

DIPLOMACY AND THE ARCTIC COUNCIL. By DANITA CATHERINE BURKE. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020. ISBN 978-0-7735-5919-6. 216 p., maps, bib., index, appendix. Softbound. Cdn\$34.95. Also available as an ebook.

What is the Arctic Council a case of? This is a question well worth asking, especially given the increase in attention to the region in the past decade or so. Although there is a strong political science field studying the Arctic, it tends to be dominated by regional or area specialists rather than theorists. As such, efforts to understand the phenomenon of Arctic governance, diplomacy, and international relations, rather than just its main actors and events, are to be welcomed. The Arctic Council embraces a unique model in regional governance, giving much to explore and explain: the power dynamic between East and West; the inclusion of Indigenous peoples as near-equals in what is a state-centred space; the trade-offs between being a treaty-based organization or remaining a consensus-based forum; and the close but strained relationship between science and policy, are all candidates.

This is the promise of Danita Catherine Burke's book, *Diplomacy and the Arctic Council*: to provide a more thoughtful framework to understand the forum. Burke latches on to the idea of the Arctic Council as a "club", drawing from Bertrand Badie's *Diplomacy of Connivance*, with club diplomacy based on "the principle of common deliberation and unanimous decision-making. Its members [are] bound by solidarity without challenging their sovereignty. However those that [are] excluded de facto [have] to abide by its choices" (Badie, 2012:15). Through this lens, actors' motivations and status are evaluated, with pecking orders within the club – who is more inside and who is more outside – reinforced (USA > Russia > Arctic 5 coastal states > Arctic Council 8 > Indigenous Permanent Participants > working groups and scientists > Observer States).

Burke examines the dynamics of the club through seven separate aspects: (1) how the Arctic Council is funded, a complex matter that illustrates the power of the purse, the priorities of the states, and the ad hoc and clumsy administrative construct of the Council; (2) the perennial challenges with institutional memory, caused by turnover amongst the diplomats and delegates tasked with managing the fora, a discussion that illustrates an organizational challenge of the Arctic Council but has resonance for studies of international diplomacy more generally; (3) the issue of insulating the Arctic Council from spillover of domestic politics into the forum, illustrated in particular with Canada's Chairmanship from 2013–15 during which time the Crimea crisis arose (an updated edition would no doubt add the US and Pompeo's denial of climate change which sank the 2019 Ministerial Declaration); (4) language barriers to effective diplomacy, most plainly illustrated by challenges to hear from and communicate with Russian actors (Nordic colleagues being unusually adept at the

English language), but with consideration devoted to difficulties in recognizing and using Indigenous languages; (5) challenges with communicating the work, and thus the value, of the Arctic Council, made more difficult by the fact that the working groups largely conduct technical scientific work that does not translate easily into the public domain; (6) a treatment of the "Observer Question", the longstanding discussion on to what extent non-Arctic states should be included in Arctic Council deliberations; and (7) the hierarchy between the 'Arctic 5' states who have coast along the Arctic Ocean and the non-coastal three (Finland, Iceland, Sweden), and the implications for the pre-eminence of the Arctic Council as an international forum, when so many Arctic political issues requiring international solutions are marine in nature.

One of my favourite sections was the discussion on Greenpeace and what role it should or should not have in the Arctic Council. While the World Wildlife Fund has been a longstanding and influential Observer, Greenpeace has been consistently denied due to its populist and controversial tactics, from the point of view of both the Arctic Council's oil exporting states and the Permanent Participants, especially with regards to Greenpeace's campaign against whale and seal hunting. As Burke quotes one Permanent Participant representative, Greenpeace "are out of touch with nature" and "good liars [who] can't be trusted" (p. 145). The exclusion of Greenpeace is a consequential and deliberate choice of the Arctic Council's; however, Burke's book is the first place I have seen it earn serious analysis.

The book also has notable weaknesses. Burke makes the point in her analysis that Russia's participation is, and is seen to be, essential to the Arctic Council. But the book seems to lack Russian perspective, and that state's role in the club is approached as an object of study by others looking in, rather than from the point of view of Russian representatives. As a scholar who has tried and failed myself to secure interviews with Russian Arctic Council officials I can commiserate. But it is a conspicuous omission. Equally so is a lack of Permanent Participant interviewees. This is a study of state diplomacy, it is true; but the dynamic of Indigenous participation should be one of the more interesting aspects of the Arctic Council, from a club diplomacy perspective.

Burke provides a thorough examination of the Arctic Council and its main organizational questions through the 2010s – if anything, overly thorough. This book will appeal to those who want insider perspectives and anecdotes, and it gets deep into the weeds. This is due to its heavy reliance on interviews with past and present Arctic Council state representatives, rounded out with a few working group and Permanent Participant perspectives. As a collection of Arctic Council organizational challenges, it is comprehensive and provides details not easily found elsewhere.

But it doesn't quite fulfill the promise of providing larger lessons on states and their collaboration with each other.

The lack of intent to provide an overarching appraisal about the nature of regional diplomacy is evident in the short conclusion, with only 4.5 pages, 1.5 of which are concerned with areas for further research. This is very much a book about the Arctic Council, and only the Arctic Council. There is room for that in the literature. But like so many working group reports, the audience for that is quite niche.

REFERENCE

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MASTERS AND SERVANTS: THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND ITS NORTH AMERICAN WORKFORCE, 1668–1786. By SCOTT P. STEPHEN. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2019. ISBN 978-1-77212-337-1. 448 p., maps, b&w illus., bib., index, notes. Softbound. Cdn\$44.99. Also available as an ebook and pdf.

Scott P. Stephen makes an important contribution to labour history in *Masters and Servants: The Hudson's Bay Company and its North American Workforce, 1668–1786*. Drawing from the company's labour contracts, correspondence, post journals, and other documents, Stephen offers key insights into how the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) mobilized its labour force during its early history in an isolated setting of the British Atlantic world.

In James and Hudson Bay forts and at the first of the company's nearby inland posts, the model of the early modern family household shaped the behaviours, expectations, and responsibilities of company masters and servants. The company's ranks were very familiar with the "household" fundamental to English society at the time and constituting "the primary organizational model for most early modern domestic and economic life" (p. 9). In England, work was often "integrated into small households that were both units of family and units of production;" indeed, a "'family' typically included apprentices and servants as well as kin, and the head of the household was a father figure as well as their employer" (p. 9). Within the company's post households, employees pursued both their own self-interests while serving the whole, and men and masters could operate within norms familiar to them. At small HBC outposts, they knew of comparable units at home where even small households were usually composed of a few servants. At larger factories, company masters (factors) could manage "households comparable in size (up to 40 or 50 servants) to those of the English aristocracy" (p. 16). In such circumstances, an individual's worth as a

good HBC employee could be "defined and described in terms drawn from the contemporary ideals of master-servant relationships in British households," where sobriety, hard work, diligence, honesty, and a willingness to do numerous tasks rather than simply specialized ones, "were valued characteristics for men in all ranks of the corporate hierarchy" (p. 274).

The household model came to dominate HBC service after its business grew in North America. With its chartering in 1670, the company experimented in trading by shipside and temporary coastal shelters. However, the building of a permanent post on Bayly's Island (Albany Fort) in 1679 began a period of expansion in the 1680s, raising challenges for the company to find sources of labour and recruit reliable men. Moreover, periodic food shortages, isolation, and French opposition, soon felt in the upland areas of the Canadian shield and in spates of French aggression, warfare, and post seizures, required a social organization to keep men in place and limited the degrees to which the company could demand extraordinary service of them. By 1686, the company had 89 men at five establishments, but it continually raised or lowered their numbers according to its needs and circumstances. Even so, until the 1780s, its labour force did not exceed 200 employees. The household as a model, then, proved an effective means for the company to contain, control, discipline, and reward servants and factors. Factors organized their households independently of other posts, and household dynamics circumscribed the ways the company's London committee rewarded or sanctioned its factors at Hudson and James Bay, and they their own men.

Given that corporate HR management in the HBC was never codified, Stephen relies on meticulous research to piece together the values, procedures, and customs of work in bayside posts. He reconstructs workforce management in the careers, some short, some long, of individuals in contractual service. Their personal circumstances in such difficult work settings make compelling reading. Stephen makes sense of their various fates within the company by drawing on public and hidden transcripts to expose the normative values ascribed to work and the ways servants independently pursued their own profits and lives as employees. The attention to the public transcript is particularly useful in Stephen's analysis of correspondence exchanged between masters and London committee members. Within their "rhetorical tapestry," Stephen confirms household dynamics in an individual's job and career strategies (p. 205). This communication as ritual (rather than communication simply to transmit information) was one of the ways men renewed contracts, by drawing on the relationships they cultivated, and above all, demonstrating deference to their superiors and expressing signs of love and evidence of friendship within their networks. By building up one's credit and reputation through good behaviour, an individual could rely on the generosity, patience, and reward of patrons and benefactors within the company. Stephen perceives,