

# Untapped Potential: Exploring the Benefits of a U.S.-Greenland Trade Agreement

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Figure 1: Photo: Pixabay

## 1. Executive Summary

*I'm in Greenland because the United States deeply values our partnership and wants to make it even stronger. - Secretary of State Antony Blinken, Nuuk, May 20, 2021*

This paper invites policymakers to begin a thoughtful examination of a future U.S.-Greenland trade agreement from the standpoint of its potential benefit both to countries and its contribution to the broader shared goal of a free and stable Arctic - without discounting the political and structural challenges inherent in such a project.

Greenland is politically part of Europe, but geographically part of North America. Despite Greenland's geographic proximity to Canada and the United States, Greenland has surprisingly weak trade links to North America.<sup>1</sup>

Greenland wants a trade agreement with the United States. An agreement could catalyze new investment, which the government is actively seeking to fulfill its domestic development goals. It would also help diversify Greenland's import sources and export markets, adding needed resilience to its economy. A bilateral agreement would enhance opportunities for Greenland's young people as well.

For the United States, gains would be both geopolitical and economic. A U.S.-Greenland trade agreement would deepen the bilateral political relationship with an important Arctic partner and ally that hosts one of the most strategically important overseas U.S. military bases (Thule Air Base). It would also be a tangible manifestation of the U.S. commitment to the Arctic - a region of growing strategic importance, according to the White House's [National Strategy for the Arctic Region](#). A trade agreement would also expand two-way trade with a friendly democratic neighbor within the North American hemisphere – a neighbor which happens to have abundant natural resources including the critical minerals that are key to a greener energy future. While Greenland's population is very small, a trade agreement with market access would nevertheless over time confer some notable benefits to U.S. manufacturers of consumables and vehicles. An agreement that deepens bilateral trade ties could be particularly beneficial to Maine and Alaska.

To be sure, there are challenges to achieving a U.S.-Greenland trade agreement: there are capacity issues on the Greenland side; certain sectors of its economy would need to be more open to competition; Greenland's close association with the EU means that regulatory issues and agriculture could be a challenge in negotiations, as they were for the failed U.S.-EU Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). A bilateral trade agreement also must take into account – and not interfere with - the complex historical, political, and economic relationship between Greenland and Denmark – a close U.S. ally. Finally, the political environment in Washington has not been conducive to new free trade agreements for the past two years. That said, offering Greenland market access is a low-threat proposition in terms of its potential impact on sensitive U.S. industries. This makes a negotiation with Greenland a good place to restart the trade agenda for policymakers who are inclined to do so.

The roadmap to a U.S.-Greenland trade agreement might begin with a joint mapping exercise, followed by the signing of a Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA), leading to negotiations. Of course, this process should include Congressional buy-in and must be conducted in a transparent manner that involves non-governmental stakeholders. The agreement should be modern and innovative, reflecting both the significance of the green energy economy and the importance of protecting the fragile Arctic environment for our shared future.

An agreement could take a variety of forms: it could be a stand-alone bilateral pact, it could be paired with a U.S.-Iceland free trade agreement (which Iceland has requested), it could be added on to a future U.S.-UK trade agreement, or Greenland could be invited to join the U.S. Mexico Canada (USMCA) regional agreement.

To develop this paper’s findings, we interviewed officials from the U.S. government, the Government of Greenland, as well as non-governmental experts in the United States, Greenland, and Europe.

## 2. Background

Global climate change is causing rapid and fundamental changes in the Arctic.<sup>2</sup> Melting sea ice has opened new shipping lanes and boosted prospects for accessing the region’s vast natural resources. This has spurred a new era of strategic competition in the Arctic.<sup>3</sup> The 2022 White House *National Strategy for the Arctic Region* recognizes these realities and “seeks to position the United States to both effectively compete and manage tensions.” It commits the United States to deepening its relationship with Arctic allies and partners to “expand high-standard investment and sustainable development across the Arctic region.”<sup>4</sup>

Greenland has a pivotal role to play in an Arctic strategy. Since WWII, it has served a vital role for North American and North Atlantic defense. It also hosts some of the world’s richest fisheries zones, it has vast potential for hydroelectric power, and significant deposits of critical minerals. These are some of the reasons why at least two U.S. presidents were interested in buying Greenland.

Greenland is part of the Kingdom of Denmark, but it has certain home rule powers over foreign affairs, justice, legal affairs, and trade. This includes the ability to negotiate trade agreements. Greenland was a member of the European Economic Community, but it withdrew in 1985. Today it is a member of the Council of Europe, but it is not a member of the European Union



Source: Mapsland.com

(EU), nor the European Economic Area (EEA), EU customs territory, or the Schengen Area. However, Greenland is “associated to the Union” and has preferential access to the EU market (including movement of persons) by way of a special arrangement it secured as an “[Overseas Country or Territory](#)” that has a special dependent relationship with an EU member (Denmark). Greenlanders are Danish citizens and use the Danish kronor.

Greenland is free to regulate its economy under its home rule laws but chooses for practical purposes to align most regulations with those of the EU, with some exceptions. A 2014 European Council decision recognized the “geostrategic importance of Greenland to the (European) Union.”<sup>5</sup> It proclaimed the need to broaden relations with Greenland and to “base the future relationship of the Union with Greenland... on a comprehensive partnership for sustainable development which would include a specific fisheries agreement” among the EU, Greenland, and Denmark. The EU sees Greenland as “an advanced outpost of the Union” and has a development assistance partnership there.<sup>6</sup>

Greenland has been a NATO member since 1949 via its relationship with Denmark. The United States built Thule Air Base in Northern Greenland in 1951 to help defend North America from Soviet threats via the Arctic. The Agreement Related to the Defense of Greenland<sup>7</sup> (1951) granted the United States long term access to military bases in Greenland and committed the United States to Greenland’s defense in cooperation with Denmark. On the economic side, the United States and Greenland hold an annual bilateral dialogue called the Joint Committee, which was created to “to strengthen the ties between the people of the United States and Greenland in trade and investment, energy and mining sector cooperation, educational and cultural cooperation, and scientific and environmental cooperation.”<sup>8</sup> In 2020, the United States opened a consulate in Nuuk. USAID manages a \$10 million 5-year program for Greenland focused on diversifying Greenland’s economy through: strengthening management and increasing the competitiveness of its mineral resources sector; developing the tourism sector; reducing Greenland’s reliance on imported fossil fuels; and supporting entrepreneurship. The program includes funding for the Greenland School of Minerals and Petroleum.<sup>9</sup> The U.S. National Science Foundation (NSF) runs a major research program in Greenland focusing on climate change. NSF also funds/manages a year-round Arctic observing station on the Greenland ice sheet. In 2022, the U.S. Air Force announced that it would invest billions in upgrading military facilities in Greenland including at the Thule Air Base<sup>10</sup> and renegotiated a base management contract, which now reverts contacts to Greenlandic-controlled companies.<sup>11</sup>

### **3. Potential Benefits of a U.S.-Greenland Trade Agreement**

In 2020, Greenland exported a total of \$1.33B. Top export destinations are Denmark (55%), PRC China (22%), Japan 6%, Germany, and Russia. Greenland imported primarily

from [Denmark](#) (\$548M), [Sweden](#) (\$79.4M), [Spain](#) (\$59.6M), [Iceland](#) (\$15.6M), and [Germany](#) (\$13.2M) during this time period. These numbers reveal *the imbalance in the U.S. relationship with Greenland*: although the United States is a deep and vested security and development partner to Greenland, it is not among Greenland's top six trading partners.

*Greenlanders Desire for More Trade with U.S* - A 2021 survey asked Greenlanders if they thought Greenland should cooperate *more* or *less* with a list of several countries. Respondents favored more cooperation with Canada and Iceland first, followed by the United States, Denmark, the EU, and Great Britain. 69.1 percent said that Greenland should cooperate more closely with the United States.<sup>12</sup> (China was much further down the list.) That same year, Greenland Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade Pele Broberg asked visiting U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken to initiate talks on a bilateral free trade agreement. There has been no movement to date from the White House to launch a process for negotiations.

*Diversifying Greenland's Economy* - 90% of Greenland exports are in the fisheries sector. According to the U.S. Embassy in Copenhagen, "Greenland's economy remains sensitive to the rise and fall of fishing stocks and global prices for their catch. Greenland seeks to diversify its economy, focusing largely on expanding tourism and mineral resource exploitation as well as infrastructure projects."<sup>13</sup> 50% of the economy is in the public sector (including state owned enterprises) and a large portion of Greenland's budget comes in the form of a block grant from Denmark. In terms of imports, Greenland is highly dependent on imports from Denmark and other EU countries. Diversifying the economy would help build resilience to economic shocks, hedge against currency fluctuations, and could help temper inflation.

*Stimulating Investment* - Greenland is seeking foreign direct investment (FDI) to fulfill its ambitious development plans. This includes new airports and roads and upgrades to the electric grid and telecommunications. The government also needs to expand basic water and sanitation services to remote communities. Greenland seeks to exploit its enormous hydro power resources to transition away from fossil fuel imports and to [produce green fuels](#) like hydrogen. A trade agreement that eliminated U.S. duties on water (2¢ per liter) could help Greenland's nascent [water export](#) industry. The U.S. Consul General in Nuuk Joanie Simon said one of the U.S. objectives has been to "draw in really excellent investors so that Greenland can achieve its goal of being a key in the green transition."<sup>14</sup> A U.S.-Greenland trade agreement could spur such high-quality sustainable investment, particularly if negotiated outcomes include a bilateral investment treaty, enhanced market access, and provisions that favor capital investment. Increased trade and investment opportunities with the United States means that Greenland would have more alternatives to PRC investment, which has proven to be unilateral, corrosive, and with strings attached in many parts of the world.<sup>15</sup>

*Critical Minerals for the Green Transition* - An agreement that eliminates duties on U.S. imports of critical minerals from Greenland provide an incentive to draw new sustainable investment into mining projects in Greenland, which is a priority for the Greenland government.<sup>16</sup> A group of Nordic researchers [estimated](#) that Greenland has 24 of 25 “critical raw minerals” including antimony, beryllium, chromium, cobalt, fluorspar, molybdenum, natural graphite, niobium, tantalum, platinum, tungsten, and rare earth elements. The United States desperately needs critical minerals for its green transition and to manufacture leading-edge technologies, and it is currently highly dependent on China for these materials. To remedy this vulnerability, the Administration is promoting ally-shoring and near-shoring. U.S. import duties on critical minerals vary but can be as high as 5%. (Tariffs tend to be higher on processed materials vs. raw materials). A zero-tariff trade agreement with Greenland provides an opportunity for the United States to source from a friendly democracy that sits within the North American hemisphere. EV batteries made in the United States from materials sourced in Greenland would qualify for the tax benefits under the 2022 Inflation Reduction Act. The Arctic Economic Council’s [Arctic Investment Protocol](#) provides useful guidance for responsible investment in and exploitation of natural resources in the Arctic. Note: natural resource extraction is both politically and environmentally sensitive in Greenland as it is in all parts of the Arctic; decisions pertaining to natural resources policy and permitting should be made by the people of Greenland.

*Export Opportunities for U.S. Manufacturers* - With a population of around 60,000, Greenland’s economy is very small. Nevertheless, Greenland is a high-income and growing market that would offer modest opportunities for certain U.S. manufactured exports. An examination of products that are currently imported into Greenland and have a high tariff rate<sup>17</sup> reveals that the following U.S. exports sectors could benefit from a zero-tariff trade agreement: cars, trucks, carbonated beverages, packaging, cosmetics and toiletries, alcoholic beverages, and other products. (In terms of vehicles, Greenland is one of the few places in Europe (alongside Iceland) where U.S. spec vehicles are allowed to be imported, yet only 1% of imported vehicles come from the United States.) Meat makes the list of U.S. exports that face high tariffs in Greenland and for which U.S. producers enjoy a competitive advantage. However, negotiators would have to agree on food health and safety rules, which has been a painstaking undertaking in U.S.-EU trade negotiations.

*Driving Expansion of Shipping and Logistics* - Constraints on transport are one of the key factors restricting the expansion of trade with Greenland as well as the country’s development. There is currently no direct maritime cargo service, and no direct commercial flights, between Greenland and North America. While cargo options have improved in recent years thanks to a partnership between Eimskip and Royal Arctic providing services from Portland, ME to Greenland via Reykjavik,<sup>18</sup> it still takes an average of 13 working days to ship cargo from the

United States to Greenland.<sup>19</sup> A trade agreement with the United States could provide the economic rationale for a direct commercial shipping line from Greenland to the United States. Direct commercial flights would be a major catalyst for both goods trade and tourism.

*Scientific Cooperation* - A trade agreement could facilitate deeper cooperation and knowledge-sharing between the United States and Greenland in the areas of climate change mitigation, marine protected areas, and reduction in black carbon emissions and ocean plastic. As previously mentioned, Greenland also seeks to leverage its vast hydro resources to produce green hydrogen and other fuels. An agreement could lay the foundation for partnerships in this area.

*Benefits for Certain U.S. States* - Maine maritime and fisheries sectors would be major beneficiaries of a trade agreement. Maine is the closest state to Greenland and Eimskip shipping line sails to Reykjavik, where freight can then transit to Greenland. Alaska, an Arctic state, could also see benefits from enhanced commercial ties, people-to-people exchanges, and sharing indigenous knowledge with Greenlanders.

*Geostrategic* - For the United States, the deeper economic partnership that would result from a trade agreement with Greenland would boost U.S. diplomatic influence and broaden commercial presence in a region that holds high geostrategic importance. It would also send a powerful signal to U.S. geopolitical rivals Russia and China that our commitment to the Arctic is steadfast and long-term.

#### **4. Examining the Challenges**

- Greenland is currently negotiating a trade agreement with the UK. Its small government could constrain its capacity to negotiate simultaneous trade agreements.
- There are sectors of Greenland's economy that are either government controlled or limited to competition in some way, namely shipping and retail. The largest retail company, largest fisheries company, and national airline are all state-owned.<sup>20</sup> In order to meet the market access requirements of a standard U.S. trade agreement, Greenland may therefore have to make difficult legislative reforms to ensure that certain sectors are open to foreign competition.
- Greenland's close association with the EU means that non-tariff issues like regulatory harmonization/coherence, product conformity assessments, testing, and labeling could be a challenge to overcome in negotiations, much as they were for the failed Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). Greenland has duty free access to the EU's internal market and therefore, product standards in Greenland are generally aligned with EU rules and standards to facilitate trade and ensure consumer protection.

- U.S. demands for agricultural market access would be challenging as it was for TTIP. That said, while Greenland will want to protect its nascent agriculture sector, it also seeks to diversify its import sources because its citizens face high costs for imported food.
- Eliminating tariffs without progress on logistics infrastructure (transport, port clearance, customs procedures etc.) would temper the potential benefits of a trade agreement.
- Greenland allows whaling. Although Greenland whaling follows International Whaling Commission quotas and may only be conducted by indigenous hunters (not on a commercial scale), this issue could draw negative attention in the course of negotiations. Furthermore, Greenland would likely request U.S. market access for seal skin exports which could be unacceptable to certain animal welfare advocacy organizations.
- Political will for new trade agreements is not a given: support for free trade bottomed out in 2016 when both presidential candidates disavowed the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). While the U.S.-Mexico Canada Agreement (USMCA) passed Congress on a bipartisan basis during the Trump Administration, the Biden Administration has not initiated any new trade negotiations and allowed Trade Promotion Authority (TPA) to expire. However, a Republican controlled U.S. House of Representatives could offer an opportunity to restart the trade agenda. *Inside US Trade* reported January 11 that the House Ways and Means Committee would push for new TPA.<sup>21</sup>
- Trade with Greenland carries fewer of the inherent political and economic risks that doomed the TPP and TTIP: Greenland is a friendly democratic nation with a strong labor and environmental code. The economy is small and lacks the type of industries that would threaten sensitive U.S. sectors in any significant way. U.S. tariffs on Greenland's main exports, seafood and on crustaceans, are already zero or very low on average (unless they are filleted or otherwise processed). Providing zero-duty access to Greenlandic cod, haddock, crab, and shrimp would not have a significant negative impact on U.S. producers, and it would benefit U.S. consumers.
- Greenland is a WTO Global Procurement Agreement (GPA) signatory and a WTO member by way of Denmark's WTO and GPA membership.<sup>22</sup> This reduces the challenge of negotiating a chapter on government procurement. The United States has a FATCA agreement with Greenland, but no reciprocal tax agreement.

## 5. Roadmap

A trade agreement with Greenland deserves to be part of the implementation plan for the *U.S. National Strategy for the Arctic Region*. This effort would build upon an existing foundation of bilateral initiatives that include the Defense of Greenland Act, the U.S.-Greenland Joint Committee, USAID's program in Greenland, and several bilateral MOUs on cooperation in science and education. The United States could decide to launch a Trade and Investment

Framework Agreement (TIFA), which could serve as a platform for a scoping exercise to identify trade barriers and potential elements of a trade agreement.

There will be skeptics who believe Greenland's economy is too small to merit the effort necessary for a trade negotiation. If that emerges as a major concern, there are three alternatives to a bilateral agreement. The first is to **include Greenland in U.S.-UK trade negotiations** once these resume or to invite Greenland to "opt in" when negotiations approach their resolution. (As previously mentioned, Greenland is already in negotiations with the UK.)

A second option is to invite Greenland to **join the USMCA** with appropriate exemptions in deference to the small size of its economy and its lack of large-scale manufacturing. Senator Bill Cassidy (R-LA) and Representative Maria Salazar (R-FL) have introduced legislation called the [America's Act](#) that would create a process by which countries in the hemisphere could accede to USMCA.

A third option would be to pursue a trilateral agreement among the United States, Greenland, and Iceland – e.g., an "**Arctic Regional Trade Agreement.**" Iceland has a GDP of \$20 billion and is among the top 25 wealthiest countries on a per capita basis. As an EEA and EFTA member, Iceland enjoys duty free trade with the EU, Norway, and Switzerland. Iceland has also signed free trade agreements with several countries outside of the EU including China, Canada, Hong Kong, South Korea, MERCOSUR, and others by way of its EFTA membership. This means that while Icelanders view U.S. products favorably,<sup>23</sup> U.S. products face a competitive disadvantage in Iceland. Notably, U.S. agricultural products exported to Iceland are up to 30 percent more expensive than products from the EU.

U.S.-Iceland two-way goods trade was about \$1.2 billion in 2022 (roughly balanced between exports and imports<sup>24</sup>) with another \$1.45 billion in services trade (mostly tourism). The following U.S. sectors would stand to benefit from a U.S.-Iceland trade agreement: marine vessels, cars, motorcycles, and car parts, building supplies, and kitchen and bath appliances, paper products, and paints. A successful agreement with Iceland on services could create new opportunities in insurance, financial services, digital services, tourism, and telecommunications, inter alia, if the United States pushes for national treatment in these sectors.

Its top exports are fish and fish products, aluminum, and ferro-silicon. Other exports include medical equipment, and various manufactured goods. Iceland will insist on protecting their agriculture sector in trade negotiations; in other FTAs, they have maintained 30 percent tariffs on lamb, dairy, beef and pork. Regulatory issues would be mostly off the table, as Iceland is tethered to EEA rules and is limited in ways it can diverge from these rules.

Iceland has been asking for a free trade agreement with the United States for some time. In 2022, Senator Lisa Murkowski (R-AK) introduced legislation called the "Arctic Commitment Act

[Arctic Commitment Act](#) “To enhance United States standing as an Arctic nation by facilitating greater maritime accessibility, strong trading partners, and reliable infrastructure.” The bill expresses the sense of the Senate in favor of a free trade agreement with Iceland. It also would add Iceland to the list of countries whose citizens would be eligible for an investor or trader visa, also known as an “E Visa,” if Iceland provides a similar nonimmigrant status to U.S. nationals. The United States and Iceland already have a Trade and Investment Framework [Agreement](#) (TIFA) as well as an annual Economic Dialogue. These could serve as a basis for a trade agreement negotiation.

Iceland has strong economic ties to Greenland including direct flights and ocean cargo transport which make it a natural partner in a trilateral U.S.-Greenland-Iceland trade agreement.

## **6. Conclusion**

This exercise invites policymakers to ask what Greenlanders want for their future and how the United States can help them achieve it in a way that is mutually beneficial and supports our broader shared goals for the Arctic. It is time to look in earnest at the opportunity to form a lasting economic partnership with Greenland, a democratic ally that wants to better integrate its economy with the United States. Just as USMCA ushered in groundbreaking new commitments on digital trade, a U.S.-Greenland agreement could introduce innovative new criterion for green energy and critical minerals trade with high environmental protections that reflect the norms of the Arctic Investment Protocol. In doing so, a U.S.-Greenland trade agreement could be a would fulfill the stated U.S. goals of strengthening economic ties with Greenland and helping it develop its economy in a sustainable fashion and while managing the effects of climate change. As an added bonus, a trade agreement would contribute to the geostrategic goals of promoting a free, prosperous, and stable Arctic and helping the United States reduce its dependency on Chinese critical minerals. A trade agreement would broaden opportunities for Greenland’s youth population and would help Greenland achieve higher levels of economic self-sufficiency.

Certainly, embarking on trade negotiations entails certain challenges, not the least of which is building support for new trade agreements in Washington. But for those interested in restarting the trade agenda, Greenland is a low-risk proposition, with high rewards.

The launch of negotiations should not be interpreted as a rivalry with the EU because in reality U.S. and EU interests overlap when it comes to Greenland. Furthermore, the process should make it clear that the United States does not seek to interfere in the question of Greenland’s future political status. This is a matter for Greenlanders and Danes to sort out.

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**Annex: Greenland Trade Figures**

*Greenland top goods imports:* Refined Petroleum (\$79.9M), Fishing Ships (\$61.4M), Large Construction Vehicles (\$14.6M), Cars (\$14.2M), and Recreational Boats (\$13.3M), and good products.

*Greenland top services imports:* Travel (\$130M), Personal, cultural, and recreational services (\$55.5M), Other business services (\$55.1M), Sea transport (\$19.8M), and Insurance services (\$13.7M).<sup>25</sup>

*Greenland top exports:* Crustaceans (\$480M), Non-fillet Frozen Fish (\$467M), Processed Crustaceans (\$214M), Fish Fillets (\$89.4M), and Processed Fish (\$30.5M), exporting mostly to Denmark (\$697M), China (\$255M), Japan (\$75.8M), Germany (\$52.2M), and Russia (\$51.5M).<sup>26</sup>

In 2006, Greenland exported \$203M worth of services. The top services exported by Greenland in 2006 were Air transport (\$87.1M), Sea transport (\$81.9M), Travel (\$13.5M), Communications services (\$11.7M), and Other business services (\$6.72M).<sup>27</sup>

Greenland exported \$29M to United States in 2020. The main products were Crustaceans (\$27M), Processed Crustaceans (\$1.01M), and Non-fillet Frozen Fish (\$570k).

In 2020, United States exported \$6.37M to Greenland. The main products were Hard Liquor (\$3.4M), Cars (\$669k), and Explosive Ammunition (\$464k).

## Footnotes:

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- <sup>1</sup> <https://www.heritage.org/defense/report/the-importance-greenland-us-national-security>
  - <sup>2</sup> <https://www.noaa.gov/news-release/arctic-report-card-climate-change-transforming-arctic-into-dramatically-different-state>
  - <sup>3</sup> <https://media.defense.gov/2021/Oct/24/2002879325/-1/-1/1/JIPA%20-%20KRUMM%20&%20NICHOLSON%20-%20ARCTIC.PDF>
  - <sup>4</sup> [National-Strategy-for-the-Arctic-Region \(1\).pdf](#)
  - <sup>5</sup> <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32014D0137&from=EN>
  - <sup>6</sup> <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32014D0137&from=EN>
  - <sup>7</sup> [https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/den001.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/den001.asp)
  - <sup>8</sup> <https://dk.usembassy.gov/restarting-of-the-u-s-greenland-joint-committee-meetings-september-15-2021/>
  - <sup>9</sup> <https://polarconnection.org/mining-in-greenland/>
  - <sup>10</sup> [USA to Invest Billions in the Arctic, including Thule Air Base | High North News](#)
  - <sup>11</sup> <https://www.highnorthnews.com/en/usa-awards-new-contract-thule-air-base-reverting-back-greenlandic-control>
  - <sup>12</sup> <https://www.arctictoday.com/a-first-ever-foreign-policy-opinion-poll-in-greenland-shows-support-for-more-cooperation-with-us-denmark/>
  - <sup>13</sup> <https://dk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/u-s-greenland/about-greenland/#:~:text=Due%20to%20its%20strong%20dependence%20on%20exports%20of,mineral%20resource%20exploitation%20as%20well%20as%20infrastructure%20projects.>
  - <sup>14</sup> <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/12/18/how-greenlands-mineral-wealth-made-it-a-geopolitical-battleground/>
  - <sup>15</sup> <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/central-america-caribbean/chinas-latin-american-power-play>
  - <sup>16</sup> <https://www.innovationnewsnetwork.com/exploring-greenlands-critical-mineral-potential/18566/#:~:text=Greenland%E2%80%99s%20critical%20mineral%20resource%20potential%20is%20considered%20to,metals%20%28PGMs%29%2C%20rare%20earth%20elements%20%28REEs%29%2C%20and%20tungsten.>
  - <sup>17</sup> <https://www.tusass.gl/assets/support/post/Indforselsafgiftssatser-Januar-2022-Engelsk.pdf>
  - <sup>18</sup> <https://www.arctictoday.com/eimskip-royal-arctic-set-to-begin-greenland-service-next-week/>
  - <sup>19</sup> <https://www.easyship.com/countries/shipping-to-greenland>
  - <sup>20</sup> <https://www.theatlantic.com/science/archive/2019/08/trump-wants-buy-greenland-apparently/596263/>
  - <sup>21</sup> <https://insidetrade.com/daily-news/rep-adrian-smith-gop-led-house-offers-great-opportunity-renew-trade-programs>
  - <sup>22</sup> <https://taxsummaries.pwc.com/greenland>
  - <sup>23</sup> <https://www.trade.gov/country-commercial-guides/iceland-market-overview>
  - <sup>24</sup> <https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c4000.html>
  - <sup>25</sup> [United Nations International Trade Statistics Database](#)
  - <sup>26</sup> [https://oec.world/en/profile/country/grl/#:~:text=Exports%20The%20top%20exports%20of%20Greenland%20are%20Crustaceans,\(\\$255M\),%20Japan%20\(\\$75.8M\),%20Germany%20\(\\$52.2M\),%20and%20Russia%20\(\\$51.5M\)](https://oec.world/en/profile/country/grl/#:~:text=Exports%20The%20top%20exports%20of%20Greenland%20are%20Crustaceans,($255M),%20Japan%20($75.8M),%20Germany%20($52.2M),%20and%20Russia%20($51.5M))
  - <sup>27</sup> <https://oec.world/en/profile/country/grl/>