Food security of Russia: main approaches to ensuring it (political science analysis)

Victor Chigvintsev^{1,2}, *Oleg Artyukhin*^{1,3}, *Victor Tereshchenko*³, *Alexander Ponedelkov*³, and *Anna Kritskaya*³

¹ Don State Technical University, 344003, Gagarina sq, 1, Rostov-on-Don, Russia

² Agrotechnological holding "Bizon", 344093, Dnepropetrovskaya st., 81/1, Rostov-on-Don, Russia

³ South Russian Institute of Management - branch of the Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration under the President of the Russian Federation, 344002, Pushkinskaya st., 70/54, Rostov-on-Don, Russia

Abstract. The purpose of the study is a political science analysis of existing approaches to ensure food security in Russia, identifying food risks and threats to national security and determining the most effective model of agricultural policy for modern Russia. The research methodology was based on the toolkit of political science analysis, which made it possible to identify political problems of ensuring the food security of the Russian Federation. Interdisciplinary approach using historical and comparative elements contributed to a deep analysis of agricultural policy and the identification of effective models for ensuring Russian food security. The research is based on general scientific methods of analysis, synthesis, as well as structural-functional and modeling method. Political science analysis of food security in the context of ensuring national security is carried out. The Russian agrarian potential in the conditions of the existing challenges and threats to the national security of Russia is investigated. The essence of state protectionism as a priority of agricultural policy in ensuring economic and national security is shown. The article describes the "Doctrine of food security of Russia" as an important tool for strategic planning and considers the essence and main features of the political and economic strategy for ensuring food security in the course of agrarian reforms.

1 Introduction

In the context of modern globalization processes with a limited resource food base, problems of ensuring food security are of particular importance. In Russia, this problem is actualized by the complication of the geopolitical situation and the introduction of stationary measures affecting the food sector. [1] The complexity of the problem is also due to the implementation of socio-economic reforms in line with the transition to a market economy against the background of the challenges of globalization, political risks in the macro- and micro-political environment. All this in recent decades has been accompanied by crisis phenomena in the economy and directly affects the food security of the Russian state.

Food security and food independence of the country are becoming an important component of the overall system of national security. [2] In these conditions, the question of how the state aligns the priorities of agrarian policy in the context of national security, how it overcomes the risks of an unstable transitional economy, when food production and its imports are subject to various fluctuations and there is no proven food quality control, becomes essential for political science and practice.

Food security, possessing a rich social and economic content, directly affecting the standard of living of the broadest layers of the population and ensuring, among other things, their safe and comfortable existence, at the same time acts as one of the important elements of state and administrative relations. [3]

Threats to food security in Russia determined the need to develop strategic priorities for ensuring food security. [4] Thus, in 2010, the Food Security Doctrine was adopted. And already in 2012, in the message of the head of state, the task was set to ensure the food independence of Russia as soon as possible and become the largest actor in the world food markets. These decisions took place against the background of Russia's accession to the WTO and the increasing volumes of food imports. The Ukrainian crisis and the entry of the Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol into the Russian Federation following the results of the referendum demanded a revision of the priorities of the agrarian policy, therefore, already in March 2014, at a meeting of the Government of the Russian Federation, the issue of the state of food security in Russia was specially considered and appropriate decisions were made. Then, the introduction of sanctions against Russia required a change in approaches to agricultural policy and a revision of the Food Security Doctrine. The new version of the Food Security Doctrine was approved by Decree of the President of the Russian Federation dated January 21, 2020 No. 20, which clearly defined the criteria and indicators of import substitution in the agricultural sector and defined mechanisms for ensuring food security.

2 Research methodology and methods

The research used general scientific and private scientific methodology. A synthesis of structural-functional, systemic and synergetic paradigms was applied, the application of which provided a comprehensive study of state agricultural policy through the prism of national security.

3 Results

Food security is an essential component of national security. Its importance is increasing in the context of modern global problems of depletion of natural resources, climatic changes, an increase in the environmental burden on natural ecosystems, an increase in population and socio-political destabilization in a number of regions. [5]

The state plays a fundamental role in ensuring food security. It is important to note that the achievement of food security depends not only on the level of development of the country, but also on the chosen model of economic development.

In world practice, there are two possible types of farming; each of them provides a different level of food security. [6]

The first type of management is aimed at purchasing imported products at lower prices, and the second is aimed at supporting the production of domestic goods.

The first type of farming is less preferable, but it has a significant advantage – the absence of additional budgetary financing of agriculture. At the same time, in agriculture in conditions of a low degree of state protectionism, there will be a decline in production, a

high level of unemployment in this area, wear and tear of fixed assets and, as a result, a decrease in the standard of living of workers in agricultural production. The dependence on imports of food products will inevitably be expressed in an increase in prices for agricultural products, as well as on a domestic agricultural producer, which is not able to compete with foreign suppliers.

The second type of management involves attracting a significant amount of investment in the agroindustrial complex in order to ensure food independence by stimulating food production, their effective distribution, ensuring the employment of agricultural workers, etc. Since, according to P.V. Mikhailushkina and A.A. Barannikova, provided that the country provides 75-80% of food production on its own, it is in food security.

In addition to this typology, political science studies have other concepts of food security. These include, for example, marginal participation in the international division of labor in the agroindustrial complex, as well as agrarian protectionism. [7]

The choice of the practical implementation of a particular model should be based on the economic goals and political objectives of the planned activities, taking into account the possibility of implementing both offensive and defensive strategies in the field of ensuring food security.

In a pure form, the implementation of these concepts is impossible, therefore, they are found in a combined form with a predominance of elements of one of the concepts to a greater extent.

To clarify the essence of food security, many domestic and foreign scientists, such as Ye.A. Aronova, P.A. Gaidutsky, V.G. Gusakov, A. I. Goychuk, Z. M. Ilyina, D.F. Krisanov, P.N. Mikhailushkin etc., In their works investigated not only the concept of "food security", but also the factors, conditions and threats affecting it depending on different hierarchical levels.

In the modern world, the main threats to food security include: [8]

- natural and climatic conditions (a crop failure condition can cause a chain failure production – distribution – exchange – consumption);
- population growth;
- reduction of investment in the agroindustrial complex;
- cyclical development of the economy (the optimal phase of economic development for achieving food security is stability. According to S.L. Revenko, the growth stage does not always ensure a decrease in the level of poverty of the population, while the recession stage is characterized by tough regulation measures that negatively affect the food security of the country);
- price volatility, which plays a destabilizing role in the food market, including in the context of the coincidence of the general economic and agri-food crises.

The food sector is characterized by the fact that it is highly vulnerable to shocks occurring in the economic environment of the country. In particular, according to a number of political scientists, the higher the intensity of the crisis, the lower the food supply of the country becomes.

There are different approaches to the definition, classification and significance of factors affecting food security.

Let's consider some of them. So, Shashkova I.G., Denisova N.I., sharing the approach popular in scientific circles, these factors include the economic and physical availability and safety of food. These factors should be considered in interconnection and interdependence, which is expressed in the correlations between them. For example, food shortages provoke an increase in food prices, having a negative impact on their economic availability. [9] High prices for goods in a certain segment make it possible for low-quality products to appear on the market at lower prices, which negatively affects food safety, etc.

According to many authors, the main indicator of achieving a state of security in the food sector is the ability to self-sufficiency in food at all territorial levels of the country.

For modern Russia, the increasing importance of solving the problems of ensuring food security is due to the following circumstances: [10]

Firstly, the increased importance of ensuring national security during the period of radical renewal of the foundations of the socio-economic and state system, when society and the state are faced with a complex of new challenges and threats.

Secondly, the need to understand and understand the essence of the state agrarian policy of modern Russia in the context of national security.

Thirdly, the need for strategic planning in the field of agriculture, taking into account climatic and geopolitical transformations.

According to S. Arbuzov, the doctrine of Russia's food security is an integral part of the general doctrine of national security, since hunger has always been a means of political manipulation. Deprivation in the field of food leads to the fact that the hungry person has long become a destructive force, losing both principles and a sense of reality. People who are significantly limited in food are actively used in manipulative technologies and are capable of extreme radicalism, therefore, states that could not organize their food security have long lost their statehood. Thus, food security is the most important condition for social stability, and the guarantor of the development of the political system of the Russian Federation, and the main condition for the stability of Russian society.

In modern Russia, there are problems that are extremely difficult or even impossible to resolve within the framework of the current economic, technological and management models in the agricultural sector. [11] The systemic basis that impedes the successful solution of the problems of ensuring food security is the prevailing preservation in the agricultural sector of the technical and landscape organization that emerged at the time of the establishment of the large-scale industrial model in the agricultural economy. Effective for its time, today this model begins to contradict the biological nature of agriculture, becomes an obstacle to the development of flexible, mobile businesses in the field of bioeconomy, does not provide the proper level of social development and the achievement of modern living standards in rural areas.

After the Soviet Union collapsed and the planned and administrative economy has been dismantled, the agricultural sector in Russia has gone through a period of decline and recovery. However, the village still evokes negative associations among the majority of Russians, which is largely due to the low culture of the villagers and the traditional lag of agriculture from the level of developed countries. According to S. Arbuzov, the overwhelming number of people at the moment are the people of the city, cut off from the earth and not producing food. Therefore, the development of rural areas should become one of the priority tasks of the modern Russian state, since the key functions of the village are to ensure the country's food security, exercise social control over territories and agricultural landscapes, participate in solving strategic issues of resettlement of the population in the country, and improve the quality of life of the population. The village performs its functions using the existing social potential, which is an integral part of the overall agricultural potential. Agrarian potential is a combination of objective and subjective opportunities, conditions and factors that contribute to the development of the agricultural sector. [12]

In the Russian agricultural sector, the balance changed towards an increase in consumers and a decrease in food producers, which entails an increase in food risks. [13]

And if we consider that the garden plots that remained as a result of the Kosygin reforms and played a stabilizing role in the food crisis of the seventies now have fewer workers (the new generation is not rushing to the ground), then the issue of ensuring food security becomes key.

Due to the fact that business now dominates in rural production, it can be conditionally divided into three groups with different interests.

1. Domestic strategic conscientious agricultural producer (state, affiliated, free business structures with long-term plans).
2. Domestic unscrupulous agricultural producer with a small cycle of interest and the formula "invest less – get more".
3. Foreign manufacturer, which, apart from super-profit, has no interests in Russia.

These three groups of producers have different interests and, therefore, tasks. Therefore, a serious adjustment of the Russian agrarian policy is necessary.

The events of 2014 became a serious test for the agrarian sector and solving problems of ensuring food security, when the West, in connection with the Ukrainian crisis and the entry into Russia following the results of the referendum of the Republic of Crimea, imposed sanctions against the Russian Federation, to which Russia responded with its counter-sanctions. They talked about the complete replacement of imports from the US and the EU.

These problems determined the revision of the Food Security Doctrine adopted in 2010 and adjustments to agricultural policy. The new Doctrine of Food Security, adopted in 2020, took into account many problems, adjusted the mechanisms for implementing agricultural policy and determined the indicators of food security and indicators for their assessment, presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Indicators of food security and indicators of their assessment

1.	corn	not less then 95 %
2.	sugar	not less then 90 %
3.	vegetable oil	not less then 90 %
4.	meat and meat products (in terms of meat)	not less then 85 %
5.	milk and dairy products (in terms of milk)	not less then 90 %
6.	fish and fish products (in live weight – raw weight)	not less then 85 %
7.	potatoes	not less then 95 %
8.	vegetables and melons	not less then 90 %
9.	fruits and berries	not less then 60 %
10.	seeds of the main agricultural crops of domestic selection	not less then 75 %
11.	edible salt	not less then 85 %

The doctrine revises the transition from extensive to intensive farming, which is associated with the scientific and technological development of the Russian agro-industrial complex. In this regard, the Higher School of Economics has developed two scenarios for the dynamics of the domestic agro-industrial complex until 2030.

First scenario – "Local growth" – involves ensuring systematic growth in those sectors of the agro-industrial complex, where the products are already competitive. It is focused on achieving the parameters and criteria enshrined in the Food Security Doctrine of Russia and provides for the saturation of the domestic market with competitive domestic products and maintaining prices at a level at which the availability of food for all members of Russian society will be ensured.

Second scenario – "Global breakthrough" – associated with entering new food markets through the development and implementation of new scientific advances. Under this scenario, Russia has the opportunity to become a global food supplier by 2030.

Thus, we can conclude that the effective functioning of the national agroindustrial complex system as the main element of ensuring food security in the context of the

sanctions policy of foreign states should be based on preventing a drop in the level of competitiveness of domestic agricultural producers.[14] In these circumstances, it is relevant not only to improve import substitution programs, but also to implement the strategy of differentiated export of agricultural products.

4 Conclusions

The problem of the formation, stability and development of an effective food security system is one of the most important in modern political science and economic sciences. Its importance is dictated by the influence of food supply issues on the interests of various social groups, social and political forces. It becomes more and more relevant as the trend towards globalization increases and the level of openness of national economic systems increases, the international division of labor deepens and the development of world trade in agricultural products and foodstuffs. Food security is one of the main directions of ensuring the national security of the country, the issue of ensuring food security intersects the main problems of implementing agricultural policy and reforming the agro-industrial and economic spheres, current trends in the development of agricultural and food production, the degree of dependence of the domestic market on the world food market, social status and consumers' solvency.

Summarizing the changing trends in food supply in certain countries as applied to the problems of economic and national security, domestic researchers distinguish three types of agricultural policy, focused primarily on imported food supply of the population, and secondly, on self-sufficiency of food for its population with the orientation of many types of food for export, and, thirdly, the protectionist policy of food provision of the population of their countries.

Thus, when implementing measures aimed at achieving food security at any of the hierarchical levels, it is necessary to take into account the entire set of factors, criteria and conditions that affect the achievement of the set goals. Undoubtedly, the main role in this process is assigned to the macro level, since many instruments of food security formation are not available to lower levels [16].

For Russia, the problem of ensuring food security has always been acute. With the introduction of sanctions against Russia, food risks and threats have grown significantly. In order to eliminate or minimize the risks and threats to food security in modern Russia, the state must implement a number of tasks set out in the Food Security Doctrine.

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