

Barbara Ehrenreich

Ehrenreich's Almanac

Predictions for a new, improved year



Every year at this time a serious political columnist has the responsibility to assess the past year and make predictions for the next. The past year can be dealt with briefly: It was a time of deepening crisis, sharpening contradictions and heightening antagonisms. I can say with some confidence that during 1977 the issues became clearer than they had at any other time in the past 12 months.

For example, consider this [true] story from the International Women's Year Conference at Houston: A journalist approached the women streaming out of one of the buses bound for the "pro-family" country-conference. "What's the key issue?" asked the journalist. "Why did you come?"

"We're here," the pro-family women responded spiritedly, "to protest the Lebanese." Upon further questioning, the puzzled journalist discovered that they meant the *lesbians*. This clears up everything except what's going on in the Middle East, as seen from the southwest.

But to get on to the coming year. Here are my predictions, based on painstaking analysis:

- In tribute to the glories of homemaking, Phyllis Schlafly will spend one full day at home. In January she will begin negotiating with the networks to televise the entire day, which will include informal clips of her chatting with her maid and ironing her new J.P. Stevens sheets.
- The Chinese politburo will discover that the *Collected Works of Mao Tse Tung* is a clever forgery committed by Chiang Ch'ing. The actual *Collected Works* will be released shortly.
- UFO sightings will increase drastically. President Carter himself will report three sightings: two saucers and one moth-

er ship. George Meany will demand that all UFO's be shot down on sight with nuclear missiles, since they are known to contain "aliens" who are after U.S. jobs.

- In a new, get-tough stance towards South Africa, Andrew Young will propose banning South Africa from participation in all future international canasta tournaments.

- President Carter will not submit a proposal for National Health Insurance. Instead, he will establish a top-level Committee on Alternatives to Medical Care, to be headed up by his sister, Ruth Carter Stapleton, the well-known faith-healer. DSOC will express some disappointment, but will say it is too soon to judge the president's intentions.

- The Chinese Politburo will send a special team to Detroit to study U.S. methods of motivating the workforce.

- HEW head Joe Califano will propose a new compromise position on abortion funding: *partial* funding for *incomplete* abortions. Incomplete abortions, he will argue, are quicker and cheaper to perform. Senator Javits will herald this "blow for women's rights."

- Faced with continuing poverty and racism, Vietnamese refugees in the U.S. will organize a Vietnamese Liberation Movement. Some will attempt to escape in small boats off the coast of Catalina.

- Getting even tougher on South Africa, Andrew Young will propose banning the South Africans from all future participation in international roller-skating competitions.

- UFOs will attempt to land in Manhattan, but will fail to find a parking place. Mayor Koch will take the credit, accusing the UFOs of harboring would-be welfare recipients.

- A male contraceptive pill will be developed, but it will be recalled from the market when a report leaks out that one of the test mice at the National Institute of Health labs is suffering from an identity crisis.

- At President Carter's insistence, The Humphrey-Hawkins Bill will be re-written as a bill authorizing the construction of a special memorial plaque for Hubert Humphrey. DSOC and ITT will continue to support the bill, however, citing the estimated 12 temporary jobs which will be required for plaque construction.

- Feeling upstaged by Sadat's surprise peace initiative, Idi Amin will fly to Moscow to demand the release of Mrs. Brezhnev (who, according to a 1977 Soviet biography, is Jewish). Mrs. Brezhnev will refuse to comment on Amin's offer of asylum in Uganda, but President Carter will applaud his "courageous initiative" for human rights.

- Andrew Young will storm into the UN and demand South African exclusion from the Miss Universe contest. President Carter will insist he had no prior knowledge of this move.

- Echoing Italian CP leader Berlinguer's analysis that it is necessary to stabilize Italian capitalism prior to a transition to socialism, Spanish CP head Carrillo will announce that the first step in the Spanish Communist strategy is to stabilize the monarchy. King Juan Carlos will offer Carrillo a knighthood. American Euro-communist fans will be confused as to how to apply the Spanish strategy to the U.S.

- In an effort to curb the development of terrorism, the Bonn government will close all West German universities, replacing them with voluntary Youth Camps, offering a four-year program of calisthen-

ics, parade drills and choral singing.

- Laetrile will be found to be psychoactive, inducing a high far superior to that of the best hash. A powerful alliance of right-wing fundamentalists and drug-wasted freaks will emerge, threatening both political parties. The Mafia will close in on the apricot orchards.

- The Voice of America will begin beaming punk rock into the Soviet Union, in the hope of precipitating an immediate political crisis.

- The definitive book about the '60s will be written—by an obscure astronomer from Bedford, Mass. The book will prove that the '60s, unlike any previous decade, actually lasted for 10.003 years.

- UFOs will land at last—in the grassy area around the Washington monument in Washington, DC. Secretary Califano will greet them by reading the residency requirements for welfare in the District of Columbia. Barbara Walters will interview them. Throngs of mystics will attempt to worship them. Irwin Silber will denounce them as a "bourgeois idealist illusion." Michael Harrington will offer to show them around Sweden. The UFOs will leave.

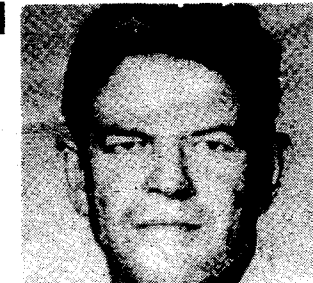
Meanwhile, the proportion of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere will inexorably rise, the ozone layer will get thinner, the amount of arable land on earth will continue to shrink, nuclear stockpiles will mount in the U.S., the USSR, Israel, Brazil and South Africa, the number of people who suffer from chronic malnutrition will rise—and we will have one less year to do anything about it. Or, to be a little optimistic, one more.

Barbara Ehrenreich is co-author of *Witches, Midwives and Nurses*. Her column appears regularly.

Staughton Lynd

Labor and the law

Freedom of speech in the workplace



A Harvard Business School professor named David Ewing has published a book called *Freedom Inside the Organization: Bringing Civil Liberties to the Workplace* (E.P. Dutton: New York, 1977, \$10) which proposes the following workplace bill of rights:

1. Freedom of speech. "No organization or manager shall discharge, demote, or in other ways discriminate against any employee who criticizes, in speech or press, the ethics, legality, or social responsibility of management actions." But speech should *not* be protected when it "rails against the competence of a supervisor or senior manager to make everyday work decisions that have nothing to do with the legality, morality, or responsibility of management actions."

What if workplace speech does not "rail" against a supervisor's decision but cogently criticizes it? Mr. Ewing makes himself quite clear:

"Protection does not extend to employees who make nuisances of themselves or who balk, argue, or contest managerial decisions on normal operating and planning matters... Nor does the protection extend to employees who malign the organization. We don't protect individuals who go around ruining other people's reputations, and neither should we protect those who vindictively impugn their employers."

2. Freedom of conscience. An em-

ployee should be able to refuse to carry out an order he or she sincerely and reasonably believes to be unethical. "On the other hand, the boss should immediately be free to ask someone else to do the job."

3. Freedom of association. "So long as their activities do not cause palpable harm to the organization, [employees] should be free to buy whatever products and services they wish from whatever source; they should be free to work for political, community, and social causes of their own choice; they should be free to engage in whatever other outside activities satisfy them."

4. The right to privacy. Mr. Ewing explicates this area more in detail than any other. These are his guidelines for management's *collection and retention* of information:

A. Management can collect and keep in its personnel files only those facts about employees that are required by law or that are "necessary to manage operations."

B. Performance evaluations more than three years old must be weeded out of an employee's file.

C. Employees are entitled to know what information about them is on file and how it is being used.

D. An employee is entitled to see "most of the information" on file about him or her. An employee should not have access to "personal evaluations

and comments by other employees which could not reasonably be obtained if confidentiality were not promised." (Mr. Ewing appears to believe in informers.)

E. Employees' conversations (including telephone) and meetings may not be taped or monitored without their knowledge and consent.

F. An employer is not entitled to check up on an employee's absence by calling the employee's home and quizzing whoever answers the phone, or by sending an investigator to bird-dog the absentee.

G. Personality and general intelligence tests are not permissible. Here Mr. Ewing follows the thrust of *Griggs v. Duke Power Company*, 401 U.S. 424 (1971), requiring employer tests to be job-related.

H. In an employee's absence, mail addressed to him or her may be opened "only by a person in authority" and envelopes marked "Personal" may not be opened by anyone else in the organization.

I. "When an employee is away, his desk and personal office files may be opened only by someone in authority who is looking for specific items of information needed for operations." Mr. Ewing considers this right a functional equivalent of the Fourth Amendment, but he is wrong. By no stretch of the imagination can a senior manager

play the role of a detached third party like the magistrate who alone can issue a search warrant.

J. It is not permissible to use polygraphs ("lie detectors") or psychological stress evaluators, except with permission.

Mr. Ewing would also restrict management's use of information as follows:

A. No fact in an employee's file may be furnished to an outsider without the employee's consent or a court order. "In other words, the employer has a fiduciary relationship to the employee, much as a lawyer does to his client or a doctor to his patient."

B. Employee information should be divided into two categories: job-related and personal. An employee's supervisors can see only job-related data. Personal data may be seen only by "personnel officials."

C. No information about an employee may be destroyed without his consent.

I should like to invite readers to formulate a more adequate workplace bill of rights which unions might seek to include in their collective bargaining agreements.

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Arthur I. Waskow

Sadat in Israel, and afterward

By Arthur I. Waskow

It is not often that you can see a whole society melt and take new shape before your eyes. I was in Israel from Nov. 13 to 23, to attend a conference on peace in the Middle East (called months ago by and Israeli magazine, *New Outlook*). I saw the transformation of Israel from grim despair, fear, and suspicion to careful hope.

The catalyst was, of course, the visit of President Sadat of Egypt.

Two stories, one from the "bottom" and one from the "top" of Israeli society:

Two days after Sadat had gone home, one of the American Jewish peace activists who had attended the conference was having dinner with conservative relatives in Tel Aviv. The family got to talking about Sadat.

Suddenly the wife turned to her husband and said, "I have never told you. Since our boy was six years old, I have cried myself to sleep every year on his birthday, because it brought him one year nearer to the army, to the war, to being killed. And while I was carrying the second one, I prayed every day that it should not be a boy."

The husband, his voice shaking: "But we have been married 14 years, and never have you said to me you felt this way!"

The wife: "There was no use. There was never any hope before that anything could change."

And from a hard-headed Israeli leader, Amnon Rubinstein, Dean of Law at Tel Aviv University: "When I try to put it into words, when I try to say out loud that the President...of Egypt...is coming to Knesset, to Jerusalem...to the capitol of Israel...my voice trembles."

Sadat intervenes in Israeli politics.

In Israel, the Sadat visit not only opened up hope that peace is possible, but made that hope a potential political force. In the Knesset responses to Sadat, even though it was a moment when pressure for a show of unity before the world was very high, and even though Prime Minister Begin ignored the Palestinians, Shimon Peres (leader of the Labor party opposition and ordinarily no dove) mentioned the right of the Palestinians to "express their identity in a way that does not endanger the security of Israel—perhaps in association with Jordan, but that is not for me to say." This went further than the Labor leader would have been expected to go, toward opening up the possibility of real Palestinian self-determination in exchange for a secure peace.

But Israeli political sentiment is now poised on a knife-edge. If Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and the PLO could unite around the Sadat platform—"full peace" for Israel within the 1967 boundaries, in exchange for Palestinian self-determination on the West Bank and Gaza—then a large political wave in Israel might push toward this position. Such a political wave would probably begin by wanting to go only part way. Such a stance would force Begin to move or resign, and if the Arabs were both united and firm upon the offer of "full peace," Israeli opinion would continue to shift.

But if the Tripoli line holds and Syria, the PLO, and other Arab states refuse to join negotiations, then Israeli opinion will relapse into its old fear, bitterness, and suspicion—but now these attitudes will be focused on Syria and the PLO, rather than "all Arabs." There are groups in Israeli society that want a comprehensive peace in which most or all of the West Bank is returned—either because these groups believe that any other kind of peace will be shaky and short, or because these groups believe that the West Bank will dilute the Jewishness of Israel. But these currents will be weakened, and those currents that want most of all to hold the West Bank and that will welcome the chance to make a separate peace with Sadat will be strengthened.

Of course Syria and the PLO are claiming that a separate Israeli/Egyptian peace was the inevitable result of the Sadat initiative. I do not agree. The Syrian response is making that a more likely outcome—but even now it need not be. The Syrians argue that Sadat got nothing for his gesture—but they are ignoring that he got a major shift in Israeli politics. Sadat moved past normal government-to-government diplomacy. In effect, he was "running for Prime Minister of Israel."

In these terms, Sadat did well. Abba Eban has predicted that by January there will be a political crisis in Israel over the West Bank issue. Deputy Prime Minister Yigael Yadin, head of the moderate reformist *Dash* (Democratic Movement for Change) has publicly criticized Begin's continued hard line on the West Bank. So the potential is high for a hard fight inside the Israeli political system, and the formation of a centrist coalition of the liberals, *Dash*, and the Labor party that would be able to make peace.

Begin intervenes in Arab politics.

While Sadat is trying to be clear enough to create a political crisis behind Begin, Begin is trying to be tough enough to create a political crisis for Sadat. The political crisis Begin wants is one in which Syria irrevocably breaks with Egypt and Egypt has to choose whether to make a separate peace with Israel, or to make war against Israel. Begin believes Egypt cannot choose war, and so will have to choose a separate peace.

So far, the Syrians have mournfully, but steadily, gone along with this scenario. They (and their Soviet friends) have ignored the openings in Israeli politics and focused on what Begin says. They cite his ignoring the Palestinians as the reason for their own rejection of Sadat's initiative—but this leads to a vicious circle: (a) Begin takes a hard line which (b) Syria and the PLO use as either a reason or a justification to take their own hard line, which (c) strengthens home-front support in Israel for Begin's hard line and (d) moves toward a separate peace between Egypt and Israel—exactly the motion that (e) strengthens Syria and the PLO in taking a hard line.

This vicious circle tends to strengthen the likelihood of a settlement that leaves the West Bank and Gaza under Israeli occupation. Such a settlement may be available in a separate Israeli/Egyptian peace, but not in a comprehensive peace. Indeed, Begin may very well have hoped that Syria and the PLO would isolate themselves from Sadat's initiative so that Sadat's only option would become a separate peace.

If so, Syria and the PLO are falling into his trap. They are doing so with such vigor that even Israelis who prefer a comprehensive peace are likely to wonder whether Syria and the PLO really want a comprehensive settlement themselves, even with Palestinian self-determination, or are hoping to prevent peace.

The U.S. woos Syria.

The U.S. government was convinced even before the Sadat visit that Syria was the key to peace. Indeed, the U.S. government's coolness toward the Sadat initiative stemmed from President Carter's focus on involving Syria in the peace negotiations. The U.S. seems to have decided several months ago that U.S. influence in Egypt was at its zenith, that Egypt was ready to make peace, that even the PLO was close, and that the remaining stumbling block was Syria. Some PLO people have even claimed that it was the Syrian influence inside the PLO that has been important in preventing the PLO from publicly and clearly accepting the UN Resolution 242. (But PLO doves would have a vested interest in seeing or describing the world that way; so the claim should be taken with salt.)

The Syrian/Soviet relationship (along with the Carter administration's desire

to develop detente) would then explain why the U.S. felt it had good reasons to seek with the Soviets what became the joint U.S./Soviet statement. But as U.S. policy focused away from Egypt, Sadat grew restive. He told Israelis that the major reason for the timing of his proposal to visit Jerusalem was his unhappiness with the joint U.S./Soviet statement. Reciprocally, of course, the U.S. feared that an Egyptian initiative would infuriate Syria and the Soviets, inhibit the new American approach, and damage detente.

Sadat offers Syria carrots, sticks.

What, then, about Egypt? First, is Sadat really after a separate peace—as Syria and the PLO fear? I think not. Such a peace would leave him utterly isolated from all the Arabs, even his main source of funds—Saudi Arabia. Even though the Egyptian people want peace, the politically active do not want to buy it at the expense of selling out the Palestinians and isolating Egypt. So Sadat has internal reasons as well as external to avoid a separate peace. I believe he is pursuing a subtler policy—separate negotiations but no separate peace. Sadat is trying stick-and-carrot politics on Syria and the PLO. The stick is the threat that he will make a separate peace—and toward the PLO, the threat that he will try to find other Palestinians for Israel to deal with. The carrot is his promise of getting Israel to agree soon on an over-all peace plan. Then, he hopes, Syria and the PLO would tacitly "fit into" it by negotiating with Israel on the aspects of the plan that concern each of them.

In short, Sadat has taken the burden of "going first"—hoping he can thereby get Israel to "go second" on the principle of Palestinian self-determination, whereupon Syria and the PLO can "go third"

on recognizing Israel. The crucial point will be whether any Egyptian offer of peace in exchange for the West Bank/Gaza, rather than an offer from Syria and the PLO, will be enough to trigger a major political debate inside Israel.

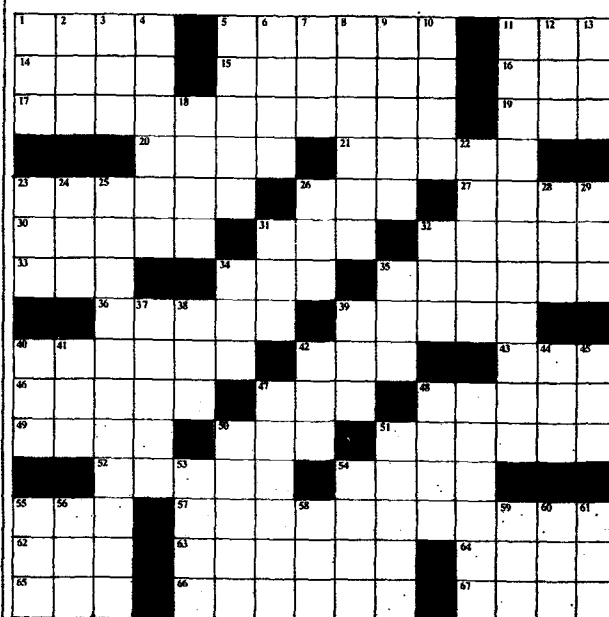
If not, and if Begin holds to a hard line in the West Bank, Sadat will have to decide whether to make a separate peace after all, or rejoin the other Arab states and threaten war. If Begin thinks Egypt cannot choose war, he will be strongly tempted to continue with a line so hard that Sadat has no carrot for Syria and the PLO, and is more isolated and forced to choose a separate peace. The race between Sadat to be clear enough to create a political crisis behind Begin, and Begin to be tough enough to create a political crisis for Sadat is an underlying reality at Cairo.

In order to make an offer of peace-for-the-West-Bank more credible in Israeli eyes, Sadat is holding out the possibility that if the PLO and Syria harden still more in refusing to negotiate, he can encourage the Palestinian people to use some new arrangements—other than the PLO—to express their self-determination. For example, elections in the West Bank, Gaza, and the Palestinian Diaspora—supervised perhaps by a special committee of the UN, or even by a special Arab grouping led by Egypt. But it is almost certain that before West Bank-Gaza Palestinians would agree to take part in such elections, they would have to be convinced that Israel had clearly offered and the PLO had clearly rejected, Palestinian self-determination on the basis of peace with Israel.

A longer version of this article was published by the Public Resource Center (1747 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20009) of which Arthur I. Waskow is an associate.

Naked, in chains

By David Mermelstein



Across:

- 1 _____ Kenyatta
- 5 BLACK NATIONALISTS' NAME FOR 25 DOWN
- 11 _____ & the Family Stone
- 14 Sloping access
- 15 Claws
- 16 Farming implement
- 17 MARTYRED LEADER
- 19 Word in classified ad
- 20 French river
- 21 Make golfing standard again
- 23 Somewhat passe alternative to "people," in radical rhetoric
- 26 Burns' org., familiarly
- 27 Student evaluations: Abbr.
- 30 Woodwinds
- 31 Owls
- 32 _____ Litovsk
- 33 Little, in Caen
- 34 Fruit stone
- 35 More serious
- 36 Alexander and Peter
- 37 Resembling
- 40 California desert
- 42 "...to better _____ perch for the night..."

- 43 Hawaiian wreath
- 46 Author of *The Red Badge of Courage*
- 47 Gould or Rockefeller
- 48 More skillful
- 49 Nimble
- 50 _____ Hogan
- 51 Most depressed
- 52 Concerning the aesthetic realm
- 54 _____ and Civilization
- 55 Jacques' friend
- 57 RACIST PRIME MINISTER
- 62 CORPORATION WITH INVESTMENTS IN 25 DOWN
- 63 Condition of being fundamental
- 64 Ireland's former name
- 65 _____ Maria (liqueur)
- 66 Br. imperialist in Africa
- 67 Real estate document

Down:

- 1 Between sophs. and srs.
- 2 Cereal grass
- 3 Fr. title of respect: Abbr.

- 4 THE COMMITTEE TO _____ BANK LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICA
- 5 One Hardy heroine
- 6 _____ Grey
- 7 Priestly vestment
- 8 Betes _____
- 9 Penned
- 10 Soaked: Poetic
- 11 SITE OF MASSACRE
- 12 Cut off
- 13 Eventually
- 18 Hastens
- 22 Tapestry
- 23 Thick mass of hair
- 24 _____ Beame
- 25 LAND OF APARTHEID
- 26 Chew the _____
- 28 Literary monogram
- 29 Type of ship: Abbr.
- 31 Word on towel
- 32 Bathing top
- 34 Can precede school or war
- 35 _____ Hall
- 37 Word in French toast
- 38 Relative of st. or rd.
- 39 Amount: Abbr.
- 40 2 x DCC
- 41 25 DOWN RICH IN THIS
- 42 _____ Smith, racist leader of Rhodesia
- 44 Scottish facial features
- 45 Alternative to BMT or IND
- 47 _____ Tull
- 48 Island near Timor
- 50 Soup
- 51 German breads
- 53 Slightly open
- 54 Bacchanals' cry
- 55 Fore's companion
- 56 Movie, in Roman numbers
- 58 Land of _____
- 59 Suit's complement
- 60 Before
- 61 Neck color

Solution next week.