

# Global Perceptions on the Arctic: A View from Moscow

International conference

*Who "Owns" the Arctic?*

UNC at Chapel Hill

28 March 2012

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# The hot issue has cooled down

Colossal resonance of the  
flag-planting expedition  
Perfect PR hit on target  
The US and allies were stuck  
in Iraq and Afghanistan  
Rise of oil prices and worries  
Russia opens a new front –  
and looks strong



# Militarized geopolitics and politicized oil-&-gas business





# Arctic policy is about power

*In a world of economic and other upheaval, there is always the temptation to resolve one's problems at another's expense, through pressure and force. It is no surprise that some are calling for resources of global significance to be freed from the exclusive sovereignty of a single nation, and that this issue will soon be raised as a "matter-of-course."*

*There will be no possibility of this, even a hypothetical one, with respect to Russia. In other words, we should not tempt anyone by allowing ourselves to be weak.*

Vladimir Putin, 'Being strong'.



# Is military power really useful?

*Technically speaking, polar stations support the safety of this national route.*

*Tomorrow, new naval submarines will arrive at Sevmash after completing factory tests and high-seas trial runs. We will also beef up our military bases there, and we will certainly increase national security in the north.*

Vladimir Putin, 8 November 2012





# Bluff and self-deception

- The Foundations of State  
Policy in the Arctic to 2020
8. Main goals:
- b) in the military security domain it is necessary:
    - To deploy groupings of conventional forces... capable of providing military security in different military-political conditions.



BEAR CAVALRY

Yeah, you're pretty much fucked.

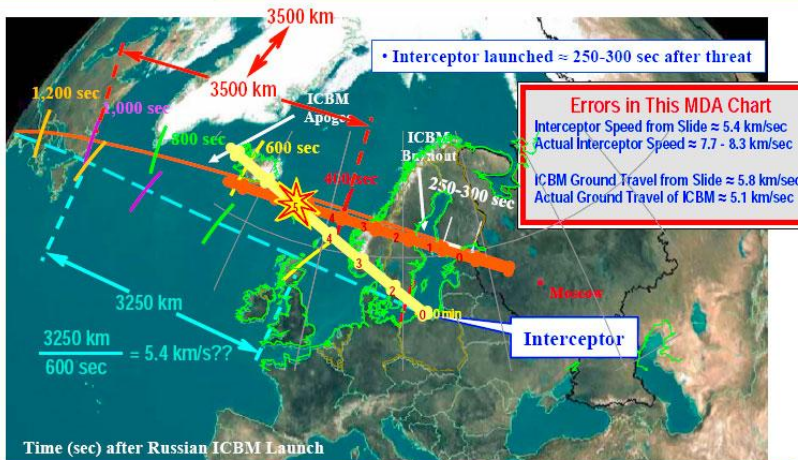
[www.thxforthe.info](http://www.thxforthe.info)

# The Arctic as the strategic theater

## Misleading MDA Slide that Indicates Interceptors Could Never Intercept Russian ICBMs

Slide Overstates the Speed of ICBMs by 15% and Understates the Speed of Interceptors by more than 30%

### Interceptors Cannot Catch Russian Missiles



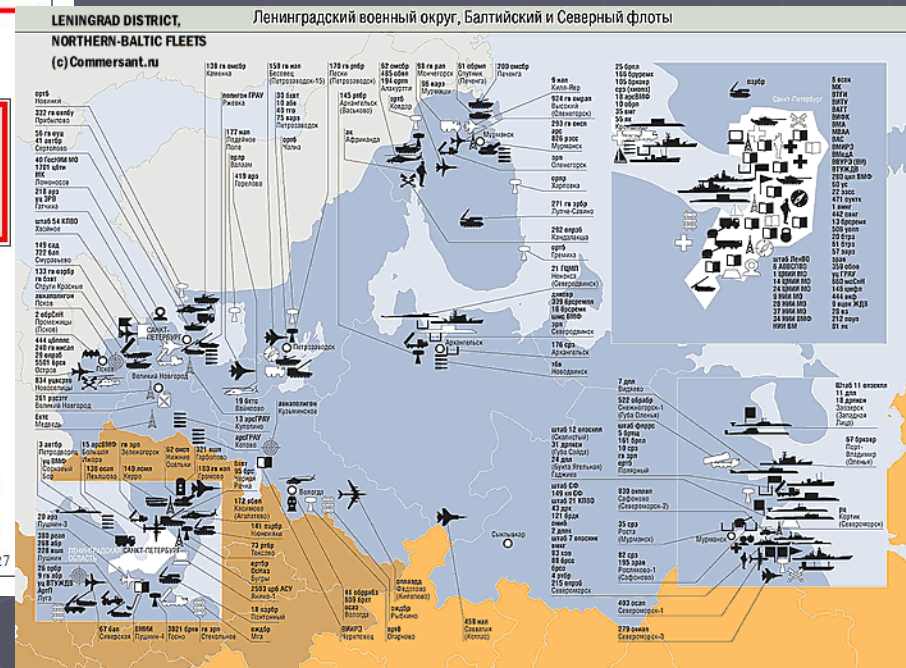
U.S. European Interceptor Site Cannot Affect Russian Strategic Capability

Approved for Public Release  
 07-MDA-2623 (13 JUN 07)

Misleading MDA Slide

ms-100673B / 061407

27





# What combat patrolling?

*At midnight, today, August 17, 14 strategic missile-carriers, support and refuelling aircraft took off from seven air force bases in different parts of the Russian Federation and began a patrol involving a total of 20 aircraft. As from today, such patrols will be carried out on a regular basis. These patrols are strategic in nature.*

President Putin, 17 August 2007





# What about the risks?

Basically very reliable planes

Funding for training and maintenance

Missions are not too hard

Forward deployment to northern bases

Levanevsky last flight in August 1937



# *They used to say that what we have was all rusted iron*

Eight failed tests out of 18 –  
different types of failures

Design flaws or production?

No alternative – 10 Borey-class  
subs are to be built

The new generation of  
submarines will play  
Russian roulette

Remember the *Kursk*

THE RUSSIAN BOREI CLASS LAUNCHING A BULAVA MISSILE





# Burning bright – loaded with torpedoes and missiles





# The unexpected political crisis makes a difference



# International Cooperation in the Arctic: Past, Present, and Future

*Russia will continue playing an active role in developing and consolidating the international legal foundation for the Arctic...*

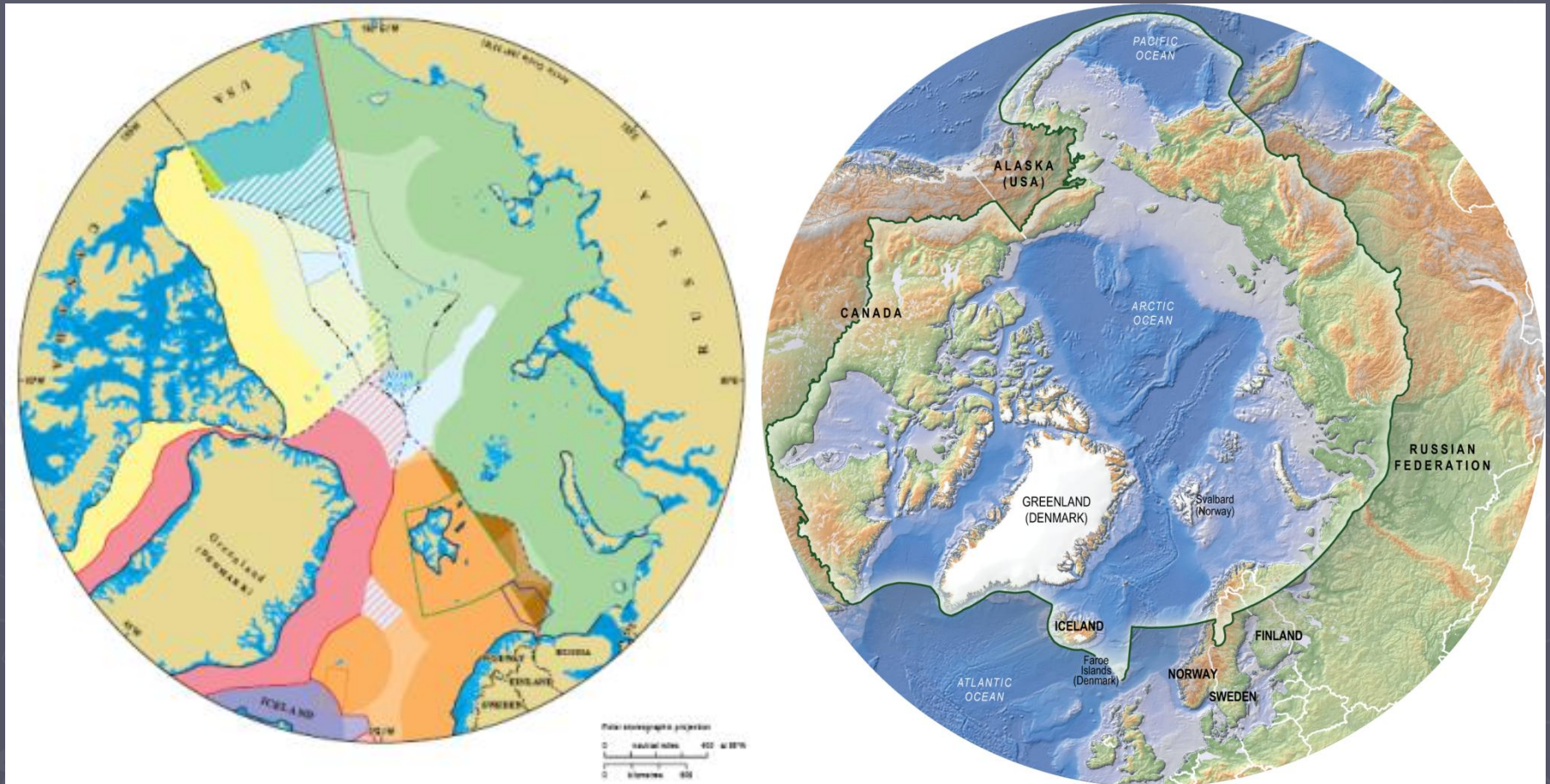
*Participants in the Arctic Council ministerial meeting last May signed the first legally binding pan-Arctic document ...*

*We are opening up the most attractive areas of our economy to foreign investors, granting them access to the "juiciest morsels," in particular, our fuel and energy complex.*





# National interests vs natural interests





# Energy matters

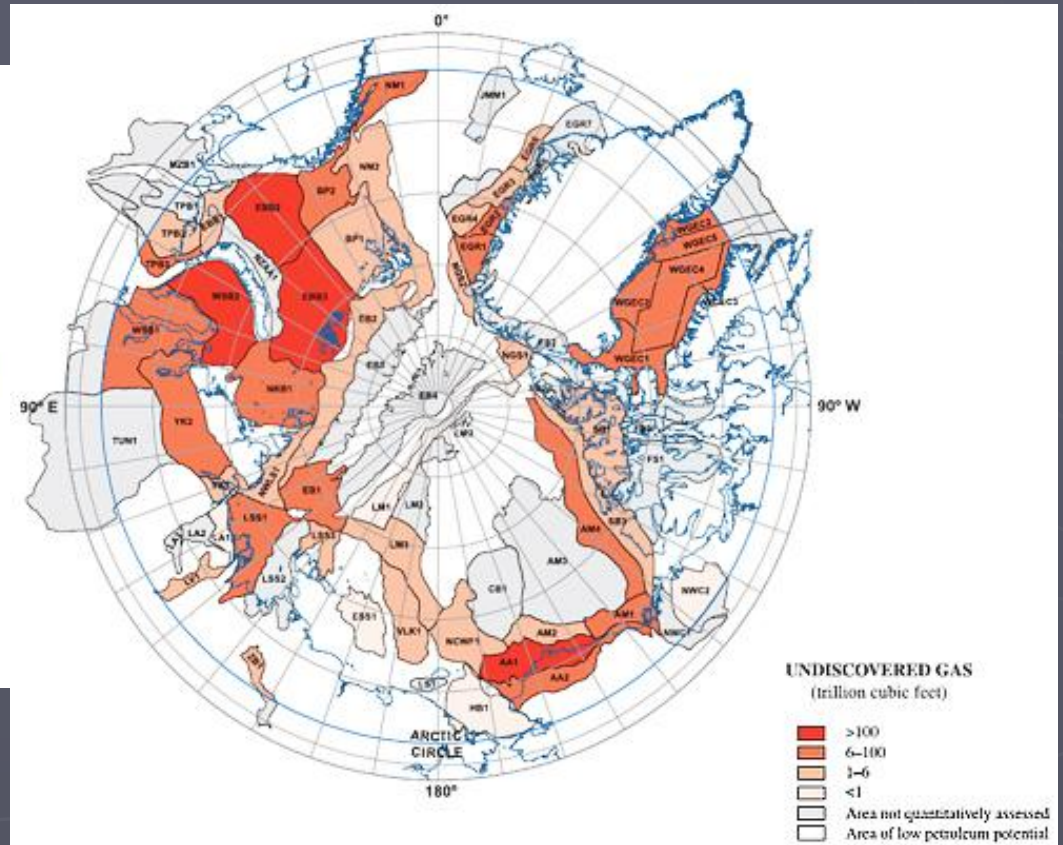
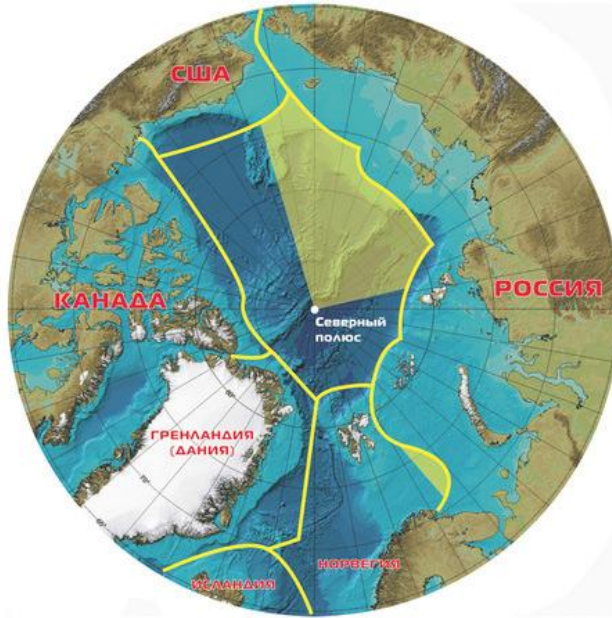
The perception of  
hydrocarbon treasury  
Information is scarce and  
distorted

General idea – 25% of world  
oil-&-gas reserves

Small print –  
"undiscovered reserves"

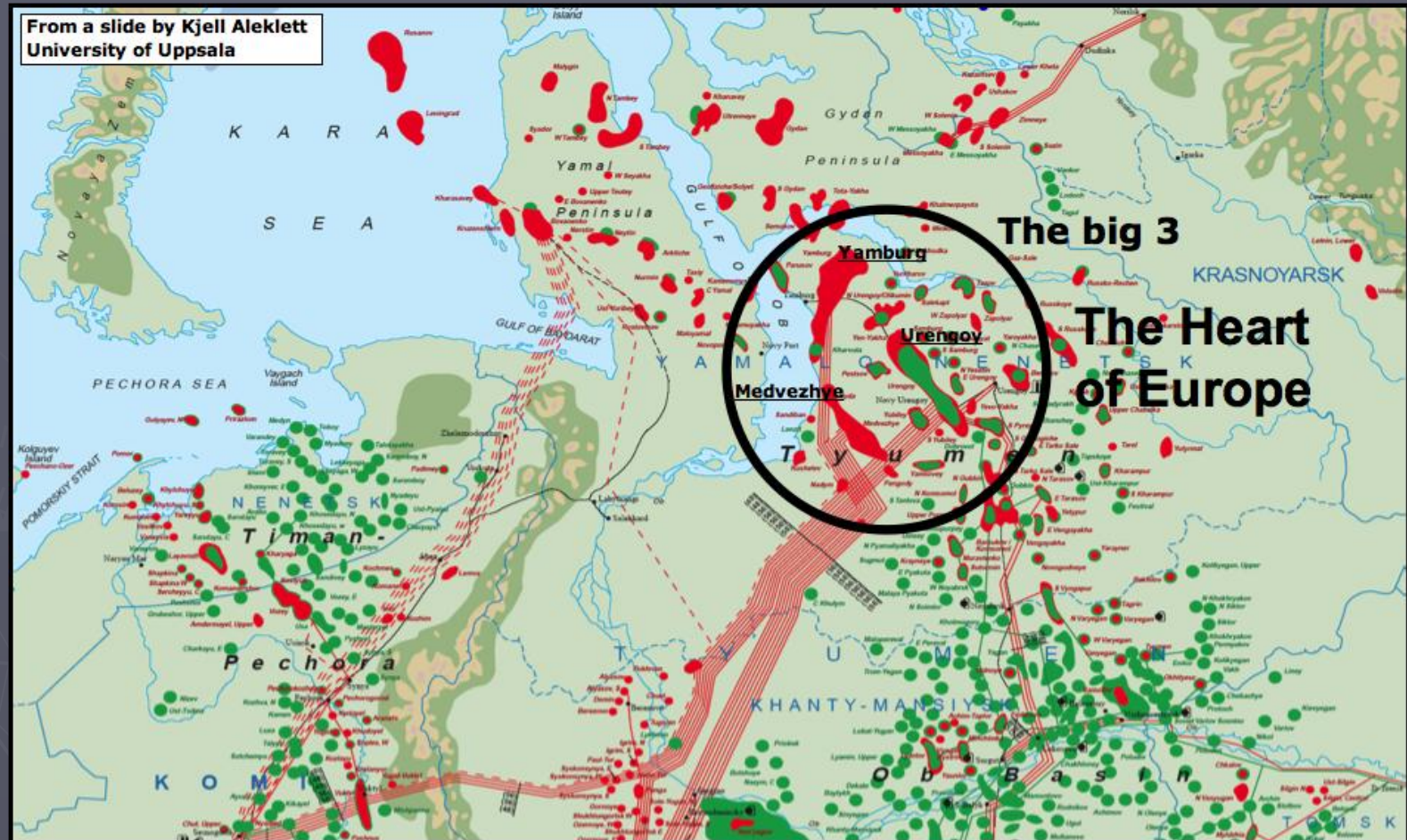


# It is actually not that promising





# Gazprom is in no hurry





# Shtokman – interesting experiment



# *Russia is now oozing amity*





# Putin the Environmentalist

*Let me repeat that environmental protection should become a key theme of our activities in the Far North because for all its severity, the Arctic has the most fragile ecosystem on our planet.*

*For our part, we have already launched a general clean-up operation in the Far North and the Russian Arctic as promised.*

Putin, 22 September 2011





# What climate change?



# No. 1 in flaring

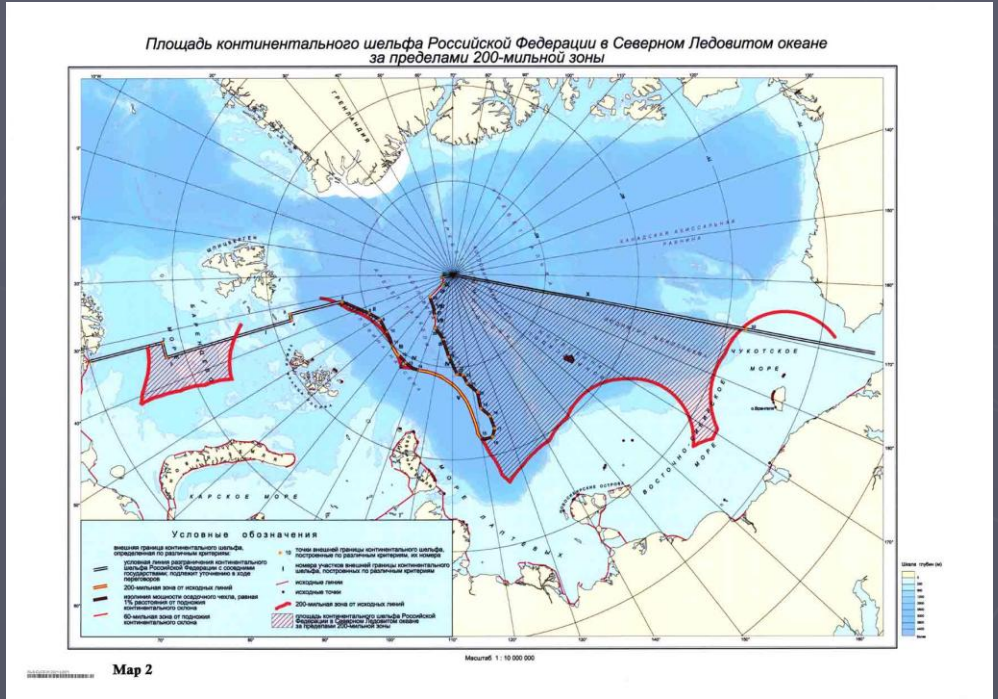




The very first claim in  
2001 – not exactly  
impeccable document

UN Commission on the  
Limits of Continental  
Shelf has registered 59  
claims – and issued 14  
recommendations

Russia is still preparing



# Legal technicalities

*The United States believes that the submission has major flaws...*

*Insofar as no applications to explore or exploit the Area have been made or are likely to be made in the Arctic in the foreseeable future, no prejudice is likely to result from a deliberative process.*



THE REPRESENTATIVE  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
TO THE  
UNITED NATIONS

February 28, 2002

Dear Mr. Under-Secretary-General:

The United States has reviewed the executive summary of the Russian submission to the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (Commission) of December 20, 2001. The United States believes that the submission has major flaws as it relates to the continental shelf claim in the Arctic. The integrity of the Convention and the process for establishing the outer limit of the continental shelf beyond 200 nautical miles ultimately depends on adherence to legal criteria and whether the geological criteria and interpretations applied are accepted as valid by the weight of informed scientific opinion. The United States requests that the paper we have enclosed be distributed to all States Members of the UN and to all Commission members before its meeting on March 25.

Please let me know if we can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John D. Negroponte".

John D. Negroponte

Attachments: As stated.

His Excellency  
Mr. Hans Corell,  
Under-Secretary-General  
for Legal Affairs,  
United Nations,  
New York, New York.