cooperation in the Barents Sea and the Arctic Ocean (*Treaty between the Kingdom of Norway and the Russian Federation concerning Maritime Delimitation and Cooperation in the Barents Sea and the Arctic Ocean, 2010*). Although some countries in the region have still not come to a resolution of territorial disputes: Denmark and Canada are in disputes over the ownership of the Hans Island in the Arctic Ocean and disputes between the United States and Canada over the delimitation in the Beaufort Sea region (Mitchell, 2014, Bunik, 2018).

Recently, the military dimension of the Arctic policy has also become more active. An important role and political and psychological base was played by the process of growing confrontation between Russia and the West since 2014. Russia and NATO (the United States, Canada, Norway

and Denmark, as Arctic members of the alliance) regard the Arctic region as an important strategic hub, as well as in terms of conducting a hypothetical war, and the plan for the development and modernization of military infrastructure in the region. Since 2006, NATO has been conducting active military exercises in the region. Russia also notes the importance of the Arctic region in the strategic development of the country, and this contributes to the strengthening and development of the modernization of Russia's military infrastructure, primarily related to the Navy (Northern Fleet). (Strategia razvitiia Arkticheskoi zony Rossiiskoi Federatsii I obespechenia natsionalnoi bezopasnosti na period do 2020 goda). In any case, the growing tension between NATO and Russia is making military rivalry in the region actual.

The economic potential of the Arctic is also increasing, which is associated with environmental transformations in the region. According to the US Geological Society, the Arctic territories of Russia, Norway, Greenland, the USA and Canada contain approximately 22% of the world's undiscovered oil and natural gas resources (Budzik, 2009, Peter, 2010, Tarantol, et al., 2019, Morgunova, 2016, Egorov, et. al., 2021, Morgunova, 2020). Climate change directly affects the geopolitics of the region. The region is growing in importance in terms of the opening of new commercial maritime routes and resource development. The ecological issue, which is an integral part of the doctrine of the sovereign states of the region, also plays an important and even central role. The peculiarities of the Arctic region reflect the inseparability of environmental issues with the parameters of economic cooperation.

The parameters of the Arctic policy remain not only regional, but it should be noted that they also cover the global sphere. So already, countries such as China and Australia are developing their own doctrines and strategies for participation in Arctic politics.

Currently, almost all countries interested in the Arctic pursue similar goals. Firstly, these are economic interests, including natural resource and transport and logistics interests; secondly, geopolitical and closely related military-strategic interests; thirdly, ecological and climatic and other

research interests, both fundamental theoretical and various scientific and applied.

Thus, the identification of the specifics of the foreign policy strategy in the Arctic region, in particular for the member countries of the Alliance, is relevant. Norway's security policy has always been based on the format of multilateral relations within the Alliance, and Norway is the only country in the region that does not adhere to a policy of neutrality, unlike Sweden and Finland, so Norway's role here is indisputably important (Kalibekuly, 2021).

The purpose of this work is to determine the specifics of Norway's foreign policy strategy in relation to the Arctic region, including an analysis of the doctrinal foundations of Norwegian policy towards the Arctic and the format of regional cooperation within a different dimension.

Doctrinal foundations of Norwegian Arctic policy

The first doctrine on the Arctic was formalized in 2003 (Norwegian Ministries, 2017; Norway's Arctic Strategy - Between Geopolitics and Social Development, 2020; Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs, 2018; Osborne, 2018). Norway is one of the countries in the region that adhered to a systematic and doctrinal policy on the Arctic.

The document entitled "The Strategy of the Norwegian Government for the High North" (2006) was important in shaping Arctic policy not only for Norway, but also for other countries in developing their own policy on the Arctic (The Norwegian government's high north strategy, 2006). The northern regions came to the fore and were established by Norway as the most strategically important area, after careful research and parliamentary reports (Østhagen, 2021). This was primarily due to the development of Arctic resources within the exclusive economic zone, which Norway, as a member state of the Arctic Five, had the right to (Brunstad et al., 2009; Østhagen, 2021).

This strategy was updated in 2009, with a focus on the development of environmental knowledge and science, as well as business, but retaining the concepts of its predecessor (New Building Blocks in the North. The next Step in the Government's High North Strategy, 2009).

Norwegian Prime Minister I.

Stoltenberg played an important role in the development of regional cooperation in the Arctic during his reign, emphasizing the uniqueness of the region (Moe, et al, 2010).

In 2011, the Norwegian government prepared the document "High North. Visions and Strategies" (*The High North - Visions and Strategies*, 2011). The last official document of the Norwegian government is Norway's Arctic Strategy - between geopolitics and social development, 2017. It emphasizes that the Arctic region is an integral part of Norway's domestic and foreign policy and consisted mainly of an analysis of environmental protection, security issues, business development and infrastructure. The conceptual basis of this document was the creation of conditions for the integration of knowledge, science and business, with the aim of sustainable development of the Arctic.

In general, the doctrinal basis of the Norwegian policy in the Arctic has consolidated the following priority areas: international cooperation, business development, knowledge development, infrastructure, environmental protection and emergency preparedness.

The strategies highlight Norway's seven main political priorities in the Arctic

Арктике (*New Building Blocks in the North. The next Step in the Government's High North Strategy*, 2009):

1. Development of knowledge about climate and environment in the High North;
2. Improvement of the control system, emergency response and safety of maritime navigation in the Northern waters;
3. Promoting sustainable development of offshore oil fields and renewable marine resources;
4. Promoting the development of land business;
5. Further development of infrastructure in the North;
6. Maintaining sovereignty and strengthening cross-border cooperation;
7. Preserving the culture and ensuring the life of local minorities.

The concept of the first strategy identifies three main areas: - "Knowledge, Activity and Presence". These three areas create the conceptual framework for Norway's strategy. The Knowledge component includes the development of scientific potential, the development of a

scientific and educational base for the study of the Far North and the Arctic region. Due to environmental changes and the important role of the Arctic in the ecosystem, the role of science will be central to the development of the region. Therefore, in the doctrine, the educational and scientific potential is considered as the core.

In the priority area of "Knowledge" Norway sets the following goals:

1. Make every possible effort to ensure that Norway is at the forefront of Arctic knowledge;
2. Improve the quality of education and access to knowledge and skills to enhance innovation capacity and create a business sector in the north;
3. Improve the quality of education at all levels - from primary to higher.

Thus, the Norwegian Government strives to ensure that the management of the environment and natural resources, including entrepreneurship and social development, are based on reliable scientific knowledge.

The "Activity" direction implies active involvement in the economic sphere, protection of the environment and natural resources. Here it can be noted that the direction "Activity" is associated with economic and environmental activities, where Norway is producing hydrocarbons, the undoubted impact and consequences of melting glaciers, as well as the integration of these projects. That is, it can be noted that such factors as the economy, technology, and the management system are closely interconnected with each other. Here, it is worth paying tribute to the government of Norway, taking into account the classic assertion that economic production is more harmful to the natural ecological system, then the combination of environmental research and a well-developed economic policy leads to taking into account modern trends and development.

Another important area is sustainable business development in the Arctic. Norway now has high hopes for new activities such as marine biotechnology, energy, seabed mining, shipping and tourism. The main actions of the government in this direction are: improvement of the supply system in the north of Norway; promoting close and timely dialogue between industries, Sami representatives, local authorities and local

communities; strengthening links between the research community and the business sector in northern Norway.

Environmental protection remains a traditional trend. In this regard, Norway is preparing a number of ambitious projects. For example, the strategy mentions the establishment of an oil spill preparedness and response center and the collection of plastic waste. Norway pins great hopes on the contribution of the Arctic states to the development of a worldwide seed storage on about. Svalbard to conserve genetic diversity and promote global food security.

The "Presence" direction includes a related strategy, which includes the development of the appropriate infrastructure, taking into account the conditions of the Far North, the development of the necessary infrastructure, including the military. Here, the military infrastructure plays an important role due to the geographical features of the region, and the military confrontation between Russia and NATO.

An interesting political-geographical and socio-geographical feature of the Nordic countries of the region is that in their development infrastructures they "stretch" downward, for example Canada, Sweden and Finland. Therefore, infrastructure policy is one of the important directions that accumulates with other development priorities. Under these conditions, the Norwegian government has recognized "the northern regions as the most strategically important area in which Norway's efforts will be directed in the coming years."

The fourth priority area is "infrastructure development". The Norwegian government defines the development of a safe transport system as the main task in this matter. Within the framework of the National Transport Plan 2018-2029 preference is given to projects in the north (National Transport Plan 2018–2029). Also, the government will work to ensure that the entire country has access to a reliable and functional digital infrastructure. Technologies such as satellite navigation, communications and surveillance are essential for search and rescue, climate and environmental monitoring and surveillance.

The Norwegian Doctrine emphasizes, above all, the importance of cooperation within the Arctic Council and to help ensure

that the Arctic Council, as a regional institutional structure, remains the most important intergovernmental body for cooperation in the region. The Ilulissat Declaration, signed by the five Arctic coastal states in 2008, identified the Arctic as a "region of cooperation" and Norway, as one of the states of the five Arctic countries, had the right to act in accordance with UN norms. Namely, Norway has a "peaceful" and "cooperative" nature of regional policy (Rowe, 2020). Proof of this is the fact that since 2006 the Arctic Frontiers conference has been held in Tromsø, where the number of participants from different countries has reached 3.5 thousand people. In addition, all diplomatic measures in Norway were aimed at working to neutralize the "tension" in the High North (Ahlness, 2018).

As a world leader in technology for the production of gas and oil on the Arctic shelf, Norway invests in the development of alternative energy sources and environmental projects (*Norway's follow-up*, 2016).

Norway's cooperation with Russia in the format of multifaceted cooperation in the field of security, energy, ecology, socio-cultural development is associated with the national security strategy due to the presence of Russian arsenals of nuclear weapons on the Kola Peninsula (Kalibekuly, 2021). Despite the Ukrainian crisis, Norway continues its multifaceted work in the north, in accordance with the concept of the Strategy 2017 (*Norway's Arctic Strategy - between geopolitics and social development*, 2017). Nevertheless, Norway is showing its concern over Russia's increasing military activity in the Arctic and is developing a regional security system. In solving regional problems, Norway intends to refer to international law, the 1982 UN Conventions on the Law of the Sea.

Thus, Norway is the first country to develop an Arctic strategy, while laying the foundation for the legal framework for the Arctic, which began reporting in 2003. Despite the strategy based on the development of the natural resources of the Arctic and strengthening its sovereignty over the archipelago and waters of Svalbard. The doctrinal basis of Norwegian policy in the Arctic is aimed at creating a highly developed green economy, where the priority is the protection of the environment and the rights

of indigenous peoples, the desire to take a leading place in the field of knowledge and research in the Arctic.

The military dimension of Arctic politics

The military dimension of Norwegian politics is built on a coalition basis. The Arctic dimension of Norwegian security policy and the military-political strategy in the Arctic focuses on such subjects of international relations as NORDAC (Nordic Armaments Cooperation), NATO and maintaining bilateral relations and partnership with Russia. Each of these three areas has its own institutional and partner qualities and characteristics.

NORDAC is a regional structure of the Scandinavian countries, which ensures negotiation and cooperation between the countries of the region. It carries out a number of specific obligations, which include the following functions:

- Implementation of the purchases of military equipment in the context of the NORDAC program, adopted at the level of the Ministers of Defense of Denmark, Norway, Finland and Sweden in 1994;

- Development and implementation in 1997 of a joint transport and logistics system for participation and support of peacekeeping operations - NORDCAPS (Nordic Coordinated Arrangement for Military Peace Support), including the participation of the Nordic countries in NATO operations in Afghanistan and the APR;

- Participation in the NORDSUP (Nordic Defense Supportive Structures) program in November 2008, which coordinates the efforts of the Nordic countries in the areas of logistic support, joint maneuvers at training grounds in the northern regions of the region and training;

- Another important area was the creation in 2008 of the "Nordic Battle Group", which is the core of the EU's rapid reaction force.

Five Nordic countries signed a Memorandum of Understanding in Helsinki on November 4, 2009, which announced "the launch of an integrated program of North European Defense Cooperation - NORDEFCO (Nordic Defense Cooperation) (Bengtsson, 2020). The main goal of the collective-defensive structure is "to strengthen the defense capabilities of the

participants, to study opportunities for synergy of their efforts and to find effective common solutions."

Within NORDEFCO, there are five main areas of cooperation:

- development of the military potential of the participating countries;

- general policy in the field of arms procurement;

- personnel and military education;

- conducting joint exercises, in particular in the North Calotte region, which unites the northern territories of Norway, Sweden and Finland;

- joint operations.

Currently, military cooperation within the framework of NORDEFCO is developing within the framework of the strategic document "Vision 2020", adopted in 2013, and, more specifically, the action plan for 2014-2017. The most significant projects for the short and medium term are:

- exchange of airspace surveillance data;

- joint Norwegian-Swedish procurement of new radars to replace obsolete;

- creation of a northern European ground-based air defense system;

- program for the acquisition of drones for the Armed Forces of the participating countries;

- program of joint military exercises with the participation of the Baltic states;

- creation of a northern European tactical link of military transport aviation.

It also should be noted that Nordic countries including Norway as a key player which has its interests and goals in the Arctic region are working within the framework of the strategic cooperation in the sphere of defense with other Scandinavian states and as consequences in 2013 came to the decision of having a collaborative agreement on maintenance of Norwegian and Danish aviation. Moreover, it is highly likely that this cooperation will only develop and will include other military aspects taking into account the change of Russian external affairs and defensive policy.

Accordingly, NATO is extremely critical as a supportive power for Norway when talking about the presence of Russia and other states in the Arctic territories even it is for the research purposes. On the other hand, Norway being a member of NATO has

its own objectives like inspecting and controlling the northern wing of the organization including some areas of Arctic region which is crucial for NATO since it is the territory where the Russian military power is located as well.

NATO is one of the key security structures in Norway's military policy. Norway is primarily tasked with monitoring the maritime and airspace of NATO's northern flank, including parts of the Arctic and the North Atlantic. These missions include the following tasks, such as patrolling the airspace and sea waters in the coastal areas of Norway and adjacent waters to the Arctic zone, where NATO forces intersect with Russian military aircraft and the Russian Navy.

Norway's security policy is developing in the context of NATO's strategy and has been updated after the Crimean events, which undermined the Euro-Atlantic security system. If earlier the Arctic security system was mothballed in previous years, then since the late 2000s and early 2010s, it has significantly intensified. There are two main critical elements that has changed the western attitude towards Russian world and turned upside down the defensive policy of Norway and its close allies like Sweden and Finland. First reason is the Russian military power expanding towards the borders NATO members which are respectively giving countermeasures. Here, the role of Finland is vitally important and worth of attention because of it has "unfriendly neighbor", with 1340 kilometers of border, moreover the Crimean example clearly showed to these countries that their territory might be at stake too. As it is seen both factors took its origin from Russia. As a result of it, the wide range of military training has been carrying out in some territories of the Arctic zone.

As a matter of fact, Norway and Denmark as well as other North European countries are not able to compete with Russia's, Chinese military and economical capacity or with the influence they make and have in the political arena which affects the Arctic region. That is why these two Scandinavian states encourage NATO and want its political and military power to be the part of their Arctic's so called strategic operation and plans and interests. There are even some strategies are being elaborated regarding to the Arctic development. Later,

however, under the influence of Canada, NATO refused to formulate a full-fledged strategy in the High North.

In 2014, Norway announced a freeze on military cooperation programs with Russia for a year and maintained synergies in the areas of search and rescue, maritime security, coast guard and border services (*Security in the High North - Norwegian Perspectives, 2014*). In the military security strategy of NATO's northern flank, the Ukrainian crisis was the main negative element. The greatest concern was caused by incidents related to the violation of the borders of Estonia, Finland and Sweden by Russian military aircraft (*Konyshev, et al., 2017*).

Due to the tension in the relations between Russia and Western Hemisphere caused by the Russian activeness in the Arctic and its violations of international laws and threatening the borders of the countries mentioned above, we cannot miss Norwegian Defense Minister's prophetic speech where he said that NATO needs regeneration due to current challenges and circumstances and which can struggle contemporary security issues and also he claimed that it would take some time. Why prophetic? It is because, nowadays we can realize that he foresaw many things in terms of the tension that is reaching its peak. (*Security in the High North - Norwegian Perspectives, 2014*).

Norway's plan for the development of the Arctic within the framework of NORDEFCO fully coincided with the joint NATO activities of other Nordic countries, in particular, it related to environmental, air and water monitoring, the creation of rescue units, educational programs (*Konyshev, et al., 2017*). Nevertheless, Norway was in favor of the intensification of NATO military exercises and was ready to provide its territory for conducting large-scale military exercises. This is evidenced by the statement of I.E. Sereide at the US Atlantic Council meeting, where she notes: "The initiative to improve interoperability of forces is a good start. Exercises should be based on realistic scenarios. In maneuvers, we must learn to use the full range of our combat capabilities. Future exercises should provide mutual support and demonstrate deterrent potential, with a focus on interaction" (*Security in the High North - Norwegian*

Perspectives, 2014).

Another dimension of Norwegian politics is Russia, Norway's closest northern neighbor. Before the events in Ukraine, politics between Russia and Norway developed quite dynamically. This was reflected in the resolution of territorial disputes, the conduct of joint military exercises. So, for many years, Norway and Russia conducted joint exercises "Pomor" in the Barents and Norwegian Seas, in which the navies of the two countries took part¹. The exercises covered such actions as joint maneuvering, artillery firing at air and water targets, countering submarines and air attack weapons, and performing a number of rescue operations.

Thus, the Arctic policy of Norway is concentrated in two directions, where they can be classified as follows: sub-regional, which is expressed in NORDAC, the implementation of the protective functions of this organization, and NATO, the goal and missions are more global in nature. The Arctic strategy of NATO and Norway, as the main northern member of NATO, is of a systemic nature, but at the same time it is part of the general NATO doctrine in the Arctic and the Far North, where the United States regards this zone as a place of collision of interests with Russia. These conditions only actualize the importance of

Norway in the context of NATO strategy.

Conclusion

Norway's policy towards the Arctic region is distinguished by leadership in regulating legal issues and strengthening its sovereignty over the archipelago and waters of Svalbard. All doctrinal documents in relation to the Arctic region carry the concept of sustainable economic development based on the integration of an important triangle: knowledge - science - business to solve the problems of the development of natural resources in the Arctic using high technology, environmental protection, development of alternative energy sources, security, international cooperation, infrastructure and preservation of the rights of indigenous peoples of the Arctic. At the same time, the priority is the northernmost territories of the Arctic.

The military dimension of Norwegian politics is characterized by sub-regional (NORDAC), global (NATO) and international (maintaining a neutral relationship with Russia) directions. The main policy of the NORDAC direction is characterized by the general provision of the military security of the Arctic region by the Scandinavian countries. However, NATO plays a key role in the military security of the Arctic region, which is of a systemic nature.

REFERENCES

- Ahlness, E. (2018). Governing Arctic change: Global perspectives. Kathrin Keil and Sebastian Knecht (eds). *Polar Record*, 54(4), 290-292. doi:10.1017/S0032247418000499
- Bengtsson, R. (2020). Nordic Security and Defence Cooperation: Differentiated Integration in Uncertain Times. *Politics and Governance*, Volume 8, Issue 4, P. 100–109
- Brunstad, H., Gradstein, F., Vergara, L., Lie, J.E., Hammer, Ø. (2009). *A Revision of the Rogaland Group, Norwegian North Sea*. Norwegian Stratigraphic Lexicon. P. 157
- Bunik, I.V. (2018). US–Canada Beaufort Sea Maritime Boundary Dispute in the Perspective of International Law. *Moscow Journal of International Law*. 2, 126-137. DOI:10.24833/0869-0049-2018-2-126-137.
- Convention The United Nations on the law of the sea. https://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf
- Egorov, A.S., Prischepa, O.M., Nefedov, Y.V., Kontorovich, V.A., Vinokurov, I.Y. (2021) Deep Structure, Tectonics and Petroleum Potential of the Western Sector of the Russian Arctic. *J. Mar. Sci. Eng.* 9, 258. <https://doi.org/10.3390/jmse9030258>
- Kalibekuly, D., Chukubaev, E.S. (2021). Regional security dynamics in Northern Europe (on the example of Norway) in the light of recent changes. *Bulletin of KazNPU, series "Sociological and political sciences"*, №1 (73), P. 103-111. doi.org/10.51889/2021-1.1728-8940.14
- Konyshchev, V.N., Sergunin, A.A. (2017). Sovremennaya voennaya strategiya Norveгии v Arktike i bezopasnost' Rossii. *Natsional'nye interesy: priority i bezopasnost'*, T.13, 2, S. 353-368. (In Russian).

¹ https://function.mil.ru/news_page/country/more.htm?id=11743320

- Mitchell, M.R. (2014). Arctic Sovereignty: Using the Hans Island Dispute as a Diplomatic Laboratory. *Conflict Analysis*. DOI: [10.13140/2.1.1027.0089](https://doi.org/10.13140/2.1.1027.0089)
- Morgunova, M., Westphal, K. (2016) Offshore Hydrocarbon Resources in the Arctic RP, Berlin. P. 30
- Morgunova, M. (2020). Why is exploitation of Arctic offshore oil and natural gas resources ongoing? A multi-level perspective on the cases of Norway and Russia. *The Polar Journal*. Vol. 10. No. 1, P. 64-81. doi.org/10.1080/2154896X.2020.1757823
- Moe, A., Fjærtoft, D., Overland, I. (2011). Space and timing: Why was the Barents Sea delimitation dispute resolved in 2010? *Polar Geography*. 34. 145-162. 10.1080/1088937X.2011.597887.
- National Transport Plan 2018–2029. <https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/7c52fd2938ca42209e4286fe86bb28bd/en-gb/pdfs/stm201620170033000engpdfs.pdf>
- New Building Blocks in the North. *The next Step in the Government's High North Strategy*. (2009). P.93 https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/ud/vedlegg/nordomradene/new_building_blocks_in_the_north.pdf
- Norwegian Ministries. (2017). Norway's Arctic Strategy – Between Geopolitics and Social Development. Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/fad46f0404e14b2a9b551ca7359c1000/arctic-strategy.pdf>.
- Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs. (2018). The Arctic: Foreign Policy Perspectives from the North. Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, https://www.regjeringen.no/en/aktuelt/foreign_perspectives/id2594866/.
- Norway's Arctic Strategy – between geopolitics and social development. (2017). <https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/fad46f0404e14b2a9b551ca7359c1000/arctic-strategy.pdf>
- Norway's follow-up of Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals. (2016). <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dokumenter/follow-up-sdg2/id2507259/>
- Osborne, S. (2018) Russia warns Norway of consequences after it invites in more US Marines. *The Independent*, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/russia-norway-us-marines-nato-border-moscow-ukraine-crimea-a8399601.html>.
- Østhagen, A. (2021). Norway's arctic policy: still high North, low tension? *THE POLAR JOURNAL*. P. 1-20, <https://doi.org/10.1080/2154896X.2021.1911043>
- Johnston, P.F. (2010). Arctic Energy Resources and Global Energy Security. *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*. Vol. 12, No 2.
- Philip Budzik U.S. (2009) Energy Information Administration, Office of Integrated Analysis and Forecasting, Oil and Gas Division. 18 P. http://www.akleg.gov/basis/get_documents.asp?session=28&docid=741
- Strategia razvitiia Arkticheskoi zony Rossiiskoi Federasii I obespechenia nacionalnoi bezopasnosti na period do 2020 goda. <http://static.government.ru/media/files/2RpSA3sctElhAGn4RN9dHrtzk0A3wZm8.pdf>.
- Security in the High North – Norwegian Perspectives*. (2014).
- Tarantola, S., Rossotti, A., Flitris, E. (2019). *Safety Aspects of Offshore Oil and Gas Operations in Arctic and sub-arctic Waters*, EUR 29572 EN, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg, doi:10.2760/866261, JRC114560
- The High North - Visions and Strategies*. (2011). https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/ud/vedlegg/nordomradene/ud_nordomrodene_en_web.pdf
- The Norwegian government's high north strategy*. <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dokumenter/strategy-for-the-high-north/id448697/>
- Treaty between the Kingdom of Norway and the Russian Federation concerning Maritime Delimitation and Cooperation in the Barents Sea and the Arctic Ocean*. <https://www.un.org/Depts/los/LEGISLATIONAND-TREATIES/PDFFILES/TREATIES/NOR-RUS2010.PDF>
- Wilson, E.R. (2020) Analyzing frenemies: An Arctic repertoire of cooperation and rivalry. *Political Geography*. Vol. 76, 102072. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2019.102072>.

АРКТИКА БАҒЫТЫ БОЙЫНША НОРВЕГИЯ САЯСАТЫ: ДОКРИНАЛЫҚ НЕГІЗДЕМЕ

Ермек ЧУКУБАЕВ, тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, Әл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университетінің доценті, Халықаралық қатынастар және әлемдік экономика кафедрасының меңгерушісі, Алматы, Қазақстан. ScopusID 57131156600, ORCID 0000-0001-7000-024X

Дастан КАЛИБЕКУЛЫ әл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университетінің докторанты, Алматы, Қазақстан, dastan_kalibekuly@mail.ru

Адилбек ЕРМЕКБАЕВ, Ph.D (халықаралық қатынастар), әл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университетінің доценті, Алматы, Қазақстан, ScopusID 57209836474, ORCID ID 0000-0002-8464-8220

АРКТИЧЕСКОЕ НАПРАВЛЕНИЕ ПОЛИТИКИ НОРВЕГИИ: ДОКТРИНАЛЬНАЯ ОСНОВА

Ермек ЧУКУБАЕВ, кандидат исторических наук, доцент Казахского Национального

университета имени аль-Фараби, заведующий кафедрой Международных отношений и мировой экономики, Алматы, Казахстан. ScopusID 57131156600, ORCID 0000-0001-7000-024X

Дастан КАЛИБЕКУЛЫ, докторант Казахского Национального университета имени аль-Фараби, Алматы, Казахстан, dastan_kalibekuly@mail.ru

Адилбек ЕРМЕКБАЕВ, доктор Ph.D (международные отношения), доцент Казахского Национального университета имени аль-Фараби, Алматы, Казахстан, ScopusID 57209836474, ORCID ID 0000-0002-8464-8220