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Bailey, Senator J. W., 1944.

June 12, 1944

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer
American Zionist Emergency Council
1720 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

My dear Leon:

I assume that Mr. Leo Sack has informed you about the letter of Senator J. W. Bailey from North Carolina, which is being circulated in Congress. Sack wrote me that Celler and Dickstein are planning to reply to it. I told Leo to tell these gentlemen under no circumstances to make any reply at this time. An attack on Bailey, whose statement was in the nature of a letter to Rabbi Rypins of Greensboro, N.C., and was not delivered on the floor of the Senate, would provoke a reply from Mr. Bailey which might be seconded by some of his friends. This might precipitate the crystallization of a minority anti-Zionist sentiment in the Senate. I hope that Leo has been in touch with these gentlemen and headed them off.

I would suggest, however, that you request an interview with Senator Bailey for a friendly discussion of the entire subject. He seems to be misinformed generally on the relation of our Government to the Palestine Mandate. The facts should be brought to his attention. It may be possible to make a friend of him. It would be interesting to learn from Rabbi Rypins whether he has had any further correspondence with the Senator and something about the Senators general attitude towards Jews.

I hope that you are pressing with great vigor for the congressional statements to be included in our volume.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

[March 18, 1944]

Hon. J. W. Bailey

United States Senator from North Carolina

Replies

To the Committee for the Abrogation of the
British White Paper, Relating to
Jewish Immigration into Palestine



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LEAGUE OF AMERICAN-ARAB COMMITTEES FOR DEMOCRACY
Office of the Secretary, 1907 Detroit Street
FLINT 5, MICHIGAN

On March 18, 1944, In a Reply Forwarded to Fred G. Rypins,
of the Greensboro Committee for the Abrogation of the White Paper,
Senator Bailey Wrote as Follows:

Mr. Fred G. Rypins, Greensboro Committee for the Abrogation of the White Paper,
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Rypins:

I thank you for the letter signed by yourself and a number of other citizens for whom I have a high regard. I wish to reply, but I must say that it is impossible for me to fully discuss important matters by mail. I am writing briefly.

The thing that gives me most concern is the fact that our Jewish fellow citizens and their friends are participating in a movement to create a Jewish pressure group in our country for the purpose of bringing about changes in the policy of other nations. It is my view that the American people have nothing to do with the internal affairs of other nations. We have no rights in the matter of immigration in Palestine nor do we have rights with respect to the White Paper.

We have nothing to do whatever with the immigration policy in Palestine or in any other country except our own. We deny the right of other countries to bring pressure upon us with respect to immigration and it is our duty to refrain from doing so with respect to other nations what we would not have other nations do to us. It is a matter for the British to determine. So far as the present controversy is concerned, we are not parties to the White Paper nor are we parties to the Treaty of Versailles.

I have been greatly concerned by evidence of a rising tide of antipathy to the Jews in our country. I wish to avoid anything like an anti-Jewish movement here. I defended the Jews against the Ku Klux and I do not wish to see Ku Klux persecution or any other sort of persecution started here. But if the Jews put forward a group movement they may rest assured that there will be a counter movement and it will be quite fearful.

The Jews should not set the example nor provide the provocation for a counter Jewish movement in this country. If they should do this the situation for them would be much worse than they now imagine. We ought not to have racial or religious pressure groups of any sort in this country. The Jew is an American Citizen. He has the right of petition. But in the absence of a wrong by this country to the Jews as a race or group, a Jewish movement ought not be formed, for the reason that such a movement will be the provocation for a counter movement, if for no other reason.

All the stronger is this consideration in view of the fact that we are now at war and national unity is indispensable.

The object in view with respect to the Wagner resolution and the movement to abrogate the White Paper is the same. Should the White Paper be abrogated, promptly upon the end of the war there will be a migration to Palestine, which would upset the balance there. I agree that the movement to abrogate the White Paper is not as definite as the Wagner resolution but they are a part of one whole. I might say that if there is a difference it is a difference between the camel's nose and the camel - and at any rate each group contemplates a Jewish group for purposes of propaganda and agitation in this country concerning foreign policy and relating to the rights of other nations.

We have protests here now from five nations against the Wagner resolutions and the matter has become so serious that the Chief of Staff of the United States has appeared before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate. I do not think that General Marshall would have appeared without the approval of the Commander in Chief, that is the President.

Representations have been made to me by an officer representing the State Department as to the seriousness of this situation. We cannot afford to irritate the Moslem world. We cannot afford to antagonize Egypt and the Arabs, and the Jews ought not ask us to do anything that would irritate these nations. Good relations with them at this time are indispensable to our war effort. Agitation in America for the abrogation of the White Paper would be no less irritating than agitation for the passage of the Wagner-Taft resolution.

I totally disagree with you in your statement that what you are attempting to bring about is an essential feature of the thing for which we are waging this war. We are not waging this war in order to provide immigration to Palestine for the Jews nor are we waging this war in order to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. We are waging this war because we have it to do to defend our country, and in order that we may wage it successfully we must not necessarily make enemies. I do not think any American soldier will say that he is fighting in order to encourage the migration of Jews to Palestine, or in order to erect a Jewish commonwealth.

Turn the picture around and imagine Great Britain demanding that we shall open up New Mexico or California or North Carolina to immigration of the Jews from Europe. It can not be contended that there is less room here than there is in Palestine.

But the main consideration is that since the United States has entered upon its international destiny the American people must learn that they have no rights whatever respecting the internal affairs of other nations. I have observed the agitation about India. India is not an American affair.

Suppose the British should set up an agitation as to the conduct of affairs in Alaska and should demand that we open up Alaska to the people of India or the people of Russia. Somehow we have gotten ourselves into the belief that we can start agitation here concerning the conduct of other nations and the administration of their affairs. Unless we can get rid of that sort of thing it would be better for us to become isolationists although I consider that impossible.

These are my views. I readily grant you your right to have different views. I feel sure you will grant me the right to the views which I am herein setting out and to which I have driven by very careful study.

While we are thinking about our friendly feeling for our fellow citizens who are Jewish, let us consider that we have a duty to ourselves with respect to Syria, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, Irak, Arabia and Egypt. It is immensely important at the present moment that we should do nothing to offend the Moslem world. They occupy a great territory indispensable to our success in the war effort. The American Jews ought not to ask us to make enemies of our nation of the inhabitants of these countries.

Let me add that I know that every movement here either for the abrogation of the White Paper or for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine is at once spread throughout the Moslem world by our German enemies and very greatly to our prejudice in the present extreme emergency. Should the Jews succeed in bringing about a state of irritation on this subject and the war be prolonged on that account with the cost of life involved, the reaction here would be something that the Jews would always regret.

With best wishes.

Very truly yours.

J. W. BAILEY
