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20 May 1977

Vincent Davis, Director  
Patterson Chair Professor  
of International Studies

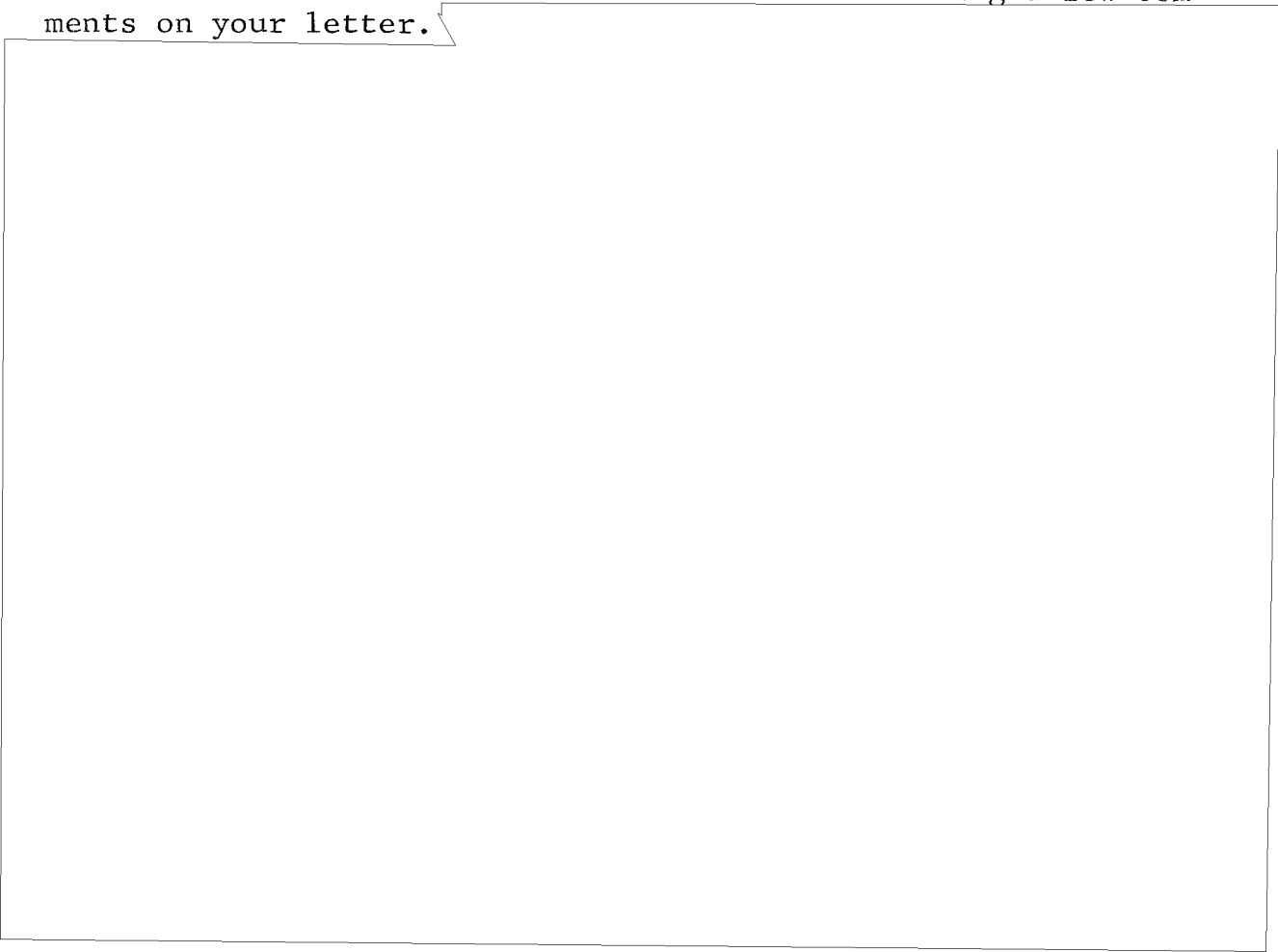
Admiral Stansfield Turner, USN  
Director of Central Intelligence  
Washington, D.C. 20505

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'M' or 'MD', located to the right of the recipient's address.

Dear Stan:-

When two old mules try to get together in the vicinity of the same plow, there's bound to be some head-knocking. Fortunately, these two old mules are good friends, so the knocking causes no serious harm. In other words, I greatly appreciated your good letter of 12 May.

I may well see you in person before you see this letter, but let me mention a few other matters before making a few comments on your letter.



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Switching to your 12 May letter, I am delighted to read that two of your main goals include: (1) "setting a new tone of sensitivity to the ethical issues" [and you could add constitutional and legal issues, and get some publicity for this]; (2) "reorienting the entire intelligence apparatus of the country from a series of independent fiefdoms to a coordinated effort" [desperately needed!].

You wrote: "In my view, the academic community has demonstrated irresponsible lack of leadership in the last decade. The leaders have been sheep. By the same token, if a few good leaders would stand up now, the rest of the silly sheep would follow..." My comments follow:

- Sheep? I would have said goats--obstinate, independent in obtuse ways, ornery, hard to herd, even sometimes a bit smelly.
- You are absolutely right that the academic community has behaved very badly over much of the past decade and more. One of the most disgusting things that I ever saw was when President Goheen of Princeton turned over large parts of that campus to the crazies during the "Cambodian spring" of 1970--provided them with a camp ground, soup kitchen, even paint cans with which to deface the buildings, and then wrote entirely different kinds of letters "explaining" all this to the faculty on the one hand and the alumni on the other hand. (I got both letters, as both a visiting faculty member and an alumnus.)

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- BUT, there are a few extenuating circumstances, as the lawyers say. First, very few university and college presidents were trained in counterinsurgency warfare, and that's the kind of training that would have been useful on many campuses around 1969-70-71. For decades prior to the late 1960's, the most serious kind of disturbance on most campuses was a panty raid.
- AND, while I will strongly agree that much of the academic community behaved very badly over the past 10-15 years, it's important to keep in mind that the U.S. government also behaved rather badly over most of that same period. If you want to look at one side of that equation, you have to look at the other side too. If national political leadership comes unglued, lots of other things in the society will come unstuck too. So, before you rap the academics too severely, talk a little bit about government behavior, and tell me why academic people and other critics should now assume that the government is suddenly staffed by saints.
- When you say that the academic community "leaders have been sheep," this suggests an almost total failure to understand the academic community. THERE ARE NO ACADEMIC LEADERS. There are prominent people in academic life, and some of them have major administrative responsibilities on campus. But if the definition of a leader is somebody with a faithful following, we have no leaders. The academic community is in some respects like Congress--a lot of individual prima donnas, each with his/her little ballgame and perhaps a small constituency, but nobody can really order anybody else around. Nobody automatically jumps up in respect when any other given person walks into the room. Professors are free-thinking individuals. They may not think clearly, and they are often ill-informed on important matters, but at least they try to think for themselves. They are vulnerable to fads and fashions, often conformists within the academic community notwithstanding their claims to be independent thinkers. But when they whore after fads and fashions, it's not in response to any definable leadership element. It's rather childlike, actually.
- Since you define academic people as "silly sheep," how come you are interested in developing better relations with silly sheep?

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On my comments about academic "leaders," I think you could get any ten professors or university presidents of your choice, persuade them to issue press releases or other comments strongly supporting the CIA, etc.--and this would not significantly influence the opinions of any substantial number of people in academic life.

You keep talking about the "Vince Davises and others who know that the current wave of anti-CIA McCarthyism is wrong, will not stand up and be counted..." And, "...if a few people like yourself do [not] stand up..." This business about standing up and being counted is a nice cliché, but it's also rubbish. Since when is a willingness to work for the CIA some kind of litmus-paper test of devotion to country? The fact of the matter is that "the current wave of anti-CIA" thinking is not merely current. It's a tide that has been running for at least 15 years, and no single man--no matter how pure, no matter how highly dedicated and motivated--is going to reverse the tide in a year or two. A number of years will be required, along with many appropriate actions, for the CIA to re-earn its good name. As I keep trying to say, a long-range strategy and not blitzkrieg tactics is needed. Simply getting a few well-known academic people to "stand up and be counted" (i.e., work for the CIA for awhile) is imagery and tokenism, like a company that hires a few women and blacks to prove its commitment to equal opportunity in hiring. Even professors are smart enough to see through this kind of gimmickry.

You say: "The academic community needs spine, not more shirking." Alas, here we go again--the academic community can get spine and avoid shirking by working for the CIA. You won't sell this solution to the problem even among very many people at the CIA.

And then: "I would be ashamed to accept students who would not apply to the Patterson School just because <sup>you</sup> had been to the CIA; ashamed to ask distinguished faculty to lecture at the Patterson School if they might decline because you had been to the CIA; ashamed to be the least concerned about those who would not invite you to lecture or not grant you funds if you had been at the CIA."

-- Ashamed! Ashamed! This is a self-indulgent form of emotional hand-wringing which may accurately perceive a problem, but which wholly fails to understand solutions that might solve it. You want a solution that fits Stan Turner. You need a solution that fits the problem.

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-- This kind of "being ashamed" is also a form of moral self-congratulation and assumed moral superiority. It's not the ideal posture from which to tackle the problem. Even if you are right in some of your diagnoses, I'm reminded of something that I once heard Robert Frost say: "The trouble with some people is that they can't be right without being self-righteous."

On your comments that my proposal to operate on some kind of neutral turf for a year in Washington would be a devious cover-up job under CIA sponsorship ("...the same kind of problem that the CIA has come a cropper on in days past..."), you misunderstood me. My point was that the CIA is not alone in facing the problem of re-earning public respect, particularly among academic people. Other government agencies face the same problem, even if in less degree, and my feeling is that the problem could best be solved with an across-the-board approach rather than on an agency-specific basis. But I can fully appreciate your desire not to try to spearhead such an effort. I didn't really expect you to, and I didn't want to work in Washington for anybody. But you asked me to elaborate on my ideas for solving the problem, so I did. You will try it your way, as always, and I can only wish you all success.

Finally, you said: "I hope I can call on you for advice and consultation as a friend, and possibly an occasional short-term consultant arrangement." YES on the advice and consultation as a friend, NO on a consultant arrangement. I do my best work for free. I'll work hard for you, anytime, as a friend, for free. I'll even be happy to publicize that I do so. I've never made a secret of the fact that I have maintained strong relationships with a number of CIA people over the years, still do, always will, but not for pay. I have often defended CIA people and the Agency as a whole, in academic gatherings, and I will continue to do so, but the point would be lost if I earned money for it. Call on me anytime for the same advice and consulting you would be willing to pay for, but for free--it may be worth exactly what you pay for it, and you may get some of it without even asking for it, but that's a problem that you can solve with your wastebasket.

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a captain, USNR-R (1105). Great guy. He too is a member of our Patterson Board...you may recall having met him here. Among other things, I believe he is still a nationally ranked tennis player in his age division. You would find him a lot less mulish than myself. As you can see, I combine the worst qualities of a goat and a mule, but I am not a silly sheep.

See you in a few days!

Fond personal regards,

Vincent Davis

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Vincent". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name "Vincent Davis".

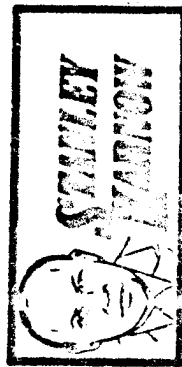
# Carter As A Pragmatist

WASHINGTON — Ever since Jimmy Carter stepped onto the political stage, we have been trying to figure out whether he is a liberal or a conservative. Now, I think it is fair to say, neither label applies. For judged by his performance so far, Carter can best be described as a pragmatist — which means, in simple terms, that he is not wed to any particular doctrine but will adapt himself to prevailing conditions.

In this sense he is in tune with the times. The old ideologies are dead, both in the West and in the Communist world.

Today's leaders, whether they be American or Russian, Chinese or European, are mostly technicians who are guided by what works rather than by what ought to work.

Consider, for example, the way Carter has zigzagged in his economic and social policies since he entered office. It appeared during the campaign that, if elected, Carter would pursue a kind of New



Deal approach to the company, focusing heavily on public programs designed to reduce unemployment even at the risk of boosting inflation. But within the past few weeks he has turned around abruptly on that approach.

He has abandoned his proposal for a \$50 income-tax rebate and he has pledged to cut the inflation rate down to the neighborhood of 4% before 1980. He rejects mandatory controls and even promises to balance the federal budget by the end of his first term.

Thus we have in the White House a man who, while not exactly in the Coolidge mold, is far from the tradition of Franklin Roosevelt. What made Carter switch were the facts.

He perceived, in the first

place, that Congress was going to nibble away at his \$30-billion economic stimulus package, which was plainly inflationary. Moreover, he reexamined the economic situation and determined that it had improved sufficiently to permit him to dilute his original plans.

So, in pragmatic style, he let himself be swayed by realities rather than a tempt to make realities fit his own preconceptions.

Much the same can be said about his new look at welfare programs. During his election campaign, Carter put forth the idea that the federal government should take over the total cost of welfare payments currently handled by local and state authorities. But the other day, in what seems to have been a reversal of that stance, he asserted that the nation's welfare system should be scrapped and replaced by a completely different system that would, in

effect, be subordinated to his goal of fiscal restraint.

Here again, therefore, Carter has realized that curbing inflation and balancing the budget must be his principal objectives.

Meanwhile, he has shown the same sort of caution in the realm of foreign policy. In contrast to the Ford administration, which would have involved us in Africa during the Angola crisis, Carter displayed considerable prudence by refusing to let himself be pushed into Zaïre when that country was menaced by left-wing incursions.

Carter adopted that position because he sensed that the U.S. public is hostile to foreign adventures, which, in his estimation, might produce replicas of the Vietnam tragedy. Similarly, he sent Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to Moscow with tough proposals for an agreement on arms control.

But when the Russians backed away from their proposals, he returned to his original position of seeking a negotiated settlement through different avenues. His human rights thrust, too, is not uniform. He has called American aid to countries like Uruguay, which violate the civil liberties of its citizens. But he has done nothing to penalize the equally pernicious regime in South Korea, which he deems to be vital to U.S. strategic interests.

Unlike Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon, who carefully kept track of opinion surveys, Carter does not tailor his actions to the polls.

He is sensitive, however, to what the public thinks about him.

He has recognized, as a consequence, that most Americans are basically middle-of-the-roaders who do not want to see the policy of stat. shaken by radical moves. That American respect his moderation was reflected recently in surveys that showed that liberals consider him to be more conservative than they expected he would be and conservatives consider him less liberal than they anticipated.

THE TENNESSEAN, Sunday, May 15, 1977

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My own guess is that, barring major crisis, Carter's tenure may be short. And his historical moment may be that he avoided the dramas that made his predecessors fascinating — a

BY STANLEY KA. JOW



## CRAWLING TOWARD A WORLD VIEW

It occurred to me, during a brief visit the other day to Kentucky, that traditionally insular Americans are undergoing a radical transformation as they develop, perhaps more from necessity than choice, an increasing familiarity with the outside world. The business and civic leaders in the pleasant Kentucky community of Lexington are currently striving as they never have before to sell products abroad and to attract foreign investment to their city. Their effort reflects in microcosm the extent to which the United States has grown to rely on the international economy. And it further suggests that, despite the warnings of observers overseas, fears of an isolationist trend in America are unwarranted.

American investment abroad has increased fourfold over the past fifteen years and U.S. exports have soared more than fivefold within the same period. Within the past decade, too, foreign investments in the United States have nearly tripled. Just as IBM and General Motors and Pfizer are now fixtures in places as disparate as Stockholm, Caracas and Teheran, so we have Michelin, the French tire company, opening a new plant in South Carolina, while Volkswagen plans to build cars near Pittsburgh and Sony is already producing electronic equipment in San Diego.

### EXPORTS MAKE JOBS

The American drive to export has been spurred in large measure by U.S. balance-of-trade deficits as well as by the realization, during the recent recession, that every million dollars' worth of merchandise sold abroad supports approximately seventeen jobs in the United States. On the basis of the latest estimates, this means that close to 2 million Americans owe their employment to foreign trade—a small percentage of the total labor force compared to Japan or West Germany, but unusually high for a country which until not long ago barely considered exports to be significant to the economy.

Another new phenomenon that accounts for foreign firms shifting their capital to the United States is the fact that inflation, social-security costs and other elements have made American labor relatively inexpensive, especially for manufacturers who are seeking to tap the U.S. consumer market. Last year, for example, hourly compensation in the Unit-

ed States, including fringe benefits, stood at \$6.22, compared to \$6.32 in West Germany. In 1960, the respective figures were \$2.66 for the United States and 83 cents for West Germany. Add to this the fact that currency-exchange rates are tilted against export industries in certain European countries, notably West Germany, and their relocation of factories in the United States becomes logical.

### EXPLORING POSSIBILITIES

Compared to states like New York, California and even Jimmy Carter's Georgia, which have been looking abroad for years, Kentucky is only now beginning to explore the possibilities of expanding its business activities overseas. As James Roberts Jr., the state's deputy commerce commissioner, puts it: "We're just crawling, but we're crawling forward."

In May, for instance, Kentucky's Gov. Julian Carroll journeyed to Tokyo in an endeavor to involve the Japanese in his state, and he is scheduled to make a similar trip to Europe in September. The state is also preparing to open a permanent office in Brussels in order to push trade and investment. When the office opens, Kentucky will be the 25th American state to maintain a regular representative in Western Europe. Several states have offices in Japan and Latin America as well. This regional competition for business overseas may seem strange to foreigners, but it is a very real reminder of the fact that the American states, though united, still regard themselves as sovereign in many respects.

### FOREIGN BUYERS

Although Kentucky is trying to catch up with other states, some of its enterprises have already made headway in international business. The breeding of thoroughbred horses, for example, is a local specialty that has long evoked foreign interest. Within the past couple of years, French, Irish and Japanese have been purchasing horse farms in the state, and a few weeks ago, at the famous Keeneland auction held in Lexington, foreign buyers included a Saudi Arabian tycoon who spent more than \$500,000 on animals and a Canadian group that paid a record \$1.5 million for an offspring of Secretariat, the great stallion. Kentucky is also an important exporter of feed grains, soybeans, whisky and, of course,

tobacco. And a peculiar deal was consummated recently when Egypt bought a number of tons of Kentucky River sand, which was flown to Cairo in order to test silting in the Nile.

Another curious deal is now pending between Kentucky's Island Creek Coal Co., a subsidiary of Occidental Petroleum, and the Romanian Government. Under the arrangement, the Romanians would invest more than \$50 million in Island Creek in exchange for a minority share of the company and guaranteed deliveries of premium metallurgical coal used in the manufacture of steel. The potential agreement would, to my knowledge, mark the first time that a Communist regime has acquired an equity in an American corporation, and I look forward to seeing how the dictatorship of the proletariat behaves when the coal miners go out on strike, as they do occasionally.

### SCHOOL OF DIPLOMACY

Reaching beyond the economic realm, I ought to mention that the University of Kentucky, also located in Lexington, features a school of diplomacy that trains young men and women for international positions, provides scholarships for foreign students, and has sponsored guest lecturers like former U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Denis Healey, Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer.

It would be a gross exaggeration, with all this, to submit that Kentuckians in particular and Americans in general are becoming as international minded as Europeans and Japanese, whose survival reposes on foreign trade. Most Americans still feel, I think, that they could get by on their own if necessary, and most would probably prefer the United States to be self-sufficient, if that were possible. In the wake of the Vietnam tragedy, they are also turning away from the idea that they must commit themselves to a broad spectrum of responsibilities abroad, and they are understandably focusing more and more on their domestic problems. At the same time, though, they are plainly aware that they cannot withdraw from the global economic picture without seriously reducing their standard of living. Thus the notion that the United States may be sliding back into isolationism is an illusion, and, as I discovered in Kentucky the other day, even provincial Americans recognize that reality.