

1:23

Re: Peter Suzuki Articles + Papers

1981-1987

83/115
C

October 30, 1981

Dr. Willis E. Sibley
President, Society for Applied Anthropology
c/o Dept. of Anthropology
Cleveland State University
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

Dear Will:

Enclosed herewith is a copy of an essay by Peter T. Suzuki published in a recent issue of Dialectical Anthropology. Within it, he levels a series of accusations against those anthropologists who were involved either as Community Analysts or in other research capacities within the Relocation Centers where the Japanese Americans were confined during World War II. In one sense a response to the attack is the responsibility of those being accused, but the unfortunate part of the situation is that so many of those accused are either deceased (e.g. John Provinse, Gordon Brown) or retired (e.g. Edward Spicer).

The situation is of concern to the SFAA for several reasons, personal and substantive. Many of those attacked by Suzuki have been centrally involved with SFAA, as officers, honorees, or participants. Their work, especially their work in the Relocation Centers, has been the subject of discussion within the annual meetings and the journal of the Society. While Suzuki's attack is directly focused at these people, indirectly it critiques the role of the applied anthropologist. And, finally, news of the attack has been percolating through the national Japanese American community, and it may deleteriously affect those anthropologists who propose future projects of research.

Rosalie H. Wax is preparing a written rebuttal to those charges levelled specifically against her arising from her work in the camps as an employee of the University of California Evacuation and Resettlement Project, headed by Dorothy Swaine Thomas (deceased). She will then submit her rebuttal to an appropriate journal, such as HO. However, the Society may wish to facilitate the response of those senior anthropologists who are accused because of their role as Community Analysts.

Cordially yours,

Murray L. Wax

encl.
MLW:cs

October 30, 1981

Dr. Edward H. Spicer
Professor of Anthropology
University of Arizona
Tucson, AZ

Dear Ned:

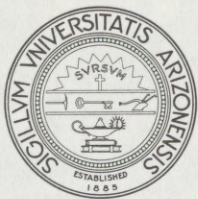
Rosalie and I have been reading the essay by Suzuki in the recent issue of Dialectical Anthropology. She is preparing a rebuttal to the charges against herself. We wonder whether or not you and the other survivors among the Community Analysts feel that we ought to plan some joint effort at rebuttal, as for instance a joint series of essays in HO.

One would like not to take seriously these kinds of wild and irresponsible charges, but, from our contacts with the Japanese American community, we fear that these efforts may have a serious effect, so that it would be a service to the profession, as well as ourselves, if we responded.

Cordially yours,

Murray L. Wax
Professor

MLW:cs



THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
TUCSON, ARIZONA 85721

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
BUILDING 30
(602) 626-2585

*Please use my home address:
5344 E. Fort Lowell Rd.
Tucson, AZ 85712*

November 13, 1981

Dear Murray,

Peter Suzuki's article in Dialectical Anthropology has come to my attention also. I began to prepare a rebuttal, but found the article so chaotic in its organization and the misunderstanding by Suzuki of applied work so deep and pervasive that I became temporarily discouraged.

Meanwhile I have received a copy of Suzuki's testimony before the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. This is shorter and is limited to charges against the social scientists who worked in WRA and the University of California Study; it omits the peculiar criticism of their work as social science and focuses on the charges of "spying, informing, and intelligence work." I am in the midst of writing a specific rebuttal to this testimony which I will send to the Commission before they close their hearings, which I understand will be November 23.

Rachel Sady who worked in the Washington office of CA presented a statement before the Commission at their request, but she was hardly prepared to meet the list of irresponsible charges which Suzuki had produced. Hence she is sending a detailed rebuttal of the Suzuki statement to the Commission to supplement her original short statement. Margaret Lantis is also writing a letter to the Commission, and K. Luomala has ^{been} asked to do so, but I am not sure that she will. Together with what I am sending to the Commission in a few days, this should be adequate response to Suzuki's testimony, which was, by the way, hailed in the Japanese American press as a damning indictment of social scientists. I will also send you a copy of my rebuttal of Suzuki's testimony.

There still remains that confused and twisted article in Dialectical Anthropology. I have long hoped for some analysis of the Community Analysis work by a social scientist not directly connected with the program; I am sure it would be worth doing and that we all could learn much from a sensible appraisal. It is a great disappointment to find the National Archives and other material being used by an anthropologist so ill-prepared and (I'm afraid I must say frankly) stupid as Suzuki seems to be. I shall probably go ahead with some kind of critique of it, discouraging as it is, but I am in no position for the next three months to work on a publishable article for HO as you suggest. Possibly Rachel Sady would do something, which I would be happy to edit and criticize if she wanted me to. Morris Opler might do something.

Sincerely, Edward H. Spicer

Best to Rosalie

Red

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG

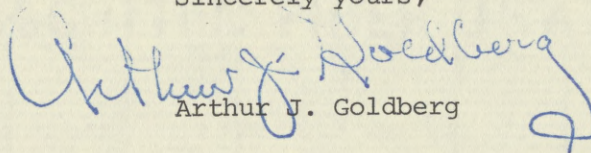
November 20, 1981

Professor Rosalie H. Wax
Professor Emerita, Anthropology
Washington University
Campus Box 1114
St. Louis, Missouri 63130

Dear Professor Wax:

I have forwarded your statement to Mr. Angus Macbeth, counsel for the Commission and I am sure that he will arrange to see that your memorandum is included in the record of the proceedings of our Commission.

Sincerely yours,


Arthur J. Goldberg

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY



ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI 63130

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
BOX 1113
(314) 889-6650

20 November 1981

Dr. Rachel R. Sady
c/o American Anthropological Association
1703 New Hampshire Avenue NW
Washington D.C. 20009

Dear Rachel:

By personal message from some Japanese American friends, and then by the notice in the NY Times, Rosalie and I learned of Peter Suzuki's article in Dialectical Anthropology. We then wrote Ned Spicer to learn whether or not any joint project of response was being organized, and we also wrote Willis Sibley in order to alert SfAA. Since we wrote Ned at his university office, it took a while to receive a response, but we just had one dated the 13th, and in it we learned of Suzuki's testimony before the National Commission. Since Spicer mentioned a deadline of November 23rd for closure of their hearings, Rosalie assembled a quick response to Suzuki's charges in Dialectical Anthropology, but was not able to tailor it to suit what he might have said to the Commission. It's a difficult and exasperating task anyway, since the charges are so wild, his logic is so crazy, and he has a great gift for ripping sentences out of context and inverting their application. Nevertheless, I felt we had to make some effort at response, in order to defend, not only Rosalie's reputation, but the good name of applied anthropology. Not knowing any other address for the Commission, we sent copies of her response to each of the nine members listed in the federal directory.

What we should like to receive from yourself is a copy of Suzuki's testimony and also any information about the play that his charges have been given in the Japanese press. Rosalie is now busy on her project as a Rockefeller Fellow in the Humanities, which is to follow up on as many as possible of her informants from Tule Lake Segregation Center. So far, she has had only logistical problems in locating persons, or their families, since many of the original persons are deceased, and some have dropped out of sight (some went to Japan; may have died there; may have attempted return to the U.S.). Anyway, Suzuki's charges have yet to trouble her researches, but in the long run they may be harmful.

What might be appropriate in the long run is to lean on SfAA to devote some part of an issue of HO to a set of responses by the accused (maligned). I think that better than responding to Dialectical Anthropology, since that would give him yet another opportunity to have the last word and fling further accusations. Besides, I don't have any confidence that DA's editors will play

Dr. Sady
20 November 1981
Page 2

fair, if they published these charges in their present wild form. I had no illusions about Stanley Diamond, but I did think of Happy Leacock as a friend and a colleague, and I am distressed that she permitted such an irresponsible attack, and without any notification to Rosalie as a major target.

Cordially yours,

Murray L. Wax

MLW:kl

cc: Edward H. Spicer

Margaret Lantis



COURT OF COMMON PLEAS
JUDGE'S CHAMBERS

WILLIAM M. MARUTANI
JUDGE

307
~~1000~~ ONE E. PENN SQUARE
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19107
MU 6-2963

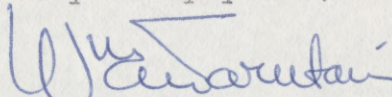
November 24, 1981

Dr. Rosalie H. Wax
Department of Anthropology
Washington University
Campus Box 1114
St. Louis, MI 63130

Dear Dr. Wax:

Your letter of transmittal with the
8-page response to Dr. Suzuki has been sent to
the Washington offices of the Wartime Commission
on Relocation & Internment of Civilians.

Very truly yours,



WILLIAM M. MARUTANI

WMM/ms

Rachel Sady
40 Euclid Avenue
Hastings on Hudson, N.Y. 10706

Murray and Rosalie Wax
Department of Sociology, Box 1113
Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri 63130

Dec. 13, 1981

Dear Murray and Rosalie,

I received yesterday Murray's letter of Nov. 20, sent to the AAA. I enclose the Suzuki testimony, which you may have received from elsewhere. The Nikkei press clippings I have refer almost exclusively to Suzuki's and my testimony before the Commission on the CAS; a nasty Frank Chin article in the Rocky Shimo last summer refers to Rosalie only by listing The Spoilage and Doing Fieldwork among other works as providing a "rotten" basis for Japanese American social science.

Ned, Margaret, John de Young and I have replied in one manner or another to the Commission about the CAS. I have nothing against an HO response except that is not where the charges were printed, and would entail a hell of a long preamble. I think we ought to answer in DA, where the charges were made (for WRA twice, really--there are two articles, one focussing on LaBarre).

I don't know Diamond but I am acquainted with and respect Leacock. Given what we ex-CA's can say about Suzuki's style of "documentation," I would expect fair treatment. That doesn't mean that there may not be disagreement on serious ethical issues and that these should be addressed and discussed on a more professional level. This, however, is a level on which Suzuki's writings are irrelevant.

Such a DA effort would mean two sets of replies to DA--CA's and Rosalie's--plus a possible third if LaBarre feels so moved. I have only communicated with ex-CA's I know personally, and have not attempted to contact LaBarre, Hoebel, or others.

Sincerely,

Rachel

Copies Ned Spicer
Margaret Lantis
John deYoung

COMMISSION ON WARTIME RELOCATION
AND INTERNMENT OF CIVILIANS



726 JACKSON PLACE, N.W. □ SUITE 2020 □ WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506 □ 202/395-7390

December 21, 1981

Professor Rosalie H. Wax
Department of Anthropology
Washington University
Campus Box 1113
St. Louis, Missouri 63130

Dear Professor Wax:

In your "Response to Suzuki's Criticisms of Doing Fieldwork," you write that you have prepared a detailed response to his criticisms. We would be pleased to receive a copy of that response.

Thank you for the statement you sent Judge Marutani. We shall make it part of the proceedings of the Commission.

Sincerely yours,

Charles D. Smith
Research Director

COMMISSION ON WARTIME RELOCATION
AND INTERNMENT OF CIVILIANS



726 JACKSON PLACE, N.W. □ SUITE 2020 □ WASHINGTON, D. C. 20506 □ 202/395-7390

January 7, 1982

Professor Rosalie H. Wax
Department of Anthropology
Washington University
Campus Box 1113
St. Louis, MO 63130

Dear Professor Wax:

Thank you for sending us the more
detailed response to Professor
Suzuki's criticisms of Doing
Fieldwork.

Sincerely yours,

Charles D. Smith
Research Director

July 27, 1984.

Dear Ms. Hankey Wax,

I am a Danish historian working on the Japanese Americans. I have just got back from a trip to California where I visited several institutions and met with several people, among others Art Hansen from the California State University at Fullerton. He gave me a copy of your paper "Response to Suzuki's Criticisms of Doing ~~the~~ Fieldwork," which I have read with much interest.

At the end of this paper you state that you have a more detailed response to Suzuki's criticism and that you will provide this on request. If possible still, I would be grateful to have a copy of this response. I thank you in advance for your time and attention and look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

Torben Retbøll

Torben Retbøll
Falstersgade 3
DK-8000 Århus C
Denmark

August 31, 1984

Torben Retboll
Falstersgad 3
DK-8000 Arhus C
Denmark

Dear Sir:

I am sending you my more detailed response to Dr. Suzuki's criticisms. I am also sending you a copy of Professor Spicer's response to Dr. Suzuki's criticisms of the Community Analysis Section of the War Relocation Authority. I might add that I knew G. Bordon Brown and his wife well at the Gila Denter and that, to my knowledge, he never "gathered intelligence information on the evacuees". Nor did he ever ask me for such information.

I would strongly advise anyone interested in Suzuki's accusations to consult the books and articles he cites. Rosalie H. Wax 1971. DOING FIELDWORK: WARNINGS AND ADVICE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Dorothy S. Thomas and Richard Nishimoto 1946. THE SPOILAGE: JAPANESE AMERICAN EVAUATION AND RESETTLEMENT: Berkeley: University of California Press. Edward H. Spicer, et al. 1969. IMPOUNDED PEOPLE: JAPANESE-AMERICANS IN THE RELOCATION CENTERS. Arizona: University of Arizona Press.

If you have any additional questions, please let me know. I am sorry to have been so tardy in my response. I was out of town.

Sincerely,

Rosalie H. Wax

March 18, 1987

Dr. Stephen O. Murray
Instituto Obregon
1360 De Haro St.
San Francisco, CA 94107-3239

Dear Dr. Murray:

I found your letter stimulating and I think I can answer a good many of your questions.

I prepared at least three detailed reports for Dr. Thomas while I was at Tule Lake and I wrote several descriptive essays for her after I was forced to leave Tule Lake in May of 1945 (see DOING FIELDWORK, p. 169.) Nishimoto's letter of April 9, 1945, probably refers to the last report I wrote while at Tule Lake.

I was not involved in the battle to prevent Grodzin's book from being published. I saw Grodzin occasionally, but he never mentioned this conflict to me. As for my fieldnotes -- early in the study Dr. Thomas told us that she planned to prepare three books, THE SPOILAGE, THE SALVAGE, and THE RESIDUE. The first two were published and it is possible that she hoped to use my fieldnotes as part of the third book which was never published. If this guess is correct, she would, of course, have taken my notes to Pennsylvania.

Thank you for sending me the letter Thomas sent to Frank Miyamoto on July 17. I had no idea that she approved so strongly of what I was doing at that time.

Nishimoto's letter of April 9, 1945, is best explained by my fieldnotes for January, February and March of that year. Taking verbatim notes during this tragic situation was very depressing. On March 9, after a particularly painful talk with two Nisei girls, I commented, "This talk hit me harder than this writeup shows. I said that I was becoming very depressed and that it was about time I finished the job." I'm sending you a copy of a rough draft I wrote about this period which, I think, will explain why I was depressed, why Thomas wrote to Nishimoto, and why he responded as he did. (See especially, p. 140.) Before proceeding I should tell you that some 15 years ago I remember reading that Thomas was having a very difficult time at the university in Pennsylvania. This appeared in some small academic publication and I'm sorry I did not keep a copy.

I was amazed by the content of Nishimoto's letter of July 2, 1945. I was also a bit saddened that Spicer (whom I've always respected) would say such a thing. Perhaps he was joking. In any case, the facts are that after the murder of Mr. Hitomi, Opler no longer did any interviewing in the colony. He hired three or four Japanese Americans who observed and took notes on the various religious, ceremonial, recreational activities and on folk beliefs. (See Suzuki's article, p. 39.) In consequence, Opler's publications are now being praised by some Japanese American scholars, whereas THE SPOILAGE and especially DOING FIELDWORK are being called "narrow in scope" and Peter T. Suzuki pictures me as a mentally imbalanced informer. I'm enclosing copies of two of Peter Suzuki's articles and my responses.

If you wish to read my field notes on Tule Lake and the Director of the Bancroft Library will not give you permission, let me know and I'll send you a copy. This will take some time because there are about 3,000 pages.

I enjoyed your article on Resistance to Sociology and showed it to several sociologists who also liked it. One pointed out, however, that Robert Ezra Park was not a student of W. I. Thomas. He was a noted student of social problems who was invited to the University of Chicago by Thomas.

Please give my best wishes to Ken Payne.

Sincerely,

Rosalie H. Wax
Emerita

P.S. Since I'm retired, letters will reach me more quickly at my home address: 7106 Westmoreland Drive,
University City, MO 63130

My telephone number is: 314-721-6348

Department of Anthropology



WASHINGTON
UNIVERSITY
IN ST. LOUIS

As an anthropologist employed by the University of California Evacuation and Resettlement Study, I worked in the Centers at Gila and Tule Lake. My field data were among the principal bases for the volume, The Spoilage, compiled by Dorothy S. Thomas and Richard Nishimoto. From these research experiences, I wrote a doctoral dissertation and a number of essays published in professional journals. In addition, I utilized these research experiences when I drafted a text on anthropological methods, Doing Fieldwork: Warnings and Advice (University of Chicago Press, 1971).

Recently the ethics of my research were attacked by Peter Suzuki, first in oral presentation to Japanese Americans, then in an essay published in Dialectical Anthropology, and most recently -- I have been given to understand -- in testimony before the Commission. The enclosed is intended as a partial response to his essay. I have also composed a longer response in which basically I contrast his representation of what I said or did with the statements in my writings, which he ripped out of context or misinterpreted. This longer statement is available to interested parties on request. I would like also to respond to his accusations before the Commission, but since I do not have a copy of his statement, I am not in a position to do so.

I request that the response enclosed herewith be included in the proceedings of the Commission.

Yours truly,

Rosalie H. Wax
Professor Emerita, Anthropology

RHW:sc

Enclosure

Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of
Civilians

Created by Public Law 96-317

Appointed by the President:

Joan Z. Bernstein, 12 East Melrose, Chevy Chase, Md. 20015.
Judge William M. Marutani, 307 One East Pennsylvania Square, Philadelphia,
Pa. 19107.
Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, 1120 Vermont Avenue 20125.

Appointed by the Senate:

Senator Edward W. Brooke, 1919 Pennsylvania Avenue 20006.
Senator Hugh B. Mitchell, P.O. Box 88728, Seattle, Wash. 98188.
Father I. V. Gromoff, P.O. Box 40, Unalaska, Alaska 99685.

Appointed by the House:

Father Robert F. Drinan, 600 New Jersey Avenue 20001.
Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, 2801 New Mexico Avenue, Suite 1104 20007.
Daniel Lungren, Representative from California.

Commission on the West Central Front of the United States
Capitol

Created by Public Law 95-94 (91 Stat. 653, 681-682)

Chairman.—Vice President of the United States.

Speaker of the House of Representatives.
Majority Leader of the Senate.
Minority Leader of the Senate.
Majority Leader of the House of Representatives.
Minority Leader of the House of Representatives.

Consumer Product Safety Commission

Created by Public Law 92-573

1111 18th Street 20207

Chairman.—[Vacant.]

Acting Chairman.—Stuart M. Statler, 634-7710.

Commissioners:

R. David Pittle, 634-7726.
Sam Zagoria, 634-7790.
Edith Barksdale Sloan, 634-7793.

Executive Director.—Richard A. Gross, 492-6550.

Secretary.—Sadye Dunn, 634-7700.

General Counsel.—Andrew S. Krulwich, 634-7770.

Director of Congressional Relations.—[Vacant.]

Officials:

Stuart M. Statler, 2304 North Randolph Street, Arlington, Va. 22207.
R. David Pittle, 14234 Briarwood Terrace, Rockville, Md. 20853.
Edith Barksdale Sloan.
Sam Zagoria, 3527 Marlborough Way, College Park, Md. 20740.
Richard A. Gross, 1539 44th Street 20007.
Andrew S. Krulwich, 3808 Blackthorn Street, Chevy Chase, Md. 20015.

District of Columbia Law Revision Commission

Created by Public Law 93-379

Colorado Building, 1341 G Street, Suite 510 20005. Phone, 724-8190

Chairman.—Stephen I. Danzansky, Willkie, Farr & Gallagher, Suite 1200, 818 Connecticut Avenue 20006 (328-8000).

Vice Chairman.—Sharon Pratt Dixon, Potomac Electric Power Co., Room 710, 1900 Pennsylvania Avenue 20006 (872-2023).

Secretary.—Bernice Just, Parole Board, Fifth Floor, 614 H Street 20001 (727-1380).

Members:

Marthlu Bledsoe, 2401 H Street, No. 615 20037 (783-5858).

Ms Joan Z. Bernstein
Commission on Wartime Relocation and the Internment of Civilians
12 East Melrose

Chevy Chase, MD 20015

Dear Ms Bernstein:

As an anthropologist employed by the University of California Evacuation and Resettlement Study, I worked ~~for several years~~ in the Centers at Gila and Tule Lake. My field data were among the principal bases for the volume, The Spoilage, compiled by Dorothy S. Thomas and / Richard Nishimoto. ~~Since then, I have written a number of essays as that were~~ ^{doctoral dissertation and} and From these research experiences, I wrote a doctoral dissertation, a number of essays published in professional journals. In addition, I utilized these research experiences when I drafted a text on anthropological methods, Doing Fieldwork: Warnings and Advice (University of Chicago Press, 1971).

Recently, the ethics of ~~xxx~~ ^{my} research were attacked by Peter Suzuki, first in oral presentations to Japanese Americans, then in an essay published in Dialectical Anthropology, and most recently -- I have been given to understand -- in testimony before the Commission. The enclosed is intended as a partial response to ~~xxx~~ ^{his} essay. I have also composed a longer response in which I ~~simply~~ ^{basically} contrast his/presentation of ~~events~~ ^{re what I said or did} with the statements in my writings, which he ripped out of context or misinterpreted. This longer statement is available to interested parties on request. I would like also to respond to his accusations before the Commission, but since I do not have a copy of his statement, I am not in a position to do so.

I request that ~~my~~ the response enclosed herewith be included in the proceedings of the Commission.

Yours truly,

Rosalie H. Wax, Ph.D.
Professor Emerita, Anthropology

A - Central Heading - Criticisms of Doing Fieldwork

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p. 3 - wipe out number -

Separate heading

Rosalie Hankey's Field Notes

~~and ^{add} ~~addition~~~~

and addition by Murray

4. Suzuki's criticisms of my Conduct as a Field Worker
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centered

p. 6 - quote marks

and underscoring - and correct fieldwork

p. 7 - wipe out stars *and change 3 to 2*

p. 8 - wipe out who

and final change of last sentence.

At end put: Rosalie H. Wax, Ph.D.

Professor Emerita, Anthropology

Washington University at St. Louis

RESPONSE TO SUZUKI'S CRITICISMS OF DOING FIELDWORK

p. 4 underline first title

Chambers, Erve, Wolfe, Alvin W. "Legal and Ethical Problems in Client Oriented Field Research", a paper prepared for presentation in a symposium, Ethical Problems of Fieldwork, at the 1978 Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association.

Fichter, Joseph, and Kolb, William, 1953, "Ethical Limitations on Sociological Reporting", American Sociological Review, 18, pp. 544-550.

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Golden, M. Patricia, The Research Experience, F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., Itasca, Illinois, 1976.

Graber, Edith E., 1979, "Privacy and Social Research", in Federal Regulation: Ethical Issues and Social Research, Murray L. Wax and Joan Cassell, editors, AAAS Selected Symposium, Westview Press, Colorado, pp. 23-42.

Gray, Bradford H., "An Assessment of Institutional Review Committees in Human Experimentation", Medical Care, vol. 13, no. 4, April 1975, pp. 318-328.

Gray, Bradford H., Cooke, Robert A., and Tannenbaum, Arnold S., "Research Involving Human Subjects", Science, vol. 201, September 22, 1978., pp. 1094-1101.

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Horowitz, Irving Louis, 1967, The Rise and Fall of Project Camelot, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Johnson, Carole G., "Occupational Self Image and the Funeral Director", unpublished paper, 1979.

Joint Hearings before the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Privacy and Information Systems of the Committee on Government Operations and the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary U.S. Senate, Ninety-third Congress, 1974.

Kardiner, Abram, 1945, The Psychological Frontiers of Society, Columbia University Press, New York.

... the "loyalty-disloyalty" labels, were actually misleading since these labels had long since lost any objectively significant meaning in the maelstrom of emotionalized reaction to consistently discriminatory treatment [161].

Only "twelve years later" would Wax come to this same understanding:

Perhaps the most important handicap during this early period was my notion that there were two distinct varieties of Japanese, a "pro-American" and a "pro-Japanese." This incorrect idea sprang from my emotional reaction to the current anti-Japanese propaganda, a reaction which took the form of a stubborn faith that the great majority of Japanese residing in America did not look with any favor on Japan, did not seriously consider expatriation or repatriation, believed that the United States was going to win the war, and, in short, held many of the attitudes which I imagined I would hold in their place. The other variety of Japanese, I thought, was "pro-Japanese" and comprised a small group, inclined to violence and responsible for all the disturbances in the Centers [camps]. With this group, I had been told, it would be almost impossible to make contact [162].

Despite some contacts with Marvin Opler [163], the Community Analyst at Tule Lake who had been there since May 1943, Dorothy S. Thomas, director of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study, resented sharing documents with him almost from the very beginning of Opler's assignment to Tule Lake [164], with the unfortunate result that there was only sporadic exchange of information between researchers of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study living at Tule Lake and the Tule Lake Community Analysis Section. It is obvious that the resentment by Thomas was carried to an extreme. *The Spoilage*, which deals exclusively with Tule Lake events, completely ignores Marvin Opler. *There is not a single reference to him as such;* he is merely identified as the "Community Analyst" in the references to four of his letters [165] and two of his Trend Reports [166], which were only a very few of the lengthy and important documents which he and his staff filed [167]. Oddly enough, *Morris Opler's* document on *Manzanar*, is praised, referred to, or cited repeatedly [168]. This same idiocyn-

cracy is evident in Wax's book, *Doing Field-work*. Not a single one of the almost 300 documents written by Marvin Opler and his staff is cited; instead, exactly as in *The Spoilage*, *Morris Opler's Manzanar* segregation document is praised and noted [169]. Yet, Weglyn, who analyzed the complex issues that took place at Tule Lake after it became a segregation camp — and hardly an admirer of anyone connected with WRA — complimented Marvin Opler for his "perceptive reports filed during this period" [170].

As Marvin Opler has pointed out more than once, the undue emphasis given factionalism by the Evacuation and Resettlement Study team distorted the perception of other aspects of Tule Lake life. People were going to movies; teenagers were holding dances; there were the traditional arts which the Issei and Kibei were patronizing and cultivating; *go* and *shogi* (chess) tournaments were being held; sports events were crowding the calendar; church services were being conducted [171]; and so on: yet, about these equally important aspects of the Tuleans' lives one learns nothing by reading Wax's publications. Nevertheless, these aspects had been, and were being, meticulously and even brilliantly recorded by Marvin Opler and his staff.

As was pointed out earlier, the output of ethnographic/ethnological reports of the Tule Lake Community Analysis Section was second only to Minidoka's. Without question, one of the major published results of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study, *The Spoilage*, was diminished and distorted to the degree that the Study group passed over Marvin Opler's and his staff's reports. The same comment applies to Wax's major publications. Given Wax's emotional involvements while at Tule Lake and Marvin Opler's analysis of *The Spoilage*, one can safely conclude that her writings may be more useful for learning about the author than learning about what actually transpired at Tule Lake [172].