

young socialist  
**the organizer**  
8-5-70

**On to Oberlin!**



**10 Cents**

## Attend Socialist Activists Conference!

Plans are moving ahead for the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference. We are printing in this issue of *The YS Organizer* the scheduled program of educational sessions, panels, workshops and fraction meetings, and some new information on the organization of the conference.

### Change of Dates

Because many areas are planning Hiroshima Day antiwar actions on Saturday, August 8, we have moved the conference one day ahead. **THE NEW DATES FOR THE CONFERENCE ARE SUNDAY, AUGUST 9, THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 16.** (A day is defined by the college as running from dinner through lunch the following day.)

### Camping Facilities

There are campsites available within 10 to 15 miles of Oberlin. As a general rule, campsites cost \$1.75-\$2.00 per night per campsite with a limit of one vehicle and a maximum of 10 people per site. Full details on camping will be available at registration on Sunday, August 9, between 1

and 6 p.m. and every other day of the conference between 1 and 2 p.m. or 4 and 6 p.m. Registration will be at South Hall at Oberlin College.

### "Free" Housing

A limited amount of housing in churches will be available at \$.25 per night for comrades who cannot afford the \$4.00 per day dormitory accommodations or who will not be camping. Air mattresses will be on sale for \$1.00 for those who wish them for this housing. These accommodations will have to be assigned on the basis of need.

### Sympathizers

A reminder: the conference is open to sympathizers and close contacts who are vouched for by a YSA local or SWP branch. This should be considered immediately so that these people can be talked to about the importance of attending the conference.

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The rapid growth of the YSA this spring, the formation of many new YSA locals and at-large areas—and the May events!—all point toward the greatly increased possibilities for building the revolutionary move-

ment in the coming months. At the Oberlin Conference, we want to carefully examine every area of work, every fraction and committee, on both a local and national level, in order to best prepare ourselves for the fall. Comrades from around the country will have the opportunity to draw together and discuss their experiences in building the movements in which we are involved, as well as the crucial day-to-day work involved in building functioning locals of the YSA.

Since comrades will not be able to attend every panel, workshop and fraction meeting, locals should assign different comrades to attend these meetings, so that reports can be given to the locals on all aspects of the conference.

Attendance by all YSA members at the conference is the most important political task of the summer. This week of education and discussion of the central organizational questions involved in building the revolutionary movement will provide invaluable preparation for the expansion of YSA activities this fall.

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### EDUCATIONAL SESSIONS

An intensive educational program will be one of the highlights of the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference. The topics covered afford a fitting culmination to the local summer schools, taking up the central issues that the revolutionary movement has to deal with today. Classes will be taught by experienced SWP and YSA educators.

The basic theme of the conference will be set by a class of six lectures, "Prospects for the American Revolution: the Revolutionary Party in the 1970s." This class will be in lecture format, attended by everyone. It will cover the most important points that have been incorporated in the recent SWP convention and plenum political reports and resolutions, among them the following: the international factors underlying the crisis of American imperialism; the depth and structural roots of the current radicalization; the combined character of the American revolution; application of the transitional program; the role of the student youth; the character of the Leninist vanguard party; problems of party building in the 1970s.

In addition there will be eleven class series, consisting of three or four sessions each. Six of the series will run simultaneously in the afternoon, the rest in the evening, so comrades will have the opportunity to attend two of the class series.

Although comrades will be able to attend only a portion of the educational program, all classes will be recorded on tape and available for future use in local areas.

The classes and confirmed teachers so far are as follows:

1) Prospects for the American Revolution: the Revolutionary Party in the 1970s—six lectures. Speakers are Jack Barnes, George Breitman, Peter Camejo, Derrick Morrison, Barry Sheppard and Mary-Alice Waters.

2) Marxism and the Struggle for Women's Liberation—four lectures (the fourth being a report on the women's liberation movement and our tasks—to be attended by everyone). Speakers are Caroline Lund, Evelyn Reed, a panel of Third World women, and Elizabeth Barnes.

3) The Revolutionary Party in the Antiwar Movement—three lectures. Speakers are Fred Halstead, Gus Horowitz and Carol Lipman.

4) Revolutionary Socialist Electoral Policy—three lectures. Speakers are Doug Jenness, Linda Jenness and Lew Jones.

5) Structure and Organizational Principles of the Party—three lectures. Speaker is Farrell Dobbs.

6) The Foundations of Scientific Socialism—three lectures. Speakers are Robert Langston, Dick Roberts and Dan Styron.

7) Dynamics of the Labor Movement and Party Tasks—three lectures. Speakers are Clifton DeBerry, Ross Dowson and Frank Lovell.

8) Anatomy of Stalinism—three lectures. Speaker is Tom Kerry.

9) The Transitional Program—three lectures. Speakers are George Novack, Larry Seigle and Robert Vernon.

10) Constructing a Revolutionary International—three lectures. Speaker is Joseph Hansen.

11) Marxism vs. Ultraleftism, Anarchism and Terrorism—three lectures. Speaker is Harry Ring.

12) Marxism and the Struggle for National Liberation—four lectures (the fourth being a report on the current stage of the national liberation struggles in the U.S. and our tasks—to be attended by everyone). Speakers are Richard Garza, Norman Oliver, Art Young and Tony Thomas.

### ACTIVISTS PANELS, WORKSHOPS AND FRACTION MEETINGS

We face unprecedented possibilities for building the SWP and YSA in this period of deepening radicalization. The key is our ability to translate our theory into practice, our ideas into action. The following sessions are being designed to focus in on the most important areas of branch and local building activity. The format will maximize the exchange of experiences and ideas for improving our functioning.

13) Socialist Education: From Contacts to Cadre (led by Gus Horowitz).

14) Defending our Movement from Right-Wing Attacks—Lessons of the political campaigns

against the Legion of Justice, the counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles and other ultrarightists (led by Lee Smith).

15) Building a Revolutionary Press—The different roles and division of labor between *The Militant*, *ISR*, *Intercontinental Press* and *The Young Socialist Organizer*. Is the time ripe for the biggest subscription blitz yet? How can we improve our press? (led by Mary-Alice Waters).

16) The 1970 SWP Election Campaigns—How have the May Events and the perspective of the 18-year-old vote changed our campaign potential? (led by Joel Britton).

17) Weekly Public Forums—Branch ritual or dynamic focus of socialist propaganda? (led by a branch forum director).

18) How to Finance the Revolutionary Movement—The interrelation between fund raising and expanded political opportunities (led by Judy White).

19) The Branches and Locals as Regional Centers—Where is it happening and how? (led by Bob Schwarz).

20) Branch Bookshops and Pathfinder Promotion (led by a person from Pathfinder).

21) Hugo Blanco and Other Imprisoned Latin American Comrades—A first-hand report, and plans to support the USLA Justice Committee's campaign to free them (led by Richard Garza).

22) Antiwar Fraction (led by Carl Frank).

23) Women's Liberation Fraction (led by Elizabeth Barnes).

24) Third World Fraction (led by Norman Oliver).

25) Trade Union Work (led by Frank Lovell).

26) Campus Work after May 1970—Results and prospects (led by YSA National Office).

27) High Schools as Revolutionary Organizing Centers (led by YSA National Office).

28) How to Defend the Arab Revolution (led by Barry Sheppard).

29) Meeting of SWP and YSA National Committee members and organizers.

**SUSAN LAMONT**  
YSA National Secretary

# YSA Pre-Conference Discussion

## Seattle Strike Report II

*Editor's Note: The following article is the second and final part of a report on strike actions at the University of Washington during the May upsurge. The first installment appeared in The Young Socialist Organizer dated July 8.*

**Friday, May 8**—In really freezing pouring rain 30,000 marched to the Federal Courthouse. Very large numbers of non-students took part. A rally against the shipment of nerve gas from Okinawa through Washington to Oregon had been planned for this day weeks before. The protest against nerve gas now became one part of the major thrust of the demonstration against Cambodia and Kent State. Mayor Wes Uhlman addressed the rally along with faculty, nerve gas organizers, Carl Maxie (Democratic "peace candidate"). Bill Massey and an SMC speaker were at the end of the list and shoved off at the last minute because of the freezing rain. The city administration had the express lanes of the Freeway cleared so that the rally could march back to the UW district along this route.

**Monday, May 11**—Mass meeting held at UW—smaller this time for a daytime meeting, about 3,000. Proposal from steering committee that antiwar university be organized for rest of quarter put forth. Passed narrowly with those not in support tending to walk away from rally. Much confusion on part of students as to whether idea is to shut down UW or leave it open for organizing. All proposals that involve barricades or interruption of classes by demonstrators voted down. Informational picket lines in front of UW voted for. YSA proposal that mass meeting move to non-violently take over ex-Air Force ROTC building now abandoned by administration to be used as antiwar organizing center. If cops are in building, take over another building where there are no cops to trade for our building. Overwhelmingly passed. Crowd moves out and takes unoccupied ROTC building. Ultra-lefts, under guise of leading crowd around campus to muster more support, lead people to another building. About 3-400 take it. Large section of the crowd protests that this was not voted on. About 1,500 move back to rally site where microphone is. General bitching session starts over betrayal of steering committee. General impression is that the steering committee was to blame for second building takeover. Other one-half of crowd stays around second occupied building to see what will happen. We try to get two groups back together again to no avail. Much support lost. Second building finally aban-

doned. Ex-ROTC building retained as movement center which is still functioning.

On this day UW administration also grants partial academic amnesty. Says that students who want to participate in strike may file for incompletes in their courses.

Faculty support continued to come in on this day. Ultraleft began attack on concept of mass meetings and voting.

In the afternoon Stephanie was attacked by three young men on her way to the student newspaper. They looked like movement people. With shouts of "Off Stephanie" they punched her in the stomach and kidneys, leaving her collapsed on the floor. She made her way up to the newspaper offices where they rushed her to the UW health center. She could not identify them. Large press and media play that night and next morning on attack. She had received threats from both the ultraright and ultraleft. Strike steering committee condemned attack. She was released from the hospital the next day and after one day rest was back in action on the campus again.

**Tuesday, May 12**—Mass meeting of about 2,000 held. Early in the morning before the meeting SLF passes out leaflet urging another building takeover. About 40 people take over building to abandon it for lack of support later in the day. SLF plays no role in the mass meeting this day. Mass meeting policy-making reaffirmed. It is now clear that ultras and not steering committee were to blame for fiasco of day before. Russell Block (SMC, YSA) proposes that we have a lot of educational work to do on the campus and community to build up support for demands of strike. Proposes we demand UW organize binding referendum on campus issues at stake. Overwhelmingly passed. Talks about victory of winning organizing center and how to use it to reach out to broader layers in community and campus to educate about war and political repression. Further leafletting of campus and community by large numbers of students takes place.

**Wednesday, May 13**—Mass meeting of about 1,000 held. First order of business becomes McGovern-Hatfield amendment. Proposal put forth that top priority of the strike coalition be to support amendment and establish a massive petition drive around it. Thousands of petitions and postcards appear on campus. We and a majority of speakers oppose this but it passes overwhelmingly. After it passes someone who supports it gets up and proposes an amendment that at the same time the strike reaffirm its position of immediate withdrawal of troops and educate around this. This also passes overwhelmingly. We project May 30 actions and begin organizing for it.

SLF plays no part in mass meeting except at end one of leaders gets up to announce that he is holding class on why the strike had to fail. About 50 people show up to this later in the afternoon. It turns into a slander session on the YSA on the part of SLF and IS. Our comrades intervene, neutralizing the effect of the talk and winning some over.

That night we get New Mobe to pass perspective of march and rally on May 30—leaflets going out.

**Thursday, May 14**—No mass meeting. Steering committee meets to lay further plans to organize referendum. Faculty Senate votes for broadened academic amnesty. Mass meeting set for Tuesday. SMC continues to organize for May 30. McGovern petitions still going strong.

### *Our Role*

It is widely recognized that our comrades (especially Russell Block and Stephanie Coontz, both SWP congressional candidates) were in

the central leadership of the strike. All of the opponents are in a frenzy of attacking us for the role we played. Stephanie's campaign had just been announced before the events and her name appeared in the papers daily identifying her as a major leader of the strike and candidate of the Socialist Workers Party or sometimes the YSA. After the physical attack on her she received many friendly letters wishing her good luck in her campaign. Bill Massey, SWP senatorial candidate, also got to speak to a number of strike rallies which resulted in good publicity. We have had the candidates and other comrades on Radio Free Seattle a number of times.

During the real heat of the strike we had twice-a-day fraction meetings, which involved almost all of the comrades, to discuss our tactics. In many instances we broadened these fraction meetings to include people friendly to our line. They then became more like caucus meetings.

There is a tremendous potential for a really viable campaign committee on this campus growing out of our leadership and participation in the strike.

### *On the Role of the SMC*

The upsurge went way beyond the bounds of the organized antiwar movement, i.e., the SMC or the New Mobe. While SMCers got up to speak at rallies and the real core of SMC activists worked closely with us, during the real heat of the strike we intervened mainly through the YSA. We could not have intervened the same way through the SMC. A democratic centralist organization that could make quick decisions and carry them out on the spur of the moment was needed in the early days. However, as the frenzy died down we quickly changed gears. We urged that SMC push and build the May 30 action.

### *Opponents*

We came out of the upsurge stronger than ever before while all of our left opponents were weakened during the upsurge. The ultralefts especially, although not they alone, continually demonstrated their hostility to the masses of newly activated people. Both the Seattle Liberation Front and the International Socialists attacked the mass democratic nature of the struggle and the concept of making decisions through mass votes. They also falsely counterposed opening up the university to going outside the campus for community support. At one point the SLF did an about face issuing a call for the antiwar university concept. The same day they led a building takeover which had not been decided upon and which discredited them irrevocably in the eyes of the majority of students who participated in the strike.

The Labor Committee just intervened in the whole thing by always asking if a few people could leaflet the plants, no matter what was going on.

While the Seattle Liberation Front came out of the struggle looking very bad, they were able to seriously harm the struggle. They continually tried to turn the mass meetings into a circus by chanting, which hampered getting the business taken care of. They marred the victory of the takeover of the ROTC building as a movement center by another takeover on their own that caused widespread confusion and lost the strike a certain amount of support.

The other tendencies made very little impression on the masses of kids involved. It is clear that there are essentially two major political forces in this town in the radical and antiwar movement—the SLF and the YSA.



**RICK CONGRESS**  
Seattle YSA

# On YSA At-Largers and Regional Organization

*Editor's Note: The following report by Leslie and Tim Craine, at-large members in New Haven, Conn., is the first of what we hope will be several articles dealing with the special problems faced by at-largers.*

As at-largers during the past year; we have found some real achievements possible, although these have been fewer and on a smaller scale than they would have been had we been part of a local. This is what we did as the only two YSAers in New Haven:

1) We have participated in the organized antiwar movement and tried to keep it going. While all antiwar organizations in New Haven, with the exception of "peace" candidate campaigns, have disintegrated, the insights and contacts gained from our experience will help us work to revive the antiwar movement in the fall. As public school teachers, our ability to do antiwar work on local campuses was limited by lack of time and day-to-day contact. There are not yet any SMCs in New Haven. During the past month, however, we have played a leading role in the formation of the Connecticut Labor Action Committee, a coalition of trade unionists, students and others interested in mobilizing organized labor against the war.

2) As members of the New Haven Federation of Teachers, we have helped to launch the beginnings of a caucus within the Federation to act as an informal pressure group to encourage the building of a teacher-community alliance, which becomes increasingly important as issues of community control begin to arise.

3) We have done some sales work and made some contacts, although we have not yet succeeded in recruiting anyone to the YSA.

4) We have been prevented by lack of time from participating in the large women's liberation movement here. We have also so far been unable to relate directly to the Third World movement, which in this area is being largely influenced by the Panther trial.

From our experience we have concluded that the greatest single difficulty facing an at-larger is isolation from other comrades. (Fortunately, there are two of us; other comrades in Connecticut are far more isolated.) Lack of contact with other comrades is demoralizing—and bulletins from the N. O. are no substitute! An isolated comrade, with few exceptions, will find it difficult to take maximum advantage of the available opportunities. Particularly in the area of recruitment, having no local makes the task objectively and subjectively more difficult. The isolated comrade cannot cover all possible areas of activity in his or her area and must limit his or her activities in order to be at all effective. Knowing that you must pass up certain opportunities is also demoralizing.

What can be done to solve this problem of at-largers? A partial solution is to have at-largers get some experience with an established local by attending a summer school or transferring into a local for a short period of time. This solution, however, is not always possible, nor is it necessarily adequate for the comrade once back in the field and away from reinforcing contact.

A far more effective solution would be to establish a definite regional apparatus. This does not necessarily have to take the form of a full-fledged organizational layer between the locals and the N. O., but with the current growth of the YSA, it should be a beginning in that direction. We would like to throw out an organizational suggestion for discussion.

A) Every sufficiently large local should assign at least one person to full-time regional organizing and preferably two or three more comrades to help him or her on a part-time basis, thus forming, in effect, a regional organizing fraction.

B) The regional organizer should handle all correspondence with at-largers in the region. (One demoralizing problem has been the haphazard way at-largers have been handled—or

not handled—by the locals and the N. O.)

The regional organizer should also keep in frequent touch with all at-largers in his or her area and should visit each new at-larger, both for the morale of the new recruit and for screening purposes.

In general the regional organizer would be the responsible head of the at-large "team" in the region.

C) Here are some of the specific ways in which this rudimentary regional apparatus could aid at-largers:

● Send teams to help at-largers make new contacts in new areas—e.g., campuses where there are few or no contacts.

● Set up periodic meetings to bring new contacts together—help by bringing to these meetings both experienced comrades and literature, tapes, etc.

● Be on the alert for requests to bring in speakers, literature, tapes, extra manpower when needed for interventions in unanticipated situations.

● Be on top of what is going on in the region at all times so as to transmit information that might be useful to at-largers as rapidly as possible.

This structure will be successful only if comrades and locals understand the importance of taking advantage of the continuing upsurge of radicalization to build the YSA in all localities. Consistent and thorough organization are necessary. We have noticed a definite lack of such organization, and we feel this has hindered our potential effectiveness as at-largers and the ability of the YSA to expand into areas which are without a doubt rich in potential recruits.

We would like to know if at-largers in other parts of the country have experienced similar difficulties, and we hope there will be more discussion along these lines both in *The YS Organizer* and at the Oberlin conference.

**LESLIE CRAINE**

**TIM CRAINE**

**YSA At-Large**

**New Haven, Conn.**

## Tapes for Revolution: Bob Vernon, George Breitman

The last decade has witnessed the evolution of the Black struggle at a far faster rate than at any previous time. With this evolution many questions have been answered which seemed hazy, if not unanswerable, only ten years ago.

But many of the arguments that took place during this period are still relevant today. Bob Vernon's series of educationals to the New York branch on the evolution of the Socialist Workers Party's position on Black nationalism and self-determination, in which he deals with these arguments, are an important contribution to the understanding of that struggle.

As late as 1959 the overwhelming majority of Black people were still integrationists. Until this time the South had been the focus of the fight for integration, with such historic events as the Montgomery bus boycott and the March on Washington taking place there. At the same time, the embryo of a nationalist movement was developing in the North.

With the emergence of nationalism it became clear that the question of self-determination, which had played almost no role until then, was the axis of and key to a correct position on the Black struggle. Although the concept of self-determination is basic to almost any Third World struggle today, that was not at all the case ten years ago. Self-determination in that period was often strictly interpreted as separation. The concept of nationalism was likewise understood to lead inevitably to the formation of a separate nation or state.

This formalistic conception of self-determination was not unjustifiable. There had been up until then a strong integrationist movement in the South which had made some considerable gains. It seemed contradictory, then, to suddenly support a movement with a totally different direction, counterposed to integration. In addition, this experience was in many ways unique and few historical precedents had been set from which radicals could easily draw parallels.

In general nationalism was seen as leading only to the isolation of the masses of Black people from the mainstream of the radical movement.

Even within the ranks of the SWP there was

serious disagreement on this question. Many of those who had gone through the witchhunt period had seen the disappearance of the Black working class from the radical movement, a phenomenon which affected every tendency in the same measure.

Now that they were beginning to see the re-emergence of that struggle and were once more establishing contact with the masses of Black people, the need for a correct approach to the question of their struggle greatly concerned our comrades and radicals in general.

It is at crucial times like these that the revolutionary party has the opportunity and obligation to put forth its ideas and provide through its experience and analysis the clarity that the movement seeks. And it was at this time that the SWP began to address itself to the question of self-determination and to view it as the key to the Black struggle in the years to come.

The tape covers two important discussions which are at this time not readily available in print: George Breitman's defense of the Trotskyist position on self-determination for Afro-America in the mid-fifties at a time when Black nationalism appeared to be totally dormant and of no interest to the Black masses; and the discussion in the early sixties, covering the response by the party to the upsurge of Black nationalism and contributions by Black comrades helping to complete the connection between the spontaneous ghetto radicalization, known as Black nationalism, and the formal positions of Marxism on the national question.

Some parts of Vernon's tape, particularly his coverage of the position of other political tendencies on the question, are not as extensive as one might like them to be. But that is not, after all, what the educationals set out to do. The attitude of the SWP on this question is, however, very carefully traced, with many references to documents and other materials which were instrumental in arriving at the position we now have.

The tape is approximately three hours long. The last part contains commentary by George Breitman on Vernon's educationals, in which Breitman deals mainly with the internal dis-

cussions that took place during the period covered in the tapes.

These educationals are particularly important considering that the SWP was the only tendency on the left to arrive at a clear position at a time when all other tendencies had not yet grappled with the question.

Suggested readings for local classes based on this tape would include Leon Trotsky *On Black Nationalism and Self-Determination* and *The Black Ghetto*, by Bob Vernon.

The tape "Comments on the Evolution of the SWP Position on Black Nationalism" may be ordered from the National Tape Service of the Socialist Workers Party, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. The cost is \$4.00 for 4-track or \$7.00 for 2-track.

**MIRTA VIDAL**

**New York YSA**



# young socialist the organizer

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AUGUST 5, 1970

## The Column

In order for the National Office to be kept up to date, it is necessary for local and EC secretaries to send in minutes to the N. O. promptly after each meeting. Instead of waiting until the minutes have been approved, secretaries should include corrections in the next meeting's minutes. Minutes should be typed. For an example of what minutes should be like, see the sample minutes in *Organizing the YSA*.

Minutes and all other correspondence should be sent to the YSA N. O. at P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003, not to the New York local office at 873 Broadway. Correspondence may be delayed several days or even lost if it is sent to the wrong address.

**RED SPARK**, the publication put out by co-thinkers of the YSA in New Zealand, is a good source of information on the youth and anti-war movements in that country. The publication is a well-written, attractively designed and generally professional-looking magazine. **RS** business manager Kay Fyson informs us that there is a free sample copy for any YSA local which writes to him requesting it. The address is **RED SPARK**, P. O. Box 1663, Wellington, New Zealand.

YSAers doing research for educational, forum talks, articles and simply for their own information are sometimes hampered by the lack of a complete file of radical publications. Even YSAers in locals sharing large libraries with SWP branches face the prospect of poring through scores of publications to dig out the material they need for a talk or article. The Radical Research Center, a group organized at Carleton College in Northfield, Minn., in 1969 has produced a valuable aid for these kinds of tasks. The RRC's service is called the

**Alternative Press Index**. A kind of reader's guide to left-wing and underground periodicals, the API currently indexes the contents of 75 newspapers and magazines by both subject and author. It is published quarterly and subscriptions are \$30 per year. Main offices are at Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. 55057; regional offices are at 1 Howard St., Ipswich, Mass. 01934 and at 2429 Grove St., Berkeley, Calif. Thirty dollars is a big investment, but an alternative to having the local pay for a sub is introducing the service to your school library, school newspaper or underground paper in your area where you would have access to it.

To facilitate maintaining correct bundle sizes and billing for *The Young Socialist Organizer*, we will begin printing the coupon below regularly. Clipping the coupon and returning it to the N. O. will be an easy way to inform us of any changes we should make in bundle size or billing for your local or area.

Any local that is not certain what size bundle it is presently receiving or what portion of that bundle it is being billed for (all YSAers pay for subscriptions with their dues), should write to the N. O. for that information.

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