GREENLAND IN THE WORLD

Nothing about us without us



Greenland's Foreign, Security and Defense Policy 2024-2033

— an Arctic Strategy

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Naalakkersuisut / Government of Greenland Ministry for Statehood and Foreign Affairs

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Dipping in for a drink of crystal clear water (Visit Greenland – Aningaaq R. Carlsen)



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FOREWORD

Welcome to Greenland's Foreign, Security and Defense Strategy 2024–2033.

It is a privilege and an honor for the Government of Greenland to present the strategy **Greenland in the World** — **Nothing about us without us**.

We live in a highly dynamic world that has continued to evolve while working on this strategy. In fact, not only does the world look different than it did just a short while ago, but Greenland has also changed. The ramifications of Brexit, the COVID-19 pandemic, Russia's invasion of Ukraine and other conflicts have all had — or have the potential of having – an impact on Greenland and will continue to necessitate actions and policies that fall within our jurisdiction. We must strive to retain existing markets and develop new trade relationships — and we need to reduce our vulnerability, boost our competitiveness and strengthen our supply security.

Meanwhile, climate change continues unabated, with unpredictable weather posing challenges for fishing, hunting, agriculture and the existing building stock. At the same time, this provides new opportunities for Greenland in mining, tourism and infrastructure development.

This strategy outlines our foreign, security and defense policy. In addition, it addresses the needs and concerns of an Arctic nation and an Arctic people. Not surprisingly, these issues are crosscutting for us in Greenland, which means that this can also be called an **Arctic strategy**.

The Greenlandic people need to adapt, adopt positions and forge a coherent strategy in response to major world events. Hence, this is essentially a strategy for our people and the collaboration with our partners. It reflects what we stand for and the challenges that we face, but it also presents the opportunities and potential that we have and can offer to the world. If it involves our role in the world, we must have a seat at the table. **Nothing about us without us.** We aim to collaborate more with the

world, our North American neighbors, and especially our neighbors in the North — strengthening our North-to-North cooperation and ties between the peoples of the Arctic, for the benefit of those who call Greenland and the Arctic their home.

The idea of creating an Arctic North American forum is particularly intriguing and has great potential. The Government of Greenland believes that there is a need for a forum where government decision-makers and parliamentarians in Alaska, Arctic Canada and, not least, Greenland can meet, exchange ideas, share best practices and launch concrete initiatives. We have a common interest in taking a leading role in these discussions to the benefit of our people.

The world has become increasingly fraught with uncertainty. This makes it all the more important to engage more with our allies and to discuss matters of national security and defense. But we also want to ensure that no arms race takes place in the Arctic. The climate is changing and the ice is getting thinner on the international stage — in both a literal and a figurative sense. To navigate these waters, you need a keen awareness of where you stand. And the basis for safely navigating the Arctic is to involve the peoples of the Arctic, to involve us. We believe in ourselves, in our partners and in our future generations who will continue to learn, innovate and drive us forward as a people and a country. Future generations must be able to identify with our country's foreign policy. In Greenland we say — Nothing about us without us.

Vivian Motzfeldt
Minister for Statehood and Foreign Affairs





1. INTRODUCTION

Greenland's foreign, security and defense strategy is an expression of our vision and desire for more collaboration with the world around us - not just because this is the course that we intend to pursue, but because it is necessary. Greenland is seeking greater international cooperation and trade because our development and progress require it. With the isolation of the colonial era long behind us, the world no longer seems unfathomably far away, but in many ways has become part of our everyday lives. The world is engaging with Greenland, and Greenland has to engage with the world. Our strategy is emerging at a time of change, and in a changing world. And as the world changes, Greenland must act and adapt, and get involved, especially in matters that affect us. Greenland in the World — Nothing about us without us.

With the right to self-determination and the goal of independence, our country and people aim to increase their cooperation with other countries. It is important for us as responsible citizens of the world, in our own name, to have the courage to take a stand on issues and events around the world.

Our strategy is based on shared values that underpin Greenland's approach to relations with other countries:

- Democracy and human rights are at the core of all relations.
- Greenland and the Arctic is an area of low tension.
- Improving the lives and livelihoods of the Greenlandic people is of key importance.
- All relations are based on the premise that Greenland and the Greenlandic people constitute an independent people and nation.
- All relations must be solution oriented.
- We stand in solidarity and work hand in hand with other Arctic communities.

Our country is aware that we are part of the Kingdom of Denmark, but we also strive for independence. We want to make a difference in the world, and we have something to contribute to the world. It is our aim that, within the Danish Kingdom's security and defense policy, all member countries must cooperate with respect for their differences and with equal rights and conditions.

This presentation of the strategy consists of 12 sections on key topics like the Arctic Council, the climate and the ocean, relations with neighboring countries (the United States, Iceland and Canada), trade, connectivity, East Asia, multilateral cooperation, and security and defense policy.

The strategy aims to lay down the overall framework and guidelines for Greenland's relations and policies with other countries to safeguard the security and defend the interests of Greenland and the Greenlandic people, to define our objectives, and to foster cooperation for the benefit of our country and our partners. Our foreign policy must support and strengthen our foreign trade and bolster our progress towards achieving a self-sustaining economy to enhance our self-determination, defend our interests, and increase our independence as stipulated in the Act on Greenland Self-Government and under international law. Greenland must be a trustworthy partner and pursue a consistent and reliable foreign policy.

Improved connectivity can help bring people — and countries — together, for instance through exchanges and educational programs for our children and young people. Collaborations can promote greater gender equality. Inuit in Greenland will continue to serve as a role model for other indigenous peoples, and we can champion their rights. Dialogue can foster understanding of people's living conditions and the need for development. International cooperation on healthcare and social issues can help us find solutions. Our participation in international research collaborations and multilateral cooperation can help protect our



marine environment and climate, and can raise awareness of conditions in Greenland, while security policy decisions can provide greater stability in uncertain times.

The strategy must support our foreign trade policy. After all, selling goods abroad generates revenue at home. The Far East is a major market for our fish and seafood, and will remain so in the future, but we also need to trade more with our close Western neighbors and, as an added benefit, minimize our carbon footprint by reducing CO₂ emissions from the transportation of our goods. We must work to strengthen supply chain security in an unstable world and explore ways to expand trade with our large North American neighbors. Today, there are trade barriers that severely impede the free exchange of goods and services, and can only be removed through political solutions. These are issues that we need to address. We are a small population with a limited domestic market. Expanding trade with other countries, and particularly with our immediate neighbors, can play an essential role in our development and supply chain security. Through trade with other countries, we can generate tax revenue and ensure a greater supply of goods and competition at home, which will help render our economy more self-sustaining. It is also by widening the scope of our activities that we make the world aware of our potential for tourism, business and industry, all of which opens the door to foreign investments in our country — for our mutual benefit.

The strategy's defense policy chapter presents our defense policy position, emphasizing political approaches that are characterized by Greenland's desire for peace and low tension in the Arctic.

In addition to pursuing our collaborations with countries farther south, as an Arctic nation we also look to the East and the West, including our closest neighbors, and intend to develop our North-to-North ties as a source of inspiration and collaborative opportunities.

We can use our foreign policy and diverse collaborative relationships to convey to the outside world our culture and our values, and to promote peace and democracy, international law and the right to self-determination, all the while providing an understanding of the conditions in the Arctic and the unique and valuable interplay between the peoples of the region. Our climate is changing, and the ice is getting thinner. We have proud peoples in the Arctic who continue to live and adapt — and we seek greater cooperation on today's terms. We will not allow ourselves to be hemmed in by outdated mindsets and structures, which give us no control over the course of developments. **Nothing about us without us.**



2. THE ARCTIC COUNCIL

Greenland must play a leading role in the Kingdom of Denmark's delegation to the Arctic Council because we are the Arctic part of the Kingdom. This allows Greenland to steer the cooperation in a direction that better suits a people who actually live in the Arctic and in areas of importance to us. In other words, Greenland is in an ideal position to make a direct political contribution to Arctic cooperation based on our extensive knowledge of the region. In addition to representing itself, Greenland must lead the Kingdom's delegations to the Arctic Council. Greenlandic authorities must intensify their efforts to represent Greenland, especially within the areas in which it has secured full jurisdiction, and we are called upon to contribute to international Arctic cooperation with a Greenlandic voice and perspective. It is only natural that Greenland leads the Kingdom's delegations to the Arctic Council to ensure that the chairship of the Arctic Council is exercised by and from the Arctic.

Greenland supports an overarching joint Arctic policy for the Kingdom of Denmark, with common objectives for all three countries: Greenland, Denmark and the Faroe Islands. Not only is Greenland the only country in the Kingdom located in the Arctic, but it is also the only inhabited territory with a culture and a way of life that has taken shape in the Arctic. Most areas of cooperation under the Arctic Council fall within the scope of Greenland's jurisdiction.

Greenland will push for the Arctic Council to become more relevant and inclusive for the peoples of the Arctic. We are dedicated to developing a cohesive Arctic through business partnerships between local stakeholders via cultural exchanges, collaboration on food security, and enhanced connectivity between the indigenous peoples of the Arctic. This is driven by our ambition to develop new areas of activity that can and will make a difference in the Arctic, also for children and young people.

Greenland continues to support the participation of indigenous representatives in the work of the Arctic Council. Their engagement makes the Council unique and serves as a reminder that there are people who call the Arctic their home and have an intimate connection to the region. The participation of Arctic indigenous peoples' representatives strengthens dialogue and peace in the region.

Research in the Arctic and Greenland under the auspices of the Arctic Council must continue to be supported and developed — for the benefit of Greenland, the Arctic and the rest of the world. The Greenlandic territory is a vast area where extensive international research activities are conducted. There is plenty of room here for greater inclusion of Greenlandic research institutions and local communities. Research and science diplomacy can thus be used to develop our bilateral relations with other countries and enhance collaborations that also benefit the Greenlandic scientific community. This is yet another aspect of **Nothing about us without us**.

Greenland seeks to ensure that the Greenlandic people are involved and respected in research activities and that researchers share their results and make them easily accessible to the general public. This will be assured by a revised regulatory research framework that will facilitate researchers' collaboration with Greenland and provide for their safety while working here.

- Greenland supports a joint Arctic policy for the three countries of the Kingdom of Denmark.
- Greenland must contribute knowledge and expertise to the working groups under the Arctic Council that focus on the living conditions of the peoples of the Arctic, research collaboration, and understanding today's global environmental and climate challenges.



THE ARCTIC COUNCIL



- Greenland must prepare to take the lead for the Danish Kingdom's chairship of the Arctic Council in 2025–2027 and, in subsequent years, continue to assume responsibility and contribute to the Council's advancement.
- The role of the Arctic Council must be safeguarded with long-term participation of the entire Arctic region, and its mandate should continue to exclude matters related to hard security.
- Despite difficult times, there is still a need to look ahead to the long-term development of the Arctic Council. In the spirit of collaboration, the Arctic and its peoples deserve nothing less.
- We must endeavor to make the Arctic Council's work more relevant and inclusive for the peoples of the Arctic, and new areas of cooperation should be taken into consideration for the Council's mandate.



3. THE CLIMATE AND THE OCEAN

The ice is getting thinner. Indeed, the ice in the Arctic Ocean and around Greenland is melting at an alarming rate, as is the Greenland ice sheet. This can impact ocean currents, which can have additional repercussions for the world's climate and our own regional climate. The ocean and the climate are interconnected, and ocean currents link the Arctic from east to west and from west to east. The peoples and nations of the Arctic must work together for the sake of the world's climate and oceans.

The Arctic, including Greenland, is among the regions of the world most affected by global climate change. Temperatures are rising and the weather is becoming increasingly unpredictable. Permafrost is melting, which can damage foundations and roads. Migration patterns of marine mammals are changing and we are witnessing new species in our waters. At the same time, we are experiencing changes in the stocks of the fish species that are most familiar to us. All of this affects ecosystems and biodiversity in the Arctic and Greenland, and the world needs to know how our hunting and other economic activities are affected by climate change.

We all have a responsibility to take action to counteract man-made climate change, which is the result of greenhouse gas emissions from the growth and development of industrialized countries. It is clear that we all have a shared, but differentiated responsibility to take action on climate change and incorporate appropriate measures into our policies. There is no Planet B. Greenland's international importance and role continues to grow, and this obligates us to act with a high degree of responsibility to steer developments in the Arctic in a sustainable direction. Greenland has long invested in green energy from hydropower plants that have brought the country's CO₂ emissions down to below 1990 levels to the benefit of the economy, growth and living standards. Greenland is doing its part and will continue to live up to its responsibilities.

During the strategy period, we intend to examine the possibility of expanding the jurisdiction of our territorial waters from 3 to 12 nautical miles, which would provide an opportunity to increase environmental regulations, strengthen the control of potential resources, and tighten safety requirements.

Greenlandic culture is rooted in hunting and fishing traditions. We live off the land and the sea. This will always be a cornerstone of Greenland's climate and environmental policy. Just as we need a sustainable climate and environment, we also need social sustainability. We, the people of Greenland, call the Arctic our home, and there needs to be a balanced approach to all of these issues.

- Greenland will inform the relevant bodies of the impacts of climate change in the Arctic and apprise them of how this affects hunting, fishing and other sectors.
- Greenland will join the Paris Agreement to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), with due consideration for Greenland's economic development needs.
- Greenland will develop a responsible climate policy that takes into account the country's development needs.
- Greenland supports efforts to preserve the world's biodiversity and environmental sustainability, while maintaining the important balance with social sustainability.
- Greenland will continue to invest in renewable sources of energy.
- Greenland will internally debate the pros and cons of extending its territorial waters from 3 to 12 nautical miles.
- Greenland will assist in making minerals available for the production of renewable sources of energy, thereby doing its part to lower CO₂ emissions on a global scale.
- Greenland will continue to support climate research within its territory — for the benefit of Greenland and the rest of the world.



4. THE UNITED STATES

The United States is one of Greenland's closest allies, and both are part of the NATO defense alliance. For many years, Greenland has sought to develop its relationship with the United States, which is the world's leading superpower and has had a military presence in Greenland for more than 80 years. Under the Defense Agreement of 1951, the United States is effectively the defender of Greenland in the event of a military conflict. Furthermore, Pituffik Space Base constitutes a key component of US national security. Greenland intends to continue its productive dialogue with the United States on defense issues, bearing in mind that we play a key role in the defense of the United States against external threats, especially from the Arctic region.

Greenland opened its representation in Washington DC in 2014 and the United States reopened its Consulate in Greenland in 2020. These two representations have led to increased engagement between the two countries, especially through the work of the Joint Committee, which focuses on civilian areas of cooperation within Greenland's jurisdiction, in accordance with the Igaliku Agreement from 2004¹ and the Common Plan from 2020², including trade, mining, tourism, research and education. We have also worked with the defense and security-related Permanent Committee, where high-ranking US, Danish and Greenlandic officials exchange views and information on

American military matters that affect Greenland. Denmark participates in both forums — as the Head of Delegation for the Kingdom in the Permanent Committee, and in more of an observer role in the Joint Committee. The largest US state, Alaska, is located in the Arctic, making the United States an Arctic nation.

Our Inuit cousins live in Alaska and are members of the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC). Greenland intends to further increase its engagement with Alaska, as exchanging best practices and expertise on the mining sector, education, the broader private sector and other areas is mutually beneficial. Enhanced relations between Greenland and the United States will provide greater opportunities for expanded cooperation. Direct trade and transportation routes between Greenland and the US will foster this development, in which the American Northeast will play a pivotal role.

- Greenland will work to remove barriers to trade through improved agreements.
- Greenland will work towards direct trade and transportation routes between Greenland and the United States.
- Together with the United States, Greenland will continue to develop the cooperation within the Joint Committee, including within the areas of trade, transportation, infrastructure, education, research, tourism, mining, healthcare and climate.
- Greenland will expand its relations with individual American states, particularly Alaska and the northeastern region of the United States.
- Greenland will work to ensure that the Defense Agreement of 1951 is expanded to include us as a party and for the greater benefit of our country.

Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Kingdom of Denmark, including the Government of Greenland, amending and supplementing the Agreement of April 27, 1951, pursuant to the North Atlantic Treaty between the Governments of the Kingdom of Denmark and the United States of America regarding the Defense of Greenland (Defense Agreement) and subsequent relevant supplemental agreements (August 6, 2004).

² Joint Common Plan U.S.-Greenland Cooperation in support of our understanding with regard to Pituffik (Thule Air Base), October 28, 2020.





5. ICELAND

In 2013, Iceland was the first country in recent times to open a consulate in Greenland, and Greenland subsequently opened its representation in Iceland in 2018. This has led to increasing interaction between the two countries, including an expansion of air and sea freight routes. Our close relationship has further potential for development to the benefit of both of our countries in areas like trade, tourism. the film industry, construction, renewable energy, energy-intensive industries, healthcare, tele- and data communications, fisheries, agriculture, gender equality, education and research. Greenland will work to develop trade between our two countries. Over the years, a wide-ranging fisheries collaboration has developed between Iceland and Greenland. We are committed to expanding cooperation on shared fish stocks, in line with the latest scientific data, to ensure an appropriate balance in the distribution of fishing quotas between the two countries.

Based on the 2022 Declaration of Cooperation, signed by the prime minister of Greenland and his Icelandic counterpart, Greenland will work to secure equal conditions within all sectors of the two countries — to the benefit of citizens and the business community.

- Based on scientific data, Greenland and Iceland will develop and adjust their fisheries cooperation
- Opportunities for expanded trade cooperation with Iceland will be pursued.
- Efforts will be undertaken to develop cooperation within business sectors like renewable energy, tourism, communications and transportation.
- Collaboration within the areas of healthcare, education and research shall be fostered.



6. CANADA

Canada is our closest neighbor, and we have the potential for developing the bilateral relationship within a wide range of areas, especially trade, transportation, tourism, fishing, mining, construction, research and education, and the removal of border-related barriers. Our ancestors immigrated here from the west and our Inuit cousins live in Canada. It is important for Greenland to restore the freedom of movement for Inuit between our two countries.

Following the conclusion of an agreement between Canada, Greenland and Denmark, the border between Greenland and Canada was signed into law in Ottawa in June 2022. The border passes through the Lincoln Sea, bisects Tartupaluk Island, and extends all the way down to the Labrador Sea to form the world's longest maritime boundary — and Greenland's only land border. All parties agree that this agreement should be used to explore options for more flexible movement across the border. In challenging times like this in the Arctic, it is important for like-minded neighbors to nurture their ties.

- Greenland will establish a diplomatic representation in Ottawa and further develop its cooperation with Canada.
- Greenland encourages the establishment of a Canadian consulate in Greenland.
- Greenland is committed to expanding its cooperation with Canadian provinces and territories, including through the Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of Greenland and the Government of Nunavut, signed on August 26, 2022.
- Greenland will work to ensure that the Inuit communities in Avanersuaq and northern Nunavut can visit each other without major obstacles. Greenland and Canada are neighboring countries, and Greenland will work to ensure the greatest possible freedom of movement between the two countries.

- Greenland will work for the continuation and development of cooperation with Canada within the realms of culture, education and research and other relevant areas between the two nations.
- Greenland is committed to developing cooperation with Canada in the areas of trade, transportation, communications, mining, construction, tourism and other relevant sectors.



7. INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Foreign trade policy is an integral part of foreign policy. Greenland has jurisdiction over the area of trade and commerce¹ and is working to take over additional areas from Denmark that underpin this key component of the economy. Like other countries, Greenland is heavily reliant upon international trade, which is essential for our economic development, including securing a self-sustaining economy.

At the same time, trading partners must respect the fact that our culture is rooted in the sustainable harvesting of marine mammals. We live from what nature has to offer — and we have the right to utilize our living resources.

Greenland's international trade policy must help create jobs for our people as well as profits for our companies, and thereby generate sustainable economic growth that will help us achieve a self-sustaining economy. This approach is based on — and compliant with — the sectoral policies in the business areas that form the basis for promoting international trade policy objectives. Greenland's trade with the rest of the world must contribute to a self-sustaining Greenlandic economy. Accordingly, we are working to facilitate access to international markets for our business community. Through an active trade policy, Greenland seeks to safeguard our interests and needs, and to ensure supply chain security to strengthen our country's resilience.

We must guarantee that we always have access to food, medicine and fuel — and we must become more robust and resilient. Steadfastly clinging to age-old patterns of trade and commerce is not always the most effective, safest or cheapest means of doing business. Greenland must be better prepared for a more unstable world, in which the ice is getting thinner. As a responsible government for the people of Greenland, we need to reduce our risks and vulnerabilities. For many years, Greenland has not engaged in much trade with our close neighbors to the west and southwest. We need

to change that, which is why we are focusing on markets in North America, for both imports and exports.

Our increasingly unstable and unpredictable world makes it all the more important to act as a responsible, stable and trustworthy trading partner. Greenland is committed to diversifying its export markets, which will mitigate the risks to our economy from global and regional shocks and conflicts. By boosting our range of export products and their international competitiveness, as well as increasing competition and the supply of goods on the domestic market, we can lay a more stable foundation for the Greenlandic economy. For Greenlandic consumers, this will pave the way for a wider selection of goods and greater competition on the Greenlandic market. Greenlandic government-owned companies should, if feasible, play a pioneering role in promoting trade with North America. Furthermore, private sector companies have expressed an interest in improved trade opportunities.

Greenland needs to increase its trade volume, extend its product range, and boost the value of its exports. We have been selling fish and seafood products for decades. It is important that we expand our line of products with new species and preferably more valuable processed goods. Greenland also intends to pursue its export opportunities for ice and water, and it would be highly positive if Greenlandic companies could take part in this development. Sales of minerals will also be prioritized to help increase Greenland's foreign exports. Exports of ice and water and genetic resources² also have potential and other export products as well as tourism must also be promoted to generate revenue for our country.

Greenland will explore the needs and opportunities for securing trade agreements — and will actively work to remove trade barriers. This is also a matter of ensuring the competitiveness and market share of our export sector, on which our economy is so

¹ www.tradeinvest.gl – is an example of a new website by the Government of Greenland.

² www.govgen.gl



reliant. Over the coming years, we will focus on Asia, especially countries like China, Japan, Korea and India, and will work to strengthen and expand trade and cooperation. The United States and Canada are also major markets where barriers need to be identified in order to develop and diversify our trade with these countries. The EU and the UK also constitute a historically important market for Greenland, with potential for further development. Trade agreements with other countries will help us strengthen our position on the world market. Such agreements are resource-intensive and long-term, which is why Greenland will prioritize resources for this effort — also in relation to our understanding and work with the principles and standards of the WTO that our trading partners heavily rely upon.

Trade with other countries goes both ways. In addition to trading with our partners, we intend to attract investments in suitable sectors from like-minded countries that share our values. However, Greenland will not exclude cooperation with countries that accept and respect our values and legislation. Work has begun on drafting an investment screening law.

The Greenlandic people have their own distinctive national character, identity and culture. Likewise, Greenlandic products have their own authentic story and are purely derived from the pristine Arctic. While Greenland provides outstanding experiences for tourists that allow them to discover our unique culture and pure, wholesome foods from the region, opportunities also abound for investors who are looking to capitalize on a more sustainable utilization of mineral resources for the global green transition and access to clean and renewable sources of energy. Both the mining and energy sectors can be instrumental in the fight against global warming, in which Greenland assumes responsibility for the role that it has to play.

Exporters and importers should also give due consideration to climate-friendly trade practices, iincluding the possibility of trading with Greenland's closest neighbors, which would reduce the carbon footprint from shipping and transport.

- Greenland will work to increase the total value of its exports.
- Greenland will support its companies' efforts to export pure ice and water.
- Greenland will seek to remove trade barriers and enter into bilateral (free) trade agreements.
- Greenland will prioritize resources for trade activities with an international focus and our work with the WTO.
- Greenland will assume jurisdiction over areas that promote and support trade.
- Greenland will nurture and further develop existing markets in Europe, the UK and East Asia, as well as develop new opportunities for trade with North America to reduce Greenland's vulnerability, strengthen supply chain security, and diversify its markets.
- Greenland will support more climate-friendly trade with nearby markets, especially with the United States and Canada, thereby helping to reduce CO₂ emissions, and will place particular emphasis on minerals that can contribute to the global green transition.
- Greenland will pursue development potentials as an attractive and reliable partner in the mineral resources sector.
- Greenland will work to attract investments from like-minded countries.
- Greenland will develop its trade relations in harmony with its distinctive identity, culture, and pure Arctic foods and products.
- Greenland will assist its business community in navigating the stormy waters of an increasingly complex and unstable world.
- Greenland will ensure its supply chain security and safeguard that we always have access to food, medicine and fuel.
- Greenland is open for business.



8. CONNECTIVITY

Greenland is reaching out to its neighbors — and to other countries — because better connectivity is crucial for cooperation and for our development. For many years, Greenland has not had direct flight connections to Canada and the United States, even though we are part of the North American continent. Greenland's investments in new, larger airports will pave the way for new westward flight routes.

We have enormous potential for greater trade with our western neighbors. To improve trade relations with Canada and the United States, we need to create direct shipping routes. Supply must follow demand, but political action is also necessary. To improve our ties with Canada and the United States, Greenland needs to take advantage of new opportunities and break away from centuries of colonial trading structures.

For instance, we intend to keep abreast of emerging routes through northern shipping lanes, including through the Northwest Passage, and of the long-term prospects that this may have for Greenland and its infrastructure. It is important that Greenland is involved in ensuring that this development takes place in a secure and sustainable manner. Accordingly, Greenland supports the Arctic Council's work with the International Maritime Organization, IMO, to implement the Polar Code¹ for ships sailing in polar waters.

Greenland aims to improve its data and communications redundancy to enhance the stability of data and telecommunications lines in and out of the country. Better connections to the east and the west with submarine cables and via satellite are vital for Greenland and will create new opportunities for potential investors.

In all of the above contexts, government-owned companies will have key roles to play and, in the years ahead, there is a potential for increased earning opportunities. The Arctic Council is one of the forums where cohesion in the Arctic can be developed between like-minded states and political entities. The greater the contact and exchanges among the peoples of the region, the more meaningful and constructive the dialogue and cooperation that can be developed within the scope of the Council.

- Greenland will continue to develop its ties to the rest of North America in the areas of air traffic, shipping and tourism.
- Greenland will maintain and expand existing partnerships with other Inuit and local governments in Canada and the United States.
- Greenland will keep abreast of, and respond to, developments leading to future northern shipping lanes.
- Greenland will expand data and communications lines via satellite and submarine cables between Greenland and its neighbors, including North America.
- Greenland will work to establish exchanges in the fields of education, science and research.
- Greenland will support cooperation between advocacy organizations at home and in neighboring countries.
- Greenland will promote the inclusion of connectivity as a topic under the auspices of Arctic Council.

The IMO's International Code for Ships Operating in Polar Waters came into force in 2017.



9. AN ARCTIC NORTH AMERICAN FORUM

Greenland intends to explore the possibility of establishing and developing a collaboration primarily between the governments and parliaments of Alaska, the Yukon, the Northwest Territories, Nunavut, Nunavik and Greenland. This would serve as a forum to meet and discuss challenges, developments and solutions. The more we reach out to our neighbors to the west, the more apparent it becomes that, despite our differences, the diverse North American regions face many of the same challenges and opportunities that we do. We are all located in the Arctic region, with largely similar climates and coastlines along the Arctic Ocean.

In these challenging times for the Arctic, Greenland finds it important that everyone in the region focuses on expanding their cooperation in a meaningful way.

Greenland views it as essential that all players in the region are involved in discussing the issues that are particularly relevant to the Arctic, including climate change, changes in snow and ice conditions, and changes to the environment and wildlife. This has led to infrastructural challenges for housing and roads from melting permafrost. The region also faces pressing social issues, healthcare problems, educational challenges, "brain drain" and new migration routes for the animals that provide sustenance to our local communities. But it is not all gloom and doom. We see huge potentials for the mining sector, renewable sources of energy, research and education, tourism, children and young people, culture, the arts, sports, transportation and supply chain security. Additionally, it is worth examining the possibility of allowing workers in the mining industry to be able to relocate more freely between countries.

It is extremely valuable for decision-makers in the Arctic to be able to discuss these issues together. Much in the same way that Greenland participates in the Nordic Council for interparliamentary Nordic

cooperation and the Nordic Council of Ministers, we will work for the development of an Arctic North American forum, which can evolve into a regional, intergovernmental collaborative body. We all come from the Arctic and in many ways our challenges and opportunities for development are very similar.

- Greenland will reach out to the other North American Arctic states, provinces and territories to explore the interest in developing an Arctic North American forum.
- Greenland sees cooperation potential in areas like education, research, climate, tourism, energy, shipping, communications, culture, children and youth, freedom of movement and living and non-living natural resources.



10. EAST ASIA

Greenland intends to prioritize its engagement with East Asia to improve trade and export relations with a number of countries, especially China, Japan and South Korea, as well as India. The Government of Greenland believes that there is a great need and potential for us to have a permanent and long-term presence in East Asia. This prompted the establishment in late 2021 of the representation in Beijing, which focuses primarily on promoting trade, education, research and cultural relations in Asia — with China, Japan and South Korea, and if possible other Asian countries like India, Vietnam and Singapore. To secure our exports, it is important that Greenland maintains direct and close contact with governments and stakeholders in Asia.

China and Japan are two particularly important markets for Greenlandic fisheries exports. Many of our main competitors in the fishing industry have market advantages that we must strive to counterbalance through trade agreements and other initiatives. There are many opportunities to expand this collaboration — also within the fields of research and education.

As an Arctic country, Greenland has a strong desire to maintain peace and low tension. In the wake of the devastation of World War II, Japan went to great lengths to raise awareness of the importance of peace and stability. This serves as a source of inspiration for Greenland, and it is an area that we intend to explore in collaboration with Japan and other partners.

Tourism and culture are areas that require attention when improving travel opportunities to and from Greenland. We must provide the right framework and ensure an appropriate type of tourism to Greenland in accordance with our national tourism strategy. Cultural promotion campaigns can help the world understand who we are and can attract tourism and trade to our country.

- Greenland will develop trade agreements with countries in East Asia to the extent that it is deemed relevant.
- Greenland will launch tourism promotion campaigns in East Asia.
- Greenland will pursue educational and research collaborations with East Asian countries.
- Greenland will gather insights on peace research in Japan to support the need to maintain the Arctic as a region of low tension.
- Greenland will consult with the Asian observers to the Arctic Council on an ongoing basis for the benefit of our region.



11. MULTILATERAL COOPERATION AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AGENDAS

The Arctic

Whenever the Arctic is on the agenda in relevant multilateral forums, Greenland must have a seat at the table, preferably well-placed or as a Head of Delegation of the Kingdom of Denmark. Many international agendas and political processes take shape and materialize in multilateral organizations and within the broader international cooperation. Greenland is already contributing to — and will continue to enrich — international debates with its unique perspective. With our knowledge of our own country and the Arctic, Greenland can influence the path of future developments.

Greenland promotes and utilizes other Arctic forums in addition to the Arctic Council. As an Arctic country, Greenland seeks to influence, foster and enrich Arctic cooperation. And as an indigenous people of the region, we are highly conscious of our duties and obligations to current and future generations. It is in this spirit that we are working to ensure that Greenland is represented as a full-fledged member in its own right at the Conference of Parliamentarians of the Arctic Region.

Greenland participated in, and contributed to, the political discussions that led to the signing of the Ilulissat Declaration in 2008 (and its reaffirmation in 2018). In this declaration, the Arctic Ocean's five coastal states (Greenland/Denmark, the United States, Russia, Canada and Norway) pledged to resolve conflicts in the Arctic through peaceful negotiations and according to the rules of the United Nations, especially the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, and to strengthen cooperation in the Arctic Council and the UN International Maritime Organization (IMO). The five coastal states affirmed with their signatures the principles of international law as the basis for cooperation in and around the Arctic Ocean, addressing issues such as maritime navigation, protection of the marine

environment and ecosystems, protection of local communities and indigenous peoples in the Arctic, and orderly settlements of any possible overlapping claims concerning the delineation of the outer limits of the continental shelf. In 2018, a 10-year anniversary follow-up event to reaffirm the declaration was held in Ilulissat, and included, in addition to the original signatories, Finland, Sweden, Iceland and organizations representing indigenous peoples. Greenland will continue to work in accordance with these principles.

Greenland is also party to an international agreement to prevent unregulated fishing in the Central Arctic Ocean. This agreement was signed by ten states in Ilulissat in 2018.

Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC)

Greenland will continue to support the work of the Inuit Circumpolar Council, which includes Inuit from Chukotka, Alaska, Canada and Greenland. The work of the ICC is important for cooperation between Inuit in our respective countries. The ICC helps to give the Inuit a unified voice in the Arctic Council and on the international stage.





Nordic cooperation

Greenland began to play an active role in Nordic cooperation when it joined the Nordic Council and the Nordic Council of Ministers in 1984. The West Nordic Council is a body for interparliamentary cooperation founded in Nuuk, Greenland, in 1985, which includes the parliaments of Greenland, Iceland and the Faroe Islands.

Greenland's Nordic engagement centers around three forums: The Nordic Council of Ministers (a forum for the Nordic governments, including the Government of Greenland, Naalakkersuisut), the Nordic Council (an interparliamentary body, including the Parliament of Greenland, Inatsisartut), and the West Nordic Council (parliamentary cooperation between Greenland, Iceland and the Faroe Islands, including Inatsisartut).

It is valuable for Greenland to participate in the work of these three organizations and to serve as part of the Nordic network, in which current political issues are raised for discussion and efforts are made to protect and enhance Nordic values, especially when Greenland has a right of co-determination. Greenland intends to prioritize areas where there are concrete benefits from cooperation, and where Greenland is recognized as an equal member with the right to speak and vote as the delegation of Greenland and under its own flag. Less priority will be given to forums for Nordic cooperation where Greenland has no recognized direct influence. Within areas that fall under Greenland's jurisdiction, Greenland can only participate if it is accorded formal recognition and influence.

 Greenland will conduct regular evaluations of its role in the Nordic cooperation to clarify how best to prioritize its efforts in these organizations. Greenland's participation will depend on the formal right of co-determination.



The United Nations

Many international political processes, global sustainability efforts and developments are initiated, debated, negotiated and adopted under the auspices of the United Nations. New York serves as the venue for the UN Headquarters, including the UN General Assembly, UN Security Council meetings and ongoing bilateral and multilateral debates and negotiations concerning the work of the UN. Likewise, the UN in New York and not least the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva are the focal points of much of the work promoting human rights and the rights of indigenous peoples, and the organization has spearheaded the decolonization process since 1945. Greenland actively participated in the drafting of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007.

History has shown us that it is necessary to have a seat at the table if Greenland is to ensure that its voice is heard. Greenland aims to play an active role in the world's main multilateral bodies wherever possible and, more importantly, whenever it is relevant. This is an inherent consequence of Nothing about us without us. Virtually every initiative and decision that the nations of the world agree on or adopt at the UN ultimately affects Greenland. Not surprisingly, we are committed to engaging and contributing with a Greenlandic perspective, including with regards to the Sustainable Development Goals, ranging from human and social goals to targets for biodiversity and the world's oceans. Greenland has supported, actively participated in, and contributed to global negotiations on the United Nations High Seas Treaty, also known as the Biodiversity Beyond National Jurisdiction (BBNJ) treaty. We also remain committed to engaging in international environmental and biodiversity negotiations.

With a presence at the UN, Greenland could more effectively prepare for developments and initiatives under the UN, including within UN specialized agencies. With developments in our country moving at a rapid pace, we need to ensure that Greenland lives up to international legal standards and

norms, and that we have a seat at the table when it comes to international debates on issues that concern us.

Presenting territorial claims under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea and to the UN Commission on the Law of the Sea — and any subsequent delineation of boundaries in the Arctic Ocean after constructive peaceful diplomatic negotiations — is of central importance for Greenland and for cooperation in the Arctic.

- Greenland upholds international law, including the principles of human rights, the rights of indigenous peoples, gender equality, women's rights, the Sustainable Development Goals, the Law of the Sea, global decolonization, democracy and the right of people to self-determination.
- Greenland supports the world community's efforts to combat global warming — for the sake of the environment, biodiversity and the world's oceans.
- During this strategy period, Greenland will establish a mission to the UN in New York and have a staff member posted in Geneva.



The European Union

Although Greenland is not a member of the European Union, it is still very important for us to cooperate with the EU. Consequently, Greenland has a mission in Brussels and the EU will open an office in Greenland during this strategy period. This partnership has evolved from focusing solely on fisheries and education, including early childhood education, to include additional areas, all aimed at adapting to a changing reality in which the EU now also needs a presence in Greenland. Today, green growth is an integral part of the cooperation between the EU and Greenland, including efforts to promote research, biodiversity, and the utilization of renewable sources of energy. We must also continue to develop our cooperation with the EU in the area of mineral extraction. This cooperation was reaffirmed at the political level in 2023 with the conclusion of the Memorandum of Understanding between the European Union and the Government of Greenland on a strategic partnership for sustainable value chains for raw materials. The Memorandum of Understanding will be followed up with concrete projects between Greenland and the EU.

Cooperation with the EU is also often an entry point for possible bilateral cooperation with EU member states, including Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Spain, Italy, Poland and the Czech Republic.

- Greenland is dedicated to continuing the work already initiated to develop our bilateral relationship with the EU in the areas of education, research and the green agenda.
- Greenland's and the EU's cooperation in the area of raw materials is evolving.
- Greenland's and the EU's trade and fisheries relations must be reexamined.

Other organizations

Greenland will continue to participate in other organizations, including fisheries management organizations like NEAFC, NAFO and NASCO. Greenland will support and participate in any eventual future establishment of a high seas fisheries organization for the Arctic Ocean.

- Greenland will continuously assess the international aspect of its responsibilities and ensure that that we are represented internationally.
- Greenland will represent itself in areas where it has assumed jurisdiction to ensure that our interests are presented and defended at the international level.



12. SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICY

The world continues to change. Conflicts and unpredictable destabilizing events occur and play out in ways that until recently were unimaginable. Human threats no longer always appear at our borders wearing uniforms and military insignia, but now come in the form of covert operations that strike civilian infrastructure and communications with no respect for international law, even in our part of the world. Greenland is also subject to malicious cyber-attacks, and we consequently need to do more to protect our critical infrastructure and strengthen our capacity in this area.

It is important to ensure that the ownership of — and responsibility for — fundamental critical infrastructure always remains in Greenland. Hence, we cannot and shall not allow this infrastructure to be owned by foreign entities. This is essential for the safety of our people and our society.

Conflicts and security policy issues have a global impact and — whether we like it or not — require precautionary and security measures, as well as defense policy decisions, also in Greenland and the Arctic. We must contribute to these debates and decisions in an informed way, and this requires that we in Greenland redouble our efforts and engagement.

Greenland is firmly committed to the principles of democracy, human rights, respect for international law and the right of people to self-determination. In a changing world, we must uphold international law, peace and order within the global community. In light of this, we and other like-minded nations will, for security and defense policy reasons, have limitations in our cooperation with certain countries.

Together with our closest partners and allies, Denmark and the United States, we must take basic precautions, also in cooperation with our neighbors Canada and Iceland, all of which are members of NATO.

This tried and tested approach aims to maintain peace and minimize tensions in the region.

Through knowledge and collaboration, we are committed to strengthening peace through dialogue — and to empowering the voice of peace in other countries. We must remain realistic. But we must not waver when it comes to peace. We need to observe and study how peace is maintained and achieved elsewhere in the world. Unlike many other regions of the world, the Arctic has not witnessed the destructive power of countless wars. On the contrary, it is a region where the Arctic Council states have indigenous representatives with a seat — and a voice — at the table to underscore the need for recognition, dialogue and understanding. We must remember who we are and our core values. With this in mind, Greenland will seek to establish, preferably in collaboration with external donors, a center for peace with a focus on peace in the Arctic. We must do what we can to promote knowledge and dialogue that leads to peace. Cooperation is the key to peace — and peace is a prerequisite for sustainable development. This makes it all the more important that we promote research on peace and strive to create a center for peace in Greenland. With roots that date back to colonial times, Greenland has historical, cultural, family, political and trading ties to Europe. We have received supplies from Europe for centuries, and yet we must never forget that this was interrupted during World War II, when our only link to the outside world was through the United States. War and conflict can cause disruption, and the world has become increasingly volatile. We cannot allow ourselves to forget history.

In 2022, war reared its ugly head in Europe once again when Russia invaded Ukraine. This attack on a sovereign state, Ukraine, is a direct violation of international law and the Ukrainian people's right to self-determination. Greenland decided to join in the EU sanctions against Russia. The international order must be maintained for the sake of peace and stability and in the interest of preserving the value of international cooperation. Greenland stands shoulder to shoulder with the countries that defend these principles.



Greenland is part of the Western Alliance through Denmark's membership in NATO. We are represented at NATO through a Greenlandic diplomat stationed at Denmark's Permanent Representation to NATO (DANATO).1 Through its presence, Greenland is increasing the level of knowledge about the Arctic and Greenland at NATO, while allowing us to remain up to date on the latest developments. Greenland aims to ensure that knowledge of the Arctic, and the tradition of cooperation among its peoples, is firmly anchored at NATO, so that this is taken into account when decisions and policies are made. In the same spirit, Greenland aims for Greenlandic parliamentarians to become members of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly and contribute to political discussions in that body.

Greenland will continue to cooperate with the defense authorities of Denmark and the United States, particularly on the most beneficial way to maintain a military presence and installations in Greenland. In addition to being a neighbor, the United States is the world's leading superpower and an important ally. Greenland will continue its defense cooperation with the United States, including in the Permanent Committee. And, whenever possible, we intend to intensify our contact with the United States. We must maintain a positive dialogue with Pituffik Space Base to continue to secure local initiatives and collaborations, and with the Department of Defense and a wide range of United States government agencies to pursue more comprehensive initiatives and developments. Greenland must establish an administrative unit dedicated to Pituffik to give Greenlandic decision-makers better opportunities to participate in base-related issues.

Greenland is engaged in Denmark's defense agreement negotiations to ensure the social sustainability of any new initiatives. We will seek to ensure a proper balance between military defense, surveillance and civilian capabilities, not to mention dualuse infrastructure in which Greenlandic companies can take on new roles. Another importment factor is the continued use of the airport in Kangerlussuaq. Together with our partners, Greenland aims to

transform the search and rescue (SAR) preparedness in Greenland from a predominantly military to a civilian model, just as our neighbors have organized theirs.

Greenland must improve its civil preparedness and devise a number of contingency plans to protect critical infrastructure and civil society, and thus strengthen societal and supply chain security. To this end, Greenland will draw inspiration and expand cooperation with, for example, Iceland and Canada. There has long been talk in Greenland of our lack of involvement in the Sirius Dog Sled Patrol, which enforces sovereignty in the northern and eastern part of our country. This has to change. Greenland needs to reduce its vulnerability and generally assume a greater degree of responsibility. As a country, we must make ourselves more resilient to accidents, incidents and malicious attacks, and we will strive to participate more in enforcing the sovereignty of our territory.

With increased participation, Greenland will also be able to contribute to monitoring the seas between Greenland, Iceland and the United Kingdom, a naval choke point commonly referred to as the GIUK gap.² At the same time, we will strive to maintain low tension in the region. Greenland supports monitoring, but it will not take any measures that would contribute to an arms race in the Arctic.

It may be necessary to place military installations or bases near civilian populations. This can ensure better civilian utilization (better dual-use) of capacities and servicing of the installations by civil society. However, Greenland generally prefers not to have military bases located near civilian communities, as civilians should not be too close to potential military targets in the event of a conflict. Greenland generally rejects any increased military presence in its territory, and new military initiatives must aim to maintain low tension in the region.

All things being equal, we are opposed to non-Arctic countries expanding their permanent military capabilities in the region, thereby

¹ Denmark's Permanent Representation to NATO.

The GIUK gap is an abbreviation for "Greenland, Iceland and United Kingdom gap." The GIUK gap is a strategic military naval passage.



contributing to a militarization of the Arctic. This must be avoided. Greenland also encourages all Arctic States to exercise restraint with regard to any military build-up.

It is imperative that Greenland's local civil preparedness capabilities are enhanced so that its people can share responsibility in enforcing the sovereignty of their territory and can help maintain the Arctic as a safe, stable and peaceful region. This development of our capacities must go hand in hand with a close collaboration with the Joint Arctic Command, in which Greenland has a part to play with greater and more in-depth knowledge of local conditions. The Joint Arctic Command can also learn from Greenlandic expertise in the region. We are intimately familiar with local conditions on land and at sea. Greenlanders know when they are venturing out onto thin ice, both literally and figuratively speaking, and we need to hone our skills and abilities to explore new approaches. We must shoulder our share of the responsibilities, including in SAR missions, and, with welcome support from our partners, develop our own fisheries inspection and coast guard services in our own waters. We must further develop our SAR capacity so that we take greater responsibility with respect to international agreements, like the SAR Agreement³ signed during the Arctic Council Ministerial Meeting in Nuuk in 2011, and other similar accords. Nothing about us without us.

We must work jointly with our municipalities, fire departments, our national air carrier Air Greenland, our national telecommunications provider Tusass, and many other stakeholders. And we need to discuss whether we should introduce a military or civilian national service in Greenland. It will be necessary to improve our general level of education and training in cooperation with other countries to establish civil structures and improve our civil preparedness in preparation for the day when we gain our independence.

3 SAR Agreement: Agreement on Cooperation on Aeronautical and Maritime Search and Rescue in the Arctic.

- Greenland will stand shoulder to shoulder with countries that abide by international law and respect the right to self-determination.
- Greenland will enhance its expertise, improve its preparedness and forge contingency plans for a wide range of potential incidents and malicious attack scenarios on critical infrastructure, and thus strengthen its societal security.
- Greenland will strengthen its cyber security capabilities.
- Greenland has a part to play in Denmark's defense agreement and will assume its share of responsibility for the general security policy situation in the world and in the Arctic. This means that Greenland will need to upgrade its security policy expertise and capabilities.
- Greenland is in favor of Greenlandic parliamentarians becoming members of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.
- Greenland supports dual-use infrastructure, in particular increased surveillance capacity that can also be used for civilian purposes, including search and rescue.
- Greenland will establish an administrative unit dedicated to Pituffik Space Base issues.
- Greenland seeks to establish a center for peace, preferably in cooperation with external partners, to promote knowledge about peace and strengthen a dialogue in favor of cooperation, low tension and peace in the Arctic.
- Greenland will deliberate on a military or civilian national service in Greenland.
- Greenland will work to establish civil emergency response capabilities and eventually a coast guard. Greenland must be involved in enforcing the sovereignty of its territory, on land and at sea.
- Greenland will make preparations and take precautions to ensure supply chain security in an unpredictable world.
- Over time, Greenland will develop an increasingly detailed security and defense policy.



13. CLOSING REMARKS

Greenland in the World — Nothing about us without us is an ambitious strategy that demonstrates that Greenland is insisting on a seat at the table. Greenland has something to contribute, and it is important that Greenland's voice is heard and that we safeguard our interests and articulate our values. At the same time, this is a strategy that sets out our objectives for developing ties with our neighboring countries, partners and the international community.

Foreign trade is of key importance to our country's revenues. We bear responsibility for Greenlandic society — responsibility for supply chain security, diversification of our markets and security policy. It is a political responsibility that we fully embrace.

The present strategy comprises a security and defense policy that is shaped by today's complexities and must be constantly adapted, but will also evolve in its degree of detail and structure. It obliges us to launch new initiatives that do not exist today and to assume a level of responsibility in Greenland the likes of which has never been seen before.

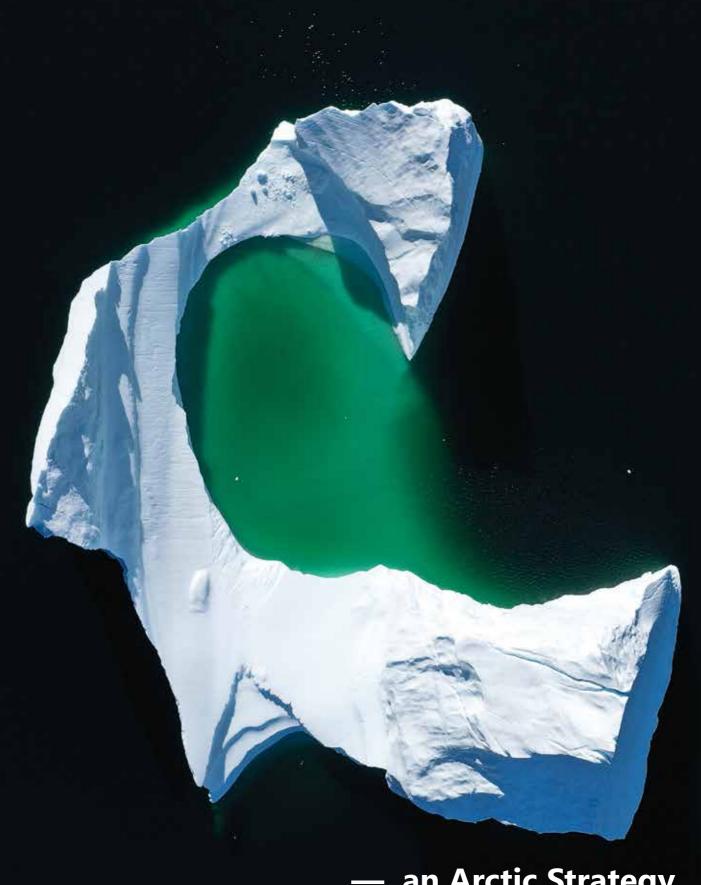
This strategy requires a dedicated effort from Greenland's elected representatives, who need to rise to the occasion and bring to bear our views and unique perspective, especially when it comes to the Arctic and us. It will require more resources for Greenland's diplomatic corps and ministries to implement this strategy.

The strategy should be seen as a tool for Greenland to assume its place in the international community and one day be recognized as a state and a full member of the United Nations. Viewed in this light, Greenland will continue to assume greater responsibilities and strengthen its increasingly independent foreign policy and international role.

All of the parties in Inatsisartut, the Parliament of Greenland, have contributed to the **Greenland** in the World — Nothing about us without us strategy. It is a testament to our values, our culture, our goals and what we stand for.

- Democracy and human rights are at the core of all relations.
- Greenland and the Arctic is an area of low tension.
- Improving the lives and livelihoods of the Greenlandic people is of key importance.
- All relations are based on the premise that Greenland and the Greenlandic people constitute an independent people and country.
- All relations must be solution-oriented.
- We stand in solidarity and work hand in hand with other Arctic communities.

This strategy can be updated as needed and is essentially an expression of a Greenland that, in cooperation with others, is progressing towards independence.



an Arctic Strategy