

By Gm 7. for No. Cal. Council of Churches Feb. '43

To the Members of the Legislature of the State of California
and the California Members of the Senate and House of the Congress
of the United States

FISHER

Gentlemen:

As the Executive Committee and the Interracial Committee of the Northern California Council of Churches, we respectfully protest against Senate Joint Resolution Number 2, presented to the Senate of the California Legislature on January 8, 1943, which proposes "an amendment to the Constitution of the United States barring persons of Japanese descent from citizenship and requesting said Congress to propose said amendment for ratification by the legislatures of the several States".

Among our reasons for submitting this protest are these:

The proposal constitutes a serious impediment to the national war effort. It flies in the face of the War Department's plan to form a Combat Unit consisting of Japanese-American citizens who volunteer for that purpose. President Roosevelt on wrote a letter to Secretary Stimson on February 1 approving this Unit, in which he said:

"The proposal of the War Department to organize a combat team consisting of loyal American citizens of Japanese descent has my full approval. The new combat team will add to the nearly five thousand Americans of Japanese ancestry who are already serving in the armed forces of our country. . . . No loyal citizen of the United States should be denied the democratic right to exercise the responsibilities of his citizenship, regardless of ancestry. The principle on which this country was founded and by which it has always been governed is that Americanism is a matter of the mind and heart; Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race or ancestry. . . . I am glad to observe that the War Department, the Navy Department, The War Manpower Commission, the Department of Justice, and the War Relocation Authority are collaborating in a program which will assure the opportunity for all loyal Americans, including Americans of Japanese ancestry, to serve their country at a time when the fullest and wisest use of our manpower is all-important to the war effort."

The proposal threatens the unity of the nation in the midst of a war for survival, because if the proposed amendment were submitted to the several States, it would precipitate a heated controversy that would breed disunity and divert energy from the war effort.

The proposal cannot but create distrust of the United States by the people of our important ally, China, because the proposed discrimination against one section of the yellow race would raise fears lest a similar discrimination be applied in future against Americans of Chinese ~~ancestry~~ ancestry.

The proposal gives trumps to the Nazi and Japanese propagandists by enabling them to charge the United States with hypocrisy for mouthing professions to be fighting for the four freedoms for all men everywhere, while we disfranchise an entire group of citizens solely on the basis of race. The Nazis might justly boast that the United States had become a convert to the Nazi race doctrines.

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L.A.
Donald F. ... of ...
bara was elected president for the
ensuing year and Pasadena was
selected as the 1943 convention
city.

Evacuees Thank Berkeley Group

"Our hearts are full of thanks
and gratitude for the Christian
manner in which you helped us
during the trying days of our
evacuation. Your aid and words
of encouragement made it easier
to leave our homes—in most cases,
the only homes we have known."
Thus did a letter read which was
just received by Galen M. Fisher,
chairman of the Council of Social
Agencies Committee, from the
Tanforan Assembly Center.

It was signed by Prof. Chiura
Obata, University art department;
Dr. Henry M. Hakahaski, U. C.
alumnus and prominent optome-
trist, and five clergymen, the
Revs. Fujii, Mishimura, Marsuoka,
Matsumoto and Kyogoku. The let-
ter is evidently intended to be a
general "thank-you" to the hun-
dreds of Berkeleyans who gave a
helpful hand, Chairman Fisher
said.

Among them were the Red
Cross women who lent their auto-
mobiles to convey whole families
of evacuees to the control station
and the groups of church women
who acted as hostesses at the con-
trol station and served tea and
sandwiches there every day for a
week.

"We are busily getting settled,
with every assurance that our
democratic form of government
will give us a square deal," the
letter continued. "It may be some
time before we see the green, roll-
ing hills of Berkeley and hear the
peals of the Campanile bells, but
we shall never forget your many
kindnesses and friendships. 'May
God be with you till we meet
again.'"

The work of the Council of So

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was trans-
arriving at
1941.

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Nearly 22,000
steel industry
service during
proximately 15
Dec. 31, 1941, ac-
vey just completed
can Iron and Steel

The replacement
into military service
ployment of additional
of men were accompl-
out serious curtailment
tion at any time, largel-
the aid of special quick
courses for new workers.

Of a total of 21,984 ste-
ployes who entered the N-
armed services during the
studied, 19,601 were inducted
or volunteered for service in
Army. In addition, a total of
enlisted in or were called to ac-
duty by the National Guard, Co-
Guard, and the reserve units
the Army, the Navy and the
Marine Corps.

★ ★ ★
Ye Eds and readers, meet a
new fighting word—ARMOR-
AID-ERS. It is the winning entry in a
contest to find a new name, an
American name, for the armored
division, and it was submitted by
Corporal Franklin Leve, soldier of
less than a year's service and,
ironically enough, a member of
the 704th Tank Destroyer Bat-
talion of the 4th Armored Division,
Pine Camp, N. Y., during the con-
test. He has since been transfer-
red to the Air Corps and is at the
Southeast Training Center, Max-
well Field, Alabama.

cial Agencies was carried on under
Chairman Fisher, assisted by
a committee which included Mrs.
Harry Kingman and Mrs. Stanley
Freeborn. Fisher suggests that
letters sent to Japanese from
Berkeley would be appreciated.
They should be addressed "Tan-
foran Assembly Center, San

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Talk given by Dr. Robert Gordon Sproul, president of
the University of California, on June 29, 1944.
(Reprinted from Rob Wagner's Script)

The Committee on American Principles and Fair Play, of which I am Honorary Chairman, came into existence at a critical moment in American history, and to afford a means for the expression of views of all but unspeakable importance. It did not come into existence to protect, much less to coddle or glorify, the Japanese, but to champion and help to safeguard American democracy. It is not an organization of starry-eyed Utopians, of intemperate lovers of strange peoples, but of hard-headed believers in the virtues of the American form of government as expressed by the Founding Fathers in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Its leadership in such persons as Dr. Millikan, Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, and myself may be drawn from the lunatic fringe of American life, but it is not a leadership unacquainted with responsibility or unaware of the score. Many of its less cultured members have demonstrated considerable capacity to make their way in the competition of the market place among the harsh realities of life, and not a few have even shown ability to meet a payroll. I make these preliminary assertions because the opposition to the Committee and its works has consisted almost exclusively of direct misstatements concerning its policies and practices, and intemperate assertions that its members were either traitors to America or fools in their own right.

Nevertheless, in spite of storms of abuse from certain quarters, the Committee has been most successful thus far. Up and down the Pacific Coast, it has attracted a very considerable part of those who are universally respected as leaders in their communities to participate in its activities and to speak out for its cause. On the larger stage of the Nation, its influence has been even more notable, continuous and effective. In the face of honest hysteria and dishonest demagoguery, it has continuously and notably affected the policies of our government both in the legislative and executive branches. With the judicial branch its cause is secure because, to put it simply, it is just. The chain of American Principles and Fair Play is growing stronger day by day, but its weakest link is here in the City of Los Angeles, in spite of the many able, public spirited men and women who have here declared themselves in favor of the Committee's activities and lent their names to its organization. Indeed, I must confess sadly that this City has been at times a powerhouse of race-baiting opposition to the Committee's efforts. Many people who, like myself, have a stake in the community, and are proud of its progressive character, its forward look in most matters of public concern, deplore this situation deeply. We believe it represents not the true temper of the community but merely accidents of organization and timing, of strategy and tactics. So we have called this luncheon with the hope and the purpose to change the picture, to organize here an active chapter of the Committee on American Principles and Fair Play, and to make the voice of Americans who try to think with their minds heard amidst the din of those who feel with their blood. To that end I should like to tell you, briefly and factually, what the Committee is and is not, how it works and what it seeks to accomplish, and why it is important that you should make it part of the community life of Los Angeles.

First and foremost, above everything else and for all of the time, the concern of the Committee on American Principles and Fair Play is for the integrity of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States. It believes with fervor, with fanaticism if you will, that whenever and wherever the constitutional guarantees are violated in the treatment of a minority, no matter how unpopular or helpless, the whole fabric of American government is weakened, its whole effectiveness impaired. Each such violation establishes an evil precedent which is

inevitably turned against another minority later, and eventually against the very principle on which our Nation is founded, namely, the dignity and worth of the human individual.

Even on this fundamental tenet of its faith, however, the position of the Committee is not doctrinaire or academic. It has recognized from the beginning, and under considerable heckling from its own more intemperate members, that the exigencies of war demand some sacrifice of the ordinary rights of all citizens, often considerable sacrifice, and that concerning certain groups of citizens, under certain dangerous conditions extraordinary caution and special treatment are necessary and defensible if not desirable. But the Committee believes firmly that the guarantees of the Bill of Rights should be yielded only in extremity, only by deliberate and conscious act, and only in the cases of individuals or groups proven dangerous or subversive. All others should have its protection until there is proven need for martial law. As Acton, the great historian of human freedom has said, "The test of a free country is the security it gives to minorities."

The second rock upon which the Committee on American Principles and Fair Play establishes its firm foundation, is the assumption, documented by the experience of man over the centuries, that in time of war, the military organization of a nation, in this country the War Department, deserves ungrudging, unstinted, unfailing support in all matters of military concern. The Committee has followed that policy unswervingly ever since it was established, and has found it sound, although it has always reserved the liberty to question any Government action. For example, when the Army decided that evacuation of the Japanese from the Pacific Coast was required by military necessity, the Committee dropped immediately the important questions it had been raising, and properly raising, as to whether such treatment of American citizens or even loyal aliens squared with American ideals. But the Committee continues to combat the idea, now being advanced, that evacuation is proof of disloyalty. There is no basis whatever in any available evidence for such an inference, and there is abundant testimony in the acts of Japanese-Americans and the words of other loyal Americans to the contrary. Moreover, the Committee now contends that, since the Army ordered the evacuation, on grounds of military necessity, the Army should likewise decide when the process is to be reversed, and the evacuees allowed to recover gradually their civil rights. When the Army decides that the time has come to take this step, and issues a proclamation as clear as the original orders for the evacuation, the Committee on American Principles and Fair Play will once again cooperate to the limit with the military authorities and the War Department. And it believes that every patriot who prizes his own civil liberties should do the same.

There are a number of minor facets of Committee policy, of course, but none which runs counter to the two major principles which I have discussed here today. Of these minor policies, I shall refer only to one, because you are busy men and women who do not have the time for a mass of detail, and that one only because it is a fertile source of misrepresentation as to the Committee's attitude. The Committee does not believe that all Japanese who have been evacuated from California should be returned to their homes. On the contrary, it favors the policy of dispersed relocation, which is the policy of the War Relocation Authority. It holds with all sensible Californians that the swarming of persons of one race in a Ghetto or a Little Mexico or Tokyo, the separation of a minority physically and culturally from the rest of the population, of which it must become a part, is a profound social and political error and a potent breeder of social and political ills. Moreover, it is convinced that there will never be a mass return of evacuees to the West Coast. Half of them, approximately, have already been located elsewhere, or are likely to be by the end of 1944. In many instances, there is nothing for the others to return to here. Among the Nisei, there is a strong and understandable current of feeling against this area, and many of them have no intention of coming back if they can avoid it. But the right of loyal

Japanese to come back, if they so elect, cannot be denied without a denial of all that America has hitherto meant to racial and religious minorities, of all that it has symbolized for the hopes of humanity. My own ancestors, the Covenanting Scots, were murdered by their neighbors because they did not like the color of their convictions. Some of you here today, of other racial or religious groups, have similar tragic memories, much more recent. The dream of America will be over when the color of man's skins determine the communities in which they may live.

On this most significant issue, the Committee on American Principles and Fair Play stands four square with the President of the United States, in his official statement of federal policy on relocation:

"With the segregation of the disloyal evacuees in a separate center, the War Relocation Authority proposes now to redouble its efforts to accomplish the relocation into normal homes and jobs in communities throughout the United States, but outside the evacuated area, of those Americans of Japanese ancestry whose loyalty to this country has remained unshaken through the hardships of the evacuation which military necessity made unavoidable. We shall restore to the loyal evacuees the right to return to the evacuated area as soon as the military situation will make such restoration feasible. Americans of Japanese ancestry, like those of many other ancestries, have shown that they can, and want to, accept our institutions and work loyally with the rest of us, making their own valuable contribution to the national wealth and well-being. In vindication of the very ideals for which we are fighting this war, it is important to us to maintain a high standard of fair, considerate, and equal treatment for the people of this minority, as of all other minorities."

This statement, we believe, is to be considered as a solemn pledge spoken by the President in the name of the American people.

So much for the policies of the Committee on American Principles and Fair Play, and now for a word or two on how it sets about to implement those policies. The sole weapon of the Committee is the truth, and the Light of Truth it tries to keep shining before our people, and especially those who determine the acts of our government, brightly and continuously. It seeks to promote cool, clear thinking, especially by the West Coast public, in spite of the distortions of fact and excesses of passion and prejudice which are inevitable in wartime. It helps the public to discriminate sharply between our enemies in Japan, the military criminals for whom no fate is too harsh, no punishment too cruel, and those persons of Japanese stock in the United States, two thirds of whom are free from any blamish of disloyalty, even under the stress of most discriminatory treatment.

The Committee meets sweeping generalizations and wholly unsupported charges with documented facts. For example, it confronts those who say that the only good Jap is a dead Jap with the extraordinary combat record of the 100th Battalion in Italy, a battalion composed entirely of Nisei privates, with half of its officers Nisei, and all of them volunteers. That battalion came out of Salerno and Cassino with 3 Distinguished Service Crosses, 21 Bronze Stars, 36 Silver Stars, and 900 Purple Hearts--900 out of 1400 wounded in action. Again, for example, it answers the threat that returned white service men would murder persons of Japanese stock if they remained in the United States, by publishing hundreds of letters from men in the fighting forces, saying, in the words of one of them "Have no fear that returning soldiers would desire to slit the throats of loyal Japanese at home. . . . We'll do our fighting on the battlefronts against our country's enemies, and not on the streets at home against our country's friends."

Finally, the Committee backs every group and every individual that speaks out for sound Americanism and against the evil doctrine that justice and power

are synonymous. It supports Seth Millington, Past Grand President of the Native Sons of the Golden West, and former State Commander of the American Legion, when he says to the Commonwealth Club, "I would have all known disloyal Japs sent to the land of the rising sun. . . by the first ship leaving San Francisco. Those who have volunteered for our armed forces I would keep here as part of our population." And the Committee is sympathetic with Mr. Millington's dilemma (but probably not with his solution of it) when he says further, "As to those that cannot be classified as either loyal or disloyal there is a most difficult problem. Under the law they are citizens and have rights."

The Committee endorses even more heartily these statesmanlike sentences of Commander Wm. P. Houghton, of the American Legion, Department of California:

"Numerous persons of Japanese ancestry are now serving with the armed forces of our country on the battle fronts, and according to all reports, are serving valiantly and well. We salute all men and women who love this country enough to fight and, if needs be, die for it. Every person good enough to fight for us is entitled to our respect and equal protection under the Constitution." These words are a stinging rebuke to those patrioters who, Nazi-like, would have us substitute a caste system based on race and color for the democratic principles of human worth and equality under the law. We cannot interpret them, or the words of Mr. Millington, as justifying the exclusion of loyal Japanese from California.

Finally, to bring us completely up-to-date, the Committee endorses the plank of the recently adopted Republican party platform which says: "We unreservedly condemn the injection into American life of appeals to racial or religious prejudice."

On the basis of the policies and activities I have laid before you almost diagrammatically, in the brief time available at this luncheon, I hope that you ladies and gentlemen will be moved to set up in this City of Los Angeles, an active chapter of the Committee on American Principles and Fair Play. The barometer of tolerance toward the evacuees is still too low on this Coast, and the opposition is still vehement and unscrupulous. We need your help to expedite the program of the United States Government, and to create an acceptance by the California public of the enlightened American way of dealing with law-abiding persons even though they are members of an unpopular minority.

In your lifetime and mine, Western civilization has twice drifted into a major catastrophe, due to lack of wisdom and understanding on the part of men. We shall do so again, and we shall lose the values for which we fight, unless we understand the implications of those values for the kind of complex world in which we live today.

Basically, what men are seeking the world over is a decent security, an opportunity for a larger share of the good things of the earth, and above all a sense of meaning and dignity in their own lives. The only answer that can be given to these deep, perpetual hungers of men lies in the American concept of democracy, in the ideal of the common humanity of all men. Let us fight to preserve that concept no less vigorously than we fight to destroy the Germans and the Japs in Europe and the Pacific.

Statement prepared by
Dr. Paul S. Taylor, Professor of Economics,
University of California, for delivery to
Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles
and Fair Play,
Palace Hotel, January 11th

File Paul Taylor

RELEASE PM'S THURSDAY, JANUARY 11, 1945:

Backed by the authority of the United States Supreme Court and the approval of the Western Defense Command of the United States Army, loyal persons of Japanese ancestry now are free to return to the Pacific Coast. Most of those who may return have sons, brothers, or husbands now serving in the United States Army. A few already bear discharges from honorable service in the armed forces. Their right to be here and to participate lawfully in the economic life of the West is as clear as our own. Right, and the common necessity of greater production for war, dictate alike that their efforts shall be employed quickly, fully and without friction.

This conference has been called to consider problems natural to the readjustment of these people. At today's session we are concerned with agriculture. But first a glimpse at the over-all perspective is in order, for the stresses of war-time have made it easy to produce in men's minds impressions that are grossly exaggerated. Facts are available and these should be known. Facts, not impressions, fancies and rumors, are the proper guides to action. Many facts, based upon the United States Census of 1940, have been published by the Army in its report on the evacuation. Here are some:

1. In 1940 the total numbers of persons of Japanese ancestry in the entire United States was 127,000, or less than one-tenth of one percent of the nation's population.
2. Although most of these persons of Japanese ancestry lived on the Pacific Coast, they comprised less than 1.2 percent of the total population even here.
3. Between 1930 and 1940 the number of persons of Japanese in the United States declined by nearly nine percent.
4. In the decade of the 1930's the number of persons of Japanese ancestry declined in nine of ten west coast cities which had more than 1,000 such persons in 1930. In San Francisco, Oakland, Sacramento, Fresno, Stockton, Berkeley, Portland, Seattle and Tacoma -- the number of persons of Japanese ancestry was less in 1940 than it was in 1930. Only in Los Angeles was there any increase at all, a meager average of 224 persons per year for the decade.

Now let us examine the situation in agriculture.

Some people have been honestly alarmed over the return of persons of Japanese ancestry to agriculture on the Pacific Coast. Their fears have been played upon spreading beliefs that impend grave dangers from a great return movement of people. Upon examination, these beliefs prove generally to have little foundation. Some have no foundation at all. Others prove to be the exact reverse of the truth.

Among the erroneous beliefs are the following:

Error No. 1: That the population of Japanese ancestry on the Pacific Coast "breeds like rabbits" and is destined in a few generations to overwhelm the descendants of the rest of us.

The fact is: There were less persons of Japanese ancestry on the coast in 1940 than in 1930, less by 8,145 or by nearly seven percent. There will be still less in 1950 than in 1940, and this would be true even had there been no evacuation, for the population of Japanese ancestry is decreasing, not increasing. As a Congressional committee declared in 1942: "Contrary to alarmist predictions about the reproductive tendencies of the American Japanese, their birth rate during the past decade has been insufficient to balance mortality and emigration...The births of third-generation Japanese will fail for some time to offset the high mortality rates consequent upon the abnormal age composition of the alien Japanese. The total Japanese population, therefore, may be expected to drop substantially during the coming years."

Error No. 2: Japanese laborers offer a serious threat to American laborers in agriculture.

The fact is: The entire number of wage workers of Japanese ancestry in Pacific Coast agriculture in 1940 was 8,307, or less than five percent of the total. As the present time, this small number -- one in 20 -- will be available largely to substitute for an equal number of Mexican nationals whom we now import

at the taxpayers' expense. Since most of these agricultural laborers of Japanese ancestry are in the higher age groups, they cannot under any circumstances remain active for very many years in the agricultural labor market. Therefore, the prompt employment of loyal Japanese workers holds no threat at all to other western agricultural workers; their employment now will afford some relief to the taxpayer.

Error No. 3: Farmers of Japanese-American ancestry are a serious competitive threat to other farmers.

The fact is: Farms operated by persons of Japanese ancestry in the three Pacific Coast states were a smaller percentage of the total number of farms in 1940 than 1920. The total number of their farms increased by the slight figures of 43 farms in twenty years, while the proportion of farms which were operated by persons of Japanese ancestry declined from 2.6 to 2.2 percent, or by more than one-seventh.

The fact is: During the same twenty-year period the ^{average} acreage of land in farms operated by persons of Japanese ancestry declined from seven-tenths of one percent of the total acreage in farms, to four-tenths of one percent.

The fact is: The average in farms operated by persons of Japanese ancestry declined from 65 acres to only 42.2 acres.

The fact is: The total value of farms, land and buildings, operated by persons of Japanese ancestry fell from 148 million dollars to 72 million dollars, or to less than half, during the same period. The average value per farm operated by persons of Japanese ancestry also fell by more than one-half.

Fears that farmers of Japanese ancestry are in process of driving out farmers of other ancestries find no support for these facts.

Error No. 4: Farm operators of Japanese ancestry are a competitive threat to American farm operators because they employ members of their own families to work without wages.

The fact is: The number of unpaid family laborers of Japanese ancestry in the Pacific Coast states in 1940 was only 4,832. The fact that there is less than one unpaid family laborer per Japanese-operated farm, or about one for every 57 farms in the region certainly is no ground for arousing a general fear of competition among family farmers of other ancestries.

A generation or so ago, while the tide of immigration from Japan was still flowing, the number of Japanese farmers on the Pacific Coast naturally grew. But that influx was ended finally in 1924. There is no proposal to revive it. The participation of Japanese in agriculture is now below what it was in 1920.

Old fears revive easily, but the history of two decades has cut away the ground upon which they once rested.

There is, to be sure, one segment of agriculture in which farmers of Japanese ancestry recently have been fairly important. As truck farmers and as produce merchants, they have competed with the most highly-industrialized agricultural operators in the west. People are acutely conscious of this competition in areas where industrialized grower-shippers predominate.

But to those of us whose interest lies in the welfare of western agriculture, the warning of Hood River is clear. There heedless citizens took measures to oppose persons of Japanese ancestry whose loyalty to this country is beyond question. All the money and effort of years to advertise apples never carried the name of Hood River over the nation and across the seas like those measures.

We do not want our lettuce and melons and fruits advertised to the housewives of the nation and to our soldiers overseas as the apples of Hood River were advertised. We do not believe they will be, for we are confident that within these industries and areas, wiser counsels will prevail.

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