

## 7. Noter

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<sup>2</sup> David Hale and Lyric Hughes Hale, "China Takes Off" *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. November/December (2003); Robert Singh, *Barack Obama's Post-American Foreign Policy – the Limits of Engagement* (Bloomsbury, 2012).

<sup>3</sup> Walter Raleigh, *The Invention of Ships* (n.p. 1906).

<sup>4</sup> Jens Ejsing, "Kina melder sig i kampen om Arktis", *Berlingske Tidende*, 30. januar 2008; Gordon G. Chang, "China's Arctic Play", *The Diplomat*, 9. marts 2010.

<sup>5</sup> Bonnie S. Glaser and Evan S. Medieros, "The Changing Ecology of Foreign Policy-Making in China: Ascension and Demise of the Theory of "Peaceful Rise""", *The China Quarterly* June, no. 190 (2007): 291-310.

<sup>6</sup> Zheng Wang, "Not Rising but Rejuvenating: "The Chinese Dream""", *The Diplomat*, 5. februar 2013.

<sup>7</sup> "World Bank President Expects China to Hit GDP Growth Target but Warns of Tapering Risk", *Reuters*, 15. september 2013.

<sup>8</sup> Michael Wines, "In China's Annual Assessment, Wen Is Optimistic", *The New York Times*, 5. marts 2012.

<sup>9</sup> Lucy Hornby, "Record Imports Make China World's Top Importer of Crude Oil", *Financial Times*, 12. oktober 2013.

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<sup>11</sup> Peter Hough, *International Politics of the Arctic: Coming in from the Cold*, Routledge Advances in International Relations and Global Politics (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 31.

<sup>12</sup> Zhiguo Gao, "Legal Issues of MSR in the Arctic: A Chinese Perspective", Arctic Science, International Law and Climate Change, *Beiträge zum ausländischen öffentlichen Recht und Völkerrecht* 235 (2012), p. 142.

<sup>13</sup> "Yellow River Station Opens in Arctic", *China Daily*, 29. juli 2004.

<sup>14</sup> Linda Jakobsen, "China Prepares for an Ice-Free Arctic", *SIPRI Insights on Peace and Security* 2010/2 (2012); "Chinese Icebreaker Concludes Arctic Expedition", *Xinhua*, 27. september 2012.

<sup>15</sup> Marc Lanteigne, "Northern Exposure: Cross-Regionalism and the China-Iceland Preferential Trade Negotiations", *China Quarterly* 202, no. June (2010).

<sup>16</sup> Omar R. Valdimarsson, "Iceland Pushes to Become Arctic Hub after Scrapping Eu Accession", *Bloomberg*, 29. oktober 2013.

<sup>17</sup> Suzanne Goldberg, "China Should Have a Say in the Future of Arctic-Iceland President", *The Guardian*, 16. april 2013.

<sup>18</sup> "Chinese Tycoon Still Hopes to Sign Icelandic Land Deal", *Agence France-Presse*, 17. august 2013.

<sup>19</sup> Jonas Gahr Støre, "Norway and China", artikel i *Dagens Næringsliv*, 11. oktober 2011, *Government of Norway Document Archive*, tilgængelig 16. januar 2014, [http://www.regjeringen.no/en/archive/Stoltenbergs-2nd-Government/Ministry-of-Foreign-Affairs/taler-og-artikler/2011/norway\\_china.html?id=660339](http://www.regjeringen.no/en/archive/Stoltenbergs-2nd-Government/Ministry-of-Foreign-Affairs/taler-og-artikler/2011/norway_china.html?id=660339).

<sup>20</sup> Donald L. Gautier, "Assessment of Undiscovered Oil and Gas in the Arctic", *Science* (2009). Vol. 324, no. 5931, p. 1175-1179.

<sup>21</sup> Euan Rocha, "Cnooc Closes \$15.1 Billion Acquisition of Canada's Nexen", *Reuters*, 25. februar 2013.

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<sup>23</sup> Beth Gardiner, "Iceland Aims to Seize Opportunities in Oil Exploration", *The New York Times*, 1. oktober 2013; "Iceland: China's Arctic Springboard?", *Energy Compass*, 26. juli 2013.

<sup>24</sup> "Norway's New Govt. Concedes on Oil, Immigration for Support", *Reuters*, 30. september 2013.

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<sup>26</sup> Cindy Vestergaard and France Bourguin, "Should Greenland Mine Its Uranium?" (Danish Institute of International Studies, DIIS Policy Brief 2012). "Greenland Votes to Allow Uranium, Rare Earths Mining", *Reuters*, 24. oktober 2013.

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<sup>29</sup> "Unions Upset over Greenland's Revised Mining Law", *Arctic Journal*, 21. oktober 2013.

<sup>30</sup> Christian Spillmann, "Eu Fights to Catch Chinese in Greenland Rare-Earths Gold Rush", *Agence France-Presse* (2012).

<sup>31</sup> James Kraska, "The Law of the Sea Convention and the Northwest Passage", *International Journal of Marine and Coastal Law* 2, no. 22 (2007).

<sup>32</sup> Marika M. Holland and Cecilia M. Bitz

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<sup>33</sup> John McGarry and Henning Gloystein, "Big Freighter Traverses Northwest Passage for the First Time", *Reuters*, 27. september 2013.

<sup>34</sup> Gang Chen, "China's Emerging Arctic Strategy", *Polar Journal* 2, no. 2 (2012). P. 361.

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<sup>36</sup> De otte medlemsstater i Arktisk Råd er Canada, Danmark (Færøerne, Grønland), Finland, Island, Norge, Sverige, Rusland og USA.

<sup>37</sup> ‘专访：中国愿为北极地区可持续发展作出贡献’ [“Interview: China is Willing to Contribute to Sustainable Development in the Arctic,” *Government of the People’s Republic of China / Xinhua*, 23 March 2013], tilgængelig 16. januar 2014, [http://www.gov.cn/jrzq/2013-03/23/content\\_2360686.htm](http://www.gov.cn/jrzq/2013-03/23/content_2360686.htm).

<sup>38</sup> David Curtis Wright, “The Dragon Eyes the Top of the World: Arctic Policy Debate and Discussion in China”, *Naval War College, China Maritime Institute* 8 (2011). P. 2.

<sup>39</sup> Olav Schram Stokke, “The Promise of Involvement: Asia in the Arctic”, *Strategic Analysis* 4, no. 37 (2013). P. 476.

<sup>40</sup> “All Eyes on the Arctic Council”, *Deutsche Welle*, 17. maj 2013.

<sup>41</sup> “Xinhua Insight: Arctic Council Observer Status Guarantees China’s Legitimate Rights”, *Xinhua*, 16. maj 2013.

<sup>42</sup> Shiloh Rainwater, “Race to the North: China’s Arctic Strategy and Its Implications”, *Naval War College Review* 66 (2013). P. 77.

<sup>43</sup> “China Backs Arctic Council Agenda of Environment over Development, *People’s Daily/Xinhua*, 24. oktober 2013.

<sup>44</sup> Mads Fuglede, ”Nye prioriteter i amerikansk udenrigspolitik” (København: Center for Militære Studier, 2013); Robert Singh, ”Barack Obama’s Post-American Foreign Policy – the Limits of Engagement” (Bloomsbury Academic, 2012).

<sup>45</sup> Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Etableret i 1967 med det formål at styrke økonomisk, social og kulturel udvikling i området. ASEAN består af Indonesien, Malaysia, Filippinerne, Thailand og Singapore.

<sup>46</sup> Tanguy Struye de Swielande, ”The Reassertion of the United States in the Asia- Pacific Region” (Louvain: University of Louvain, 2012).

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.; James R. Holmes and Toshi Yoshihara, *Chinese Naval Strategy in the 21st Century : The Turn to Mahan* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

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<sup>49</sup> Andres S. Erickson, Austin M. Strange, ”No Substitute for Experience – Chinese Antipiracy Operations in the Gulf of Aden”, in *China Maritime Studies* (US Naval War College, 2013). P. 187-90.

<sup>50</sup> Scott Kennedy and He Fan, ”The United States, China, and Global Governance: A New Agenda for a New Era” (Wilson Center, 2013), p. 6.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Department of Defense, ”Air-Sea Battle” (USA: 2013).

<sup>53</sup> Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen, Esben Salling Larsen, and Jon Rahbek-Clemmensen, ”Forsvaret i Arktis” (København: Center for Militære Studier, 2012); ”Kongeriget Danmarks strategi for Arktis 2011-2012” (København: Udenrigsministeriet, 2011), p. 15 f.

<sup>54</sup> Amund Lundsgaard, ”Norway’s Arctic Power Play, Asia Dream”, *The Diplomat*, 27. marts 2013.

<sup>55</sup> "Harbour Highlights August 2013", Stornoway Port Authority, tilgængelig 16. januar 2014,  
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