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J. L. M. G.

February 5, 1942.

## MEMORANDUM for The Provost Marshal General.

SUBJECT: Alien enemies on the West Coast (and other subversive persons).

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J. L. M. G.

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1. The alien enemy problem on the West Coast, and elsewhere, is inseparable from the sabotage problem. Its solution, therefore, is bound up in the accomplishment of proper anti-sabotage measures. Every potential saboteur or fifth columnist is not an alien enemy. Many citizens who enjoy the privileges and immunities accorded by the Bill of Rights are potential saboteurs. It follows then, and there can be no disagreement in this, that the evacuation and internment of all alien enemies from, for example, the Pacific Coastal frontier or from selected areas within and along that frontier will not necessarily insure safety or remove the potential saboteur from within striking distance of vital national defense installations. On the other hand, neither is every alien enemy a potential saboteur. It follows then that in speaking of the "alien enemy problem on the Pacific Coast", that one is, in fact, speaking only of one phase of the problem of providing internal security against organized or sporadic sabotage. Although many of the comments in this memorandum will be applicable with equal force to the Eastern Theatre of Operations and to other sections of the Zone of the Interior (when the related problem arises with respect to those areas, as it surely will), this paper, primarily, is limited to the West Coast situation.

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2. The primary concern along the West Coast, at the moment, is the so-called "Japanese problem". In referring to Japanese in this memorandum, unless otherwise indicated, both Japanese aliens and American citizens of Japanese extraction or parentage, will be included in the term. California, with approximately 93,500 Japanese and Washington with approximately 14,500 Japanese, have the greatest number of Japanese residents of any other states in the Union. In Washington State the largest concentration of Japanese happens to be very proximate to the great Boeing Aircraft Plant. Other large concentrations are the Japanese vegetable peddlers along the Seattle and Tacoma waterfronts, and, in addition, large numbers of them are engaged in fishing and other related occupations along and between Grays Harbor and Willapa Bay and in the environs of Willapa Bay and

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at or near Muckotta near the mouth of the Columbia River, all strategic critical areas. In California their disposition is well known and the largest concentrations of these elements happens to be closely proximate to the most vital areas in that State.

3. In my judgment, the evacuation of only alien Japanese from the Pacific Coast or from critical areas would accomplish little as a measure of safety. The average age of the alien Japanese is upwards of sixty years. A great majority of the males are old and ill. The Nisei or second generation (citizen) Japanese, has an average age of around thirty years. Most of these have been indoctrinated with the filial piety which characterizes that race. Their affections, if any, for the United States will not be stimulated by the wholesale removal of their parents from their several homes. On the contrary, it would be a natural and only human reaction if, as it is to be expected, the Nisei were incensed by such action and if even the loyal ones were persuaded to become disloyal. However, by far the vast majority of those who have studied the Oriental assert that a substantial majority of Nisei bear allegiance to Japan, are well controlled and disciplined by the enemy, and at the proper time will engage in organized sabotage, particularly, should a raid along the Pacific Coast be attempted by the Japanese. It is, therefore, my opinion that it would be almost as well to leave the alien Japanese undisturbed in his present habitat along the West Coast than to evacuate and intern only that category and leave the citizen Japanese untouched. In the opinion of the undersigned a solution to the problem can be found only in a means whereby all known subversive individuals and all persons with suspected subversive tendencies can be denied access to vital installations. Where any such persons reside around, in or near a zone dangerously close to any vital installation, they must be removed from such areas, else access is not denied.

4. What courses are open? The courses open are:

1. The designation of prohibited areas.
2. The designation of restricted areas.
3. The designation of military areas.

4. Mass evacuation of all aliens and citizens of Japanese extraction from the entire Pacific Coastal frontier.

a. The designation of prohibited areas.

This approach is now in the course of accomplishment. The Commanding General, Western Defense Command, has already submitted recommendations for prohibited areas from which all alien enemies without exception will be excluded. Recommendations for such areas in Oregon, Washington, California and Arizona, have been submitted. Further recommendations of this nature are in the course of preparation regarding Air Corps installations such as air fields, airdromes, air bases in the three states and similar recommendations for the balance of the states in the Western Defense Command are also in the course of preparation. The Attorney General has indicated that he will accept General DeWitt's recommendations for prohibited areas along the three Western states and Arizona. It is the opinion of the undersigned that this is a half way measure for it does not reach the subversive individual and the potential saboteur who is a citizen, but merely reaches the alien enemy and proceeds upon the assumption that every potential saboteur is an alien enemy or, upon the assumption that every alien enemy is a saboteur or that you cannot distinguish between those who are and those who are not.

b. Designation of restricted areas.

The Commanding General, Western Defense Command, has also submitted recommendations for the designation of restricted areas, viz., those areas from which alien enemies will be excluded except on pass or permit and within which, subject to certain regulations, the right to remain may be enjoyed. The Attorney General has indicated last night (February 3) that he will accept General DeWitt's recommendation for an extensive restricted area in California, consisting of the upper half, that is to say the Northern half of the West Half of California. A measure of this character is merely supplementary to the course outlined in a. above. Standing alone it offers no solution. As a measure supplementary to that described in a. above, it offers only a partial solution because in the opinion of the undersigned, the alien enemy phase of the problem is only one aspect of the problem, a problem that should be regarded as a whole, inseparable.

c. The designation of military areas.

By the designation of military areas, the undersigned means the designation of islands surrounding all vital installations in the Western Defense Command (and subsequently elsewhere) from which all persons who do not have express permission to enter and remain, are excluded as a measure of military necessity. There is ample legal authority to sustain action of this character. While a tremendous administrative problem is involved, the mechanics are not unsolvable.

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Alien enemies have no civil rights and they may be excluded from any area at any time, at the will of the Government. The exclusion of citizens, however, is another matter and it may not be accomplished by arbitrary classification short of martial law and suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. However, the exclusion of all citizens from certain military areas so designated due to military necessity by the military authorities excepting those who have permission to enter is justified and does not constitute an arbitrary discrimination by classes. As a practical matter, the undersigned believes that the accomplishment of such steps will involve an evacuation and internment problem of some considerable proportions. The mechanics of this measure will be discussed later in the next paragraph.

d. Mass evacuation.

The California Congressional Delegation supported by the Congressman from the other Pacific Coast states have gone on record as supporting mass evacuation. Some of them mean by this that they desire that all alien enemies be evacuated from the Pacific Coastal frontier and removed to the Zone of the Interior. Still others mean that this would include not only alien enemies but also all citizens of Japanese extraction. The third group desires the mass evacuation of all Japanese irrespective of alienage from the Coastal frontier and the evacuation of only those German and Italian aliens enemies deemed dangerous on an individual basis. It is the latter of the three mentioned programs that has the widest acceptance among the Congressional Delegations and other Pacific Coast Officials. It [is] undoubtedly the safest course to follow, that is to say as you cannot distinguish or penetrate the Oriental thinking and as you cannot tell which ones are loyal and which ones are not and it is, therefore, the easiest course (aside from the mechanical problem involved) to remove them all from the West Coast and place them in the Zone of Interior in uninhabited areas where they can do no harm under guard. However, such a program overlooks the serious dislocation of economic life and the loss of vital perishable produce which will ensue. As a matter of fact, in the opinion of the undersigned, mass evacuation is a course which, if followed, will largely relieve the necessity for eternal vigilance. However, no one has justified fully the sheer military necessity for such action.

5. It is the recommendation of the undersigned that the course described in 3 c above be adopted as War Department policy and recommended to the President for accomplishment. In order to accomplish this course, the undersigned proposes the following steps:

a. An executive order placing control of alien enemies in the Secretary of War and enforcing him to requisition the services of any and all other Federal Agencies, authority to those agencies and direction to them to respond to such requisition. Power by Executive Order accorded the Secretary of War to designate restricted, prohibited and military areas. Step number 2, the designation of

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military areas as such, upon recommendation of the military commander in the Western Defense Command. Step 3, the immediate evacuation from those areas to all persons to whom it is not proposed to issue permits to reenter or to remain, at least, a temporary internment of all alien enemies involved in such move with an open offer to the families of such alien enemies to accompany them in internment facilities to be provided by the Army. This step is to be followed by resettlement on a merit basis to be undertaken by the various Federal and State Social Security Agencies. This would involve release frominternment of all those persons who could show that they had a bona fide place to go outside of a military, prohibited or restricted area. It is estimated, based upon the recommendations for prohibited areas, which I assume would in a large measure be identical with those designated as military areas, that such action will involve approximately 50,000 people.

6. Final recommendation.

That the course of action proposed in 3 a above, as further explained in paragraph 5 above, be adopted immediately; that the necessary action be taken to seek Presidential approval. Drafts of the necessary Executive Order, memorandum to the President for this purpose are in the course of preparation and will be submitted should this recommendation be approved.

Carl R. Sanderson,  
Lt. Colonel, J.A.C.D.,  
Chief, Aliens Division.