

Attica inmates pardoned, but books not closed

By Judy MacLean
National Affairs Staff

On Dec. 30, New York's governor Carey pardoned seven former inmates of Attica who had been convicted of crimes during the 1971 prison uprising and commuted the sentence of an eighth, Dacajeweah (John Hill). He said if he did not do so, "the law itself might well fall into disrespect" due to the way the case had been handled.

In his statement, Carey said he was acting to "firmly and finally close the book" on Attica. After five years of investigations, he concluded, law enforcement officials had covered up the events of Attica so thoroughly that justice was not possible.

On Sept. 13, 1971, thousands of National Guard and state troopers stormed Attica prison, which was being held by inmates protesting conditions there. Thirty-two prisoners and nine guards were killed during the assault.

The United States Second Circuit court reported that injured prisoners were then beaten with belts, sticks and bats, forced to strip and run naked through a gauntlet of guards armed with clubs, burned and threatened with death.

The state of New York then proceeded to spend over \$5 million indicting and prosecuting 61 prisoners; but because the state was unable to build a substantial case, most of the accused were never convicted.

►No action against guards or state troopers.

"We're pleased with anything that lets Dacajeweah out of jail," said Liz Fink, a lawyer from the Attica defense team, "but he should have gotten amnesty. To commute his sentence says he's guilty."

Akil Al-jundi, a former Attica inmate who was indicted as a result of the uprising, agreed. "We're elated, but then we aren't elated, also," he said. "He should not have been indicted from the beginning. The people who were indicted were not the persons guilty of crimes."

Carey's action also foreclosed criminal prosecution of any prison guards or state troopers. Two independent investigations by the state of New York showed the state failed to properly plan the assault, to preserve evidence or to investigate the matter impartially.

Akil Al-Jundi, who is today minister for education of Attica Now, a group that has worked on the defense of the indicted

inmates, pointed out that the seven who were pardoned were already free due to appeals and other court actions. He said Carey's trading one commuted sentence for not prosecuting 20 guards "is so people won't beef."

►Balou Asahi vs. Rockefeller.

Al-Jundi doesn't agree with Carey that the book on Attica can be closed. He pointed out that one accused former inmate, Balou Asahi (Mariano Gonzales), was not covered in Carey's pardon because he is a fugitive.

Al-Jundi is also chief plaintiff in a \$2 million civil suit against former Gov. Rockefeller and the state of New York brought on behalf of inmates who were maimed in the assault and relatives of dead inmates.

A group of survivors of guards is also suing the state of New York.

"The other reason we can't say the book is closed is that the problems that existed in New York state prisons in 1971 exist today in 1977," said Al-Jundi. "The basic changes demanded by the inmates in '71 have not been made. It's still slave labor, even if you get 75¢ a day instead of 25¢, you still have to work five days a week and you're lucky at the end of the month if you have \$10. Prisoners are still released with only \$40. Furloughs are still discriminatory. What happened in Attica could happen today anywhere in New York's prisons. It was a response to conditions that remain the same."

►A guard blames attorneys and politicians.

Al-Jundi says the deaths at Attica may have chilled inmate unrest and that guards also don't ever want to see another Attica. "They learned the state thinks correctional officers are dispensable, too."

Former guard Michael Smith, a hostage when the inmates took over, is today on medical retirement from the prison system. "It's too bad so many people lost their lives and it didn't make any substantial difference in the prison system," he says. Smith would like to see better prison conditions, "not color TV—material things like that only scratch the surface—but better programs for really helping the inmates."

"It's too bad," said Smith, "that the only ones who benefited were politicians and attorneys. Politicians used Attica to get elected and attorneys benefited financially."

20,000 seeking jobs on Carter's team

Jimmy Carter's offer to all Americans to come work in his administration has been taken seriously by some 20,000 people. "I think they'll have to bring over a trailer-truck on Jan. 20th and pick up the resumes and dump them into the Potomac," said a senior transition official last week. "This whole thing is ridiculous."

It all started with an emotional Carter campaign appeal and since then, his so-called Talent Inventory Program has been swamped. There are now 18 full-time professional staffers ripping through mounds of envelopes every day, helped by some 40 secretaries and volunteers.

The resumes are reduced to short forms and computerized. But already most job seekers are getting form letters back from TIP with the bad news.

"Many of the applicants are not now eligible for a presidential appointment," press officer Rick Neustadt said with a measure of understatement, "so we refer them to the various [cabinet] departments. A 20, 21 year old, just out of college, writing us for a job isn't likely to get one."

What the program's advice amounts to in most cases is for the applicant to take the civil service exam—in other words, get in line with everybody else.

There are only about 2,200 jobs open to presidential fiat. Those among the 20,000 applicants who have administra-

tive or subject area skills are broken down into lists for eventual presentation to the White House personnel office, which will take over TIP's function on Jan. 20.

"It's not a charade, not a gimmick," press aide Anne Edwards said of the project. "The resumes are taken very seriously and are being read by well qualified people." But the senior transition official, a savvy political operator in Democratic circles for years, said that applicants without heavy sponsors were unlikely to be taken seriously. In other words, she said, the pattern of job placement follows past administration procedures.

"There's really no point to pay a lot of attention to [resumes from] people you've never heard of," the official said, "because we've already heard of too many people who are sponsored. That's what makes this whole program so silly."

Until Jan. 20th, however, workers in the tightly guarded downtown office will be ploughing through the letters, some 300 a day so far, around the clock and through the weekends.

"If we ever have the time, we do skim the unsponsored ones," the official sighed, "but all resumes look the same. They've all been published and have lots of degrees."

—Jeffrey Stein



Sen. Howard Baker, new Minority Leader, was Mr. Clean in Watergate hearings.

Byrd and Baker to lead Senate parties

Conservative West Virginia Democrat Robert Byrd was elected without opposition Jan. 4 to probably the most influential position in the U.S. Senate—Majority Leader.

The same day Watergate figure Sen. Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) was elected Minority Leader in a surprise one-vote victory over Sen. Robert Griffin (R-Mich.), widely assumed to be a shoo-in. Baker's supporters, who lobbied heavily for him with colleagues, said the Republicans needed a symbolic change, with new faces in leadership roles.

A challenge to Byrd from Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) failed to materialize at the last minute when it was judged hopeless. The ailing Humphrey, it was feared, might be more vocal than methodical as Majority Leader and lacked crucial AFL-CIO support, which he had expected to get.

Both of the new Senate chiefs come from the conservative wings of their parties. Byrd was so in tune with Nixon's economic, law-and-order, and Vietnam policies that the Republican National Committee gave no funds to his opponent one year.

Domestically, Byrd has never quite lived down his Ku Klux Klan membership during the 1940s. Though since repudiating his association with the Klan, he has not been an ally in civil rights issues. He once called Martin Luther King a "self-serving rascal" and voted no on Thurgood Marshall's appointment to the Supreme Court. (Marshall is the only black Justice.)

As head of the District of Columbia Committee, Byrd became notorious for his insistence on enforcing the "Man-in-the-House" rule for welfare recipients, prompting *Washington Star* columnist Milton Viorst to observe that "Byrd has made his reputation as an authority on the

"Byrd was so in tune with Nixon's economic, law-and-order and Vietnam policies that the Republican National Committee gave no funds to his opponent one year."

mating habits of Washington's underprivileged."

A classic "self-made man" himself, Byrd seems to have a pervasive Horatio Alger philosophy guiding his politics. "Anyone with common sense and drive can get to the top," he told a Ralph Nader-connected researcher.

Mining dominates West Virginia and Byrd has managed a successful balancing act between the companies and the miners. This is not to say he is even-handed, however. The status of mineworker health and safety, for example, is a concern of the past for Byrd. "The problem was too long overlooked," he says, "but improvements have been made. Back in my day's day it was worth writing about."

Sen. Baker, despite his Mr. Clean Watergate role, was a Nixon enthusiast during the war years of Nixon's first term. "I think the President has, the majority of the time," said Baker, "a track record for candor and honesty in his representations with respect to Southeast Asia."

Though Baker's voting record is quite conservative, observers saw no ideological grounds for his victory, since the favored Sen. Griffin's record was quite similar.

—Tim Frasca

The Trilaterals

Like the chain that holds the trinkets on a charm bracelet, the Trilateral Commission binds together the principle appointments of the Carter Administration. In previous issues, we have profiled Blumenthal and Vance; in this issue we look at Brown and Brzezinski, the other two appointees from the Commission. Commentator Alan Wolfe lays bare both the policies being pursued and the challenge they present to us.

Enter Brzezinski

By Joe Stork

President-elect Jimmy Carter's selection of Zbigniew Brzezinski to be National Security Adviser brings to that potentially powerful post a man whose political views and connections make him an appropriate replacement for predecessors like Henry Kissinger and Walt Rostow. Like Kissinger he is a refugee from Europe, was trained at Harvard, and shares close ties to the Rockefeller empire. Like Rostow he comes to the job as an accomplished academic ideologue and professional anti-Communist. His writings over the last decade suggest that he is a particularly appropriate adviser for the administration that may be taking us all the way to 1984.

Brzezinski, a professor of history at Columbia University and director of its Research Institute on Communist Affairs was born in Warsaw, the son of a Polish diplomat who fled to Canada with the onset of World War II. He became an American citizen in 1958.

He made his mark on the '60s as a prolific analyst of political developments in the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc.

In the university teach-ins that grew in protest of American intervention in Indochina, Brzezinski was, according to *Time*, a "persuasive advocate" of the U.S. position. In 1966 LBJ brought him to Washington to direct the State Department's Policy Planning Council. A few months later he was hailed by *Newsweek* as the "kind of hard-nosed intellectual who does not suffer fools gladly" and after only four months on the job was "one of the architects of U.S. foreign policy." *Newsweek* is still infatuated with what it calls "Brzezinski's big-think conceptual brilliance."

►Critical of Kissinger's style.

His recent writings display a critical tone towards Kissinger's policies, but little by way of concrete alternatives. His emphasis is on the need for an alliance of industrial capitalist powers with lip service towards "an active stake in the global system" for "the global *nouveaux riches*" (the oil producers). There is also much polemic against an "erosion of trust," "an accumulation of bitterness," "a growing resentment" of major allies towards Kissinger's style and practice. In its place Brzezinski urges "open debate and shared political responsibility," "real consultations" and "genuine consensus."

Brzezinski has long been angling for a job like this. In the early '70s he broadened his "expertise," publishing an effort at social analysis (*Between Two Ages*, 1970) and a political analysis of Japan (*The Fragile Blossom*, 1972). In 1973 he latched onto Carter as a prospective candidate-client. Since then he has been writing from the stance of a global strategist, and moonlighting as director of the Rockefeller-financed Trilateral Commission, an assemblage of top industrial and finance capitalists, politicians and academics from the U.S., Europe and Japan (including Carter, Mondale, Cyrus Vance and Michael Blumenthal) who lend their names to various pronouncements of the present and future state of the status quo.

►American initiative in Mideast.

Ever sensitive to the needs of the hour, Brzezinski has lately devoted some effort towards developing a full-blown strategy for settling the Arab-Israeli conflict. "Without a settlement of that issue in the near future, any stable arrangement in the energy area is simply not possible." Framed as a critique of Kissinger's "step by step" approach, it more nearly rep-

resents the next stage of Kissinger's strategy and is not quite in harmony with candidate Carter's pro-Israeli pronouncements on the campaign trail.

Brzezinski advocates an "overt American initiative, outlining both the substance of an eventual settlement and the required international framework for it." While he would no doubt refrain from labeling it an "imposed solution," he does say that the "inherently rigid" Israeli political situation is pervaded by "a sense of permanent isolation and defensiveness which make far-sighted statesmanship almost impossible." This is especially true with regard to "the central problem of the Middle East conflict, the relationship between Israel and the Palestinians (which almost certainly means, in practice, the PLO)."

Brzezinski advocates the creation of a de-militarized but PLO-dominated Palestinian state composed of the West Bank and Gaza, with its capital in a united Jerusalem. Israel would be accorded full recognition and its 1967 borders guaranteed by security zones and enforced by the superpowers.

On the level of the world capitalist economy, Brzezinski apprehends certain important dimensions of the current crisis, as when he notes that "modern inflation is deeply rooted in the social fabric of consumption-oriented advanced societies," but of course he fails to attribute the systemic nature of the crisis to the monopoly character of late capitalism.

►Democracy "overloaded."

Rather he plays a theme that is echoed by some of the Trilateral Commission pronouncements: the problem is that "democratic" institutions have been "overloaded" with participants and demands, and "effective countermeasures are hard to adopt because sacrifices are not easy to distribute through the democratic process."

Like Kissinger, he sees the core of the problem resting in the fact that people no longer believe in the system. "The economic crisis...intersects with a deep cultural malaise in the Western world, a malaise that is pregnant with dangerous political consequences."

Brzezinski's own ideas about how to rectify the situation are among the most dangerous of those consequences. In a 1968 article for the *New Republic* entitled "Revolution and Counterrevolution (But Not Necessarily About Columbia)" he opined that the U.S. was undergoing "a profound shift in the prevailing values," which he attributed to the fact that the society is in transition from an industrial to a "technotronic" society "in which technology, especially electronic communications and computers, is prompting basic social changes." With this preface he proceeds to instruct the authorities on how to respond to the wave of unrest then current in the country ("a revolutionary act is likely to be condemned by most, provided it is rapidly suppressed") and assures them that "some of the recent upheavals have been led by people who increasingly will have no role to play in the new technotronic society." Their violence and slogans he writes, are "merely the death rattle of the historical irrelevants."

►Manipulation and control.

Themes of manipulation and control remain fundamental to Brzezinski's prescriptions for the future. To create the requisite "new international system," it must be "the advanced countries which consult closely and undertake the joint initiatives, enlisting on an ad hoc basis those developing and particularly energy-

ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

© Kimmey
FOR IN THESE TIMES



producing countries that are capable and willing to become partners in such an architectural endeavor." This cartel-like grouping will be required to coordinate economic and trade policies, taking into account high economic growth rates will no longer be available to mitigate class conflict in the "advanced" societies.

The problem as Brzezinski sees it then becomes one of generating the political will necessary to implement this "significant change in our social and political lifestyle." "Accordingly the challenge that we face today may require some political dramatization.... One useful approach might be for the heads of our advanced democratic governments to hold a joint meeting on the emerging state of social emergency (his emphasis) as the point of departure for the adoption of the needed reforms."

Writing in *Foreign Policy* at the end of 1974, Brzezinski urged "an adminis-

tration of national unity" since "these problems...simply cannot wait for 1976 and the selection of a President through older methods." He proposed that the Vice-President be charged with developing "joint economic-political international machinery, capable of integrating our policies and mobilizing the best brains in the country into a bipartisan effort." In a *New York* article he described this proposal as "a supra-departmental integration of our global policy." policy."

On Jan. 20, Zbigniew Brzezinski, with his "big-think conceptual brilliance," will take over responsibility in the office that most closely resembles his "effective instrument for world planning." Historical irrelevants beware!

Joe Stork is an editor of *MERIP Reports* in Washington, DC, and author of *Middle East Oil and the Energy Crisis* (Monthly Review Press).

Brown already insider—nothing new likely

Defense dept. head is convenient compromise for Carter

By John Markoff

Harold Brown's appointment as Secretary of Defense has lengthened the shadow that the elite Trilateral Commission is casting over the new administration of President-elect Jimmy Carter. Brown is the fifth high-level Carter appointee to be drawn from the ranks of the commission.

Brown's appointment as Secretary of Defense signifies that Jimmy Carter's military policy will differ little from that of his predecessors. Brown is another insider. He already has served in the Pentagon as Director of the Directorate of Defense Research and Engineering (DDR&E) and as Secretary of the Air Force.

Brown represented a convenient compromise for Jimmy Carter. He fell somewhere between hawk James Schlesinger, who is anathema to liberal Democrats, and Washington lawyer Paul Warnke, who was unacceptable to the Pentagon.

Brown was a hawk during the Kennedy era and helped preside over the air war

in Vietnam under Lyndon Johnson. However, he is said to have undergone a "soul-change" after Nixon's election in 1968. Since that time Brown has become an ardent strategic arms controller, albeit one who falls well within establishment limits.

►Commitment to SALT.

Brown's appointment may represent a genuine commitment to reach some kind of SALT II agreement over arms limitations with the Soviet Union. Brown has ties with Dr. Georgii Arbatov, a member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party and the leading American expert in the USSR. Arbatov is active as a SALT negotiator from the Russian side. Several weeks ago he called on Carter to revive the stalled negotiations.

Recent press reports have stated that Brown is willing to ban cruise missiles as part of a SALT agreement. The cruise missile, which the U.S. is developing, is a major stumbling block in negotiations.

Continued on page 7.