

board. Interspersed with these accounts of Western aggression, the author found many stories in the Russian media depicting Russia as a peace-loving nation: 'The past of Russian north is proud and it's future bright' (p. 290).

Interesting, but not entirely justified, is the author's hypothesis that in modern conditions Russia sees Canada as the main geopolitical enemy in the Arctic and is preparing for an active confrontation with this state (p. 274). The author assumes that Arctic debate in Russian media outlets mainly focuses on Canadian intentions in the Arctic and that Canada is largely depicted as the aggressor in the region. Overall, the author asserts that the Russian media portray a model of the world where NATO is surreptitiously preparing for the rush for the Arctic, while Russia insists on international cooperation and open dialogue. Canada is the main villain, with its harsh rhetoric and unilateralism (p. 321).

There are minor inaccuracies in the work. For example, at the beginning of the book the author mentions the Russian scientific expedition to the North Pole of 2007 (instead of 2009), during which, for the first time in history, people reached the sea floor at the geographical North Pole point (p. 3).

Overall, this book is of special importance to the representatives of the social sciences, politicians, anthropologists, polar historians, indigenous researchers, educators, the public and government officials. However, we should remember that this work is somewhat biased and generally reflects the author's perceptions. This book can serve as a good resource to understand the specificity of the Russian northwest and provides supplementary references to any Arctic science course at a college and university level. (Gutenev Maxim, Sociology and Political Science department, South Ural State University, Lenina ave. 76, Chelyabinsk 454080, Russia ([gutenevmi@susu.ru](mailto:gutenevmi@susu.ru))).

**Greenland and the international politics of a changing Arctic: postcolonial paradiplomacy between high and low politics.** Kristian Søby Kristensen and Jon Rahbek-Clemmensen (editors). 2018. London and New York, NY: Routledge. xi + 164 p, illustrated, hardcover. ISBN 978-1-138-06109-5. £105.00.

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This book is a comprehensive and interdisciplinary volume about Greenland's international relations seen through the external and internal relationships Greenland has with Denmark and foreign powers. Following an introduction where the editors set the stage, the book is divided into ten varied chapters including different perspectives concerning Greenland and its international relations. The volume ends with a concluding chapter where the editors tie up the loose ends and provide the reader with the main thread of the analyses discussed in the book.

The first chapter, written by Marc Jacobsen and Ulrik Pram Gad, looks at interrelations between Greenland, the Inuit world, Nordic connections, the UN, the USA and the EU through the lens of the narrative of Greenland using its national self-image in combination with symbolic elements of indigenous cultural traditions in order to envision future independence (p. 11). The focus is on Greenlandic identity narratives and how these are used within the scope of international relations. The authors conclude that Greenland has become a player in international relations and that the island is fully aware of how to play its cards with other stakeholders in the Arctic. Sometimes this might have positive and at times more negative consequences. It all comes down to the context and the matter at hand.

In his contribution, Jens Heinrich gives us a historical tour of Greenlandic international politics from 1900 to the advent of Home Rule back in 1979. In the beginning, Denmark had the ultimate power in relation to foreign affairs (which, although still the case, is now more moderate as a consequence of increased self-government since 2009). During World War II, the German occupation of Denmark handed Greenland *de facto* and *de jure* its own power over foreign relations. However, the Danish consul, Henrik Kauffmann, became a key player since the Greenlandic politicians were inexperienced in handling international relations. This led to the 1941 defence agreement with the USA. After the war Greenland became integrated as a

country within the Danish realm. In the 1960s and 1970s a more nationalistic awakening period started in Greenland as a result of decolonisation, which led to the introduction of Home Rule in 1979. The chapter reflects these historic pathways accurately and some further details are outlined.

In the third chapter, the editors focus on the Greenlandic discourse within the political, economic and the environmental sector through the lens of the so-called Copenhagen School within international relations. The uranium controversy is used as an example; this has been a heated debate since 2013–2014 between Denmark and Greenland, as well as internally in Greenland and in relations with other external actors. In the subsequent chapter, Jon Rahbek-Clemmensen takes on Danish foreign policy with a focus on the Arctic area. He calls this the *Arctic turn* (p. 54) with reference to the changes in Danish foreign policy between 2006 and 2014. Increased attention towards Greenland and the High North has forced Denmark to become more active in Arctic affairs.

Chapter five, written by Mikkel Runge Olesen, elucidates the triangular relationship between Greenland, Denmark and the USA from a reputation perspective. Olesen uses the countries' reputations as a point of departure for how these three actors affect each other in order to pursue their own national interests in this specific relationship.

In chapters six and seven the focus is on China as a rising power. There has been a lot of media attention regarding Chinese investments in Greenland and elsewhere in the Arctic; however, there has been a lot of hype with no relation to reality. China has not invested as much as has been speculated, merely attaining its relationships on a bilateral level between various Arctic states.

Chapters eight and nine elucidate Greenland's relationships with international organisations with a focus on the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) and the Arctic Council. Greenland is very active in the ICC because of its majority of Inuit peoples. There are various visions and strategies between the Government of Greenland and the ICC, but sometimes there are disagreements as well. Fundamentally different views surround the issue of sovereignty, where the Government of Greenland is aiming for a Western state approach and the ICC wants to address sovereignty as a non-state affair. Greenland and Denmark have had some disputes within the Arctic Council regarding representation and the 'missing chair' policy. The Arctic Council has moved in the direction of becoming a more

conventional intergovernmental organisation. There are also complementary Arctic organisations that have appeared and it is a question of how the Arctic Council will handle its future endeavours as an international organisation including non-state actors. The authors reflect on these matters and conclude that the very actions undertaken by the Arctic Council might undermine its power, and I can only agree with them. Nevertheless, the future is unpredictable and it is hard to tell what the future might hold.

The final chapter, written by Klaus Dodds and Mark Nuttall, looks at Greenland with a critical geopolitical perspective. There is a long history of scientific investigations and operations in Greenland, and the geophysical and climatic characteristics undoubtedly play a role in how the world approaches the island and how Greenland perceives itself.

Even though the chapters are written by scholars deriving from different disciplines, they are synchronised within the framework of the overall scope of the book. The complex structure helps readers to follow the main ideas throughout the volume. All chapters are neatly combined together, which is sometimes hard in an anthology of this sort. The book is more empirically driven with a focus on contemporary Greenlandic politics, with the exception of Heinrich's chapter. This sometimes makes the volume seem like a snapshot on the surface, and since most of the chapters are relatively short some more in-depth discussions around certain issues are totally lacking. However, the book gives the reader food for thought and insights into Greenlandic politics from an international perspective. (Maria Ackrén, Ilisimatusarfik/University of Greenland, PO Box 1061, 3605 Nuussuaq, Greenland ([maac@samf.uni.gl](mailto:maac@samf.uni.gl))).

**International climate change law.** Daniel Bodanksy, Jutta Brunée, and Lavanya Rajamani. 2017. Oxford: Oxford University Press. xxxix + 374 p, softcover. ISBN 978-0-19-966430-6. £39.99.

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The impacts of climate change have been proceeding at an alarming rate all over the world. Changes in weather patterns are being reported from the Arctic to the Antarctic, from South America to East Asia, and although there are still many unresolved questions, scientific findings have shown humankind's role in these changes.

In the late 1980s the international community responded with the drafting of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), which was adopted at the Rio Summit in 1992, followed by the Kyoto Protocol in 1997, which came into force in 2005, and most recently the Paris Agreement in 2015. Apart from these agreements, other instruments have also seen the light of day (although not all have come into force), such as the Bali Action Plan, the Copenhagen Accord, the Cancun Agreements and the Doha Amendment. Although the conferences at which these instruments were concluded were significant in scope, it was the Paris Agreement in particular that made the headlines. One may wonder why this is the case.

The book *International climate change law* provides answers to most of the questions one might have regarding the legal responses to climate change. The authors of this fascinating volume not only look at the instruments themselves, but provide deep insight into the adoption process and what led to the way they were eventually adopted (or not). In ten chapters they cover UN-based climate change law, focusing on the three legally binding agreements—the UNFCCC (chapter 5), the Kyoto Protocol (chapter 6) and the Paris Agreement (chapter 7)—as well as tackling non-UN climate change law (chapters 8 and 9) and the intersections between climate change law and other spheres of international law. To lead in to the UNFCCC-based legal mechanisms, the authors also cover the evolution of the regime (chapter 4), and explain fundamental principles of international environmental law (chapter 2) and the law of treaties (chapter 3).

Without a need to go into detail—for it is exactly the details that make this book so fascinating—the analysis of the three binding agreements is structured along the same lines: the

authors go through each agreement based on the structure of its text, meaning they present and analyse the textual content of the instrument from the preamble to the last paragraph. However, they do not merely present, but contextualise each provision and explain its origins, relevance, specialty and scope. What comes particularly to the fore throughout the book is the matter of language in the negotiation process of the various agreements. Language, it becomes abundantly clear, corresponds—or doesn't—to the different political positions of the negotiating parties or negotiating blocs. This is, of course, not surprising but it is important to understand that in the context of the UNFCCC and its related agreements, the language to be found is of a compromise, reflecting the important skills of the drafters. One example is presented on page 93, which explains the ambit of UNFCCC article 3.4.: 'The Parties have a right to, and should, promote sustainable development.' The authors show how the original proposal, 'The parties have a right to, and should promote, sustainable development,' could indicate a right to sustainable development, which was opposed by the United States. Merely through the moving of the second comma it was stipulated that states have a 'right to promote' and not a 'right to' sustainable development.

But apart from that, it rises clearly to the fore how the negotiations of the various provisions, for example for the Kyoto Protocol, essentially resulted in provisions of great compromise, despite the Protocol being a top-down instrument that sets specific targets for the Contracting Parties without them setting their own goals, which would then change in the 2015 Paris Agreement. While this may be the case, the interplay between language and legal weight is a notable element here. The authors point out, for instance, that although provisions may be framed in mandatory terms ('shall'), depending on the other elements of the respective provision, the legal impact may be limited (for instance as regards the notion of 'demonstrable progress' by 2005, which is left undefined) (p. 177). In fact, the authors point to the 'importance placed on language in the UN climate process and the difficulties of resolving disagreements definitely' (p. 222).

The legal character of a provision is an issue the authors discuss in broader terms in the Introduction (chapter 1). In their introduction to the Paris Agreement they recapitulate this, which, in this reviewer's opinion, is essential for the understanding of international agreements in general (e.g. Koremenos, 2016). It is thus that the legal character of a provision depends on the