

SUGGESTED READINGS

Greenland¹

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Geopolitics and energy development remain highly important security issues in and for Greenland. Given the vast Greenlandic resource potential, it is unsurprising that Greenland's mining sector represents not only opportunities for Greenland's growing role in Arctic discourse, but also its role in the competing economic aspirations of China, the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia. Additionally, Greenland's geo-strategic location in the Arctic makes it a prime candidate for considering the construction of airbases and military outposts. Greenland is, therefore, emerging as a key geopolitical actor as the importance of the Arctic increases. However, in late 2021, the Naalakkersuisut (Government of Greenland) passed legislation banning not only oil exploration and uranium mining, but also mining of resources with a uranium content above 100 parts per million: making issues of future critical mining and oil exploration questionable. A complex approach to security issues is developing in Greenland. The pursuit of economic development continues, yet with climate change and environmental issues emerging as key issues on the political agenda, developmental aspirations continue, albeit in a more climate responsible and sustainable manner.

On a national level, since the 2009 Self-Government Act, Greenland has received a high degree of self-determination and while a constitution is still under preparation, it remains to be seen what type of model Greenlanders will choose. While its colonial history is intrinsically connected to the Kingdom of Denmark, Greenland is now able to choose the extent of its cooperation with the European Union, NATO, and future trading opportunities with key partners in Russia and China. Economic opportunities that come from fishing – accounting for 90% of Greenland's exports – alongside potential new inflows from mining and tourism may present the chance for economic growth but will also play an important role in constructing Arctic interstate relations.

On an individual and community-level, questions of security often come down to jobs, access to healthcare, education, and protecting the environment and culture. There are staggering inequities between small settlements and larger towns, housing costs are high, and Greenland's suicide rate is considered one of the highest globally. Many of these security issues are detached from issues of defense but are rather issues of everyday life for Greenlanders. Climate change acts as a macro-driver for all of these, exacerbating food insecurity by making traditional hunting and fishing difficult for Greenlanders due to changes in mammal migratory patterns, and the increasing danger of sea ice travel due to unprecedented Arctic ice melt. Considering Greenland's

¹ This Suggested Reading was produced by NAADSN graduate fellows to provide suggested readings for participants in the Advancing Collaboration in Canada-U.S. Arctic Regional Security (ACCUSARS III) workshop held from 24-25 March 2022.

population is majority Inuit (around 89%), many of the challenges that Indigenous Peoples face across the Arctic are also mirrored here, such as challenges to food security, environmental changes, and societal security. Overarching these dimensions of security in Greenland is the question of how its colonial history has and continues to impact security on different levels of scope and scale.

Throughout this pre-reading list and ACCUSARS III, we invite you to consider the following questions:

- What role does Greenland play in Arctic geopolitics?
- How can understanding Greenlandic national security issues assist in highlighting local questions of human security?
- What can Greenlandic responses to climate change teach other Arctic states and the international community about this threat?
- What is the impact of Greenland joining the Paris Agreement at UN COP26?
- How will Greenland's recent ban on oil and gas, uranium mining and similar activities impact international energy security as well as Greenland's energy security?
- What will the role of 'near-Arctic state' China and other foreign investors be in Greenland?

Broad Context

Chater, Andrew. ["An Evaluation of the Security Relationship between Canada and Greenland."](#) In *The North American Arctic: Themes in Regional Security*, eds. Dwayne Ryan Menezes and Heather N. Nicol, 188-197. London, UCL Press, 2019.

Chater analyzes the relationship between the two international actors of Canada and Greenland. Issues of security are explored within this chapter including oil and gas in Greenland, Hans Island, Borders, and the Continental Shelf. These issues challenge the traditional notion of security and interlink to securitization. Chater depicts that environmental and Indigenous groups are the securitizing actor, in which they argue that oil exploitation is an existential threat to the Arctic environment. However, there is a relatively strong governance of oil and gas exploration which is important to discuss. The article argues that both actors will work together to manage offshore development. Other issues to address include opening borders for Indigenous peoples and low possibility for conflict between Canada and Greenland pertaining to economic and security issues.

Egede, Múte. ["Greenland at the Centre of a Changing Arctic."](#) *The Wilson Quarterly*, 2022.

Greenland Prime Minister Múte Egede addresses a variety of important issues that will impact the future of Greenland including Arctic geopolitics, climate change and how Greenland will hold a key role in the transition to renewable energy. Egede asserts that Greenland is rising as a key influential actor as states look towards Greenland's resources. Greenland, therefore, is set to seize the opportunity to take its place on the world stage in an open economy whilst developing economically. Alongside this, Egede addresses the decision for Greenland to join the Paris Agreement and becoming a climate responsible symbol as the world's eyes shift to the North, which in turn links to Greenland's growing

significance in the green transition. Finally, Egede commits to ensuring the Arctic remains a low-tension area and declares that Greenland is at the forefront of important changes, and to truly have a real impact, Greenland will be engaged and seek to take a prominent position on the world stage.

Government of Greenland (Naalakkersuisut). “[Greenland halts new oil exploration.](#)” 15 July 2021.

On July 15th, 2021, the Naalakkersuisut (Government of Greenland) announced that Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland) would be halting the exploration and extraction of certain rare earth minerals and stopping oil and gas exploration entirely. Although the rich potential of the Greenlandic underground offers vast amounts of mineral and oil reserves, Greenland has chosen to pursue more climate responsible approaches to economic development. The press release has two subheadings, firstly ‘*The Greenlandic Underground*’ and secondly ‘*An end to oil exploration*’. A draft-bill for consultation was issued which bans the investigation, exploration, and extraction of uranium in Greenland. The Inuit Ataqatigiit Party asserted that the ban on uranium mining is “rooted in a profound belief that business activities must take nature and the environment into account”. The second subheading reads ‘*An end to oil exploration*’ and highlights the vast potential of unexplored deposits of oil within the Greenlandic underground. Despite this, the Naalakkersuisut announced a stop to all new oil and gas exploration in and around Greenland.

Grydehøj, Adam. “[Government, Policies, and Priorities in Kalaallit Nunaat \(Greenland\): Roads to Independence.](#)” In *The Palgrave Handbook of Arctic Policy and Politics*, eds. Ken S. Coates and Carin Holroyd, 217-231. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

Kalaallit Nunaat (known in English as ‘Greenland’) is an autonomous region of Denmark as well as the only Indigenous territory in the Arctic with a legally established roadmap toward independence. The relationship between economic, political, and cultural independence is not straightforward, however, and Kalaallit Nunaat is confronted by a range of significant political choices related to both domestic and foreign policy—choices that are subject to close observation and comment by state actors not only in Denmark (Kalaallit Nunaat’s colonizer) but also in the USA and China. Although the population of Kalaallit Nunaat is overwhelmingly in favor of political independence from Denmark, the territory’s national proportional representation system for parliamentary elections supports a large number of political parties representing distinctive constellations of voter interests and ideologies. As Kalaallit Nunaat moves toward further urbanization, greater connectedness to the outside world through airport development, and geopolitical repositioning as a result of evolving USA security policy and China’s Belt and Road Initiative, this Arctic Indigenous territory will continue to undergo political change.

Jacobsen, Marc. “[Greenland’s Arctic advantage: Articulations, acts and appearances of sovereignty games.](#)” *Cooperation and Conflict* No. 55:2 (2020): 176-177.

In the Arctic, nation states and the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) disagree whether the rightful meaning of ‘sovereignty’ is either a fundamental binary concept or a contested concept in flux. As a state-in-the-making with almost 90% of its population being Inuit,

Greenland is situated between those two oppositions. On the one hand, their self-government is part of the transnational Inuit community while it, on the other hand, aspires to become a state in the traditional sense with full formal Westphalian sovereignty. In this striving, the development of more foreign policy sovereignty is an important factor in the enhancement of Greenland's international status and in their ability to attract external investments. The governmental arrangement with Denmark allows the Government of Greenland some foreign policy competence on areas of exclusive concerns and which entirely relate to fields of responsibility that Greenland has taken over. As this definition is open to interpretation, it gives rise to the question: How do representatives expand Greenland's foreign policy room for maneuver by playing sovereignty games in the Arctic?

Lanteigne, Marc and Mingming Shi. "[Greenland in the Middle: The Latest Front in a Great Power Rivalry](#)." *The Polar Connection*, 25 May 2020.

Under normal circumstances, the announcement of an American foreign investment package worth slightly over US\$12 million would not be particularly newsworthy. Yet this specific proposal, made by Washington last month, has caused a political stir well out of proportion to its value for two reasons. First, the investment plan was directed at Greenland, a country which unwittingly found itself in the global spotlight in the wake of an ill-conceived idea, mooted by the Trump administration last year, to purchase the island from Denmark. That initiative demonstrated a lack of understanding of the 2009 Self-Rule Act between Denmark and Greenland, which gives the latter the right to self-determination. Second, the methods by which the investment plan was unveiled left little doubt that the United States' motivations reflected great power Realpolitik, especially concerns about China's economic presence in Greenland, as opposed to economic rationales. Greenland, with a population of 56,000 and part of the Kingdom of Denmark, is finding itself in the difficult position of being caught in the centre of a developing great power competition over influence in the Arctic.

Menzes, Dwayne Ryan. "[The Case for a Five Eyes Critical Mineral Alliance Focusing on Greenland](#)." *The Polar Connection*, 4 March 2021.

The report looks at the growing demand for critical minerals, including rare earth elements, in the West, especially in strategically important sectors such as defence and security, green energy and technology, but also at the security implications of China's near monopoly of rare earths and other minerals for the UK and its North American, European, and Pacific allies.

The report also highlights Greenland's vast resource potential, and demonstrates that, despite the media hullabaloo about China's growing footprint in the Arctic, the three countries most prolific in Greenland's mining sector are the UK, Canada, and Australia. The three countries – the closest allies of the US and its partners within the Five Eyes Alliance – collectively account for 27 of the 41 companies currently holding licenses in the Arctic Island country. By focusing on the oft-neglected British, Canadian, and Australian commercial presence in Greenland rather than the more familiar American military presence therein, the report explores why Greenland should matter just as much to the UK and the Five Eyes Alliance as a whole, as it does to the US. The report considers the

existing approaches of the UK, the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand to securing access to critical minerals and demonstrates why concerted Five Eyes cooperation is vital to the allies' defence and security, climate ambitions and industrial strategy. It urges governments, industry, and research institutions in the Five Eyes partners to come together to form a Five Eyes Critical Minerals Alliance (FVEY CMA) to strengthen collaboration in resource intelligence, mining finance and technical expertise; to develop integrated, secure, stable, sustainable, reliable, and resilient supply chains of minerals critical to their national and economic security; and to reduce their import reliance on China for these minerals.

Olsvig, Sara. "[We Live in the Arctic: Inside Greenland Looking Out.](#)" *Global Asia*, December 2021.

The issues surrounding the Arctic are enormous in scope and involve topics as diverse as climate change, geopolitics, shipping, fisheries, extractive industries such as natural gas and the region's economic future. What these discussions often ignore is the fact that the Arctic is also home to approximately four million people, many of them Indigenous peoples, and their views are an essential part of this tableau. A native of Greenland, Sara Olsvig provides a portrait of the struggles facing its people.

Rahbek-Clemmensen, Jon. "[Let's \(Not\) Make a Deal: Geopolitics and Greenland.](#)" *War on the Rocks*, 28 August 2019.

President Donald Trump's offer to buy Greenland, a semi-autonomous territory within the Kingdom of Denmark, came as a bolt out of the blue, causing global astonishment and no small amount of ridicule. For many of his detractors, the offer once again demonstrated the president's lack of diplomatic knowledge and his tendency to offend his allies unnecessarily, especially once he cancelled a state visit to Denmark upon learning Danish leaders were uninterested selling Greenland. Many of his supporters, meanwhile, saw the president's offer as a potential diplomatic masterstroke that would solidify the United States' position in geopolitically important territory. This article examines why the United States is interested in Greenland and whether offering to buy Greenland helps the United States reach its strategic objectives. It argues that Greenland is becoming steadily more important to the United States due to its fear of Chinese and Russian encroachments. However, offering to purchase Greenland is not the optimal way to achieve American security interests, as it is unlikely to succeed, and even if it did, it would be far more expensive than other, more sensible approaches. Instead, the article outlines the basic pillars of an engagement strategy that would help the United States strengthen its position in Greenland based on shared concerns.

Areas of Concern

Ackrén, Maria, and Rasmus Leader Nielse., "[The First Foreign and Security Policy Opinion Poll in Greenland.](#)" *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and Ilisimatusarfik*, February 2021.

Ilisimatusarfik has conducted a public opinion poll amongst the Greenlandic population on foreign and security policy issues during November - December 2020 in cooperation

with HS Analyse. This has been done in cooperation with HS Analyse in Nuuk and has been financed by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Nordic Countries Project in Stockholm, Sweden. While many Greenlanders are not concerned about broader political questions, climate change is seen as the greatest threat for residents. Rather than being concerned about China's economic investment, Greenlanders show concern for unemployment, economic issues and increasing housing costs.

Andersson, Patrik, Jesper Willaing Zeuthen & Per Kalvig. "[Chinese Mining in Greenland: Arctic Access or Access to Minerals?](#)" *Arctic Yearbook* 2018.

This article contributes to the academic debate on China's growing interests in the Arctic and enriches our understanding of the various economic and political factors influencing Chinese investment decisions in the mineral sector. The article studies Chinese interests in two Arctic advanced mineral exploration projects – the Citronen Fjord zinc project in Northern Greenland and the Kvanefjeld (Kuannersuit) Rare Earth Element (REE)-uranium project in Southern Greenland. It analyses China's different policies for REE and zinc and their different roles in China's foreign policy strategy – the Belt and Road initiative (BRI), which also includes plans for establishing an "Ice Silk Road". Based on a study of Chinese-language policy documents and academic articles from the mining sector, we argue that Chinese involvement in the two projects is driven by different strategic considerations. Chinese involvement in REE projects overseas is primarily driven by China's interest in the strategic resource itself, whereas decisions of where to engage in zinc projects are to a higher degree determined by China's foreign policy priorities. China has a well-developed and clearly defined national strategy for REE, a resource it considers "strategic," of which the Kvanefjeld project is likely to be part. Zinc, on the other hand, is not a strategic resource to China, but still essential for its industry. Hence, we argue that the Citronen Fjord project is less tied to national resource strategy; instead, it offers China access to the Arctic region and to zinc as an added bonus. By focusing on the mineral sector, the article explores the extent to which mineral interests drive Chinese foreign policy and to what extent other foreign policy interests influence the Chinese mineral sector overseas.

Blaxekær Lau Øfjord, Marc Lanteigne and Mingming Shi. "[The Polar Silk Road & the West Nordic Region.](#)" *Arctic Yearbook* 2018.

In June 2017, China's National Development and Reform Commission officially announced that the Arctic Ocean would be added to the list of "blue economic corridors" comprising a major part of China's emerging "Belt and Road" trade and infrastructure initiatives. In January 2018, this policy was further codified in China's first governmental White Paper on the Arctic. In May 2017, The Nordic Council of Ministers and China formally agreed to strengthen collaboration between China and the Nordic region on five key areas. At the same time, the West Nordic Region (Greenland, Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and coastal Norway) is increasingly being framed as a distinct part of the Nordic region with its Arctic location, maritime and blue bio-economy focus, yet these countries have no joint Arctic strategy or approach to the emerging Polar Silk Road. On the one hand, China's enhanced Arctic engagement and strategic collaboration with the Nordic region, which includes the Arctic, maritime economy, and bio-economy, seem very promising for West Nordic development, on the other hand, geo-political unease about Chinese investments in the Arctic raise questions about what happens when the large-scale geopolitics meet the

micro-scale geopolitics of the West Nordic Region. There is a significant gap in both the academic and policy literature on these matters, and as such, this article targets both academia and practitioners seeking to better understand and act according to developments in this region. Theoretically, we frame the article within the English School in International Relations.

Egede, Múte. “[A Greener Greenland – a briefing by the Premier of Greenland.](#)” *YouTube*, 1 November 2021: 10:35-18:05.

Greenlandic Premier Múte B. Egede’s full briefing at UN COP26 outlines Greenland’s intentions for sustainable development, joining the Paris Agreement and a “greener” approach to economic development from the Inuit Ataqatigiit Party. This is an important announcement as Greenland has previously been excluded from the collective responsibilities of the Paris Agreement through the Depositary notification- *Denmark: Territorial Exclusion in Respect of Greenland*. Within the Paris Agreement, there is a right to development for Indigenous peoples and developing states in the name of climate justice. However, regardless of this right to carboniferous development, Greenland as an Indigenous people is now actively seeking to join the Paris Agreement and is acting as a climate responsible nation. A rejection of carboniferous methods for development has been sacrificed in favour of pursuing more sustainable and climate responsible avenues for economic development. Greenland has placed climate responsibility as a top priority, and this may be a highly symbolic move to inspire other actors to follow suit.

Grydehøj, Adam, Ilan Kelman, and Ping Su. “[Island Geographies of Separation and Cohesion: The Coronavirus \(COVID-19\) Pandemic and the Geopolitics of Kalaallit Nunaat \(Greenland\).](#)” *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* No. 111:3 (2020): 288-301.

Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland) is an Arctic highly autonomous subnational island jurisdiction (SNIJ) of Denmark, its former coloniser. The coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic of 2020 has influenced both Kalaallit Nunaat’s relations with the outside world and relations between people and places within the territory. The Kalaallit Nunaat government’s response to the pandemic, including both internal and external travel bans and restrictions on movement, has focused on eradicating the disease from the territory. This strategy, however, is challenged both by the SNIJ’s economic reliance on Denmark and by the Danish government’s own strategy of mitigating the disease. This paper explores the ways in which the coronavirus pandemic has altered how the people of Kalaallit Nunaat interact with the people of Denmark and with one another, ultimately shedding light on the relationship between islands, disease, and geopolitics more generally.

Henriksen, Anders and Jon Rahbek-Clemmensen. “[The Greenland Card: Prospects for and Barriers to Danish Arctic Diplomacy in Washington.](#)” *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook* 2017.

This article examines how Denmark might use Greenland to influence the policies of the United States, based on interviews with Danish, Greenlandic, and American civil servants, politicians, and experts. Greenland is still important to the United States, but not as important as during the Cold War. Thus, the value of the Greenland Card is fairly limited.

However, if the US-Russia relationship deteriorates, its value is likely to increase. Greenland and the Arctic therefore constitute an important policy area, which Denmark could use to diversify its relationship with the United States. However, several barriers inhibit Danish Arctic diplomacy, including a too narrow focus on contributions to American led operations in the Middle East, mistrust between Denmark and Greenland and the taboo that surrounds the Greenland Card. The article finally makes recommendations as to how these barriers might be reduced.

Jiang, Yang. "[Chinese Investments in Greenland.](#)" *Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS)*, 2021.

Greenland is important to Denmark's position in international politics, and it has become an arena of increasing competition between great powers. Of all China's shipping, investment and scientific exploration activities in the Arctic, Chinese investments in Greenland have become the most controversial issue. For Washington DC, Copenhagen, and the IA Party that won the Greenlandic general election in April 2021, China's political influence and the environmental impacts that might come with investment are a major concern. Behind the concern is the view that Chinese investments are driven and coordinated by the Chinese state for strategic purposes, but there is a lack of studies on how close state-business relations are and to what extent the domestic reforms in China have pushed Chinese companies to seek out Greenland. Therefore, this DIIS report seeks to inform debates around the role of China in Greenland by delving into the following questions: Why would Chinese companies invest in mining projects in Greenland, and how have they obtained access? How have the projects progressed? To what extent have Chinese state actors participated in these projects?

LaFortune, Gabrielle and Mathieu Landriault. "[Sputnik's Coverage of Trump's Declaration Over the Purchase of Greenland.](#)" *NAADSN Policy Brief*, October 2021.

Beyond the material and physical reality of the region, the Arctic is represented differently in state, media, and civil society discourses. Framing the region in terms of cooperation or competition impacts individual perceptions of the Arctic. We also know that disinformation (spreading false information willingly to mislead) and misinformation (spreading false information without the intent to mislead) are global phenomena, impacting the circumpolar North just like any other region. There is a thin line, however, between disinformation and misinformation and displaying different frames of an event or development: media outlets can put the spotlight on different aspects of a story without necessarily dis/misinforming. Differing techniques can also be deployed to either promote specific frames or lead dis/misinformation: interviewing specific experts, referring to social media, organizing the information in specific ways, etc. This policy brief will analyze how the (state-operated) Russian press agency Sputnik covered the controversy around Donald Trump's declaration that the United States was interested in purchasing Greenland. The analysis explores how this event was described by the Russian press agency and the techniques used by Russian journalists to frame the event. The ultimate question is whether or not Sputnik engages in dis/misinformation and, if so, how.

Michaud, Tracy, Colleen Metcalf & Matthew Bampton. [“A Picture is Worth \[More Than\] a Thousand Words: Visualizing Local and Tourist Perceptions of Greenland through Social Media Photo Mapping.”](#) *Arctic Yearbook*, 2021.

The old adage “a picture is worth a thousand words” is apt when examining social media photo posts. The Volunteered Geographic Information (VGI) embedded within social media photos from online sites such as Flickr provides depths of information for tourism managers beyond the image itself. This research analyzes Flickr VGI from photos of Kalaallit Nunaat or Greenland, from 2004-2020 within a netnography framework and cultural geographic approach. This theoretical outlook argues that geo-visualizations create novel impressions of what tourists and local people value, give insights into how people perceive a destination, and influence sense of place. Greenlanders, although familiar with exploration and colonization, have only recently begun to deal with a growing number of tourists. While the tenants of responsible tourism management include a strong local voice in conversations on tourism development, results show Flickr images of Greenland are dominated by tourist photos, especially those in cruise ship ports, many likely taken from the ship. Furthermore, there appears to be distinctly different photo patterns between locals and visitors. These dichotomies suggest the need for more conversation within broader tourism planning work around how the world “sees” Greenland, how it might affect the quality of life of locals, and sustainable tourism development for travelers. As visitation increases in Greenland, and in Polar regions in general, VGI provides an efficient, cost-effective way to visualize perceptions of various stakeholders, which can guide conversations in tourism management, and serve as a reminder to acknowledge and prioritize local voices.

Nielsen, Rasmus Leander. [“The EU isn’t good enough at drawing attention to its contribution to Greenland.”](#) *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung*, 5 February 2021.

For Greenland, there remains unnegotiated outstanding issues in relation to the UK's EU exit, to avoid a tariff wall on primarily shrimp and cod, and on the part of the EU, work is currently underway to switch the EU’s current “webinar signals” and approximate mentions of increased regional involvement in the Arctic for an actual and more practical EU Arctic policy. In connection with the work on, and in particular with the implementation of, the EU's new Arctic strategy, which the Commission announced toward the end of the year, it is worth rethinking how Brussels could achieve greater value-for-money when considering the approximately 350 million DKK that the EU contributes each year to the Greenlandic national treasury.

Olsvig, Sara. [“Greenland Obviously Has Its Own Defense Policy but it needs anchoring to be sustainable.”](#) *Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS)*, November 2021.

Sara Olsvig - Greenlandic politician and former leader (2014-2018) of the Inuit Ataqatigiit political party - and Ulrik Pram Gad - Senior Researcher for DIIS and Associate Professor at Aalborg University - analyze issues of Greenlandic defense. Olsvig and Gad provide four recommendations relating to the development of Greenlandic foreign policy strategies that address increased international interest in the Arctic; suggest that Denmark must consider that Greenland has its own defense and security policy; provide analysis on

Danish parliamentary spending agreements; and that the Parliament and Government of Greenland must develop a strategy pertaining to security and defense policy.

Østhagen, Andreas. “[Fish, Not Oil, at the Heart of \(Future\) Arctic Resource Conflicts’.](#)” *Arctic Yearbook*, 2020.

The main export in Greenland – accounting for 88% - comes from its fisheries, making the Greenlandic economy fragile to international price fluctuations. As sea ice diminishes in the Arctic, writings about the region have directed focus to accessing and potentially claiming undiscovered offshore oil and gas resources. However, as has been extensively proven, oil and gas resources in the North have not generated conflict or aggression. Instead, another ocean-based resource is emerging as the primary rationale for disputes in the Arctic: marine living resources. Despite a pro-active moratorium on High Arctic fisheries, issues such as quota distributions for mackerel, snow crab, and access to the maritime zone/shelf around Svalbard have proven particularly conflictual in northern waters. Several Arctic states – or their respective Arctic regions – are heavily dependent on fisheries as a source of economic wealth and food security. States are thus willing to go to great lengths to protect their sovereign rights in their economic zones. This article examines three cases of conflict related to fisheries management impacted by global warming in the Barents Sea and the North Atlantic in order to tease out lessons, dynamics and general relevance to the Arctic region. There are potential implications that could demonstrate what may face Greenland in the years to come; particularly now that Greenland has banned oil and gas exploration.

Paul, Michael. “[Plans, Problems and Perspectives for Greenland’s Project Independence.](#)” *Arctic Yearbook*, 2021.

These briefing notes outline contemporary political issues relating to the Greenlandic independence project. Issues discussed throughout include infrastructure and foreign policy; mining, the Sino-American rivalry, and the new government in Nuuk; Greenland and U.S.-Russia relations; Greenland and international security; and finally, a section outlining perspectives pertaining to Danish-Greenland relations. Greenland’s geopolitical importance is increasing, and this brings newfound opportunity for Greenland to assert its input developing the future direction of Greenland’s project independence.

Schøler, Mikkel. “[Mining in Greenland – Down but not Out.](#)” *The Polar Connection*, 24 November 2021.

On November 9, the ruling coalition in Greenland consisting of IA and Naleraq passed legislation banning not only uranium mining but also mining of resources with a uranium content above 100 ppm. The law also grants sweeping rights to the Greenlandic government to regulate other radioactive elements in the same manner. While IA delivers on a campaign promise, the phrasing of the law is far from conducive to the Greenlandic mineral sector at large. It remains to be seen how the US and the EU will try to work with the Greenlandic government on resource access under the new law – and how the Greenlandic government will choose to enforce the law. Already late to the ball and at a strategic disadvantage vis-à-vis China, the major powers will look elsewhere if Greenland proves to be unwilling to allow conditions conducive to resource extraction.

Sørensen, Camilla. [“China is in the Arctic to Stay as a Great Power: How China’s Increasingly Confident, Proactive & Sophisticated Arctic Diplomacy Plays into Kingdom of Denmark Tensions.”](#) *Arctic Yearbook* 2018.

As demonstrated by China’s first and long-awaited Arctic Policy White Paper released in January 2018, the Arctic is assigned increasing strategic importance in Beijing. The central priority behind China’s intensified diplomatic and economic activities in the region is to establish strong and comprehensive relationships with all the Arctic states and stakeholders and gradually increase China’s presence and influence in Arctic multilateral institutions. This is the context in which to analyze recent developments in the Chinese approach to the Kingdom of Denmark constellation and, more specifically, in the Chinese engagement in Greenland. The article contextualizes and examines the increasingly confident, proactive and sophisticated Chinese diplomacy in the Arctic with a focus on exploring how Greenland fits into this. The main argument is that there is more to China’s growing interests and activities in Greenland than ensuring Chinese access to potential Greenlandic resources. Rather, the main driving force is Beijing’s long-term aim to ensure great power influence in the Arctic. The article further explores the complex triangular relations between Beijing, Nuuk, and Copenhagen with Washington on the side underlining how further developments in relations between Nuuk and Copenhagen, one the one hand, will be influenced by “the China factor” but also, on the other hand, will set the parameters for how China’s role in Greenland further develops.

Volpe, Marco. [“The tortuous path of China’s win-win strategy in Greenland.”](#) *The Arctic Institute*, 24 March 2020.

Through China’s Arctic Strategy published in January 2018, China’s leadership has officially declared which role it will play in the “race to the North”. However, China is also engaging in a new maneuver in order to improve its role in Arctic governance: the win-win strategy, which involves the improvement of bilateral relationships with Arctic States, bolstering China’s involvement in Arctic matters. Greenland plays a key role in this strategy: extremely rich in natural resources, it is the hypothetical arrival point of the Polar Silk Road through the Transpolar Route, the only one that does not foresee the passage through territorial waters, and in need of international investors for new infrastructure. By looking at two main mining projects (Isua and Kvanefjeld projects), the article will shed light on why these projects are extremely relevant to China’s strategy, and the main social and political issues related to them.