

as the basis for the internment of the Nisei and Issei during the war years. Alas, it is the frightful coping with this element of suspicion that pervades the text of what is otherwise a treasure trove of Yamato Ichihashi's writings. One can only surmise that this may well have been the most debilitating of factors which, in the end, did Yamato and Kei Ichihashi in.

Gordon H. Chang's *Morning Glory, Evening Shadow* stands today, as it surely is destined to remain well into the new millennium, the definitive account of this sad but true episode in American history. It is a never-ending hurt for Japanese Americans. And in this extraordinary volume, it is on the record for all Americans — and the world — to be made aware of, and for them never to forget.

Washington, D.C.

RICHARD E. JORGENSEN

**CLEARCUTTING THE PACIFIC RAIN FOREST: Production, Science, and Regulation.** By **Richard A. Rajala.** *Vancouver (Canada): UBC Press. 1998. xxiii, 286 pp. (B&W photos, illus., maps.) Cdn.\$75.00, cloth, ISBN 0-7748-0590-0; Cdn.\$27.95, paper, ISBN 0-7748-0591-9.*

OVER THE LAST DECADE, the forest clearcut has become the icon for rapacious environmental destruction. Much has been confirmed, and much has been debated, about the ecological and social impacts of the clearcut as both a physical space and media fetish. But few discussions have considered the clearcut as a workplace and clearcutting as a complex, shifting, and site-specific set of social and technological practices. This blind spot in scholarship has contributed to the contemporary emphasis on ending clearcutting while not untangling and addressing the pressures that created and maintain many of those practices. In response to this gap, Richard Rajala has published the most important monograph so far on the political ecology of the forests of British Columbia, Washington and Oregon. Confined to the coastal Douglas fir zone (which is not really rain forest) from 1880 to 1965, *Clearcutting the Pacific Rain Forest* is paradigmatic the way that Patricia Marchak's 1983 *Green Gold: The Forest Industry in British Columbia* was in a very different time.

In *Clearcutting the Pacific Northwest*, the author revisits many of the debates in Marxism around labour, capital, technological change, and the role of information — discussions oddly neglected in recent attempts to consider the political economies of old-growth forest in western North America. This book might also be called "Clearcutting as Class Conflict" though the author's framework and analyses are far from didactic. The theoretical point of departure is Harry Braverman's 1974 *Labor and Monopoly Capital*. Rajala's agenda in *Clearcutting the Pacific Northwest* is to critique and rework Braverman's highly influential notions of "labour power" and "deskilling" and to depart from contemporary "labour process studies." Such ambition

makes for a novel and compelling history of mechanized logging: as a set of practices developed more to minimize both corporate reliance on the intellectual power of workers and the jeopardizing of longterm political control over timber resources. Rajala's framing of clearcutting might, at first, seem like it obscures the environmental impacts. But the author goes on to argue that timber corporations, on both sides of the United States – Canadian border, were too preoccupied with controlling and minimizing the costs of labour ever to compare seriously the longer-term economic and ecological costs and benefits of other forms of logging. Simply put, clearcutting fostered the greatest level of managerial control, the least requirements for forest knowledge by workers and less obligations to manage the land base over time.

Rajala traces the industrial revolution that led to clearcutting to the obsessions of late nineteenth century logging companies for finding ways to be less dependent on skilled labour. Mechanization converted the logging site into a huge factory. In this scramble for new technologies, to replace labourers and the need for workers with a wide set of skills and experiences, terrain, including natural ecosystems, went virtually ignored. Forest engineering rather than forestry dominated decision making well into the twentieth century, though neither profession valued broader and site-specific ecological knowledge. Rajala carefully substantiates his argument that early forestry education, particularly at The University of British Columbia, functioned wholly as a tool of corporate interests. And as skill requirements became more compartmentalized with greater automation, labour forces of forest-based communities found it increasingly difficult to adapt. There was little time in this new "factory" to consider conservation principles seriously.

Perhaps the more startling part of Rajala's historical argument is how from the beginning of those mechanized practices, clearcutting was used as a means to counter pressures for both greater conservation and for selective logging. In the early corporate logic, it was impossible to conserve much or selectively log an area once it was clearcut. Clearcutting was a way to debase, to make redundant, logging-based communities before forest-based labour might have become radicalized. Unfortunately, Rajala barely touches on the popular pressures against large-scaled destruction of forest vegetation, that in British Columbia, for example, went back to government reports in the early nineteen twenties and to coordinated activism as early as 1938. The author's suggestion that the movement against clearcutting began in the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway belt of southeastern Vancouver Island is enigmatic, given the area's importance to the Canadian labour movement and socialist movements. What Rajala does confirm, painstakingly, was how clearcutting was used by the dwindling number of companies, many of which were becoming near monopolies, to minimize *any* justifications for interventions from government and new demands by labour. Most of the coastal Douglas fir region was clearcut after this history ends in 1965. But

*Book Reviews*

Rajala makes it clear that the die was cast decades before for the more massive onslaughts of the 1970s and 1980s, fuelled by more automation and by globalization.

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