

officials to speak to the issues before decisions are made. If there is "pollution" in spite of broad prohibitory and regulatory laws, it may well be because the resolution of resource allocation problems lies more in the political nature of regulating competing interests than it does in sanctions.

While the handbook concentrates on the prohibitory aspect of "pollution" legislation, it would be naive to assume that sanctions such as fines are effective deterrents in stopping waste and destruction of resources in the course of industrial development. Indeed, legislation aimed at protecting the environment must surely strive for planning and management, not prohibition in the use of resources. The fine or other sanction, such as the cancellation of a permit, is only a last resort after all effort at co-operation and persuasion have failed.

As long as "management" and allocation of resources, however, are left to civil servants to work out in co-operation with industry in a growth-oriented economy, many Canadians will question whether the public interest is properly taken into account. Hence the importance of public participation in environmental and resource management decisions. As this book makes so clear, however, there is little opportunity in law for such public participation. To the extent that the opportunity exists, it is more by way of the back door of criminal or civil prosecution, rather than the front door of early consultation through properly conducted hearings. An exception in this regard is the provision under the Pollution Control Act whereby the board may conduct hearings to determine guidelines for emission of pollutants in particular industries. When held, these hearings attracted little participation by the public; it would be interesting to learn why. On the other hand, the recent hearings on the issuance of a water permit to B.C. Hydro to build the Revelstoke dam attracted wide public interest, but the law provided a most inadequate legal means for the expression of such interest. Both law and political processes appear to be out of tune with the times in this area of social-economic growth.

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The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians, by Ken Adachi. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976. Pp. vi and 456, illus.; \$14.95.

Two themes are intertwined throughout the course of this book: the history of Japanese immigration and that of Canadian racism. As the

author explains in his preface, he intended first "to reveal the demon [racism] in all its scaly ugliness and perhaps exorcise it," and then to tell the "story" of the Japanese in Canada. In particular Adachi concerns himself with the first half of the twentieth century, that period in which the Japanese community took root in British Columbia despite the recurrent animosity of west coast whites. The focal point of the narrative is the evacuation of 1942 — its origins, execution, and aftermath — an event which Adachi clearly believes to have been the central fact of the Japanese-Canadian experience.

The chief strengths of *The Enemy That Never Was* are the author's descriptions of the Japanese community. He discusses the culture from which the migrants came — its concepts of family and community, and its basic social values — and then examines the attempts made by the immigrants to preserve their traditions in Canada. When exploring this problem, Adachi places special emphasis on the role of the Japanese family system — authoritarian, patriarchal, and bound by complex conceptions of honour and obligation — in this process of cultural transfer. The Nisei, the second generation of Japanese-Canadians, are his particular concern. Through acculturation they abandoned the ways of their parents but they also found themselves shunned by white society. Substantially westernized but rejected nevertheless, they lived in the penumbra of both communities.

As Adachi reveals, the evacuation of 1942 uprooted this small but complex community. It forced upon the Japanese the dislocation of interrupted lives, the discomfort of relocation, and the disadvantage of property loss. To Japanese-Canadians, both individually and communally, it was a major discontinuity. The author carefully describes its impact upon them, noting their attempts to readjust themselves to post-evacuation conditions and their efforts to defend their mutual interests from continuing government aggression.

But if the book does contribute to describing the Japanese-Canadian past, unfortunately it also is marred by a number of serious flaws. For one thing Adachi's research is superficial. By and large the study is based upon official published records, newspaper sources, and secondary accounts, fleshed out here and there by the author's personal recollections. Major manuscript collections have been largely ignored, among the most glaring omissions being the Japanese-Canadian collection at the University of British Columbia and the Mackenzie King papers in Ottawa. This neglect is sufficiently serious that in places the book is unreliable. For example, chapter IX, which examines the events which led to the federal evacuation decision, should have drawn upon the broad range of manuscript

sources found in the Public Archives of Canada. How else could the decision-making process be revealed?

Perhaps more important, while Adachi dwells at length upon the problem of white racism, his chief purpose is to expose and condemn. As a self-acknowledged victim of racism, he does not occupy the best vantage point from which to analyse it. In any event, he is much less concerned with analysis than with judgment — from his perspective a quite understandable reaction. The problem is that this approach precludes a larger understanding of racism, particularly its complex motivation and mechanics. To choose a case in point, Adachi accepts the fact that racial prejudice underlay the evacuation decision without probing its roots, in particular the role of anxiety in inducing prejudice. Ultimately, then, we are left with no comprehensive explanation for Canadian racism, though we do know clearly what Adachi thinks of the phenomenon.

The most serious problem with this book, however, lies in the author's approach to the study of minority group history. To Adachi racism lies at the heart of the Japanese-Canadian past. While no one could deny that racism was part of the Japanese experience in Canada, the degree of its influence is indeed open to question. To what extent, and in what ways, were the immigrants affected by prejudice? What other social, political, cultural, and economic factors shaped their lives? In what ways was prejudice related to these other forces? Adachi's answers are unclear.

Moreover, Adachi's preoccupation with this theme has led him to neglect the analysis of other major questions. Two examples must suffice. First, while he describes briefly the origins and motives of the immigrants, he makes no attempt to explore systematically the socio-economic conditions in rural Japan which led to emigration. Nor does he offer anything more than passing comment on the chain migration process. Hence we must make do with a series of vague generalizations about the origins, nature, and initial objectives of Canada's Japanese immigrants. Second, he fails to address the question of acculturation, one of the fundamental problems of immigration history, with any degree of rigor. When discussing Japanese ethnocentrism he initially attributes it to the heightened racial pride of immigrants in an alien environment (109-110). Later he declares it to be a reaction against the racial prejudice of the host community (132). His treatment of cultural change is similarly limited. He declares that the Issei, or first generation, were only marginally acculturated while the Nisei were substantially so. But the mechanics and extent of this process are never discussed. Adachi goes to some lengths to emphasize Nisei acceptance of North American liberal individualism and

democratic ideals. Yet he also declares that the Japanese did not resist evacuation because their traditional cultural norms emphasized conformity and obedience (225-27). The very fact of this contradiction reveals the limits of his understanding of the acculturation process.

Thus, judged as minority group history, this is a book with limited merit. While the author has largely avoided the commonest pitfall of ethnic history — ancestor worship — he has fallen into the trap of representing his subjects as victims. That they were there can be no doubt. But the experience of Japanese-Canadians has been far more complex than this book reveals. Despite what Adachi seems to believe, the writing of immigrant history is neither storytelling nor exorcism.

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