

# Abstracts

Temanummer: Arktiske relationer

## **Emotional economies in the North Atlantic. Old relations and new friendships**

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The article focuses on the part of the »Nordic Arctic« that once belonged to the Danish (Danish-Norwegian) empire. With self-government and discussions about even looser ties between the remaining parties in the Danish Realm, power is moving north. This opens up for the formation of new connections and partnerships, where the former colonies/dependencies in the North Atlantic (Greenland, the Faroe Islands, Iceland and in some contexts Norway) explore the possibilities for closer relations that bypass Denmark. A possible barrier to the development of new and equal relationships seems to lie in a backlog of historical hierarchies and stereotypes, built on concepts such as »civilization«, »race« and »culture«, which continue to thrive despite decolonization and reorientation. Long-established emotional economies circulate along with the financial economies, making it impossible to separate emotions, finances, and political and social power relations. The article argues that an awareness of these repercussions of empire and colonialism is a prerequisite for their disablement.

## **Denmark's Arctic foreign policy: regional ambitions and complications of the Danish Realm**

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This article examines how political decision-makers have discursively positioned Denmark in relation to the Arctic, which today is one of the Danish government's top foreign policy priorities. The analysis shows how the discourse during the period 2006-2020 has gone through several shifts with different emphasis on external regional ambitions and internal considerations regarding the Danish Realm. In the beginning, the focus was exclusively on the Danish-Greenlandic relationship, while the regional perspective later gained much more attention. This involved an emphasis on Denmark as the main authority while Greenland's and the Faroe Islands' respective international agency were downplayed. Congruently with a more widespread cognition of the fact that Denmark's status as an Arctic state is conditioned upon the coherence of the Danish Realm, Greenland's and the Faroe Islands' importance has been recognized more explicitly. This has led to an ever-increasing consensus across the political spectrum that a more equal relationship between the three is worth striving for. A development not least encouraged by the increased attention from abroad.

## Between (post)coloniality and science: Hinrich Rink's research network in Greenland and the idea of an international Arctic research hub

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When the Danish and Greenlandic governments announced the formation of a new centre dedicated to Arctic research, 'International Arktisk Hub' (IAH), in 2018, it marked an important moment for both Arctic research and for the relationship between Denmark and Greenland. As a novel and significant research centre and network, the formation of IAH also offers a timely occasion for examining the relationship between research politics and geopolitics in the post-colonial context. Some 140 years earlier, another network dedicated to international Arctic research published the first volume of their journal, *Meddelelser om Grønland*. Though established years apart, there are central similarities between the two ventures. With a starting point in the formation of *Meddelelser om Grønland* in 1879, this article explores the central role of Greenlandic research in underwriting claims to national and territorial control in an international scientific marketplace that was fundamentally shaped by epistemic violence. In doing so, it examines how the formation of Greenlandic science has both shaped and been influenced by the historical tensions between internationalism and nationalism in the colonial and post-colonial context.

## Inclusion, image care or necessity? Base politics in Greenland and political culture in Denmark

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Thule Air Base is a strategically important multi-role U.S. base. Not just for the U.S. and Denmark, but also Greenland, which hosts the base and has the status of a signatory of the agreement that guarantees the existence of the base. Why was Greenland able to acquire such a status in the sphere of national security, which has traditionally been regarded as an exclusive prerogative of the state? In this paper we discuss established theories and explanations of base politics, based on a realist focus on power relations and security threats, as well as on a social constructivist attention to the historical and social genealogy of image and identity in international relations. However, based on a close reading of Danish parliamentary debates and legal text, we suggest that the political climate and conventions of the base hosting state constitute factors important to take into account alongside power and image.

## Greenlanders' opinions on foreign and security political questions: Insights from a survey

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What do Greenlanders think about the changing geopolitical dynamics in the Arctic, the challenges regarding security issues, and different international partners of cooperation? These and other questions are often addressed, but for the first time we have data for analysing a representative sample of the Greenlandic population and their views regarding the outside world. The article illustrates and discusses the most vital findings from a survey undertaken during the end of 2020. The focus of the study is centred around questions of topical threats, challenges, Greenlanders' view on the great powers and es-

pecially their opinions regarding international cooperation.

### Can Greenland imagine being something else than Arctic? Postcolonial comparative politics as research agenda

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Lately, Greenland is routinely categorized as Arctic. However, even if combining a small population across an enormous territory with extreme geographical and climatic conditions, Greenland appears unique with no single obvious place to seek inspiration, particularly because of the conscious decision to embark on a road to independence. To better understand the dynamics and dilemmas of Greenlandic nation-building and aspirations for independence, this article presents a new research agenda focusing on the politics of comparison. Comparison is not only a technical or practical but a political phenomenon integral to the relational production of identity. The article discusses how postcolonial politics of comparison differs from that of earlier epochs and how Greenland compares itself in widely differing ways in the most important developmental sectors. Through concrete examples, the article develops an analytical framework for how to conduct a study of the postcolonial politics of comparison.

### Between development and rearmament: Russia's plans for the Arctic

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The Arctic has never been more important to the contemporary, Post-Soviet Russia than it is now. The policy of Russia consists of two overall elements. The first element is a development part, in which transport and the extraction of resources in particular should assist in the lifting of both

the relatively poor Arctic zone and Russia proper. The second element is a defence part, in which Russia conducts a military build-up in the Arctic. This is done in order to be able to defend Russian sovereignty and to launch offensive operations against other states from bases within the region. In the West, attention is most often directed at the defence part, which Russian politicians also like to emphasise. However, the development of the Arctic plays a large role internally, and various Russian governments have launched, with limited success, large-scale plans to improve conditions in the region. Climate change is a major new unknown, which is likely to cause massive challenges for the Russian Arctic. Russian politicians often emphasise the need for co-operation in the Arctic, not least in order to solve these tasks. The Russian chairmanship of the Arctic Council is an opportunity for Russia to contribute to this co-operation.

### Greenland's foreign policy then and now: From the message of the merchants to bilateral agreements

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This article examines the most important historical events in the development of Greenland's foreign affairs and presents the main topics and relations of Greenland's current engagement on the world stage. The first part focuses on the development from being a Danish colony to the introduction of Self-Government, in which the occupation of Denmark during World War II was decisive for putting an end to Greenland's isolation from the outside world, while the subsequent political development paved the way for more foreign policy self-determination. The second part is about Greenland's foreign policy outlook today where the significant international interests in the Arctic has brought Greenland's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a new position where it strives for continuously more influence on foreign- and

security affairs. In this regard, the enhanced cooperation with the United States is a central element, while strengthened representation within regional cooperation in i.a. the Arctic Council is a core priority, as Greenland is the essential reason why the Kingdom of Denmark is involved in Arctic politics. The overarching priority now as well as before is a world of peace and tolerance, as a cooperative and safe Arctic will always be crucial for continuous development of Greenland.

### **The cooperative Arctic**

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This article is about how the strong Arctic cooperation may contribute to prevent regional conflicts. Starting out with the Ilulissat Declaration (2008), the Kingdom of Denmark's Arctic Ambassador writes about how the Danish Ministry

of Foreign Affairs since then has become more oriented towards the Arctic in step with the geopolitical development and the increasing need for close contact with Nuuk and Torshavn. Subsequently, the article explains how one defines the Arctic, who the relevant actors are, and what juridical and organizational framework determine how cooperation in the northernmost region unfolds. Here, the Arctic Council is especially important in avoiding that the current geopolitical tensions influence the Arctic negatively. At the same time, it is also important to keep the focus on climate changes as the effects on the environment and the peoples in the Arctic – Greenland and the Faroe Islands included – have great impact on life in the region. Cooperation is the way forward when addressing these new challenges and possibilities, as it builds the trust needed to promote the positive economic and socio-economic development of the region, which most people want.