

# Greenland: *Queen Mary or President Trump* + what the media got wrong about politics



A dog sled transport with fish on the sea ice near Uummannaq in North Greenland. Photo by Marcela Cardenas.



# Our Queen or **your** Queen - or **their** Queen Mary



Today is also about sport:  
*Handball,*  
*AFL Football,*  
*Dogsleigh Racing*



**Agenda today:**

- 1. The news media and foreign politics**  
– between government, parliament, news media and the public  
Research, and some findings
- 2. Denmark and Greenland**
- 3. Make Greenland Great Again**
- 4. Questions and discussion**

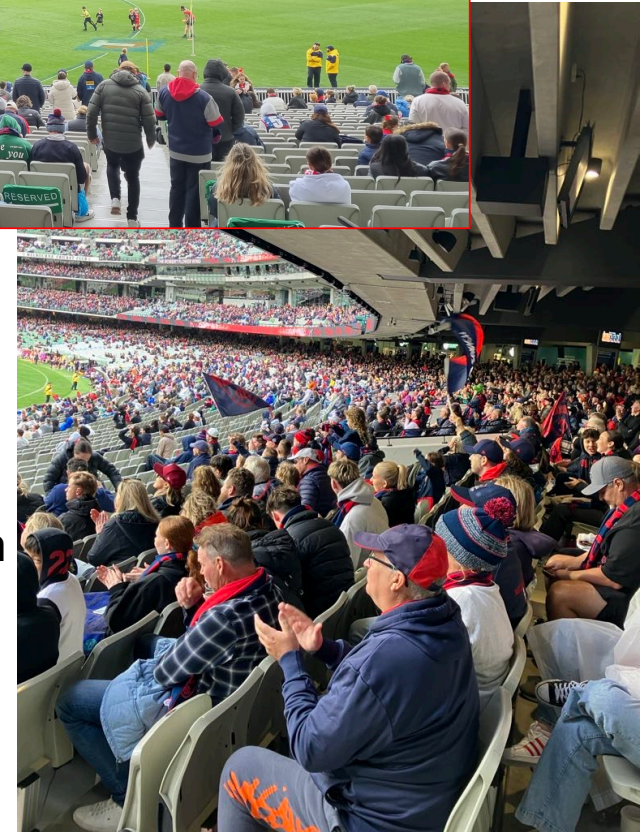
Asbjørn Jørgensen  
[asbo@dmjx.dk](mailto:asbo@dmjx.dk)  
+45 2175 2125



Mary is not much into sports



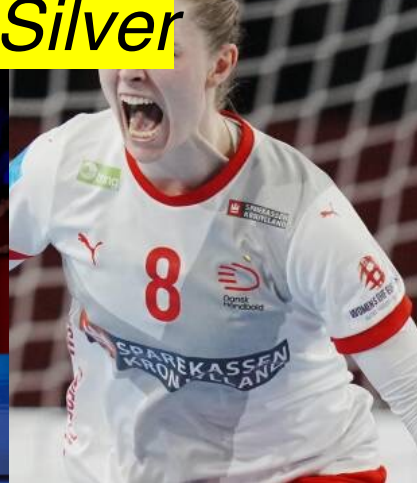
So here is my colleague "Queen Joan" at MCG for an AFL match



# The Danish Handball Landscape – Women

– – – Paris 2024 – Olympic Bronze medalists

– – – Euro 2024 – European Silver



# The Danish Handball Landscape – Men

– – – Paris 2024 – Olympic gold

– – – Norway 2025 – World Champions x 4



<https://v>

DR | 2024

# Sport kan stadig ændre vaner – men særligt blandt unge mennesker

”Sport can still **connect us** – but especially young people change their habits”

Hver dansker brugte sidste år i gennemsnit 116 timer på at se sport, men vi ser det efterhånden vidt forskelligt. De unge får i stadig højere grad deres sportsfix på de sociale medier, fremgår det af 'Medieudviklingen 2024'.



Viktor Axelsen efter han har vundet OL-finalen i herresingle mod Kunlavut Vitidsri fra Thailand ved OL Paris sidste år.



## Udvikling i sendetimer af sportsindhold blandt danske tv-udbydere

Sendetimer af sportsindhold



Kilde: Kantar Gallup Seer-Undersøgelsen 2012-2021, Nielsen Seer-Undersøgelsen 2022-2024.



It's very political



Anders Winnerskjold  
10 November 2024 · 🌐

Der er formentlig ikke sammenhæng mellem borgmesterskiftet i Aarhus, og at AGF nummer 1 i Superligaen. Meeeee.....

Spøg til side. Tillykke til byens hold med førstepladsen.

Tror I, at det er nu mesterskabet kommer til Smilets By?

#KSDH

Ps. familiens yngste var med på stadion Hun er allerede fan. [See less](#)

👍❤️ 1K 49

👍 💬 📧

Most relevant ▾

Foto Trine  
Dejligt smilende foto af  
stiften.dk

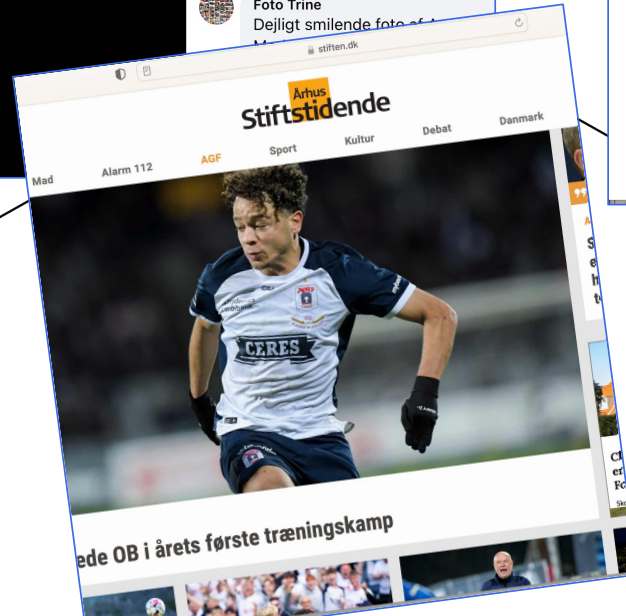


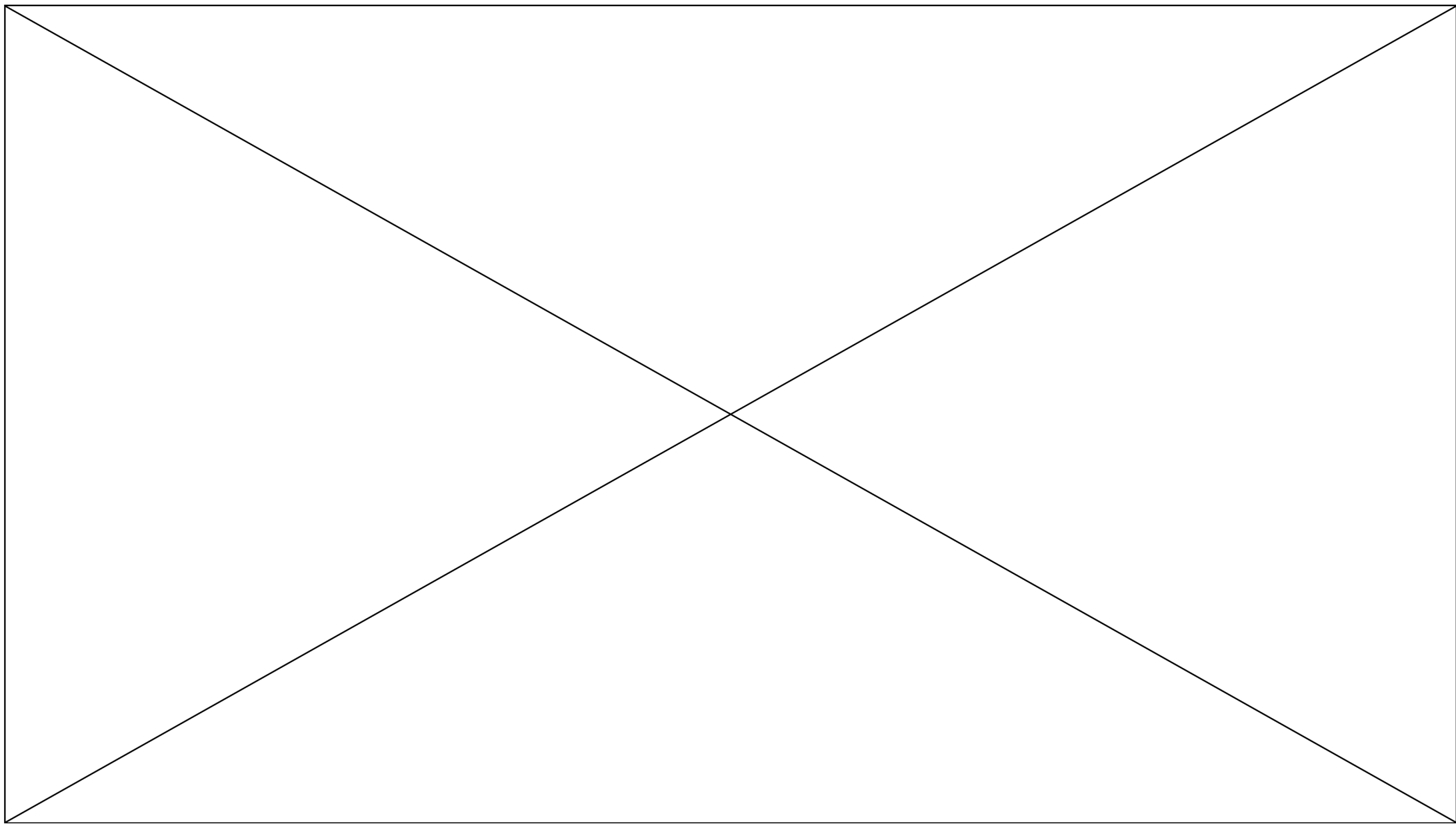
Foto: Aarhus Kommune.

## Klar besked fra borgmesteren: Stadionprojektet skal i mål

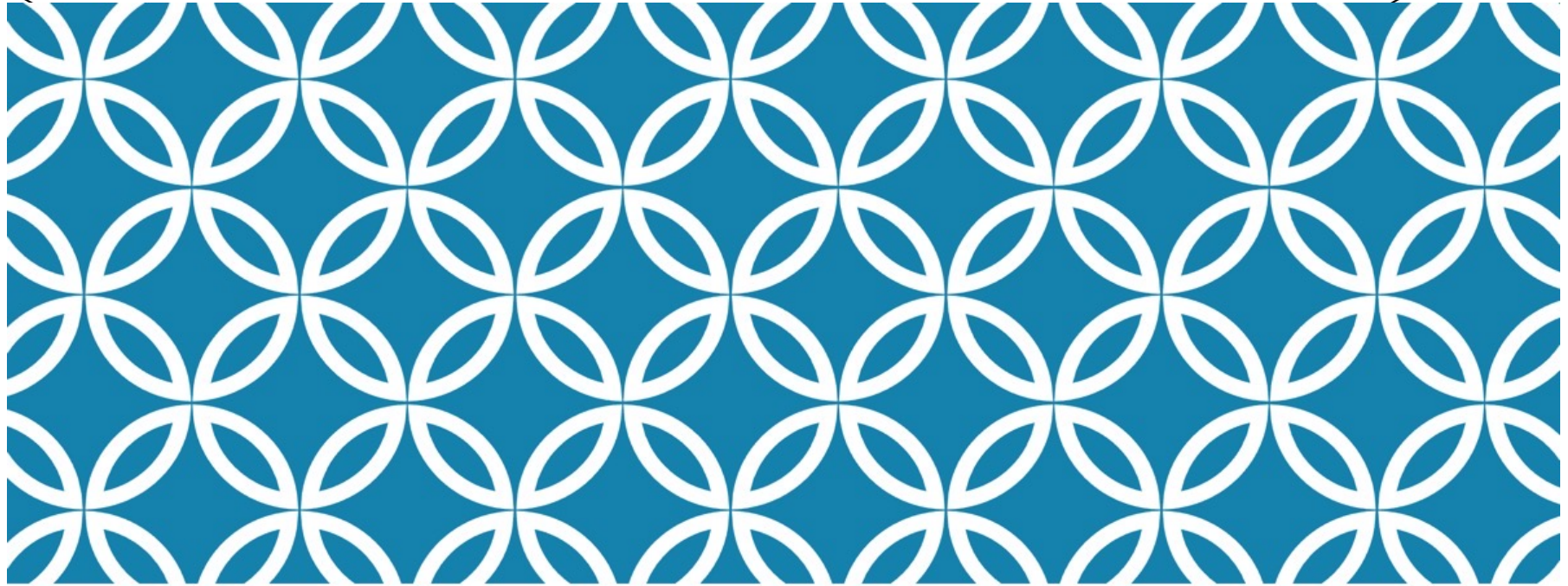
14. november 2024 | admin | AGF Nyheder

Aarhus' nye borgmester, Anders Winnerskjold, er i dag udkommet med et skriv om den økonomiske situation i Kongslyden. Her bliver udvekslingen i sin fulde længde.





**Our research project:**

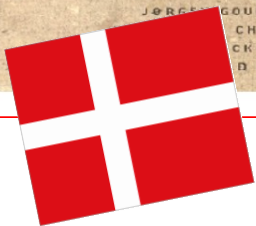
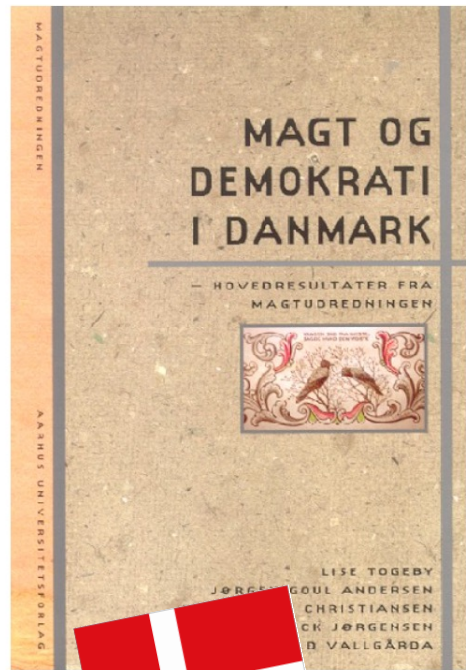
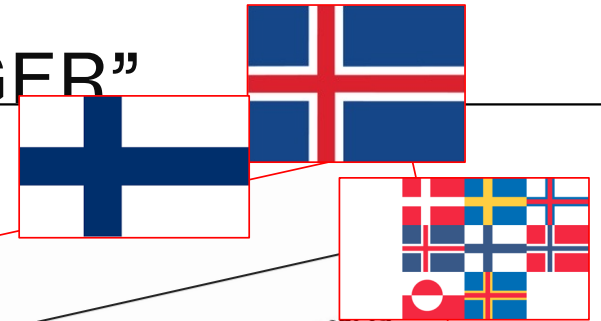


**THE (IM)POWER OF THE MEDIA AND  
ITS DEMOCRATIC ROLE IN FOREIGN  
AND SECURITY POLICY**

Asbjørn Slot Jørgensen  
Roger Buch  
Danmarks Medie- og  
Journalisthøjskole

DMJX

# CONTEXT: NORDIC COUNTRIES' "MAGTUDREGNINGER" = DEMOCRACY AND POWER STUDIES





# Changes and continuity in Danish foreign policy



- **Neutrality doctrine** from defeat 1864 until WW2
- **Alliance doctrine** since 1949: NATO
- **Activism doctrine** since 1991 – ( - Berlin wall, - Sovjet Union)
- Cartoon crisis exposed 2006 vulnerability of a small state
- **Overexertion** after wars 1990-2021: The Gulf War, Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq...
- Proposal for **reconsideration** the Taksøe report in 2016: interest-based foreign policy, strategic orientation –most at stake, where Denmark can make a difference.
- **Activism approach** resumed in 2022: Russia-Ukraine and Israel-Gaza



# Top-down construction of Foreign & Security policy

- The Constitution gives the government a special role in foreign and security policy
- Two strong Committees are designed to secure the Parliament a greater role, involvement and cooperation
- But in practice, foreign policy is (top) controlled by the government - with the footnote policy 1982-1988 as an exception.
- again confirmed by impartial investigation of Danish war participation in Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan emphasizes, for example: **Grundloven** giver regeringen en særlig rolle i udenrigs- og sikkerhedspolitik



"Danmarks konkrete bidrag til militære operationer formes snarere end de beslattes.

*De er resultatet af længerevarende processer, hvor både beslutningen om at bidrage og beslutningen om indholdet i det militære bidrag formes af centrale ministre, embedsmænd og repræsentanter for Forsvaret i dialog med alliancepartnere, væsentligst USA ...*

*Regeringens information til og dialog med Folketinget foregår i høj grad ad uformelle kanaler som kontakter mellem centrale ministre og partiledere og orientering af kredsen af forsvarsforligspartier. Regeringen har en minimalistisk informationspraksis over for Det Udenrigspolitiske Nævn, hvor Nævnet gives den information, som det skal ifølge grundloven. Regeringen rådfører sig typisk med Det Udenrigspolitiske Nævn sent i processen i forbindelse med de beslutninger, som kræver Nævnets inddragelse." (Mariager og Wivel, 2019: 22-23)*

# Changed conditions for Foreign Reporting:

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- **More and better:**

- Technology makes it possible to obtain information from and distribute it quickly across the globe.

- **Less analysis, less presence:**

- Less money – foreign desks very affected. Cutdowns.

- **The monopoly is gone:**

- Direct access for anyone to anything, worldwide.
- The amount of misleading info is enormous and growing.

- So, **greater need** for independent, critical and high-quality media coverage.

- **And still the same old challenges:**

- The inherent secrecy of foreign and security policy makes critical journalism difficult
- Broad political consensus makes critical journalism difficult (lex covid)
- Top management from governments makes dependence on official sources great

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# Yesterday - in the ABC basement next door



- Two Danish media (news agency, public broadcaster)
- 1 Swedish media (news agency)
- 1 Norwegian media ('newspaper')
- Plus other countries.

1. Mostly (very) young journalists
2. Mostly journalists with no specific background for foreign news
3. Must follow the ongoing newsflow: domestic + the world
4. Follow mainly English language media





- What they said:

- Tenna, graduated June 2024; Ritzau News Agency:

- Pressure. It's difficult.
- You have to write about topics you know nothing about.
- Difficult words, no direct translation.
- For example, the US legal system, it suddenly becomes important. Short time to assess and translate.
- Same with Gaza.
  
- The newsflow from AFP, AP, Reuters, BBC, Guardian etc.

DMJX

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# Four cases

- Media coverage of
- 1) Russia, including the Arctics
- 2) China
- 3) The war in Ukraine
- 4) The war in Gaza

# RUSLAND – 2015 OG 2018 – 2021-2024

2015 og 2018:

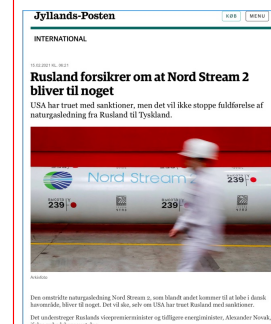
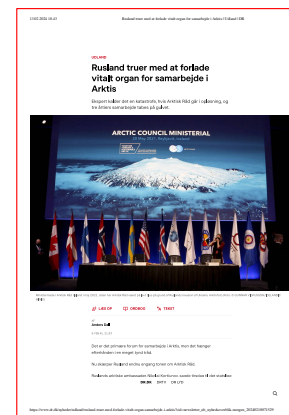
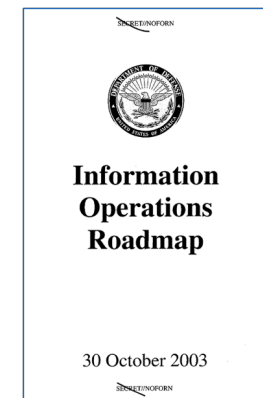
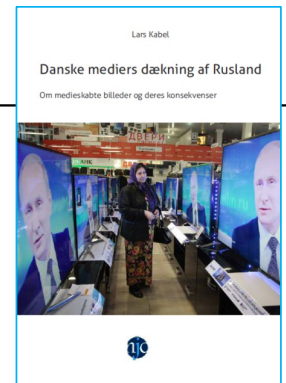
- Masser af Rusland = meget god journalistik + Rusland overalt
- Putin, Putin, Putin. Konflikt og “Rusland 1”
- Ubalanceret. Vestlig synsvinkel. Kun få russiske kilder, og kun elite-kilder.
- Dobbeltmoral. Forskellige målestokke.

2021:

- **Covid-vaccine - - Navalnyj - - Nord Stream 2 - - Klima - - og lidt Ukraine**
- Ellers det samme, bare i mindre omfang

2024:

- Ukraine, Ukraine, Ukraine. NATO, Finland, Estland, Tucker, Trump. Arktis.
- Forsvundet er: Covid, (*Navalnyj*), Nord Stream 2, Klima.
- Historisk dårlige arbejdsforhold for journalistik om og i Rusland.

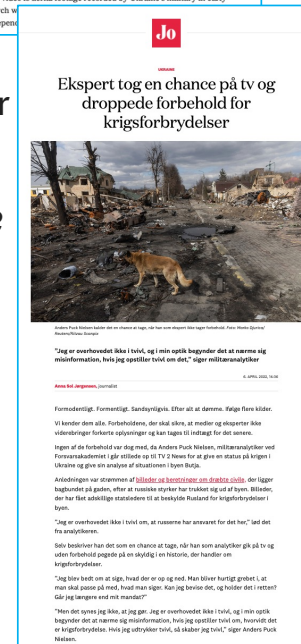
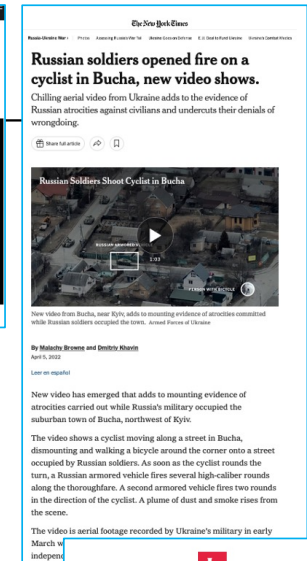
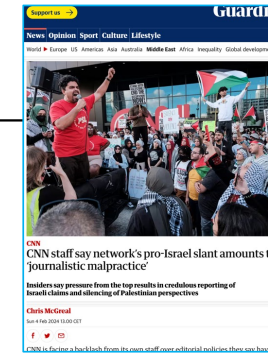


# Ukraine

- I dækningen af krige ses tendens til brug af både:
  - \* forstørrelsesglas (informationer, begivenheder, og tolkningen i Ukraines favør) og
  - \* formindskelsesglas (informationer, begivenheder, og tolkninger i Ruslands favør)
- Især i krigens start stort medløb på Vestens og Danmarks fortælling om et isoleret Rusland, som verden står samlet imod. Mens virkeligheden var/er at Vesten er isoleret i kampen imod Rusland og mange lande er neutral eller samarbejder med Rusland – fx Indien om køb af olie.
- Opinionen i mange lande uden for vesten er præget af sympati for Rusland og lussing i Ukraine til USA og de gamle kolonimagter.
- Meget lidt om konfliktløsning, mægling og forhandling.
- Regeringens linje "Ukraines krig er vores krig" følges af medierne – men er det ikke også OK?
  - **Grundlæggende: Invasionskrig med massiv militær overmagt.**
  - 2 års konstante bombninger, ødelæggelse af infrastruktur, udmattelses-strategi.
  - Nogle vil sige: Medierne skal sympatisere med de svage, med ofrene, vise rædsler og lyspunkter.



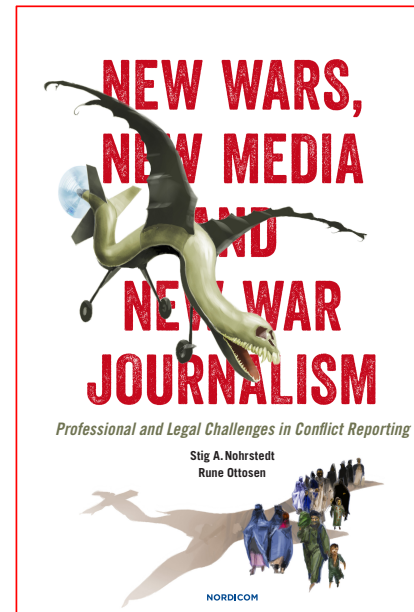
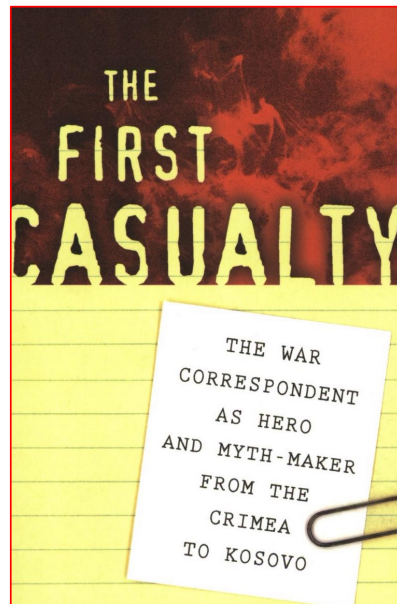
# Israel-Gaza



- Men hvorfor dækkes Israel-Gaza så på en anden måde end Ukraine?
- Grundlæggende:**
  - Invasionskrig med massiv militær overmagt.
  - Et helt års konstante bombninger, ødelæggelse af infrastruktur, udmattelses-strategi.
  - Medierne skal kontrollere magt(misbrug), være de svages og ofrenes talerør, vise både rædsler og lyspunkter.
- Massakre i Butja dækkes intensivt – men hvad med mulige massakrer og krigsforbrydelser i Gaza?
- Ødelæggelse af infrastruktur – veje, vandforsyning, boliger – veldokumenteret også på Vestbredden.
- Nægtelsen af adgang for nødhjælp?
- Meget stor forsigtighed hos medier og journalister – fordi krigen er dybt politiseret – forsigtighed bliver til Israels fordel – og en underbygning af den danske regerings pro-israelske linje.

# Danish only?

- No, universal, unf.
- Norway, Sweden, internationally – and historical
- Maybe worse in some countries (fx USA hvor man diskuterer mediernes *eskalerende* tendens)

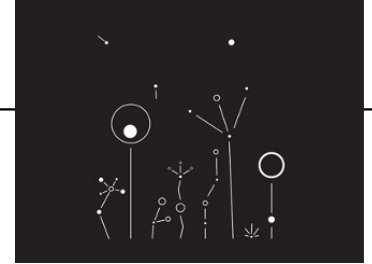




# And- the citizens:



- *Borgerne er afhængige af nyhedsmedier for at få information af høj kvalitet om andre lande, international politik og særligt udenrigs- og sikkerhedspolitik*
- *Borgernes nye medievaner over de seneste 25 år betyder, at færre bruger og betaler for aviser*
- *Borgerne har i høj grad individuelt **kuraterede** interesserfærer, som dog også styres af tech-giganternes algoritmer*
- *Borgerne følger mere med i **nationale forhold** end i lokale og internationale forhold*
- ***Yngre danskere** følger mere med i internationale forhold end ældre borgere*
- *Under **folketingsvalg** fylder internationale forhold relativt lidt for borgerne sammenlignet med hovedtemaerne velfærd og økonomi, og fylder endog mindre end sidetemaer som klima og flygtninge-indvandrere*
- *Det gælder også valg i '**krigsår**' som 1988 (atom-valget), 2001 (11.september) og 2022 (Ukraine)*
- ***Mediedækningen** under folketingsvalg har på samme måde en lav prioritering af internationale forhold*



# konklusioner, 1

- Udenrigs- og sikkerhedspolitik er *high politics* – spørgsmål om staters overlevelse, velfærd og suverænitet - og netop denne vigtige politik er på grund af hemmelighedskræmmeri, topstyring fra regeringerne og politisk konsensus karakteriseret ved en mindre kritisk journalistisk dækning.
- Regeringerne får stor mulighed for at styre offentligheden, som det mest eksemplarisk er sket med de danske krigsdeltagelser, men også under med skiftene i tilgangen til Kina og Rusland og senest i Israel-Gaza krigen.
- Medierne er ikke nær så kritiske i dækningen af udenrigs- og sikkerhedspolitik, som i indenrigspolitikken.
- Både borgere og beslutningstagere får derfor et svækket videns- og beslutningsgrundlag, med fare for forkerte valg eller svage policies. Udenrigspolitiske problemer og løsninger bliver ikke trykprøvet i åben, mangfoldig og kritisk demokratisk samtale.

## konklusioner, 2:



- Medierne formår ikke at bidrage optimalt til en åben, nuanceret og kritisk demokratisk offentlighed om udenrigs- og sikkerhedspolitik.
- Men skyldes det strukturelle forhold - eller kunne medierne selv gøre det bedre? ...
- Ja, det skyldes strukturelle forhold, men medier kan gøre det bedre.....

## We do this:

- Qualitative study of the role of the media in Danish foreign and security policy.

### Interviews with

- political decision-makers: ministers, party spokespersons, MEPs, high level officials
- researchers, academics.
- journalists and editors
- primarily Danish plus some foreign informants.

# Interview Australia:

- the **Australian government significantly influences the public narrative on foreign policy**, often more so than the media
- **resource constraints and commercial pressures.** sensationalism so less on the less attention-grabbing but important regions and issues.
- an **imbalance in geographical coverage**, Too much US and Europe, too little Pacific, Southeast Asia (especially Indonesia and India), and Africa.
- **increasingly difficult for journalists**, particularly younger ones, to cultivate independent sources within the government and bureaucracy.



## Findings so far:

- Everything confirmed
- And more...

### *Surprises for us:*

- Incompetent politicians in Committees; not a career path anymore
- Very well informed top level politicians
- Frustrated academics

## Selected suggestions:

- Focus on in-depth analysis and context
- Increase expertise among journalists
- Broaden geographical coverage
- Diversify sources
- Build trust and communication between media and institutions
- Utilize academic expertise, think tanks
- Embrace technological advancements for language access
- Promote media literacy; children, young
- Create Danbook as the new Facebook

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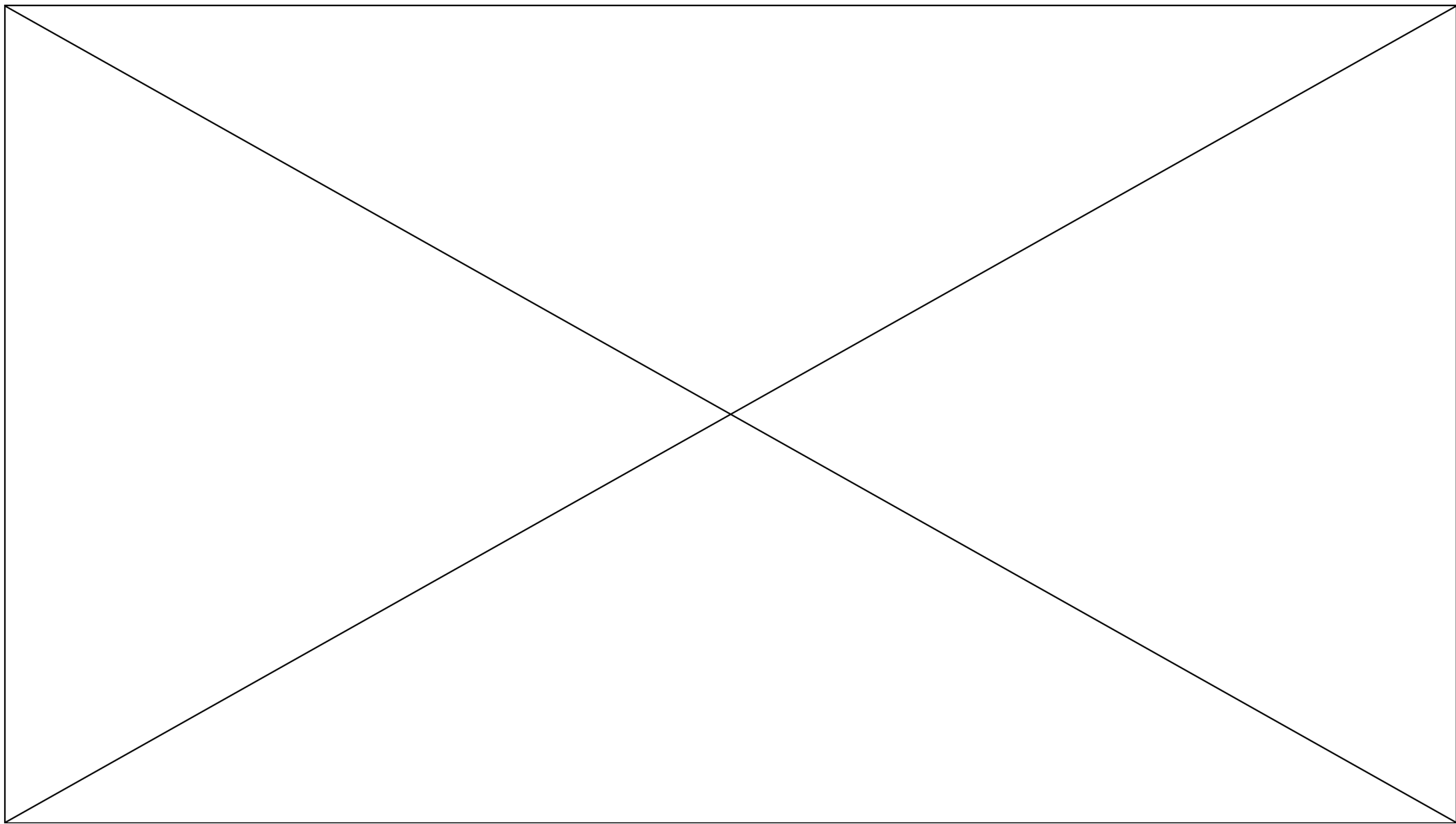
# From crisis to crisis

– pressure on governments  
and on news media

- 2014: Ukraine, Crimea
- 2015: the Refugee/migrant crisis
- 2016: Brexit
- 2017: Trump
- 2020: Covid
- 2022: Ukraine war
- 2023: Gaza war







# The Nordic Media Model

- - Corporatism: Consensus-based governance
- - High press circulation historically
- - Strong public broadcasting influence
- - Professional and self-regulated journalism

*This slide is AI generated.*








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# The Nordic Media Model is robust

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- a strong public service tradition. The 'arm's length principle' and independent journalism can be practiced by state-guaranteed media companies. Ensures a diverse and independent media sector, where the state secures media without controlling them.
- a strong private sector with competing media
  - a high public trust in journalistically edited media,
  - a significant profile on freedom of the press and expression,
  - an intensive focus on local journalism and investigative journalism,
- - strong and well-consolidated regulatory and self-regulatory mechanisms in the form of press boards, media ombudsmen, etc., which ensure a focus on media ethics,
- strong formulations in both the constitutions, media laws and criminal laws protecting press and freedom of expression,
- state subsidies to media

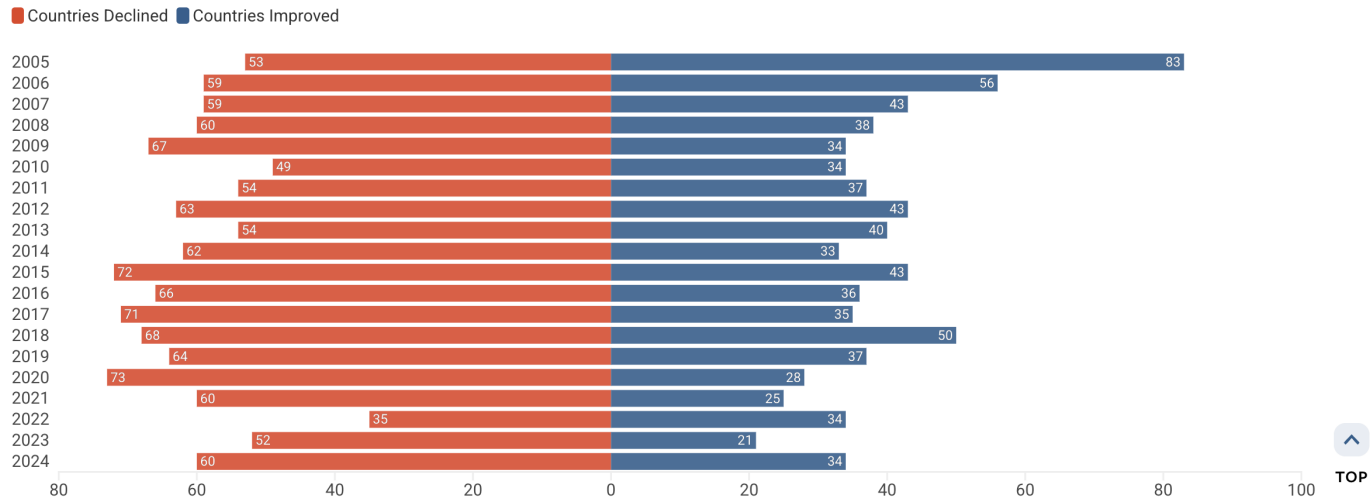
# World Press Freedom Index 2024 (Iceland number 18)

Country	2024 [5]	2023 [6]	2022 [7]	2021 [8]	2020 [9]	2019 [10]
 Norway	(001) 91.89	(001) 95.18	(001) 92.65	(001) 93.28	(001) 92.16	(001) 92.18
 Denmark	(002) 89.60	(003) 89.48	(002) 90.27	(004) 91.43	(003) 91.87	(005) 90.13
 Sweden	(003) 88.32	(004) 88.15	(003) 88.84	(003) 92.76	(004) 90.75	(003) 91.69
 Netherlands	(004) 87.73	(006) 87.00	(028) 77.93	(006) 90.33	(005) 90.04	(004) 91.37
 Finland	(005) 86.55	(005) 87.94	(005) 88.42	(002) 93.01	(002) 92.07	(002) 92.10

## Freedom score – world wide development


### 19 Years of Decline in Global Freedom


Countries with aggregate score declines in *Freedom in the World* have outnumbered those with gains every year for the past 19 years. The declines in 2024 affected more than 40 percent of the global population.





Note: Countries whose scores were unchanged are not included in this comparison.


### 5 Countries with the Highest Freedom Score

 Finland  
**100**

 Sweden  
**99**













 New Zealand  
**99**

 Norway  
**98**

 Canada  
**97**

Human Freedom | **Global Freedom** | Media Freedom | Freedom Components

↩

COUNTRY	GLOBAL FREEDOM SCORE 2024 ↓	DEMOCRACY SCORE 2024
 Finland	100	
 Sweden	99	
 New Zealand	99	
 Norway	98	
 Canada	97	
 Netherlands	97	
 Denmark	97	
 Ireland	97	
 Luxembourg	97	
 San Marino	97	
 Switzerland	96	
 Uruguay	96	

**The Human Freedom Index and its Purpose**

The Human Freedom Index is an annual report that evaluates the state of human freedom in 165 countries and territories around the world, representing 98.8 percent of the human population as of the 2023 HFI report. The HFI is a broadly comprehensive measure that encompasses both personal and economic freedom and then merges the two into a single value titled simply "human freedom." The Human Freedom Index is co-published by the Cato Institute, the Fraser Institute, and the Liberales Institut at the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom. The countries with the highest Human Freedom Index scores are widely considered to be among (the freest countries in the world).

<https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/freedom-index-by-country#title>

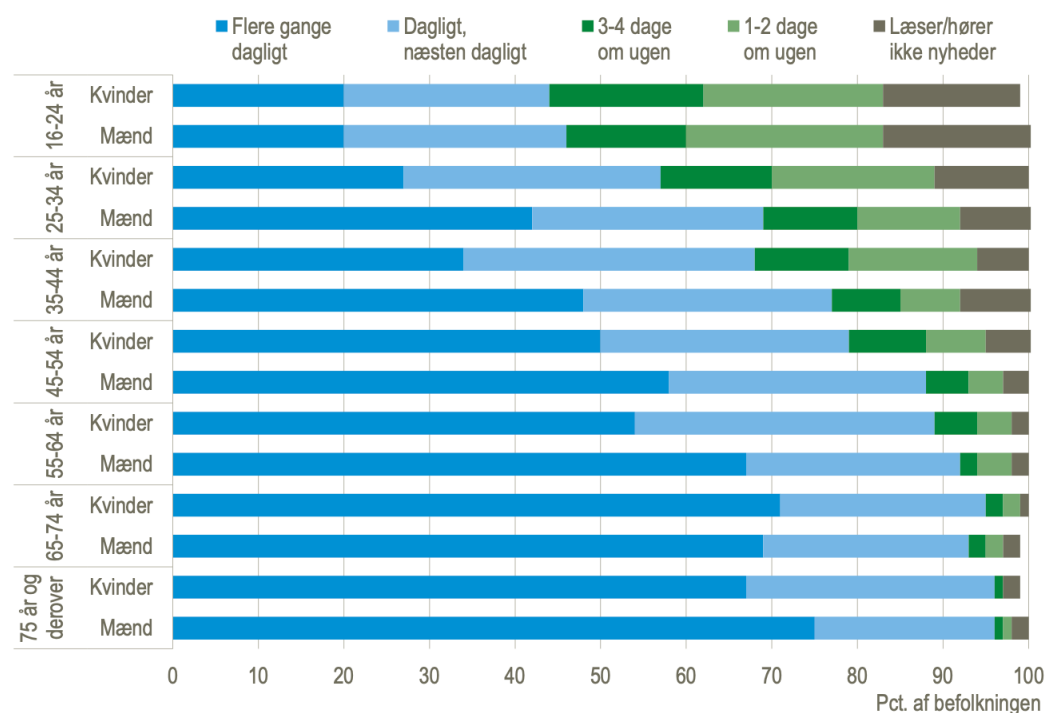


# Almost all Danes consume news

## 5.3 Nyhedsforbrug, sociale medier og misinformation

Næsten alle (93 pct. i 2022) lyttede til, læste eller så nyheder i Danmark hver uge og tre ud af fire gør det flere gange om dagen, dagligt eller næsten dagligt. Andelen med et dagligt forbrug af nyheder stiger med alderen. Køn synes også at have en effekt på hyppigheden af nyhedsforbrug idet kvinders forbrug er mindre hyppigt i de fleste aldersgrupper.

### 7 Hyppighed af nyhedsforbrug fordelt på alder og køn. 2022



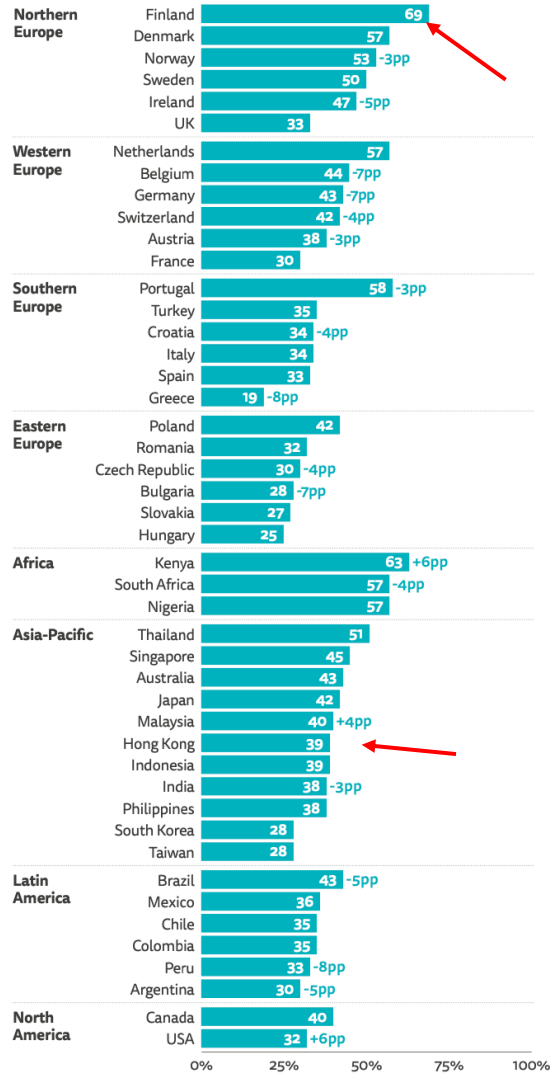
*The darker blue, the more news consumption*

Anm.: Summering af procenter afviger fra 100 pga. afrunding.

Kilde: [www.statistikbanken.dk/KVUH2KA](http://www.statistikbanken.dk/KVUH2KA).

2023

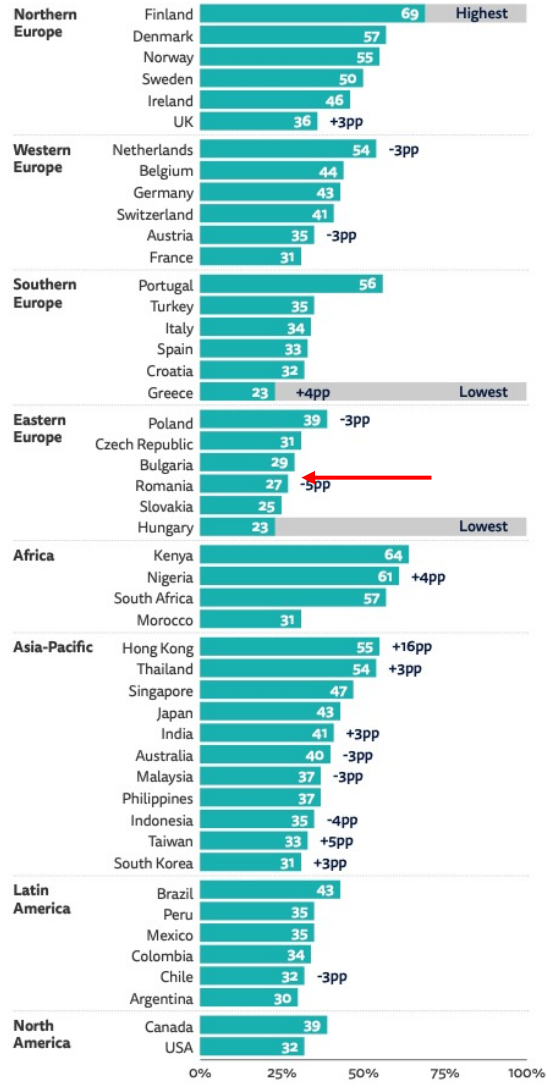
PROPORTION THAT TRUST MOST NEWS MOST OF THE TIME - ALL MARKETS



Q6\_2016\_1. Thinking about news in general, do you agree or disagree with the following statements? - I think you can trust most news most of the time. Base: Total sample in each market (n = 2000).

2024

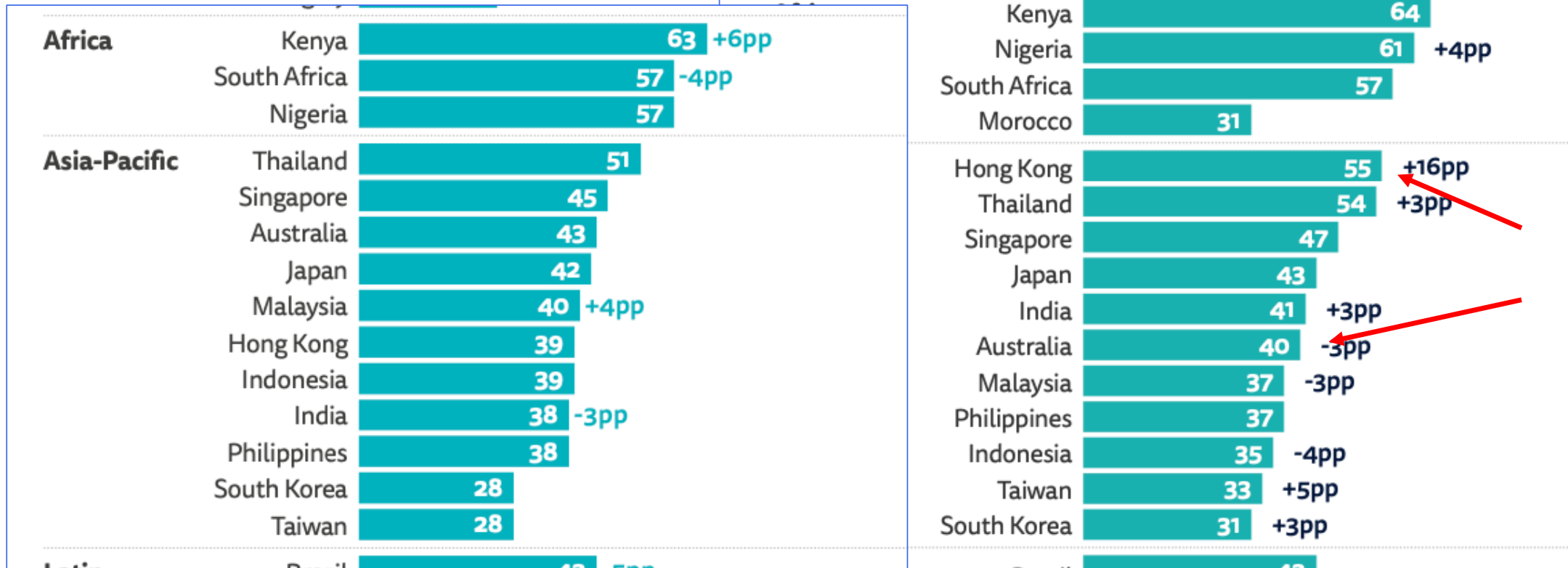
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## Trust in news



# Fake News and Trust

- - High trust in public media (e.g., SR, SVT)
- - Low trust in social media
- - Example: Sweden's 2022 elections, manipulation on Twitter



*This slide is AI generated.*

## Hallin & Mancini (2004) Media Systems

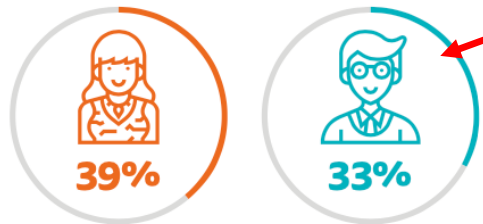
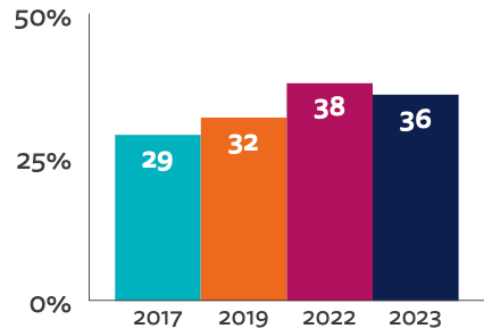
(this table copied  
from wikipedia,  
my highlighting)

<i>Dimensions</i> <sup>[33]</sup>	Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model  France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain	North/Central Europe or Democratic Corporatist Model  Austria, Belgium, <b>Denmark</b> , Finland, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland	North Atlantic or Liberal Model  Britain, United States, Canada, Ireland
<i>Newspaper Industry</i>	low newspaper circulation; elite politically oriented press	high newspaper circulation; early development of mass-circulation press	medium newspaper circulation; early development of mass-circulation commercial press
<i>Political Parallelism</i>	high political parallelism; external pluralism, commentary-oriented journalism; parliamentary <sup>[34]</sup> or government <sup>[35]</sup> model of broadcast governance; politics-over-broadcasting systems <sup>[36]</sup>	external pluralism especially in national press; historically strong party press; shift toward neutral commercial press; politics-in-broadcasting system <sup>[37]</sup> with substantial autonomy	neutral commercial press; information-oriented journalism; internal pluralism (but external pluralism in Britain); professional <sup>[38]</sup> model of broadcast governance; formally autonomous system <sup>[39]</sup>
<i>Professionalization</i>	weaker professionalization; instrumentalization	strong <b>professionalization</b> ; institutionalized <b>self-regulation</b>	strong professionalization; non-institutionalized self-regulation
<i>Role of the State in Media System</i>	strong state intervention; press subsidies in France and Italy; periods of censorship; “savage deregulation” <sup>[40]</sup> (except France)	strong <b>state</b> intervention but with protection for <b>press freedom</b> ; press <b>subsidies</b> , particularly strong in Scandinavia; strong <b>public-service</b> broadcasting	market dominated (except strong public broadcasting in Britain and Ireland)



# Trust in news? News avoidance

## PROPORTION THAT SAY THEY SOMETIMES OR OFTEN ACTIVELY TRY TO AVOID THE NEWS (2017-2023) - ALL MARKETS



More likely to be women than men

source:  
Reuters  
2023

**Highest levels**

	Greece	57% (+6)
	Bulgaria	57% (+10)
	Argentina	46%
	Poland	44% (+3)
	UK	41% (-5)

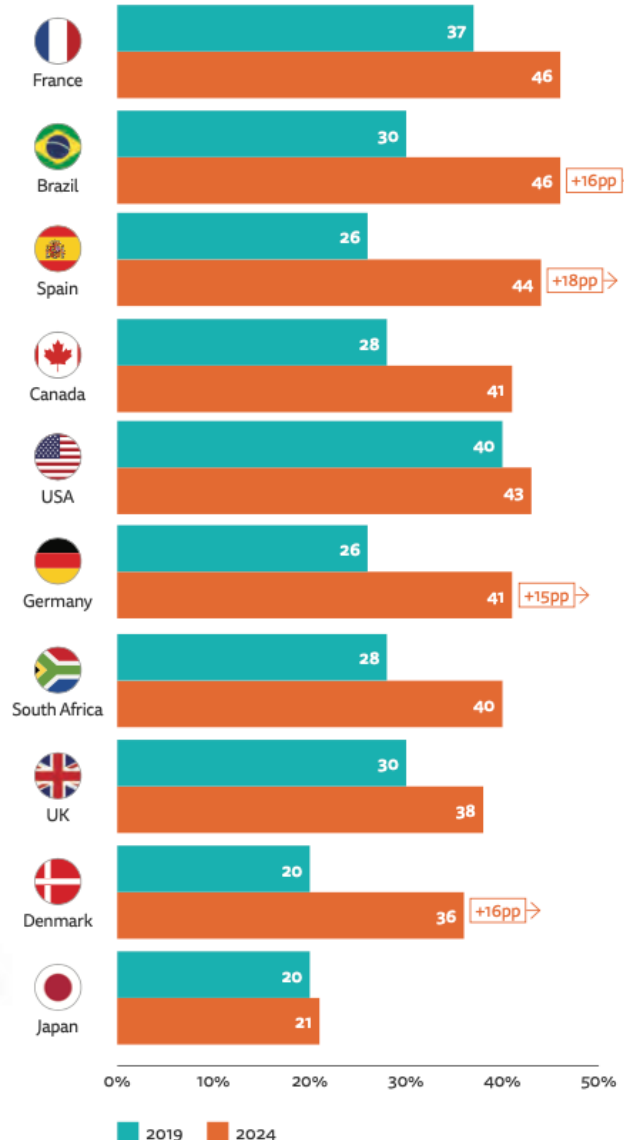
**Lowest levels**

	Finland	21%
	South Korea	20% (-6)
	Denmark	19%
	Taiwan	17% (-5)
	Japan	11% (-3)

**Q1di\_2017.** Do you find yourself actively trying to avoid news these days? Base: Total sample in each country-year ≈ 2000, Men/Women in 2023 = 45,938/47,957. Note: Number of markets grew from 36 in 2018 to 46 from 2021 onwards. Markets listed in online methodology.

PROPORTION THAT SAY THEY FEEL WORN OUT BY THE AMOUNT OF NEWS (2019 AND 2024) - SELECTED COUNTRIES

News-avoidance - 'it's too much'



source:  
Reuters  
2024



# Sport and the Royal Family

Instagram

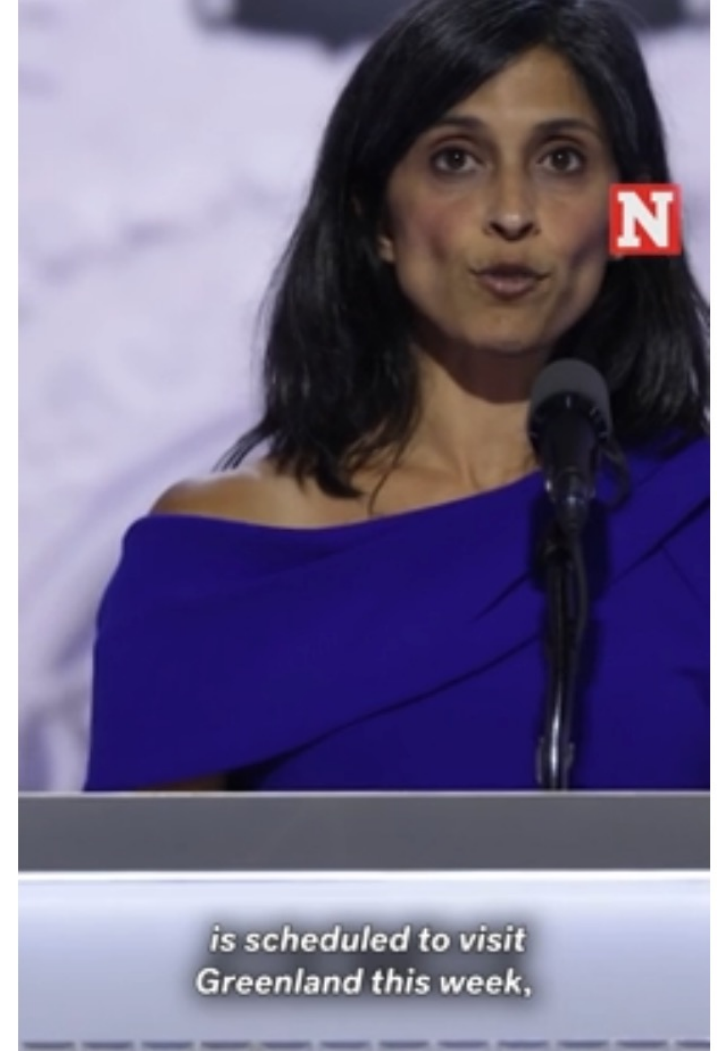
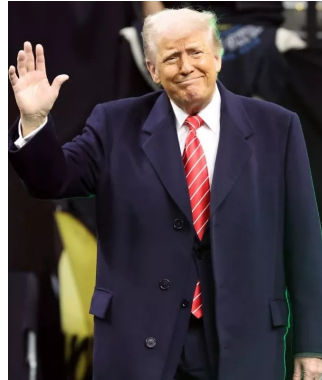






But what about your Queen Mary  
??

# But what about **your** Queen Mary ??

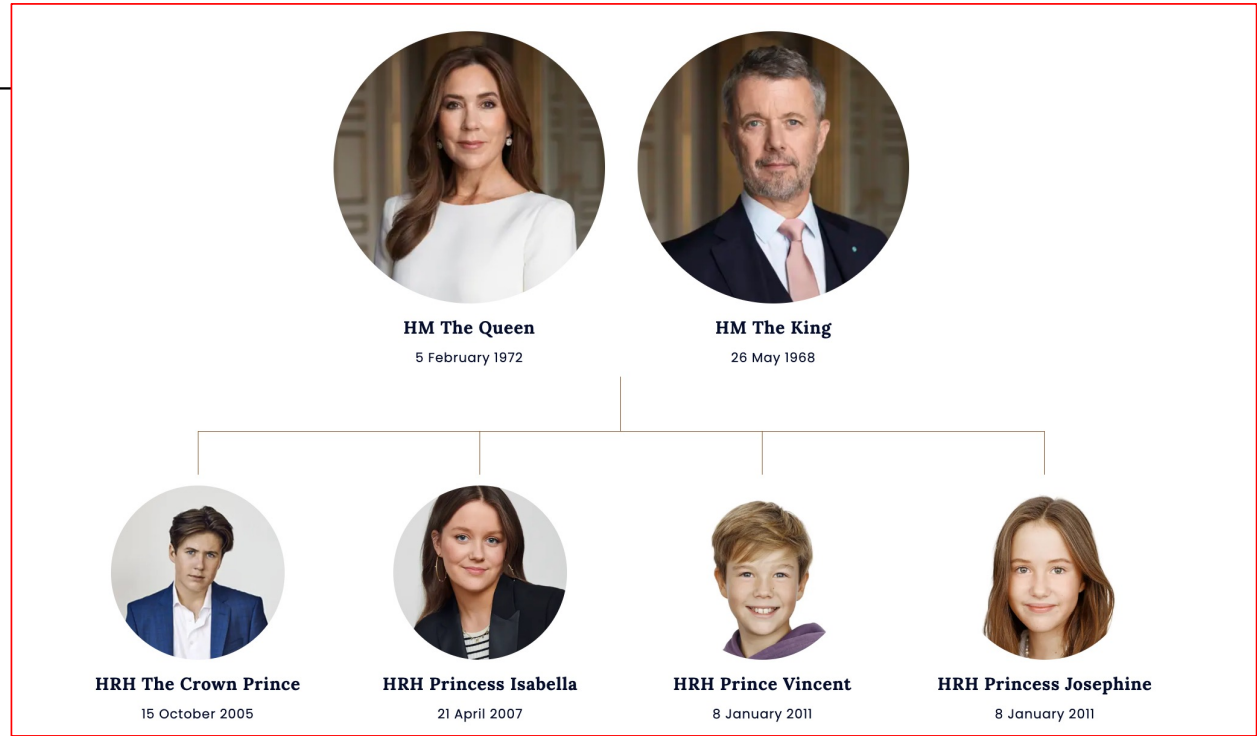








**Mary Elizabeth,**  
Her Majesty The Queen of  
Denmark,  
Countess of Monpezat,  
born on 5 February 1972  
in Hobart, Tasmania, Australia.



HRH Crown Prince Christian Valdemar Henri John, *born on 15 October 2005,*

HRH Princess Isabella Henrietta Ingrid Margrethe, *born on 21 April 2007,*

HRH Prince Vincent Frederik **Minik** Alexander and *born on 8 January 2011,*

HRH Princess Josephine Sophia **Ivalo** Mathilda, *born on 8 January 2011.*

## Roayl Couple visit to Greenland 29 June to 6 Juli, 2024

54

Program for Kongeparrets besøg i Grønland den 29. juni – 6. juli



Lørdag den 29. juni  
Ankomst til **Pituffik Space Base**

Kl. 10.45

Kongeparret ankommer til Pituffik Space Base, hvor Deres Majestæter modtages af formand for Naalakkersuisut Múte Bourup Egede, rigsombudsmand Julie Præst Wilche departementschef Hans-Peder Barlach Christensen samt protokolchef Jakob Rohmann Hard.

Modtagelse i Qaanaaq

Kl. 13.25

Kongeparret ankommer til Qaanaaq i Nordgrønland, hvor Kongeparret modtages af tidligere borgmester Jens Danielsen, kommunalbestyrelsesmedlem Ane Qujaukitsoq og formand for Inatsisartut Mimi Karlsen. Qaanaaq er Grønlands nordligste by, hvor Kongen i år 2000 indledte og afsluttede **Sirius 2000-ekspeditionen**.



King Frederik of Denmark during a visit to the Danish town of Assens, on August 21, 2024. REUTERS

### The beer brewed in violation of the misogynistic laws of 50 countries

IGOR LÓPEZ | Berlin

### Frederik X wins over Danes in first year as king

ISABEL FERRER | The Hague

After succeeding Queen Margrethe the challenge of shaping his own le monarchy supported by 80% of the



Una niña inuit y su madre esperan en una parada de autobús en Nuuk, Groenlandia, el lunes. CONTACTOPHOTO

### Las heridas abiertas entre Groenlandia y Dinamarca: niños arrancados de sus familias y mujeres esterilizadas

ANTONIO JIMÉNEZ BARCA (ENVIADO ESPECIAL) | Nuuk

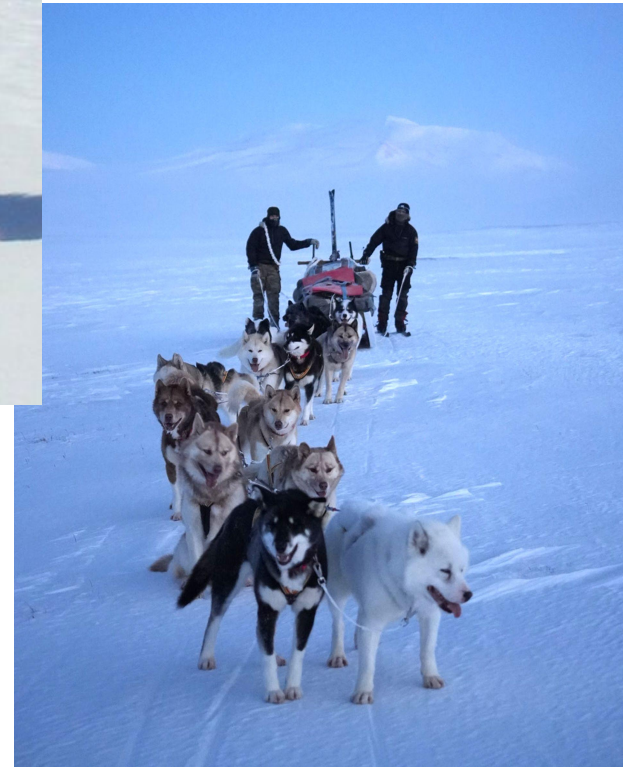
Agravios históricos y una sensación de un trato injusto son algunas de las quejas de los habitantes de la isla que Trump quiere controlar

### Ramón Larramendi: “Trump quiere aprovechar la división con Dinamarca y puede que lo consiga”

BELÉN FERNÁNDEZ / CARLOS MARTÍNEZ | Madrid

El investigador y explorador polar, residente en Groenlandia parte del año, explica cómo el anhelo independentista atraviesa la historia de una isla cuyo control siempre ha atraído a terceros países

Text 2



Sirius Patruljen = Sirius Dog Sled Patrol





# What Do You Know?

...about

- Greenland
- Greenland Denmark relationships
- How long is the longest road in Greenland?

## Grønland

ca. 2.166.086 km<sup>2</sup>.

ca. 56.669 people = 0.06 million

## Western Australia

ca. 2.527.013 km<sup>2</sup>.

ca. 2.878.600 people = 2.88 million



# Greenland - Denmark



- 800-1400s: Viking/ Nordic settlements, also in Northern America.
  - 1600s: competition: Netherlands, Denmark, others.
  - From 1600s: a (Norwegian)/Danish *colony*.
  - 1721: Priest Hans Egede sent to Greenland, Godthåb/ Nuuk
  - 1953: a Danish *county*
  - 1979 (vote on EC was the drop) home rule and
  - 2009 Greenland self-governing area, though it is still a part of the Danish realm.
- *What is the Realm?*
  - Most issues are resolved in Greenland by Naalakkersuisut and Inatsisartut.
  - Foreign policy, security policy, defense, the courts and police remain under the Realm. Hence, the Danish parliament and government are responsible.
- Since 1953 two Greenlandic MPs (and also two Faroese) out of 179 Danish MPs in total.

# Kalaallit Nunaat



### The foundation in Greenland's economy

- 5 publicly owned corporations (GL, RAL, KNI, RG and TUSA55) provide 55 % of the GDP (2019)
- Polar Seafood (private corp.) provides 16 % of the GDP (2019)
- Fisheries represent 98 % of exports: 5.8 bill. DKK (avg. 2022) (shrimp, halibut, cod)
- 480 mill. DKK income from taxes/fees (2022) from the fisheries industry

turnover figures and not necessarily comparable where necessary assessments have been made

### Rigsfællesskabet 2024

- Grønlands økonomi
  - Offentlige udgifter vil løbe fra indtægterne (den voldsomme grad)
  - Skattebyrden
  - Udfordringer mellem 18-25 år ikke i uddannelse
  - Uddannelsesindsats
  - Udfordringer igennem corona-krisen
  - Udfordringer med aktivitet grundet anlægsinvesteringer
- Rigmøde 2024
  - Udvalgte danske ambassadører
  - Udfordringer sikkerheds- og udenrigspolitik
- Styrke vidensniveau
  - Udfordringer med travlhed blandt unge grønlandere i Danmark
  - Udfordringer i tur- og undervisningsområdet
  - Udfordringer med projekter
- Udfordringer med selvstændighedskamp
  - Udfordringer med arbejdsopgaver
  - Udfordringer med arbejdskraft i Rigsfællesskabet?

### Statsministerens redegørelse om rigsfællesskabet på grønlandsk og færøsk

16.04.2024

Statsministeren har afgivet en redegørelse om rigsfællesskabet 2024. Den er oversat til grønlandsk og færøsk.

Statsminister Mette Frederiksen (S) afgav den officielle redegørelse til Folketinget om rigsfællesskabet 2024 på et møde i Folketingssalen den 16. april 2024.

- Støttet redegørelsen på grønlandsk
- Støttet redegørelsen på færøsk
- Støttet redegørelsen på dansk

Grønlandsk og færøsk i Folketinget

Folketingets Præsidium har besluttet, at grønlandsk og færøsk bør anvendes ved alle møder for at bruge de officielle sprog.

Såvel i de udvalgte sprog som i de officielle redegørelser m.v., der lægger grundlag for alle Rigsfællesskabets beslutninger, som vedrører grønlandsk og færøsk sprog, foreslås det, at grønlandsk og færøsk skal anvendes i alle redegørelser om Rigsfællesskabet og ANS.

## Greenlanders' and Danes' View of the Denmark-Greenland relationship

82% of Greenlanders disagree with the statement that Denmark treats Greenland equally.

In contrast, 13% agree

This perception aligns with broader concerns about Denmark's historical and ongoing treatment of Greenland and its people.

Source 31. 01 25 Berlingske Sektion 1 Side 8 Tidemann og Gleerup Fallentin



### **Minister anerkender problem:**

Sådan skal racisme mod grønlandere bekæmpes

Ekstra 35 millioner kroner, 12 initiativer og en masse dialog skal bekæmpe racisme mod grønlandere i Danmark.



# Greenland



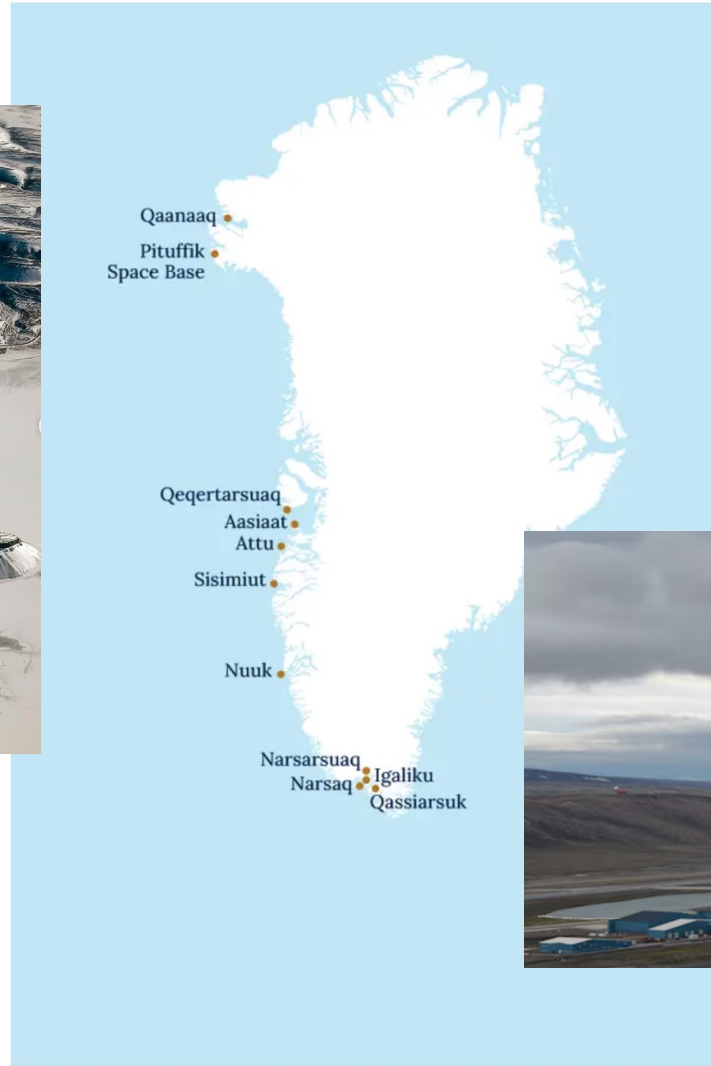
## Why the sudden interest in Greenland?

Route of transport opens up.

Location – close to Russia,  
placement of military equipment.

Important minerals underground  
(but not an easy access). Oil.

If you don't respect the law, you  
are big and you want more land  
there is much...



## Grønland

# Då Noreg ville ha Grønland

Donald Trump er ikkje den fyrste som har vorte freista av å eige den store isøya nordvest i Atlanterhavet. Noreg har også sin imperialistiske arv å bale med.



Her sit nokre av dei norske delegatane til rettssaka mot Danmark i Haag, framfor nokre representantar frå pressa: historikaren Oluf Kolsrud, juristane Helge Klæstad

Norway also wanted Greenland as part of the Norwegian Kingdom

- law case in Haag early 1931-1933

**WORLD COURT HOLDS GREENLAND DANISH**  
**Finds, 12 to 2, Against Claim of Norway to Eastern Part of Region. OSLO TO RESPECT RULING Through Copenhagen Show Joy by Cheering and Throwing Hats. HAGUE COURT FINDS GREENLAND DANISH**

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

April 6, 1933

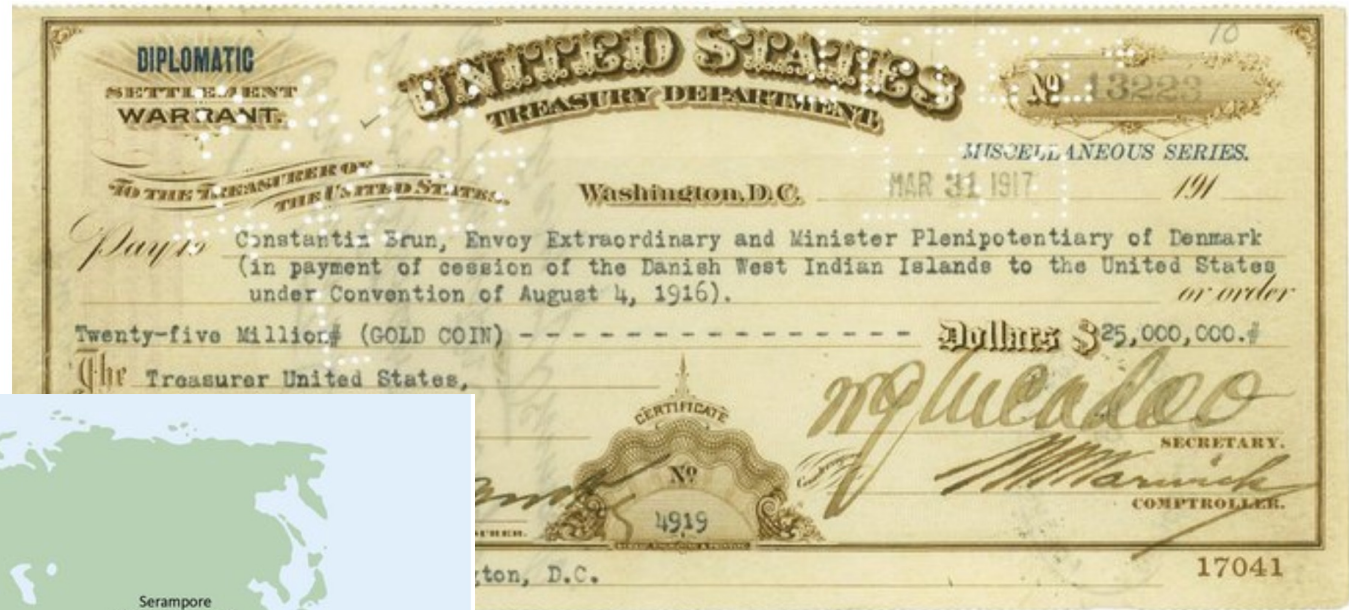


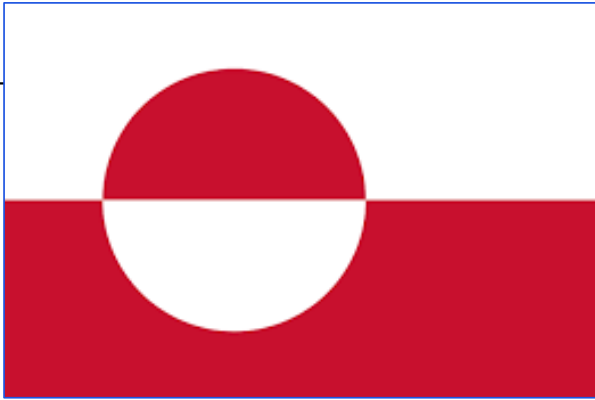
See the article in  
 April 6, 1933.

New York Times su  
 TimesMachine  
 York Times journal



# De Vestindiske Øer, 1672-1917 (Virgin Islands)





Greenland's future status:



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# Economic Sustainability as a Starting Point

- Desire for more independence (ultimately state formation).
- Greenland receives approximately 6 billion kroner (1,3 bn AUD) annually from external sources to finance the country's public finances - total about 14 billion kroner.
- 40 percent of Greenland's economy is funded by block grants, Danish defense expenditures, and EU support funds.
- Time or sudden wealth  
CONTRAST  
economic subsidies from others.

# Two Possible Roads



## Path 1: Within the Realm

## Path 2: Out of the Realm

(via the Self-Government Act §21)

The Government of Greenland

(Naalakkersuisut) activates §21.

Greenland and Denmark must reach an agreement.

The Inatsisartut (Greenlandic Parliament) must consent to the agreement.

The agreement must be adopted through a referendum in Greenland.

The Danish Parliament (Folketinget) must consent to the agreement, thereby approving Greenland's independence.

# Outside of the Realm

---

- An independent state, state formation, free association?
  - Free Association: a path for former colonies, e.g., the Cook Islands has a Free Association agreement with New Zealand (a formal agreement).
  - 
  - Should Greenlanders continue to hold Danish citizenship?
  - Become more independent in all areas (e.g., police and legal system)? For instance, should services be purchased in Denmark or elsewhere? Or is there a way to ensure these remain in Danish hands (and paid for here)?
  - Sovereignty in foreign, defense, and security policy.
  - Represent themselves in the UN, the Arctic Council, and the Olympics?
  - With whom would Denmark cooperate? The USA? The EU?

# Not on the Way into the Arms of Trump

- **Poll**
- 85 percent of Greenlanders answer **no** to whether they want Greenland to become part of the USA.
- 6 percent want this.
- 9 percent are undecided.
  
- Additionally: "45 percent of Greenlanders perceive Donald Trump's interest in Greenland as a threat, and only eight percent would accept a U.S. passport if they had to decide right now whether they wanted Danish or American citizenship."
  
- *Source: (Verian for Berlingske and Sermitsiaq, January 25, 2025).*
  
- However, people are **not satisfied** with the current state of affairs and their relationship with Denmark either.



I 20 år har det stået klart, at USA er yderst opmærksom på, at det kan blive nødvendigt at genforhandle vilkårene for den amerikanske militærbase i Grønland, hvis landet løsriver sig fra Danmark

Mikkel Runge Olesen,  
seniorforsker,  
DIIS

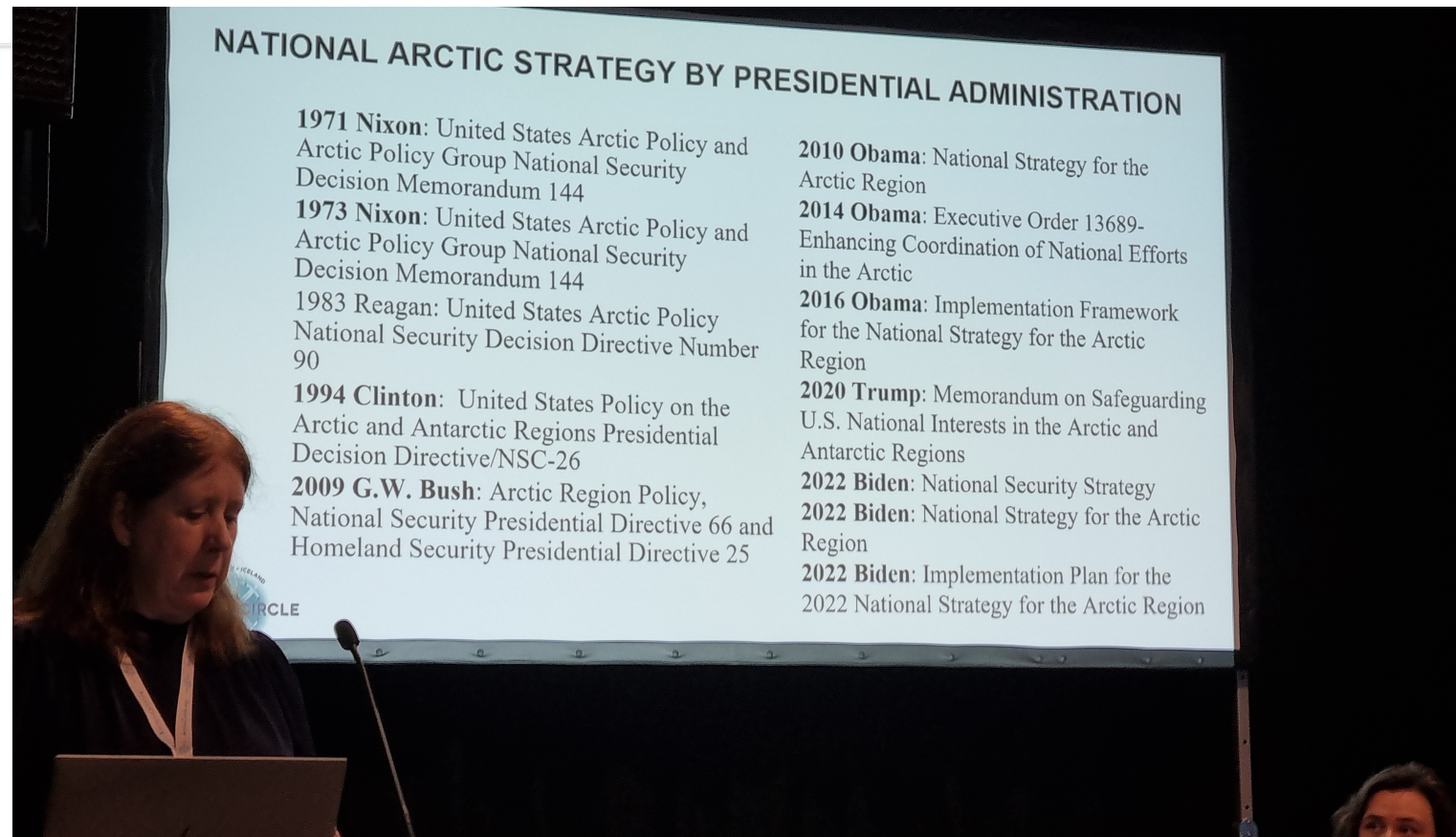


Efter et femdages besøg i Grønland i 2006 skrev den daværende amerikanske ambassadør i København, James P. Cain, hjem til Washington, at hjemmestyret var »ivrigt efter at styrke sine bånd med den amerikanske regering«. Det fremgår af en fortrolig indberetning, som siden blev lækket til offentligheden af organisationen Wikileaks

Under overskriften »den næste mikrostat?« berettede ambassadøren om detaljer fra et møde med den daværende grønlandske minister for råstoffer, Jørgen Wæver Johansen, som ifølge Cain vurderede, at Grønland »blot er et oliefund« fra at opnå økonomisk uafhængighed. Derfor skulle den amerikanske regering være bevidst om, at Grønland potentielt kunne blive et alliancefrit land »frem for en af vores mest trofaste Nato-allierede«, lød det. Året efter skrev den amerikanske ambassadør en ny indberetning hjem til Washington:  
»Med grønlandsk selvstændighed glimtende i horisonten, har USA en enestående mulighed for at forme de omstændigheder, hvorunder en uafhængig nation kan opstå«.



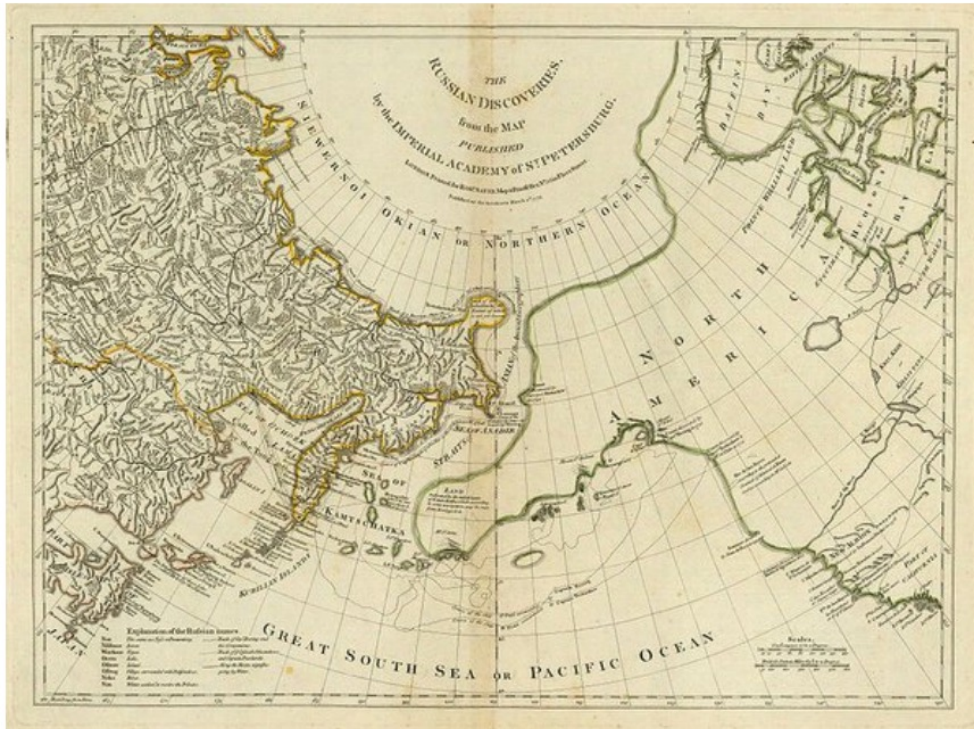
## Recent US strategies for Greenland/ Arctics



**NATIONAL ARCTIC STRATEGY BY PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATION**

<b>1971 Nixon:</b> United States Arctic Policy and Arctic Policy Group National Security Decision Memorandum 144	<b>2010 Obama:</b> National Strategy for the Arctic Region
<b>1973 Nixon:</b> United States Arctic Policy and Arctic Policy Group National Security Decision Memorandum 144	<b>2014 Obama:</b> Executive Order 13689- Enhancing Coordination of National Efforts in the Arctic
<b>1983 Reagan:</b> United States Arctic Policy National Security Decision Directive Number 90	<b>2016 Obama:</b> Implementation Framework for the National Strategy for the Arctic Region
<b>1994 Clinton:</b> United States Policy on the Arctic and Antarctic Regions Presidential Decision Directive/NSC-26	<b>2020 Trump:</b> Memorandum on Safeguarding U.S. National Interests in the Arctic and Antarctic Regions
<b>2009 G.W. Bush:</b> Arctic Region Policy, National Security Presidential Directive 66 and Homeland Security Presidential Directive 25	<b>2022 Biden:</b> National Security Strategy
	<b>2022 Biden:</b> National Strategy for the Arctic Region
	<b>2022 Biden:</b> Implementation Plan for the 2022 National Strategy for the Arctic Region





Kort fra 1700-tallet der blandt andet viser Vitus Berings rejser i området mellem Rusland og Al

- WW1: Denmark neutral;
- WW2, 1940: Denmark occupied.
- WW2, 1941: USA took control of Greenland, treaty via Danish Embassy in Washington.
- 1951: Greenland handed back to Denmark
- 1951: Treaty USA and Denmark: Free access, military control/ defense via NATO.
- 1953: new DK constitution, ends colony



#### Forsvarsaftale for Grønland af 1951

Forsvarsaftale for Grønland af 1951 blev indgået mellem Danmark og USA den 27. april 1951. Den indebærer, at USA i regi af NATO skal bistå Danmark i forsvaret af Grønland, og at USA har ret til fri adgang overalt i Grønland.

# Kryolit, Aluminium

---



Mining 1856 - 1962

During WW2: 400 US soldiers  
deployed



## US Air Force:

### Bluie West One



Den amerikanske Narsarsuaq Air Base i Grønland blev oprettet efter Forsvarsaftalen fra d. 9. april 1941. Basen, der blev anlagt i sommeren 1941 og nedlagt i 1958, havde det militære navn Bluie West One. Under 2. Verdenskrig var det den største militærbase i Grønland, og den husede på sit højeste 6.000 mennesker.

Erik Petersen/Ritzau Scanpix, 1952.  
Licens: Begrænset anvendelse




US Air Force – ready to roll:  
SFJ Kangerlussuaq

With Greenland's longest road !







**Donald Trump Jr.**   
 @DonaldJTrumpJr · 1d

Greenland loves America and Trump!!! Incredible people with an equally awesome reception. They just want to be able to utilize some of the incredible resources that they have and allow themselves, their country, and their kids to flourish.



Trump Jr. besøgte også det lokale værthus Daddy's i Nuuk, hvor

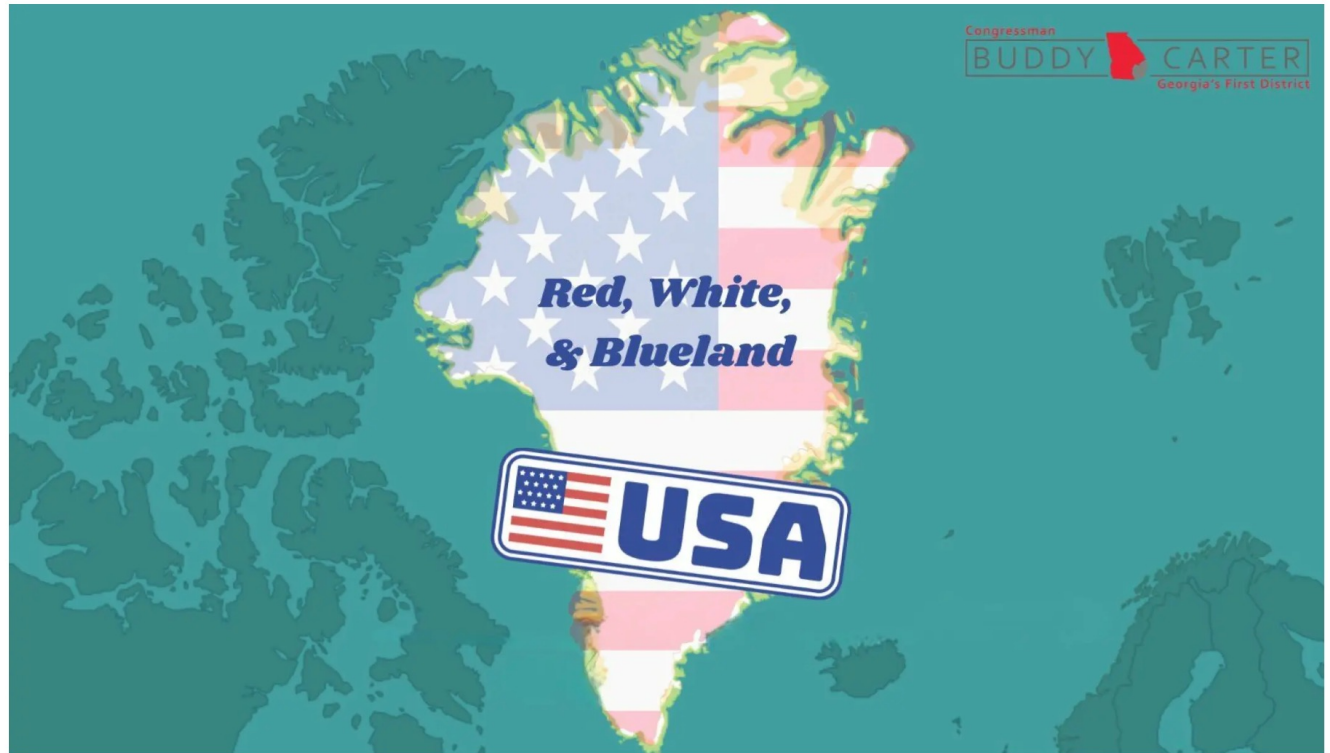
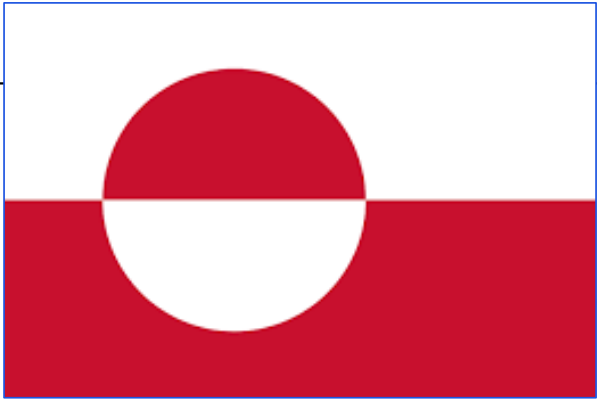
**Donald Trump Jr.**  @DonaldJTrumpJr · 7. jan.  
 Incredible day!!!!    

**Justin Wells**  @justinbwells · 7. jan.  
 Filming for @ArtoftheSurge in Greenland.

President Trump just called into a lunch @DonaldJTrumpJr, @charliekirk11 and @SergioGor are having with the local community in Nuuk.

0:19 / 1:14 

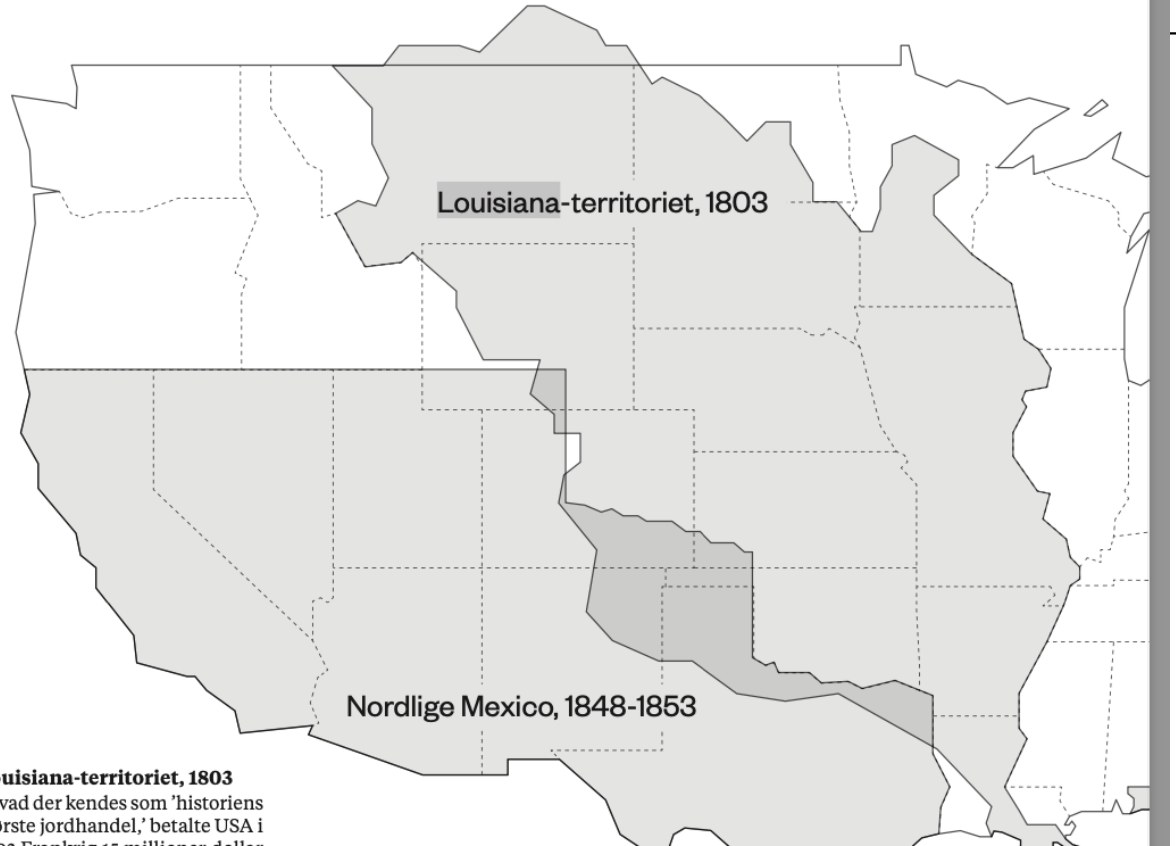
421 942 5t 330t 



Congressman  
**BUDDY**  **CARTER**  
Georgia's First District

***Red, White,  
& Blueland***





**Louisiana-territoret, 1803**  
I hvad der kendes som 'historiens største jordhandel,' betalte USA i 1803 Frankrig 15 millioner dollar



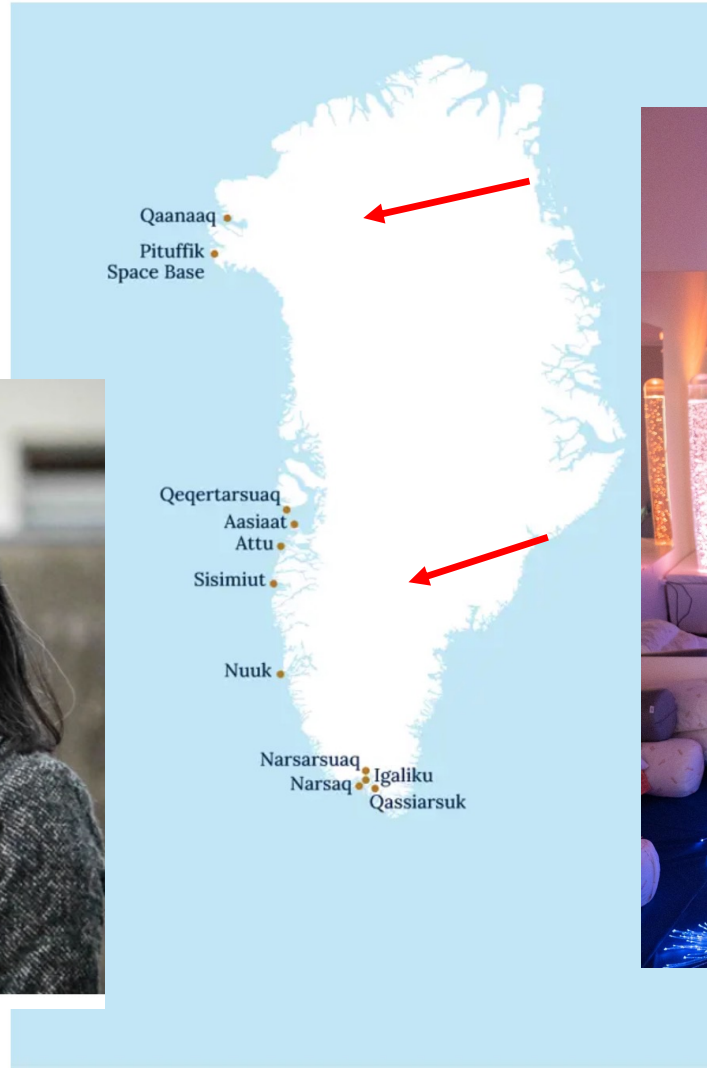
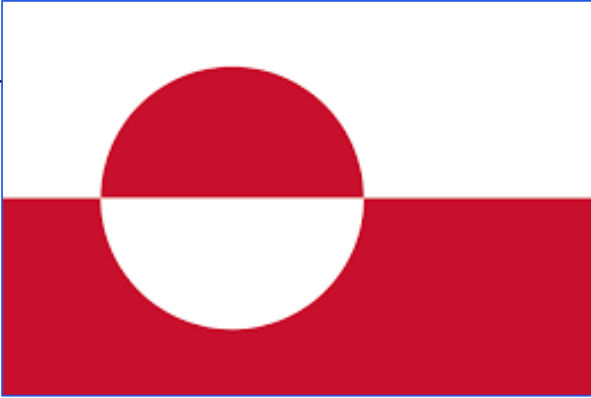


*As part of Denmark, which is a founding member of NATO, Greenland is covered under the [transatlantic alliance](#)'s security guarantees.*

*However, Greenland is not a member of the European Union (EU) or the European Single Market despite being considered an overseas country and territory associated with the EU.*

*Greenland's roughly fifty-seven thousand citizens, the majority Indigenous Inuit, are EU citizens as well as Danish nationals.*









<https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/politik/live-storpolitisk-trekantsdrama-mellem-groenland-usa-og-danmark?focusId=9333266#liveblog-embed:~:text=folk%20meldt%20deres-,ankomst,->

<https://www.newsweek.com/greenland-denies-trumps-claim-that-officials-asked-us-visit-2049890>

## Trump er seriøs - han vil have Grønland

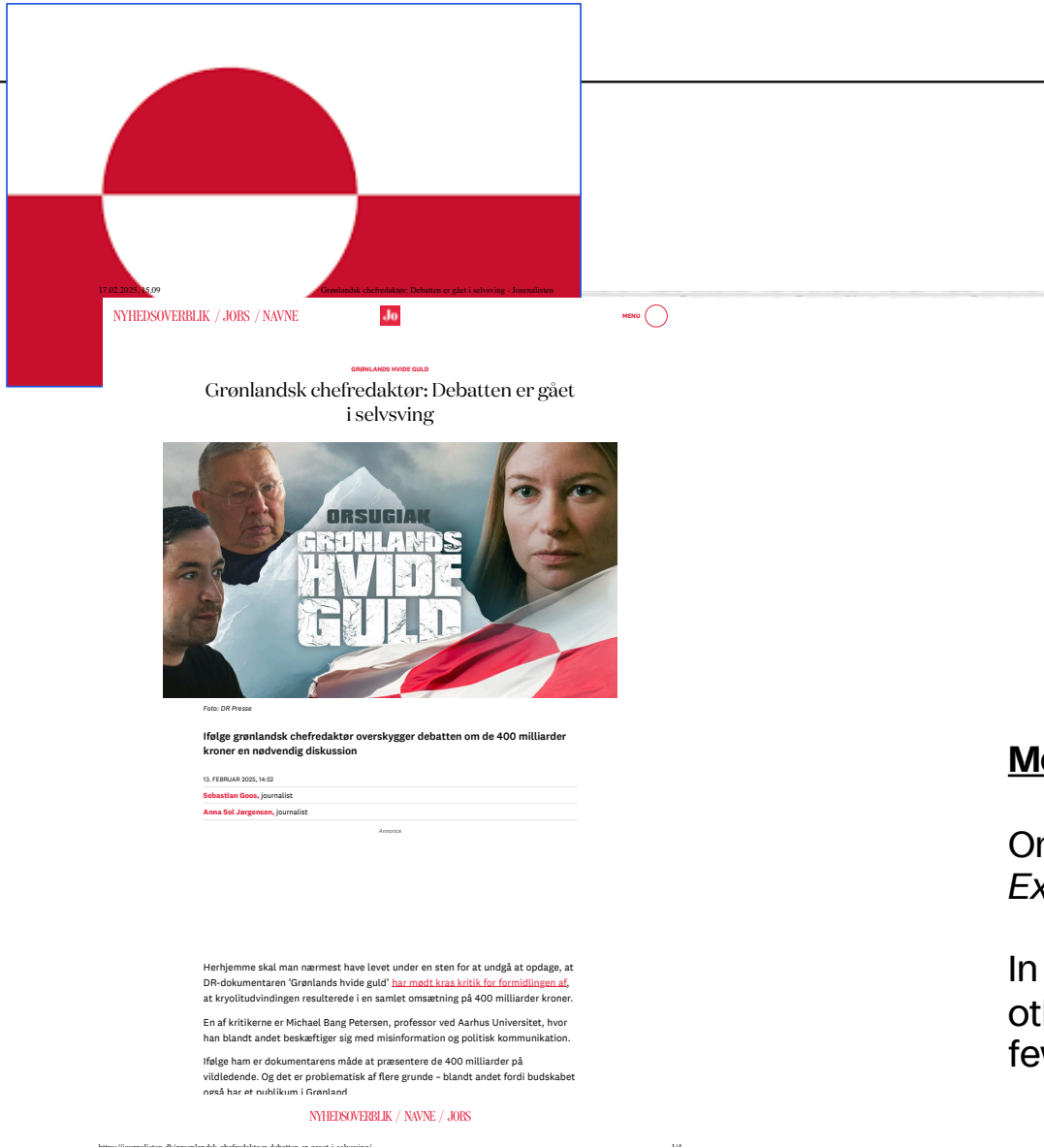
Mette Frederiksen understreger nu, at man skal tage Donald Trump helt alvorligt, når han taler om at ville have Grønland.

- Jeg har sagt flere gange, at vi tager den her situation meget alvorligt.

- Præsident Trump er seriøs, og han er alvorlig. Han ønsker Grønland. Derfor kan det ikke ses uafhængig af noget som helst andet.



DEL:   




17.02.2025 15:09 Grønlandsk chefredaktør: Debatten er gået i selvsving - Journalisten

NYHEDSOVERBLIK / JOBS / NAVNE **Jo** MENU

GRØNLANDS HVIDE GULD

**Grønlandsk chefredaktør: Debatten er gået i selvsving**



ORUGIAK  
GRØNLANDS HVIDE GULD

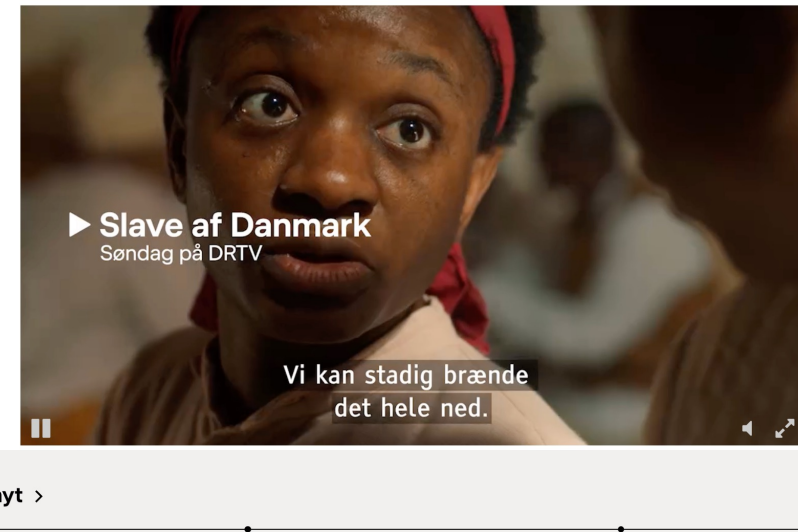
Foto: DR Presse

Ifølge grønlandsk chefredaktør overskygger debatten om de 400 milliarder kroner en nødvendig diskussion

13. FEBRUAR 2025, 14:52  
 Sebastian Gees, Journalist  
 Anna Sol Jørgensen, Journalist

Herhjemme skal man nærmest have levet under en sten for at undgå at opdage, at DR-dokumentaren 'Grønlands hvide guld' har medt kras kritik for fremtiden af at kryolltvidningen resulterede i en samlet omsætning på 400 milliarder kroner. En af kritikerne er Michael Bang Petersen, professor ved Aarhus Universitet, hvor han blandt andet beskæftiger sig med misinformation og politisk kommunikation. Ifølge ham er dokumentarens måde at præsentere de 400 milliarder på vildledende. Og det er problematisk af flere grunde - blandt andet fordi budskabet også har et nihiliskum i Grønland.

NYHEDSOVERBLIK / NAVNE / JOBS



▶ **Slave af Danmark**  
Søndag på DRTV

Vi kan stadig brænde det hele ned.

nyt >

### Media in Greenland:



Only KNR and Sermitsiaq  
*Extremely* small language group.

In dire need of workforce/ journalists; like in other key roles, qualified employers are too few.



## Minister anerkender problem: Sådan skal racisme mod grøn- lændere bekæmpes

Ekstra 35 millioner kroner, 12 initiativer og en masse dialog skal bekæmpe racisme mod grønlandere i Danmark.



SAMFUND

## Ted Cruz indkalder til høring om Grønland i Senatet: **Ejerskab vil være en fordel, siger han**

<https://www.berlingske.dk/internationalt/vidner-er-indkaldt-til-hoering-i-senatet-skal>

17.02.2025, 15.09

Grønlandsk chefredaktør: Debatten er gået i selvsving - Journalisten

NYHEDSOVERBLIK / JOBS / NAVNE



GRØNLANDS HVIDE GULD

## Grønlandsk chefredaktør: Debatten er gået i selvsving



Foto: DR Presse

Ifølge grønlandsk chefredaktør overskygger debatten om de 400 milliarder kroner en nødvendig diskussion

13. FEBRUAR 2025, 14:52

Sebastian Goos, Journalist

Anna Sol Jørgensen, Journalist

Annonce

Herhjemme skal man nærmest have levet under en sten for at undgå at opdage, at DR-dokumentaren 'Grønlands hvide guld' [har medt kras kritik for formidlingen af](#), at kryolitudvindingen resulterede i en samlet omsætning på 400 milliarder kroner.

En af kritikerne er Michael Bang Petersen, professor ved Aarhus Universitet, hvor han blandt andet beskæftiger sig med misinformation og politisk kommunikation.

Ifølge ham er dokumentarens måde at præsentere de 400 milliarder på villedende. Og det er problematisk af flere grunde – blandt andet fordi budskabet også har et publikum i Grønland.

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Statsminister Mette Frederiksen er vred, og ifølge general Jesper Helsø, tidligere forsvarschef, er vicepræsident JD Vances udfald mod Danmark forkerte, stærkt provokerende og utilstedelige.

## General: Forholdet til USA har nået et lavpunkt



Konstabel Rune Westy Nielsen blev dræbt som soldat i Afghanistan i efteråret 2008 og begravet ved Ulboerup Valgmængedskirke ved Kalundborg. Nu udtaler USA's vicepræsident, at Danmark er «en dårlig allieret». Foto: Miriam Dalsgaard

INTERNATIONALT  
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LYT TIL ARTIKLEN

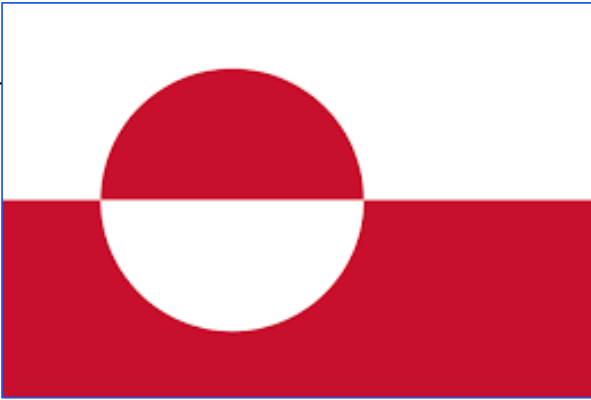
GEM ARTIKLEN



Trumps indsættelse

## Donald Trump i Det Ovale Kontor: Danmark kan ikke opretholde Grønlands sikkerhed





*But why?*

1. National security?
2. Access to rare minerals?
3. Access to oil?
4. Show-off towards Russia/ China?
5. Domestic politics?
6. Bullying the weakest, showing strength?
7. Confusion in NATO?
8. Dividing Europe/ EU ?

