to continue?

MR. ADDISON: The basic complaint is that wages are so low that working at Attica is tantamount to slavery.

The inmates feel that the State

Minimum Wage Law should apply to inmate workers.

The pay scale for inmates ranges from 25 cents

a day to a high in a few jobs of a dollar per

day. Based on an average of 22 working days a

month, an inmate can earn from \$5.50 to \$22 a

month or to put it another way, \$66 to \$246

a year as of September 9.

From this amount, inmates purchased stamps, toilet articles, when the institution's supply ran out, cigarettes, towels, books, magazines, diet supplements and other things from the commissary. The prisoners object to the high prices at the commissary. Actually, the prices are high only in relation to the purchasing power of the inmates, which is determined by their wages and their frustration comes from not being able to fulfill the very specific needs they have.

The Correction Department apparently recognized that the pay scale is inadequate for

it permits an inmate to receive money from home for use at the commissary. Most inmates, however, are poor and cannot turn to their families for the funds necessary to support them in prison. Husstling in these circumstances becomes a way of life.

Examples of this, which have been mentioned to us in interviews are:

Sale of homosexual favors, doing laundry, cleaning cells, sale of pornographic literature, legal assistance and bookmaking.

The average amount spent by any one inmate each month in the commissary is \$10.20, which exceeds the total earnings of many inmates.

The commissary profit margin has been limited to five per cent. The director, to limit profits, came from Albany in August of 1970, just after the metal shop strike. One grievance focused on the spending of this profit, which comes to approximately \$15,000.

Two-thirds of it goes to buy tobacco from Ahlberg to support their industry there.

This \$10,000, which includes the cost of papers and matches, benefits the smokers in the

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population in the form of \$4.55 64

per year of free tobacco issued in two-ounce

bags once every two weeks. The \$5,000 left

goes for sports, recreation, law books, movies

and entertainment.

MR. McKAY: Mr. Addison, may I interrupt your presentation for just a moment to say a word to the general audience?

I notice there are one or more members of the audience who have asked to be recognized by the hearings today. Let me say that I don't think at this time that's possible. What the reasons are for that--

MR. HENDERSON: Do you realize that black people lost a lot of people in Attica? You are going over racism that black people already know about, man. No communities are here because these are the people that it effects, it does not effect you. You have no need, man, to be placing the emphasis upon where you're placing it because the emphasis should be placed upon, man, what is basically going to be done, not talking about this type of thing that is going to draw money to other institutions, but we are not talking about money,

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we are talking about people's lives, 65
human treatment and the other ways this can be
done. This is not the prison system on trial.
This is America on trial, because racism has
sprouted all across this land, and further,
looking for people in Attica to treat black
people and Puerto Ricans—then it cannot be
because society bred this type of condition.

Unless we change the society, then we are not realistically talking about anything and to sit here and know our people are being turned off because of the fact that you are not talking about anything realistic whatsoever, anything racial whatsoever because all you're doing is lobbying for more money for penal institutions to be able to supress and opress our people further. And this is not what we feel this meeting and this type of coverage should be for. because when this Commission was set up it was not set up to plead for money for the Commission, it was set up to determine and self-determine why the condition existed that led into it and the reason why it existed was because of racism and sensitivity and other things.

You see, I have been through the present

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I'm not talking of somebody who don't know, that have been through the present systems such as myself that could rise above this and what we might do by not being in jail while still being in jail because the same thing that you need in jail is the same thing that I need when I go down to Mayor Lindsay's office. And these meetings should be cancelled because we lost a lot of people. I don't know how many you lost. I know we lost many.

MR. McKAY: If you will give me an opportunity to respond to that.

The members of the Commission are fully sensitive to the problems you talked about. We are very much aware that the prisons are but one institution in the society and that's our particular son to talk about, that particular institution.

MR. HENDERSON: If you are not talking about racism in America, how can you talk about racism in jail?

MR. McKAY: If we talk about racism in prisons and in America, our assignment is to deal with, as you said, the specific problems that gave

rise to the tragic events.

MR. HENDERSON: You are not dealing with that, the specific problems of the riots in jail. People there do not have the self-determination to get decent jobs to be able to be self-sufficient and it means that we are overcrowded in jail because, man, the people in the street trying to motivate themselves, they are eventually sent to prison and if you are talking about the new, modern-day type of prison, and you are not going to speak with about this, you are talking about the old type of prison system. We are talking about the new type of prisoner, who is responsible for this type of thing and unless you deal with what makes this--

MR. McKAY: Let me have a minute. We do want--we are talking about them in the context of the prison situation. We have been aware of the problems which arised and this is the opportunity for an orderly hearing of the evidence that our staff has gathered over the last six months. I think you will find the answers to many of your questions, many of your reservations, many of your duties, about the work of the

MR. HENDERSON: I have your addenda.

MR. McKAY: We insist on the--

MR. HENDERSON: This is orderly because it is the people's business and the peoples like that you talk about and if you are not talking of what made the average prisoner go to jail, if you are not talking about the average background of the prisoner that is in jail, if you are not talking about these basics, because you are talking about the consignment, a small fragment of a person's life.

MR. McKAY: I am telling you one more thing and then we are going on with the hearings. That is to remind you what I said in the beginning of the hearings today, perhaps you missed it, but I want to make it very clear that we welcome, after these hearings, during these hearings any statements that you wish to give us in writing and to things you think we should know in connection with it and the prisoners' position itself. If you think that we have not adequately represented all the information that is available, all the facts that bear upon this, we want you to let us know as an individual or a group, if you

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represent a group, that you would 69 like to be heard before this Commission at the conclusion of the hearings we have scheduled.

MR. HENDERSON: You are digressing. What about the people out there?

MR. McKAY: We think it is very important that the public be advised of the findings that we have about the conditions of the prison and about the events of September 9 to 13. We have information that has never been available We think it is important to you and to before. whomever you represent.

MR. HENDERSON: You believe this is going to change the lives of the minority people?

MR. McKAY: This is the best we have and we believe that it will do more than rhetoric --

A VOICE: This Commission is rhetoric.

MR. McKAY: What we hope to do is to take the prisoner from invisible to the society as a whole and make them visible. I think it will do more good for the cause that you expressed. I ask you to permit us to proceed.

MR. HENDERSON: How does this change our lives?

MR. McKAY: Mr. Addison, will you proceed?

MR. ADDISON: I joined the--

I say the statement and I place myself in jeopardy, but that's okay because we are always in jeopardy. I joined this Commission after a lot of thought and several times I started to quit because there is not and there never has been sufficient black representation on the Commission.

Now, we have been involved in this investigation—we have been involved in this investigation for several months. The black members of the staff and the Puerto Rican members of the staff have carefully looked at each step of our investigation.

We intend, or at least I intend to fully make sure that the report comes out in a way that satisfies us and in our judgment, after talking to people in the black community, it satisfies that.

Now, we have involved ourselves in this investigation and if it doesn't go in that direction--

A VOICE: It's not.

MR. ADDISON: If it doesn't go in that direction, it won't have our support.

A VOICE: Then you better leave now.

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MR. ADDISON: In the educational area,

MR. McKAY: Thank you, Mr. Addison.

MR. ADDISON: We can't make

A VOICE: Bull shit. We say--

that judgment now. I'm not prepared for it.

Will you continue?

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this did not show up as the major concern by the Inmates' complaints concerning educainmates. tional programs generally fell into four categories:

The educational programs offered did not go beyond basics.

There was little available beyond high school equivalency.

Black literature was not included in readings and many inmates were signed who were not interested in learning and disrupted those who were serious.

The school regularly provided elementary education up to high school. Preparation for high school equivalency exams were scheduled and 10-week courses held from time to time. Prior to September 9 there was a hundred-man waiting list. Further education was available only through expensive correspondence courses or some study courses, which were organized by the inmates.

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Black literature in a study 72 context was available only in the Afro-American history cell study course. Because all inmates scored less than five on the standard--standard achievement tests were required to attend school and because some inmates deliberately scored low in order to get what was considered an easy assignment, many students were not interested in learning. Since the disturbance, it has been decided that there will be no mandatory school assignments when the school reopens.

Complaints about recreation were directed to the amount of time allocated and the facilities available.

As for yard time, on September 9, yard time ranged from 70 to 140 minutes per inmate, depending upon his job assignment and the weather. Before May 31, 1971, yard time ranged from 31 to 100 minutes on weekdays. These figures contrast with the minimum of 15 hours inmates were required to spend in the five by nine foot cells.

As to facilities, there are no enclosed facilities for the general population, even when the temperature drops below zero during the winter. Yards are 100 square yards. The basketball courts

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and handball courts completed by inmate 73
labor in 1971. The weights are made by inmates
out of tin cans and cement. Football and other
uniforms are donated. Poor athletes have little
chance to participate in sports.

There is only one recreational director for the institution and his total budget is \$2700, derived from the profits on commissary sales to inmates.

The televisions available to the general population are located in each yard for use by the approximately 500 inmates in each block. The program selections are subject to the approval of the administration. Movies were shown once a week from October to April and consisted mainly of comedies and westerns, chosen by the administration. Only films with G or GP ratings could be shown and 15 to \$25 was budgeted for each film.

As of September 9, 1971, radio was only available on a three-channel prison radio, one channel of which carried the audio portion of a television station. Program is subject to the approval of the administration.

Black and Puerto Rican inmates complained of the lack of programming directed toward them.

There are only two ways to 74
get books at Attica: To order them directly from
the publisher or to get them from the library.
With at least 15 hours of idle time a day in
cells, books and magazines and newspapers become
an important way to pass the time.

The prison subscribes to no newspapers for the inmates. The prison subscribes to approximately 15 magazines, one copy each for the entire population.

Prisoners are allowed to sign our only one book or magazine per week now. Before the uprising it was more, probably two.

The prisoners don't get to visit the library on a regular basis. Many have never been. They must put in a tab to go there. It is most accessible to inmates who use the school and next most successful to inmates in G Block. Browsing is discouraged. There are particularly no Spanish books. The estimate is under 20. There is very little black literature.

On March 24, 1971 an administrative memo from Oswald listed 40 books that were acceptable black literature. Now there is a median review

any book that is censored. There isn't 75

a salaried librarian on the staff, either civilian

or officer. The entire operation is left to

inmate initiative. The new books, which are

ordered once a year, are chosen by the inmate

librarian.

MR. LIMAN: The 15 magazines which the prison subscribes to are Time Magazine, the cover of which I have here, Life Magazine, Ebony, Jet, Black World, Downbeat, The Atlantic, Argosy, Popular Science, Popular Mechanics, GQ, Gentlemen's Quarterly, National Geographic, True Magazine, Outdoor Life, Field & Stream, and magazines that no male prison should be without, American Home and House Beautiful. Those are the 15.

MR. ADDISON: Needless to say, idlness in cell time is the major source of inmate complaints. 54.5 per cent of the inmate's day is spent locked in his cell. Additional cell time occurs if the inmate is keeplocked, denied yard privileges or if the yard is closed because of extremely bad weather. The ear phones were available in each cell along with three separate channels, two radio, one television, but despite this variety, programming was for many inmates, far from adequate, with very

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little black or Spanish or re-entered 76 programs. If they stretch, inmates in neighboring cells could play cards.

If none of these activities were appealing, and inmate could use the time to wash out a few of his personal belongings with part of the bucket of hot water he got each day. The only remaining options appear to be sleep or hours of silent reflection.

According to a November 1968 memo from Sergeant Ellmore to Deputy Superintendent Vincent, one roll of toilet tissue is issued to inmates once every five weeks. Any extra toilet paper that may accumulate is used for the officer's toilet and the block and the inmate's toilet in the yard.

MR. LIMAN: That was as of September? MR. ADDISON: That's correct. the riot, showers were allowed only once a meet to maintain population, including the metal workers who sweat and get dirty daily. A correction officer maintains that inmates often get showers after some recreational work-outs and week-end contests, but there are no showers in the blocks or wards, although inmates have requested

Inmates take showers with
their company near the laundry room. Hot water
is distributed daily to inmates by a galley
waterboy. Each inmate gets a bucket, but water
is used for washing up, washing a few clothing
items, cleaning the cell and on occasion, for
drinking. Inmates must buy razor blades, have
them sent in a package or go to the institution
barber shop to be shaved.

When razor blades are purchased in the commissary or requested in a package, they are held by the authorities. They are issued to the inmates five at a time. Every three weeks in exchange for the used blades, the inmate is given the new blades. This procedure leads to rashes from shaving with dull blades.

The most frequently voiced complaints centered around how the food was prepared.

Inmates repeatedly claimed that the food was not seasoned properly, in addition to being just half cooked on many occasions. These defects were compounded by the food being allowed to turn cold before inmates arrived to eat it. A correlary complaint was that the food was frequently

foreign matters were mentioned as being evident in the food on various occasions. Inmates who work in the messhall claim that the rags which are used to clean the floors are the same rags used to clean the inmates dinner plates. Also, the utensils and glasses were said to be unclean. The third complaint was that the diet was inadequate. Inmates complained of a lack of variety and unsubstantial breakfast, as well as sugar being non-existent in the dining hall and

The most intensely expressed grievance under this complaint was that the menu contained too much pork. This view was expressed mostly by members of the Nation of Islam. These inmates felt that this was a deliberate attempt to deny them the freedom to practice their religion inasmuch as pork items were often cooked with pork or pork derivatives.

water absent from the table.

A final complaint was that inmates were unnecessarily restricted in the amount of food that they could take from the mess hall. They say they could take only four slices of bread.

Complaints about the adequacy of the diet are not

inmates were being fed on 63 cents a day per inmate. Commissioner Oswald discovered that the food served did not even meet the minimum dietary standards set by the Home Economics

Department of the State University.

By contrast, the New York State Welfare
Department gives 90 cents a day for food stamps
per person. Commissioner Oswald ordered his
people to spend the money and worry about getting
an appropriation later.

MR. LIMAN: This was on August 22, 1971, Mr. Addison?

MR. ADDISON: That's correct.

The inmates see no reason why they should not have the right to be visited by anyone who wishes to see them. Visitors are divided into classes. Class A visitors, members of the inmate's immediate family, can visit once a week if the inmate has a good record and on two successive days if the visitor has incurred great expense in getting to the prison.

Class B visitors: The clergy and attornies can visit as often as the situation demands, provided the warden knows the intent.

Class C visitors are relatives

that are not members of the inmate's immediate
family. They can visit monthly after making

Class Z visitors: Friends; and

Class E: Former inmates must make written request for each visit.

a written request and being approved.

From the inmate's point of view, the rules appear to be intended to keep them not only in prison, but isolated.

Prior to April 1971, the wives and offspring of Common Law relationships, in which 26.6 per cent of the Puerto Rican and 20.4 per cent of the black inmates participated, were not recognized as legitimate relatives. In addition to complaints about who could visit and how often they could come, inmates alleged that the prison is inaccessible. Even if the rules were relaxed, this would be a sincere hardship, especially for poor families who live in New York City.

Rule 57 reads: "Inmates may receive visits from the same visitor on two successive days of a week by special permission of the warden in instances where the visitor has been put to great expense in time and money in making the visit.

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To some persons a trip from 81 New York City is an inordinate expense. The round trip between New York City and Batavia costs \$33.55. The round trip by taxi between Batavia and Attica costs about \$12. A taxi is the only means of transportation between Batavia and Attica. A visitor must leave New York City at 12:45 p.m. in order to reach Attica one and-a-half hours after visiting hours begin at 10:30 a.m.

But there are no guide lines which enable visitors to determine whether or not they will be allowed to visit for two days. One long-term inmate told us:

"It used to be fair. My family wasn't embarassed to come. Then Mancusi put up the It bothers me and my family. The first screen. screen couldn't be seen through. Now at least you can see. Before Mancusi there was no screen. My mother went to see Mancusi and made a stink. She was one of the first to get a visit with the old screen. Mancusi told her it was to protect She said 'From my son?' .It was probably to cut down on contraband. Now you could pass stuff through the screen, so it serves no purpose except to prevent kissing. It is an indignity.

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beginning. It was built in 1966. The old room

have tables in rooms. Here they make an animal

of you. They bugged the visiting room from the

was bugged, too. It was the electrician who

"In federal prisons they

put the bugs in. It wasn't listened on a

regular basis, but could be if a guy like

Rosenberg got a visit. They are scared of him

and possible escapees. They tape his visits.

A civilian electrician told me the purpose of the mikes."

MR. LIMAN: You have just been quoting from an interview with an inmate?

MR. ADDISON: That's correct.

All inmate correspondence except legal mail is required to be written on special forms. This form is esentially a sheet of ruled paper, set up in the letter form with a detachable part at the top.

MR. LIMAN: Can we get a camera on this?

You can't pick it up. It is available for anybody
that wants to take a look at it.

MR. ADDISON: Information on the addressee and addressor are required on the front of the detachable portion. The back reads as follows:

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"This letter is returned 83 to you, the inmate, because:

"l. You did not sign it properly; you did not fill out the stub properly; the name of the addressee has not been approved; letters addressed to general delivery are not permitted; it contains criminal or prisoner news; begging for packages or money not allowed; you are not permitted to receive the articles requested; the articles requested can only be received from a dealer; correspondence with newspapers or newspaper employees is not permitted; you can not have a visit with the person named in your letter, unless approved by the superintendent; inmate who wrote letter for you did not sign name; special letters must be submitted Saturday, Sunday or Holidays; you did not stick to your subject; you have no stamps on deposit."

Before Commissioner Oswald took over the Department of Corrections, Rule 47 of the inmate handbook governed who an inmate could write to and receive mail from. It included people from the approved list of relatives and such others as may be approved by the warden.

On April 7, 1971, this list was expanded

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to include Common Law wives and offspring 84 from such unions.

In April of 1971, inmates were given the right to write confidential letters to various elected officials, official representatives and lawyers.

MR. LIMAN: By confidential letters, you mean letters in sealed envelopes?

MR. ADDISON: That's correct.

These same officials had the privilege of responding in the same confidential manner.

Many officers thought that this was a bad policy and few accused legislators of sending in inflamatory literature. Generally strict rules induced by inmates -- induced many inmates to attempt circumvention of the rules to maintain those contacts due to them.

To illustrate the point, I have copied the words of an inmate taken from a confiscated letter written in 1970. In it the inmate instructs the mother of his child, not his wife, how to circumvent the rules to get letters to him.

"Darling. I know you will be surprised to get this, so please read it carefully several times. I had it smuggled out. Here are my

Address it like this. When you write, make sure that you don't make a mistake and write your name. I have your two pictures. I put them in frames and that's all I have to remember you by." So desperate is the need for contact that he further admonishes her to contact him through a radio program. Now I am reading from the letter.

"I listen to WMYR, Rochester, from 6:30 to 7:30 in the evening after supper. You call in and he will give requests. I will be able to hear your voice on the earphones. Ask him to play "I am so afraid of losing you" and say hi to me. I will start listening as soon as I mail this."

Letters to and from inmates have always been censored as part of the security measures. Rule 50 of the Inmate Handbook states that in order for an inmate to have permission to write or receive mail, he must sign a paper giving the warden the right to censor and withhold mail as he may deem proper. Rule 49 states that all papers and periodicals must be reviewed by employees designated for this purpose by the warden.

Since Commissioner Oswald took over, he

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has made the process for censoring 86 periodicals more uniform throughout the correctional institutions and provided a mechanism for review. He did this by establishing a media review committee in each institution and spelled out guidelines for the acceptability of literature that is not letters. A negative decision reached by such a committee was to be tentative until a central review committee reviewed the decision and registered it's support or disapproval of the institution's decision.

On a monthly basis, this same central committee would have published a listing of the material it reviewed and the decisions it reached on each. Listed below are samples of periodicals and books that were disapproved on review for inmate consumption in the month of September, 1971 by the departmental media review committee in Albany. For sensibly inciting hatred and disobedience towards officers or prison personnel, the following are the periodicals: Amsterdam News of November 13, 1971 and October 30, 1971; Black Journal, the inaugural issue; four additions of the Buffalo Challenger; Essence Magazine of November 1971; Ramparts of July 1971; several

editions of Mohammed Speaks.

For defaming, violating or inciting hatred towards persons because of their race, religion, creed or national origin, the following was censored:

Black Poetry by Rampo; Black Pride by Donnelly; Black Scholar, 1971; Essence Magazine, November 1971. The November list did not contain which guidelines were used to disqualify the periodicals, however, below are a few of the items which were disapproved.

Several editions of the Buffalo Challenger; several editions of the African World; a couple of editions of Black Scholar Magazine; four editions of the Amsterdam News; the Black Panther Paper; books with articles on prison or court life.

Among the articles and books approved were Ready to Riot by Nathan Wright, Jr. and Revolutionary Analysis, Strategy and Tactics Today by various authors.

On September 7, 1971, Commissioner Oswald sent out a bulletin instructing the heads of correctional institutions to make arrangements to comply with a Court decision by Judge Walter Mansfield. That decision provided:

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must be given to the inmate. Some opportunity, either orally or in writing must be given to the inmate to appear. The decision must be made by anyone that can be expected to act fairly."

Therefore, Attica inmates now receive

"Notice of proposed censorship

Therefore, Attica inmates now receive notice of proposed censorship and an opportunity to express in writing an explanation of his desire for the literature.

Inmates don't understand the logic of requiring that periodicals be sent to them from the publisher. This practice, of course, costs the inmates money.

However, from the administration's point of view, it eliminates the necessity of going through every single magazine to search for contraband.

The question of religious freedom concerns many of the members of the Nation of Islam.

Their grievances before the riot was that the administration did not provide a meeting place for the little over 200 Muslims, nor did they secure a Muslim minister to visit regularly.

Moreover, they say the administration persistently revealed its hostility by not

allowing inmates to gather in large 89 groups in the yard for the purpose of running their own services. The Muslims feel they were persecuted because the officers equated black pride with violence and raticalism and resented the respect accured to the Muslims because of their disciplined demeanor.

They feel that the menus were deliberately filled with pork dishes or foods cooked in pork or pork derivatives. The whole month of Romonodon (phonetic), the 30-day fast period, November through December, was not accorded the same status as Christmas and Hannukkah. The religious program Mohammed Speaks was not permitted over the inmates' radio channels until March 1971. Officers and deputies fail to say that efforts were made more than a year before the riot to secure a Muslim minister, however, those contacted refused to come. Those inmates who claim any knowledge of this effort say that the terms they set were too severe and revealed their insincerity.

For example, the minister could not be an ex-convict. This, the Muslims thought, was unreasonable since many Muslims are recruited in prisons and their reputations for rehabilitating

(phonetic), reported to us that he discovered in 1970, when looking through old correspondence, that efforts had been made to secure a Muslim minister. He then arranged to secure a minister and a room for services. However, it was only when he investigated a dispute during the service that he learned that there sere two sects:

Orthodox Muslims, represented about 30 people before the riot and the larger group of followers

The Protestant minister, Dr. Renier

convicts and addicts is well-known.

The minister he had secured was an Orthodox Muslim. Until the present liason committee was formed, inmates had no channel for expressing grievances collectively.

of Elijah Mohammed, who were commonly called

Black Muslims.

If an inmate wanted to complain individually, he could drop a tab to the warden. By the amendment of June 1971 he was able to write uncensored letters to the President, members of Congress, the Governor of the State of New York, members of the legislature, the Commission of Corrections, chairman of the Parole Board, Judges, attorneys of record and their assistants.

The overriding grievance of 91
the inmates is not among those that I have discussed, but the Court system of which the inmates are reminded with each busload of inmates who arrive at Attica. At a later time in our hearing we will deal with the Courts and the Parole Program.

MR. LIMAN: Mr. Addison, you mentioned that inmates do not have any channel for organized protest or grievance. I think it's probably appropriate at this time to discuss the efforts that inmates did resort to prior to September 9 in order to bring about change.

MR. ADDISON: Organized protest at
Attica prior to September 9, 1971 took three forms:

The metal shop strike of July 7,-July 1971 was a job action to obtain high wages and related reforms.

The July 1971 manifesto, signed by five inmates, was a written presentation to Commissioner Oswald of grievances and demands directed at improving the quality of prison life.

The Jackson Day Fast and the sick call strike were both events of late August, 1971.

Unlike the metal shop strike and the July manifesto, they were not organized around specific demands for

reform. The Jackson Day Fast was a 92
memorial to George Jackson's death. The sick call
strike occurred in the expectation that Commissioner
Oswald would be present at the hospital that
morning. The events occurred on August 22 and
on or about August 30 respectively.

You, together with Commissioner Oswald's visit on September 2, may provide a sense of the mood at Attica during the two weeks prior to September 9.

In late July, 1971, the 450 inmates assigned to the metal shop strike went on strike demanding higher wages. While there were no written demands setting for the reasons for the strike, our interviews with inmates and officers have shown that several principal issues, all connected in some way with wages, were involved.

Inmates in the metal shop earn from six cents to twenty-nine cents per day or from \$1.20 to \$5.80 per month, of which half was required to be saved for their release. What remained was not enough to cover their own basic personal needs while in prison.

In comparison, inmates at Auburn Prison

could earn \$15 to \$20 a month making 93 license plates.

Inmates knew that metal cabinets they made were sold for \$60 to \$70 each, and they viewed the metal shop as a multi-million dollar industry. Its sales for 1969-1970 were in fact almost 1.2 million dollars. Profits for the same period from the metal shop and the garment shop combined to 150 thousand dollars.

Prices in the commissary rose without equal rises in wages. Monies sent to inmates from outside were supposed to go into an interest producing account. This interest, together with commissary profits, was to be used for recreation equipment and there was no evidence that it was being so used.

These were the basic grievances. The events connected with the strike, according to inmates, were as follows:

MR. LIMAN: This is based on the interviewing of inmates again?

MR. ADDISON: That is correct.

Prior to the strike itself, several inmates approached the shop supervisor to demand an increase in wages. They were keeplocked--or

locked in their cells and transferred. 94
Subsequently a profit-sharing arrangement was
instituted, but no one ever received the bonus
it called for. Finally, on July 29, 1970,
approximately 450 inmates sat down and refused to
work. They were returned to their cells and
called to the block office one by one to see the
superintendent. A number of the strike leaders
were transferred the following day.

On the following day, almost all of the inmates in the metal shop refused to work and the commissioner was called. He talked with two elected inmate representatives and agreed to increase the range of wages to 25 cents from 6 cents and to \$1 per day from the previous 29 cents maximum.

Further, according to Attica's 1970-'71 annual report, directives were received from the main office of the department limiting commissary profit to five per cent and a survey of all institution pay scales was made. This survey resulted in a uniform pay schedule being placed, in effect, at all correctional facilities.

The metal shop strike was a non-violent protest organized around specific grievances. It

resulted in a number of lasting reforms 95 outlined above. Inmates interviewed felt that the strike was well-organized and that the grievances were legitimate. Many correction officers were in sympathy with the inmates as well, though they feared the precedent that it set.

Almost a year later, on July 2, 1971, a group of five inmates, styling themselves The Attica Liberation Faction, sent to Commissioner Oswald a manifesto of demands.

The accompanying letter and preface to the damands reads as follows:

"To the Hon. Russell G. Oswald--" This is dated July 2, 1971.

"Dear Sir, Enclosed is a copy of our manifesto of demands. We find that it is necessary to forward you said copy in order for you to be aware of our needs and the need for prison reform. We hope that your department don't cause us any hardships in the future because we are informing you of prison conditions. We are doing this in a democratic manner and we do hope that you will aid us. A copy of this was sent to Governor Rockefeller.

"We, the inprisoned men of Attica Prison,

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by all prisoners, regardless of race, creed or color. Preparation and content of this document has been constructed under the unified efforts of all races and social segments of this prison. It is a matter of documented record and human recognition that the administration of the New York State Prison System have restructured the institutions which were designed to socially correct men into the fascist concentration camps of modern America. Due to the conditional fact that Attica Prison is one of the most classic institutions inhumanity upon man, the following

manifesto of demands are being submitted.

"We, the inmates of Attica Prison, have grown to recognize, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that because of our posture as prisoners and branded characters as alleged criminals, the administration and prison employees no longer consider or respect us as human beings but rather as domesticated animals selected to do their bidding and slave labor and furnished as a personal whipping dog for their sadistic psychopathic hate.

"We, the inmates of Attica Prison, say to you, the sincere people of society, the prison

system of which your Courts have rendered 97 unto us without question the authorative fangs of a coward in power.

"Respectfully submitted to the people as a protest to the vile and vicious slavemasters."

A copy of this was sent to the Governor of New York State, the New York State Department of Corrections, the New York State Legislature, the New York Courts, the United States Courts and the Parole Board.

"The inmates of this prison--and I am continuing--

MR. LIMAN: You are continuing with the prior?

MR. ADDISON: I am continuing with the prior.

"The inmates of this prison have vested the power regarding the settlement of stipulated demands with the judgment and control of five signators. All and any negotiations will be conducted by prison and state authorities with these five men. These demands are being presented to you. There is no strike of any kind to protest these demands. We are trying--"and that was underlined--"to do this in a democratic fashion.

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We feel there is no need to dramatize our demands."

The manifesto was in two parts. The first was a group of 28 demands dealing with such issues as parole, political, and racial discrimination, salaries and working conditions, medical treatment, visiting conditions and food. The demands were prefaced by the following statement:

"We, the man of Attica Prison, have been committed to the New York State Department of Correction by the people of a society for the purpose of correcting what has been deemed as social errors in behavior. Errors which have been classified -- or which have classified us as socially unacceptable until reprogramming with new values and more thorough understanding as to our value and responsibility as members of the outside community. The Attica Prison Program, in its structure and conditions, has been enslaved on the pages of this manifesto of demands with the blood, sweat and tears of the inmates of this prison. The program which we are submitted to under the facade of rehabilitation is relative to the ancient stupidity of pouring water on a drowning man inasmuch as we are treated for our

hostilities by the program administrators 99 with their hostility as a medication.

"In our efforts to comprehend on a feeling level and existence contrary to violence, we are confronted by our captors as to what is fair and just.

(Continued on page 100.)

"We are victimized by the exploi- 100 tation and the denial of the celebrated due process of law. In our peaceful efforts to assemble and to dissent, as provided under this Nation's Constitution, we are in turn murdered, brutalized and framed on various criminal charges; because we seek the rights and privileges of all Americans.

"In our efforts to intellectually expand in keeping with the outside world, through all categories of news media, we are systematically restricted and punitively offended to isolation status, status when we insist on our human rights through the wisdom of awareness.

"We demand the constitutional rights of legal representation at the time of all procedural hearings.

I am now reading the manifesto.

"We demand a change in medical policy and procedure.

We demand adequate visiting conditions, facilities.

"We demand an end to the segregation of prisoners from the main line population because of their political beliefs.

"We demand an end to the persecu- 101 tion and punishment of prisoners who practice the constitutional right of peaceful dissent.

We demand an end to political persecution, racial persecution and the denial of prisoners' rights to subscribe to political papers, books, or any other educational and current media chronicles that are afforded through the United States Mail.

MR. LIMAN: Mr. Addison, you are reading excerpts from this now?

MR. ADDISON: I am reading excerpts from the manifesto.

We demand that industries be allowed to enter the institutions and employ inmates to work eight hours a day.

"We demand that inmates be granted the right to join or form labor unions.

"We demand that inmates be granted the right to support their own families.

"We demand that correctional officers be prosecuted as a matter of law for any act of cruel and unusual punishment where it is not a matter of life or death.

"We demand that all institutions using

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inmate labor be made to conform with the State and Federal minimum wage laws.

"We demand an end to the escalating factors of physical brutality being perpetrated upon the inmates of New York State prisons.

We demand the employment of three lawyers from the New York State Bar Association to full-time positions for the provisions of legal assistance to inmates seeking post-conviction relief and to act as liaison between the administration and the inmates.

"We demand the updating of industry working conditions.

We demand the establishment of inmate workers' insurance plans to provide compensation for work-related accidents.

'We demand the establishment of unionized vocational training programs.

We demand annual accounting of the inmates' recreation fund and formulation of an inmate committee to give inmates a voice as to how much funds are used.

"We demand that the present parole board appointed by the Governor be eradicated and replaced by a parole board elected by popular vote

We demand that the State Legislature create a full-time salaried Board overseer to the State prisons.

"We demand an immediate end to the agitation of race relations by the prison administration of this State.

We demand the Department of Corrections furnish all prisons with the services of ethnic counsellors.

"We demand an end to the discrimination on the judgment and quota of parole for black and brown people.

We demand that all prisoners be sent -be present at the time that their cells and property are being searched by the correctional
officers of State prisons.

We demand an end to the discrimination against prisoners when they appear before the Parole Board.

Most prisoners are denied paroles solely because of their prior records.

"We demand an end to the unsanitary conditions that exist in the mess hall.

"We demand that better food be served to

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"We demand that there be one set of rules governing all prisoners in this State instead of the present system where each warden makes the rules for his institution as he sees fit.

"We demand four months per year off our maximum sentence for good behavior.

Now, some of the other specific demands or complaints were:

Inmates can get haircuts only once a month, yet cannot grow their hair to whatever length they want.

Razor blades are not provided by the institution.

Water for drinking and washing in the evening is brought around to the cells in unsanitary buckets.

Showers are allowed only once a week to the main line population, including metal plant workers who sweat and get dirty daily.

Commissary prices have risen along with inmate pay increases, so that our buying power remains static.

Foods and beverages, which require open-

ing are sold at the commissary, but no stoves or 105 no openers are provided for cooking these items.

Institutionally issued coats are not allowed in the mess hall. One must leave them in the hall on the floor before entering the mess hall.

Inmates are required to respond to the banging of the officers' billy on the walls; on the command to march, stop or to be quiet.

Sugar is non-existent in the mess hall.

One television is placed in the recreation yard to be reviewed -- to be viewed there the entire year round. The programs are chosen by the administration instead of by the inmates.

The second part of the manifesto lists twenty-one grievances drawn up by the signers, at least partly from suggestions they solicited from other inmates. The grievances deal with day-to-day life at Attica and are related to such things as hot water, showers, and lockers in cells, toilet articles, typewriters and the movie schedule.

MR. LIMAN: You have read part of those judgments a moment ago.

MR. ADDISON: Yes, I did.

it?

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24 25 MR. LIMAN: All right. Go on. 106

MR. ADDISON: On July 7, 1971,

Commissioner Oswald made the following reply to the manifesto.

> MR. LIMAN: Do you wish me to read

I would like you to read MR. ADDISON: it.

MR. LIMAN: This is a letter from Commissioner Oswald dated July 7 to the inmate who sent him the manifesto.

"Dear Mr. -- and I will omit the name.

"I have received your presentation of demands and will give careful consideration to the entire list before responding in full. I have taken note of the fact that you have given assurances that your approach will be in a democratic fashion and I applaud this as a rational and reasonable approach.

"You may have noted that some change has already come about and I assure you that greater change toward a more progressive, humane and rehabilitative system is in the planning state. I will be in contact with you as soon as I have studied and evaluated your entire presen-

tation and I thank you for taking the time 107 to bring your views to my attention.

Signed, Russel Oswald, copy sent to Superintendent Mancusi and Deputy Commissioner Dunbar.

MR. ADDISON: On July 19, the
Attica Liberation Front Chairman wrote once again
to Commissioner Oswald. His letter reads, in
part, as follows:

Dear Mr. Oswald, I have your letter of July 7, 1971.

of your endeavors toward the rehabilitation of the inmates of the State Correctional institutions are in no way questioned because of the belief of your sincerity is in definite existence throughout the institutional organizations and general populace, but the sincerity of the State Executive and Legislature is in question and there is a definite fear that you are laboring under mis-information and misapprehensions. We also want you to know that we feel that the Chief Executive, Rockefeller, and the State Legislature are playing games with our very lives and the lives of our families and the people of the State at large.

Their intent seems to be to put rehabilitation 10% process for prison inmates on paper and present it to the public while demanding more taxation for the rehabilitation of inmates while, at the same time, cutting the Department of Corrections' budget for rehabilitation, hiring more institutional officials to build a stronger voter constituency.

in communication with all factional groups in the institution and those inmates who are not associated with any particular group or groups, and we find that all grievances are the same; all petitions sent out have at least the majority of the population approval through communicational watch-dog committees in each block.

"There is only one noted change since I heard from you, and that was on July 7. That day, at the noon meal, there was water pitchers on the table for the first time. The conditions listed in the last two pages of our manifesto still exist, namely, dirty metal food trays, which should be replaced with plastic ones, due to the rust and not properly cleaned; the repetitious diet of pork and the lack of any other type of meat, with the exception of ground beef mixed with pork, corn

"In closing, the lack of recreational facilities mandates that all yards be kept open to the general population at least on weekends. All yards are open to the population on the 4th of July every year without incident. The closed yards only serves the purpose for the convenience of officers resting in their chairs.

"It is hopeful that you correct these ills.

"P.S. Inclosed is menu which looks good on paper with its pork diet."

On August 16th, you wrote the Commissioner another letter, which includes these statements:

at this institution. This policy was put in effect by Superintendent Mancusi approximately two weeks ago when on or about August 4 and on August 12 and 13 respectively, articles appearing in the Buffalo Courier Express about this institution were cut out upon arrival at this institution by the officers under orders from Superintendent Mancusi. This incident is causing more unrest to those inmates receiving cut-up newspapers. It

is not believed that you support this policy. 110 Therefore, I am bringing it to your attention. We do not know what Superintendent Mancusi is trying to prove or hide by ordering those articles to be cut out before being delivered to the inmate subscribers. It should be interesting to know that what he ordered cut out of those newspapers were on the radio news and also that the articles were available for reading anyway.

"The Courts ruled in 1952 that prison wardens were prohibited from destroying articles of news which appears in our newspapers. You never acknowledged receipt of my prior letter to you dated July 19 in which I brought to your attention the plight of inmate X and also the conditions that still exist in the mess hall.

"We are anxiously awaiting your evaluation of our manifesto. I realize that you are a busy man, T.V. and all that, but I do hope that you will drop me a few lines and let me know what's happening. I would rather not receive a letter from any of the Deputy Commissioners. That's all for now."

MR. LIMAN: On August --

MR. ADDISON: "P.S. -- P.S. The

officials here are now beginning to 111 harass systematically those who desire prison reform and have begun to search cells while the men are how, taking petitions, manifesto demands, and locking up men for investigation. However, we will continue to strive for prison reform in a democratic manner."

That same day, Commissioner Oswald wrote the following reply --

MR. LIMAN: It is again addressed to the Inmate whose name we won't mention.

Dear Mr. Blank, in response to your letter of July 20, let me first acknowledge your expression of attitudes over some of the changes already brought about and those contemplated in the correctional facilities. I am sure you realize that complete change cannot be brought about in just a short time and that no change can be accomplished without the constructive and receptive admiration of administration staff employees and, of course, inmates. Reports from each correctional facility indicate that attitudes are changing all along the line and this, in itself, is evidence that change is imminent. Since the Department of Correctional Services came into being in January

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of this year with new leadership and plans for new directions, much continuing effort has been made to determine what has been under the past system and what will be under the new system. I am certain that there was much apprehension and concern among the inmate population as to what policy action would be forthcoming under the new Department leadership. Understandable, this same apprehension exists among staff personnel as well. In such a situation, attitude changes are necessary and we are attempting to reattitudinize all parties, personnel and inmates alike. It is heartening to find that attitudes are changing, but we still face difficulties from rigid personnel and rigid inmates, but even in the face of these difficulties, we have accomplished some change and will continue to do so.

"Our plans and actions are twofold:

"Ome is to study and evaluate conditions and situations for improvement in day-to-day routine;

"Two, to develop greater long-rage programming with increased community involvement.

"I note from your letter that this approach is much in line with your own thinking and

consistent with the list of problem items you 113

presented in early July. I want you to know that

I have assigned several staff members to do a

thorough job of developing information in line with

that list and that this information will provide

a base for action, not just at Attica, but throughout all facilities. One of the major concerns,

again not unlike your own, is to maintain consistent

standards, rules and policies in all facilities,

and to develop some meaningful channels of communication.

"While I regret the time it has taken to respond to your list, I am sure that you would want us to give the most careful thought and study to each item before reaching a decision.

"I assure you this is being done and you will be hearing from us in the very near future.

I appreciate your patience and kind words of support and hoefully we, all of us, administration, staff and inmates throughout the system, can bring about the kind of system that is humanly and progressively correct and is truly and meaningfully rehabilitative. Very truly yours, signed Russel Oswald."

MR. ADDISON: The July manifesto, like

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the metal shop strike, was an attempt at 114 peaceful change. Unlike the strike it dealt with a broad range of inmate grievances, and unlike the strike, it resulted in no positive action.

Twelve of the demands listed in the July manifesto appeared in September among the twenty-eight demands of the inmates in D-yard.

On August 22, 1971, after the fatal shooting of George Jackson at San Quentin, there was a memorial at Attica. Most companies were led by black inmates as they marched to mess instead of the usual two tallest inmates. Most black inmates wore black armbands. There was almost complete silence in the mess hall. Few inmates ate anything at the first meal. Those who ate, did so either because they did not agree with the protest or because word of the protest had not reached them. A minority of white inmates said they fasted from fear of reprisals from black inmates if they did not. An occasional inmate said he refrained from eating because he thought the demonstration was to protest the food.

By the noon meal, however, everyone knew of the reasons for the protest and at lunch and dinner very few inmates ate. Most of the in-

mates interviewed felt that the Jackson Day  $_{115}$  demonstration illustrated their unity and ability to organize.

Many also believed it scared the officers. On or about August 30, 1971, more than three times the usual number of inmates showed up for sick call. The reason for this appears to have been two fold.

It was a general protest against the medical care at Attica and some inmates seemed to have thought that Commissioner Oswald would be visiting the prison and that he usually stopped at sick call. They hoped to dramatize their medical grievances and also thought this might be their only opportunity to see him.

The organization of the protest is unclear. Most of the extra inmates were from a block and some inmates say that a note urging them to report to sick call was passed from cell to cell the night before. Reactions to the protest were not very strong. No disciplinary action was taken against the inmates. Commissioner Oswald did come to Attica a week later, but his visit was cut short and he saw very few inmates.

Instead he recorded the following mes-

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sage which was broadcast over radio on September 3.

MR. LIMAN: Before we play the tape, Mr. Addison, I thought that it would be useful to read some of the notes that were taken of Mr. Oswald's talk with one of the few inmates he saw who happened to be the inmate who had written him the letters that we previously read. We are now reading from those notes, which were not taken stenographically and are really not complete, but they get the sense of that interview.

Commissioner Oswald speaking -- and I am quoting from the memo. "Interested in your material about change. I want to tell you that you must believe we intend to make changes. Some things can be done immediately. I have been in for eight months with all kinds of problems. After four months, I have had some staff. This is possibly the State's worst fiscal year. Now we have Federal funds.

There was then a discussion of particular complaints, including the showers, the conditions in the mess halls, and the other matters brought up in inmates' letters and the manifesto.

Commissioner Oswald ended the meeting as

follows:

"We all intend to keep our cool and work these things out together."

The inmate responded:

"Well, I believe in working through the system for reform. I don't want to be no leader."

Commissioner Oswald then left behind the tape which Mr. Addison referred to, and that was played for the inmates. The next time that Commissioner Oswald spoke to the inmates of Attica, he was in the yard on September 9. I think we can now play this tape, which was done on September 3, 1971, made less than a week before Attica exploded.

TAPE:

GENTLEMEN: This is Commissioner Oswald.

I know many of you had expected and wanted to see me today on my very brief visit to
your institution and I apologize that I was unable
to spend the appropriate time here today to see
and talk with those of you who wanted to see me.

I had originally planned to spend two days here, but unfortunately an emergent situation in the office, plus the fact that my wife has been taken to the hospital, dictates my early return to Albany.

Since assuming office eight 118
months ago, my staff and I have been working toward
development of a redirection in overall programming for all New York State correctional facilities. Many of you are already aware of my philosophy in new directions and some of the steps
already taken. As a matter of face, many of you
have written favorably with reference to some of
the changes already brought about. Of course,
the main impact of the new directions we envision
for the Department is the recognition of the
individual as a human behind with dignity and the
need for basic fairness throughout our day to
day relationships with each other.

Many of the things you want and many of the things that we want are very much the same and at first glance would seem easy to do, but it is unfortunate that at a time when the Governor, the Legislature and the administration of this agency are looking for new directions in correctional services, that we are faced with the worst fiscal year in remembered State history. Additionally, this department has been fiscally starved over the years, which only adds to the difficulties of our current budget crisis. Nevertheless, we

have, as I mentioned earlier, made 119 considerable changes and anticipate continuing in

the direction of progressive change.

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Now, let me tell you some of things we are planning for this department. We were fortunate this year to obtain substantial Federal funds, allowing us to implement several new programs and projects. Some of these are - one, we will over the next few weeks installfull and complete law libraries in six of the major institutions of the department. These libraries will be for the use of all inmates who need and desire access to proper legal reference materials. Two. we have received money to conduct a department-wide program for training in meaningful rehabilitative methods of all personnel working in all of the institutions and in our parole services. Three, in the interests of extending our programming into the community, funds were received this year to set up four community treatment centers throughout the State to help bridge the gap between institutional life and your homes and working lives in the community. Four, we will initiate a program for the purpose of encouraging community volunteers to join us in the

rams, both within the institutions and in the community setting. Five, finally, academic and vocational programs will be extended into the evening hours in four of the major facilities of the department on an experimental basis.

While I am sure that these items are of significant interest to you, I am equally sure that you are at least as interested in the normal day-to-day routine changes that we are hopeful of bringing about.

Some of you, I am sure, are interested in the work release programs. We are formulating for budget presentation an extension of work release, not only here, but in other correctional institutions as well.

I am already on record as recommending to the Legislature the changing of law to allow home furloughs for weekends and additionally for educational and vocational training.

We have started a procedure to review reading materials and, as a matter of fact, we are exploring the entire area of censorship.

While I am on the subject of censorship, I think it important for you to know that with

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the change in policy allowing sealed mail to and from public officials and department representatives, I have received numerous protests about the kind of mail being sent to Federal and State officials. It is unfortunate that there are some few who take unfair advantage of rule changes which are meant to benefit all of you and it is equally unfortunate that many of the public officials who have supported me in bringing about certain rule changes are now having second thoughts as to whether or not these changes are wise in view of the kind of indecent and abusive mail they have been receiving from a few who have misused this policy.

But let me get back to the positives. We are certainly concerned with the quality of day-to-day living in each of our facilities and chief among these concerns is to bring about as much as possible a measure of fair and uniform consistency throughout the entire system. heard from many of you who have told me and my staff, in visits to facilities verifies that we have numerous inconsistencies between institutions. These seem to generally fall in the following areas:

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1. Authorized personal possess-122 ions.

- Personal State-issued items. 2.
- 3. Problems relating to food service.
- Standardized cell furnishings. 4.
- 5. Health and dental services.
- Standardization of a code of per-6. sonal appearance.
- 7. Issues relative to recreation, sports activity and visiting.
- 8. Issues relating to recognition of mutual rights and responsibilities of both staff and inmates.

On all of these issues I want you to know that my staff and I are reviewing, and will continue to review, the numerous aspects of each single item under these broad headings and will implement them as soon as reasonably possible in light of both manpower needs and as money is available. I also want you to know that I am not using lack of money as a cop-out for not doing things and, where possible, will initiate the changes by adjusting priorities now and budgeting more effectively in the future.

Many of you have voiced confidence in me

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and in the directions I have talked about; and I genuinely appreciate this. certain that you realize that change can't be accomplished overnight, but I can assure you that changes will be made just as some change has already taken place in the brief period of eight months.

Some of your suggestions have been helpful to us in formulating policy and direction and Superintendent Mancusi and I welcome your constructive suggestions and views.

Let me conclude by saying that I appreciate your patience and your expressed trust and confidence in what we are trying to do, together.

MR. LIMAN: Mr. Addison, Commissioner Oswald, in that note I read, said "We all intend to keep our cool." In connection with the interviews that we did of inmates, can you state what the reaction was to the taped message which we have all heard?

MR. ADDISON: The reaction to the Commissioner's speech was mixed. While some inmates were pleased by it and wrote the Commissioner to that effect, many felt that it was full of

empty promises and excuses for inaction. Some inmates said that it was nothing. Most inmates felt it was nothing. A good number of inmates said that they took their earphones off and threw them on the ground. A few inmates thought that he had a few good ideas. The majority of correction officers expressed to us the view that it was full of empty promises and excuses for inaction.

> MR. LIMAN: Thank you.

MR. McKAY: The hearings will recess until two o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 1:00 p.m., a luncheon recess was taken.)

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## CERTIFICATE

STATE OF NEW YORK )

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COUNTY OF NEW YORK)

I, RICHARD GREENSPAN, a Shorthand Reporter and Notary Public within and for the State of New York, do hereby certify:

That I reported the proceedings hereinbefore set forth and that the within record is true
and correct.

I further certify that I am not related to any of the parties to this action by blood or marriage, and that I am in no way interested in the outcome of this matter.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this 19th day of April 1972.

RICHARD CREENSPAN