in our presumably civilized society. The latter are those who constitute the chief support of the system which has brought this country to its present crisis. Concerned only with their own material comforts and with continuing economic gains, no matter what its cost in social and human lives, they have no concern for issues involving the proper relations of human beings to one another. In their state of moral and political bankruptcy, they are a growing number and a growing menace, constantly reacting in fear, panic and anger to the threats and the challenges which they feel are coming from Blacks, students and Vietnamese to their pursuit of individual happiness.

"THE MOVEMENT" - DOES IT EXIST?

What is more difficult to understand, is the way in which some sections of "The Movement" are hailing the Attica revolt as "the highest stage of revolutionary struggle" which the Black movement and the American movement have reached. What has happened to "The Movement" in this country that so many people - who claim to be giving revolutionary leadership - are able to confuse militant struggles to reform this country's prisons with the revolutionary struggle to transform this whole society?

The vicious inhumanity of those who feel threatened even by struggles for reform is something that Blacks in this country have no difficulty understanding. We learned this very early in the Civil Rights Movement. But the Civil Rights Movement was part of the Reform Stage of the struggle, and "The Movement" now claims to have gone beyond the stage of reform and to have entered the revolutionary stage, the stage of struggle to revolutionize this society. How then is it possible for so many professed revolutionaries to insist that a struggle to reform the country's prisons is "the highest stage" that has been reached by the struggle to revolutionize the society?

THE "POLITICAL PRISONER" SYNDROME

Is it because those who claim to be revolutionary leaders have failed during the past few years in their duty to make clear to the victims of oppression that they must carry out collective and purposeful struggles against their oppression and against the system which oppresses them? Instead of doing this (which is not at all easy to do) so-called revolutionary leaders have taken the easier path of identifying with those who seek to justify their own anti-social behavior by the fact that they have been victims of oppression and by proclaiming or labeling them "political prisoners" - thereby failing to make the distinction between political prisoners and criminals. Thus it is now widely believed that anyone who has been a victim of oppression and who has been imprisoned for anti-social behavior, should not be judged as responsible for his actions but only as a victim of oppression. Those of us who are serious about transforming this society must evaluate and criticize anti-social behavior and must stop making excuses for actions which are inexcusable.

When a revolutionary movement begins to interpret struggles for prison reform, no matter how militant or violent, as high points of revolutionary struggle, IT IS A SURE SIGN THAT "THE MOVEMENT" ITSELF IS IN SERIOUS TROUBLE!!! No one knows this better than our oppressors. Already, every community is confronted with thousands of victims of oppression who, instead of struggling against their oppression, are drowning their frustrations in drugs, and abusing, robbing and murdering the members of their own community. Those who are struggling to make the revolution face a tremendous uphill struggle to transform these anti-social elements before they can even rejoin society.

The Attica Massacre, and the reactions to it by "The Movement" show that the time has come for those who are seriously concerned about "The Movement" in this country to do some serious thinking about WHAT THE REVOLUTION IN THIS COUNTRY IS FOR, and what social forces can be mobilized to struggle for its goals. Until "The Movement" does this, it will continue to react to atrocities and be swept up in reform and liberal movements. It will continue to be LED BY, RATHER THAN GIVE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP TO, those who are merely reacting in anger and frustration against the evils of this society.

FOR MORE THAN TWO YEARS "THE MOVEMENT" IN THIS COUNTRY HAS TRIED TO BUILD ITSELF UPON CAMPAIGN AFTER CAMPAIGN TO "FREE THE PRISONERS", political and otherwise, without giving any thought to the fact that if those whom they are struggling to free were actually by some miracle released wholesale, "THE MOVEMENT" would not know what to do with them.

There is no question that prison reform is urgently needed, and that as human beings, concerned about Man's relationship to Man, everyone in the U.S. should support prison reform. The Attica Massacre particularly helps us to face the fact that ever since Blacks have been growing in numbers within this country's prisons, the prisons have ceased to be chiefly places of detention, and are being turned into places of the most racist and barbaric punishment. But why has "THE MOVEMENT" over the past two years concentrated its efforts so largely on prison reform? THIS IS THE KEY QUESTION!!!

SOME FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS

Is it because "THE MOVEMENT" is still casting about frantically to find a class of victims which can take the place of the working class in its basic scenario for revolution - according to which Revolution is merely the Rebellion of the most oppressed and most alienated (so that "the highest point of Revolution" becomes the Rebellion of the most oppressed and most alienated)?

Is it because "THE MOVEMENT" has no positive vision of the goals for an American Revolution, and therefore can only REACT AND PROTEST against atrocities and outrages?

Is it because "THE MOVEMENT" lacks the courage needed to make a fundamental distinction between NON-