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The Daily Tar Heel
86th year of editorial freedom

Spy tells secrets of 'chinless wonder' Califano

By ROBIN McWILLIAM

In the March 28 issue of *Esquire*, there appeared an article by Leonard Mosley entitled, "Letters from a Spy," in which he writes of his correspondence with Soviet agent Kim Philby. This prompted me to write of my correspondence with a secret agent (with apologies to Mr. Mosley).

I have met with a few top intelligence agents during a college career as a *Daily Tar Heel* columnist, but Last Kawze is the only one who never gave away to anyone except his paymasters that he was a double scotch-on-the-rocks (shop slang for "agent").

I have been with him when he has gotten drunk with groups of British and American newspaperpersons in Cairo, Istanbul, Beirut and Pittsboro — but never once did he give us a hint or arouse even a suspicion that he was anything but a top echelon, particularly amiable, spy.

We never guessed he was also turning the secrets of both HEW and its allies over to the Russians.

A couple months ago, sitting in the hotel lobby of the Helve in Helsinki, I wrote to Kawze, asking him some

questions which I thought he might answer. Around the Ides of March, the following letter arrived:

"Dear Mr. McWilliam, I have just returned to Moscow after a long trip to Myrtle Beach and was not a little surprised to find your prying, meddlesome letter awaiting me. I have not answered your questions one by one, nor in the unreasoned order that they were asked. I hope I have not been too derogatory about J.C. (Joe Califano). Personally, I liked him a lot. He was nice to have around: untoward, discontented, unpredictable, bubble gum-blowing, grape soda-sipping company.

"Why did I call him an 'oaf'?" Well, it was the first noun which occurred to me after our introductory meeting, and he gave me no cause for second thoughts. He had a habit of talking around a problem, not coming to grips with it. He puffed incessantly on his cigarettes, consuming four or five packs a day. I hear he's now given up smoking, which reminds me of the time he once said to me, "Like everything else I do, I'll carry on doing it, until it becomes politically expedient to change."

"We gave Califano no credit for consistency, and you shouldn't either. We here in the Kremlin believe he

may do us a lot of good — his policies on smoking (which brings enormous revenue to the U.S. Treasury, provides much pleasure to many Americans and is a mainstay of agriculture) and desegregation at that wonderful University system centered 16 miles from Pittsboro are more ingenious ways of bruising America than we could ever dream up here.

"I must declare a personal feeling about Califano that has come about only recently: he has attributed to me two pieces of information that we Soviets had nothing to do with. The scientific report that there is much nutritional value in the tobacco plant is indeed genuine U.S. information — not a Muscovite plot to undermine HEW. And I have not been bribing North Carolinian blacks to say that they are satisfied with the 16-campus UNC system.

"I assure you that HEW itself is responsible for its strategy and fallacies of reasoning, under the bungling guidance of Califano, 'the chinless wonder,' as we dubbed him.

"Yours sincerely, Lastt Kawze."

Robin McWilliam, a senior, is an interdisciplinary studies major from Edinburgh, Scotland.

Rainbow support needed

For 13 years, Rainbow Soccer has provided community residents with an opportunity to enjoy recreational athletics in the spirit of friendly and easy-going (and these are important adjectives) competition. The program could stand as a symbol for what we, as Chapel Hillians, desire in a small-town atmosphere.

Rainbow Soccer, though, is in trouble. According to Kip Ward, president of the program, necessary funds to maintain and improve field conditions are lacking. One has only to survey Muirhead Field, where Rainbow teams play, to see that the quality of grounds upkeep seems to be at a minimum.

Aside from the obvious dangers of poor fields, Ward also cites the need for new annual salaries for program heads. Many of Rainbow's staff members now spend their personal time and money in an effort to ensure the organization's success each year yet fail to receive adequate compensation.

Currently before the Board of Aldermen is a request submitted by Rainbow organizers for \$21,980 in city funds. The Chapel Hill Parks and Recreation Commission already has turned down the request, arguing that the program should solicit more private funds. While Parks and Recreation Commissioner Scott Herman-Giddens recognized the effort of Rainbow's leaders, he said he doubted they had exhausted all channels for financial support.

The point Herman-Giddens seems to be neglecting is that Rainbow Soccer, with its over 2,000 participants, represents probably the largest regular, organized community activity of any kind in this town. Through its endeavors, people of all ages have the opportunity to share in the fun and exercise that comes with team sport.

It is a fact that Rainbow's proposal to the Board of Aldermen comes at a time when the budget is very tight. With the addition of the town's newest recreational facilities, an extra \$100,000 to \$115,000 will be spent annually on maintenance.

But the board should consider some aid to Rainbow Soccer a moral obligation. The proposal before the board is not without its priorities and should receive serious, careful consideration. For example, while Ward and his staff make legitimate claims for a salary increase, field maintenance is a more pressing problem which the town certainly can help address in the coming year.

Only by trying to satisfy the needs of Rainbow Soccer one at a time can the aldermen reasonably fund the program's needs. Then, with a more concentrated drive to seek private contributions, Rainbow can continue to provide the community with a safe and rewarding recreational sport for all ages.

Open the doors and shops

It is no secret that labor unions and workers have never fared well in North Carolina. The state's rock-bottom wages and predominance of union-free shops speak to this fact. It may come as a surprise to the people of this state, though, that workers and their efforts to organize have met with even less success in recent years and in fact are losing ground to management and industry.

The *Winston-Salem Journal* reported that from 1972 to 1974 (the last year for which figures are available), the percentage of North Carolina workers holding union memberships fell from 7.2 to 6.8 percent. While the absolute number of unionized workers grew from 139,000 in 1972 to 140,000 in 1974, the state's work force grew even faster.

But there are other figures and incidents which state the case in even starker terms. In 1972, unions won 59 of the 108 elections to admit a union into a shop. That success rate of 54.6 percent fell to 35.5 percent last year, when unions won only 33 of the 90 elections conducted.

Two efforts to organize furniture workers in Lenoir failed miserably this year. J. P. Stevens & Co., the second largest textile firm in the country, operates 55 plants, including two in Wallace, and has fought off unions for 15 years. The company has made it a virtual habit to pay federal fines for failure to bargain in good faith with a recognized union.

A drive to establish a labor center at N.C. Central University to complement the state's numerous business-administration programs originally received approval from the UNC Board of Governors. When the General Assembly caught wind of the proposal, anti-union sentiment there was piqued. The project then was sent to a planning committee of the Board of Governors to ensure that the center not become an instrument of the labor unions.

Additional examples are abundant but need not be recounted. It is clear that organized labor has made little progress in North Carolina in the recent past and continues to encounter strong opposition from private industry and the public at large.

Some of this opposition is understandable. Unions occasionally have served to damage labor relations and are often guilty of biting off more than they can chew at the bargaining table. But in a state where the average factory worker receives \$1.61 less every hour than the typical American factory worker, the relatively rare excesses of unions are not as compelling as the benefits organization can provide.

The wages of union workers, according to Harold Melver, national director of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department in Charlotte, are about 50 percent better than those of non-union workers. Pensions of union workers are 400 percent better and holidays are 200 percent better.

If the people of this state are of any consequence, North Carolina will re-evaluate its position in light of the evidence and open its doors and shops to an organized labor that strives for fair representation and fair compensation.

letters to the editor

UVa honor code may not suit needs of UNC

To the editor:

As someone who has closely followed efforts to improve our honor code this year, I have grown tired of hearing about how grand the honor code at the University of Virginia is, particularly from those persons who seem to feel that the UNC-CH Honor Code should be a revered god, not a workable system. UVa's honor code may work well at UVa, but let us remember that we are not the University of Virginia and that there are (praise be) certain basic differences between UVa and UNC.

If we are to make our newly improved Honor Code work, we must make it work here. I would like to caution Gary D. Jones ("Editorial Response," April 7), and other members of the Honor Court who share his beliefs, against using UVa's system as a model for implementing the Honor Code here. If there are safeguards for an accused student under the "adversary system" as we now have it, let's be sure they are in our code. If there are no such safeguards, let's work to get them as soon as possible. In doing so we may find useful an examination of honor court systems at other universities, but when we implement changes in our own system, I hope we will make sure these changes best suit our needs and our student body.

Emily Seelbinder
CGC Representative, District 6

SG's voice on parking

To the editor:

The editorial "No deck on South Campus; yes on a deck for North" appearing in the Wednesday, March 29 *Daily Tar Heel* shows that Student Government and the DTH have certain disagreements about what should be done about parking and transportation on campus. This is Student Government's side.

Student Government agrees wholeheartedly with the *Daily Tar Heel's* stance that the construction of a parking deck in the health affairs area at this time would only defer rather than solve the problem of faculty, staff, and student parking on campus for a few years. We support a move toward a fringe lot system.

The North Campus parking deck is the issue on which Student Government and the DTH disagree. Student Government's first concern for parking and transportation is not special events like those held in Carmichael Auditorium, Paul Green Theatre or the Great Hall. We are primarily concerned with education. While basketball games rarely occur in Carmichael twice a week in season, people study at the library every night. When the Emerson Field (Carolina Union) lot is lost to construction, we must first meet these academic needs effectively. The obvious answer to this problem is not to build a parking deck but to utilize the Bell Tower lot. There are three valid reasons for this: First, the Bell Tower



lot is paid for. Second, plans are already being made to light the area between the Bell Tower lot and South Road to improve security. Finally, the Bell Tower lot is closer to both the library and the Carolina Union. As the crow flies, the distance from the Bell Tower lot to the library is 300 yards less than would be the distance from the proposed parking deck.

Now that the academic concerns about parking have been solved, let us turn to the concerns of special events. First, let it be understood that no state revenues are received by the University to provide for transportation and parking on campus. This means that all money for a parking deck must be self-generated. Therefore, if we want to build an 800-space parking deck on North Campus, we need to raise about \$3 million. To generate this amount of money from special events parking is impossible without charging some exorbitant fee like \$10 for two hours of parking. Hence, student parking fees must be raised from \$63 (the estimated price of a parking sticker in 1980) to \$81. Although there may be a real need for a parking deck on North Campus, Student Government is not yet ready to throw in the towel and agree that students, faculty and staff should help subsidize some big Ram's parking so he can come to a basketball game untroubled by parking problems. We don't feel that there is enough information at the present time to make a valid judgement on the deck. This is where the difference lies between the DTH and Student Government.

The *Daily Tar Heel* supports a North Campus parking deck whereas Student Government has not come to that opinion as yet.

Can visitors to special events effectively use a fringe lot? Maybe. Visitors are notorious for their tendency to follow signs that are intended for them. A sign which says "Park here for free shuttle to Carmichael" could be very effective. By parking on the perimeter of town traffic congestion would be much less than the cost of building a parking garage. This system of fringe lots has worked well in other areas, as well as in Chapel Hill during football games, although we do not currently have enough fringe lots to significantly reduce traffic.

Paul Arne
Member, Chapel Hill
Transportation Board

Running course explained

To the editor:

The *DTH Weekender* (March 31) mistakenly attributed the establishment of the new jogging course at Finley Golf Course to the Carolina Athletic Association. I wish to correct this error and briefly summarize the situation.

Earlier this semester my predecessor, David Royle (a runner himself), expressed strong disappointment to the athletic department over the ban on runners from the golf course without provision for a suitable

alternative. The athletic department responded to this obvious need by creating the present "red" course. The CAA, however, had no input into its layout. Since complaints have been raised about the quality and safety of the route, I have already discussed the matter at some length with Bill Cobey, athletic director, and John Swofford, assistant athletic director.

The "red" course is intended as an interim one. Another longer and better running course currently is being planned of the area behind the golf course, with track coach Joe Hilton and Devon Brouse, athletic grounds superintendent, advising in its design. This course, when completed, will be open to the entire University community. In the meantime, I will seek ways to improve the current course.

I would also like to point out that due to space limitations, some passages were excised from the recent CAA column ("CAA president discusses issues," April 6), one of which mentioned the third poll of student opinion supporting our desire for greater Student Government funding of club sports. In this poll, taken three weeks ago by Common Cause chairperson David Weynand, 480 students ranking campus organizations gave the sports clubs a priority virtually identical to that shown in the poll taken last November, i.e., higher than all the special interest groups combined.

Dan Heneghan
CAA President

Rafshoon film 'Jimmy Who?' spreads Carter image, helps put him in office

Gerald Rafshoon sits on stage in Memorial Hall, slouched back just slightly in his chair, listening to James David Barber, the noted Duke political scientist, introduce him and his film, *Jimmy Who?*

It's not the first time he's seen the film, nor will it be the last. And while the film rolls, he sits quietly off to the side of the auditorium, watching one more time.

Jimmy Who? is a 17-minute chronicle of Jimmy Carter's meteoric rise to the presidency. But beyond that, it represents a 10-year span of Gerald Rafshoon's life,

turns the floor over to Rafshoon, the latest master of the art.

"The purpose of the film," Rafshoon says, "wasn't to give the convention delegates a look at Jimmy Carter. It was to get 15 minutes on each of the three networks at one time — to present the Jimmy-Carter case."

Gerald Rafshoon's a PR man. For him the bottom line always remains the same, getting your product exposure — good exposure — when and where you want it. That night in June 1976 at the Democratic national convention, he, and *Jimmy Who?* succeeded once more.

The Carolina Inn is roughly halfway between Washington and Atlanta, the axis along which Rafshoon currently operates. In Atlanta, it's Rafshoon Advertising Agency, and in Washington it's Rafshoon Communications, which opened, for obvious reasons, in the past year.

As Rafshoon and his daughter, Susan, a UNC student, take seats in the lobby of the inn, he talks about the 1976 campaign. But Rafshoon, always the PR man, downplays his own prowess. The transition between Georgia politics and national politics isn't that great, he says, if you treat each state individually.

"We ran a grass-roots campaign, state-by-state, trying to win each primary as a separate campaign," he says. "They brought me here to talk about political images. But the truth of the matter is, it was 90 percent



Gerald Rafshoon

Jimmy Carter and 10 percent technique. My job was not to screw up the 10 percent."

While Jimmy Carter is a household name now, it wasn't so in 1974 when Carter began walking the streets and shaking every hand in sight. Thus the campaign strategy called for something a bit more drastic: an all-out push early, to make up for lost time in name recognition and media play.

"We gambled everything early," Rafshoon says. "It was a high risk strategy. We banked everything on Iowa and New Hampshire" (the first two campaign events).

Why? The intention was to draw media attention early, translating it into money

and organization as the name spread.

"With early media attention we felt we could go the longest route. The things they said would hurt — having a Southerner with no constituency (Carter was not in office at the campaign's official beginning) — we thought were advantages. He was non-racist, and not having a constituency meant he could campaign more.

"They also said you can't run in all the primaries. But we had to. We had to pile up delegates early. If we hadn't won early, we wouldn't be in."

Winning early meant getting the name out, and getting the name out meant doing it any possible way. "We took every opportunity, met every invitation possible," he says. "In Iowa one time we couldn't find a political TV show for Jimmy to be on, so he went on TV and showed them his own recipe for frying catfish."

It also meant that Jimmy Carter was in Chapel Hill for the symposium three years ago, just one more part of his 300 days a year on the road.

And the issues. "There were no real issues in the campaign. After Watergate, the CIA revelations, people were wary of politicians with solutions to everything."

Rafshoon sat in on the original group of Carter advisers, including Hamilton Jordan and Jody Powell, that convinced Carter he ought to try for the presidency. But the road that took Rafshoon to that conversation

goes roundabout, and includes a short stint indirectly working for another president.

Born in 1944, the son of a serviceman, Rafshoon lived practically everywhere. He lived in Hawaii and Los Angeles, among other places, and eventually ended up majoring in journalism at the University of Texas at Austin. While in Austin, he worked for one of the radio stations owned by President Lyndon Johnson before going on to the Navy and then Atlanta as an ad copy writer for Rich's.

He rose through the advertising ranks, landing the national ad manager's job at 20th-Century Fox, before opening up his Atlanta agency in 1963.

His work on the 1966 Carter gubernatorial campaign proved fruitless in terms of achieving victory, but it was his first try in large-scale politics.

The 1970 Georgia victory and the 1976 national victory are history now, but the road hasn't ended yet. Rafshoon will once again serve as media adviser to Carter when he runs for re-election in 1980.

But like a good PR man, he's not giving away any secrets. Asked, "What do you think Gerald Ford did wrong as an incumbent running for president?" he merely smiled, noting the fact that he was now facing the same problem.

Chuck Alston, a junior political science major from Greensboro, is managing editor for the *Daily Tar Heel*.

"IN QUOTES"

By CHUCK ALSTON

beginning with Carter's 1966 Georgia gubernatorial race and ending with his 1976 presidential nomination. And even further, the film is part of the reason why the word president now precedes Jimmy Carter's name — Gerald Rafshoon's a PR and advertising person, and getting Jimmy Carter elected was his biggest ad campaign ever.

The film shows Carter walking the streets of New England, striding the peanut fields in Georgia and features a section on political cartoonists' responses to the famous smile. And when the film ends, Barber, looking for some sage comments on political images,