

Discussion Article

Decolonising Arctic geopolitics and security: Subaltern security dilemmas of the Sámi in times of the green transition and militarisation of the Arctic

Laura Junka-Aikio, Professor, Northern Politics and Governance. University of Lapland

Abstract

Ongoing geopolitical changes and the “arctification” of world politics are introducing new pressures on the Sámi people, whose lands stretch across the northernmost parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula in Russia. While climate change has increased global and national interest in the Arctic region’s natural resources and logistical and transport potential already for some time, today land use in Sápmi is reshaped also by acute security and defense imaginaries which are promoting strong military build-up across the region. In this article, I discuss the challenges that these changes are presenting to the Sámi and to their ability to voice concern for their own rights, security and future. Focusing especially on the challenges associated with the energy transition as well as growing military land use, the article sketches out and introduces a notion of subaltern security dilemma (SSD), which is offered here as a tool for a critical, deconstructive and decolonial approach to the study of Arctic geopolitics and security in Sápmi and more broadly.

Keywords

green colonialism, Indigenous rights, militarization, NATO, Sápmi, security dilemma, subalternity

Introduction

Growing world political tensions have a profound impact on land use in Sápmi, the traditional homeland region of the Indigenous Sámi people which stretches across Northern Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola peninsula in Russia¹. Climate change has increased interest in the economic, extractive, logistical and military exploitation of the Arctic region already for some time, but today, land use and development in Sápmi is also reshaped by new acute security and defence imaginaries. This is reflected in Sweden and Finland's NATO memberships and in the fact that each Nordic state that comprise Sápmi has now signed a bilateral Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) with the United States. As global geopolitical and Nordic state interests in the Arctic keep rising, the region gets imagined in increasingly colonial terms – a vast or empty space that can secure not just national needs for security and natural resources but also those of the EU and the West at large, whether in terms of the green energy transition, critical mineral self-sufficiency, or military build-up and training for Arctic warfare.

These developments present a considerable challenge for the Sámi. On one hand, increasing extractive, industrial and military land use is exacerbating the colonial appropriation of their lands, eradicating the material basis of Indigenous Sámi culture and livelihoods and putting their Indigenous rights and future at risk. On the other hand, the ongoing land-grab in Sápmi is justified in national and international discourse increasingly in reference to 'common good', such as saving the planet from climate change or the need to boost national, EU and NATO defence against foreign aggression. In this context, voicing Sámi concerns for their own rights, security and future as Sámi becomes increasingly difficult, as such concerns are easily sidelined by the majority society as less relevant, or even standing in the way of the security of all.

The aim of this discussion article is to bring attention to these challenges and to sketch out an early version of the concept of *subaltern security dilemma* (SSD), which is offered here as a tool for a critical, deconstructive and decolonial approach to the study of Arctic geopolitics and security. In the work of the Subaltern Studies Group, and especially Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1998), *subalternity* refers to a position of disadvantage and disempowerment which derives from the subject's inability to voice their concerns and positioning, not because they lack voice as such, but because their concerns and positions are inarticulable within the hegemonic discourse. While subalternity, as such, cannot be represented (in Spivakian reading, by definition, successful representation would mean an end to the condition of subalternity), its function as a theoretical concept is mainly deconstructive. In the context of this article, subalternity represents the constant need to deconstruct hegemonic and state-centred discourses of geopolitics and security and to create space for other voices, subject positions and perspectives which also need to be accounted for and reconciled to ensure the bottom-up integrity, democracy, plurality and sustainability of the lands and societies that are to be defended and cared for.

The notion of *security dilemma*, in turn, derives from realist IR theory where it is used to explain the paradox of how a state's actions to make itself more secure militarily tend to increase the threat perception of other states, resulting in a spiral of military build-up and subsequent insecurity (Hertz,

1 This article is based on a paper that was prepared originally as a keynote speech for the 6th Nordic Conference for Rural Research conference "Nordic Ruralities: New paths to sustainable transitions?" held in Kiruna, 3rd-5th December 2024. In addition to the numerous people with whom I have discussed the topic of the article over the years, I want to thank the editor of the Nordic Review of International Studies for her valuable comments which helped me to profoundly restructure the paper.

1950). The dilemma explains why and how efforts to boost national security can end up eradicating that security. Likewise, it explains why manifestations of military capabilities and deterrence need to be balanced by various “security regimes” which, according to Jervis (1982), include the “principles, rules, and norms that permit nations to be restrained in their behaviour in the belief that others will reciprocate” if they are to maintain, rather than endanger, peace.

In a more philosophical reading, Ken Booth and Nicholas Wheeler consider the security dilemma as a foundational concept that engages the role of fear, or the “existential condition of uncertainty that characterizes all human relations”, within the field of international politics. They argue that in the changing terrain of contemporary security and insecurity, it is increasingly central to pay attention to the various security dilemma dynamics that emerge, not just between states, but across multiple actors and political communities, “if human society in whole and in part is to have hope of emerging in decent shape.” Central to such effort is the promotion of *security dilemma sensibility* which, according to Booth and Wheeler, recognises the foundational role of fear and uncertainty in determining the perceptions and actions of states and other actors, yet uses that knowledge for trust-building and searching for common ground – security “with” and not “against” others (Booth and Wheeler, 2008).

The concept of subaltern security dilemma (SSD) that I propose brings these theories and insights together by inverting the inter-state logic of the security dilemma and placing it in contact with the problematic of subalternity. A subaltern security dilemma occurs when a subject, a community, a group or a people is faced with a situation in which the efforts and measures taken to improve national, state, or (as in the case of climate change measures) planetary security simultaneously create considerable, even existential, insecurity in the context their own lives and future. Since defending their own rights and existence against such measures can be seen to stand in conflict with, or even undermine, national security or the ‘common good’, articulating such a position becomes highly difficult and challenging.

In line with Booth and Wheeler, I therefore argue that is the responsibility of critical research to cultivate sensibility to subaltern security dilemmas, as a way of deconstructing hegemonic discourses on geopolitics and security, and to demand state accountability also to the rights, future and security of subaltern and minority groups and Indigenous peoples, such as the Sámi. Today and in the Arctic region, this is particularly important in the context of extractive, industrial and military land use that are justified in the name of national security, defence or the ‘common good’. Without attention and sensibility to the subaltern security dilemmas that emerge in these contexts, the present era will end up greatly accelerating Nordic colonialism and dispossessing the Sámi of their lands, this time increasingly through policies and practices that are justified in terms of national, EU and Western security.

In the following, I discuss these ideas by focusing on the impact that the green transition and military land use have on the rights, traditional livelihoods and resistance of the Sámi. The discussion is based largely on my previous research, reviews of existing literature, reports and media, and numerous formal and informal discussions and research interviews that I have conducted on these topics with various actors within Sámi societies in Finland, Sweden and Norway over the past two years, especially between January-March 2025.²

Colonialism and the Green Transition in Sápmi

Over recent decades, the Sámi people have become increasingly visible in Nordic societies, especially in the arts and popular culture. While such change could easily lead one to imagine this to be an era in which the colonial structures and relations between Sámi and Nordic peoples and states are finally being addressed and dismantled, the situation looks rather different on the level of land and natural resources. Instead of decolonisation, we are witnessing an era of intensive settler colonial land appropriation, for perhaps never before has there been such intensive pressure on Sámi lands as there is today.

Interestingly, much of the current pressure comes from, and is justified in the name of, the green transition. The green transition refers to systemic efforts to transition from fossils to renewable energy as part of the battle against the climate change. However, as the urgency of finding sustainable energy solutions grows, it is becoming increasingly clear how the transition in its current form is creating new problems and challenges that cannot be left unaddressed if the transition is to be sustainable and just. As such, the green transition is an example of “problem shifting” (van der Berg et al., 2015) whereby efforts to find solutions to one set of problems create new ones elsewhere.

In Sápmi, one problem caused by the green transition is the massive increase in mining needed to satisfy the mineral needs of renewable energy and energy storage. EU and Nordic state strategies consider Sápmi and the Nordic High North as mineral rich regions that are particularly suitable for mines (e.g. Laframboise, 2022). Mines may be welcomed by many locals as possible sources of economic income and development, but the benefits are not distributed evenly, and mines always pose a significant threat to the environment as well as to the practice of traditional and Indigenous livelihoods. Therefore, in Sápmi, even the prospect of a future mine tends to provoke considerable Sámi insecurity and resistance (Lassila, 2018; see also Knobbloch, 2024).

The second problem is that renewable energy production requires a lot of land and space. In Sápmi, especially wind energy is now causing significant harm to reindeer herding. Fjellheim (2023) details how, in the experience of Sámi reindeer herders, overlapping land use or “coexistence” between large networks of wind energy infrastructure and reindeer is not possible. From the reindeer herders’ perspective, wind energy amounts to a massive land-grab that disturbs the entire system of sustainable pasture rotation, endangering the viability and future of the entire livelihood in the regions affected. Reindeer herding is foundational for Sámi culture, yet under severe stress due to competing land use and a history of dispossession by colonial settlers. Therefore, any disruption to the remaining pastures constitutes a threat that, from a Sámi perspective, may be considered existential, not only to reindeer herding but for Sámi sense of security and peoplehood at large.

2 These most recent interviews were carried out for the purpose of a report on the impact of militarisation on Sámi culture, livelihoods, society and rights in Finland, commissioned by the Sámi Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Finland. The report, which is in Finnish and due to be published in June 2025, builds on more than 35 qualitative interviews with various actors within Sámi society. In this article, the interviews are mainly considered background material and have not been cited separately.

This is why projects associated with the green transition today provoke considerable resistance across Sápmi. In Norway, wind power built on Sámi lands has provoked large street protests, and raising awareness of their negative impacts on Sámi culture and livelihoods is also central for Sámi organisations and institutions such as the Saami Council, Amnesty International's Sámi branch, and the Sámi Parliaments in Norway, Sweden and Finland. Articulation of such resistance has not always been easy nor straightforward, however, these are projects that are justified in public in reference to the urgent need to battle the climate change and save the planet. As an Arctic Indigenous People, the Sámi have been at the forefront of national and transnational environmental movements for decades, and the warming climate already threatens the viability of their traditional livelihoods and ways of life (Saami Council and Samediggi, 2023). How could they possibly be opposed to projects that are considered 'green'?

This was the social and political context in the early 2000s when Aili Keskitalo, acting as the president of the Sámi Parliament in Norway, started using the concept of *green colonialism* as a way of communicating a subaltern Sámi experience amidst hegemonic discourses of sustainable development that left little space for criticism from within (Keskitalo, 2023; Kårtveit, 2021; Vetter, 2021). The discourse of green colonialism holds that in the context of global warming, the Sámi are victimised twice: first, by the climate change, and second, by climate action which has a disproportionately negative impact on Sámi lands, lives and futures. As Keskitalo puts it, "the world needs green power, but we have no more land to give" (Keskitalo, 2023).

In January 2025, Amnesty International and the Saami Council published a joint report "Just Transition or Green Colonialism: how mineral extraction and new energy projects without free, prior and informed consent are threatening indigenous Sámi livelihoods and culture in Sweden, Norway and Finland" (Keskitalo et al., 2025). The report details the negative impact of land-grabs, realised in the name of the green transition, on the Sámi and calls for the Nordic states to fully respect their rights to the land and Indigenous self-determination, as recognised in the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and in national legislation. As the head of the Saami Council, Per Olof Nutti explains in the introduction that the report was born from the need to "highlight and explain the current unreasonable situation" that the Sámi People are facing:

"The Sámi People have learned to be on alert when the term 'green transition' is mentioned. We see that it is a new name for old models of action. We are used to others wanting us to step aside so that they can fulfil their needs at our expense. Mining and industry projects are usually very open about being for-profit business ventures. In the wake of the 'green transition', however, we see a development where these same kinds of ventures are suddenly being sold to us as a service to humanity. The 'green transition' becomes a way to talk about for-profit business as something that is supposedly morally good and justified and how these resources are essential for safeguarding a sustainable future. This portrayal is very difficult to stand against or even criticize." (Nutti in Keskitalo et al., 2025, p. 5)

Although the negative impacts of the new rush for natural resources on Indigenous and other rural communities is still not widely acknowledged, in Sápmi, the language of green colonialism has nevertheless been rather successful at promoting sensibility to the subaltern concerns of the Sámi; at deconstructing the hegemonic discourse of 'green transition', at drawing lines of continuity between historical colonial injustice and present systems of environmental and land use governance, and at creating space for the articulation of Sámi rights, resistance and alliance building.

Militarisation

The ongoing Sámi resistance against green colonialism has contributed to a paradigm shift from the green to *just* green transition in Arctic social sciences. Meanwhile, another large change, remilitarisation and securitisation of the Arctic region, has gone largely unaddressed despite the fact that it, too, has a potentially very large impact on land use and regional development in the Arctic. The change is particularly visible in Sápmi and the northernmost parts of Norway, Sweden and Finland, whose geopolitical positioning has shifted drastically in the context of the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Especially following Sweden and Finland's NATO memberships and the Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs) with the US, this area has become a hot spot of military training and build-up. From the US and NATO military points of view, the Nordic cross-border region now forms one single area of operation that has high strategic value, not only due to its vicinity to Russia but also by virtue of its Northern and Arctic dimensions. Rather than peripheric borderlands of the Nordic nation-states, *Sápmi* and the Nordic High North is at the heart of the "global Arctic" that is thoroughly immersed in global flows and tensions and subject to considerable extractive interest (e.g., Finger and Rekvig eds., 2022).

Militarisation is commonly defined as the material and discursive process whereby a society organises itself ideologically and materially around the idea of war as a way of protecting its sovereignty and security (e.g., Vastapuu et al., 2024; Lutz, 2002). A decolonial perspective on militarisation centres attention especially on military land use (Junka-Aikio, 2024a; 2024b). Military land use can mean, for instance, construction of military bases and barracks, radar stations, weapons storage facilities, and using land or fencing it off for the purpose of military training. More widely, military land use also includes roads, railways, airports and harbours that are needed for the movement of troops or for the security of supply, or population centres and settlements that emerge in response to the housing and service needs of militaries. Rather than merely serving militaries, military land use has far-reaching impacts on society and the environment. Accordingly, geographer Rachel Woodward (2004) speaks about *military geographies* to highlight its role in shaping societies through spatial organisation. Military geographies produce certain kinds of spaces, places, environments, landscapes, connections and chains, facilitating particular subjects, futures and forms of regional development while overriding others.

Historically, military geographies are deeply entangled with colonialism and imperialism. In the Arctic, the connection was particularly clear during the Cold War which turned the region into a hot spot of the nuclear arms race (Vladimirova, 2024; Bernauer, 2018; Lockenbauer and Farrish, 2007). For instance, in Arctic Canada, Indigenous lands that, until then, had remained beyond solid state control due to the cold and demanding environment were territorialised as sites of military training and preparation through massive investment in transport infrastructures such as the Alaska Highway, the network of airports serving the Canadian and Alaskan military forces, and an extensive system of radar stations (Distant Early Warning Line, DEW). These infrastructures brought large numbers of settlers to the region, resulting in the establishment of new population centres across Indigenous lands. Noise and pollution from military training and low-flying aircraft disturbed people and animals, over-hunting and fishing became issues, and new livelihoods challenged traditional ones. Although some of the infrastructure has, since then, become a lifeline for the region's Indigenous communities, at the time, they drove settler colonial land appropriation and assimilation (Bernauer, 2018; Lockenbauer and Farrish, 2007).

Today, Sápmi and the Nordic High North exist at the centre of Arctic military geographies. The change is most visible in the arrival of foreign troops and a steep increase in large international military exercises that are organised across civilian and civilian-military areas. In Northern Finland, international interest in military training is currently so high that it cannot be met, according to the Finnish Defence Forces (De Fresnes and Martikainen, 2023). Militaries consider Northern Finland particularly attractive because of its supposed “emptiness” and due to the Arctic environment, which allows training for Arctic warfare (Junka-Aikio, 2024a; 2024b; De Fresnes and Martikainen, 2023). In local Finnish and national media, the massive increase in military training and presence has so far been represented mainly in highly positive terms. Militaries are expected to bring economic opportunities and investments and boost regional development (Pylkkänen, 2023; Lapin Kansa, 2024).

Rarely discussed, however, is what kind of development militarisation brings to the Northern regions, for whom, and at what cost. What is the impact of these new military geographies on the environment and on traditional livelihoods, and how does the arrival of troops affect local life? Likewise, missing from public debate is the fact that much of the training takes place in Sápmi., where the Nordic states have a responsibility under national legislation and international law to respect Sámi Indigenous rights and self-determination, and to negotiate with the Sámi on any land use that may have a considerable impact on Sámi culture and livelihoods.

Although few people in the Nordics, the Sámi included, currently dispute the need to strengthen military defence, the Sámi Parliaments and the Saami Council have already expressed concern over militarisation’s broader impact on Sámi rights and culture. The UNDRIP Article 30 particularly cautions against the military use of Indigenous lands without proper consultation, and there are growing worries, especially among Sámi reindeer herders, over the damage that extensive military training, noise, traffic and installations cause to reindeer pastures, reindeer work, and reindeer wellbeing (Junka-Aikio, 2024b). Unless these concerns are properly addressed, there is a great chance that the ongoing efforts to boost national security end up producing significant insecurity for the Sámi.

Whether the Nordic states and Defence Forces understand their legal responsibilities to the Sámi, and whether they are ready to apply them in the present context of strong military alliances, is a question that merits close attention. For instance, Finland’s Defence Cooperation Agreement (DCA) with the United States was drafted in complete secrecy and without hearing the Sámi at all, despite the Agreement also designating an area within the Sámi homeland region (Ivalo Border Guard Base) for US use. Like anyone else, representatives of the Sámi Parliament learned about the Agreement’s contents for the first time from the news a couple of days before the Agreement was signed (Paltto, 2024). In addition to an increase in military training and presence, militarisation reshapes land use on the level of transport and other infrastructures, which are planned increasingly in response to the stated interests of military defence and security, rather than a broader vision of regional social and economic development and future.

The recent decision by the Regional Council of Lapland (Lapin liitto) to add a new road that would cut across the Hammastunturi wilderness area through the Sámi village of Kuttura in Lapland’s new transport strategy is a case in point. The Kuttura-Repojoentie road connection was proposed for the first time in 2009, at the time driven especially by the tourism sector which sought to establish an east-west connection between two major tourist destinations, Levi and Saariselkä. However, the proposal was rejected due to strong opposition from Kuttura villagers, local environmental groups, reindeer herders, and other locals who worried about its impact on the reindeer pastures, cultural landscape, and the environment. Although these same groups and the Sámi Parliament still

oppose its construction, the new transport strategy gave it the green light, this time in response to a request by the Defence Forces and justified in the name of ‘national security’. As with the green transition, militarisation reframes Sápmi as a sacrificial zone where local and Indigenous concerns may be sidelined, in the name of some broader objectives presented as urgent and indispensable for national security, safety, and the common good.

Examples such as these highlight how militarism and militarisation challenge democratic participation and Indigenous and minority rights. In addition to setting up a strict hierarchy of security needs, discourses of militarisation tend to centre public authority on (usually male) military personnel and points of view and portray military concerns as existential, and therefore outside public scrutiny and democratic debate (e.g., Vastapu et al., 2024). In the Nordics, militarisation has been supported by the swift return of classical, state-centred discourses on geopolitics and security.

Despite broad efforts to expand the meaning and subjects of security over recent decades, through academic and policy frameworks such as environmental and human security, comprehensive security or planetary politics (e.g., Heininen, 2023; Hoogensen Gjørsv et al., 2014; Nicol, 2019; Greaves, 2016; Patrick, 2021), today Nordic public and policy debates centre again overwhelmingly on hard security which stresses military capabilities, security of supply, and state control of land and natural resources. The hegemonisation of such discourses is visible in the fact that now even renewable energy development and mining in Sápmi and the High North is justified and advanced increasingly in reference to the need to end EU dependency on Russian oil and gas, and to boost critical mineral self-sufficiency vis-à-vis China, rather than efforts to save the planet and the environment.

In such a discursive environment, Sámi concerns over military land use can be very hard to articulate, even when such land use threatens Sámi livelihoods in ways that may be considered, from the perspective of Sámi peoplehood and future, as equally existential. Today, anyone who resists or critiques the expansion of land use justified in the name of military and hard security also risks being seen as unpatriotic, naive, or even a threat to national security. For now, few people in Sápmi seem willing to take such a position publicly, either due to the fear of social and political stigma or because they, too, may feel divided over a situation in which their own wellbeing and future as Sámi seems to be pitted against security and safety for all (see, for instance Tarkiainen, forthcoming). In addition, a number of Sámi activists and political influencers whom I have interviewed on both the Finnish and Norwegian sides of Sápmi have highlighted the need to be strategic and to choose one’s battles. The Sámi already have their hands full protecting their livelihoods from other threats and forms of land use, such as tourism, logging, and the green transition. As one of my interviewees on the Norwegian side put it, “no-one wants to end up in a conflict with the Defence Forces, because it is obvious, who would win that battle”.

Subaltern security dilemmas: a decolonial approach to Arctic geopolitics and security

One main purpose of critical research is to undo hegemonic discourses, and to democratise public debate through its diversification and promoting grassroots views and participation. Within international studies and critical IR, this has meant, for instance, deconstructing nationalist and state-centred discourses on security and geopolitics and creating space for subaltern voices and perspectives. Building on the examples of the green transition and militarisation, this article has argued for a need to pursue such a critical and decolonial research agenda in the present context of Arctic geopolitics and security. Developing sensibility to the multiple *subaltern security dilemmas* (SSDs) that emerge in the intersections of hegemonic and subaltern perspectives to security should be central to such effort.

The problem of subalternity was strongly present in early debates regarding the promotion of ‘green’ energy projects in Sápmi. Despite the long tradition of Sámi resistance to natural resource extraction, extractive projects that are advanced in the name of climate action place such resistance face to face with discourses that, in the words of Saami Council’s Per Olof Nutti, are “unreasonable” yet “difficult to stand against or criticise”. The notion of green colonialism has efficiently addressed the dilemma, creating space for the articulation of Sámi rights and experience, but pressure from ‘green’ projects on Sámi lands continues to grow. However, in line with the growing geopolitical tensions and militarisation of public discourse, today such projects are justified increasingly not just in reference to climate action but also in terms of defence and security. Recent decisions of the European Commission to promote and fast-track three new mining projects in the Swedish part of Sápmi as “strategic projects” under the Critical Raw Materials Act (CRMA) is a case in point. According to the EC, these strategic projects – whose approval the Saami Council describes as “devastating betrayal of Indigenous rights and Sápmi’s future” – are crucial for both the “success of the green and digital transitions” and for the “resilience of the defence and aerospace sectors” (Saami Council, 2025; European Commission, 2025).

However, the concept of subaltern security dilemmas is particularly useful in the context of militarization, which is quickly becoming a new major paradigm of land use and a discourse of regional development in Sápmi. As with the ‘green transition’, military land use can pose a significant threat to the practice of Sámi livelihoods, but articulating Sámi rights to the land, or demanding effective measures to limit the harm done by military land use, is proving to be particularly difficult. On the one hand, such concerns may be interpreted as unpatriotic or indifferent to the exigencies of national security, and therefore result in a negative stigma and hate speech. On the other hand, upholding such rights can appear difficult also due to the ways in which the discourses and practices of national and military security appear to force individual subjects and groups to choose a side between their security as citizens of the nation state and their own rights and security as Indigenous and Sámi.

Conversely, instead of positioning local and Indigenous people’s interests and concerns in a direct, clear-cut juxtaposition vis-à-vis the geopolitical and security interests of the state, the notion of subaltern security dilemma that I have suggested here appreciates the ambiguity of the subaltern position while also clearing space for the articulation of subaltern or counter-hegemonic resistance and dissent. The position of subalternity does not expect that Indigenous peoples would not share or recognise any of the national or hegemonic security concerns of the state, as they also may well feel that the need to secure the state from foreign invasion or advancing the transition to

renewable energy should be top priorities. However, when such measures result in considerable insecurity in spheres of life that are indispensable for their own future as Indigenous peoples, they are disproportionately affected. Sensibility for subaltern security dilemmas implies recognition of such ambiguities and uncertainties while building ground for better policies and practices that can contribute to undoing the discrepancy between national and Indigenous interests and security, and safeguard the rights of Indigenous peoples, also in the context of geopolitical tensions and change.

In conclusion, both the green transition and militarisation need to be understood as new regimes or paradigms of land use which pose a significant threat to the viability of Sámi livelihoods, and thereby, to Sámi rights and future at large. In the context of the green transition, the Sámi have already addressed, through conceptual innovation that centres on green colonialism, the challenge of how to articulate resistance against land-grabs justified in the name of climate action and saving the environment. Today, new critical concepts are needed to also address colonisation through militarisation and military land use, and to find ways to make Arctic geopolitics, security and defence more accountable to the needs of the region's Indigenous peoples. Subaltern security dilemma sensibility calls for security with, not against, Indigenous peoples.

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