

PUBLIC & PRIVATE
Anna Quindlen

**Bloody
And
Bowed**

Some days it seems that all the troubles in the world are coming through the phone lines into this unimpressive suite of offices just outside the city limits.

"National Domestic Violence Hotline," says one of the women answering the phones at 1-800-333-SAFE, her face mottled in the glow of the computer screen. "Are you safe?"

"Do you and your children have a place to spend the night?"

"Have you called the police?"

"How often has he hit you?"

The single largest cause of injury to women in the United States is abuse by the men they live with and, often, love. This comes as a surprise to many people, but not to the women who answer the hotline. They know that more than a quarter of the women treated at hospital emergency rooms have been abused, and that a third of the women murdered each year are killed by their husband or boyfriend.

Domestic Violence Awareness Month is drawing to a close. There have been TV feature reports, proclamations and magazine stories. Right in there with the silver patterns, Bride's magazine provides advice on how to spot an abuser before the wedding. Miss America has taken an interest in the subject.

It has become common to cast a bright light on our social problems: rape, incest, child abuse. This is a good thing, but it convinces us that things are better when they are not. Years ago women were afraid to say they were beaten because nobody talked about it; today it's talked about so frequently on TV shows and radio call-ins that they may be afraid to tell because they fear their friends would be incredulous. We assume rape victims go to the police. We assume children know adults are not to touch them that way. We assume it because the problem is out in the open.

The problem is out in the open, but the people are still behind closed doors.

Treatment is easier than prevention. If we really tried to unravel why so many men beat their wives, it would tell us something about ourselves, male and female alike, that we don't want to know, something humiliating and perhaps indelible. I told a woman in this field that I had heard many men were using their fists because they were threatened by the new liberated woman. "Yeah," she said, "and before that they were doing it because their dinner was cold."

So we make things better after, after the bruises and the broken bones. When Debi Cain, who runs a shelter in Pontiac, got started 13 years ago, there were no shelters for battered women in Michigan. Now there are 48.

On Friday, Congress passed a resolution directing the states to consider domestic violence in custody proceedings. Many judges don't. At a time when some corporate sponsors have become penurious and cautious

**Hardly
anyone
runs into
a door.**

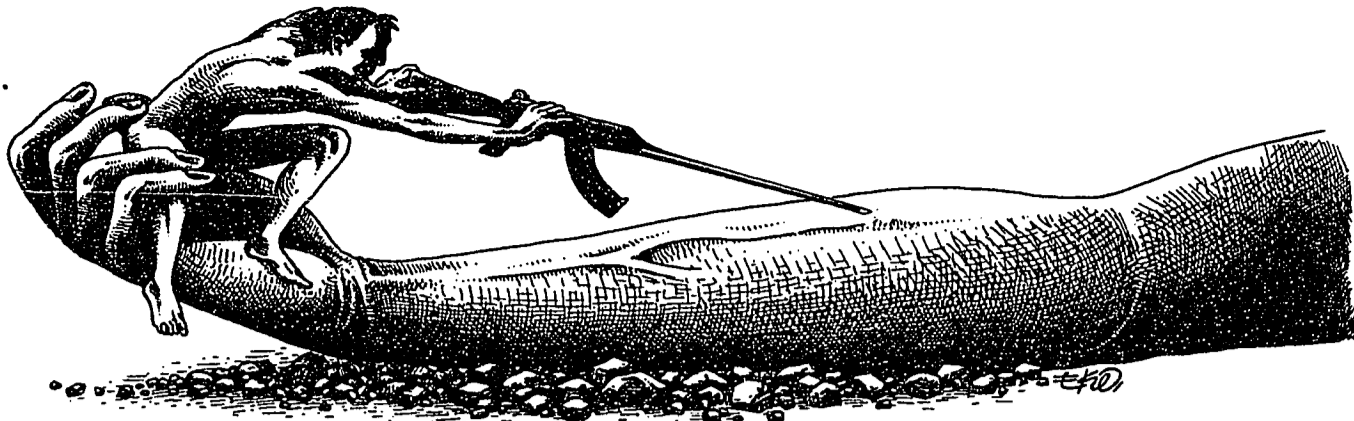
— A.T.&T.'s cowardly abandonment of Planned Parenthood because of its support of abortion rights comes to mind — Johnson & Johnson raises \$500,000 annually for the hotline, which will provide computerized shelter listings and trained listeners for nearly 100,000 callers this year.

And many women do leave, finding a haven at a shelter, rebuilding a life. But it requires much more courage than a movie of the week would suggest. Many of them stay because they suspect they can't raise their children on one income in a two-income world. So they become adept at the use of foundation to conceal bruises. It is axiomatic that hardly anyone ever really runs into a door.

Debi Cain still marks the anniversary of the day when a nurse who came to the shelter after yet another fierce beating went home. Her husband called and told her that if she didn't, he would kill their kids. Then he put his gun on the hall table, and said, "When Mommy comes, go outside and play." He shot her in the head, on their front lawn on a summer day. The children watched.

There is a new generation of boys and girls out there who will believe that a relationship between a man and a woman is like a boxing match in which one contestant has no arms. Teaching them otherwise is the real answer, but the people who could take care of that are at the other end of the phones, knocking the receiver halfway across the room because if he told her once, he told her a million times not to tell, and anyway she drove him to it, and it's only because he goes a little crazy when he gets jealous, or when he's drunk, or when he's had a hard day at work. And the telephone — he knows it's her boyfriend, no matter what she says. It's her fault he has to hit her. He's sorry. It won't happen again. He knows he said that the last time. But this time he means it. Don't cry.

And the children listen and watch and learn. □



With Friends Like Syria . . .

By Rachel Ehrenfeld

The Bush Administration's courting of Syria to combat Saddam Hussein in Kuwait is already paying big dividends — to Damascus.

Two weeks ago, Gen. Michel Aoun, the Lebanese Christian military leader who opposed Syria, surrendered and sought refuge in the French Embassy. Last Sunday, Syrian gunmen operating in a Syrian-controlled area of Beirut assassinated a prominent Christian leader, Dany Chamoun, his wife and two of his three children, as well as at least 70 supporters of General Aoun. As a result, the Syrian-backed Government of President Elias Hrawi is consolidating control.

What is most galling is that Syria has obtained control of Lebanon without giving up anything — not even one Western hostage. Meanwhile, Syria's President, Hafez al-Assad, still considers the U.S. the "major enemy," and he has yet to denounce terrorism. Moreover, Syria remains a major player in global drug trafficking.

Nevertheless, we are courting Syria — like we courted Iraq until it invaded Kuwait — because we regard it as the lesser of two evils. As always, U.S. policy in the Middle East is dictated by what is happening now, with no regard for history.

To patch together this policy, the State Department has been forced to overlook blatant Syrian lies about the country's involvement in terrorism and drug running. In July 1987, President Assad, announced that the nota-

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rious terrorist Abu Nidal was no longer under Syrian control. But Remi Favret, a French reporter, documented that Abu Nidal was living in the village of Bar-Elias in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, an area controlled by Syria, and that his office in Damascus was open.

The State Department, which even knew Abu Nidal's telephone number at the time, preferred to ignore this evidence. It always seems to have other priorities.

At the beginning of the gulf crisis, international terrorist activities halted briefly — obviously, on direct orders from Mr. Assad as well as Saddam Hussein and the Iranian regime.

**It still pushes
drugs and
terror.**

Terrorism resumed during the second week of October when Egypt's Speaker of the House was murdered, apparently by members of the Abu Nidal group.

While plenty has been written about Syria's promotion of international terrorism, very little has been said about its involvement in the international drug trade. This is shocking, since the information is known to members of Congress.

In fact, Representative Robert Dornan, a California Republican, introduced a bill in 1989 calling for a trade embargo against Syria. The bill details Syrian terrorist activities as well as "Syrian involvement in the

cultivation, production and distribution of illegal narcotics, including heroin and hashish."

Moreover, Syria's involvement in drug trafficking was publicly recognized as early as 1983 in a report by the Drug Enforcement Administration, which identified the Bekaa Valley as a source of hashish and heroin.

In 1989, the agency put Syria's profits from drug trafficking at \$1 billion. Furthermore, the D.E.A. said that almost the entire Syrian Government was involved in the drug business. The agency reported that Syrian Army trucks, helicopters and vessels are used routinely to transport drugs to Damascus International Airport, to exit points along the Turkish border and to Syrian ports.

Rifaat al-Assad, the younger brother of President Assad, is the highest Syrian official implicated (by the D.E.A. and several European law enforcement agencies) as a drug trafficker. Yet, to date, no action has been taken against Rifaat al-Assad in any European country because he holds a Syrian diplomatic passport.

Rifaat al-Assad is not a "laissez-faire capitalist," as some in the Western media portray him. Last November, Cable News Network broadcast footage of a meeting between the Colombian drug lord Pablo Escobar and an employee of Rais al-Assad, Rifaat's son, in a Cyprus hotel. It does not take much imagination to figure out the subject under discussion.

According to Israeli Government sources, the drugs-for-terror business in the Bekaa is growing rapidly. Apparently, the Israelis keep this information quiet in order not to upset the fragile Persian Gulf alliance.

And so, despite the powerful evidence of Syrian involvement in drugs and terror, the courting of Damascus continues. Has President Bush forgotten that he ordered the Panama invasion in large part because of Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega's reputed involvement in drug running? Will American foreign policy makers never learn from their mistakes?

**A Soviet Agent?
Harry Hopkins?**

By Verne W. Newton

THESBETHA, Md. — The former K.G.B. agent Oleg Gordievsky seems intent on making the same muddle of history that Kremlin planners have made of the economy. He has captured headlines by claiming that Harry L. Hopkins, Franklin D. Roosevelt's trusted friend and adviser, was an "agent of major significance" of the Soviet Union.

What is infuriating is how the West ern press is aiding Mr. Gordievsky's efforts to craft a best-seller. In the excerpts of his book, "KGB: The Inside Story," I have seen, he never calls Mr. Hopkins a spy. Yet headline writers do. The book says, "Hopkins was an American patriot with no admiration for either the principle or the practice of the Communist state." Absurdly, the author also says, "Hopkins had been an unconscious rather than a conscious agent."

What deeds did Mr. Hopkins commit that may, in the popular mind, attach the monicker "spy" to him? According to Mr. Gordievsky, who was in knickers when Mr. Hopkins died in 1946, the former social worker advocated positions favored by Moscow. Under this definition, King



Harry L. Hopkins

George VI and Ronald Reagan could be considered Soviet agents.

More specifically, Mr. Hopkins is accused of influencing the U.S. to accept Soviet control over Poland, the Baltic states and Romania. I hope Mr. Gordievsky provided more accurate information than this to British intelligence during the two decades he was allegedly a double agent.

As Mr. Gordievsky hits the book promotion trail, perhaps he can explain why he did not identify Winston Churchill as a Soviet agent. After all, Mr. Churchill entered into the highly secret, ill-advised "percentages" agreement with Stalin in October 1944, conceding major portions of Central and Eastern Europe to Soviet domination. Such cynical "spheres of influence" were anathema to Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hopkins.

Mr. Hopkins refused to allow the White House to dispatch a cable to Mr. Churchill — drafted by the Joint Chiefs and approved by the President — out of fear that it might be construed as American approval for Churchill to enter into such arrangements with Stalin. In May 1945, Mr. Hopkins warned Stalin to his face that "the entire structure of world cooperation and relations with the Soviet Union would be destroyed" if he would not allow a free Poland to emerge from the ashes of war, as he had promised to do at Yalta.

Mr. Gordievsky indicts Mr. Hopkins for a post-Yalta euphoria. But as Sir John Martin, Mr. Churchill's principal private secretary, who was there told me, everyone, British and American alike, believed in the immediate aftermath of Yalta that they had just fashioned an enduring blueprint for peace and freedom. After five years of war, maybe they were entitled to a moment of euphoria.

Mr. Gordievsky is continuing the crusade started by Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin: half truths, innuendo, distortions, third-hand information — all fused into a grand name-smearing indictment.

Like Senator McCarthy, if Mr. Gordievsky is to prosper he must make news. But the other revelations in his long-awaited book are rather thin gruel. He "solves" the insipid hunt for the so-called fifth man in the Kim Philby, Donald Maclean, Guy Burgess and Anthony Blunt spy circle by offering up an individual who confessed to being a Soviet agent nearly 25 years ago. And his salutation to Julius and Ethel Rosenberg as "dedicated and courageous Soviet agents" merely echoes the more authoritative voice of Nikita S. Khrushchev.

Gen. George C. Marshall predicted that Mr. Hopkins's enormous contributions to his country would never be appreciated. But then, as that renowned savant Senator McCarthy warned us, General Marshall was always in Stalin's hip pocket.

Verne W. Newton wrote and co-produced the documentary film "Harry Hopkins: At F.D.R.'s Side."

IN THE NATION | Tom Wicker

Clowns and Voters

Kansas City voters appear to be supporting strongly a local version of a national trend toward getting rid of unpopular legislators by limiting the number of terms they can serve.

Two-thirds of respondents to a poll taken by The Kansas City Star and KMBC-TV say they will vote on Nov. 6 for a proposed two-term limit on members of the City Council.

As recently as the summer of 1989, Kansas City defeated a three-term limit on City Council terms, though that plan would have increased the mayor's powers. Obviously, sentiment has changed significantly.

In neighboring Oklahoma, voters already have limited state legislators' terms. Colorado may do so in November. Most significantly, California — often a trend-setter — is expected to approve two initiatives that would limit the terms of state legislators and officials, one more severely than the other.

Voter impatience with, and loss of confidence in, elected officials takes other forms, too. In Missouri, the State Supreme Court has just invalidated a ballot issue that would have cut the number of state legislators from 160 to 103, shortened legislative sessions, inhibited pay raises for members and established a restrictive state ethics commission. Widely popular as an "anti-incumbency" measure, it was ruled out on grounds that it unconstitutionally posed too many different questions for a single yes-or-no vote.

Nationally, a total of 68 propositions are on state ballots to be decided by voters at large on Nov. 6. Six are referendums on issues previously decided by state legislators but referred by petition drives for public approval. California alone has 28 state questions on the ballot. This reflects a rising national trend, according to John P. Keast of the Free Congress Foundation, and Patrick McGuigan, chief editorial writer for The Daily Oklahoman in Oklahoma City.

Writing in The Oklahoman, they favor the trend as a sign of voter determination "to change the way government operates" — presumably for the better. But term limitation and dependence on ballot propositions are dubious remedies for political problems that, in many cases, are more perceived than real.

Both responses do suggest loss of confidence in elected officials. Both also ignore certain embarrassing questions:

Who put those officials in office? Whom do politicians most fear when they duck tough questions, or vote the most popular line? Whose lack of interest, knowledge and participation

permits "special interests" so often to prevail?

The answer in every case is "the voters" — we, the people, only about half of whom, if that, bother to vote. We, not creatures from Mars, elected what so many Americans now refer to habitually as "those clowns." We could, if we would, vote them out, especially if they really are clowns or crooks or both.

It's true that many incumbents do all they can to insure their re-election, and to make it difficult for others to challenge them. But no one forces the public to return clowns and crooks to office; such people couldn't last more than one term if an alert public, helped by an aggressive press (which is all too hard to find), took the time and trouble to identify the good, the bad and the indifferent. Special interests also prosper, not just because of politicians' greed, but because the apathy and credulity of ordinary citizens permit it.

In Kansas City, 47 percent of poll respondents called term limitation

**Limiting
terms: a
dubious
remedy.**

necessary to "get rid of the current City Council." This suggests an unspoken elitism: I would vote right but other voters would not. It also invites pointed questions:

• What guarantees that a new Council would be better than the old, since the same voters would have elected both?

• What gives a majority of Kansas City voters (or those in any constituency) the right to say that others — including citizens of the future — may not vote for whomever they wish?

The arbitrary and indiscriminate limitation of terms would prevent some Americans from seeking offices that other Americans are free to pursue. How can that be justified in a democracy, whether for President, governor, legislator or council member?

And if the clear trend toward term limitation and ballot propositions really signals an end to voter apathy and a new interest in fair and effective government, why do we need to limit terms and take on ourselves the usual responsibilities of elected government? □

**THE KILLING FIELDS
OF KASHMIR**

It's one thing to deny a people their right to freedom of speech and the freedom to vote. It's another thing to deny them the right to live!

Authoritative Voices Are Finally Speaking Out Against Indian Genocide In Kashmir.

"In Kashmir, human rights monitors report systematic abuses committed by [Indian] soldiers, including rape of women, killing of Kashmiri boys, arbitrary arrests and detentions, widespread use of torture in prison, and burning of houses while individuals remain locked indoors."

CONGRESSIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS CAUCUS
September 25, 1990

"I heard stories of people being summarily executed, of women being held for days at [Indian] security force encampments where they were repeatedly raped, and children who were forced to watch the brutalization of their parents, or who were themselves tortured."

SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON (D-CA)
Upon his return from visiting Kashmir's Refugee Camps in Pakistan
July 12, 1990

"Troops reportedly fired into the crowd with automatic weapons without warning after demonstrators began shouting slogans calling for the independence of Kashmir... methods of torture are reported to include beatings, hanging people upside down, rolling heavy wooden rollers on legs and electric shocks"

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL
September 25, 1990

"These inhuman acts MUST stop! The only way they will stop is for the world to see them, for the media to focus attention on them... It's a terrible thing that is going on over there. IT MUST STOP!!!"

CONGRESSMAN DAN BURTON (R-IN)
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 23, 1990

The Bush Administration and the United States Congress have an obligation to end the genocide in Kashmir, and to help the Kashmiri people in securing their right of self-determination as guaranteed under the United Nations Security Council resolutions.

WRITE YOUR CONGRESSMAN! CALL FOR MORE INFORMATION!

The Kashmiri-American Foundation

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