

Powell Correspondence

Lewis F. Powell Jr. Papers

6-19-2019

Correspondence with A. Willis Robertson

Lewis F. Powell, Jr.

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Congress of the United States

House of Representatives Washington, D. C.

December 22, 1945.



COMMITTEES AYS AND MEAN CHAIRMAN

Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr., Electric Building, Richmond 12, Virginia.

Dear Mr. Powell:

It was good of you to send me a copy of your splendid letter of the 14th to Vaughan Gary. I have read it with genuine interest. There is no question in my mind concerning the necessity for better coordination of our defense than we had prior to Pearl Harbor. The point you make about the successful operations during the war of our Joint Staff and the plan worked out with our Allies for General Eisenhower to be Supreme Commander in Europe is well taken.

I feel satisfied that some plan for unification will be worked out by the Congress next year. There are some technical differences which my Navy friends consider to be quite essential between the unification plan proposed by the Army and that proposed by the Navy. In World War I, I served in the Army and at that time knew very little about the Navy. Being in Washington during World War No. 2, I had a better opportunity to keep in touch with both branches of the service and to know what they were doing, and I have developed a very high regard for the efficiency of the Navy.

Through years of connection with V. M. I., I have learned that one of the most distinctive qualities of V. M. I. men is the Ir pride in their outfit. I feel that is true both of the Navy and of the Marine Corps. Therefore, I frankly hope that no merger or unification plan that may be adopted will destroy the type of spirit that is the essential difference between a Marine Corps Division, for instance, and the 82d Division which afforded so much sport for the Germans in Italy.

I recall you most pleasantly, and would welcome the privilege of seeing you.

With best Christmas Wishes, I am

February 4, 1948 Honorable A. Willis Robertson United States Senator Senate Office Building Washington, D. C. Dear Senator Robertson: I am very much indebted to you for sending me a copy of your address before the Danville Chamber of Commerce. It is indeed excellent and I have enjoyed reading it very much. Incidentally, I have wanted to write you ever since the meeting of the Richmond Chamber of Commerce on January 8th. I was tremendously impressed by your introduction of Secretary Harriman. It was one of the most delightful and effective introductions I have ever heard. I follow your career in the Senate with great interest and some personal pride, as I well remember that when I was a student at Washington and Lee in 1925-31 I formed the conviction that you were destined to be an outstanding leader in our state. With personal regards, I remain Sincerely, 24:46

CHARLES W. TOBEY, N. M., CHAIRMAN
G. DOUGLASS BUCK, DEL.
HOMER E. CAPEHART, IND.
RALPH E. FLANDERS, VT.
HARRY P. CAIN, WASH.
JOHN W. BRICKER, OHIO
JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, WIS.

ROSERT C. HILL, CLERK

Mnited States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

February 6, 1948



Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr., Electric Building, Richmond 12, Virginia

Dear Mr. Powell:

Letters like the one that you wrote me on the 4th are a great help to a man battling with problems difficult of solution and ofttimes discouraged by the difficulties encountered.

I am glad you liked my Danville speech and the introduction I gave to Secretary Harriman when he addressed the Richmond Chamber of Commerce.

Living in a college town has meant much to me because through the past forty years some of my best friends have been the students I have known at Washington and Lee and the cadets at V.M.I.

With all good wishes, I am

A. Willis Robertson

Sincerely you

June 28, 1948 Dear Senator Robertson, I appreciate very much your sending me a copy of your address at the annual banquet of the Treasurer's Association. I have read it with a great deal of interest and only wish I could have been present to hear you deliver it in your usual graceful and impressive manner. I am of course interested in your campaign for re-election. Judging from the sentiment in this community, I do not think you will have any difficulty whatever. Nevertheless, I will do whatever I can to help get out a favorable vote. With personal regards, I remain Sincerely, Honorable A. Willis Robertson United States Senate Washington, D. C.

24146

CHARLES W. TOBEY, N. H., CHAIRMAN
C. DOUGLASS BUCK, DEL.
HOMER E. CAPEHART, IND.
RALPH E. FLANDERS, VT.
HARRY P. CAIN, WASH.
JOHN W. BRICKER, OHIO
JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, WIS.

C. DOUGLASS BUCK, DEL.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
BURNET R. MAYBANK, S. C.
GLEN H. TAYLOR, IDAHO
J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK.
A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA.
JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA. RAIMOND BOWLES, CLERK



Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr., Electric Building, Richmond, Virginia.

Dear Lewis:

Your nice letter of the 28th is much appreciated. I am happy to learn that you will be active in getting out a good vote for me on August 3rd.

It would be unwise for us to ignore the appeal that my opponent will make to the labor group and the radical group which is in Virginia over a civil rights program which you and I consider to be unconstitutional and a type of federal spending that we think will eventually lead us into some type of socialism.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely your friend,

ROBERT C. HILL, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

August 5, 1948m



Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr. Electric Building Richmond 12, Virginia

Dear Lewis:

I appreciate so much your letter congratulating me upon my success last Tuesday. My greatest desire is to be worthy of this vote of confidence.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES W. TOSE'
C. DOUGLASS BUCK, DEL.
HOMER E. CAPEHART, IND.
RALPH E. FLANDERS, VT.
HARRY P. CAIN, WASH.
JOHN W. BRICKER, OHIO
JOSEPH R. MC CARTHY, WIS.

. M., CHAIRMAN
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
BURNET R. MAYBANK, S. C.
GLEN H. TAYLOR, IDAHO
J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK.
A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA.
JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.

RAIMOND BOWLES, CLERI

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

Oct. 26, 1948.



Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr.

Richmond, 12, Va.

Dear Friend:

Since it will be quite impossible for me to make as many personal contacts as I would like to make before the election, I send this note to say that if you will help get out a good vote on November 2d I shall be very grateful.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Dear Senator Robertson,

I want to congratulate you on your magnificent victory in Tuesday's election. Your very large majority is certainly a source of much gratification.

We are very proud to have you represent us in the Senate.

With best wishes, I remain

Sincerely,

Honorable A. Willis Robertson United States Senate Washington, D. C.

24:46

CHARLES W. TOBEY, N. H., CHAIRMAN

C. DOUGLASS BUCK, DEL.
HOMER E. CAPEHART, IND.
RALPH E. FLANDERS, VT.
HARRY P. CAIN, WASH.
JOHN W. BRICKER, OHIO
JOSEPH R. MC CARTHY, WIS.

RAIMOND BOWLES, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

Lexington, Virginia. November 9, 1948.

Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr., Electric Building, Richmond, Virginia.

Dear Lewis:

Thank you so much for your gracious note of the 4th. It was a great victory and I am grateful to you and all my other friends for the vote of confidence I received.

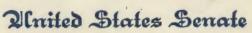
With kindest personal regards and all good wishes,

I am

Sincerely yours,

BURNET R. MAYBANK, S. C., CHAIRMAN
GLEN H. TAYLOR, IDAHO
J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK.
A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA.
JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.
J. ALLEN FREAR, JR., DEL.
PAUL. H. DOUGLAS, ILL.
RUSSELL B. LONG, LA.

A. LEE PARSONS, CLERK



COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

October 4, 19



Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr., Electric Building, Richmond, Virginia.

Dear Lewis:

Thank you for your nice letter of the 3rd. I enjoyed the meeting very much and am happy to learn that you plan to make it an annual event. Needless to say, you may count on my full cooperation.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Honorable A. Willis Robertson Senate Building Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Robertson:

I enclose a copy of a telegram which I sent you this morning concerning the freeze regulations on cotton prices.

I understand that you are a member of the Senate Committee which is reviewing or investigating these freeze regulations.

I have taken the liberty of getting in touch with you because on yesterday I had an opportunity to discuss rather fully with one of the leading cotton men in the South (Edward Cook of Memphis) the truly chaotic conditions which apparently have resulted from the action of the Price Administrator. I have been in favor of price controls since last summer, as the danger of inflation is as great as the danger of attack by Russia. On the other hand, controls must of course be imposed in a reasonable manner and particularly with due regard to the actual methods of buying and selling which have prevailed in a particular industry. In view of the fact that the cotton market was shut down completely by the controls, it is evident that some corrective action is necessary.

In view of the situation which exists, I told Ned Cook that I knew you would take a special interest in correcting an inequitable situation which affects adversely the southern states.

With warm personal regards, I remain Sincerely,

24/71

co: Edward W. Cook, Esq. Cook & Co., Inc. Memphis, Tennessee

DOMESTIC SERVICE Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	WESTERN 1200		Check the class of service do otherwise this message we sent at the full rate	
TELEGRAM X SERIAL	TI	NION	FULL RATE	DEFERRE
DAY NIGHT LETTER	w.	P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT	CODE	NIGHT LETTER
NO, WDSCL. OF SVC. PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF		TIME FILED

Honorable A. Willis Robertson Senate Building Washington, D. C.

February 7, 1951

UNDERSTAND YOU ARE ON COMMITTEE REVIEWING FREEZE REGULATIONS ON COTTON PRICES. APPARENTLY THIS PARTICULAR FREEZE IS UNREALISTIC AND HIGHLY DISRUPTIVE. APPRECIATE YOUR EFFORTS TO OBTAIN APPROPRIATE AMENDMENT TO EXISTING REGULATIONS.

> Lewis F. Powell, Jr. Electric Building Richmond, Virginia

BURNET R. MAYBANK, S. C., CHAIRMAN

J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK.
A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA.
JOHN W. BRICKER, OHIO
IRVING M. IVES, N. Y.
ALLEN FREAR, JR., DEL.
PAUL H. DOUGLAS, ILL.
RUSSELL B. LONG, LA.
A. LEE PARSONS, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

February 8, 1951e



Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr., Electric Building, Richmond 12, Virginia

Dear Lewis:

Thank you for yours of the 7th enclosing confirmation of your telegram of yesterday, the receipt of which on yesterday I acknowledged.

Yesterday I discussed the cotton situation with one of the largest brokers of Memphis and showed him the recommendations that had been submitted to me by Mr. Newton of Dan River Mills. He fully endorsed the Newton proposals and I told him that I would see what could be accomplished along those lines when we have DiSalle before us tomorrow. On yesterday I sent the Newton telegram to DiSalle so that he would be prepared to report to us concerning it.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

February 9, 1951 Honorable A. Willis Robertson United States Senate Committee on Banking and Currency Washington, D. C. Dear Willis: I appreciate very much your letter of February 8th concerning the cotton situation. I know that this is a very difficult problem, but I am confident that it will be worked out satisfactorily in view of the able Senate Sub-Committee which has it in hand. With best personal regards, I remain Sincerely, 24/71 bc: Edward N. Cook, Esq. - I enclose herewith copy
Cook and Co., Inc.
Memphis, Tennessee reply for your information.

Parsarah

Dear Willis:

I have just had an opportunity to read your address before the United States Chamber of Commerce on May 2nd which you were thoughtful enough to send me.

I found it immensely interesting and thought provoking, particularly your wholarly development of historical analogies to our present situation.

With warm personal regards, I remain Sincerely,

Honorable A. Willis Robertson Senate Office Building Richmond, Virginia KENNETH MCKELLAR, TENN., CHAIRMAN R, TENN., CHAIRMAN
STYLES BRIDGES, N. H.
HOMER FERGUSON, MICH.
KENNETH S. WHERRY, NEBR.
GUY CORDON, OREG.
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, MASS.
MILTON R. YOUNG, N. DAK.
WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, CALIF.
EDWARD J. THYE, MINN.
ZALES N. ECTON, MONT.

CARL HAYDEN, ARIZ.
RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA.
PAT MC CARRAN, NEV.
JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, WYO.
DENNIS CHAVEZ, N. MEX.
BURNET R. MAYBANK, S. C.
ALLEN J. ELLENDER, LA.
LISTER HILL, ALA.
HARLEY M. KILGORE, W. VA.
JOHN L. MC CLELLAN, ARK.
A. WILLIS ROBERTEON, VA. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA.

EVERARD H. SMITH, CLERK CECIL H. TOLBERT, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

November 15, 1951

Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr. Electric Building Richmond, Virginia

Dear Lewis:

You are a good and loyal friend and it always warms my heart to hear from you. I greatly enjoyed your Forum Meeting but feared when I abandoned my manuscript for a less formal procedure that I had taken too long. When I get before a sympathetic crowd, like I always find in Richmond, it is often difficult for me to appreciate the fact that time may not be passing as fast for my listeners as it does for me on such occasions.

I enclose a copy of the speech I made in Miami last Tuesday. I had not visited the Roney Plaza Hotel since 1933 and it was, of course, interesting to see the remarkable development that had occurred on Miami Beach during the intervening years to say nothing of the pleasing contrast of the hot sands and 76 degree ocean with the snow in which I had hunted in the Allegheny Mountains on the previous Monday and Tuesday. But my wife says that I am a farmer at heart and will never be anything else, and I expect that she is right. I love everything about Virginia and especially the mountains and while it is occasionally pleasant to visit in a luxury spot like Miami where the multitude seems to think God is presiding over a 6% Heaven and all is right with the world, I wouldn't exchange Virginia for any country I have ever seen and I have seen a lot of them.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Dear Willis:

You were very good indeed to write me on November 15th and also to send me a copy of the address you made in Miami to the Savings and Loan League.

I have just had an opportunity to read
your address with care, and it certainly is a splendid
one. I am very proud indeed of our Virginia Senators.
Sincerely,

Senator A. Willis Robertson Senate Office Building Washington, D. C.

Personal

Honorable Willis A. Robertson Senate Office Building Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Robertson:

I appreciate very much your sending me a copy of your remarks made at the anniversary celebration of St. Peters Church.

This was indeed a scholarly and eloquent address, dealing with the most important fundamentals. I am keeping it in my file.

With personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

24:88

May 18, 1959 Dear Senator Robertson: I appreciate your sending me your splendid statement introducing David Mays. I doubt that there is the slightest possibility of S.J.R. 32 getting very far, but it is nevertheless wholesome to set the record straight. I am sure that you and Dave have made a notable contribution in this respect. Sincerely, Honorable A. Willis Robertson Senate Office Building Washington, D. C. 24/119 cc: David J. Mays, Esq.

I enclose a copy of a letter which I wrote Senator Fulbright, which may be of interest to you.

With warmest best wishes, I remain Sincerely,

24/166

CARL HAYDEN, ARIZ., CHAIRMAN

EVERARD H. SMITH, CLERK THOMAS J. SCOTT, ASST. CLERK

CARL HAYDEN, ARIZ., CHAIRMAN

RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA.
DENNIS CHAVEZ, N. MEX.
ALLEN J. ELLENDER, LA.
LISTER HILL, ALA.
JOHN L. MC CLELLAN, ARK.
A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA.
WARREN G. MAGNUSON, WASH.
SPESARD L. HOLLAND, FLA.
JOHN STENNIS, MISS.
LYNDON B. JOHNSON, TEX.
JOHN O. PASTORE, R.I,
ESTES KEFRJUYER, TENN.
A. S. MIKE MONRONEY, OKLA.
ALAN BIBLE, NEV.
ROBERT C. BYRD, W. VA.
THOMAS J. DODD, CONN.
GALE W. MC GEE, WYO.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

June 21, 1960-38



Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr. Hunton, Williams, Gay, Powell & Gibson Electric Building Richmond 12, Virginia

Dear Lewis:

Thank you for your letter urging passage of S. 3548 in this session to offset the decision of the Supreme Court in Railroad Telegraphers v. Chicago and North Western Railway Co.

The Judiciary Committee in the Senate, of which I am not a member, is currently conducting hearings on this bill, indicating hope of getting the bill reported in time for passage in this session. Whenever the bill is reported to the Senate, I will keep in mind what you have written.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

April 6, 1961

Dear Willis:

I have read with a great deal of interest your speech prepared for delivery in the Senate on the proposed minimum wage law. It is a scholarly and forceful presentation, and is unanswerable if we adhere to principles of constitutional law which prevailed for so many decades.

With warm best wishes, I remain

Sincerely,

Hon. A. Willis Robertson United States Senator Senate Office Building Washington, D. C.

24/166

A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA., CHAIRMAN

A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA., CHAIRMAN
JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.
PAUL H. DOUGLAS, ILL.
JOSEPH S. CLARK, PA.
WILLIAM PROXMIRE, WIS.
HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., N.J.
EDMUND S. MUSKIE, MAINE
EDWARD V. LONG, MO.
MAURINE B. NEUBERGER, OREG.
WM. A. BLAKLEY, TEX.

MATTHEW HALE, CHIEF OF STAFF

Ulnited States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

April 7, 1961



Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr. Hunton, Williams, Gay, Powell & Gibson Electric Building Richmond 12, Virginia

Dear Mr. Powell:

Your letter of April 6, complimenting Senator Robertson on his discussion of the minimum wage bill, arrived today in his absence. It will be forwarded to him at the University of Virginia Hospital, where he is recovering from an operation for removal of a non-malignant cyst from his kidney.

I know Senator Robertson will appreciate your endorsement of his stand.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours, Bill foster

William B. Foster, Jr. Administrative Assistant to

Senator A. Willis Robertson

April 10, 1961

Dear Senator Robertson:

I was distressed to learn from Bill Foster that you are in the University of Virginia Hospital, where you have undergone an operation.

It is good to know, however, that you are recovering satisfactorily and will soon be back in the Senate.

Having had my own share of operations, I am quite sympathetic with anyone who is in the hands of the medics.

With warm best wishes for your speedy recovery, I remain

Sincerely,

Hon. A. Willis Robertson University of Virginia Hospital Charlottesville, Virginia

24/166

CC: Mr. William B. Foster, Jr. bc: Mr. Robert T. Marsh, Jr.

JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS, ILL.
JOSEPH S. CLARK, PA.
WILLIAM PROXMIRE, WIS.
HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., N.J.
EDMUND S. MUSKIE, MAINE
EDWARD V. LONG, MO.
MAURINE B. NEUBERGER, OREG.
WM. A. BLAKLEY, TEX.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

May 2, 1961 15

Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr. Hunton, Williams, Gay, Powell and Gibson Electric Building Richmond 12, Virginia

Dear Lewis:

MATTHEW HALE, CHIEF OF STAFF

I am back in my office now (as of yesterday) and while my incision hasn't fully healed because of the unfortunate infection, I am feeling fine and equal to assuming the normal workload. However, I shall not attempt to wade a rough mountain trout stream for several more weeks.

I was paired on most of the wage and hour amendments but as you of course know, those of us who were opposed to that bill had no chance in the world to stop it. Per haps the House may force some changes in the bill as passed by the Senate but even then I am sure there will still remain an unconstitutional extension of coverage. I don't object to \$1.25 minimum for those engaged in interstate commerce but as I pointed out in the speech but as I pointed out in the speech, that was inserted in the Record for me by Senator Stennis, on the Senate bill, what we are now trying to do will have some bad economic effects.

I enclose a copy of a letter I wrote yesterday to a friend, but not a relative, in Petersburg concerning the Prince Edward County school case. Since you are so interested in the development of our public school system, know that case disturbs you. In view of the threat made by the United States Attorney General to close down all of the schools in Virginia, I frankly can't understand why the Governor should have said that he was calm and undisturbed. Who can, with assurance, predict what the Federal courts are going to do to us next in a civil rights case and who could be undisturbed if the Federal courts enjoin the States from contributing to any public school in the State? I shall neither be calm nor undisturbed until this issue has been decided.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

May 8, 1962 Honorable A. Willis Robertson United States Senator Senate Office Building Washington, D. C. Dear Willis: I have just read with the greatest interest your address of April 25 on the "Literacy Test Bill." As you say, this bill is "completely political in its inception and scope." I likewise fully agree with you that it is neither constitutional nor otherwise in the public interest. Wholly aside from the sound constitutional objection to the bill, it is frightening to think that the only qualification to vote is having spent six years in an elementary school perhaps with knowledge only of the Spanish language. This would reduce Democracy to a shockingly low level. I personally would like to see sound and reasonable literacy tests which are enforced fairly and without discrimination in every state. I suspect that the principal weakness in our system of government today stems from the basic ignorance of voters as to our form of government, and the issues and qualifications of candidates in elections. In short, we need higher standards so that voters will be effectively and intelligently literate, and under the Constitution these must be imposed by the states.

Honorable A. Willis Robertson Page Two May 8, 1962

My warm congratulations to you upon taking the lead in opposing this politically inspired measure.

Changing the subject, I had the pleasure recently of seeing Jim Palmer. It was good to hear from him that you are in vigorous health.

Sincerely,

24/166

A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA., CHAIRMAN

JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS, ILL.
JOSEPH S. CLARK, PA.
WILLIAM PROXMIRE, WIS.
HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., N.J.
EDMUND S. MUSKIE, MAINE
EDWARD V. LONG, MO.
MAURINE B. NEUBERGER, OREG.
THOMAS J. MCINTYRE, N.H.

MATTHEW HALE, CHIEF OF STAFF

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY



March 6, 1963 15

Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr. Electric Building Richmond 12, Virginia

Dear Lewis:

Thank you for the copy of your letter of the 4th to Senator Dodd. I have gone on a Senate Resolution calling for a full and free inspection of any ban on nuclear testing. I would not trust the Soviet leaders behind a tennis racket.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

March 8, 1963 Dear Willis: I am delighted to have a copy of your address on fiscal policies. Press accounts of it have been most gratifying. I have also wanted to write you a congratulatory note on completing 30 years in the Congress. Few members have ever made as significant a contribution to our country's welfare as you have. As ever, Hon. A. Willis Robertson Senate Office Building Washington, D. C. 24/167

R

September 26, 1963

PERSONAL

Hon. A. Willis Robertson Senate Office Building Washington, D. C.

Dear Willis:

I am dismayed by the President's proposal for a "joint expedition to the moon" with the Soviet Union, and hope that you will use your great influence to oppose it.

If there is merit in going to the moon, it derives from reasons previously advanced by the President. These include national prestige and national defense. Both of these reasons would be nullified if we undertook at so-called joint venture with the Communists.

It seems to me that a state of mind is developing in our country quite similar to that which existed during and shortly after World War II. The prevailing view at that time (which proved to be disastrous) was that if we were nice enough to the Soviet Union it would abandon Communist basic doctrines and live in peace and harmony with the rest of the world.

We can be perfectly sure that the "joint venture" would be financed 100% by American money, and would disclose American know-how and secrets, with the Soviet Union taking the credit for successes and placing on us the blame for failures. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union would probably be pursuing secretly its own military program for control of outer space.

I have felt for some time that control of outer space was essential to the long term safety of our country. I am not qualified to know whether a U.S. moon project promotes or

detracts from the military effort necessary to assure such control. But no expert knowledge is required to be sure that any joint effort in this area with the Soviet Union will weaken rather than strengthen us. We are bound to be the losers in a partnership with a country committed to a policy of perfidy and deceit.

I cannot recall an idea which seems to me to be more contrary to our best interests. The enclosed editorial from the Richmond Times Dispatch shares my grave concern.

Sincerely,

24/167 Enc.

P. S. I am reminded that I have wanted to congratulate you on your great speech on the test ban treaty and I am satisfied that history will prove your statesmanship.

L.F.P., Jr.

October 9, 1963

PERSONAL.

Hon. A. Willis Robertson Senate Office Building Washington, D. C.

Dear Willis:

I am disturbed by the widespread attitude that the Soviet Communists, who only last year plotted our extinction by missiles in Cuba, have suddenly become trustworthy and deserving of solicitous consideration from this country.

It seems to me that a state of mind is developing quite similar to that which existed during and shortly after World War II. The prevailing view at that time (which proved to be disastrous) was that if we were nice enough to the Soviet Union it would abandon Communist basic doctrines and live in peace and harmony with the rest of the world.

The Test Bank, negotiated in Moscow, was (whatever its other merits or demerits may be) a major Soviet propaganda victory. Now, in quick succession, our government is talking about (i) a "joint expedition" with the Soviets to the moon, and (ii) relieving the wheat shortage which is so embarrassing to the Soviet Union. I would like to comment on both of these far-reaching proposals.

If there is merit in going to the moon, it derives from reasons previously advanced by the President. These include national prestige and national defense. Both of these reasons would be nullified if we undertook a so-called joint venture with the Communists. We can be perfectly sure that the "joint venture" would be financed largely by American money, and would disclose American know-how and secrets, with the Soviet Union taking the credit for successes and placing on us the blame for failures. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union would probably be pursuing secretly its own military program for control of outer space.

I have felt for some time that control of outer space was essential to the long term safety of our country. I am not qualified to know whether a U.S. moon project promotes or detracts from the military effort necessary to assure such control. But no expert knowledge is required to be confident that any joint effort in this area with the Soviet Union will weaken our relative position. There is not a single instance in history of any non-Communist nation (or indeed group within a nation) enjoying a satisfactory partnership with the Communists.

Nor does the plan to sell wheat to the U.S.S.R. appear to be a sensible thing to do. The Cold War is still being fought at least by the Communist. As recently as July 26, 1963, the Communist Party paper, The Worker, quoted Khrushchev (in a letter to the Central Committee of the Party) as saying:

"We fully stand for the destruction of imperialism and capitalism. We not only believe in the inevitable destruction of capitalism, but are doing everything for this to be accomplished by way of the class struggle and as soon as possible."

Why should we extend aid and comfort to a regime which frankly admits that it "stands fully for the destruction of imperialism (meaning America) and capitalism"? The continuation of crop failures in both the Soviet Union and China are embarrassing weaknesses in the Communist system. Rather than help our enemies conceal and repair these weaknesses, it would only seem wise and prudent to exploit them as fully as possible. Not only should the United States refrain from providing the wheat, but also we should do all we can to dissuade others in the Free World from making this mistake.

It is fashionable to defend this "deal" by saying we badly need gold and that, anyway, others will provide the wheat. But surely there must be sounder ways of repairing our unfavorable balance of trade than by strengthening a country committed to our destruction. And it may well be doubted that other nations have enough surplus wheat at prices Russia is willing or able to pay. In any event, the folly of others (such as Canada in trading with the enemy) is no excuse for our committing the same indiscretion.

Prior to World War II we persisted in trading with Japan in commodities which strengthened her industrial capacity, which in due time was turned against the United States. There was less reason then to suspect duplicity by the Japanese than there is now to be certain of it by the Communists. While I do not question the motives of those who hold a different view, there are many examples in history where the desire for business profit or political gain has resulted in action contrary to national interests.

Unhappily, we seem to learn little from the past.

Please forgive me for writing you at such length, but I am deeply concerned by the new "spirit of Geneva" which seems to have gripped Washington.

With warm best wishes, I remain

Sincerely,

24/167

P. S. Perhaps it should be said (since I now hold office in the American Bar Association) that this letter reflects only my personal view, and is written to you on a personal basis.

October 26, 1963 Hon. A. Willis Robertson Senate Office Building Washington, D. C. Dear Willis: I merely want to thank you for your nice letter, and particularly for the excellent statements which you have made in the Senate and released to the press on the subjects of our correspondence. I only wish there were more Senators like you and Harry Byrd. I am delighted that Mrs. Robertson is doing well. Sincerely, 24/167

A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA., CHAIRMAN

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MATTHEW HALE, CHIEF OF STAFF

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

October 14, 1963 15

Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr. Electric Building Richmond, Virginia

Dear Lewis:

I have read with interest what you said in your letter to me of the 9th concerning the Administration's attitude toward the Soviet Union. In my opinion, the trend is a very dangerous one. I have never openly charged it, but every President likes to run on a platform of peace and prosperity.

Therefore, I think Kennedy is going to claim that the test ban treaty, plus the wheat deal, etc., is equivalent to peace. If he can get the tax bill through that will probably give some stimulus to business and he will claim that we have prosperity even though without a cut in expenditures, we eventually will have inflated prices. I enclose both of the statements I have made concerning wheat. The President knew he would have plenty of trouble in the Senate if he asked the Senate to vote for the wheat deal so he authorized it by an Executive Order.

Please feel free to write me concerning any issues pending before us either in your personal or official capacity.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Willis Robertson

October 18, 1964 Hon. A. Willis Robertson Senate Office Building Washington, D. C. Dear Willis: It has come to my attention that one of the candidates for West Point from Virginia is David C. Eberhart, Sr., whose father is director of the Office of the Federal Register. Dave Eberhart, Sr. was at Washington and Lee with me, and was one of the great leaders there - excelling both in athletics and scholarship. I understand that young Dave, like his father, is outstanding in every respect. He is the kind of boy we want to have in our service academies. I write merely to let you know of my interest. With warm best wishes, I remain Sincerely, 24/167 bc: Mr. David C. Eberhart, Sr.

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MATTHEW HALE, CHIEF OF STAFF

Mitted States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

October 20, 1964



Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr. Electric Building Richmond, Virginia 23212

Dear Lewis:

I was pleased to receive your letter of October 18 endorsing David C. Eberhart, Jr. of Arlington, Virginia, for appointment to the United States Military Academy.

When I select my West Point nominees for 1965, I shall bear in mind the interest you have expressed in this young man.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Willis Robertson

A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA., CHAIRMAN A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA., CHAIRMAN

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PAUL H. DOUGLAS, ILL.

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WALTER F. MONDALE, MINN. Minited States Senate 20125262 MATTHEW HALE, CHIEF OF STAFF March 29, 1965 15 Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr. Electric Building Richmond, Virginia 23212 Dear Lewis: Thank you for your good letter of the 26th. I have been very proud of the high honor that has come to you in being elected President of our greatest lawyer organization. However, it was one that you well merited. I was very happy that I could come out to the reception to acknowledge my interest in you and the recognition that has really come to all of us Virginia lawyers. With kind personal regards, I am Sincerely yours, A. Willis Robertson

R

May 31, 1965

Hon. A. Willis Robertson Senate Office Building Washington, D. C.

Dear Willis:

This is my first opportunity to thank you for advising me that David Eberhart, Jr. was appointed to West Point.

I have received a warm letter from his father, expressing the appreciation of David's family.

Changing the subject, I want to congratulate you on your birthday. I was delighted to read in the press that your colleagues in the Senate eulogized you for nearly an hour. This was a much deserved tribute.

With appreciation and best wishes, I remain Sincerely,

24/167

bc: Mr. David C. Eberhart

HUNTON, WILLIAMS, GAY, POWELL & GIBSON

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September 11, 1965

FILE NO.

Hon. A. Willis Robertson Senate Office Building Washington, D. C.

Dear Willis:

My thanks for yours of September 7.

Your letter refers to my endorsing "Teller's view that we should not attack the Chinese nuclear bomb plants". The main purpose of my letter to Senator Stennis was to urge a greater effort on the development of an anti-missile missile.

I think we should spare no effort to provide this defense to our country, regardless of what is done about the Chinese nuclear plants. At the moment, I rather doubt that these should be attacked - for the reasons stated by Dr. Teller. On the other hand, I certainly do not think they should become a "privileged sanctuary", and can think of a good many circumstances in which it would be urgently desirable to attack them.

In retrospect, it is a pity that we did not force the Soviet Union to turn its nuclear capability over to the United Nations in the late 1940's when we offered to do likewise.

With warm best wishes, I remain

Sincerely,

24/167
cc: Hon. John C. Stennis
My thanks for your nice letter. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you soon.

L.F.P., Jr.

February 8, 1966 Hon. A. Willis Robertson Senate Office Building Washington, D. C. Dear Willis: I am sure you agree with Senator Dodd's position on Haiphong. I hope you will support it publicly. This, I am sure, will meet with approval here in Virginia, as I find little sentiment among our people for senseless appeasement. Sincerely, 24/167

August 17, 1966 Dear Willis: I was abroad most of July and have now just returned from the ABA meeting in Montreal. I want you to know how disappointed I was by the outcome of the election, and feel quite deeply that Virginia and our country have lost the benefit of one of our most distinguished statesmen. There is simply no telling what voters will do in an election. I was in England with the Air Force in 1945 when the British choose Atlee over Winston Churchill - despite the fact that Churchill had saved Great Britain and the Free World and was undoubtedly the greatest figure of this century. I am sure that you will welcome the opportunity to return to private life, and to an opportunity for relaxation which you so much deserve. You have indeed served Virginia well for many years, and history will record that you were one of our greatest Senators. I send you my greetings and affectionate best wishes. Sincerely, Hon. A. Willis Robertson Senate Office Building Washington, D. C. 24/167

A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA., CHAIRMAN

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WALTER F. MONDALE, MINN.

MATTHEW HALE, CHIEF OF STAFF

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

August 18, 1966 15



Honorable Lewis F. Powell, Jr. Electric Building Richmond, Virginia 23212

Dear Lewis:

I shall always cherish the wonderful letter you wrote me on the 17th concerning my unexpected defeat in the recent Primary.

Of course, I can take some comfort from what happened to the greatest statesman of our day and generation in Great Britain in 1945. I can also take comfort from the fact that I have many friends in Virginia who think I did a good job in the Senate.

Sincerely your friend,

A. Willis Robertson