

Welcome

ARCUS Arctic Research Seminar Series

*“Russia's Arctic Ambitions:
Domestic Factors and Foreign Policy Strategies”*

6 March 2018



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George Washington University



#ARCUSwebinar

Russia's Arctic Priorities

1. Resources

Search for new resources to maintain the country's energy superpower status

2. Territorial sovereignty and unity

Reassert state control over regions, territories, and demographic trends, and impose a state-funded industrial revival

3. Status

Hope for international recognition

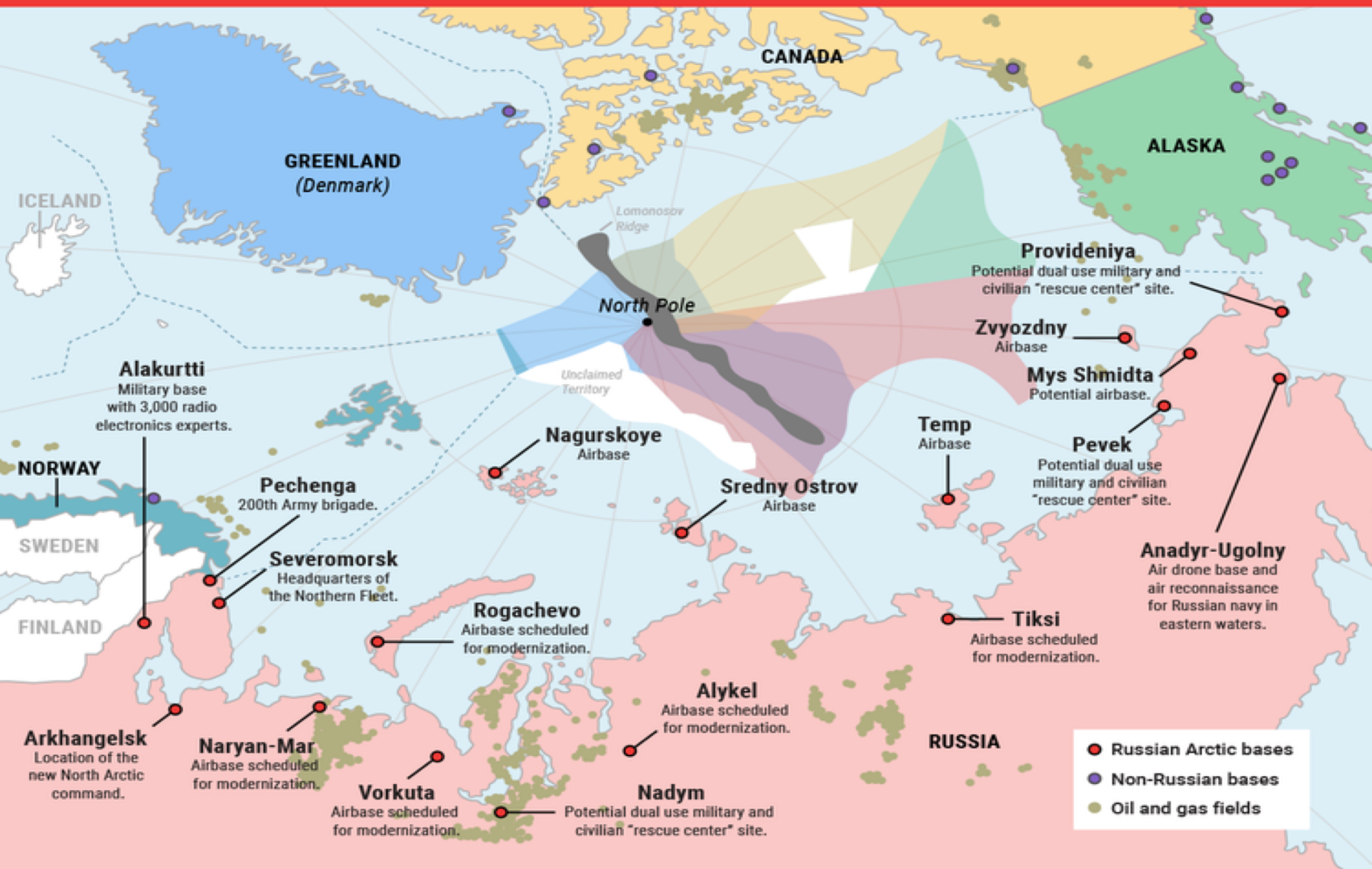
Russia's Arctic Foreign Agenda

- A pro-active player
 - A very active member of the Arctic Council and Barents Euro-Arctic Council
 - A key role in the 2011 Agreement on Cooperation on Aeronautical and Maritime Search and Rescue (SAR)
 - First to claim continental shelf at UNCLOS/CLCS
 - But not for environment and indigenous issues
- *A status quo power*
 - Not in favor of new multilateral fora – no role for NATO
 - Not in favor of new members (Asian countries, esp. China)

Securitization Trends

- 2014 Russia's revised military doctrine for the first time ever named the protection of national interests in the Arctic among the main priorities for its armed forces
- Remilitarization of Arctic coasts, Novaya Zemlya and Franz Joseph Land
- Missile complex S-400 over Severodvinsk
- New nuclear underwater torpedo
- Extensive construction work for storage of warheads and ballistic missiles for submarines (SLBM) on the Barents Sea coast
- Olenya Bay home to a fleet of nuclear powered spy submarines and surface vessels which NATO says are stepping up activities around undersea data cables in the North Atlantic
- Routine flight over the neutral waters of the Baltic Sea/Barents Sea, but also aggressive strategic bomber encounters at NATO borders

RUSSIA'S MILITARIZATION OF THE ARCTIC



SOURCES: The Heritage Foundation, TASS, Sputnik News, RT, USNI News, The Moscow Times, Associated Air Charter, Barents Observer, Council on Foreign Relations, The Economist.

Non conventional security in the Arctic

- NSR, environmental disasters, search and rescue system, Trans-Arctic Air Corridor, possible immigration/terrorism
- 10 new FSB border guards rescue centers for all-year-round living and working conditions, supplied with rescue and fire protection equipment, helicopters, and small boats
- Technological improvements:
 - Orbital constellation of 24 satellites was restored
 - Glonass system
 - Optic cable system Polarnet (international cooperation)
 - Multipurpose Space Systems Arktika (radar monitoring, hydrometeorological monitoring, and, finally, mobile communications and broadcasting)



Northern Sea Route

2012 Law on the NSR: fees for chartering icebreakers, for obtaining weather and ice reports, and hiring Russian pilots

Too challenging for international trade: climate-related unknowns, tight beam and draught limits for vessels, lack of port facilities, time and costs (insurance)

Only destinational Asia-Scandinavia, and domestic (Norilsk Nickel, Lukoil, Sovcomflot, Murmansk Shipping)

By 2025, Russia wants its traffic to increase tenfold, to 80 million tons

➤ **Stakes are above all financial**



Domestic Challenges

Social and Economic Development of the Arctic Zone: Only USD190 million for 2015-2025

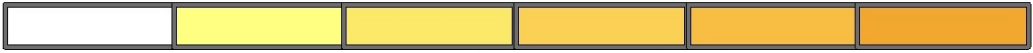
Exploiting new resources

2017 historical high in natural gas exports for Gazprom: 194 bcm

Keeping territorial unity and functionality

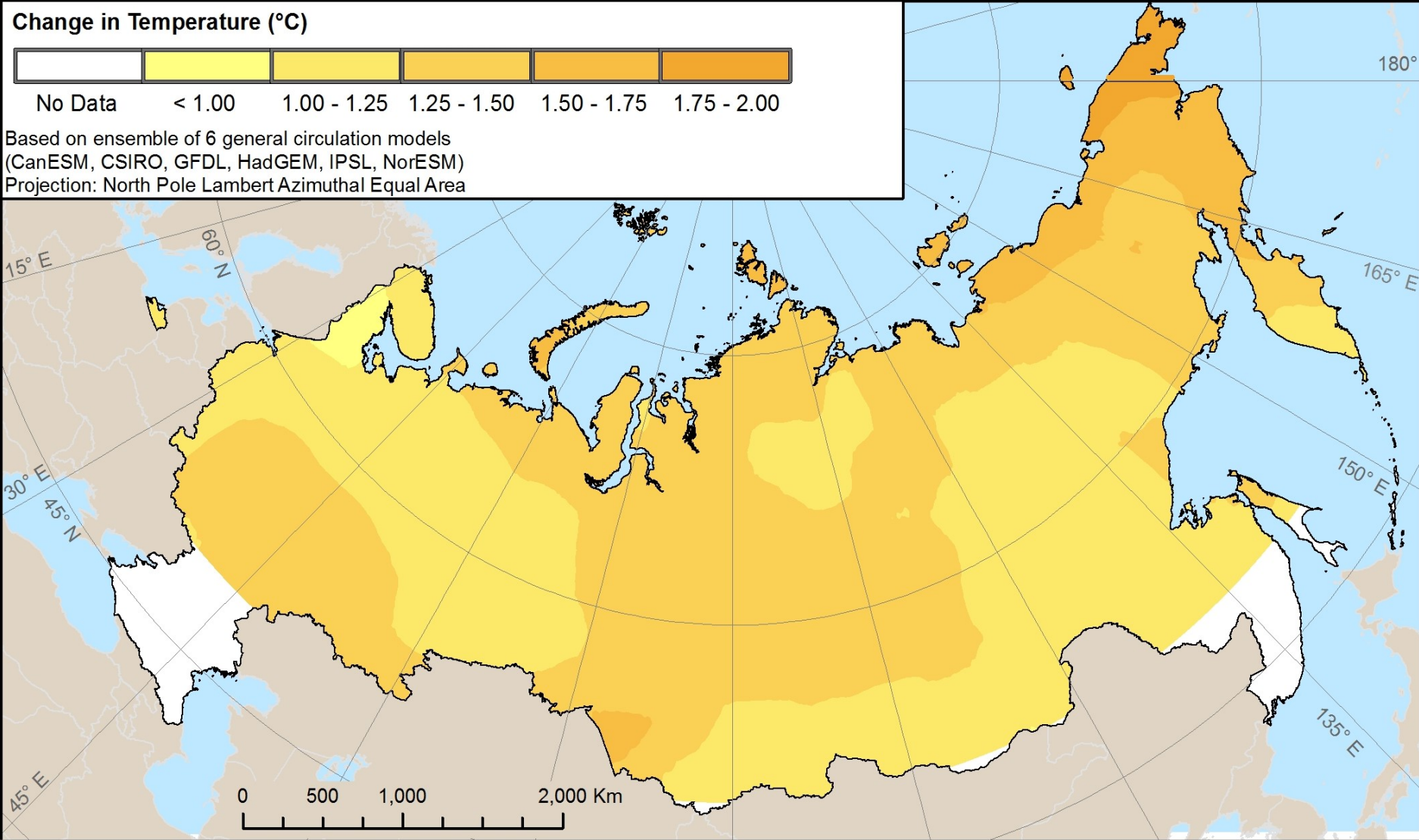
Map 4a. Temperature Changes in Russia from 1970 to 2000

Change in Temperature (°C)

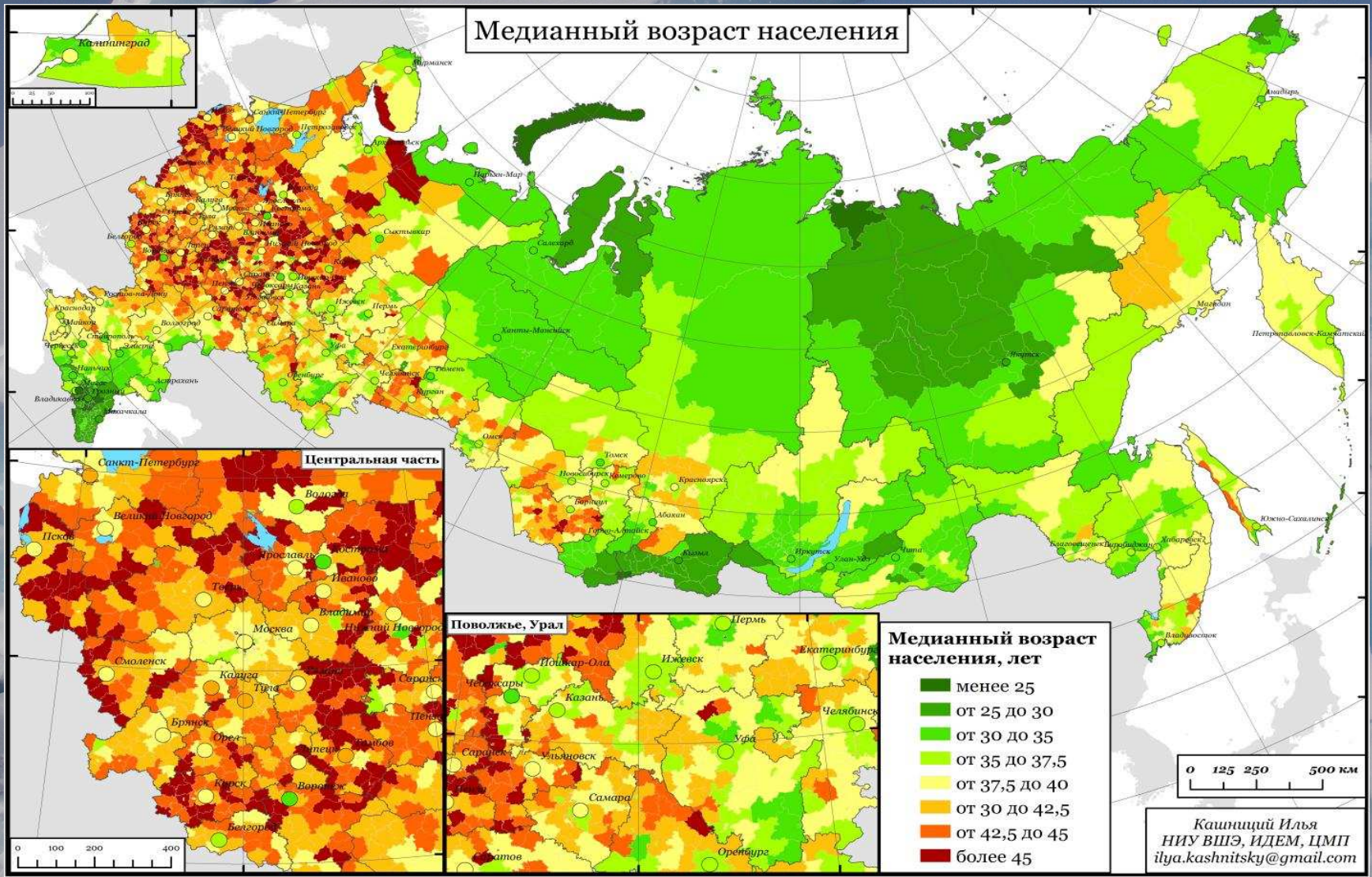


No Data < 1.00 1.00 - 1.25 1.25 - 1.50 1.50 - 1.75 1.75 - 2.00

Based on ensemble of 6 general circulation models
(CanESM, CSIRO, GFDL, HadGEM, IPSL, NorESM)
Projection: North Pole Lambert Azimuthal Equal Area



Massive out-migration in the 1990s BUT demographic revival of Russia's Industrial North



Some concluding remarks

- Spillovers from the current US-Russia tensions
- Risk of uncontrolled escalation only in the Barents Sea
- Securitization is back to normalcy for Russia
- Relaunching the military-industrial complex
- Non-conventional security critical
- Russia's Arctic policy is above all shaped by domestic issues and expectations
- Real challenges are domestic, but may have an international impact

Thank You!

- Upcoming Arctic Research Seminars:
 - 29 March 2018: Matthew Jull, University of Virginia

- Other opportunities to connect with the ARCUS community
 - 26 April 2018: Anchorage Arctic Research Day
 - June 2018: ARCUS 30th Anniversary event at Polar2018

- Please visit ARCUS online to find:
 - ARCUS Seminar recordings: <https://goo.gl/Wymkd7>
 - Information on how to become an ARCUS member: <https://goo.gl/u4662D>



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