

CANADIAN ARCTIC SOVEREIGNTY

NEW CHALLENGES & OPPORTUNITIES IN THE 21ST CENTURY

ADAM LAJEUNESSE

IRVING SHIPBUILDING CHAIR IN CANADIAN ARCTIC MARINE SECURITY

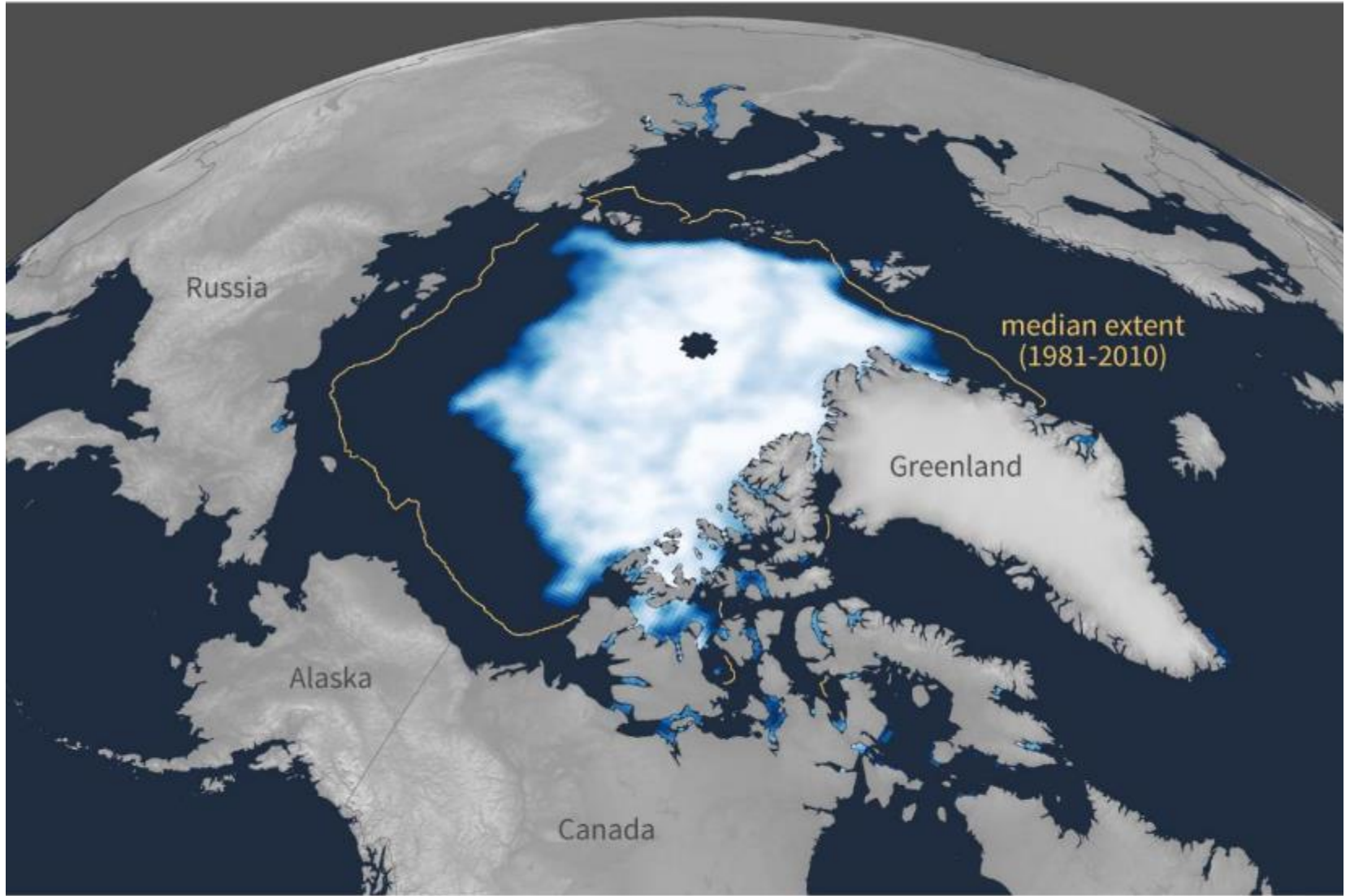
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INSTITUTE OF
GOVERNMENT



2019 SUMMER MINIMUM



September 18, 2019

Sea ice concentration (percent)



NOAA Climate.gov
Data: NSIDC

The new Cold War? Russia sends troops and missiles to the Arctic as Putin stakes a claim for the region's oil and gas reserves

- **Russia, Norway, Denmark and Canada are fighting over the Arctic territory**
- **Putin is building six bases in the Arctic, and sending troops and missiles**
- **It's estimated that billions of tonnes of oil and gas lie beneath the seabed**
- **Experts warn it shows willingness to use a military threat to claim the land**
- **See news on Russia and its Arctic claims at www.dailymail.co.uk/russia**

By IMOGEN CALDERWOOD FOR MAILONLINE
 PUBLISHED: 10:25 GMT, 26 December 2015 | UPDATED: 16:53 GMT, 26 December 2015

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Russia is beefing up its military presence in the Arctic, sending troops and missiles to strengthen its position in the competition for the region's extensive oil and gas reserves.

As well as deploying advanced anti-aircraft missiles to the region, President Vladimir Putin is overseeing the completion of six new bases designed to see off foreign competition for the natural resources.

It is estimated that billions of tonnes of oil and gas lie beneath the seabed, which is currently disputed territory.

The Cold War Gets Icy With Russia and US Weapons Build-Up in Arctic

THE BLOG
 02/23/2016 01:39 pm ET | Updated Feb 24, 2016



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 A series of videos exploring the moment of reckoning between human nature and the force of nature. Right here, right now, on this planet.



Image:

Yamal-Region TV website

How the Warsaw NATO Summit Altered Arctic Security

The communique that came out of the NATO summit in Warsaw last week puts distance between Russia and the seven other Arctic nations and points to limited cooperation on Arctic matters in the future, says Rob Huebert, an expert on Arctic security.

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Rob Huebert | Nov 10, 2015

Russia Ramps Up Its Military Presence in the Arctic Circle

By David Greene, Host
 November 10, 2015



A new Cold War is brewing in the Arctic as Russia looks northward at a new era of dominance in a polar region again.

Transcript

DAVID GREENE, HOST:

And how about we visit the Arctic Circle right now? That is what Kelly Sims would like to do. She is reporting on Russia's move at the top of the world. This is something that's raising fears because the next crisis zone between Russia and the West. We'll follow the Arctic Circle as what is the largest day of the year.



Militarizing the Arctic: Is Canada Ready for a Literal Cold War with Russia?

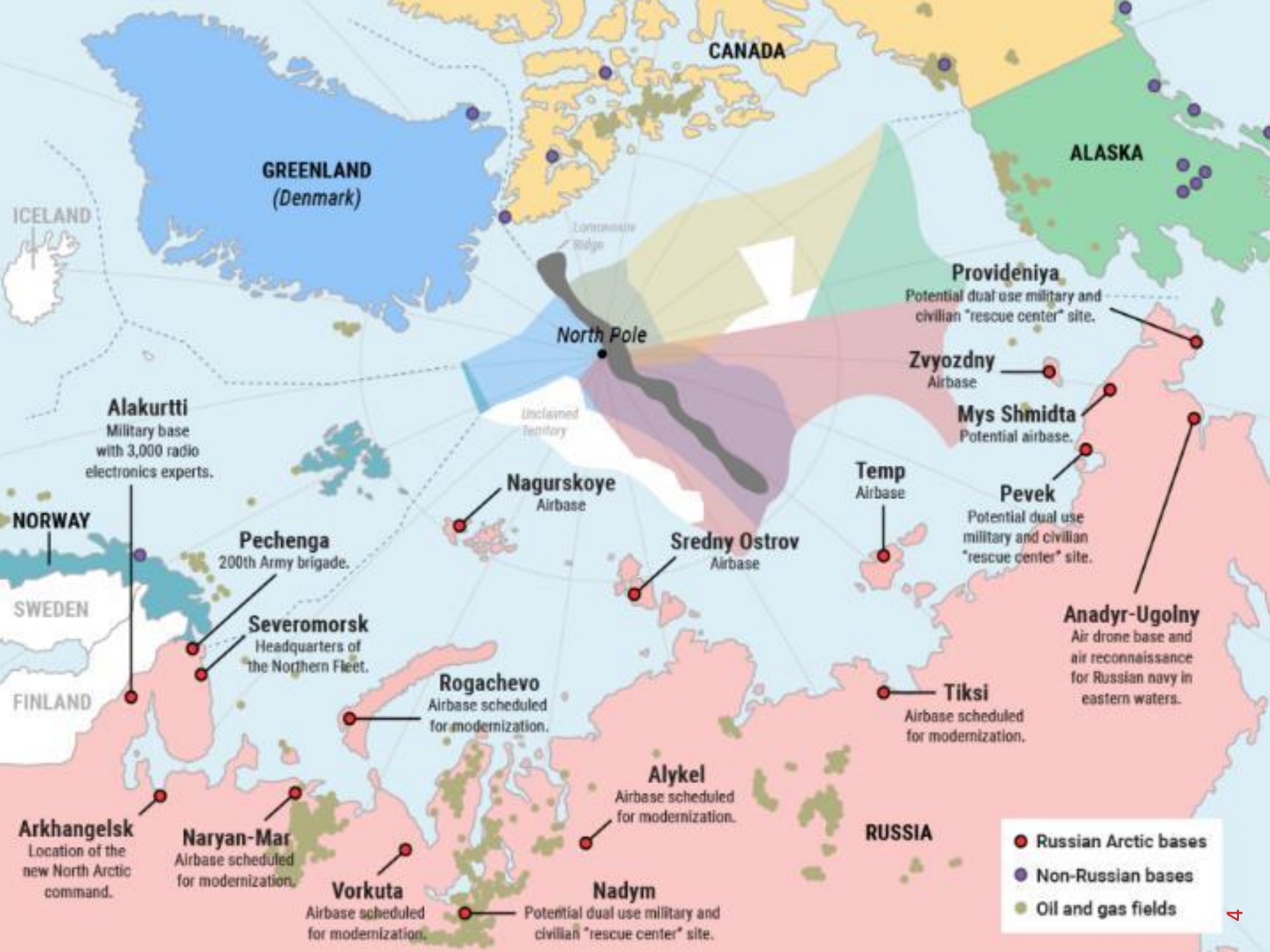
November 10, 2015

Scott N. Romanuk

Over the past decade, Moscow has been projecting its power, and boldly testing the cohesion and determination of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the European Union (EU), and their closest allies in many different regions either considered unstable or contested for their strategic value. Some of these clashes took place immediately after the Soviet Union dissolved while others occurred during the turn of the century and closer to (even up to) the present day. Violent political and ethnic conflict has occurred in the former Soviet republics but also well beyond the borders of the Russian Federation as it exists today. Not all of those conflicts have proven decisive; many remain in stalemated or are simply "frozen." A non-exhaustive list of those conflicts includes: Moldova, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Crimea, Novorossiysk, and Syria.

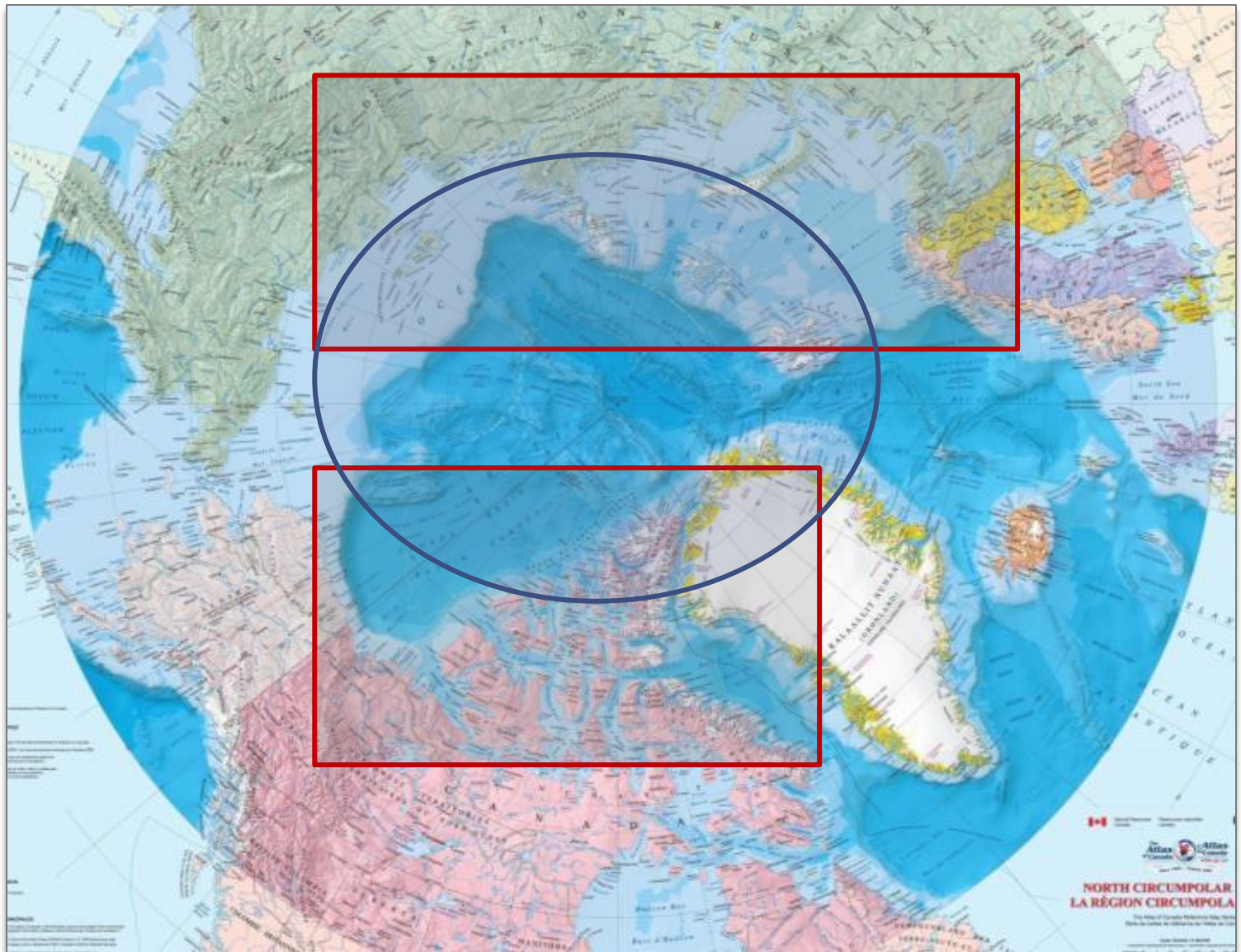


The Arctic attracted headlines more than half a decade ago when Russia planted a flag at the bottom of the Arctic Ocean. Russia has also been intensifying its military flights that violated European and North American airspace in addition to sending ships to the Caribbean, South Asia, and testing United States (US) coastal security. Much of the world's attention has been focusing on the EU's ongoing migrant crisis, the "Arab Awakening," the rise of ISIS in the Middle East, and the current multifaceted conflict in Syria and Iraq. But Moscow's interest in the Arctic has remained in place. Many analysts argue that war is brewing. Others maintain that while he is willing to test his adversaries, Putin clearly recognizes which issues would be suicide for Russia.





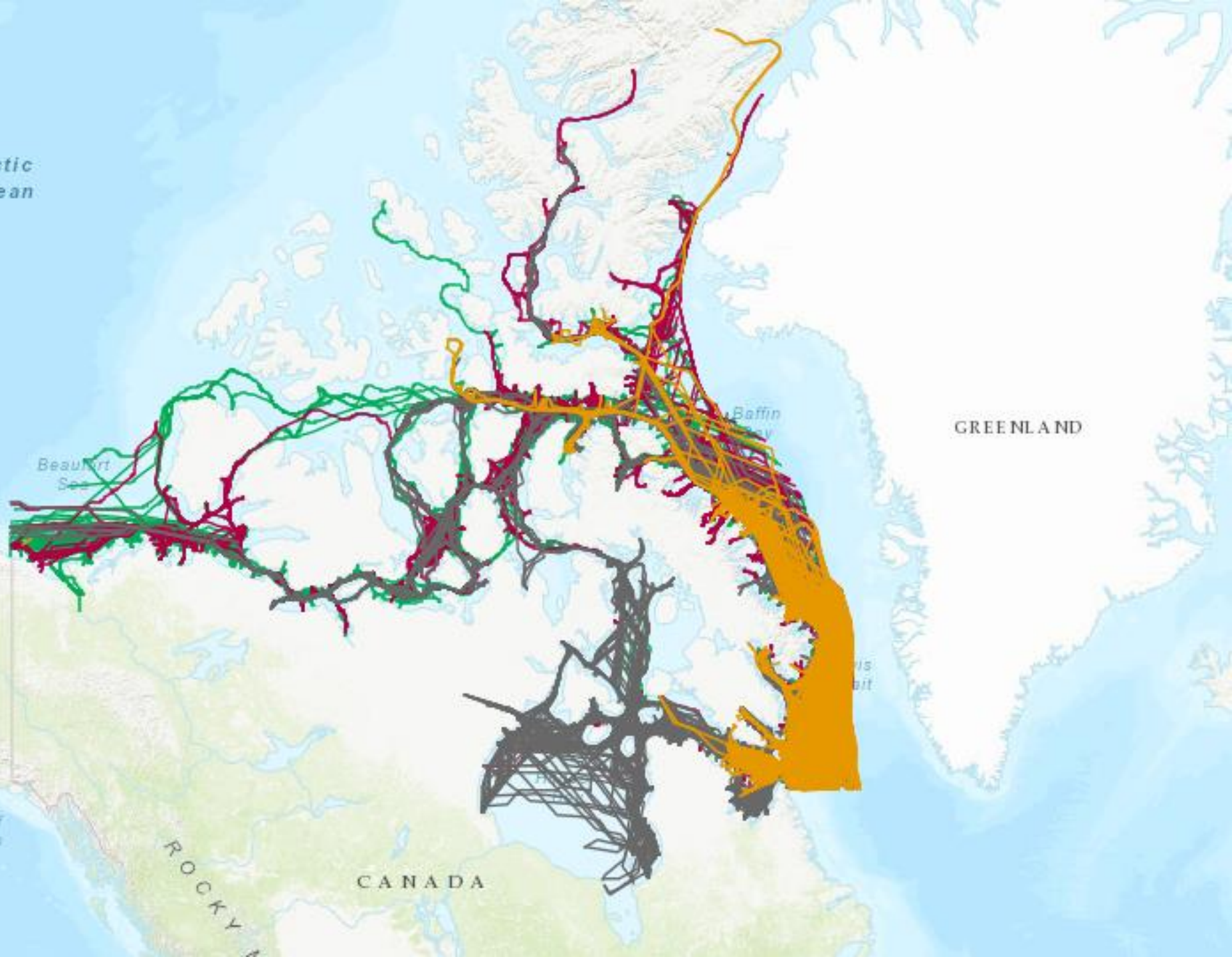
DEFINING THE ARCTIC(S)



IN CANADA – UNCONVENTIONAL SECURITY



Arctic Ocean



Beaufort Sea

Baffin Bay

GREENLAND

Gulf of Alaska

ROCKY MOUNTAINS

CANADA

RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT & SHIPPING

- Mining leads to organized crime, drugs, new policing requirements
- Oil and gas (if ever developed) will require new surveillance, environmental response capabilities
- Health emergencies
- Civil emergencies
- Activity of any sort will increase SAR requirements











Beaufort Sea

Melville

Baffin Bay

Nunavut

Gulf of Boothia

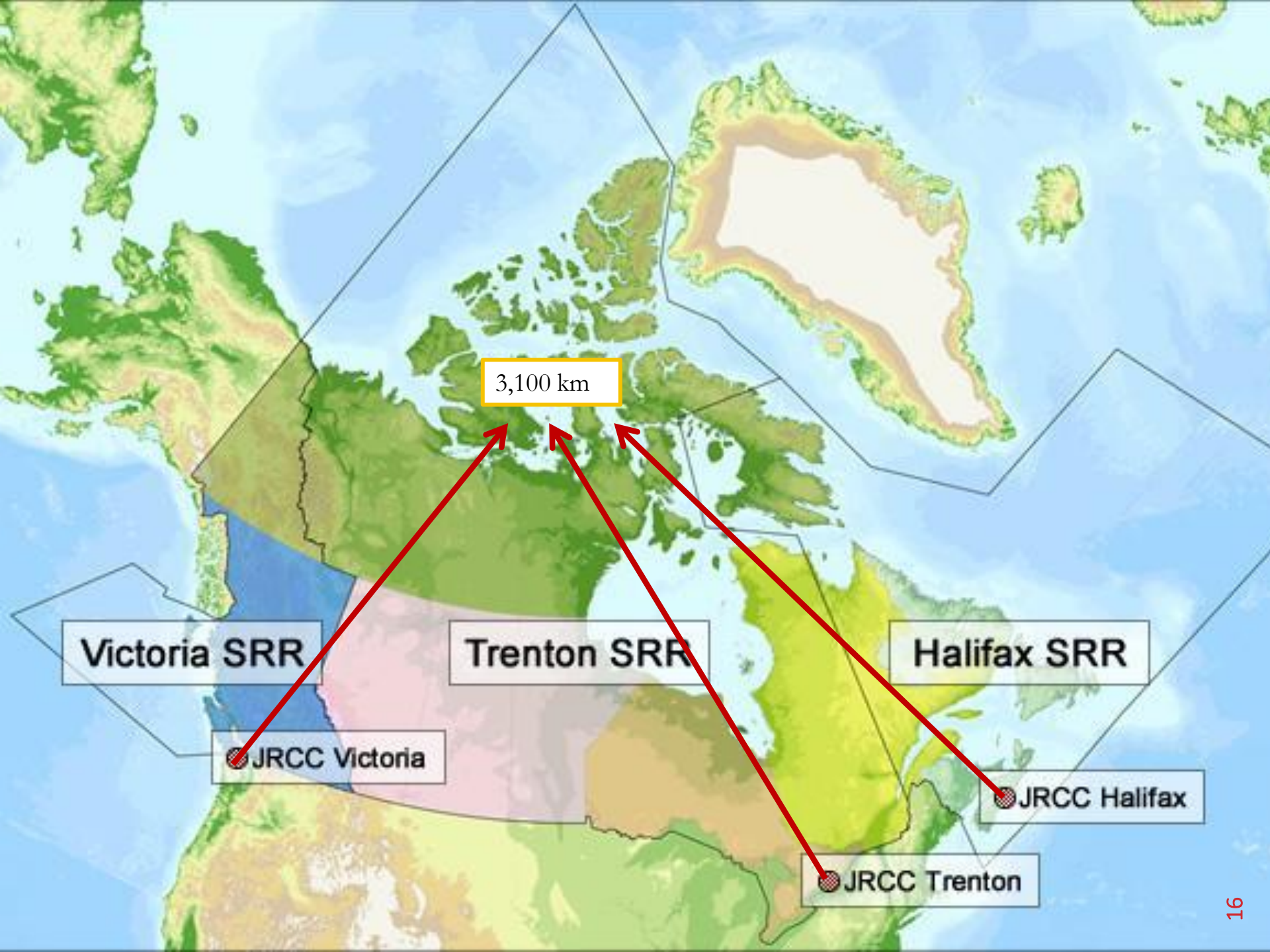
Beaufort Sea

Foxe Basin

Great Bear Lake

Barren Grounds

territories



Victoria SRR

JRCC Victoria

Trenton SRR

JRCC Trenton




Halifax SRR

JRCC Halifax

3,100 km

Status of Arctic Surveying North of 60°N

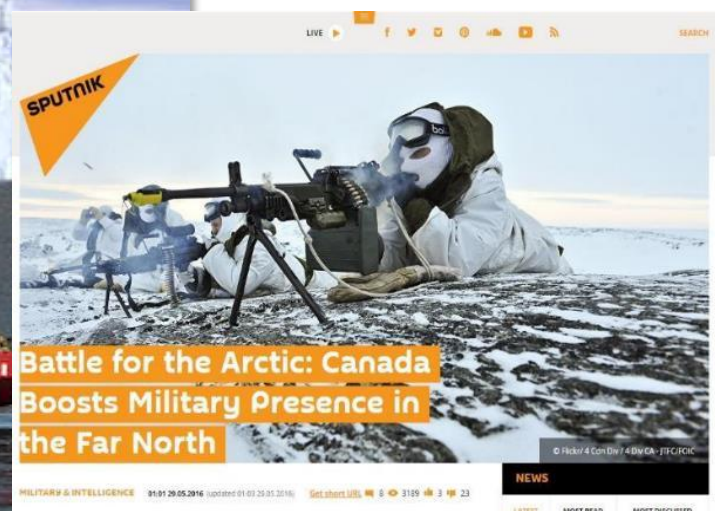
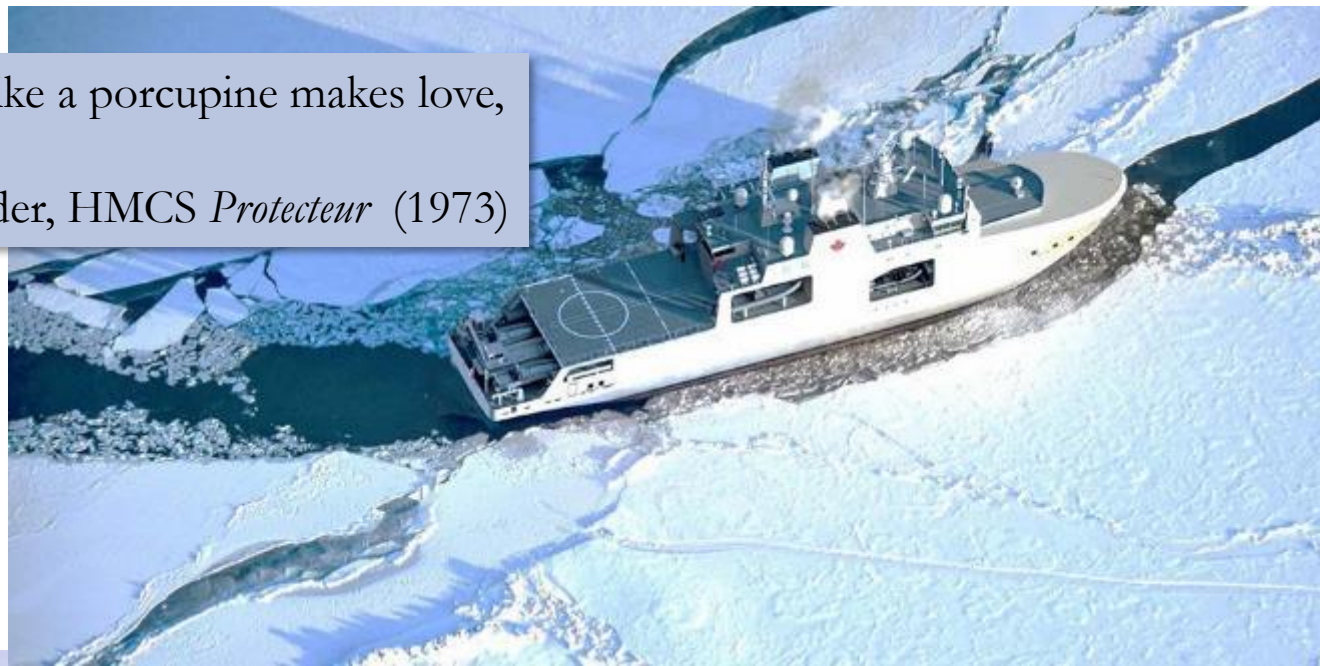
Here there be Dragons...

-  CATZOC A (MB)
-  CATZOC B (Post 1970's)
-  CATZOC C (Reconnaissance & Best Available)

1:20,000,000
January 2, 2013

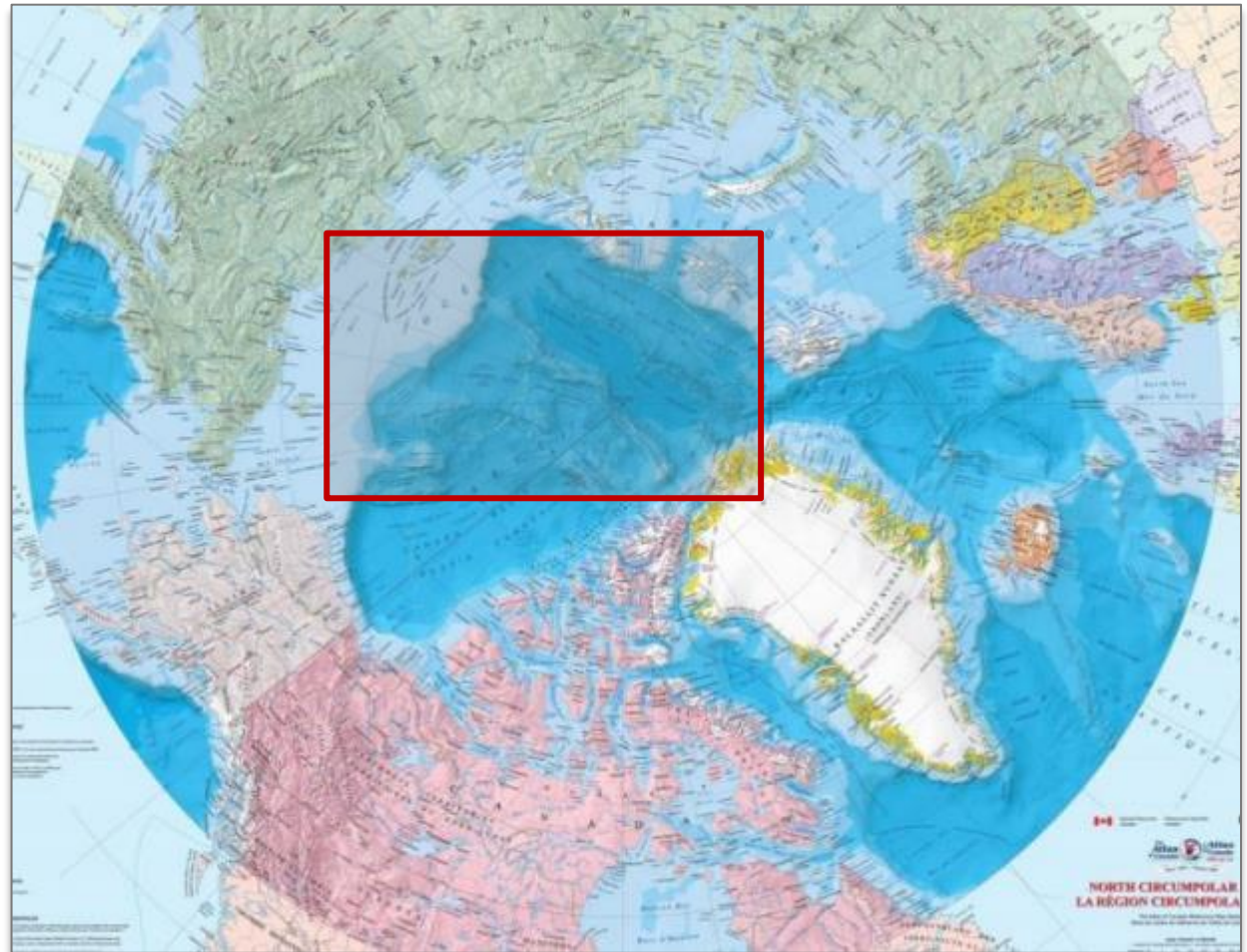
“we move about in ice like a porcupine makes love, very carefully.”

- Commander, HMCS *Protecteur* (1973)

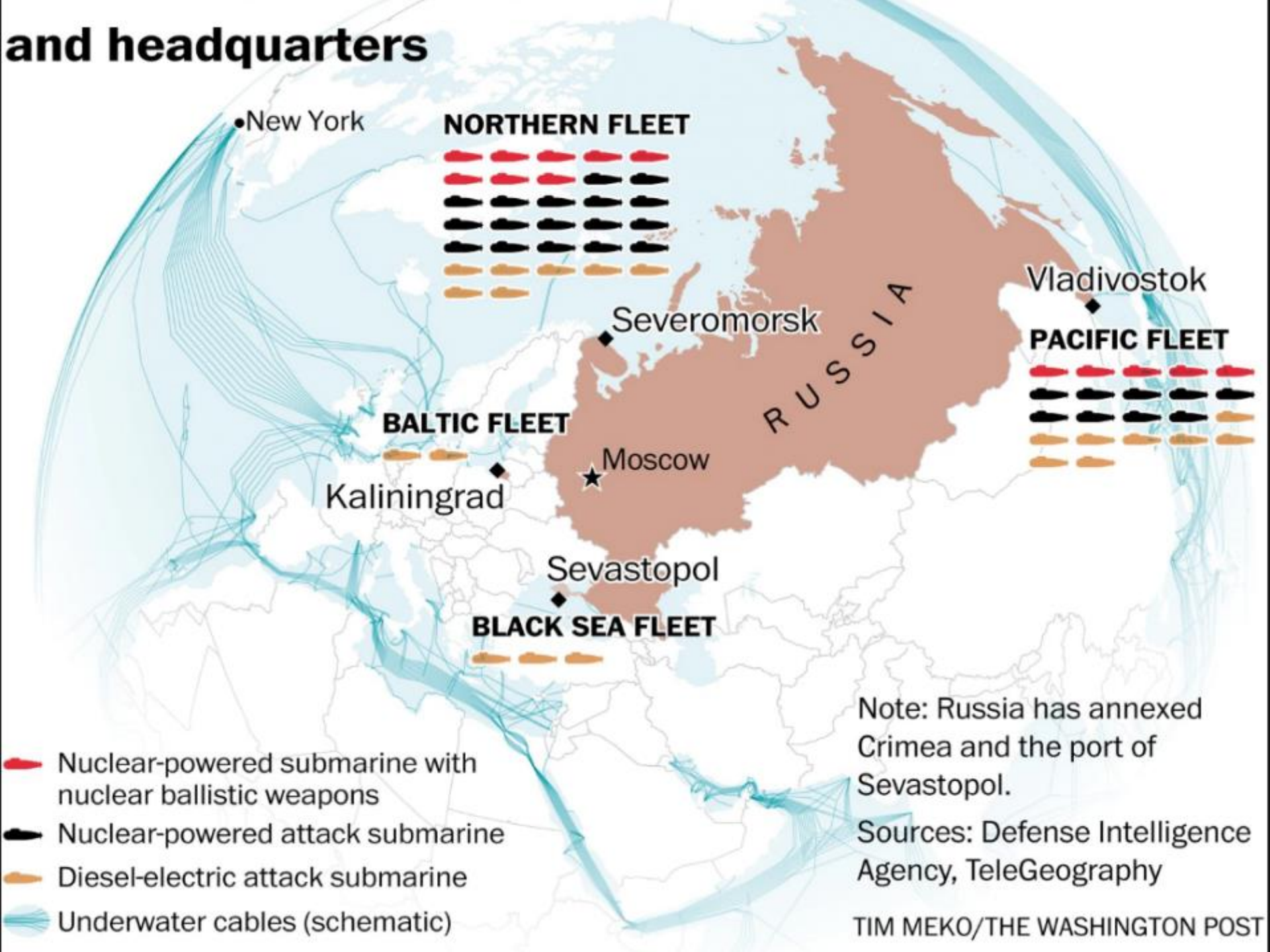


NEW DANGERS

Conventional Defence



and headquarters



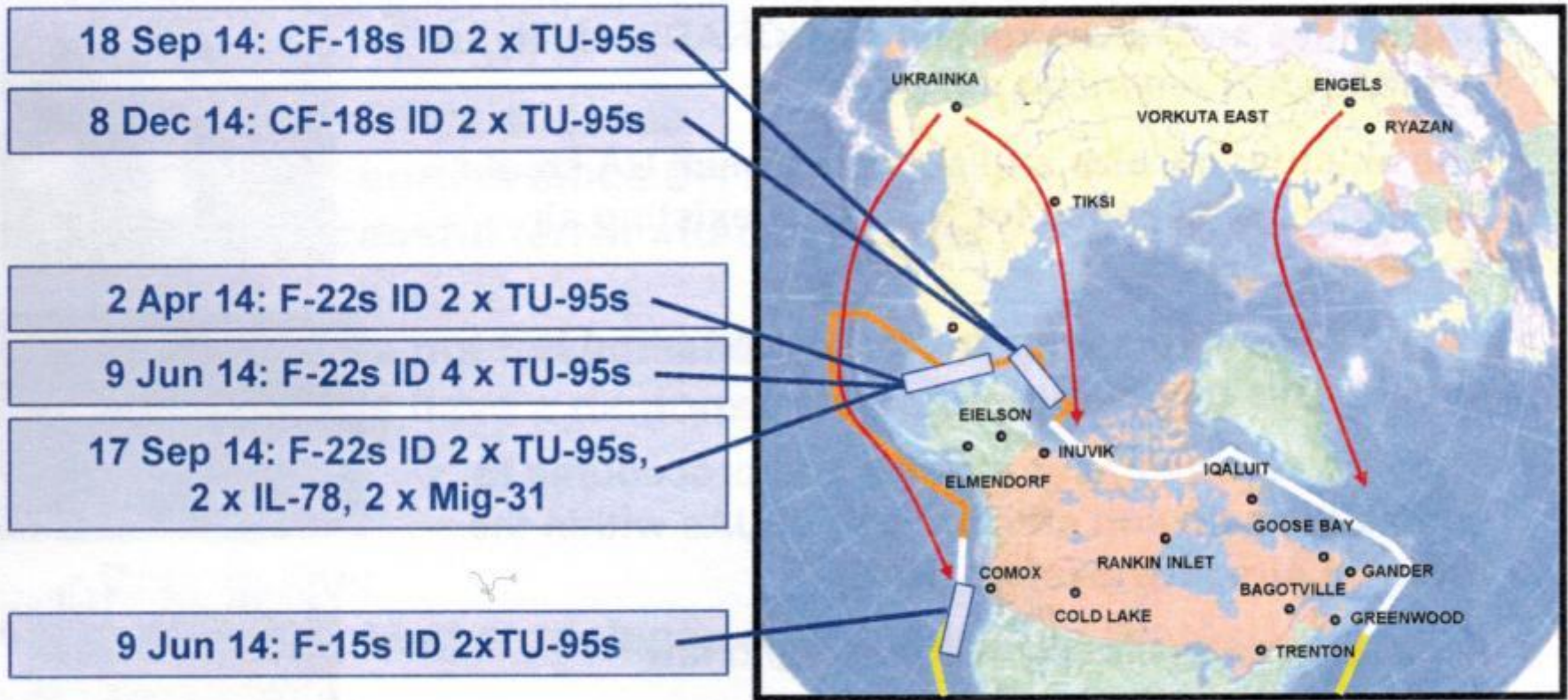
- Nuclear-powered submarine with nuclear ballistic weapons
- Nuclear-powered attack submarine
- Diesel-electric attack submarine
- Underwater cables (schematic)

Note: Russia has annexed Crimea and the port of Sevastopol.

Sources: Defense Intelligence Agency, TeleGeography

TIM MEKO/THE WASHINGTON POST

SAMPLE INTERCEPTS



Western militarization of the Arctic. Part I



Photo: RIA Novosti

A monumental struggle for the Arctic is taking place almost unnoticed amid the on-going geo-political upheavals in Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

A monumental struggle for the Arctic is taking place almost unnoticed amid the on-going geo-political upheavals in Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

The world was used to the fact that major intrigues are invariably related to the Arctic Council, which was set up back in 1996 to settle territorial disputes between the northern countries, namely Russia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, the United States and Iceland.

Things have changed other countries now seem to resent this approach, for they would also like to take part in the division of the Arctic pie. Following in the footsteps of the UK, Germany, France, Spain and Poland are India, Japan, South Korea, Australia, Brazil and China, which are knocking at the Council door, insisting that the Arctic should belong to everyone.

The Chinese proved the quickest in taking action. They launched several polar expeditions, set up a polar station on Spitsbergen Island and got an icebreaker of their own.

The Arctic has not yet been proclaimed to be available to one and all, but the issue of free access to its riches has already been raised, and this has at once added to the importance of the use of force.

In May of this year mass media carried details of Denmark's "Strategy for the Arctic". It follows from the document that Denmark claims the continental shelf in five areas around the Faroe Islands and Greenland, and also the North Pole, which it sees as part of the Greenland shelf and Copenhagen plans to make a relevant submission to the United Nations Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf no later than 2014.

The news drove Canada crazy, since Ottawa proclaimed its sovereignty over the North Pole back in the 1950s. Under the International Court ruling, the claim may be granted if no other country proves, within 100 years, that the Arctic Ocean floor belongs to it. More than half of the term has elapsed since, but in recent years the demonstratively peaceful Canada, which has actually never fought a war, has started showing unprecedented alarmism.

When it became clear five years ago that global warming is making it possible to navigate through the Northwest Passage from the Baffin Bay to the Lincoln Sea, the Canadian authorities sent six patrol boats to the region.



© Flickr

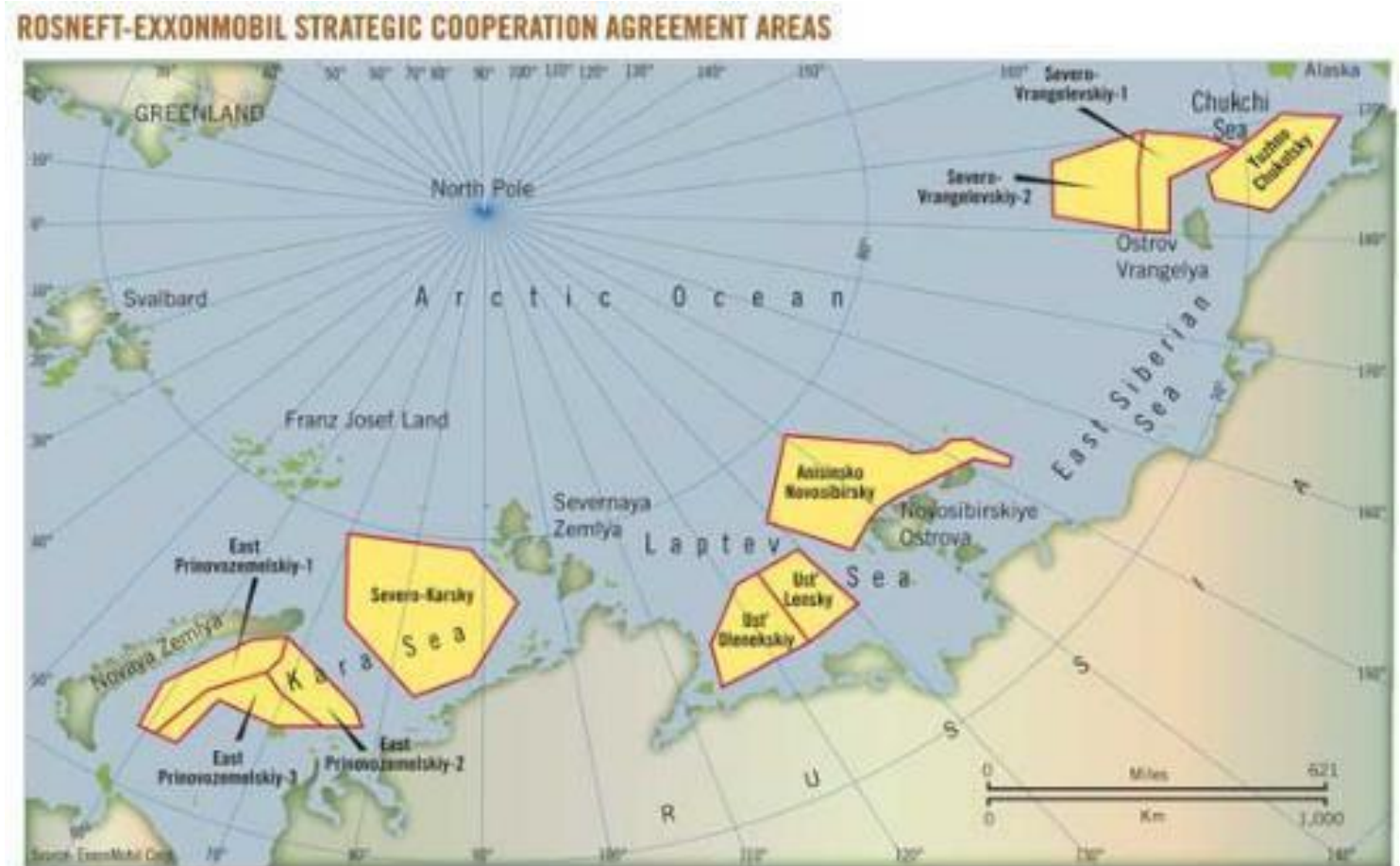
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RUSSIAN ARCTIC PROJECTS

- Recoverable commercial reserves in the deposits amount to over 430 million tonnes of oil and 8.5 trillion cubic metres of natural gas



DECLINING BASINS

Western Siberia – 63%

Volga-Ural – 22.1%

Timan-Pechora – 6.3 %

Eastern Siberia – 3.9%

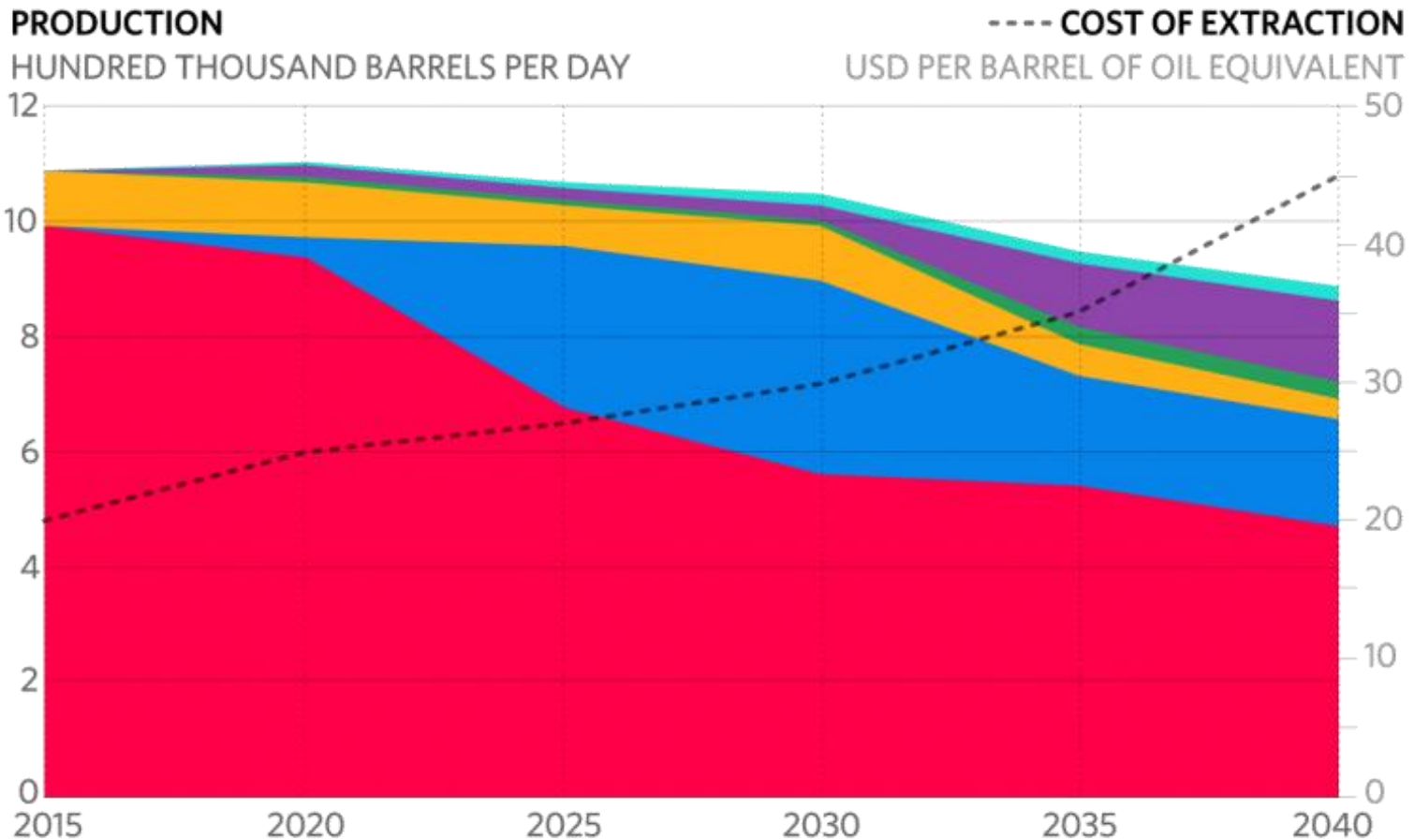
Far East – 2.9%

Northern Caucasus – 1.8%



Russia's Projected Oil Production and Cost of Extraction

- Bazhen Formation (shale)
- Other hard-to-recover oil reserves
- East Siberia and Far East greenfields*
- Condensate**
- West Siberia and Ural Basin greenfields* (conventional)
- West Siberia and Ural Basin brownfields* (conventional)

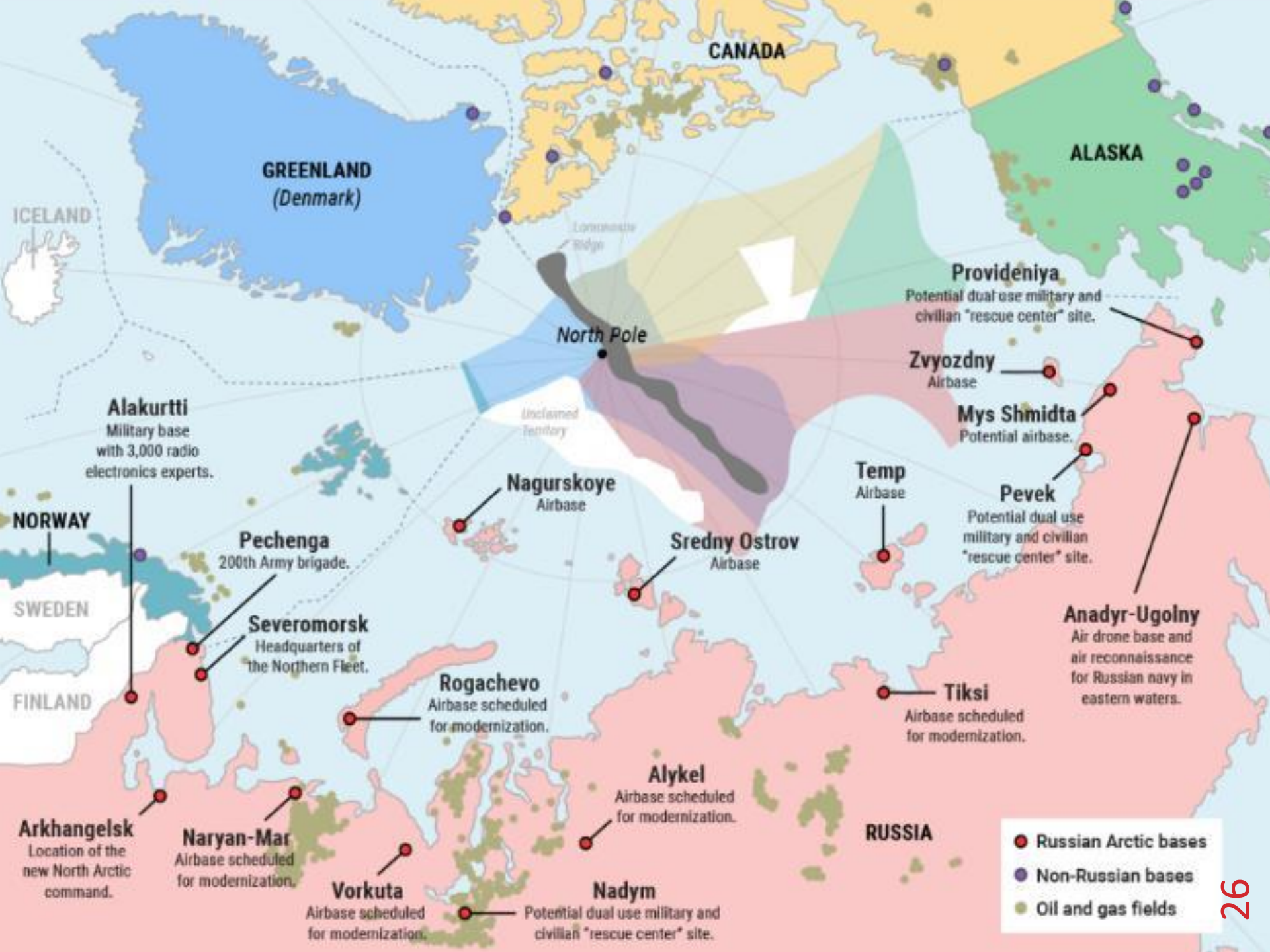


*Greenfields = new or rising production; *brownfields = production plateaued or declining

**Natural gas, shown in barrels of oil equivalent

Source: Energy Systems Research 2019

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RUSSIA: A TWO-FOLD POLICY

- 1) Push a siege mentality and use the Arctic to posture
- 2) Push for restraint and cooperation
 - Russia has tried to firewall the Arctic from broader disputes
 - Policy statements highlight the need for cooperation

WHAT'S A 'NEAR-ARCTIC' STATE?



PARTNERING WITH RUSSIA

- Sanctions removed Western technology and financing
- Hundreds of billions of dollars in deals with China in the last two years
- Invitations to both China & India for partnerships
 - \$400 billion deal between Gazprom and CNPC
 - \$12 billion in loans for the Yamal project from Chinese banks
 - CNPC partners with Rosneft to explore the Barents and Pechora Seas, purchases 20% of the \$27 billion Yamal gas project, and pays \$1 billion for a 10 percent stake in Vankor
 - China paid roughly \$2,262 for each producing barrel (compared to the \$7,200/barrel that CNPC spent acquiring Nexen in 2013).

Civilian research could support a strengthened Chinese military presence in the Arctic Ocean, which could include deploying submarines to the region as a deterrent against nuclear attacks

– DoD Report to Congress (2019)







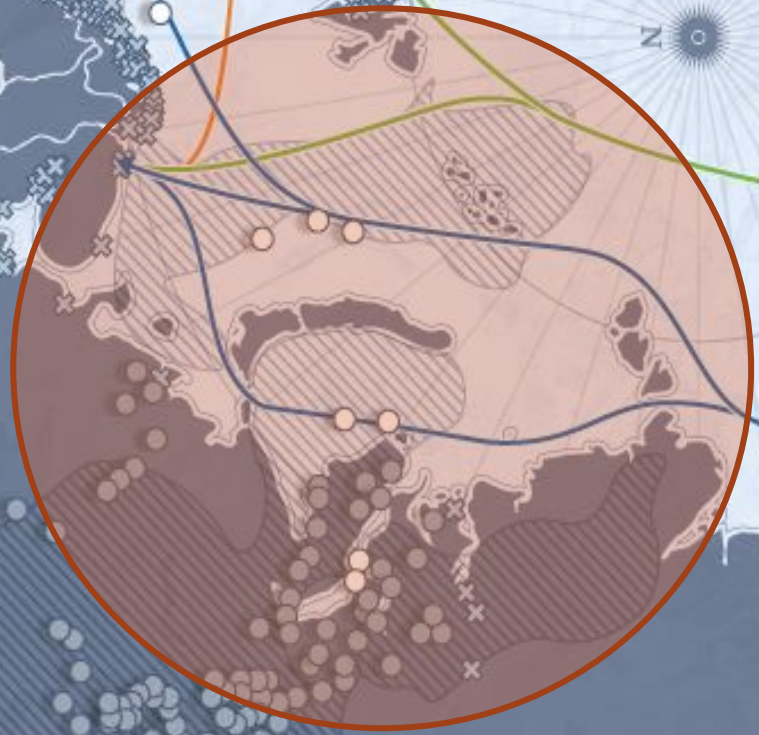
Underneath the Arctic Circle there lie natural gas formations. The harsh ice coverage have limited exploration but USGS estimates that there

13% of the undiscovered

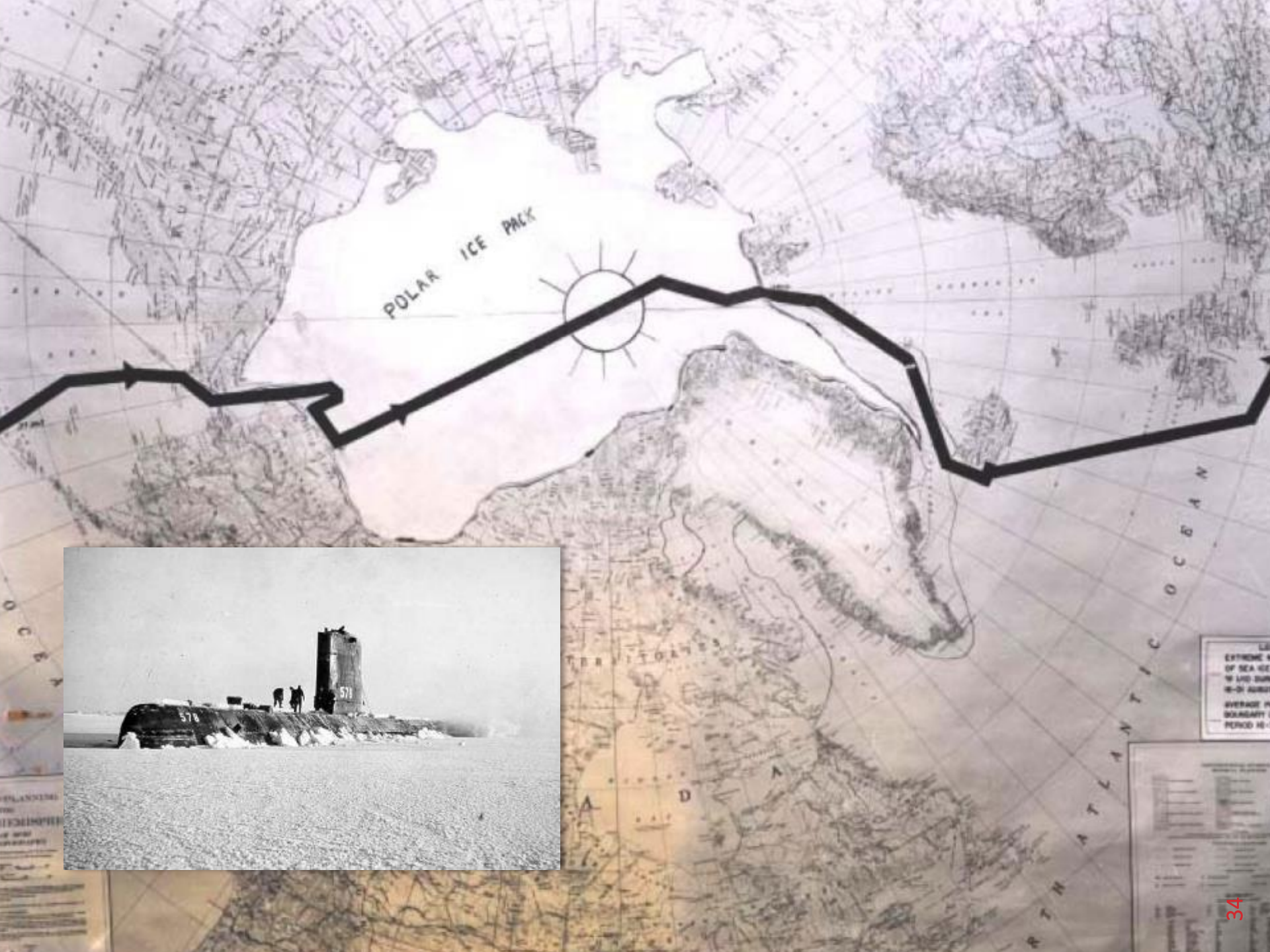
30% of the natural gas

ROUTE

-  N
-  N
-  N
-  A
-  G
-  O
-  O
-  ARCTIC



The extent of ice coverage in ice year round allowing for new shipping seasons. that by 2090, ice coverage in the Arctic Ocean is expected to



HOW WORRIED SHOULD WE REALLY BE?

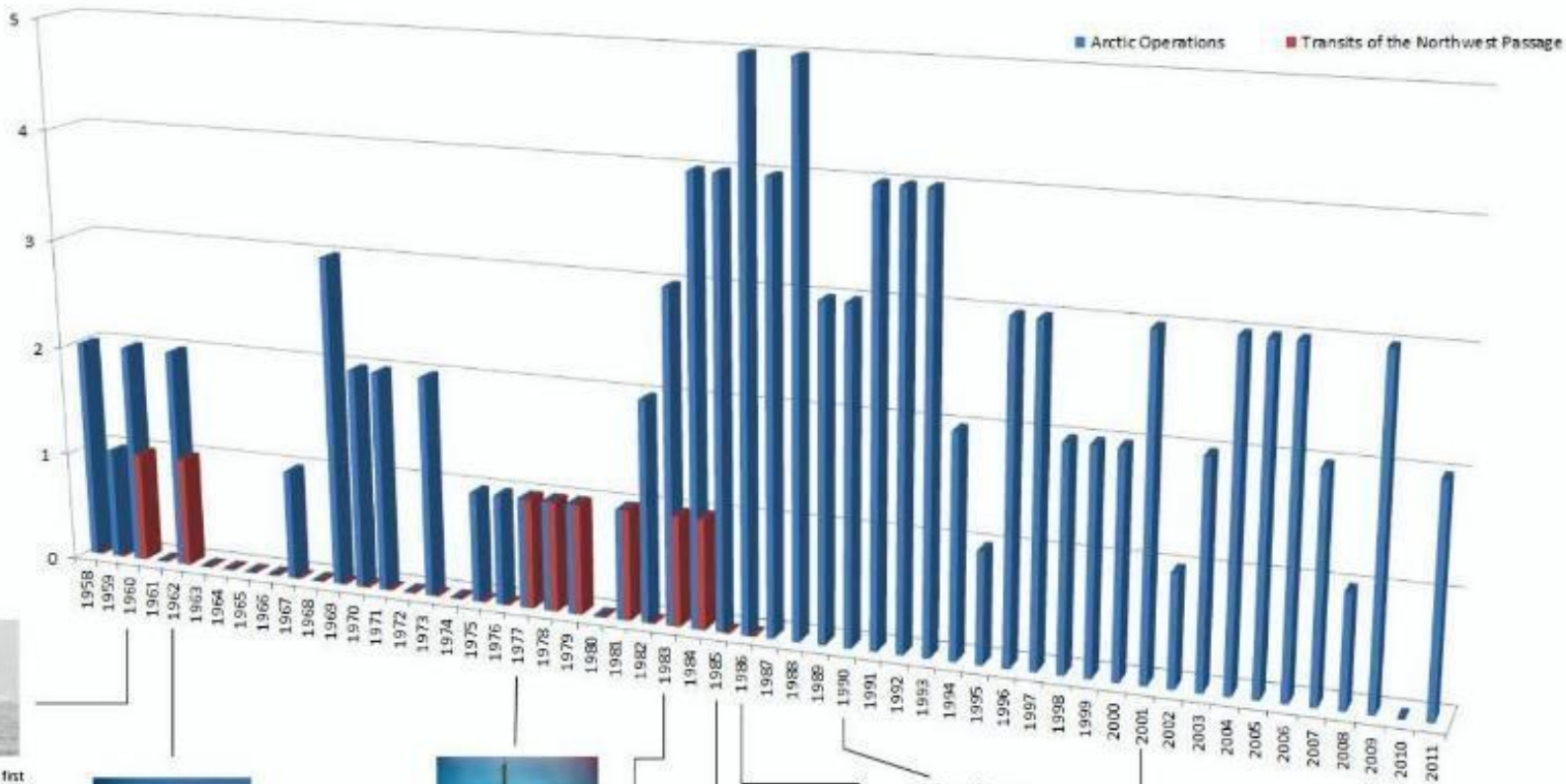
- Less of a defence threat than is often presumed
- Ironically, CANUS interests are served by Chinese submarines in the Arctic
- The Arctic as a ‘distraction ground’



April 23, 2020

China's Arctic Gambit? Contemplating Possible Strategies

Ryan Dean and P. Whitney Lackenbauer
Graduate Fellow and Network Lead, NAADSN



USS Sea Dragon makes the first transit of the Northwest Passage



USS Skate Transits the Northwest Passage



USS Flying Fish marks the USN's return to the Canadian Arctic



Canada draws straight baselines around the Arctic Archipelago

Collapse of the USSR

US Navy unveils its New Maritime Strategy. Now focus placed on Arctic operations

Polar rendezvous causes a political stir in Ottawa



USS Connecticut is the first SSN to class submarine to operate in the Arctic.



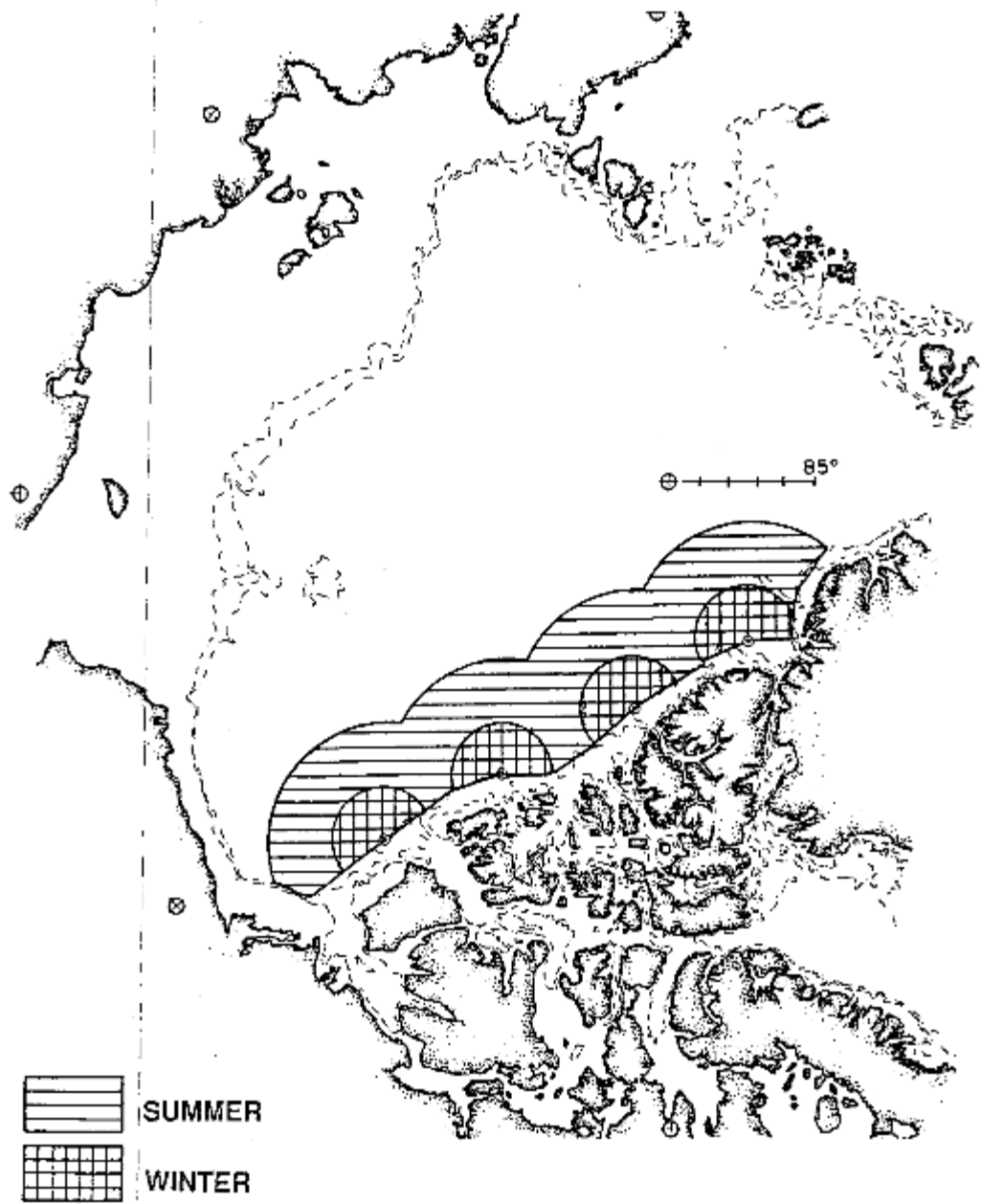
The USS Texas is the first Virginia Class vessel to operate in the Arctic.

USN submarine operations to
1979





Radstock Bay

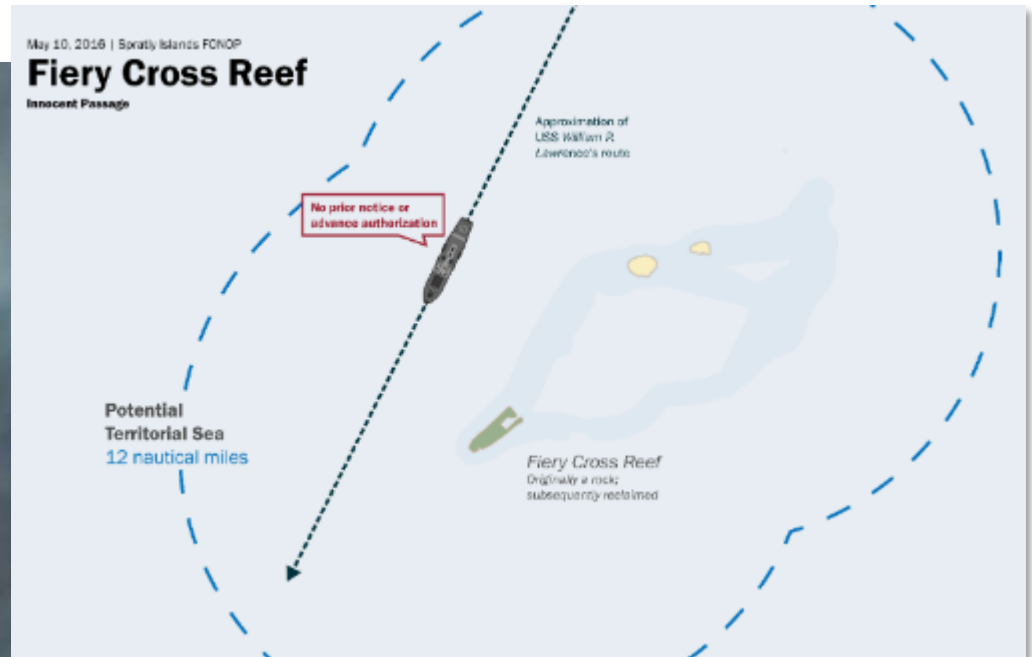


THE THREAT ENVIRONMENT

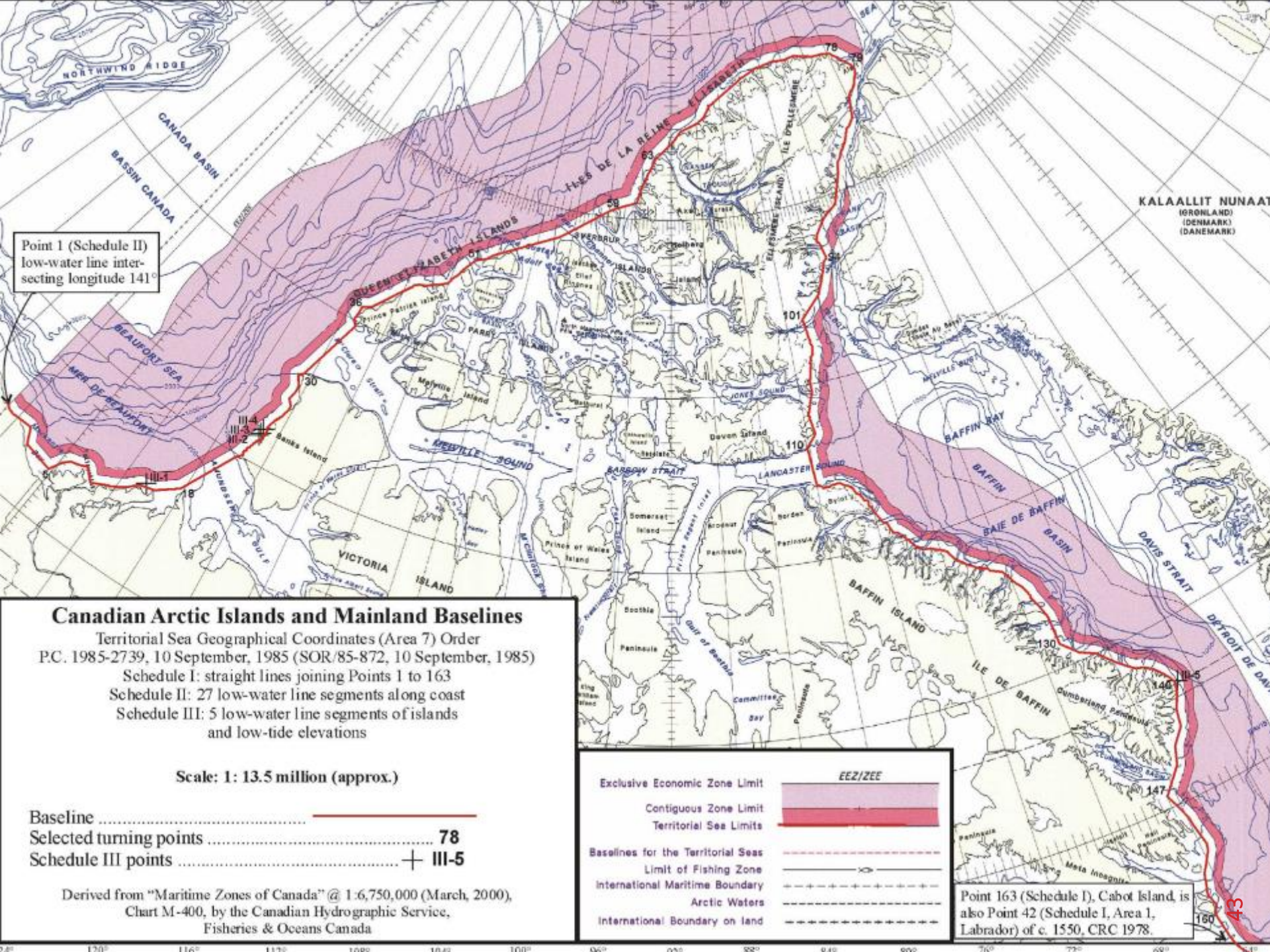
- Growing traffic and activity, creating safety issues
- Growing unconventional security threat
- Growing military threats, **or at least perception of them**

- Growing political danger as the 70 year old *modus vivendi* with the United States is breaking down and the rest of the world is becoming more interested in the region.





"The Damn Thing Melted"



Point 1 (Schedule II)
low-water line inter-
secting longitude 141°

Canadian Arctic Islands and Mainland Baselines

Territorial Sea Geographical Coordinates (Area 7) Order P.C. 1985-2739, 10 September, 1985 (SOR/85-872, 10 September, 1985)

Schedule I: straight lines joining Points 1 to 163

Schedule II: 27 low-water line segments along coast

Schedule III: 5 low-water line segments of islands and low-tide elevations

Scale: 1: 13.5 million (approx.)

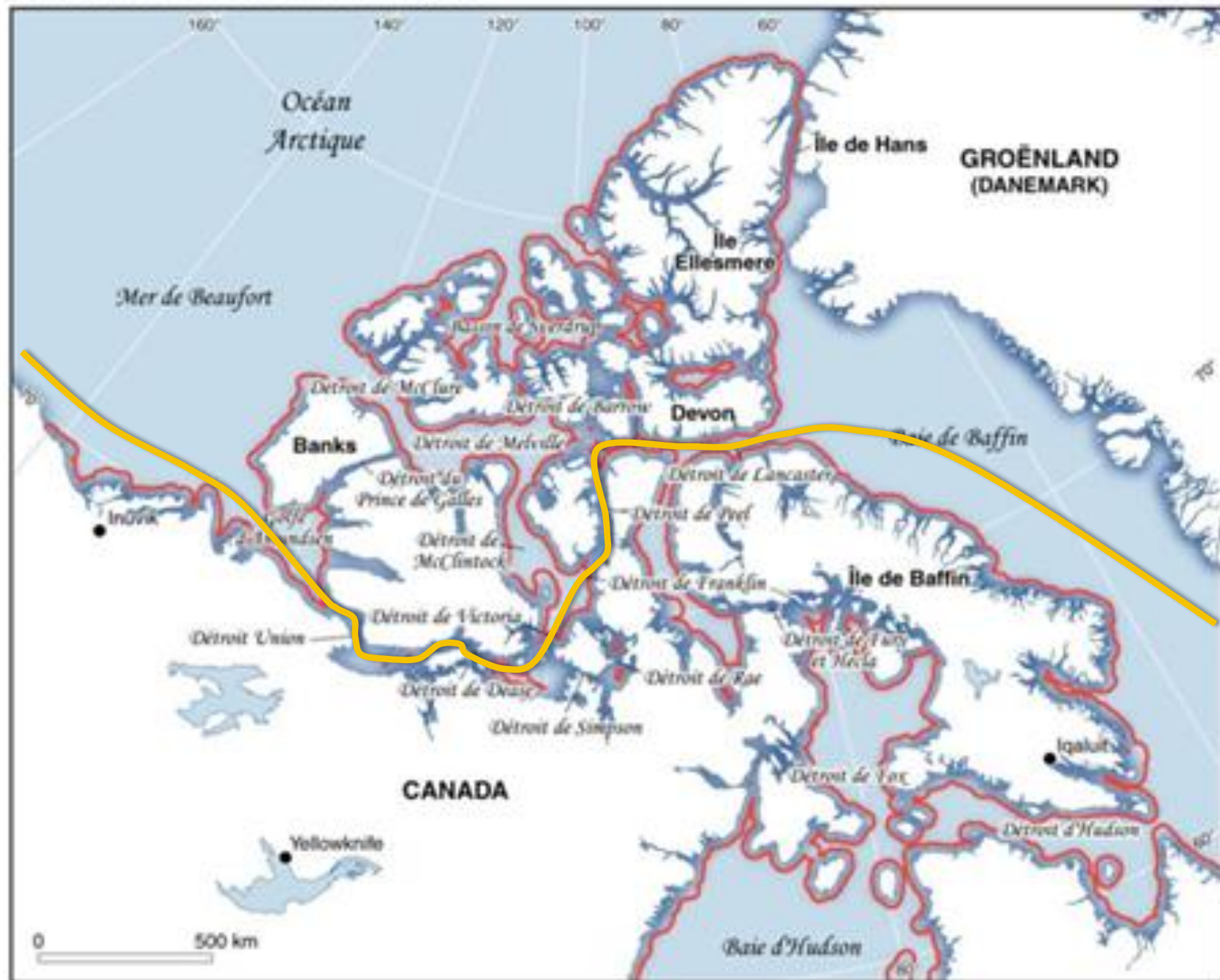
Baseline 78
 Selected turning points 78
 Schedule III points + III-5

Derived from "Maritime Zones of Canada" @ 1:6,750,000 (March, 2000), Chart M-400, by the Canadian Hydrographic Service, Fisheries & Oceans Canada

Exclusive Economic Zone Limit	EEZ/ZEE
Contiguous Zone Limit	[Red shaded area]
Territorial Sea Limits	[Pink shaded area]
Baselines for the Territorial Seas	[Dashed line]
Limit of Fishing Zone	[Line with fish symbol]
International Maritime Boundary	[Dotted line]
Arctic Waters	[Dashed line]
International Boundary on land	[Solid line]

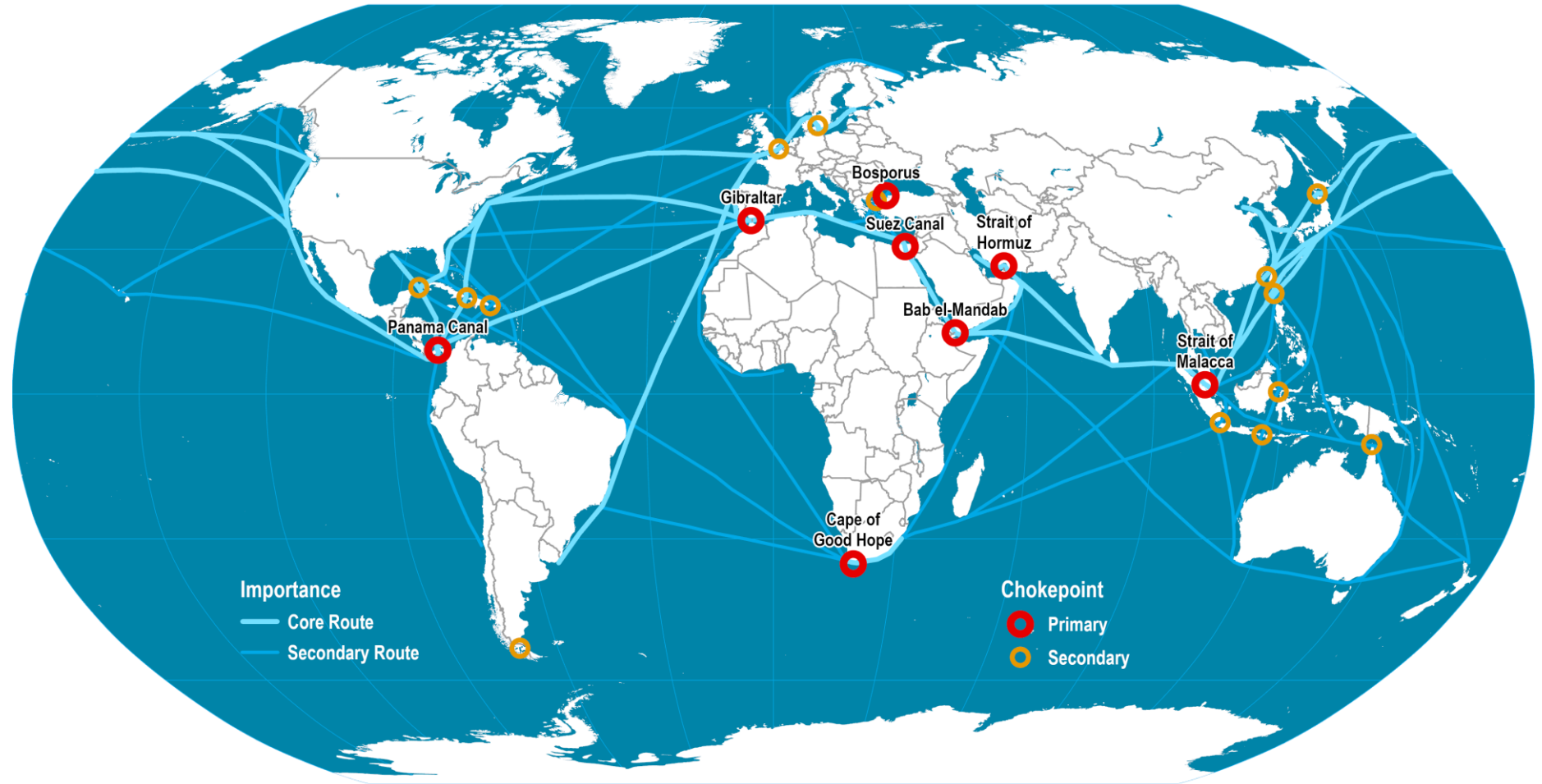
Point 163 (Schedule I), Cabot Island, is also Point 42 (Schedule I, Area 1, Labrador) of c. 1550, CRC 1978.

Eaux territoriales à 12 miles nautiques



Réalisation: Département de géographie, Université Laval

WE LOOK UP, THEY LOOK OUT ...

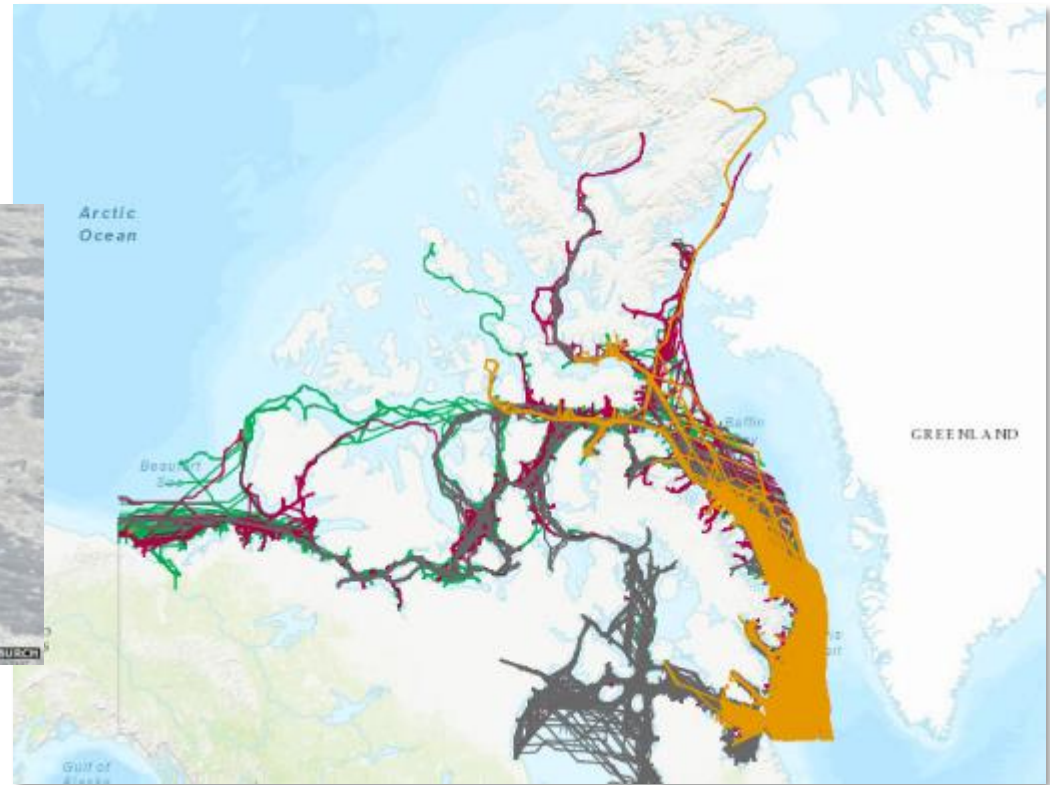


HOW WAS THE PROBLEM SOLVED (OR AT LEAST PUT ON ICE)

- Bilateral conversations
- Little immediate interest in the Arctic itself
- Level-headed, practical diplomats in both countries less concerned with winning than with managing the relationship and avoiding a fight
- An open conflict is a lose-lose for both parties

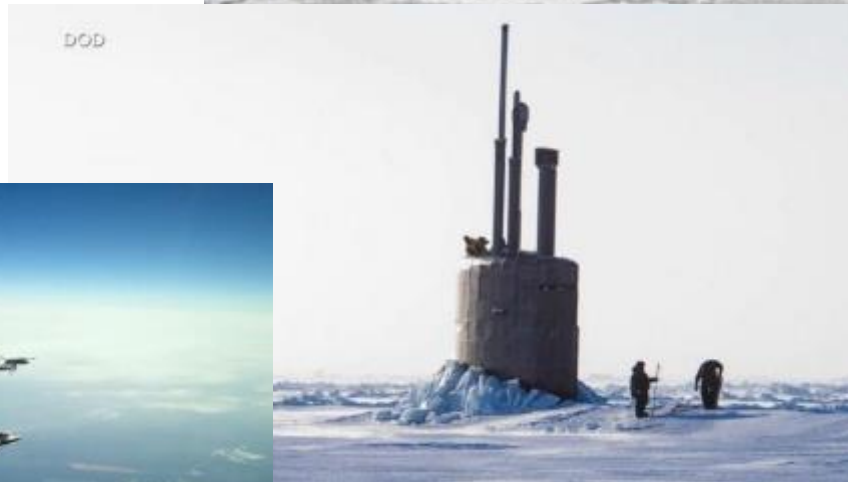
SHIPPING POLITICS: BOTTOM UP CONFIRMATION

- Canada has long worked to secure US government recognition of sovereignty
 - That was never going to work
- In the 21st century, that recognition can be better demonstrated with a wider appeal to private enterprise.



CONCLUSIONS

- Arctic security policy can't be all encompassing
- Circumpolar geopolitics are an extension of global concerns
- Investments have to match the threat with the wider world in perspective
- Cooperation is essential



Questions?

