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The Daily Tar Heel

89th year of editorial freedom

Clouded issues

For anyone who saw accounts of last week's meetings between Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and President Ronald Reagan, it seemed as though the tension between Israel and the United States never existed.

The two men shook hands, smiled a lot and made it seem as though they were old pals at a class reunion, instead of two leaders meeting for the first time. But now that Begin's brief visit is over, Americans cannot help being a little apprehensive about the outcome of the talks.

Begin came to Washington in a position of weakness, having drawn criticism for his decisions to bomb Lebanon and the nuclear reactor in Iraq earlier this year. While in Washington, he managed to avoid the important issue of Palestinian autonomy, and he left with a pledge of strong support from the Reagan administration.

The prime minister effectively played on American worries about Soviet infiltration in the Middle East and the stockpiling of weapons in Libya and Syria. Begin and Reagan emerged from the meetings agreeing that the United States must have a "new strategic relationship" with Israel, but exactly what that means is still unclear.

Although it appears that the effect of this new relationship could lead to the full-scale mutual defense treaty that Begin favors, it is one which ignores a comprehensive peace plan for the Middle East.

Begin took a hard line and was able to elicit U.S. promises to stockpile American medical supplies, enter into joint naval maneuvers and map out a strategy to counter a Soviet threat.

While agreeable to both countries, these promises mask larger issues that are likely to surface in the next few months.

The Soviet threat in the Middle East is a very real one, but building an anti-Soviet strategy without removing political conflicts that only help to increase Middle East friction is a pointless policy. Reagan must let Begin know soon that while the United States' concern for Israel is a priority, it will only be seen as a part of an overall strategy to secure peace in the Middle East.

BMOC

When *The Daily Tar Heel* deigned Wednesday to profile 14 campus leaders, the reaction was overwhelmingly negative. All day the phones were ringing as irate students demanded why it was not they or their buddy's name that was on the list. Ehringhaus dorm reps, the chairman of the football team's committee to institute air conditioners and a high-ranking member of the chess club all wished to point out that they, too, were campus dignitaries worthy of acclaim.

Perhaps as the flagship of the UNC system, this is a University of leaders and no followers. But let's face it — some among us have acquired the necessary style, ideology or gimmick to make it as big men or women on campus. In order to aid those many would-be leaders on campus, the *DTH* interviewed several UNC hot-shots and asked them how they made it to the infamous list of 14.

"It takes flaming hair and an out-of-state elegance," growled one, looking up from his typewriter. "Ya gotta like ugly painters' hats, and you gotta have access. Access is key. Got it chief?"

"Brilliance is a necessity," claimed another. "Why I've got several staff members who are absolutely and unequivocally brilliant."

"Taking a stand on the issues is very important," argued another. "The ability to cut out all frivolous activities ... you've got to take the weekend out of the week. It also helps if you're a blond sex god..."

"Watch out for racism," warned another. "It's everywhere. I even know a newspaper that has the KKK draw its cartoons."

If you don't fit into any of these categories, don't worry. Most campus leaders carry deep emotional scars from the abuse they suffer at the hands of the *DTH* and student body at large. While they are undergoing psychotherapy, we nobodies will emerge into the limelight.

The Bottom Line

The whip comes down

You're a dedicated Rolling Stones fan. So dedicated, in fact, that you've stood in the rain outside the Orpheum Theatre in Boston all night to wait for a ticket to this weekend's concert.

Shortly after sunrise, a concert official strides to the door and nails up a "Banned in Boston" sign. The concert is off. What will you do?

You could riot, but that's what got the Stones banned in the first place. About 4,000 fans showed up at a 300 seat club in Worcester, Mass., Monday, and the pandemonium ended in 11 arrests.

The "surprise" concert Diamond Jim Jagger and the boys gave turned out to be a surprise for the rockers when they drove up to the club and saw fans hanging off roofs and telephone poles trying to get just a glimpse.

Boston city officials said security was insufficient and demanded that

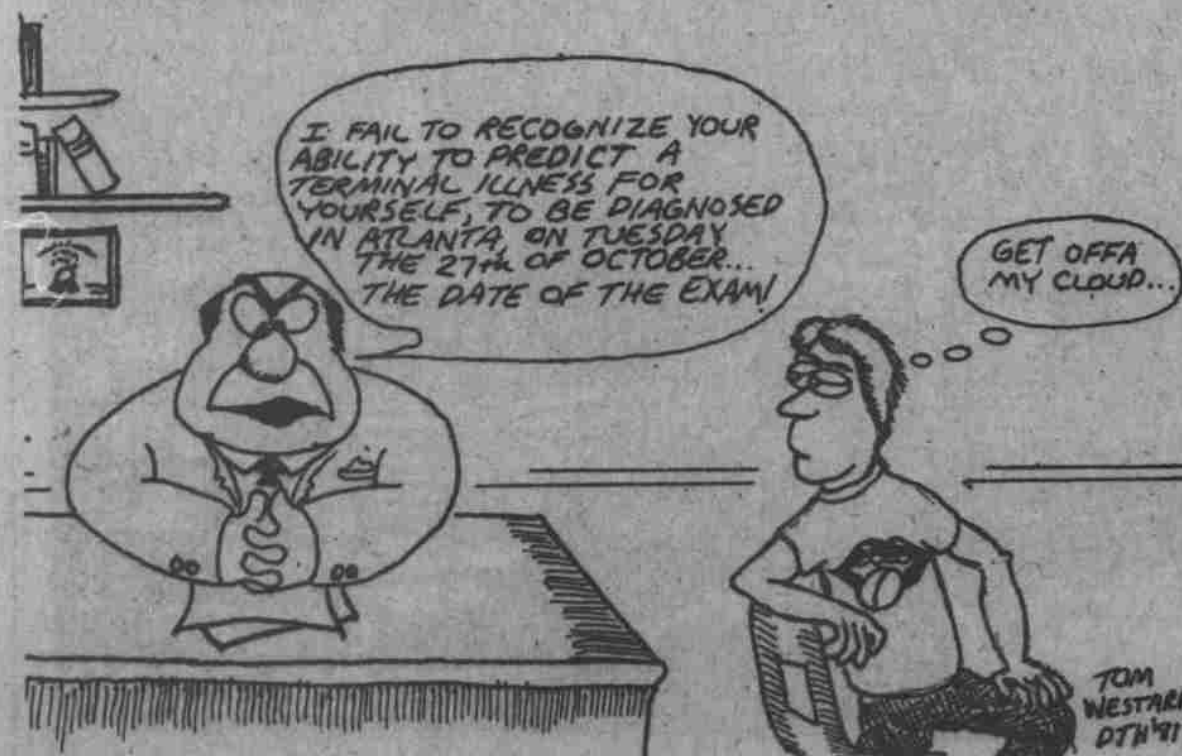
100 off-duty policemen be hired if an alternate site is found.

It seems people are just as willing to suffer all kinds of abuse to try to see the Stones as they ever were. They'll crawl over each other, stampede, pay exorbitant prices, skip classes, skip town, take trains, buses, planes and speed. No scheme or plan is too outrageous or extravagant.

There's always one answer for the unfortunate Massachusetts fans. They could just come down to Atlanta Oct. 27 and try to fight the crowds there. But there's only so much dedicated fans can take.

They're not beasts of burden, you know. If they're forced through much more discomfort in pursuit of the Stones, they may well find themselves telling security guards, concert officials and the whole bunch to get off their cloud or even, "Tattoo You."

And that's the bottom line.



Troubled Iran

A nation caught in the process of change

By GELAREH ASAYESH

With its revolution of 1978, Iran first made its dramatic debut on the American stage. It was an earth-shaking performance, the drastic realignment of a country that plays a strategic role not only in the world economy, but also in the international politics of defense and the regional politics of the volatile Middle East.

Americans stayed tuned throughout the initial stages of the revolution, with its high ideals, sacrifices and alliances. They stayed tuned throughout the establishment of the republic, were amused at the extension of moral and religious values to the secular process of government and were entertained by the quaint terminology of revolutionary Iran. Cartoonists were struck by the possibilities of a wholly new character in caricatures, the Ayatollah.

The novelty has worn off very quickly. Iran is just another of those troubled nations acting out its scenes backstage in the Third World. The classification change from stable American ally to unstable anti-American has been duly noted.

Now out of the spotlight, Iran is still caught in the process of change.

Much of the present is spent coping with the legacies of the past. In Iran, a tradition of arbitrary authoritarian rule, unrealistic and extravagant economic policies and the dilemmas of a traditional society under siege in the modern Western-dominated world are the legacies of the past century. They have left Iran with a political system that excludes the large majority of Iranians, an economic system heavily dependent on foreign imports and a society with deep divisions.

When the former Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi regained the throne in 1953, he came determined to ensure, above all, his own political survival. The command structure under Pahlavi was built like haphazard spokes of a wheel radiating from the core — Pahlavi and his few trusted henchmen. Authority was the Shah's, and his only, dispensed and withdrawn arbitrarily and according to political expediency. With his carefully maintained army and security forces, the Shah had no need to be accountable to his people or his parliament.

After the Ayatollah: Iranians divided, more absolutism?

By JONATHAN RICH

A little more than two and a half years after the Shah's deposal, Iran is again being torn by a bloody civil conflict. The recent bombing assassination of President Mohammed Ali Raja'i and Prime Minister Mohammed Javad Bahonar is the latest and most daring step in an escalating campaign of violence directed against the ruling fundamentalists.

Seeking to decapitate the leadership of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's Islamic Republican Party, the Mujahedine-Khalgh (People's Crusaders) have succeeded in killing more than 200 government officials in a concerted assassination campaign over the past two months. Retaliating with another round of political executions, Khomeini signaled his intent to continue his own narrowly defined revolution at any cost. As the conflict continues between these two extremist groups, it appears increasingly unlikely that the clergy will be able to maintain its tenuous hold on power.

At this stage, there is too little evidence to enable anyone to intelligently forecast when or who eventually will take over from the clergy — be they from the left, the right or the military. But the spreading chaos of the past two years of revolutionary activity makes it quite probable that when Iran emerges from its present trauma, it will find itself with a regime not so different in its authoritarian aspects than that of the ousted Pahlavi shahs.

This would be the greatest irony and tragedy for the people of Iran, who only two years ago welcomed Khomeini as their savior returned to free a land long held captive by a corrupt and heavy-handed dictator. In the place of a singularly unenlightened monarchy, there was promised a new Islamic republic tempered by the mercy and justice associated with religion.

Instead, the revolution has degenerated into a war of attrition between government and opposition. Rather than seeking to create a free republic, Khomeini sought to consolidate his hold and return the country's social, political and economic life to the control of the fundamental clergy. More moderate liberals, such as Bazargan and former President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, were forced out and replaced by conservatives like Ali Raja'i. The condemnation and dismissal of Bani-Sadr on June 22 by the mullahs effectively eliminated the last moderating influence in the Islamic Republican Party.

The Shah was overthrown by a coalition of forces ranging from the religious far right to the communist left. As Khomeini and the mullahs consolidated their power, a wide coalition formed in opposition to the current theocracy. This is spearheaded by the Mu-

Yet, had Pahlavi tolerated popular participation in the decision-making process, a democracy would still have been impossible. Iran's population is not only mostly illiterate, but also scattered across rough terrain in isolated rural communities. Even the highly populated urban centers are scattered, while politics, business and education are centered in Tehran.

Popular participation in politics was unnecessary in Pahlavi's version of government because he claimed to be the champion of the people's interests. With the 1973 increases in oil prices and burgeoning revenues, the Shah saw a vision of power within his grasp. He launched extravagant and poorly-researched development plans, aimed for the most in the shortest possible time and shored up the cracks with money and more money. In three years, halfway through the development plan, oil revenues dwindled. By 1978, the economy was dependent on imported goods, labor and technology and lacked a capacity for indigenous production. The agricultural sector lagged far behind the industrial, and foodstuffs were imported from neighboring countries. Further, the Shah had solicited tremendous imports of Western technology without an accompanying transfer of technological skills to Iranians.

The summer of 1978 followed a bad harvest, high unemployment and drastic shortages in food and housing. A luxurious pleasure resort was being built in the Gulf, and Iran had an impressive array of sophisticated arms. Its telecommunications systems, roads, power facilities and ports, however, were poorly developed, and its industries — with the exception of foreign-run oil — were operating below

capacity.

When the Shah left Iran, he left behind not only a floundering economy, but also a society with social splits far deeper than the political and ethnic factionalism. His program of modernization put years of distance between urban Iranians and those who, remaining in their villages, were untouched by change.

Within urban society itself, the assault of alien values has split generations and social groups, widening the gap between urban and rural Iranians. While the clergy maintains a wide following amongst the lower classes and the businessmen of the bazaar, it is a pole apart from youth reared in secular schools and brought up under Western influences.

The flow of rootless laborers from the villages adds to the legions of the dissatisfied and the alienated in the cities. These were the men and women who poured into the streets the summer of 1978.

The Shah, with his grandiose but unrealistic goals and his emasculating system of government, was perhaps the single greatest obstacle to progress in Iran. He is gone; yet the absolutists now ruling Iran are true to his traditions. Though the revolution accomplished something in the quest for national identity and dignity, the roots of Iran's problems remain unchanged.

The revolution did prove that there is life in Iran yet. There are a few who are willing to sacrifice and persevere. Backstage or no, they will persist.

Gelareh Asayesh, a journalism and international studies major from Tehran, Iran, is a staff writer for *The Daily Tar Heel*.



jahedin, a group of young Islamic socialists who were instrumental in bringing Khomeini to power in 1978. Claiming responsibility for many of the killings that have decimated the ruling clergy, the Mujahedin have pledged to institute an Islamic state that integrates religion with secular government and modernization.

Despite their growing power and successful terrorist campaign, the Mujahedin may not be able to muster enough support to institute and maintain their own government. They have infiltrated the IRP and the army, and they have many sympathizers among industrial workers and younger members of the armed forces. But there is little guarantee that would be able to resist the other forces — the vengeful mullahs, the communist Tudeh party, right-wing elements and the army — likely to oppose their rule.

Thus far, the Tudeh and the army have remained aligned with the clergy. But the continuation of this support, as well as the future of the IRP's political control, hinges on the 81-year old Khomeini. Despite a private army of 50,000 revolutionary guards, the mullahs have been unable to establish any semblance of law and stability. Their ranks are infiltrated by enemies who can plant bombs in their very seat of power. And while the clergy still maintains some support among the peasants, it is steadily losing popularity in a nation burdened by war, unemployment and economic stagnation.

As Iran's recognized religious leader, Khomeini still holds the allegiance of the Iranian public. As ayatollah, he has the religious authority to declare Jihad (holy war) on a group or nation. Whether these powers may yet be translated into action now or not, they are enough to weld the uneasy coalition of Mullahs, Communists and army together behind him.

While the Mujahedin have made no attempts on his life, Khomeini could well become a target in the near future. And although his death — probably call-

ed a martyrdom — could provide the mullahs with a unifying symbol, it will most likely signal the end of theocracy and the beginning of a full-scale civil war.

Many observers believe that the Tudeh have supported the clergy only to place themselves in an advantageous position upon Khomeini's death. But although the pro-Soviet communist party is well-organized, it holds little popular support. And Soviet invasion of Iran is hardly a possibility, given the enormity of such an operation and the likelihood of U.S. retaliation.

As for the army, stationed on the Iraqi front in southern Iran, it has had no opportunity to interfere in the volatile politics of Tehran. At present, most royalist supporters are probably content to wait as the mullahs and leftists expend themselves. But if the situation deteriorates further, the military could intervene on the behalf of the mullahs or with a coup of their own.

Whether the army decides to defend the clergy or reinstitute the monarchy under young Shah Reza Pahlavi, it is unlikely to advocate a constitutional democracy. Convinced by the revolution's chaos of the need for a carefully regulated society, the army is most apt to institute a Pahlavi-style autocracy.

Whatever faction manages to wrest control from the embattled clergy will have to do so at the expense of considerable force and bloodshed. Iran is now divided between narrow interest groups that only an authoritarian government seems capable of establishing firm control. For a country that held a revolution precisely to free itself from such rule, this is the greatest tragedy of all.

Jonathan Rich, a junior history and political science major from Quogue, N.Y., is associate editor for *The Daily Tar Heel*.

Letters to the editor

Public consumption of alcohol is not legal

To the editor:

There has been a stream of students entering my office bearing criminal citations for consuming alcoholic beverages on public streets and sidewalks. Many students, especially those who are veterans of downtown street celebrations, feel that public consumption of alcohol is legal. To save other students from making this mistaken assumption and thereby earning a criminal record, please allow Student Legal Services to warn students of this problem.

There are certain areas of town where public consumption of alcohol practically guarantees a citation. The worst areas are near the fraternity and sorority houses. The police patrol these areas regularly. The street and sidewalk area between the

Happy Store and Fraternity Court is an especially dangerous place to sip one's brew.

Our advice to students is to make sure they are well within the confines of private property before consuming alcohol. In addition, students should be careful not to drive after consuming more than a small quantity of alcohol. It is surprising how little alcohol is required to render one guilty of driving under the influence of alcohol. Even more surprising is the fact that the penalties for driving under the influence of alcohol include a mandatory loss of driving privileges for one year.

David N. Kirkman
Staff Attorney
Student Legal Services

Red velvet cake

To the editor:

I was very interested to learn that Nancy Reagan, the first lady whose holy mission is to bring dignity and grace back to the White House, intends to spend \$209,000 on new china for the presidential dining room "Red China" (*DTH*, Sept. 16).

At a time when her husband's economic plan is cutting out essential nutrition for America's schoolchildren, "Stay Hungry" (*DTH*, Sept. 14), I wonder where Mrs. Reagan's sense of priorities lies.

Suppose it costs the government \$2 to provide one adequate school lunch. It will

be served, incidentally, on a cheap plastic plate. Trade Mrs. Reagan's china in, and you can give one year's worth of free lunches to 580 needy children.

But a year passes quickly, and what would she have to show for such an expenditure? The china, however, will last through at least three administrations. Unless, of course, the taxpayers are unlucky enough to have another spendthrift First Lady before then.

I fear the day when Nancy Reagan will "let us eat cake." Heaven help us if we don't have matching dessert plates.

Mary F. Sisk
Route 3