

# 2021 DSA Convention Resolutions & Constitution/Bylaws Changes Compendium

## Introduction

### Strategy is About Resources!

We have big goals but limited resources. This memo is intended to help you understand the costs of each convention proposal.

Together, the proposed resolutions and constitutional changes would cost the organization \$6.5 million per year. This is far more than we have available to spend. It would thus be impossible to enact all of the proposals at once!

Furthermore, it takes a lot of resources to run the organization already. Our annual budget currently has a **projected deficit of \$7,000 for 2021**. This means we have - **\$7,000** to spend on new work. It would thus be impossible to enact any new proposals without cutting other work!

We must choose which work to prioritize.

Delegates can help the NPC follow the will of the membership by being disciplined and clear about what does and does not get passed at convention. Even though the structure of the convention requires delegates to consider each resolution on its own, these decisions must be considered holistically.

**After the convention, the new NPC will need to decide in consultation with staff which resolutions can realistically be enacted first**, or in some cases which we can begin work on at a small scale. This is a practical reality and role that the NPC takes on as one of its most difficult duties.

Strategy is as much about what we choose to do, as it is about what we choose *not* to do.

**In effect, the more the convention body can focus on passing only a few priorities that involve resources, the more powerful that body will be.**

## Understanding Headquarters Staffing

In the last three years we have created some new permanent staff positions to ensure a solid administrative foundation to support our structure and organizing.

**Taking this comprehensive approach ensured we could remain fiscally solvent and stable.** Some members may recall that when DSA began regularly doubling our size starting five years ago, the rapid growth meant our existing small staff and organizational structure was completely inadequate. Members and chapters struggled to get the support they needed.

Today, while the work has not gone away (in fact, in our experience every time our membership grows, the back end work grows proportionally) we are better situated to manage the growth and the needs of our 90,000+ member organization.

Here are some examples of staff labor:

- answering hundreds of questions and member requests a day that come in to [membership@dsausa.org](mailto:membership@dsausa.org), [info@dsausa.org](mailto:info@dsausa.org) or [RegHelpDesk@dsausa.org](mailto:RegHelpDesk@dsausa.org) for events, membership updates, and questions on general engagement
- tracking all income so that every single payment from our 90,000 members has a record and we can accurately report it to the IRS if audited
- providing advice on complicated electoral, tax and incorporation regulations at both the national and state level to chapters and to the NPC as we grew our work
- improving the website and membership tech infrastructure (working on a membership portal!)
- supporting our national committees and campaigns in ways such as verifying memberships, assisting with elections, and fielding questions
- providing tech tools for organizing to chapters for mass emails, textbanking, phonebanking and voter outreach tracking
- keeping membership information for 90,000 people secure, up to date, and segmented appropriately for emails
- coordinating and producing images for print and social media and coordinating printing and mailing of the *Democratic Left*
- supporting new organizing committees as they become chapters
- pitching reporters stories to cover our work in the media & training chapters to do so locally
- providing the infrastructure for a huge expansion of national training and educational calls under COVID as well as, prior to that, a higher frequency of in-person regional and national gatherings
- supporting chapters and organizing committees in developing strategic campaigns and strong organizing practices on the ground, in a period in which we grew from 148 to 240 DSA chapters and 130 YDSA chapters

- continually improving our membership processes to recruit and retain members so we can fund our work and they can move into the struggle

After the 2019 convention, the NPC had to make hard decisions between cutting existing staff work and reallocating that time, or not carrying out some resolutions even though they passed in 2019. While some resolutions have been implemented, they also chose to focus on strengthening our foundation.

Staff expansions since 2019 convention:

1. 4th Field Organizer, Alec
2. 5th Field Organizer, Garrick
3. Compliance Manager, Brandon
4. Communications Program Associate for External Comms and Digital Assets, Priscilla
5. Communications Director, Chris
6. Full Stack Developer, Ty (part time; we are also in the hiring process for a full time position)
7. Finance Coordinator, Christina
8. Revenue Bookkeeper, Tom
9. 2nd YDSA National Organizer, Kaleb
10. Chapter Pipeline Coordinator, Dana
11. Program Associate for Retention and Events, Zachariah
12. Organizing Tools Coordinator, Rafael
13. 6th Field Organizer, in hiring process
14. Program Associate for Creative Assets, in hiring process
15. 2 YDSA interns each semester

Our staffing once these positions are all filled will stand at 29 full time, 2 part time and 2 student interns. Yet, we still struggle to meet the labor needs to support all of your amazing work, so we have to think long and hard before every new position we create.

Our staff is proudly unionized with the Washington Baltimore News Guild which means they play a direct role in negotiating their employment contracts. As socialists, we know the importance of workers being properly compensated for their work and our budget reflects these increases. Because we want to ensure staff can count on working for DSA longer than a year at a time, this also means understanding the longer term costs of providing that security for staff

## Staff Chart By Department

Maria Svart National Director	
Kristina Sepulveda Operations Director	Data and Technology Manager Rebecca Database Coordinator Eileen Full Stack Developer in hiring process Full Stack Developer (part time) Ty Organizing Tools Coordinator Rafael Compliance Manager Brandon Conferences and Conventions Coordinator Michael Chapter Pipeline Coordinator Dana Administrative and Office Coordinator Maura
Glenn Rehn Organizing Director	YDSA Organizer Anna YDSA Organizer Kaleb 2 YDSA Interns Field Organizer/Growth and Development Alec Field Organizer/Democratic Socialist Labor Commission Amy Electoral Field Organizer/National Electoral Committee Eric Field Organizer/Green New Deal Garrick Field Organizer/Medicare for All Kaitlin Field Organizer in hiring process
Emma Burke Development Director	Program Associate - Membership Services Elizabeth Program Associate - Retention & Events Zachariah
Chris Kutalik Cauthern Communications Director	Internal Communications and Digital Organizer Claudia Program Associate - External Communications Priscilla Program Associate - Creative Assets in hiring process
Heidi Chua Assistant to the National Director & Fiscal Officer	Financial Manager (part time) Fatou Finance Coordinator Christina Revenue Bookkeeper Tom

As a related note, just as staff time to carry out new resolutions is finite, so is the time of NPC members. When there are too many mandates, the NPC must choose which ones they spend time to carry out.

One of the most important lessons of the last few years is that it takes **all** of us to make DSA run. Our power comes from being member-led, member-driven, and member-funded so the more labor that members carry out, both locally and nationally, and the more funds we are able to raise, the lighter the work.

## **Understanding Cost Implications of Resolutions**

We developed this chart with estimates of typical costs. But keep in mind that this and the specific resolution estimates give only a **one year estimate**.

For direct costs, for example if a gathering were to happen every *other* year, we would include only 50% of the cost because the full cost is averaged over two years for the purpose of this estimate.

For staff, if the resolution calls for one staffer, we would include only the cost of one year. But, we don't hire staff for just one year! We prefer to create permanent staff positions to create stability both for our workers and also for the organization. This means that new staff costs in a given year are baselined into the subsequent years - in other words, **the budget is permanently increased**. We need to have a fiscally responsible rate of staff growth so we don't overshoot what we can sustain - unless we choose up front to have an end date to a temporary staff surge for a specific time-limited goal.

# Staff Time Average \*



**Estimate includes:**

- Wages, health insurance, fringe costs related to personnel, personal equipment (computer, for example) & an averaged travel cost
- Cost of meeting our rainy day reserves fund policy so we can function in case of abrupt loss of income
- Cost of supervision, since management staff would need to grow - our ideal supervisory ratio is 1 to 6 or less

<b>Overhead Costs</b>	
Covers things like rent, legal, and other non-staff related overhead costs and is estimated as 18% of other staff costs.	Overhead on full time staffer = \$25,009

<b>Combined Cost Per Staffer</b>		
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The most accurate single number for one full time staffer for one year	\$138,941 + \$25,009 = <b>\$163,950</b>	7Hourly = \$79
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#### DIRECT COST

<b>Direct Costs</b>	DSA currently has 240 chapters/OCs and YDSA has 130, but we did not assume that every campaign would need to, for example, send materials to all 370 local groups.
<b>Gatherings</b>	<b>Cost varies based on economies of scale + staff time needed</b>
	<b>Staff time to organize and coordinate (administration and finance, tech &amp; data, organizing, comms, fundraising)</b>
\$5,000 - \$15,000	Platform costs for digital gatherings (depending on size)
\$1,000 - \$5,000	Venue costs for small gatherings (100 people or less)
\$10,000 - \$20,000	Venue costs for larger gatherings (100+ people)
\$200 per person for 2 nights	Housing (2 people per shared hotel room)
\$60 per person for 2 days	Meals minus dinner (2 breakfast \$20, 2 lunch \$40, zero dinners)
\$500 if flight, \$100 if other	Travel for participants
\$125/ per hour	Simultaneous translation
<b>Materials</b>	<b>Union printer, taking into account shipping &amp; handling and assuming participation from 100 of our chapters for a given project</b>
	<b>Staff time to coordinate (administrative, comms)</b>
\$5,000	500 4 color posters (5 sent to each of 100 chapters)
\$3,000	3,000 1.25" buttons (30 sent to each of 100 chapters)

\$15,000	200,000 tri fold brochures (2000 sent to each of 100 chapters)
\$23,000	Cost for 100 chapters to get all three (posters, buttons, brochures)
<b>Tech and Comms</b>	<b>Websites / video / organizing tools / other tech and comms costs.</b>
	<b>Staff time to coordinate (tech &amp; data, comms, organizing)</b>
\$2,000	Video production technology for one promo video
Varies, but could be from \$5000 - \$20,000	Dialer for phonebanking
\$400	Textbanking 100,000 people

## Categorizing the Resolutions

Senior staff spent significant time carefully reviewing each resolution to be thoughtful about estimating staff time based on our experience so far. What would it truly take to carry out each resolution?

To make it easier to compare resolutions, we grouped the organizing or campaign oriented resolutions into three categories, depending on the level of investment and activity that the language suggested.

The primary distinction between them is in the level of staff time. For reference, one full time staffer works 2080 hours in a year. And of course, this is a simple estimate. Often resolutions are expressed as needing 1 or 2 staff, but this calculation is a more holistic look at the full array of staff support levels we currently provide to committees.

<b>Top National Priority</b>	Current PRO Act level of activity	Single national focus
Estimated 8,978 hours/yr	4.3 full time staff equivalent	
500 hours/month organizing, 140 hours/month communications, 80 hours/month tech and data, 10 hours/month other operations such as for national zoom calls and compliance, 10 hours/month development and 4 hours/month finance, plus one time swag production costs of 50 hours (assuming three kinds of swag distributed to 100 chapters.)		

<b>Standard National Priority</b>	M4A, DSLC, GND, NEC level	Multiple priorities
Estimated 2,078 hours/yr	1 full time staff equivalent	
64 hours/month organizing, 48 hours/month communications, 30 hours/month tech and data, 20 hours/month other operations, 3 hours/month development on average, 4 hours/month finance, plus one time swag production costs of 50 hours (assuming three kinds of swag distributed to 100 chapters.)		
Note this is 1 full time staff when combining all departments - it is not 1 full time organizer.		

<b>National Working Group or Campaign</b>	Non-priority national committee level
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Estimated 182 hours/yr	Weekly average of 3.5 hours
10 hours/month organizing, 14 hours/month communications, 5 hours/month tech and data, 5 hours/month other operations, 1 hour/month development on average, 4 hours/month finance. Since national campaign proposals call for materials to be produced, we include the one time swag production costs of 50 hours (assuming three kinds of swag distributed to 100 chapters.)	

Please note that if we do not have space in the budget to hire new staff, we would look at which staff functions are essential and which could be ended and that staff time reallocated to meet the requirements of resolutions.

The practical fact is that all resolutions should be evaluated based on whether it would stay within our existing budget, raise significant new resources such that the resolution is budget neutral or reallocate staff time away from existing work to instead carrying out the resolutions' projects.

And as always - we can make the choice to come together and build our capacity! Every member has a responsibility to give what we can - both our time and our money - so we can grow into an ever larger organized multi-racial working class movement with the power to save our planet from the owning class.

In solidarity,

Maria Svart - National Director, Heidi Chua - Fiscal Officer & All DSA Directors

Jen McKinney - Chair of the NPC Steering Committee

Kristian Hernandez - Secretary Treasurer

Theresa A - Budget and Finance Committee co-chair with Jen

Abdullah Younus & Justin Charles - NPC members of Budget and Finance Committee

Carolyn C and Dave L - subject matter experts on the Budget and Finance Committee

# Resolutions

## #1: Resolution on the Defense of Immigrants and Refugees

Authors: Duane C. (Sacramento), Alexander H. (Atlanta), José P. (Atlanta)

**Whereas**, immigrants in the United States are living under apartheid conditions. Under the U.S. constitution, persons living in the U.S. are promised basic human rights; however, under the current legal framework migrants in the U.S. are disenfranchised from basic legal protections. The migrant working class constitutes at least 20 % of the working class. This working class population – residents of the U.S., must not be ignored by a socialist platform. Political projects that do not include a substantive and realistic analysis of the migrant working class fail to understand both race and class in the U.S. and thus fail to address our fundamental political tasks.

**Whereas**, to achieve these ends we must first, promote the empowerment, self-determination, and liberation of Blacks, Latinos, Asians, indigenous, and other oppressed nationalities and immigrants within DSA and within the nation. Our opposition must be at a level sufficient enough to defeat these forces.

**Be it therefore resolved**, that the Democratic Socialists of America will make defense of immigrant and refugee rights a top national priority of the organization to be spearheaded by the National Immigrants Rights Working Group in coordination with national staff.

**Be it further resolved**, that Democratic Socialists of America reaffirm our position that no human being is illegal and that all working people and oppressed people are welcome in our organization on an equal basis regardless of immigration or citizenship status.

**Be it further resolved**, that Democratic Socialists of America support the struggles of immigrant communities around immediate demands (such as restoring DACA) as well as the right of immigrants and their communities to lead in this struggle and to determine its tactics. We stand with Dreamers, TPS holders, farmworkers and community organizers who have worked tirelessly for legislative relief for migrant communities. We push further for broad and inclusive legislation and administrative

actions that regularize the status and ensures the full integration of all migrants and refugees.

**Be it further resolved,** that Democratic Socialists of America demand:

1. Abolition of ICE and the end to the persecution, jailing, and deportation of immigrants.
2. Aid to those fleeing from violence, political and economic turmoil, imperialism, colonialism, as well as global warming-induced climate change instead of barring refugees at our borders and jailing those who arrive.
3. Full labor rights for all those who work within the country and the integration of the labor movement with those who struggle for immigrant rights.
4. Elimination of H-2 A, “guest worker” type programs.
5. A firm and unequivocal stance in favor of immigrants and refugees, and the completion of the promises made by the Biden campaign.

**Be it further resolved,** we recognize that the January 6, 2021 insurrection in the capitol highlighted the several unresolved crises racism and abuse of power in the US. The National Immigrants Rights Working Group highlights those abuses targeted at immigrant communities and will join with other immigrants’ rights groups to oppose the expansion of this racist anti-immigrant agenda.

**Be it finally resolved,** The National Immigrants Rights Working Group will coordinate activities within DSA under this resolution and develop a program of education on the history and political economy of immigration. We recognize that migrants experience the most damning and direct crimes of the neoliberal capitalist system. Militarized borders, xenophobic/racist immigration laws, and an abusive prison industrial complex aim to dehumanize and marginalize immigrants, functioning to both suppress wages and divide the working class. We seek to abolish these and any barrier to the social, labor, and political power of migrants through our organized movement

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

One full-time staff person and appropriate support personnel and resources.

**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 1
Estimated Staff Costs	\$139,226.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$25,060.68
Estimated Direct Costs	\$23,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$187,286.68
Description of Main Staff Work	Resolution calls for 1 FT organizer. Based on activities described, staff time estimate: 64 hours/month organizing, 48 hours/month communications, 30 hours/month tech and data, 20 hours/month other operations, 3 hours/month development on average, 4 hours/month finance, plus one time swag production costs of 50 hours (assuming three kinds of swag distributed to 100 chapters.) This is a total of 2078 hours/year or the equivalent of 1 full time staff.
Description of Direct Costs	Cost to send posters, buttons and brochures for 100 chapters.

## **#2: Formation of a National Committee for Reparations to Black People**

Authors: Ashley P. (East Bay), Danya L-B. (East Bay), Robert B. (Louisville), Shane R. (East Bay), and Waleeta C. (Chicago)

**Whereas**, DSA committed to support reparations both for "slave labor" and "colonialism and the continued exploitation of people throughout the Global South" at the 2017 national convention,

**Whereas**, DSA demanded at the 2019 convention that all candidates for president develop a "Comprehensive Platform for African American descendants of Slavery & Jim Crow, from 1619 – 1965,"

**Whereas**, reparations has historically meant "repair," and DSA understands it is an interim social democratic demand advancing racial justice,

**Whereas**, the socialist case for reparations in the US must be part of a the global fight to abolish capitalism and the empowerment of the international working class,

**Therefore, be it resolved** that the NPC will appoint a campaign committee devoted to pressuring the federal government to pay monetary and programmatic reparations to Black people, alongside our ongoing pursuit for universal programs that advance racial justice;

**Therefore**, be it resolved that this campaign committee will advance H.R. 40 (Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African-Americans Act), and determine DSA's coalition partners in the pursuit of reparations;

**Therefore**, be it resolved this campaign committee will produce literature and a political education program on the socialist and internationalist case for reparations.

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### **Budget or Staff Implications:**

#### **Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 2
Estimated Staff Costs	\$12,194.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$2,194.92
Estimated Direct Costs	\$23,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$37,388.92
Description of Main Staff Work	Level of activity described puts this at national campaign range. Staff time estimate: 10 hours/month organizing, 14 hours/month communications, 5 hours/month tech and data, 5 hours/month other operations, 1 hour/month development on average, 4 hours/month finance. Since national campaign proposals call for materials to be produced, we include the one time swag production costs of 50 hours (assuming three kinds of swag distributed to 100 chapters.) This is a total of 182 staff hours/year or the equivalent of 3.5 hours a week staff time.
Description of Direct Costs	Cost to send posters, buttons and brochures for 100 chapters.

### **#3: Empowering DSA's Mass Abolition Work**

Authors: Rosa P. (New York City), Nat S. (Metro DC), Alex S. (Las Vegas), Sarandon E. (UVA YDSA), Nicole V. (San Francisco)

**Whereas**, The Democratic Socialists of America's mission is to build a multi-racial working class movement to win socialism and to defeat capitalism; and whereas at its 2017 and 2019 national conventions, DSA passed resolutions in support of police and prison abolition, decriminalizing sex work, and abolishing cash bail;

**Whereas**, the carceral state, including police, jails, and prisons, serves the capitalist system in several ways:

- Criminalization and incarceration allows capitalism to avoid meeting the positive needs of the working class by constructing and disappearing social problems -- by defining evils to be criminalized, showing how incarceration has "solved these problems" and therefore legitimizing incarceration as a tool and the capitalist system as a whole;
- Criminalization and incarceration serve as tools to uphold white supremacy and other ideological innovations that capitalism uses to divide the working class and strengthen its hold;
- Policing and incarceration applied to race, immigration status, and other constructed cleavages in the working class serves to precaritize these segments of the population and create a population-for-exploiting, as part of the overall "reserve army of labor". Policing and incarceration ensure that these people stay separated from their working-class regularly-employed counterparts through cycles of imprisonment, surveillance, fines, and bureaucracy, deepening the desperate precarity created by austerity measures and unemployment or underemployment;
- Police, criminalization and incarceration are used specifically to police, brutalize, and disappear a) dissenters from capitalism, including socialists, trade unionists, and other political actors; b) subaltern classes whose lived experience defies the ideological apparatus underpinning capitalism - i.e., incarceration disappears the people whose exploitation proves capitalism's failure to meet human needs;
- Incarceration creates an artificially low labor floor of the most-exploited labor (prison labor), used to depress wages throughout the workforce;
- Incarceration exiles and disconnects portions of the working class, preventing the solidarity and unification of the working class vital to resisting capitalism;

**Whereas**, DSA opposes this system of policing and incarceration on its merits, knowing it is not constructed for the resolution of social ills but instead constructed for their production and continuation; and whereas reform efforts that seek to soften the brutalities of this system have often failed to address this fact;

**Whereas**, as a socialist organization DSA seeks the meeting of people's needs directly, which starts with opposing the existing system; and whereas DSA has taken as our goal to abolish prisons, the prison-industrial-complex (PIC) and related infrastructure; to defund and abolish the police; to construct systems that have as their main goal the resolution of social ills; and to reconnect the disconnected and alienated parts of the working class, in service of defeating capitalism;

**Whereas**, the undertaking of strategic mass abolitionist work is a vital part of DSA's efforts to defeat capitalism. Abolitionist efforts are strategic because they, A) unite sections of the working class through coalition-building and winning of demands, B) act as an important tool for the popularization of socialist analysis, and C) strengthen the working class's ability to engage in class struggle.

- There are increasing proportions of the working class moving into precarity, with stable, sustained, well-paying jobs moving further away than ever before. Half of the adults in the U.S. have had a family member incarcerated, and there has been a 500% increase in incarceration over the last 40 years. We need a politics that speaks to the day to day experiences of this growing precariat if we want to build the class.
- Before any demands are met, abolitionist campaigns facilitate conversations that upend generally accepted notions of public safety and crime and weaken the strength of societal propaganda for the police, carceral institutions, and our judicial process. This is useful as we escalate any form of class struggle.
- The attrition caused by criminalization, policing, and imprisonment stunts our movements in the long term but also in the immediacy of direct action. Winning our demands and rolling back the carceral state, even by a small amount, increases the political freedom of the working class and allows these escalations to be sustained and more effective.

**Whereas**,

- Last summer, many DSA chapters and members participated in the massive nationwide racial justice uprising after the murder of George Floyd by the Minneapolis Police Department.
- After the protests, many chapters launched campaigns to defund their local police departments and invest that money in housing, healthcare, education, community institutions - vital resources that communities need to be healthy.
- While many chapters had previously taken on campaigns for abolitionist demands, from stopping jails to supporting incarcerated people, these defund campaigns were a significant national widespread abolitionist effort undertaken by DSA.
- DSA chapters could use support in carrying out abolition work that is strategic, is winnable, builds power, transforms material conditions, is oriented towards the mass of the multiracial working class, and is congruent with local organizing conditions.
- YDSA chapters often operate in mixed-jurisdiction settings with multiple axes of interaction with the system of policing and incarceration, such as university police departments, city police departments on campus, universities invested in the prison-industrial complex and benefiting from prison labor, etc. YDSA chapters could use support in carrying out abolition work in this complex environment.

**And whereas**, DSA has formed a National Abolition Working Group to support nationwide mass abolitionist campaigns, and this working group would be benefited by clear mandates, resources, and support in the form of this resolution;

**Therefore be it resolved,**

1. The DSA National Abolition Working Group ("Abolition WG") shall take as its mission the empowering of DSA chapters across the country to carry out strategic mass work in service of the abolition of the system of criminalization, policing, and incarceration.
2. The Abolition WG will support DSA and YDSA chapters in carrying out campaigns and work specifically related to:
  - a. stopping new jail and prison infrastructure, and rolling back currently-existing carceral infrastructure;
  - b. passing legislation to de-precaritize people entering and returning from incarceration (including "Ban the Box", abolition of cash bail and pretrial

detention, banning housing discrimination against formerly incarcerated people, and other legislation that removes barriers to full economic and political rights for those people),

- c. building momentum to defund the police;
  - d. reducing the scope of criminalization and punishment (including e.g. decriminalization of drugs and of sex work, death penalty abolition, abolition of solitary confinement and life without parole, etc.) with the goal of abolishing the carceral system of punishment for crime and reorienting communities from a “criminal justice” orientation towards meeting human needs directly.
  - e. The Abolition WG will also support chapters in carrying out work not listed here that meets abolitionist ends and demands, has a mass orientation towards the multi-racial working class, and is responsive to local organizing conditions.
3. The Abolition WG will support chapters in building socialist and progressive coalitions in pursuit of the above campaigns. The WG will support campaigns and coalitions that result in cross-pollination, popularization of socialist analysis, and bringing people into DSA, especially organizers with experience in abolition work; Black people, Indigenous people, and People of Color (BIPOC); and other historically marginalized members of the working class.
  4. The Abolition WG will also support DSA and YDSA chapters and national working groups in incorporating abolitionist values into their other work, including the incorporation of language and analysis around prison infrastructure and police budgets to electoral, labor, healthcare, and housing work, among others.
    - a. The National Electoral Committee will collaborate with the Abolition WG to create a questionnaire and pledge for candidates seeking national endorsement that outlines abolitionist commitments which could include defunding the police, stopping construction of carceral infrastructure, and measures that support incarcerated and formerly incarcerated people in their self-determination.
    - b. As part of its work around reducing the scope of criminalization, the National Abolition WG will support the Democratic Socialist Labor Commission’s efforts to repeal laws that criminalize strikes.
    - c. The National Abolition WG will work with the Medicare for All Working Group to support efforts to disentangle healthcare from the system of criminalization and incarceration, to include abolishing carceral uses of

mental health care, expansion of standards of healthcare for incarcerated people (including gender-affirming care and other necessary care currently deemed ‘elective’), etc.

- d. The National Abolition WG will continue to work with the Ecosocialist National Working Group to build an abolitionist framework into the Green New Deal platform. The Ecosocialist WG and the Abolition WG will continue to work together to stop prison and jail expansion and support closures of carceral institutions, as ecosocialists and abolitionists have historically done in coalition with each other.
  - e. The Abolition WG is encouraged to collaborate with other national working groups not listed here when their work falls under its abolitionist mission or vice versa.
5. The Abolition WG will be charged with creating and sharing resources to help chapters run campaigns opposing and rolling back carceral infrastructure (jails, prisons, etc) in their local areas. Such resources could include:\
- a. Mapping of local prison infrastructure and their funding streams, whether public or private;
  - b. Case studies of successful and less-successful campaigns;
  - c. Knowledge- and skills-building resources aimed at developing DSA organizers’ fluency with this work.
6. The Abolition WG will enable political education and skills-sharing initiatives from DSA comrades and other organizers with experience organizing for abolitionist demands, to DSA chapters and membership, in order to empower DSA chapters to take on and improve their ability to do this work.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 3
Estimated Staff Costs	\$0.00

18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$0.00
Estimated Direct Costs	\$0.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$0.00
Description of Main Staff Work	No major new costs.
Description of Direct Costs	

#### **#4: Mass Campaign for Voting Rights**

Authors: Ashley P. (East Bay), Sue M. (New Orleans), Kristian H. (North Texas), Sam L. (New York City)

**WHEREAS** the integrity of the vote is an essential aspect of mass political participation and a necessary precondition to form a mass workers' party in the US,

**WHEREAS** a democratic state poses a major threat to the political domination of capital;

**WHEREAS** democratic states have been a historic demand and hard-fought victory of working class movements across the globe;

**WHEREAS** democratic rights are being challenged by the rise of anti-democratic right wing parties internationally;

**WHEREAS** in the United States voter suppression tactics have a disproportionate impact on the most marginalized communities, especially the African-American community, historically demonstrated in the contraction of the labor movement, and gutting of public education and public services in the South at the end of Reconstruction with the elimination of Black voters and some working-class white voters under the emergence of Jim Crow;

**WHEREAS** the gains made by the Civil Rights Movement have been eroding for decades culminating in Shelby County v. Holder decision to strike down Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act;

**WHEREAS** the Republican Party has fully committed to anti-democratic politics with the introduction of more than 300 bills and counting, in 47 states, which target Black and brown communities in particular, as well as working class communities broadly, for voter suppression;

**WHEREAS**, DSA's electoral successes are built, particularly at the national level, with Black and brown candidates running in districts that are majority People of Color, and we recognize that DSA wins where and if working class people of color participate;

**WHEREAS**, Electoral campaigns with racial justice at the forefront to support policies like defunding the police and abolishing ICE have the potential to transform US politics and cohere a working class electoral base needed for this transformation;

**BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED**, that as a critical part of DSA's anti-racist struggle, as a moral imperative as socialists, and as crux of our political organizing, we should embark on a mass campaign for voting rights;

**BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED**, that DSA will create a national campaign committee to advance voting rights and access across all 50 states, districts, and US territories including but not limited to:

- Restoring and expanding Section 5 of the 1965 Civil Rights Act
- Requiring International Observers in US Elections
- Establishing independent voting district commissions in each state
- Ensuring voting rights for the formerly and currently incarcerated
- Establishing Election Day as a National Holiday
- Automatic voter registration
- Eliminating Voter ID Laws
- Early Voting including the two weekend before the elections
- Continuing to offer robust mail-in voting options through USPS after the end of the pandemic
- Demand a process to naturalize undocumented immigrants immediately and to offer citizenship to all undocumented immigrants who seek it;

**BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED**, that DSA will provide resources to its chapters to create campaigns including video, social media, paper literature, political education events, and election day support;

**BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED**, DSA chapters will provide material support to voters on election day to ensure no one is deterred from exhaustion or disability by serving as election observers, escort marginalized groups to the polls and report intimidation tactics such as racist vigilantes in coordination with relevant working groups and coalition partners.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

### Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee

Resolution Number	Resolution 4
Estimated Staff Costs	\$12,194.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$2,194.92
Estimated Direct Costs	\$23,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$37,388.92
Description of Main Staff Work	Level of activity described puts this at national campaign range. Staff time estimate: 10 hours/month organizing, 14 hours/month communications, 5 hours/month tech and data, 5 hours/month other operations, 1 hour/month development on average, 4 hours/month finance. Since national campaign proposals call for materials to be produced, we include the one time swag production costs of 50 hours (assuming three kinds of swag distributed to 100 chapters.) This is a total of 182 staff hours/year or the equivalent of 3.5 hours a week staff time.
Description of Direct Costs	Cost to send posters, buttons and brochures for 100 chapters.

## **#5: Building Worker Power to Win Democratic Socialism: A Labor Strategy for DSA in 2021-2023**

Authors: Eric B. (At-Large), Daniel D. (Los Angeles), Amelia D. (Greater Lansing), Laura G. (New York City), Sam L. (New York City), Ryan M. (Metro DC), Marsha N. (New York City), Peter O. (San Francisco), Ashley P. (East Bay), Annabel V. (Sacramento), Russell W-I. (Boston).

Workplaces are the key site of exploitation of working people by capitalists, and a place where racial and gender oppression are reproduced again and again. Because workers produce the wealth and services that keep our society running, we have a unique power at the point of production to disrupt the status quo. Organizing people against exploitation at work and building solidarity to overcome divisions in the working class is a central struggle for socialists. Through workplace fightbacks, rank-and-file workers can develop the class consciousness, organizing skills, and confidence that we need to defeat the bosses.

But labor organizing is not just about fighting our individual employers. The labor movement needs to become a movement of millions of people taking militant action to win broader demands – from the Green New Deal, to Medicare For All and beyond – on behalf of all working people. Socialists must work together across the labor movement to help develop militant, democratic, member-led unions, and to help unify them into a powerful movement capable of challenging, and eventually overturning, capitalism.

**Resolved:** This convention recommits to making labor and the DSLC a top priority for DSA.

### **Organizing the Unorganized: Pass the PRO Act, Organize Amazon, Organize Our Workplaces, Push Our Unions to Organize More**

At a moment when only one in ten US workers is a union member, it is essential that DSA participate in and support efforts to organize unorganized workers. DSA can support this vital effort right now and seize the political opportunity to pass the PRO (Protecting the Right to Organize) Act, which would remove many legal and structural barriers to unionization. DSA's national PRO Act campaign develops our capacity, raises our profile within the broader labor movement, and, if we're successful, dramatically increases our side's capacity to organize more workers. This campaign is an excellent example of what a well-run DSA national priority campaign can look like, and it is essential that the organization continues its commitment to seeing this

campaign through to success, setting the stage for greater labor militancy and further democratic reforms to labor law:

**Resolved:** This convention reaffirms and rededicates DSA to the “Workers and the World, Unite! Pass the PRO Act!” campaign.

It is also essential that DSA strengthen and expand our support for unionizing Amazon. Successful struggle against this gigantic corporation will require coordination across unions, workplace organizing projects, and across the entire US and beyond, and DSA is in a good position to help participate in and support this pivotal struggle.

**Resolved:** This convention asks the DSLC to work with national staff and chapter labor groups to support efforts to organize Amazon, including support for existing organizing drives by various unions and networks.

In addition, we should continue to build upon successful examples of partnerships between DSA and unions for organizing the unorganized, like the Emergency Workplace Organizing Committee at the national level (a partnership between DSA and the United Electrical Workers - UE) and the Anchor Brewing, Tartine Bakery, and Dandelion Chocolate campaigns in San Francisco (a partnership between SF DSA and the International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 6). These examples have been successful because DSA has worked to strengthen its own internal capacity to mobilize our membership effectively and build our internal capacity, which has allowed us to build strategic partnerships with labor. Our task of strengthening and expanding DSA’s own capacity to engage in these struggles will remain vital.

**Resolved:** This convention reaffirms our commitment to strengthening bodies such as the DSLC and local DSA labor formations to build our capacity to engage effectively in labor work, and encourages the DSLC and chapter labor groups to partner with unions for new organizing projects when it is strategic and appropriate to do so. This convention also acknowledges and values DSA’s partnership with EWOC, and mandates that DSA’s partnership with EWOC be coordinated jointly by the NPC and DSLC for maximum, principled reciprocity.

Finally, socialists who are rank-and-file activists, staffers, and elected officers in unions should actively push their unions to do more new organizing. DSA should explore ways to support comrades in different roles in unions to do this work.

**Resolved:** This convention encourages democratic socialists who are involved in unions to work to encourage their unions to do more new organizing, and encourages the DSLC to support this work.

### **Build, Democratize, and Transform Our Unions: Support Union Reform Efforts and Movement-Oriented Unionism**

Socialists are unambiguously pro-union. Unions are the only large-scale institutions controlled by the working class in the United States and even unions with major problems can allow workers to have significantly better lives, through increased job security, higher wages, healthcare and other benefits, and protection against discrimination. However, because of the decades of attacks from the capitalist class on unions, too many US unions today are wary of membership empowerment, workplace militancy, and political independence from the Democratic Party establishment. To combat this, democratic socialists should support efforts to transform them into more powerful and democratic vehicles for class struggle.

The power of unions comes from an active and empowered rank and file. DSA should support rank-and-file-led efforts to transform and democratize unions, to push them to be more ready to strike (legally and illegally), to bargain for the common good, to stand in solidarity with the entire working class, to support class-struggle candidates for office, to organize the unorganized, and to bridge divides such as age, contract tier, occupation, race, language, immigration status, and gender. We must build struggles against oppression at work, we must support the development of leaders of color in our workplaces and unions, and we must always stand in solidarity with the struggles of workers oppressed by racism, male supremacy, heterosexism, trans oppression, xenophobia, and imperialism.

**Resolved:** This convention affirms that DSA supports the organized efforts of rank-and-file workers, inside and outside of DSA, to transform their unions into militant and democratic vehicles of and for the multiracial working class at work, in the community, and in the political arena. Socialists in unions should aspire to become activists and eventually leaders in the workplace, including through shop floor organizing, bargaining, contract enforcement and, when possible, contesting for formal leadership. Additionally, DSA supports our members in building worker power on the job by taking initiative to politicize the workplace by going beyond bread-and-

butter issues and tying workplace demands to whole community demands and campaigns and building possibilities for experiential solidarity.

### **Connect Our Comrades: Labor Networks by Industry, Sector, and Union and a Special Focus on Organizing the South**

As DSA approaches 100,000 members nationwide, we now have over 10,000 union members and labor activists among our comrades. However, many of these potential labor militants are not yet active in their unions or in DSA, or are not connected with other comrades in their same unions. In the past two years, we've begun to create national networks of socialist rank-and-file union members and retirees, not-yet-unionized workers, elected union leaders, and union staff in K-12 education, in restaurant work, in healthcare, in entertainment, and in the building trades, and many chapters have created similar groupings; we need to support and strengthen these networks, and build more like them in other unions and sectors.

Building out labor networks (also known as Labor Circles in some cities and regions) will root us and our work in the material conditions of the working class. In essence, labor networks are tasked with organizing their workplaces for better working conditions, organizing coworkers around DSA campaigns, training each other, and recruiting workers directly into DSA, creating lasting networks of organized workers that scale all the way from the shop floor to the DSLC.

These industry, sectoral, and union-based networks will help democratic socialist rank-and-file members and retirees, elected leaders, and union staff to develop appropriate strategies specific to their own organizing situations. In addition to connecting comrades who already work in the same industries, it is important to find appropriate ways to encourage and support other socialists to get jobs in strategic sectors. Where they see it as strategic to do so, these industry networks should work with YDSA to develop pipelines to help socialists who are not yet in their industries get jobs where they will be best positioned to organize. Through increased coordination, democratic socialists in the labor movement can dramatically increase our power to organize our coworkers, transform our unions, and defeat our employers.

Furthermore, DSA needs to intentionally support and invest in labor organizing in the South, where workers face even greater structural barriers to unionization and

collective bargaining. Revitalizing organized labor cannot succeed without organizing the South.

**Resolved:** This convention affirms the existing work by the DSLC to create industry, union, and sector networks, and urges the DSLC to continue to develop more of these networks, which should support job pipelines where they deem it strategic, and to robustly support our Southern regional labor network to develop strategic campaigns to help build union power in the South.

### **Engaging DSA As a Whole in Labor Work**

Rebuilding a fighting labor movement is a task for all DSA members, not only union activists. Organized labor can be opaque to people who aren't as experienced with it, and the DSLC and national staff should help DSA chapters and their labor working groups or branches to map their local labor movements, identify labor allies, and forge effective coalition projects such as organizing the unorganized, supporting contract and strike campaigns, organizing to elect class-struggle candidates to office, creating job pipelines, and campaigning for labor legislative priorities, such as taxing the rich to fund schools and social services and blocking or repealing Right to Work laws and restrictions on collective bargaining or rights to strike.

DSA urgently needs to root our organization in the multiracial working class. Building a socialist movement that is truly reflective of this country's diverse working class, and effectively challenging white supremacy and capitalism, requires prioritizing support for, and dedicating resources to, the struggles of Black and Brown workers, and setting targeted goals for DSA recruitment and leadership development in workforces that are disproportionately people of color.

Wherever workers are on strike against the bosses, democratic socialists should prioritize organizing strike solidarity by getting our comrades to the picket lines, helping support strike funds, and providing other forms of material and moral support. The same is true for standing in solidarity with other labor struggles, like unionization drives. And since the history of our class is systematically ignored in the education system and mass media, we encourage all DSA chapters to hold ongoing educational events about labor struggles past and present, as well as the importance of building a revitalized labor movement for winning climate, racial, and social justice.

**Resolved:** This convention asks the DSLC and national staff to support local DSA labor chapters in mapping their local labor movements to identify union partners for joint campaigns, to prioritize organizing with Black and Brown workers in struggle, to organize labor and strike solidarity, to promote internal political education about the labor movement, and to move the majority of DSA members into labor organizing as a part of their other political work by joining a union or getting active in their union.

### **Strengthening the Labor Commission**

In order to enhance our ability to organize within and for the labor movement, we need a strong DSLC that is open to the energy, enthusiasm and intelligence of DSA members writ large. We need meeting spaces at a national level not only for programming and political education but democratic deliberation over the strategic direction of our movement and engaged conversation about the opportunities and challenges for labor today.

**Resolved:** The DSLC is mandated to conduct regularly scheduled and deliberative membership meetings open to any and all DSLC members.

### **Staff to Support Solidarity**

It is crucial that this work is supported by having a dedicated, full-time member of the national DSA staff working on it. A staffer dedicated to DSLC work full-time would expand and multiply the work of the volunteers of the DSLC Steering Committee, who on their own through their limited volunteer hours cannot do the kind of local labor formation outreach, data management, and administrative work that is required to effectively maintain contact with and coordinate DSA's labor activists.

**Resolved:** The new organizer should be hired and working as soon as possible, and certainly no later than January 1st, 2022. This convention requires DSA to create a new, full-time organizer position to support the DSLC in its existing work and to implement the "Resolved" sections of this resolution, as well as supporting chapter labor groupings, national labor-related campaigns, and other labor work.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 5
Estimated Staff Costs	\$601,526.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$108,274.68
Estimated Direct Costs	\$23,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$732,800.68
Description of Main Staff Work	1 FT organizer named in resolution but since the language says our labor work would be expanded, we interpret the language in this resolution as calling for close to PRO Act level staff involvement. As such, staff time estimate: 500 hours/month organizing, 140 hours/month communications, 80 hours/month tech and data, 10 hours/month other operations like mass calls and compliance, 10 hours/month development and 4 hours/month finance, plus one time swag production costs of 50 hours (assuming three kinds of swag distributed to 100 chapters.) This is a total of 8,978 staff hours/year, or the equivalent of 4.3 full time staff. Additional supervisory staff cost is built into estimated cost per staff hour.

Description of Direct Costs	Cost to send posters, buttons and brochures for 100 chapters.
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## **#6: Tribunes of the People and Democratic Discipline**

Authors: Parker M. (Pioneer Valley), Michael C. (Space Coast), Peter M. (Central New Jersey), Lydia H. (Santa Cruz)

**Whereas**, DSA has been successful in campaigning for socialists to enter legislatures at all levels; and

**Whereas**, these elected socialists have had varying degrees of accountability in promoting and fighting for democratic socialism due to an inherent lack of internal discipline, and;

**Whereas**, socialists have historically utilized legislatures successfully to produce ‘tribunes of the people’, who can raise and rally expectations of the working class and form principled oppositions to the established capitalist parties, that are directly accountable to the elected leadership of the socialist organization;

**Be it therefore resolved**, to receive the endorsement of DSA’s National Political Committee, a campaign must make a formal pledge to fulfill the following requirements towards DSA:

- The candidate must be a member of DSA.
- They must accept and pledge to promote and fight for the DSA national political platform if one is passed.
- If the campaign is successful, any staffers hired by the legislator will also be subject to the first two requirements.
- Legislators must agree to at least quarterly meetings with DSA leadership of the appropriate designation: for example congresspeople would meet with the National Political Committee, state legislators would hold meetings with leadership of all state chapter leaders (or leadership of a state/regional body if one were created), city councilors would have meetings with local chapter or branch leadership, etc.
- All DSA members in legislatures must form a caucus that votes as a block and rejects de facto discipline from any other party caucuses, regardless of which ballot line they were elected on.

Failure to uphold these requirements would result in the suspension of the candidate’s DSA membership and a revocation of the endorsement by the NPC.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 6
Estimated Staff Costs	\$0.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$0.00
Estimated Direct Costs	\$0.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$0.00
Description of Main Staff Work	No major new costs.
Description of Direct Costs	

## **#7: A Socialist Slate for the House**

Authors: Ben G. (Central New Jersey), Alexander G. (Santa Cruz), Lydia H. (Santa Cruz), Matthew S. (Madison)

**Whereas**, Democratic Socialists of America is the organized face of the Socialist Movement in the United States,

**Whereas**, the Socialist Movement is striving to become a visible, independent force in American national politics,

**Whereas**, the defeat of the Bernie Sanders campaign has sparked a crisis of leadership on the U.S. Left; DSA has experience running unified slates of candidates at the state level, and local organizing efforts will benefit if DSA cultivates disciplined national spokespersons,

**Whereas**, the U.S. House of the Representatives is a crucial platform for socialist agitation because it is elected simultaneously across the country in small districts that are relatively easy to contest—and is the only federal institution theoretically based on direct and equal suffrage,

**Therefore be it resolved**, that DSA shall run a Socialist Slate for the House: an organized team of candidates recruited by locals across the country to run for the U.S. House of Representatives, beginning in 2022.

**Be it further resolved**, that the National Political Committee, in consultation with staff, chapter membership, and the National Electoral Committee, will have the following responsibilities:

- Developing a common set of campaign priorities.
- Approving a training program that all recruited Slate members will attend to promote camaraderie, professionalism, and unified messaging.
- Equipping Slate campaigns with high-cost campaign resources, such as technology infrastructure.
- After the completion of Slate recruitment, identifying two or more High Priority Races: candidates with unique potential for success who shall receive extra resources to help the Slate secure at least one high-profile victory.

- Identifying two or more Potential Independent Races: districts with unique potential for competitive independent campaigns, where candidates could be encouraged and provided additional resources to run outside the two-party system.

**Be it further resolved**, that the National Political Committee and National Electoral Committee shall encourage DSA locals to work together, running Slate campaigns as collaborative multi-chapter efforts. They shall assist locals in forming regional organizations, based on the state level wherever this is practicable, to provide a permanent structure for these efforts.

**Be it further resolved**, that all Slate candidates shall be recruited through a two-step process roughly analogous to DSA's existing National Endorsement policy:

- With assistance from the National Electoral Committee, locals shall be asked to identify highly-committed DSA members who are active in their chapters, nominating them by a process of their own choosing.
- The National Political Committee shall vet nominated candidates for final approval to join the Slate.

**Be it further resolved**, that all recruited Slate candidates will make a formal Pledge to meet the following expectations:

- Accept and run on DSA's National Platform
- Collaborate, cross-endorse one other, and appear together at joint campaign events.
- Promote down-ballot DSA campaigns at the state and local level
- Upon election to the House, form an independent Socialist caucus, rejecting any other party discipline and voting as one cohesive bloc. Any staffers hired by the Slate legislator must also join or be DSA members and accept the national platform.
- After being elected, hold quarterly meetings with DSA's National Political Committee to foster coordination and accountability to the broader Socialist Movement.

**Be it further resolved**, that elected Slate candidates will be encouraged to only accept the salary of the average union worker in their city of residence, with adjustments for

personal circumstances and living expenses in the Capitol. The rest of their congressional salary will be donated to a fund for additional DSA campaigns.

**Be it further resolved**, that NPC approval shall be based on the potential candidate's ability to fulfill their Pledge and run a professional campaign that builds the movement. The NPC may cap the number of recruits as necessary to avoid overburdening the national organization. Elected Slate candidates shall be subject to discipline by their comrades in the Socialist House bloc, who may remove them from the caucus and bar them from future Slate participation if they break their commitments to the movement. The NPC has final authority to determine Slate and caucus membership, and may also revoke DSA membership in accordance with the DSA Constitution for egregious violation of socialist principles.

**Be it finally resolved**, that the National Political Committee shall adopt a full implementation plan for this proposal, modifying it as necessary for 2022 and to ensure legal compliance.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 7
Estimated Staff Costs	\$139,226.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$25,060.68
Estimated Direct Costs	\$30,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$194,286.68

Description of Main Staff Work	We estimate this at national priority level activity, so staff time estimate: 64 hours/month organizing, 48 hours/month communications, 30 hours/month tech and data, 20 hours/month other operations, 3 hours/month development on average, 4 hours/month finance, plus one time swag production costs of 50 hours (assuming three kinds of swag distributed to 100 chapters.) This is a total of 2078 hours/year or the equivalent of 1 full time staff.
Description of Direct Costs	New infrastructure is difficult to estimate but at minimum an estimated \$3,000 per campaign for a voter file x 10 candidates.

## **#8: Toward a Mass Party in the United States (Electoral Priority)**

Authors: Sabrina Chan (Chicago), Samuel L. (New York City), Jack M. (New York City), Bill R. (New York City), Renée P. (East Bay), Quinn M. (Austin), Fainan L. (New York City), Roy Z. (Seattle), Adam P. (Columbus), Mike N. (Austin), Christopher O. (St. Louis), Lillian O. (Chicago), Matt S. (East Bay), James L. (Metro DC), Michelle F. (Snohomish County), John P. (Sacramento), Austin Binns (Philly), Marge M. (Metro DC)

**Whereas**, electoral politics is a central pillar of a viable socialist strategy in a formally democratic state;

**Whereas** the US party system currently does not allow for traditional political parties—private organizations with control over their membership rolls and ballot lines—but rather is made up of coalitions of national, state, and local party committees, affiliated organizations, donors, lawyers, consultants, and other operatives;

**Whereas** the US political landscape is dominated by two such coalitions, the Republican Party and the Democratic Party, whose ballot lines are controlled by state law and not by any particular party apparatus;

**Whereas** the Republican Party has an anti-democratic coalition consisting of overt white supremacists, the most reactionary wing of capital, and a growing reactionary minority of working-class people;

**Whereas** the Democratic Party coalition has the historical support of a multi-racial working-class base, has been trending toward higher-income middle-class voters, and is dominated by the political preferences of its capitalist donor class;

**Whereas** socialists need a political party to organize the working class in order to contest elections, to act as a vehicle to organize the millions of working people who are not yet socialists, to win democratic socialism, and to function as a political pole for democratic socialism; and

**Whereas** the unique nature of the US two-party system requires that socialists continue to contest partisan elections chiefly on the Democratic ballot line; now, therefore, be it

**Resolved**, that DSA commits to making electoral politics a priority for the next two years; and

**Resolved** that DSA and its local chapters commit to the project of building a working-class party: a mass democratic political organization capable of taking state power with a strategy for social transformation; and

**Resolved** that DSA will continue its successful approach of tactically contesting partisan elections on the Democratic ballot line while building power independent of the Democratic party apparatus; and

**Resolved** that DSA commits to developing state-level organizations and orienting toward running candidates for state legislatures, both as a means to contest the power of state government and to build capacity for statewide and federal races; and

**Resolved** that DSA chapters commit to building the organization and skills necessary to recruit candidates and win campaigns through member-led mass outreach and to build chapter-level electoral working groups or committees that persist beyond a particular campaign or election cycle; and

**Resolved** that DSA commits to defeating the reactionary, anti-democratic right wing of capital represented in the Republican Party while opposing the dominant corporate and neoliberal Democratic establishment; and

**Resolved** that DSA commits to building a multi-racial working-class base, electing Black socialists and other socialists of color, advancing racial justice, building coalition with organizers of color, and diversifying our membership; and

**Resolved** that DSA commits to a strategy of using elections to win reforms that materially advance the interests of the working class and aim to democratize our economy and society; and

**Resolved** that DSA commits to a strategy of class-struggle elections that polarize the working-class majority against the ruling-class elite; and

**Resolved** that DSA commits to electing socialists who will act as organizers in office and use their offices to grow our movement, contest for state power, and develop working class self-organization and activity; and

**Resolved** that DSA commits to electing socialists who will deliberate with DSA members and act in concert with DSA to carry out a member-driven political and legislative strategy; and

**Resolved** that DSA chapters will work to develop a labor strategy for campaigns, including seeking union endorsements, developing campaign events and outreach to rank-and-file workers including union caucuses, identifying and encouraging union members to run for office, supporting pro-labor policy demands, and articulating the importance of a mobilized and militant labor movement in campaign outreach, in coordination with the DSLC or chapter-level labor groups; and

**Resolved** that the National Electoral Committee will continue to coordinate and support electoral activities across DSA chapters, with access to national promotional resources upon request; and

**Resolved** that the National Political Committee will prioritize regular communication and collaboration with the National Electoral Committee, in line with the role of electoral organizing as a unique priority within the organization; and

**Resolved** that DSA commits to devoting the time of two full-time organizers on national staff and to substantial resources over the next two years to build DSA's independent socialist electoral infrastructure at the national level and in as many chapters as possible.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 8
Estimated Staff Costs	\$601,526.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$108,274.68

Estimated Direct Costs	\$50,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$759,800.68
Description of Main Staff Work	<p>This resolution calls for 2 FT staff but we interpret the language in this resolution as calling for close to PRO Act level staff involvement. As such, staff time estimate: 500 hours/month organizing, 140 hours/month communications, 80 hours/month tech and data, 10 hours/month other operations like mass calls and compliance, 10 hours/month development and 4 hours/month finance, plus one time swag production costs of 50 hours (assuming three kinds of swag distributed to 100 chapters.) This is a total of 8978 staff hours/year, or the equivalent of 4.3 full time staff. Additional supervisory staff cost is built into estimated cost per staff hour.</p>
Description of Direct Costs	<p>"Substantial resources" named in resolution is not further described so we assume a budget of 50,000 on top of staff. Potential opportunity cost from adding a new fundraising priority, but difficult to estimate.</p>

## **#9: Running 10 Candidates Independent of the Democrats in 2022**

Authors: Alex M-S. (Seattle), Bryan W. (Seattle), Eve S. (Boston), Jesse D. (Portland), Manya J. (Seattle), Philip L. (Seattle)

**WHEREAS** the 2022 elections will present a major opportunity for DSA to run socialist candidates in local, state, and Congressional elections as a tool to promote socialist policies, build DSA and social movements, and elect more socialists;

**WHEREAS** the workers' movement achieving political and organizational independence from the capitalist political parties is a key strategic goal along the path to winning political power for the multiracial working class and a socialist transformation of society;

**WHEREAS** this independence cannot be artificially created overnight, and therefore socialists must find creative and flexible tactics to make headway towards this goal where openings exist;

**WHEREAS** there are many one-party dominated races for local, state, and Congressional offices in which general elections are routinely uncompetitive due to the low level of support for the other capitalist party in that district, which sometimes doesn't even field a candidate;

**WHEREAS** the majority of socialist candidates in the recent period have run on the Democratic Party ballot line, there are also recent examples of socialists winning office as independents, such as DSA member Rossana Rodriguez-Sanchez's election to Chicago City Council in 2019 as an independent, Kshama Sawant from Socialist Alternative winning her Seattle City Council seat the last three elections in a row, Gayle McLaughlin and the Richmond Progressive Alliance winning multiple mayoral and City Council elections, as well as Bernie Sanders' history of successful independent mayoral and Congressional campaigns in Vermont;

**WHEREAS** some socialists running independently from the Democrats have not impeded the efforts of other socialists from running on the Democratic Party ballot line, and socialist candidates employing different ballot line tactics have been able to work together and support one another;

**THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED** that DSA's National Political Committee, in active discussion and consultation with DSA's National Electoral Committee, local DSA chapters, and national staff, is tasked with identifying the 10 most promising 2022 races around the country in which to run strong DSA candidates *independent* of the Democratic Party ballot line (DSA candidates may still run on the Democratic Party ballot line in other races, but these will not count toward the 10);

**AND BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED** that these 10 electoral campaigns of independent candidates will be nationally promoted by DSA (not to the exclusion of promoting candidates running as Democrats as well), and the National Political Committee and the National Electoral Committee will ask all DSA members elected to public office to endorse and actively support these candidates.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 9
Estimated Staff Costs	\$0.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$0.00
Estimated Direct Costs	\$0.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$0.00
Description of Main Staff Work	No major new costs - utilizes existing electoral infrastructure for endorsed candidates.
Description of Direct Costs	

## **#10: DSA Candidates' Political Message About the Democratic Party**

Authors: Brandon M. (Portland), Eve S. (Boston), Philip L. (Seattle), Rosemary D. (Portland) Ruy M. (Austin), Wallace M. (Portland)

**WHEREAS** the 2019 DSA national convention adopted a “dirty break” strategy of aiming to eventually “form an independent working-class party, but for now this does not rule out DSA-endorsed candidates running tactically on the Democratic Party ballot line;”

**WHEREAS** a central socialist principle is to help build the multiracial workers' movement in a direction that is independent from the capitalist class, with a program unambiguously representing the interests of workers, young people, the poor, and the oppressed;

**WHEREAS** the 2019 DSA national convention agreed that a vital political component of running as an open socialist is to “popularize a class struggle perspective, one that sees the working class as the agents of change and capitalists and capitalist politicians as the main barrier to change”;

**THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED** the 2021 DSA National Convention politically urges all DSA candidates to clearly and consistently promote a socialist message about the Democratic Party, regardless of which ballot line they are running on (Democratic, independent, or third party). Key components of a socialist message about the Democratic Party include:

1. Openly identify as a socialist running against the Democratic Party's corporate establishment—not just saying this internally to campaign volunteers or to DSA, but to the voters generally, with a crystal-clear public profile throughout their campaign.
2. Openly state that the Democratic Party is dominated by corporate interests, and that their socialist campaign is building a political alternative for the multiracial working class.
3. Promote the need for a working-class political organization structured as a mass-membership, democratic organization, and use the public profile of their campaign (and their position, if elected) to appeal to supporters to join DSA.

- Publicly pledge to not endorse corporate Democrats, and instead actively support other left-wing insurgent electoral challenges to the establishment.

**BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED** that while these are important recommendations DSA urges all DSA candidates to include in the political messaging of their campaigns, just like most other points in DSA’s platform, they are not a litmus test to mechanically determine if DSA can endorse a candidate. While DSA will strive to convince more and more of its candidates to adopt these recommendations, it will retain tactical flexibility in its endorsements based on concrete political assessments of the strengths and weaknesses of each candidacy and the political context of their campaigns;

**BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED** that the DSA National Political Committee shall update the DSA National Electoral Strategy and National Candidate Questionnaire to include the recommendations above;

**AND BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED** the DSA National Electoral Committee is tasked with discussing these recommendations with candidates seeking DSA’s national endorsement and working with DSA chapters developing electoral work to help them incorporate these recommendations into their local electoral campaigns.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 10
Estimated Staff Costs	\$0.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$0.00
Estimated Direct Costs	\$0.00

Total Costs - One Year Only	\$0.00
Description of Main Staff Work	No major new costs.
Description of Direct Costs	

## **#11: Campaign for a Democratic Socialist Party**

Authors: Alex S. (Phoenix), Eve S. (Boston), Manya J. (Seattle), Philip L. (Seattle), Rosemary D. (Portland), Ramy K. (Seattle)

### **WHEREAS:**

1. "We don't have a left party in the United States," Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez said in 2020. "The Democratic Party is not a left party. The Democratic Party is a center or center-conservative party." But with the rise of socialism and DSA we now have the best chance in decades to finally move toward building a working class party in the US.
2. An independent working class party would need to be much more than an electoral machine. It needs to be an organized, democratic, member-run organization which systematically builds public support on a sustained basis, bringing together activists from environmental, anti-racist, feminist, labor and other movements to fight together for a society based on racial, gender, and economic justice.
3. Over the past six years, DSA has rapidly grown from 6,000 to almost 100,000 members; we have popularized socialist politics and helped elect 155 DSA-endorsed candidates, often by running open socialists on the Democratic Party ballot line. However, this tactic also has limitations. While some successes are possible on the margins of the Democratic Party, the party remains dominated by forces which are fully committed to US capitalism and imperialism.
4. Sooner rather than later the multiracial working class will need to establish its own mass political party distinct from the political parties of big business. This needs to be a big tent party that brings together different left-wing political trends in a common struggle against all the destructive impacts of capitalism.
5. The 2019 DSA national convention agreed to the goal of eventually "form[ing] an independent working-class party, but for now this does not rule out DSA-endorsed candidates running tactically on the Democratic Party ballot line." This "dirty break" strategy needs two legs to walk: one to build a base of support today, the other to prepare a future break. While DSA has had real success with the first task, the second remains undeveloped. We should begin preparing for an eventual break and not wait until the empire strikes back. Without anchoring our efforts today in a clear organizing strategy to establish our own party, DSA risks the fate of so many movements that have historically been co-opted by this capitalist party.

6. We don't accept a false choice between a premature declaration of a new party now or the indefinite postponement of the task of forming a new party. DSA has an active role to play in this process, engaging in the real battles unfolding today while building support for the socialist vision we stand for. To be viable a Democratic Socialist Party will need a larger membership and deeper roots in the multiracial working class than DSA currently has. DSA can play an active role in speeding up this process by launching a campaign to help build up those forces and politically winning over wider sections of working people to support the need for a Democratic Socialist Party;

**THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:**

1. DSA will start a campaign to build support for a Democratic Socialist Party. The DSA National Political Committee (NPC) will organize and promote this campaign.
2. This campaign will focus on a drive to grow DSA's membership, with an initial aim of reaching 150,000 DSA members, as well as producing educational material and events on the need for a Democratic Socialist Party (social media, website, fliers, articles in DSA and left publications, educational meetings or conferences, etc.). The campaign will seek to collaborate with unions, progressive organizations, and prominent left figures to promote the idea of independent working class politics or take concrete steps together in this direction. The NPC will periodically review the campaign's progress, and will issue a report a year from now, and again for the next DSA national convention, on the campaign's impact along with proposals for further steps;
3. The NPC will hire two full-time staff members to nationally coordinate this campaign until the next DSA national convention, allocate an additional \$100,000 to start the campaign, and offer chapters material and resources to promote the campaign. In addition, DSA will set up a "Campaign for a Democratic Socialist Party" fund, where supporters can donate to increase its resources.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 11
Estimated Staff Costs	\$601,526.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$108,274.68
Estimated Direct Costs	\$100,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$809,800.68
Description of Main Staff Work	<p>2 FT organizers described in the resolution but we interpret the language in this resolution as calling for close to PRO Act level staff involvement. As such, staff time estimate: 500 hours/month organizing, 140 hours/month communications like mass calls and compliance, 80 hours/month tech and data, 10 hours/month other operations, 10 hours/month development and 4 hours/month finance, plus one time swag production costs of 50 hours (assuming three kinds of swag distributed to 100 chapters.) This is a total of 8978 staff hours/year, or the equivalent of 4.3 full time staff. Additional supervisory staff cost is built into estimated cost per staff hour.</p>
Description of Direct Costs	Resolution calls for \$100,000 for campaign costs.

## #12: 2021 Ecosocialist Green New Deal Priority

Authors: Jeff G. (Austin), Ashik S. (Metro DC), Sydney G. (Los Angeles), Gustavo G. (New York City), Thea R. (Providence), Matt H. (Pittsburgh), Rory G. (Chicago), Jamilah E. (New York City), Akshai S. (Cleveland), Becca M. (Boston), Andrea C. (Metro DC)

**WHEREAS**, the existential threat of global ecological crisis we face, unlike any in human history, requires the socialist Left to make climate action the central field in the struggle for a better world for the working class against a racialized capitalist system that is profiting from extraction, exploitation, and unfreedom;

**Whereas**, DSA is in a position to play a unique role in that struggle because of its size, democratic structure, capacity for mass political mobilization, and independence from nonprofit organizations funded by foundations that limit the scope of working class demands and effective organizing strategies;

**Whereas**, DSA's 2019 convention established a national priority campaign based on Guiding Principles for a Green New Deal to decarbonize all sectors of the U.S. economy by 2030; democratize control of major energy systems and resources through public ownership; center the working class in a just transition to a caring economy with a job guarantee that expands the public sector; decommodify survival by ensuring basic necessities and services are guaranteed public goods; reinvent communities to serve people & planet, not profit, and plan equitable resilience & adaptation strategies to prepare for inevitable climate impacts; demilitarize, decolonize, and strive for international solidarity toward global climate justice; and redistribute resources from the worst polluters;

**Whereas**, organizers representing over 60 chapters at DSA's Green New Deal strategy summit in fall 2020 affirmed DSA's most strategic near-term GND campaign demands as a green public bailout, a jobs guarantee, and public power; and collaboration with the Democratic Socialist Labor Commission (DSLCL) established a joint campaign to expand labor rights through the PRO Act (Protecting the Right to Organize) as DSA's highest strategic priority for the first 100 days of the new presidential administration, framed explicitly around building mass worker power toward winning a green economy for all;

**Whereas** the Biden administration's next major spending bill on infrastructure will be the first legislation of this presidency with an explicit climate focus, which could

commit trillions to green infrastructure and begin reshaping the entire physical landscape of this country over the next decade—on terms that are far from certain to protect the labor power of millions of workers and the rights of frontline communities, within US borders & across the Global South, or to counter the ongoing privatization of public goods and profiteering by the same capitalists who are causing systemic crises;

**Whereas**, DSA has a unique intervention to make on this terrain by demanding public ownership, high levels of direct public investment, and dignified, unionized jobs to ensure a just transition for working class and racialized communities that bear the brunt of both the climate crisis and crumbling, inadequate, and privatized infrastructure;

**Whereas**, DSA must structure our organizing for a radical, ecosocialist Green New Deal in ways that mobilize us to win power at the speed and scale demanded by the crisis;

**BE IT RESOLVED THAT**, DSA re-authorizes and endorses the Green New Deal Campaign as one of its highest national priorities, in line with DSA’s Guiding Principles for a Green New Deal, and charges the Green New Deal Campaign Commission (GNDCC) with organizing and overseeing this work. The GND Campaign will pursue tactics in line with our Theory of Power for the near and medium term that can: win “nonreformist” or “structural” reforms; build core elements of a party apparatus; win class struggle elections; orient to federal politics; prioritize labor solidarity and class struggle as workers; create counter-hegemonic socialist media; develop a concerted program of political education; recruit and train organizers; coordinate to rapidly respond to crisis; and integrate an internationalist perspective in all areas of our work.

**Resolved** that the GND Campaign will first prioritize organizing for Climate Infrastructure legislation as the key terrain of socialist organizing through the fall. The GNDCC will organize to demand a green stimulus oriented by the principles of democratic public ownership and public investment, and designed to benefit workers and communities—not “green” capitalists. The GNDCC will work with DSA allies in Congress, and aligned labor unions and movement

organizations, to organize around non-reformist reforms like public ownership of the energy system, the construction of millions of units of green social housing, federal support for massive expansions in green public transit, and a Green New Deal for

public schools—and insert socialist politics into a policy process still dominated by centrist politicians and their donors.

**Resolved** that this political program will align with DSA's many chapter-level public power and GND campaigns, the GNDCC's "green public bailout" phase of our campaign plan, and a future campaign phase demanding a federal jobs guarantee, as previously approved by the National Political Committee (“NPC”). In addition, given the overlapping policy areas they relate to, these legislative pushes will enable more intentional collaboration between GNDCC and other DSA national bodies. Lastly, the PRO Act work would continue under the ambit of the climate infrastructure fight, as even President Biden has suggested it be included in the bill—but we know we, socialists and labor organizers, will have to fight to make that happen.

**Resolved** that, to streamline organizing structures and expand capacity, the current Green New Deal Campaign Committee will expand from five (5) to eleven (11) members, appointed by NPC within fifteen (15) days of the start of the NPC term, prioritizing members of the latest Steering Committee of the DSA Ecosocialist Working Group (EWG) as elected by the membership of that body in May 2021, forming a single Steering Committee of the Green New Deal Campaign Commission. The EWG, and its infrastructure, data, and other resources, will henceforth formally transition to the Green New Deal Campaign Commission;

**Resolved** that the GNDCC will maintain such subcommittees and processes as are needed to fulfill the campaign’s objectives. Specifically, GNDCC will establish an advisory body consisting of chapter representatives and will establish rules and processes for selecting and meeting regularly with such representatives for purposes of campaign work.

**Resolved** that DSA’s NPC, in collaboration with the GNDCC, will provide for at least the following to support and enable the GNDCC’s work:

1. Staff capacity equal to at least one full-time staff organizer, expanding staff as necessary, to coordinate weekly with the GNDCC in the next phases of the Campaign;
2. Staff, technical and other support for campaign fund-raising, as reasonably needed and requested by the GNDCC;
3. At least \$75,000 budgeted to support digital tools and resources for campaign organizing; and

4. Access to DSA member data and other resources as reasonably needed and requested by GNDCC.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 12
Estimated Staff Costs	\$139,226.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$25,060.68
Estimated Direct Costs	\$75,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$239,286.68
Description of Main Staff Work	<p>Calls for one full time staffer, but we interpret the language in this resolution as calling for close to PRO Act level staff involvement. As such, staff time estimate: 500 hours/month organizing, 140 hours/month communications, 80 hours/month tech and data, 10 hours/month other operations like mass calls and compliance, 10 hours/month development and 4 hours/month finance, plus one time swag production costs of 50 hours (assuming three kinds of swag distributed to 100 chapters.) This is a total of 8978 staff hours/year, or the equivalent of 4.3 full time staff. Additional supervisory staff cost is built into estimated cost per staff hour.</p>
Description of Direct Costs	Calls for 75k budget.

### **#13: Allow DSA Members Living Abroad to Form International Chapters**

Authors: Jessica VM. (Birmingham), Edward K. (Olympia), Andrew L. (New York City), Alexander N. (East Bay)

**Whereas**, the Constitution of the DSA does not forbid the recognition of international chapters or prohibit activities by DSA members currently residing overseas; and

**Whereas**, there are ten million U.S. citizens residing in countries outside the U.S., and many of these U.S. citizens are dues-paying DSA members who are unable to effectively participate in their assigned stateside local chapters; and

**Whereas**, DSA seeks to grow its membership, and a significant number of U.S. citizens working or studying abroad would join DSA and support its priorities if they had a chapter to participate in; and

**Whereas**, hundreds of DSA members residing overseas have already formed DSA chapters-in-waiting which fulfill the requirements of local chapters, and these DSA members are already undertaking remote activities in furtherance of socialist causes in the United States such as Medicare for All, the Green New Deal, and similar initiatives, as well as organizing in support of local left movements fighting for causes including tenants' rights, labor rights, racial justice, and gender equality; and

**Whereas**, recognizing DSA international chapters would be the most effective procedure to organize DSA members "at large" overseas, and political organizations such as the U.K. Labour Party and the U.S. Democratic Party operate similar international branches in which their members living abroad can participate; and  
Whereas, DSA international chapters can introduce U.S. citizens residing abroad to local leftist organizations and encourage participation in democratic socialist organizations specific to their overseas countries; and

**Whereas**, DSA seeks to further the cause of internationalism, and the formal organization of DSA members abroad would build stronger relationships on the ground between DSA and other democratic socialist organizations around the world, better enable DSA to mobilize in solidarity with socialist causes in other countries, and facilitate the exchange of experiences and lessons from organizing internationally;

**Be it therefore resolved**, the Democratic Socialists of America will formally recognize those international chapters of DSA members living abroad which fulfill the criteria required for local chapter status.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

For chapters located in the majority of regions around the globe, there are no insurmountable budget requirements or staff implications preventing the proposed resolution. The recognition of international chapters could in fact significantly increase DSA's overall budget by drawing in new dues-paying members. For the sole exception of chapters located in the European Union (EU), there is an estimated 200+ hours of data processing by staff to bring membership data storage into compliance with GDPR, the EU law on data protection and privacy. However, compliance with GDPR is already an issue that DSA may need to address regardless, given that many DSA members currently live in the EU and are subject to GDPR data rights. Additionally, this EU-specific obstacle does not prevent the recognition of chapters-in-waiting throughout the rest of the world. Furthermore, it would be a violation of the DSA's egalitarian principles of international socialism to deny recognition of said chapters-in-waiting around the world on the Eurocentric pretext that EU chapters must be either recognized before or at the same time as international chapters in Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, Asia and Oceania.

**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 13
Estimated Staff Costs	\$26,800.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$4,824.00
Estimated Direct Costs	\$21,600.00

Total Costs - One Year Only	\$53,224.00
Description of Main Staff Work	Estimated 400 hours tech and data staff time. Additional supervisory staff cost is built into estimated cost per staff hour.
Description of Direct Costs	Legal counsel 80 hours.

## **#14: Committing to International Socialist Solidarity**

Authors: Austin G. (Richmond), Blanca E. (Northwest Arkansas), Fern D. (North New Jersey), Jack S-L. (Los Angeles), Morgan D. (New Orleans), Elizabeth M. (San Francisco), Sam H-L. (San Francisco)

**Whereas**, the 2019 National Convention passed a resolution to [Build the International Committee](#) with a specific focus toward Anti-Imperialist solidarity and a focus toward building links with left, socialist, and working class organizations around the world, and in Latin America and the Caribbean in particular,

**Whereas**, the International Committee has undergone a process of restructuring that was begun in February of 2020 in order to build a more efficient and more balanced committee with a blend of new and incumbent leadership,

**Whereas**, the International Committee leadership has presided over a year-long reintegration process designed to facilitate growth within the committee as well as identify areas of improvement,

**Whereas**, DSA is consistently striving for a better socialist understanding of the geopolitical landscape and the way capitalism has consolidated its global rule.

**Therefore be it resolved**, the International Committee will begin the process of developing election observer delegations to be sent on a regular basis, with a particular focus toward sending delegations to elections throughout the Americas,

**Therefore be it resolved**, the International Committee will also begin the process of developing exchange programs with mass parties in other countries in the pursuit of knowledge sharing and building DSA's relationship with the international left,

**Therefore be it resolved**, the International Committee will also continue efforts to establish relationships with mass Parties of the Latin American left, to create a program where members of the Parties living in the United States can be invited to participate in DSA chapters and/or DSA members living abroad can be invited to participate in the country's respective Parties.

**Therefore be it resolved**, the Democratic Socialists of America will apply for membership within the São Paulo Forum

**Therefore be it also resolved**, the International Committee will prioritize chapter and member development through building chapter toolkits that support local internationalist work, through recruiting IC members especially from affected and marginalized communities, and through inviting members to participate in campaigns around issues such as, but not limited to, trade and debt, anti-war activism, and anti-fascism.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 14
Estimated Staff Costs	\$8,040.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$1,447.20
Estimated Direct Costs	\$72,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$81,487.20
Description of Main Staff Work	Assuming no organizer involvement, still staff time for finance to reimburse expenses or purchase tickets and other needs in advance estimated at 4 hours per person traveling, so this assumes 4 hrs x 5 people per trip x 6 trips = 120 staff hours. Additional supervisory staff cost is built into estimated cost per staff hour.
Description of Direct Costs	Travel, lodging and food stipend for one 5 person trip to Latin America is estimated at \$2400 per person, assuming 6 such delegations over one year.

	Cost for one year of joining São Paulo Forum is unknown.
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## **#15: Structure of the International Committee's Steering Committee**

Authors: Nicole M. (Syracuse), Sam S. (New York City)

**Whereas**, the International Committee is a national-level body tasked with developing DSA's international politics and to connect in solidarity with like-minded movements, workers, activists, and parties around the world.

**Whereas**, the IC's Steering Committee is composed of 7 voting and 3 non-voting members appointed by the National Political Committee (NPC).

**Whereas**, non-geographically-specific events, including webinars and conference calls, as well as national/international convenings may be endorsed by the IC upon approval by a majority vote in either of the Steering Committee or Secretariat

**Whereas**, petitions and other similar documents may be signed in the name of the IC upon approval by a majority vote (50% + 1) above in either of the Steering Committee or Secretariat.

**Whereas**, any political action related to international politics may be endorsed by the IC upon approval by a majority vote in either of the Steering Committee or Secretariat

**Whereas**, Any political action related to international politics may be endorsed by the IC upon approval by a majority vote in either of the Steering Committee or Secretariat.

**Whereas**, all DSA Secretariat and Steering Committee members may speak on behalf of the International Committee at their discretion and always within the framework of their appointed position. It is incumbent on these appointed leaders to notify fellow leadership and the NPC whenever relevant

**Whereas**, the IC maintains thematic and regional subcommittees that serve as central nodes for much of DSA's international solidarity and international political education work.

**Whereas**, all subcommittees are subordinate and responsible to the SC.

**Whereas**, internal participatory democracy and direct representation is absolutely necessary for a socialist organization.

**Be it therefore resolved**, that the Steering Committee (SC) of the DSA International Committee (IC) shall include one voting member from each of the subcommittees. Subcommittee representatives to the SC will be elected by the members of respective subcommittees on a yearly basis. No member of a subcommittee may hold a position on the Steering Committee for more than two consecutive one-year terms.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 15
Estimated Staff Costs	\$0.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$0.00
Estimated Direct Costs	\$0.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$0.00
Description of Main Staff Work	No major new costs.
Description of Direct Costs	

**#16: Subcommittee Leadership in the International Committee**

Authors: Nicole M. (Syracuse), Sam S. (New York City)

**Whereas**, the International Committee is a national-level body tasked with developing DSA's international politics and to connect in solidarity with like-minded movements, workers, activists, and parties around the world.

**Whereas**, the IC maintains thematic and regional subcommittees that serve as central nodes for much of DSA's international solidarity and international political education work.

**Whereas**, as per the IC Active Membership Guidelines, each subcommittee currently has a minimum of one and maximum of two chairpersons selected by the National Political Committee (NPC).

**Whereas**, the IC has been organized as a closed committee introducing members only after application and appointment.

**Whereas**, political education events may be endorsed by the IC only upon approval by a majority vote in either of the Steering Committee or Secretariat.

**Whereas**, internal participatory democracy and direct representation are absolutely necessary for a socialist organization.

**Be it therefore resolved**, that the co-chairs of subcommittees will be elected by their respective members on a yearly basis. The elections will be organized by the International Committee's (IC) Steering Committee (SC). No member may hold a subcommittee co-chair position for more than two consecutive years, though there shall be no limit on total terms.

**Be it further resolved**, that the number of co-chairs should be proportional to the size and needs of each subcommittee as decided by membership. Each subcommittee should have a minimum of three co-chairs.

**Be it further resolved**, that subcommittee membership is open to any DSA member in good standing at any time.

**Be it further resolved**, that the subcommittees have the autonomy to convene political education events approved by their membership. Such events will be automatically approved and sponsored by the IC.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 16
Estimated Staff Costs	\$0.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$0.00
Estimated Direct Costs	\$0.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$0.00
Description of Main Staff Work	No major new costs.
Description of Direct Costs	

## **#17: Internationalist Principles, Political Education and Solidarity**

Authors: Alejandro Q. (New York City), Lee W. (New York City)

**WHEREAS** DSA has committed itself to “the development of [its] international politics, in solidarity with like-minded actors and oppressed peoples across the world” (*DSA International Committee Blueprint*), we believe it is important to affirm our anti-imperialist and internationalist principles.

**WHEREAS** imperialism is a feature of global capitalism, characterized by major powers competing for dominance, exploiting workers and plundering nature throughout the world as well as oppressing subject nations, anti-imperialism must be a central commitment of the socialist movement internationally.

**WHEREAS**, the United States remains the dominant imperialist power, we oppose its political and economic policies throughout the world; it has never been and will never be a force for liberation. At the same time, the US now faces imperialist and regional rivals, who also exploit and oppress their own populations as well as those in other countries.

**WHEREAS**, we have an obligation to first and foremost oppose US imperialism, the US ruling class and its state are, however, not the only enemies of the world’s workers and oppressed peoples. We therefore stand in solidarity not with Washington’s rivals and their ruling classes and states, but with the working classes and oppressed in those countries as part of our common struggle for socialism throughout the world. In rivalries between the US and these states, we stand against Washington’s hypocritical weaponization of “human rights,” which it serially violates, to advance its imperial aims. We remain politically independent in these rivalries and also reject manoeuvres by other imperialist powers to pose as “anti-imperialist.”

**WHEREAS**, capitalism and imperialism subjugate ethnic and national minorities as well as entire nations, we defend the right of oppressed peoples to resist, including by the use of force. We reject attempts by all classes in power to extend their rule through the oppression of other nations or groups, be those oppressors liberal-democratic or authoritarian regimes, and be they an ally or rival of the United States. International solidarity relies on a critical defense of any strategies and tactics that advance the

struggle for collective liberation everywhere. This includes the urgent defense of migrants, including DSA members, who are part of struggles worldwide.

**THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED**, that wherever left-wing and social democratic forces contend for or hold state power, to the extent that they embrace the demand for the liberation of oppressed and indigenous peoples and pursue a redistributive, reform-oriented program, DSA extends critical defense to those movements, parties, and governments. To the extent that these forces remain committed to a pro-worker program of liberation, equality and democracy, we likewise offer those parties and governments our critical defense and solidarity. Critical support for left governments or other governments defending themselves from imperialism means conditional support, which implies being able to evaluate and analyze the dynamics on the ground. This requires, in turn, having robust political education as well as constant communication and relationships of solidarity with movements, parties, activists, and organizations on the ground. When parties or governments no longer fulfill these criteria, DSA may withdraw its support. For example, most of the U.S. left from the 1960s to the 1990s offered critical support to the anti-imperialist struggles of the North Vietnamese government, the African National Congress, and Polish Solidarity, even while recognizing problems with those parties and governments; but support that was later withdrawn by most U.S. leftists when those governments became authoritarian, corrupt, exploitative, or oppressive.

**BE IT ALSO RESOLVED THAT**, in the current conjuncture — with the prospect of a competition-fueled capitalist system pushing imperial powers towards devastating levels of militarism, closed borders, genocide, debt crisis and vaccine apartheid — DSA has a responsibility to build international solidarity. Therefore, we appreciate and applaud DSA's international work thus far and resolve that we prioritize lending support, in both word and action, to struggles for liberation throughout the world and without exception. We also resolve that DSA should publicize appeals for funds and material solidarity from workers' and popular liberation struggles and share them with DSA's membership.

**BE IT ALSO RESOLVED THAT**, DSA will commit staff and funding for political education, including presentations, study groups, and organized discussions and debates about imperialism, anti-imperialism, and international solidarity. Specifically we should prioritize the voices and organization of struggles for liberation in these

educational events. DSA should also fund professional interpretation for events across languages to facilitate communication and understanding between struggles.

**AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT**, DSA reaffirms — in word and deed — the spirit of Marx’s declaration: workers of the world unite! We have nothing to lose but our chains. We have a world to win.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 17
Estimated Staff Costs	\$12,194.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$2,194.92
Estimated Direct Costs	\$3,480.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$17,868.92
Description of Main Staff Work	Level of activity described puts this at national campaign range. Staff time estimate: 10 hours/month organizing, 14 hours/month communications, 5 hours/month tech and data, 5 hours/month other operations, 1 hour/month development on average, 4 hours/month finance. This is a total of 182 staff hours/year or the equivalent of 3.5 hours a week staff time.
Description of Direct Costs	Simultaneous interpretation for estimated 24 hours/year (assuming 12 political education national calls.)

## **#18: International Committee and Mass Organizing**

Authors: Lindsey S. (New York City), Marvin G. (New York City), Sepehr M. (New York City)

**Whereas**, DSA strives to be a democratic mass organization.

**Whereas**, we unequivocally share the conviction that democratic mass organizations are key to a triumphant anti-capitalist movement, and reject visions for our organization that enshrine a small core of activists who occasionally mobilize a larger inactive membership in mass actions.

**Whereas**, a mass organization is an organization in which each member is a potential vector for socialism.

**Whereas**, if we intend to build a mass organization of organizers we must begin producing, at an unprecedented scale, fighters who are able to think dynamically and act strategically. As such, we must create infrastructure and processes for member development and political education that are reproducible yet adaptive.

**Whereas**, Democracy is not only an end but the means of building socialism. We can only realize our vision by creating and developing participatory democratic structures that directly empower our members in their organizing. In order to move the mass of our organization towards the advancement of our goals through work, we must collectively determine a vision for strategy and action—a developed alignment of the majority, not merely to ratify discussion, but to continuously achieve an active mandate.

**Whereas**, we must embrace the plurality of perspectives within the organization, both political and lived experience, not in name alone but by providing the tools and spaces for deliberation.

**Whereas**, the International Committee general membership is a self-selecting body and should have oversight with a popular mandate from DSA's highest democratic body.

**Whereas**, the International Secretariat, serving as the official diplomatic arm of DSA to other countries, international mass organizations, foreign trade organizations, socialist

movements, etc, is well positioned, under the direction of the NPC, to act as such oversight.

**Whereas**, democratizing the structures of the International Committee is not calling into question the legitimacy of NPC leadership appointments to such committees, but rather affirming that mass work can only be conducted through deliberative structures.

**Whereas**, we currently have existing formations abroad informally organizing as DSA.

**Therefore, let it be resolved** that membership to the International Committee will be open to all DSA members in good standing.

**Therefore, let it be resolved** that active members of the International Committee will participate in electing the leadership of the International Committee.

**Therefore, let it be resolved** that the International Committee is mandated to continue to further democratize its structures and processes so as to transform into an engine of mass organizing.

**Therefore, let it be resolved** that when organizing with DSA members abroad, the International Committee will encourage and prioritize organizing through participation in existing bodies abroad, such as through political parties and organizations. The International Committee may develop Memoranda of Understanding with informal circles of members abroad.

**Therefore, let it be resolved** that the International Committee will prioritize onboarding and developing members of existing Internationalist bodies at the chapter level, of members who are already active in any organizing work housed within the International Committee, and of BIPOC and non-cis male members.

**Therefore, let it be resolved** that the International Secretariat will be elected at each DSA National Convention, serving two-year terms concurrent with NPC terms, starting at the next DSA National Convention (2023).

**Therefore, let it be resolved** candidates for International Secretariat will be required to receive a nomination recommendation from the International Committee active membership.

**Therefore, let it be resolved** that the International Secretariat will be empowered to publish statements related to international matters on DSA's behalf.

**Therefore, let it be resolved** that the International Secretariat will have broad autonomy to set standards and priority regions for International Committee leadership.

**Therefore, let it be resolved** that the International Secretariat shall be subordinate to the NPC, that the NPC shall have liaisons with voting power on the International Committee, and that the NPC liaisons to the International Secretariat may bring any decision of the International Secretariat to the NPC for a veto vote.

**Therefore, let it be resolved** that the newly elected International Committee leadership in consultation with the International Secretariat is empowered to write a revised mission statement for the International Committee.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 18
Estimated Staff Costs	\$0.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$0.00
Estimated Direct Costs	\$0.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$0.00

Description of Main Staff Work	No major new costs.
Description of Direct Costs	

## **#19: Amnesty for All, Socialist Internationalism, and the Right to Stay Home**

Authors: David F. (Santa Barbara), Nikhil P. (Atlanta)

**Whereas** capitalist globalization dispossesses the world's popular classes of the means to survive, and thus forces them to migrate elsewhere in search of work;

**Whereas** the main thrust of US immigration law since the 1980s has been to illegalize, criminalize, and otherwise deny full social, political and labor rights to low-wage immigrant workers in order to drive down wages and working conditions for all workers and thus undermine working-class solidarity in general;

**Whereas** undocumented immigrants constitute nearly 5 percent of the US labor force, are concentrated in lower-paid, blue-collar industries with fewer protections and benefits, and have been excluded by the Supreme Court from key provisions under the National Labor Relations Act, and from the CARES Act of 2020 by Congress;

**Whereas** undocumented status and the threat of deportation makes it more difficult to contest primary exploitation from the boss, secondary exploitation from the landlord, and oppression within the domestic sphere;

**Whereas** immigrant workers have historically been at the forefront of the organized labor movement during times of strength (1930s) and weakness (1990s to present);

**Whereas** liberal foundations and capitalist philanthropists have increased their funding to immigrant justice organizations that claim to speak for the "grassroots" but have no real, organic constituency;

**Whereas** conservatives and radical liberals alike have falsely presented immigration as a "culture war" issue, rather than one concerning the social, political, and labor rights of the working class;

**Whereas** the Democratic Party proposes an interminable and restrictive pathway to citizenship in order to discipline the undocumented and undercut the demand for immediate and unconditional amnesty for all;

**Whereas** the political project of socialism is universalist, and national chauvinism and restriction of citizenship are wielded to bury class struggle and pit the working class in the United States and the working class in other countries against each other in a race to the bottom;

**Be it resolved** that DSA demands an immediate and unconditional amnesty with full citizenship for all undocumented immigrants and temporary contract workers currently in the United States, that it rejects the vague language of a so-called “pathway to citizenship,” and that it rejects the undermining of solidarity among immigrants by policies that prioritize “relief” for certain immigrant groups over others;

**Be it further resolved** that DSA demands the termination of all temporary contract labor programs;

**Be it further resolved** that DSA supports the right of the workers of the world to stay home, and that it rejects the efforts of global capital to reduce them to hyper-mobile factors of production in the service of accumulation through exploitation;

**Be it further resolved** that DSA supports all labor and tenant organizing of immigrant workers, both within and outside of actually existing unions, and that this support shall include agitation for a socialist perspective within these efforts;

**Be it further resolved** that DSA national and local DSA immigrant rights formations shall not devote any financial resources to campaigns led by immigrant rights groups receiving funding from capitalist philanthropists (such as liberal foundations), and that any DSA member employed by such organizations must disclose this publicly -- both their employer and the fact of their employer’s funding by capitalist philanthropists -- when engaging in national, chapter, and committee/working group level deliberations around participation in and/or endorsement of relevant campaigns and coalitions;

**Be it further resolved** that the national Immigrant Rights Working group shall help connect local DSA immigrant rights formations towards labor and tenant organizing efforts with the goal of building relationships with undocumented and temporary contract workers, and agitating towards the demand of amnesty for all;

**Be it further resolved** that the national Immigrant Rights Working group and local DSA immigrant rights formations maintain and exercise their freedom of action and agitation when in tactical alliances and coalitions with entities that support pathways to citizenship over amnesty for all, and in particular that they exercise their freedom to criticize in order to delineate distinctly socialist analyses of migration and labor;

**Be it further resolved** that the DSLC, ROP, EWOC, and other national DSA labor formations must intentionally train affiliated organizers to be able to articulate a popularized socialist analysis on labor and migration such that organizers are equipped to build solidarity across workers and lay blame on the transnational capitalist class, and attend to directly organizing or otherwise supporting efforts involving immigrant workers, particularly undocumented and temporary contract workers;

**Be it further resolved** that local DSA labor formations will engage with AFL-CIO state federations and central labor councils on the subject of amnesty for all, foregrounding worker solidarity across union and non-union, documented and undocumented, as part of a longer term effort to win amnesty for all;

**Be it further resolved** that DSA shall demand elected legislators support and prioritize amnesty for all over limited, proceduralized, and vague compromises such as “pathways to citizenship”;

**Be it further resolved** that DSA shall demand elected executive and judicial officials to commit to providing amnesty for all undocumented immigrants, to whatever degree is permitted in their office;

**Be it further resolved** that DSA, in continuation with and expanding DSA’s current commitments to international cooperation, coordinate with socialist parties and socialist trade unions beyond the US against policies that drive millions to abandon their homes due to dangerous conditions and destitution such as interventionist wars of aggression, CIA orchestrated coups, damaging trade deals, and economic sanctions;

**Be it finally resolved** that DSA shall vote upon including amnesty for all as a demand in the DSA’s political program.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 19
Estimated Staff Costs	\$0.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$0.00
Estimated Direct Costs	\$0.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$0.00
Description of Main Staff Work	No major new costs.
Description of Direct Costs	

## **#20: Class Struggle on the Housing Terrain: Building Power in the Tenants' Movement**

Authors: Lewie L. (East Bay), Nick W. (Boston), Sarah M. (Boston), Cece S. (East Bay), Dani T. (East Bay), Kellen D. (DSA Los Angeles), Justin G. (East Bay)

**Whereas**, the DSA's ability to advance a socialist politics requires a proletariat that is itself self-organized into fighting formations across all terrains of struggle; and

**Whereas**, the working class has experienced intense decomposition since the 1970s, such that it has both become atomized into increasingly individualized units, and fractured by the explosion of variegated social contradictions arising from capitalist expansion into evermore areas of social life; and

**Whereas**, housing has become a primary site of both direct extraction—rents accumulated through housing commodification—and indirect accumulation through financialization—the use of housing as a storehouse of surplus values and its subsequent inflation—; and,

**Whereas**, just as labor's organization is essential for the possibility of moving past capitalism and building socialism, so too must tenants become organized for us to find sufficient power to transform society; and,

**Whereas**, a young and growing tenant movement has emerged across the country, based on the increasing importance of housing both for working class daily life and for the accumulation of capital, a movement buoyed by the recent Covid-19 crisis. The tenant movement has emerged as a clear terrain of class struggle due to the ascendancy of real estate capital as an important cornerstone of rent extraction during falling rates of profit in the Western post-industrial core; and

**Whereas**, working class tenants across the country have already constructed tenant unions free from the imperatives related to the non-profit industrial complex in general and the Democratic Party in particular, demonstrating that working class innovation and self-organization is taking place today on an unprecedented scale; and

**Whereas**, the first ever national tenant union organization—the Autonomous Tenants Union Network (ATUN)—has been constructed, which some have compared to the CIO of tenant unions, bringing together all the major socialist tenant unions; and

**Whereas**, building a new tenant union—or engaging in a productive way with the existing autonomous tenant union in an area—is difficult work that can remain daunting for a local DSA chapter without training and support from the national body; and

**Whereas**, many areas across the country lack the dense network of legal support that often exists in larger cities (i.e. pro bono tenant lawyers, progressive lawyers' associations, know-your-rights training, etc.). This legal support helps both to clarify the terrain of struggle between landlord and tenant, and to develop effective tenant outreach; and

**Whereas**, even in larger cities with strong legal support, the existing legal network often cannot provide useful advice for organizing, because of its political orientation and connections to the Democratic Party and non-profit industrial complex. Instead, legal support in that context only advises tenants to resolve issues solely within a legal context, and not as a part of a fully integrated organizing practice; and

**Whereas**, interpretation and language justice are essential to build inclusive, multi-racial tenant unions, but interpretation can be both expensive and difficult to coordinate for new unions; and

**Whereas**, the DSA should aim to build a new common sense understanding of housing within capitalism through political education, emphasizing the class divisions between tenant and landlord and calling for socialism; and

**Whereas**, rental housing associations regularly contribute to politicians from the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. And such contributions are often a vulnerable point of contestation against the same politicians; and

**Whereas**, many DSA members and chapters have already engaged in building tenant unions, or else in putting forward efforts that organize tenants against real estate capitalists and against housing market dynamics;

**Therefore be it resolved**, that the DSA should strengthen ties to a growing tenant movement across the country, by building and supporting tenant unions; and be it

**Resolved**, that the convention directs the National Political Committee (NPC) and the Housing Justice Commission (HJC) to develop and facilitate a structure, with three distinct wings, that can enable local DSA chapters to build and support local autonomous tenant unions; and be it

**Resolved**, that the HJC shall develop a first training wing responsible for building and running a train-the-trainer program that teaches comrades how to either build new autonomous tenant unions—meaning, tenant unions that are entirely funded and run by tenant members—that can grow into mass organizations in areas where none currently exist, or how to build intermediate structures that train and orient local DSA chapter members to collectively and collaboratively engage within their respective autonomous tenant unions if they already exist; and be it

**Resolved**, that the HJC training wing shall include details and processes for building inclusive, multi-racial organizations committed to language justice relevant to local conditions, and that are specifically committed to building organizational solidarity with BIPOC tenants; and be it

**Resolved**, that HJC shall develop a second wing to conduct an inquiry among local DSA housing committees into local conditions of legal resource availability and obstacles to access. HJC shall develop a guide for tenant unions to search for and connect with legal support networks. The HJC shall also develop a strategy and practice that uses tenant rights knowledge for organizing outside of the legal system; and be it

**Resolved**, the second wing shall also be a legal-aid outfit that supports the tenant organizing of comrades in regions with deficient tenant rights support, for example by constructing know-your-rights trainings tailored to local legal conditions and purposefully constructed for local use, and by making legal interpretation for local and regional tenant laws available to such comrades; and be it

**Resolved**, that the HJC shall include a third wing for purposes of political education relevant for the tenant movement, and whose duties shall include developing a political education curriculum that can be adapted to local conditions; and be it

**Resolved**, that the HJC shall be provided with funds for translation and language justice; and be it

**Resolved**, that these tenant unions should apply to affiliate with, or be affiliated with, the national Autonomous Tenant Union Network (ATUN), which has emerged as a national center for the actually existing socialist tenant movement and brings together LA Tenants Union, Philly Tenants Union, TANC and many other socialist unions in the rising tenant movement; and

**Be it finally resolved:** the NPC shall direct the editorial board of the Democratic Left to include a section on the tenant movement, specifically related to the work of HJC and ATUN-related unions, for each new print issue.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 20
Estimated Staff Costs	\$601,526.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$108,274.68
Estimated Direct Costs	\$6,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$715,800.68
Description of Main Staff Work	50% of one organizer is estimated by resolution but we interpret the language in this resolution as calling for close to PRO Act level staff involvement. As such, staff time estimate: 500 hours/month organizing, 140 hours/month communications, 80

	<p>hours/month tech and data, 10 hours/month other operations like mass calls and compliance, 10 hours/month development and 4 hours/month finance, plus one time swag production costs of 50 hours (assuming three kinds of swag distributed to 100 chapters.) This is a total of 8978 staff hours/year, or the equivalent of 4.3 full time staff. Additional supervisory staff cost is built into estimated cost per staff hour.</p>
Description of Direct Costs	<p>Translation costs are not specific but we estimate \$6000 for several pieces per month. Potential legal costs associated with setting up legal aid projects is difficult to estimate.</p>

## **#21: Prioritizing Tenant Organizing — Resolution by the Housing Justice Commission**

Authors: Arielle S. (Los Angeles), Allison H. (Metro DC), Saoirse G (Metro DC), David Z. (Chicago) on behalf of the Housing Justice Commission

**Whereas**, housing is a human right, recognized globally since 1947 but not realized, especially in the United States, due to the global capitalist system that places the needs of capital above human rights;

**Whereas**, as socialists we are building a mass organization in order to advance the immediate interests of the working class across racial, language, disability, gender, and sexual orientation lines, and struggle to improve their living conditions;

**Whereas**, we recognize the United States was created with land that European colonizers stole from indigenous people. The privatization of this land has since enabled the property-owning class to accumulate wealth at the expense of the rest, and they will fight to protect their economic interest;

**Whereas**, the history of property ownership in the United States has relied on the exclusion of communities of color through chattel slavery, broken promises of reparations since the time of Reconstruction, residential segregation, redlining, gentrification, overt banking discrimination and predatory lending practices, public housing divestiture, institutionalization, asset forfeiture, and every day racism and discrimination, especially in the realm of housing and homeownership;

**Whereas**, people with disabilities face systemic barriers, both physical and economic, to accessible housing, supported by the home-based care and services they need, without being forced into abject poverty or institutionalization;

**Whereas**, the criminalization of unhoused tenants has created a prison-shelter cycle where tenants are punished for merely existing outside and not accepting shelters, sanctioned campgrounds, drug treatment programs, or other options with carceral and paternalistic rules and policies that make it difficult to organize collectively for better living conditions;

**Whereas**, the COVID-19 crisis has only accelerated the predictable economic downturn of capitalism and the suffering of the working class, especially unemployed and low-wage workers living in rental housing or with predatory mortgages;

**Whereas**, tenant organizing is a critical component of any strategy to build working class power, defeat landlords, and replace capitalism with socialism;

**Whereas**, we are committed to a radical social revolution that creates a future without landlords and bosses, where housing is provided to all and people exercise collective control over land and housing;

**Whereas**, across the country DSA members who are predominantly renters themselves have led tenant organizations in their own housing, supported the formation of municipal tenant unions, identified tenant leaders in their neighborhoods, and supported autonomous tenant leadership development;

**Whereas**, we recognize that only by the abolition of capitalism is the solution of the housing question ultimately made possible;

**Be it resolved** that DSA recognizes the foundation of the struggle for housing justice is tenant organizing, and other campaigns related to housing justice must be built on a powerful, organized working-class tenant movement;

**Be it further resolved** that DSA establishes housing justice, with a focus on tenant organizing, as a national priority campaign until the next National Convention, to be coordinated on a national level by the Housing Justice Commission;

**Be it further resolved** that DSA must focus on tenant organizing by creating new tenant unions or supporting existing tenant unions that work to defend tenants from eviction and displacement and create a strong working class base that can advocate for our goals, and defend them once achieved;

**Be it further resolved** that the Housing Justice Commission will continue to provide trainings, political education, and spaces for discussion open to every member of DSA, relating to tenant organizing, housing justice campaigns, and the housing question generally;

**Be it further resolved** that by the end of 2021 the Housing Justice Commission will establish a permanent and ongoing train-the-trainers education curriculum and regular intake of new organizers seeking to establish or strengthen tenant organizing programs in their chapters, with a focus on building and diversifying DSA leadership;

**Be it further resolved** that the Housing Justice Commission will develop a subcommittee under the training and development committee comprised of rural, exurban, and suburban chapters to ensure trainings and resources address the special considerations of chapters organizing outside urban areas, where there is less multi-unit housing;

**Be it further resolved** that the National Political Committee will, in consultation with the Steering Committee of the Housing Justice Commission, set aside resources to assist DSA chapters with active tenant organizing programs in meeting financial burdens related to providing simultaneous interpretation at tenant organizing meetings and other language and disability justice needs;

**Be it further resolved** that the Housing Justice Commission will work with staff organizers to lead consultative meetings with new chapters or chapters just starting housing justice work to identify opportunities for tenant organizing, and that the National Political Committee will designate a specified portion of staff organizer time, no less than 5 hours/week, to assist with these meetings, as well as disseminate trainings and resources to all DSA chapters, and ensure mass participation by DSA chapters in the HJC and its projects generally;

**Be it further resolved** that the Housing Justice Commission will seek to provide timely and informed analysis of housing policy, tenant organizing, and developments relevant to the housing question to the membership of DSA, to DSA elected officials and campaigns, and to the National Political Committee;

**Be it further resolved** that by the end of 2021, the Housing Justice Commission will collaboratively draft a detailed report on opportunities for a multi-city, -state, or nationwide tenant organizing campaign aimed at corporate landlords with rental properties in multiple communities;

**Be it further resolved** that the Housing Justice Commission will continue to highlight intersections between the housing justice struggle and the organized labor struggle,

struggles for police and prison abolition, healthcare justice, disability justice, climate justice, racial and gender justice, tax justice, migrant justice, indigenous tribal sovereignty and de-colonization, and queer and trans liberation, and will coordinate with national bodies on these and other issues.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 21
Estimated Staff Costs	\$139,226.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$25,060.68
Estimated Direct Costs	\$23,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$187,286.68
Description of Main Staff Work	Resolution states 5 hours/week of staff time, but calls for HJC to be a national priority. Staff time estimate: 64 hours/month organizing, 48 hours/month communications, 30 hours/month tech and data, 20 hours/month other operations, 3 hours/month development on average, 4 hours/month finance, plus one time swag production costs of 50 hours (assuming three kinds of swag distributed to 100 chapters.) This is a total of 2078 hours/year or the equivalent of 1 full time staff.
Description of Direct Costs	Cost to send posters, buttons and brochures for 100 chapters.

## **#22: DSA for \$25 an Hour**

Authors: Frank SF. (Metro DC), Rachel B. (Metro DC)

**Whereas**, as socialists, we understand that our federal minimum wage of \$7.25 is a starvation wage.

**Whereas**, we are deeply indebted to the many contributions of our staff to our organization.

**Whereas**, our national organization is headquartered in a region with one of the highest costs of living in the country.

**Whereas**, according to 2019 testimony before Congress by Ben Zipperer of the Economic Policy Institute, the federal minimum wage has not kept pace with inflation, declining from \$10.15 in 1968 to \$7.25 today (in 2018 dollars). If the minimum wage had kept pace with increases in worker productivity it would be approximately \$21.25 today.

**Be it therefore resolved**, the Democratic Socialists of America support an increase of the federal minimum wage to \$25 an hour with future increases tied to worker productivity.

**Be it further resolved**, that beginning in 2023, DSA shall not pay any employee less \$25 an hour, or \$52,000 a year for full-time work, but this clause shall not impact any current collective bargaining agreements.

**Be it further resolved**, during the negotiation of future collective bargaining agreements DSA shall not offer any proposal of pay below \$25 an hour, or \$52,000 for full-time work, for any employee payscale.

**Be it finally resolved**, in subsequent years after 2023, the amounts stated in this resolution will be indexed to increases, but not decreases, in the US Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index. Nothing in this resolution shall be construed as preventing increases in pay greater than the rate of inflation in any future collective bargaining agreement.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

The cost of raising the base wage of all staff to \$52,000, with potential adjustments to the wage scale for those staff making over \$52,000 a year as well.

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 22
Estimated Staff Costs	\$0.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$0.00
Estimated Direct Costs	\$0.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$0.00
Description of Main Staff Work	No major new costs.
Description of Direct Costs	This would cost less than the current staff union contract - basically already being implemented.

## **#23: Childcare for All**

Authors: Sarah R. (New River Valley)

**Whereas** lack of access to childcare poses a significant burden to working families across the country.

**Whereas** universal childcare is the creation of public nurseries, public play-based preschools, and public elementary before-and-after school programs available to all children.

**Whereas** universal childcare is created through a progressive income tax on top earners.

**Whereas** wealth is indirectly redistributed by universal childcare tax mechanisms, and this changes the course of childrens' entire lives - working class children will earn more in their lives as adults, while wealthier children will earn less.

**Whereas** profit in privatized childcare comes from the exploitation of workers whose wages remain low partly because reproductive labor remains unpaid or underpaid.

**Whereas** the majority of federally funded means tested non-profit childcare programs create poverty in and of themselves by compensating the median worker \$23,760 a year and providing substandard working conditions.

**Whereas** Childcare for All initiatives are a popular and deeply felt public good organizing effort that address both the safety and socialization of children as well as the pay and conditions of workers in these programs.

**Whereas** previous childcare resolutions have passed at convention only to result in a continued complete lack of dedicated staff or resources from the DSA towards childcare initiatives.

**Whereas** members of DSA locals with active Childcare for All workgroups can follow the lead of Portland's successful Universal Pre-k Now ballot initiative campaign, a homegrown electoral project that brought universal childcare to all 3 and 4 year old children in their county in Oregon, funded by a 1.5% to 3.8% progressive income tax, which only the top 8% of income earners in their county pay.

**Whereas** in certain states, universal childcare legislation can only be introduced statewide through the General Assembly, and not through direct ballot initiatives.

**Whereas** the costs and resources necessary to produce statewide universal childcare legislation is greater because the scale is much greater.

**Whereas** the DSA has a need for an economist staffer to help local DSA Childcare for All workgroups analyze tax bases on the statewide or district level in order to produce viable progressive tax legislation to fund universal childcare.

**Whereas** DSA locals can viably carry out statewide Childcare for All campaigns to progress universal childcare if DSA locals have actual policy to push.

**Be it resolved** the DSA will dedicate a half-time staffer to craft the necessary universal childcare tax mechanisms that will change children's lives and level income inequality in America.

**Be it resolved** the half-time staffer will also facilitate a consciousness-raising campaign to bring up awareness of this socialist strategy for locals interested in working toward universal childcare through Childcare for All campaigns.

**Be it resolved** that this staffer will be hired within six months of convention after the passage of this resolution.

**Be it resolved** that this staffer be paid at least the median income of childcare workers in America.

**Be it resolved** that the DSA grant this staffer an additional budget of \$10,000 that will go towards resources and training for interested locals to help get Childcare for All canvassing campaigns off the ground.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 23
Estimated Staff Costs	\$12,194.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$2,194.92
Estimated Direct Costs	\$23,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$37,388.92
Description of Main Staff Work	Resolution calls for half time staffer, yet level of activity described puts this at national campaign range. Staff time estimate: 10 hours/month organizing, 14 hours/month communications, 5 hours/month tech and data, 5 hours/month other operations, 1 hour/month development on average, 4 hours/month finance. Since national campaign proposals call for materials to be produced, we include the one time swag production costs of 50 hours (assuming three kinds of swag distributed to 100 chapters.) This is a total of 182 staff hours/year or the equivalent of 3.5 hours a week staff time.
Description of Direct Costs	Cost to send posters, buttons and brochures for 100 chapters.

## **#24: Towards Size Inclusivity**

Authors: Patrick A. (Milwaukee)

**WHEREAS** 68% of women and half of men in the United States are considered "plus size"; and

**WHEREAS**, as of the writing of this resolution, store.dsausa.org offers only one item in a 4XL and none in sizes larger than that, while at the same time non-specialty retail stores like Hot Topic offer many items in sizes 3XL-5XL; and

**WHEREAS** the DSA is trying to build a movement of the working class and that includes fat people;

**THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED**, the National DSA store will only offer clothing if the clothing can be offered in all sizes XS to 5XL; and

**BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED**, Print on Demand services may be used to save on the cost of offering larger size options (See <https://fiimarketing.com/print-on-demand/> for an example of a union printers that offer print on demand services.); and

**BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED**, that the National Political Committee will put pressure on union printers to offer a more inclusive size range if necessary to fulfill the previous RESOLVED line of this resolution; and

**BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED**, the annual Chapter Survey will include questions about the size inclusivity of chapter merchandise; and

**BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED**, the NPC will publish advice about increasing size inclusivity of chapter clothing and distribute to chapter leaders after the completion of the Chapter Survey and the size inclusivity of the National store has been increased; and

**AND BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED**, chapters with more than 1000 members are heavily encouraged to adopt larger size ranges and the NPC will have conversations with chapter

leaders of applicable chapters if increased size ranges are not made available by August of 2022.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 24
Estimated Staff Costs	\$0.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$0.00
Estimated Direct Costs	\$0.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$0.00
Description of Main Staff Work	This is feasible with current vendors and little additional staff time. We are implementing already.
Description of Direct Costs	

## **#25: National Communications & Technology Policy**

Authors: Byron L. (Orange County), Nikhil S. (New York City)

**Whereas** the National Technology Committee and staff developers have ensured that the organization has access to better and more reliable applications and systems;

**Whereas** the Tech Committee is in the process of holding internal elections and developing and implementing new priorities;

**Whereas** at the national and local level, membership organizations such as DSA are reliant on effective communications systems that facilitate education, deliberation, and democratic decision-making;

**Whereas** there are advantages to proprietary systems for data storage and easy access to training resources;

**Whereas** the organization benefits from improved information security to protect confidential information;

**Whereas** the organization is subject to effectively unappealable corporate decisions and ideological shifts to the extent that it employs certain social media and communications applications;

**Whereas** similar membership organizations have modified open source systems and created applications that facilitate member engagement with decisional processes and campaigns as well as access to organizational and news updates;

**Whereas** the left would benefit from independent media formations and the promulgation of our national, regional, and local news and analysis in a way that could be owned by the organization;

**Therefore** the Tech Committee, in conjunction with the National Political Committee and National Staff, will prioritize the development and implementation of technologies within DSA; and

**Further**, those entities will produce or revise existing reports by March 2022 that set forth a public plan and timeline (subject to redaction for security or confidentiality

reasons) for training members and facilitating the adoption and implementation of national, regional, and locally administered technology; and

**Further**, the aforementioned plan will study existing national, state, and local efforts; center coordination with tech committee members and coordinations at all levels of the organization; and analyze factors that include costs, capacity, democratic governance, the process of training administrators, moderation, security, and feasibility for technology and administrative changes that include, but are not limited to:

- Database Management
- Website Development & Hosting
- Internal Development of New Communications and Social Media Applications
- Member-accessible portals for resources, member information, and training resources
- Development of communications applications that use open source software, modification of Discourse or Mail.io instances, and employment of applications such as Spoke, Action Network, MailChimp, Slack, Discord, and Mattermost
- Voting Systems
- Promulgating DSA and left news media
- Training local, state, and regional tech committees and membership on the use and maintenance of applications
- Hiring additional permanent or temporary staff or contractors

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 25
Estimated Staff Costs	\$335.00

18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$60.30
Estimated Direct Costs	\$0.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$395.30
Description of Main Staff Work	5 hours staff time providing information for the study. Potentially significantly more, depending on whether recommendations after the study are adopted and require changes to our practices, but difficult to estimate.
Description of Direct Costs	Costs of potential future technology difficult to estimate.

## **#26: Developing Independent Organizations & Training Organizers for Emerging Conditions**

Authors: Byron L. (Orange County), Nikhil S. (New York City)

**Whereas** the development of the left in the United States and globally has proceeded in a non-linear fashion and in response to unpredictable events and waves of reaction;

**Whereas** developing strategies and tactics that can be deployed within and beyond the electoral and legislative arena are essential for responding to novel conditions, building deeper capacity, and ensuring ultimate success; and

**Whereas** the internal organization and a necessary social basis historically requires the development of independent organizations for media, community land and property ownership, and worker cooperatives that are funded and controlled by members;

**Therefore** the national organization with the aid of relevant working groups and committees, including, but not limited to, the Growth & Development Committee, will implement training by mid-2022 for members on how to successfully build organization during moments of crisis and mobilization and engage in tactics such as successful boycotts and direct actions;

**Further**, the national organization will explore how to sustainably fund organizers so that a broader group of individuals are able to assist on campaigns and long-term projects;

**Further**, DSA to the maximum degree possible will incorporate in existing and new national campaigns tactics that include, but are not limited to, waging successful boycotts and direct actions;

**Further**, relevant national working groups, including but not limited to the Housing Justice Commission, and the Mutual Aid Working Group, in conjunction with the NPC and national staff, will develop a study by March 2022 to determine how best to fund and develop local and national worker cooperatives, community land trusts, and other independent institutions based on an evaluation of factors such as cost, viability, democratic governance, regulatory compliance, and legal liability.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 26
Estimated Staff Costs	\$34,840.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$6,271.20
Estimated Direct Costs	\$0.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$41,111.20
Description of Main Staff Work	Estimated 10 hours/week of staff time in organizing to support additional work of the Training Committee and to develop and deliver trainings and staff time in development to fundraise for additional staff, though the resolution is somewhat unclear on this, so difficult to estimate. Additional supervisory staff cost is built into estimated cost per staff hour.
Description of Direct Costs	Potential opportunity cost from adding a new fundraising priority, but difficult to estimate.

## **#27: Beyond 100K: Building a Mass Socialist Organization**

Authors: Justin C. (New York City), Jordan F. (New Orleans), Kristian H. (North Texas), Beth H. (Boston), Colleen J. (Denver), Jorge M. (North New Jersey), Sean M. (East Bay), Ashley P. (East Bay)

**WHEREAS**, with a membership of over 100,000, the Democratic Socialists of America is a worker-led organization seeking to build a mass movement able to win power, abolish capitalism, and free itself to gain freedom and extend democratic control over all aspects of our lives and society under socialism,

**WHEREAS**, the particular oppressions of the BIPOC working class under racial capitalism and the position and majority of the BIPOC workers make organizing grounded in multiracial solidarity central to the task of liberation,

**WHEREAS**, this organizing must be situated within existing sites of struggle where socialists find themselves, such as workplaces, communities, and political constituencies, and must prioritize the recruitment and retention of BIPOC workers within a politics of solidarity of shared material conditions, as this work is indispensable to changing the composition of our organization, engaging all parts of the working class in DSA's work, and deepening the social roots of socialist organizing,

**WHEREAS**, organizing within these existing sites of working class struggle, particularly where people live and where they work is indispensable if we want to change the composition of our organization, engage all parts of the working class in DSA's work, and deepen the social roots of socialist organizing,

**WHEREAS**, DSA has demonstrated our capacity to act collectively at a national scale through the DSA for Bernie campaign, DSA 100K Drive, and DSA for the PRO Act campaigns,

**WHEREAS**, transforming DSA into a mass organization requires being capable of recruiting, retaining, training, and developing socialist organizers both at the local level within chapters and at a national scale,

**WHEREAS**, the transition from a member-run and sparsely-staffed organization into a mass socialist organization requires a staff, leadership, and organizing infrastructure with greater capacity, stability, and resources to support and sustain a rapidly growing member-led organization,

**WHEREAS**, fundraising is a critical organizing skill for DSA chapters and members as organizational dues are the financial foundation for DSA's political independence and constitute a material commitment to DSA and the socialist project,

**BE IT RESOLVED**, the DSA Growth and Development Committee (GDC) will build on the work it has done since its inception and further develop the recruitment, retention, training, mentorship, chapter development infrastructure, and socialist analysis necessary to build the mass organization the political moment calls for,

**RESOLVED**, GDC will implement a national training program to develop socialist organizers capable of analyzing material conditions, identifying issues widely felt by BIPOC workers, running local campaigns, and connecting them to national priorities when appropriate,

**RESOLVED**, GDC will mentor chapters to select and prioritize issue campaigns that establish a pole of socialist anti-racist politics of solidarity, not based in race essentialism or separatism, and have greater material impact and salience for the BIPOC sections of the working class. In particular, the national chapter mentorship program will prioritize the South and rural areas with demographic diversity.

**RESOLVED**, GDC will mentor and train chapters to build intentional and continuous recruitment efforts through strategic political campaigns resonant with populations rooted in the diverse multiracial working class, prioritizing recruitment from sites of diverse ongoing class struggle in organized labor and new labor organizing efforts,

**RESOLVED**, GDC, in coordination with the National Political Education Committee, will support chapters of different sizes with tools for membership development, including onboarding and leadership identification through standardized trainings and political education series,

**RESOLVED**, GDC, in coordination with the National Political Education Committee and DSA national committees and campaigns, will develop a national arc of participation for new DSA members, from orientation to political education, organizer trainings, and campaigns,

**RESOLVED**, GDC will mentor and train chapters to organize their members as workers and tenants. In particular, the GDC will help equip chapters to conduct strike solidarity, organize the unorganized, join strategic industries, and build neighborhood and tenant organizations. The GDC will coordinate with national working groups to produce those materials and resources.

**RESOLVED**, GDC will organize a Dues Drive that communicates the political importance of dues, increases our retention rates, connects renewal to local and National priority campaigns, and develops chapter fundraising capacity. DSA will allocate staff resources necessary to improve the membership management functionality on the website,

**RESOLVED**, GDC will fully integrate YDSA and recruitment of young people generally into the above strategies. GDC will work with YDSA leadership to develop a particular strategy directed towards young people. This strategy will prioritize youth recruitment beyond HBCUs, Community Colleges, Trade Schools, High Schools, and other sites and institutions with potential for youth recruitment. GDC will recruit YDSA members to serve on GDC steering committee and GDC membership generally. GDC will operate as a body serving both DSA and YDSA.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 27
Estimated Staff Costs	\$139,226.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$25,060.68
Estimated Direct Costs	\$23,000.00

Total Costs - One Year Only	\$187,286.68
Description of Main Staff Work	We estimate this at national priority level activity, so staff time estimate: 64 hours/month organizing, 48 hours/month communications, 30 hours/month tech and data, 20 hours/month other operations, 3 hours/month development on average, 4 hours/month finance, plus one time swag production costs of 50 hours (assuming three kinds of swag distributed to 100 chapters.) This is a total of 2078 hours/year or the equivalent of 1 full time staff.
Description of Direct Costs	Cost to send posters, buttons and brochures for 100 chapters for dues drive.

## **#28: Building Transformative Justice through a National Committee of Grievance Officers**

Authors: Alexandra W. (New York City), Kara H. (Las Vegas), Blanca E. (Northwest Arkansas)

**Whereas** the Resolution 33 process which governs grievances in DSA was principally developed for serious harms including harassment on the basis of membership in a protected class, but many grievances currently adjudicated through the Resolution 33 process are principally rooted in political or interpersonal conflict;

**Whereas** political and interpersonal conflicts are an inevitable and normal part of life in a mass socialist organization containing members of different political tendencies with different perspectives on organizational priorities, strategies, and tactics;

**Whereas** DSA has also lost members as a result of leadership failures and inadequate responses through the grievance process in the wake of serious forms of harm including harassment and violence;

**Whereas** DSA has earlier affirmed its commitment to prison abolition and to abolitionist politics;

**Whereas** the transformative justice movement arose among abolitionists as an approach for responding to serious kinds of harm, including and especially sexual and domestic violence; and

**Whereas** harassment and grievance officers are volunteers providing difficult and invaluable services to their chapters and to DSA as a whole, but grievance officers in small chapters may have little structural support in their work:

**Be it therefore resolved** that DSA will form a national grievance committee of chapter harassment and grievance officers (HGOs) to formalize connections between HGOs in local chapters for the purposes of ongoing skillshares and collaboration and to provide HGOs in small chapters support in their work;

**Be it further resolved** that this national grievance committee will be composed of one member of the NPC and ten chapter harassment and grievance officers, selected by the

NPC, prioritizing diversity in gender, age, and chapter size and ensuring that at least three out of ten members of the committee are people of color;

**Be it further resolved** that the national grievance committee will organize quarterly meetings open to all HGOs, and that these quarterly meetings will include skillshares, trainings, and breakout sessions for consultation and mutual support of grievance officers from small chapters;

**Be it further resolved** that the national grievance committee will seek input from chapter HGOs about already existing community accountability and mediation programs developed to address oppressive and/or interpersonal harm that exist parallel to or as an alternative to the resolution 33 process, and will provide support to chapter HGOs in developing and implementing these parallel processes;

**Be it further resolved** that DSA will allocate \$20,000 over two years to trainings for chapter HGOs in transformative and restorative justice, conflict resolution, and mediation; and that the national grievance committee, with the approval of the NPC, will be responsible for hiring appropriate trainers;

**Be it further resolved** that the national grievance committee will commit to studying potential systemic reforms to the Resolution 33 process in order to create survivor-centered processes rooted in transformative justice for intervening in serious forms of oppressive and/or interpersonal harm, as well as separate processes for resolving non-oppressive conflicts, and that the national grievance committee will deliver these recommendations to the NPC for dissemination ahead of the 2023 national convention;

**Be it further resolved** that the national grievance committee will develop guidance on member discipline measures used to safeguard DSA and its members, including transformative justice interventions, mediation, expulsion, and suspension;

**Be it further resolved** that the national grievance committee will create resources for a standardized Resolution 33 grievance process, as amended by this resolution, to include uniform intake forms, confidentiality policies, and other appropriate documentation processes, which all chapters will adopt, while upholding the NPC's final authority over the grievance process, but that chapters will remain free to implement alternative mediation and community accountability processes that can be used if both claimant and respondent consent;

**Be it further resolved** that Resolution 33 and this resolution do not restrict the NPC's powers over member discipline unrelated to a grievance, as allowed in DSA bylaws.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

\$20,000 in paid trainings and consulting work.

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 28
Estimated Staff Costs	\$25,460.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$4,582.80
Estimated Direct Costs	\$10,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$40,042.80
Description of Main Staff Work	5 hours/week to coordinate and liase between NHGO, other staff, and committee; also operations staff time to support quarterly meetings.
Description of Direct Costs	\$10,000 per year for trainings in transformative and restorative justice and mediation. Conflict resolution training we are implementing now. Cost of one two day virtual meeting of 40 people could be just staff time if using zoom.

## #29: Stipends for NPC Steering Committee Members

Authors: Marianela D. (Chicago), Jeremy G. (East Bay), Keon L. (Philadelphia), Jack M. (New York City), Natalie M. (Philadelphia), Megan S. (New York City)

**Whereas**, the National Political Committee is the highest decision-making body of the organization between meetings of the Convention; and

**Whereas**, DSA has grown rapidly from 6,000 members to 90,000 and requires a much heavier workload of leadership responsibilities from the NPC to build a cohesive and powerful organization; and

**Whereas**, the NPC Steering Committee takes on an even bigger burden of responsibility for the organization and already has a workload equivalent to a full time job; and

**Whereas**, DSA should strive to be a socialist organization rooted in and reflective of the multiracial working class and should ensure working class people are able to be leaders of our movement, rather than relying on a layer of leaders who already have the time and resources to donate.

**Therefore Be It Resolved**, this convention calls on the NPC and National Staff to allocate funding for stipends of \$2000 a month to NPC Steering Committee members.

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### **Budget or Staff Implications:**

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### **Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 29
Estimated Staff Costs	\$0.00

18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$0.00
Estimated Direct Costs	\$144,416.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$144,416.00
Description of Main Staff Work	
Description of Direct Costs	4 NPC and 2 YDSAers make up the SC = \$12,000 per month for 12 months + payroll admin costs.

### **#30: Strengthening DSA From the Bottom Up Through National Matching Funds for Chapters to Hire Staff and Open Offices**

Authors: Robert H. (Central Indiana), Eric B. (At-Large), Ezekiel T. (North New Jersey), Laura W. (Portland), Matt S. (East Bay), Robert B. (Louisville), Leah B. (Austin), Spencer B. (Boston), Melinda B. (Chicago)

**Whereas**, a key component of transforming DSA into a powerful mass organization rooted in the multiracial working-class is increasing our organizational capacity from the bottom up,

**Whereas**, it takes financial and organizational resources to build sustained political power,

**Whereas**, opening local DSA offices – from Louisville to San Francisco – has been proven to help strengthen DSA chapters and their organizing efforts by establishing a visible and sustainable presence in working-class neighborhoods, by facilitating in-person organizing, by solidifying collective political and social solidarity, and by creating a hub for our broader movement and electoral campaigns.

**Whereas**, hiring local DSA staff – as seen in New York City – has been proven to help strengthen local DSA chapters and their political campaigns by increasing their overall organizational capacity to build robust organizing campaigns of and for the multi-racial working class and to proactively recruit, develop, and retain new members. Far from substituting for membership involvement and leadership, hiring a staffer can free up DSA members and our elected bodies to focus on outwards-facing organizing and it can help build the internal structures to scale up these power-building efforts.

**Whereas**, national DSA can and should do everything possible to aid local DSA efforts to build up a strong, and financially sustainable, organizing infrastructure,

**Therefore be it resolved** that DSA will establish a national matching funds program administered by the National Political Committee to help local chapters and statewide organizations hire staff – full-time or part-time – or open local offices. While the precise financial and process mechanisms of the matching funds program can be flexibly adjusted as need be, the following criteria will serve as the general guideline to launch the program:

- The program will be funded from the national DSA budget as well as a national fundraising campaign for this effort, with the goal of providing equal national matching funds (50%, 50%) to be matched by local or statewide DSA formations for a minimum of at least one year.
- To apply for the matching funds, the requesting body should first raise at least 25% of the necessary funds and collectively adopt a proposal detailing a) the political, organizational, and recruitment goals that they will seek to leverage the matching funds for, with clear metrics for yearly assessments of progress; b) a fundraising plan to raise the other 25% of the matching funds by the proposed date to open an office or hire a staffer c) an off-ramp fundraising plan to ensure the financial self-sustainability of the project, with the goal of being self-sustained one year after the matching funds program kicks in.
- The 25% amount may vary due to differing regional costs and will be set by the NPC in advance so that local and regional formations have a clear and transparent fundraising goal.
- The NPC will review these applications and may make suggestions and send feedback so that the terms are mutually agreed upon to maximize the chances for success.
- After one year, partial matching fund financial extensions will be considered if the requesting body demonstrates both having made demonstrable progress in achieving its political and organizational goals, and has made significant progress on moving towards financial self-sustainability.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 30
Estimated Staff Costs	\$17,420.00

18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$3,135.60
Estimated Direct Costs	\$0.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$20,555.60
Description of Main Staff Work	Estimated 5 hours/week staff time to both fundraise directly for matching funds + support chapters to fundraise so they can become sustainable at one year. Additional supervisory staff cost is built into estimated cost per staff hour. Even assuming any staff would be part of the staff union, it is difficult to estimate how many chapters could feasibly do this and thus the cost.
Description of Direct Costs	Potential opportunity cost from adding a new fundraising priority, but difficult to estimate.

### **#31: Making DSA a Multiracial and Anti-Racist Organization**

Authors: Kevin R. (North Carolina Triangle), Kristian H. (North Texas), Maikiko J. (Los Angeles), Beth H. (Boston), Roy Z. (Seattle)

**WHEREAS**, DSA is committed to building an organization that is reflective of the working class in both its membership and leadership, to increasing the racial diversity of its national committees and membership at large, and to developing its analysis of, and engagement in, anti-racist and abolitionist organizing work;

**WHEREAS**, DSA must be intentional about supporting and developing BIPOC leadership and in amending organizing practices that lead to burnout, tokenizing, or creation of hostile spaces within our ranks, and DSA must organize from a culture of solidarity, grace, and transformation, not shame, fear, or guilt, in order to achieve this;

**WHEREAS**, while there is no one person, committee, or campaign that is responsible for making recommendations or doing intentional work to increase the racial diversity of DSA, the NPC, as the political leadership of DSA, must be directly involved in the work of making the organization more reflective of the working class;

**WHEREAS** the Afrosocialists and Socialists of Color Caucus (AFROSOC) exists as an autonomous space for BIPOC socialists and therefore cannot, and should not, be expected to be the sole committee responsible for making DSA a multiracial and anti-racist organization;

**WHEREAS** we can only do this work by offering material support (staff and resources), national guidance, and ongoing chapter and leadership support to ensure accountability;

**BE IT RESOLVED**, a new national committee responsible for coordinating the work of this resolution will be formed. This committee will be known as the Multiracial Organizing Committee and will:

- Be formed by the NPC no later than 30 days after the start of their term.
- Be composed of at least six but no more than eight NPC members, with at least half being members of color.
- The committee will retain the right to add additional members from across the organization.

- Be responsible for establishing standards for national committees, convention resolutions, and DSA chapters around multiracial organizing within the first 90 days of the 2021-2023 NPC term.

**BE IT RESOLVED**, DSA chapters and committees will be responsible for ensuring that their chapters/committees are at least as racially diverse as the area in which they organize, and that their campaigns are all oriented toward multiracial organizing, as dictated by the standards set by the Multiracial Organizing Committee;

**BE IT RESOLVED**, DSA will collect demographic information of new members through a biennial membership survey, to be carried out by the Growth & Development Committee. The GDC Training Subcommittee will develop resources and guidance to help chapters collect demographic information in a standardized and secure way;

**BE IT RESOLVED**, DSA will encourage chapters to build and join multiracial coalitions, to collaborate with BIPOC-led or BIPOC-base groups, both organized and unorganized, in relevant and strategic national and local work;

**BE IT RESOLVED**, DSA will provide training to incoming chapter leadership about racial capitalism, retention of new BIPOC members, and conflict resolution in an anti-racist organization through collaborative efforts by the GDC Training Subcommittee, our National Political Education Committee, and the AFROSOC Caucus;

**BE IT RESOLVED**, DSA, with the guidance of the Multiracial Organizing Committee and in collaboration with key bodies of the organization, will create an organizing training institute prioritizing DSA BIPOC organizers and leaders within 120 days of the Convention, which will be appropriately resourced and staffed and take place over the course of 20 months;

**BE IT RESOLVED**, DSA National Priority Campaigns will create a recruitment plan, centering underrepresented groups within DSA, such as Black, Indigenous, and people of color, within 90 days of the Convention and provide resources (templates, action kits, one pagers) for organizers to adopt and implement the plan and evaluate progress toward recruitment goals;

**BE IT RESOLVED**, DSA National Priority Campaigns will be led by at least one-quarter BIPOC members. If this metric is not able to be met, the National Priority Campaign will work with the Multiracial Organizing Committee to develop an onboarding plan to identify and develop BIPOC leaders who can step into leadership roles within a mutually agreed upon amount of time;

**BE IT RESOLVED**, the Multiracial Organizing Committee, in coordination with other relevant committees, will propose an accountability process for chapters and national committees that repeatedly fail, or outright refuse, to meet the standards developed by the Multiracial Organizing Committee;

**BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED**, DSA will prioritize staff assistance and support to chapters that either (a) meet or exceed the standards set by the Multiracial Organizing Committee or (b) are making a good faith effort to meet the standards set by the Multiracial Organizing Committee; DSA staff will support these efforts, and work with the Multiracial Organizing Committee to assess chapter implementation.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 31
Estimated Staff Costs	\$248,905.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$44,802.90
Estimated Direct Costs	\$66,400.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$360,107.90

Description of Main Staff Work	Tech and data and/or comms staff for membership survey every two years: 115 staff hours/2 to account for averaging over two years. 1 FT organizing staffer to coordinate training institute & support revamping/creating new trainings with Training Team + costs of operations and finance staff for 2 cycles of institute meetings, assuming 1 in-person gathering and 1 virtual 1-2 gatherings of 40 people each cycle, per year. 1200 hrs operations staff, 320 hrs finance staff for financial and receipt documentation for in person meetings.
Description of Direct Costs	Cost of one two-day in person meeting of 40 people per cohort in training institute, assuming 2 cohorts per year: \$760 per person for travel, hotel, food, plus direct cost of venue \$2800 total. Cost of one two day virtual meeting of 40 people could be jus

## #32: Strengthening YDSA

Authors: Dahlia W. (East Bay), Oren S. (New York City/At-Large), Kristen C. (New York City)

**Whereas**, DSA recognizes YDSA as a uniquely important part of the organization and a crucial ground for membership recruitment and development. With nearly 150 chapters on high school, community college, and university campuses across the country, it is a large and highly developed national organization with its own campaign and long-term projects, such as a rank-and-file pipeline on a scale not seen elsewhere in DSA. YDSA is distinct from DSA working groups, committees, campaigns, or caucuses as it is uniquely vital for the sustained growth and development of DSA and its organizers.

**Whereas**, YDSA has grown into an increasingly complex and ambitious organization capable of carrying out large-scale national campaigns. YDSA leaders have demonstrated maturity, foresight, and organizing prowess at every level of the organization. YDSA has become a stellar project within DSA, turning out active chapters and lifelong socialist organizers and building a national organization.

**Whereas**, the growth and sustainability of the socialist movement relies on recruiting and training lifelong socialist organizers to act as the core of DSA and leaders in the labor movement. YDSA has incredible potential to recruit and develop such organizers on a mass scale.

**Whereas**, YDSA's growing presence on community college and HBCU campuses has played a vital role in further rooting DSA in working-class communities and recruiting and training working class and POC organizers.

**Whereas**, the scope of the work done by the YDSA has repeatedly been limited by lack of capacity from staff, who are overcommitted. Most national committees have been operating without much staff support and YDSA's current staffers have their hands full with the national campaign and supporting individual chapters, vitally important work.

**Whereas**, the scope of YDSA's work has similarly been limited by lack of capacity from national leadership, who are tasked with carrying out the political mandate of the organization as well as working and being full-time students. In order to build a

sustainable organization that lifts up working class leaders, we need to provide institutional financial support to allow NCC members to lead YDSA.

**Whereas**, YDSA must routinely make requests of DSA and the Budget & Finance Committee for funding necessary to carry out national campaigns, such as phonebanks. This prevents YDSA's nationally elected leadership body from executing democratically mandated functions of the organization in a timely manner.

**Whereas**, YDSA has repeatedly called for the hiring of more staff and the process has been drawn out, inefficient, and without the input of the YDSA National Coordinating Committee (NCC).

**Whereas**, to sustain the development and support YDSA organizers require, there needs to be a stronger connection between older and more experienced DSA organizers and younger and newer YDSA organizers. There exists a YDSA Mentor program in which DSA chapters are meant to elect or appoint YDSA Mentors to help coordinate, build, and mentor YDSA chapters in their DSA chapters' geographic region. There is a lot of promise for this program as seen by the work in East Bay and Los Angeles where YDSA Mentors have helped mentor the creation of 10+ chapters. However, thus far DSA chapters have demonstrated limited interest in the program and to the extent that they do, they have mostly focussed on plugging YDSA chapters into local DSA work, rather than serving the role of recruiting, mentoring, and developing YDSA cadre.

**Be it therefore resolved**, DSA commits to building and supporting YDSA as a mass student socialist organization that carries out the crucial function of recruiting and developing skilled and confident lifelong socialist organizers.

**Be it further resolved**,

- A. YDSA's NCC will have decision-making power over expenses related to YDSA national convention and conference and campaign expenses (such as, but not limited to, phonebanks, advertising, and printed materials).
- B. The NCC can attend and speak at the discretion of the Chair at NPC meetings, though only the co-chairs will have voting power.
- C. YDSA will hire additional staff through the DSA hiring process and the NCC will have input in the hiring process. The NCC will issue recommendations and have final say on who is hired.
- D. Each NCC member will receive a monthly stipend

calculated based on the average cost of rent, utilities, and groceries at the location of the NCC member, allowing NCC members to work less at their paid jobs and dedicate more time to YDSA. Minimally \$86,000 will be allocated from the DSA budget every year for stipends for NCC members. The amount allocated for stipends can be amended to cover the costs of living for the full NCC (calculated based on the average cost of rent, utilities, and groceries at the location of each NCC member).

**Be it further resolved**, DSA commits to helping build the YDSA Mentor Program as a key source for recruiting, mentoring, and developing new YDSAers, YDSA chapters, and YDSA leaders and organizers. Mentors should coordinate amongst existing YDSA chapters and also help students build new chapters on their campuses. Plugging YDSAers into local DSA work is encouraged as well. Mentors should prioritize helping build and mentor chapters at high schools, community colleges, and other majority working class schools.

**Be it further resolved**, every YDSA Mentor, once elected or appointed, should take part in a YDSA-run training and coordination program, meant to nationally standardize the work of YDSA Mentors. This program will be run by YDSA in conjunction with Staff and experienced YDSA Mentors.

**Be it finally resolved**, experienced YDSA Mentors should speak to DSA chapters about why YDSA is so important to building DSA and the socialist movement, specifically in training and developing socialist cadre, and why an experienced and confident organizer from their chapter should take on the role of YDSA Mentor. DSA chapters will be highly encouraged to take part in this YDSA Mentor speaking tour.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

\$151,000 total annually.

Stipend: \$86,000 annually.

Hiring an additional staffer: \$65,000 annually.

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 32
Estimated Staff Costs	\$139,360.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$25,084.80
Estimated Direct Costs	\$237,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$401,444.80
Description of Main Staff Work	1 FT staffer (actual cost.) Additional supervisory staff cost is built into estimated cost per staff hour.
Description of Direct Costs	Calls for \$151,000 for expenses, \$86,000 for NCC stipends.

### #33: A Resolution to Better Compile Resolutions

Authors: Jacey (At-Large)

**Whereas**, there is no place for regular members to know which resolutions have been released;

**Whereas**, the DSA is a democratic organization;

**Whereas**, that for members of a democracy to be informed they must know what business may require their attention;

**Whereas**, in the current system members who have large social media platforms have an outsized influence compared to members who do not have time to maintain an online presence;

**Therefore be it resolved**, the DSA NPC may make the necessary arrangements to foster the creation an online space which DSA members in good standing may submit resolutions which they would like signatures for;

**Be it further resolved**, that the DSA NPC is granted the authority to approve on a process for deciding how resolutions may be submitted and then hosted on the online space; and

**Be it further resolved**, the DSA NPC shall only approve of such a process if the process receives a no less than two thirds vote of all present NPC members.

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#### **Budget or Staff Implications:**

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#### **Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 33
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Estimated Staff Costs	\$0.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$0.00
Estimated Direct Costs	\$0.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$0.00
Description of Main Staff Work	No major new costs.
Description of Direct Costs	

### **#34: No Spy Zone**

Authors: Lindsey S. (New York City), Dylan A-C. (New York City), Sepehr M. (New York City)

**Whereas**, the intelligence agencies of the United States, together with the intelligence arms of federal and local law enforcement, have historically infiltrated and undermined leftist, anti-racist, and working class movements.

**Whereas**, these intelligence agencies share information and coordinate with various branches of government under the auspices of the Intelligence Community, whose member organizations include the NSA and CIA as well as military and federal law enforcement intelligence offices.

**Whereas**, many of these intelligence offices belong to branches of the U.S. government that DSA is working to abolish, such as DHS.

**Whereas**, U.S. intelligence agencies also share information and collaborate with the intelligence agencies of other governments in order to protect capitalism and suppress leftist movements around the world.

**Whereas**, DSA's National Political Committee has passed Resolution 11, banning law enforcement officers from DSA membership, which includes federal departments with a history of infiltration and spying, such as ICE, DEA, and the FBI.

**Whereas**, DSA has and continues to establish official lines of communication and diplomatic relations with external organizations and bodies.

**Whereas**, bad actors can gain access to sensitive information, and share it with unfriendly actors who seek to undermine DSA's ability to organize and build trust.

**Whereas**, "doxxing" here is defined as a member publicly sharing private information about another member (such as contact information, employment information, or home address). Exposing private information without members' consent can be harmful in both the short and long term.

**Whereas**, casual allegations of infiltration and cooperation with government agencies sow distrust and can deter bodies from democracy and transparency. DSA members

should levy these sorts of accusations only when serious, and measures should be in place to respond fully in proportion to the weight of these accusations.

**Therefore, let it be resolved** that any person employed by, contracting with, informing to, or otherwise affiliated with any intelligence agency of any government, including any member organization of the U.S. Intelligence Community, is ineligible for membership in the Democratic Socialists of America.

**Therefore, let it be resolved** that any DSA member, if found to be employed by, contracting with, informing to, or otherwise affiliated with any intelligence agency or any member organization of the U.S. Intelligence Community, will be subject to DSA’s expulsion process, in accordance with DSA Bylaws Article I, Section 3.

**Therefore, let it be resolved** that any member found to be distributing sensitive DSA information outside of sanctioned DSA channels shall be subject to DSA’s expulsion process, in accordance with DSA Bylaws Article I, Section 3. Sensitive DSA information can include, but is not limited to, personal information that identifies members without their consent, protest plans, and internal campaign documents.

**Therefore, let it be resolved** that any member who “doxxes” another member shall be subject to DSA’s expulsion process, in accordance with DSA Bylaws Article I, Section 3.

**Therefore, let it be resolved** that the National Red Rabbits Working Group shall be given the appropriate resources and funds to standardize and assist the vetting processes for DSA bodies.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 34
Estimated Staff Costs	\$34,840.00

18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$6,271.20
Estimated Direct Costs	\$0.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$41,111.20
Description of Main Staff Work	Estimated 10 hours/week of staff time in organizing and tech to support the Red Rabbits. Additional supervisory staff cost is built into estimated cost per staff hour.
Description of Direct Costs	Costs of potential future technology difficult to estimate.

### **#35: Spanish Translation & Bilingual Organizing**

Authors: Trent P. (Boston), David G. (Buffalo), Andrea A. (New York City), Thomas C. (New York City)

**Whereas** in the United States the Spanish language is the second most common language after English, being the primary language spoken at home by over 40 million people,

**Whereas** a broad section of working class in the United States uses the Spanish language,

**Whereas** the socialist political project is universalist and internationalist, meaning organizing workers across divides of language and nationality is necessary

**Whereas** expanding communication and coordination with socialist parties in Spanish speaking Latin American countries is necessary in service of proletarian internationalism,

**Whereas** the DSA currently has few resources available in languages other than English,

**Be it resolved**, National DSA documents and resources shall be translated into the Spanish language, prioritizing the DSA constitution and bylaws, member application process, chapter list, resources for starting new chapters, the DSA FAQ, leadership & structure, and hiring opportunities.

**Be it further resolved**, DSA national campaigns and initiatives will include Spanish language messaging and solicit volunteer and professional translators to accomplish this.

**Be it further resolved**, DSA chapters will be encouraged to do the same with their materials and resources.

**Be it further resolved**, DSA chapters waging campaigns and initiatives in areas with significant Spanish speaking populations will make an effort to produce Spanish language messaging.

**Be it further resolved**, the DSA political program will be made available in Spanish as well as English.

**Be it further resolved**, the DSA shall commit to offering Spanish translations of National DSA resources going forward.

**Be it further resolved**, the DSA shall add an optional question to the member application form asking what languages applicants are fluent in, and whether they are willing to volunteer as an interpreter and/or translator to assist others.

**Be it finally resolved**, the DSA take the necessary steps to ensure that the national convention following the next, i.e., two conventions from this one, include simultaneous Spanish language interpretation to allow for full participation from members whose primary language is Spanish.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

It would require allocation of funds to pay for translation of resources and future national conventions, as well as website changes. It would need staff time as necessary to implement Spanish language versions of documents and materials as well as an option to be connected with fluent DSA members.

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 35
Estimated Staff Costs	\$0.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$0.00

Estimated Direct Costs	\$1,450.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$1,450.00
Description of Main Staff Work	
Description of Direct Costs	Spanish simultaneous interpretation for 20 hours of the 2023 national convention. Half of that since this is an average cost per year.

### **#36: Prioritizing Working-Class Latino Organizing in DSA**

Authors: Miko B. (New York City), Luis S. (Savannah), Luisa M. (Portland), Duane C. (Sacramento), Jose P. (Atlanta), Illapa S. (New York City), Stephanie E. (New York City), Robyn H. (New York City), Tefa G. (New York City), Carlos Jesus C. (New York City).

**Whereas**, Resolution #6 “Orienting to Latinx Communities” from the 2019 National Convention was approved, its mandates have not been accomplished due to a lack of a national body with a focus on linguistic parity and strategic outreach to Latino workers.

**Whereas**, a National DSA Latino Commission was first formed in 1983, a year after the foundation of DSA, and existed through 2003. During its tenure the Latino Commission supported Jesse Jackson’s 1984 and 1988 campaigns for the presidency, published a journal called Our Struggle/Nuestra Lucha, promoted Latino organizing in DSA, fought against racism both within DSA as well as in US society at large, published various organizing materials in Spanish, and brought Chicanos into the NPC.

**Whereas**, DSA recognizes the immense strategic importance of immigrant and undocumented workers both as a foundation of the US capitalist economy, and as a key component of any socialist movement seeking to challenge it.

**Whereas**, Latinos are now the largest minority in the United States, at 18% of the population (~60 million people) the majority of whom are young people. One in five millennials is classified as “Hispanic” by the census bureau; among post-millennials, one in four.

**Whereas**, the United States has the second largest number of Spanish-speaking people in the world after Mexico, some 55 million people over the age of five. Some 41 million over that age are considered “native speakers”, meaning that it is the main language used in their homes. However, since there is immense linguistic and dialectal diversity among Latinos, organizers will have to experiment with different registers and political idioms to best engage Latino workers.

**Whereas**, amidst the global COVID-19 pandemic, many Latinos have been excluded from state and federal aid because they are immigrant workers.

**Whereas**, DSA overwhelmingly uses English in our day-to-day communications and work.

**Whereas**, DSA LatSoc began as a series of conversations by Latinos in various chapters across the organization during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, formalized into a working group with an Interim Organizing Committee and began having online meetings in 2021, setting up national subcommittees for political education and linguistic parity, holding Spanish phone banks for the Tax The Rich Campaign, and doing local New York City Chapter work like supporting DSA endorsed city council candidates.

**Be it therefore resolved** that the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) will make it a national priority to focus on recruiting and organizing working-class Latinos, which will be carried out by DSA Latinos Socialistas (DSA LatSoc), both independently and in coordination with existing national staff and the National Political Committee (NPC).

**Be it further resolved** DSA, in collaboration with DSA LatSoc, will make every effort to create Spanish-language materials at the national, regional, and local levels. These materials will include but are not limited to flyers, posters, online content, translations, interpretation services, and other materials connected to DSA campaigns and other priorities.

**Be it further resolved** the NPC shall recognize DSA LatSoc as a National Working Group and collaborate with the DSA LatSoc Interim Organizing Committee to have DSA LatSoc chartered and integrated into the national ecosystem of DSA. DSA LatSoc shall be a democratically-run working group which will have locals which will enable the national working group to support specific, regional campaigns and other local efforts.

**Be it further resolved** the national leadership of DSA LatSoc will be elected directly by members of DSA LatSoc. This DSA LatSoc membership shall be able to decide which campaigns and projects to participate in and what new campaigns to create.

**Be it further resolved** that DSA LatSoc will strive to become an organizing and social hub for Latino socialists and to reflect the intricacy and cultural diversity of Latinos. It will enable DSA to: build working-class power among Latinos; produce Spanish-language political education and propaganda; to program and facilitate meetings in Spanish (and the other languages and dialects common among Latinos as necessary); and, more generally, to connect the project of democratic socialist organizing to the

everyday experiences of one of the United States' most significant minority populations.

**Be it further resolved** that a goal of DSA LatSoc will be to grow DSA by recruiting working-class Latinos, supporting DSA's national and local campaigns, and collaborating with other working groups in the organization.

**Be it further resolved** that DSA National shall collaborate with DSA LatSoc to accomplish the goals listed in the 2019 DSA National Convention Resolution #6 "Orienting to Latinx Communities" which will include the creation of a Spanish language DSA website with an editorial board chosen by DSA LatSoc.

**Be it further resolved** while DSA LatSoc acknowledges the importance of the Spanish language in communicating with Latinos, many individuals also speak other languages worth considering in our work such as Portuguese, Aymara, Guarani, and other indigenous languages. Latinos also often "code switch", use Spanglish, or speak only English. In the face of the immense diversity of linguistic variants and registers, and of the political traditions carried over from different national, regional, class, cultural and ethnic contexts, DSA must recognize the complexity of the work of translation, and wherever possible, seek to collaborate on building its message with members of specific communities. DSA and DSA LatSoc will organize workshops on translation practices for Spanish-speaking members where context-specific approaches can be developed.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 36
Estimated Staff Costs	\$139,226.00

18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$25,060.68
Estimated Direct Costs	\$50,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$214,286.68
Description of Main Staff Work	Calls for 1 FT organizer. The work outlined appears to be at present national priority level work, so the staff time estimate: 64 hours/month organizing, 48 hours/month communications, 30 hours/month tech and data, 20 hours/month other operations, 3 hours/month development on average, 4 hours/month finance, plus one time swag production costs of 50 hours (assuming three kinds of swag distributed to 100 chapters.) This is a total of 2078 hours/year or the equivalent of 1 full time staff.
Description of Direct Costs	Current website translation cost x4 to account for expansion and continual new materials: \$27,000. Cost to send posters, buttons and brochures for 100 chapters: \$23,000.

## **#37: Medicare for All Committee Convention Recommendations**

Authors: Frances G. (New Orleans), Luke T. (East Bay)

**Whereas**, DSA's Medicare for All campaign has advanced the M4A movement substantially over the last four years and as socialists, we play a critical role in the fight for health justice.

**Therefore so be it resolved**, that the DSA Medicare for All campaign shall remain a national priority campaign within DSA and will further the M4A movement by:

- Helping chapters build local and statewide campaigns to push the M4A movement forward through strategic local campaigns, especially those that link health justice to racial justice, as well as the broader M4A movement.
- Getting as many U.S. Representatives and Senators as possible to sign on to the Health Care Emergency Guarantee Act and the Medicare for All bills, by carrying out independent local pressure campaigns.
- Electing Medicare for All legislators.
- Organizing protests and demonstrations aimed at insurance, pharmaceutical and other for-profit health care institutions.
- Winning local municipal resolutions for Medicare for All
- Build labor support for Medicare for All by supporting the formation of the Health Workers Collective.

**Resolved**, that the DSA Medicare for All Campaign Committee shall be budgeted no less than \$10,000 for discretionary spending in 2021-2022 and \$10,000 for discretionary spending in 2022-2023; and,

**Resolved**, that the Medicare for All Campaign Committee shall be primarily responsible for creating political education, communication and social media content relating to DSA's Medicare for All campaign and shall have final approval of campaign communications sent through national channels; and

**Resolved**, that participants in the DSA Medicare for All campaign pursue tactics tied to concrete activities that build organizing capacity and visibility for Medicare for All, that elevate Medicare for All as a anti-racist demand, and that build state-level organizing infrastructure. These tactics include but are not limited to pressuring representatives, organizing town halls and educational events, canvassing and phone banking, passing

municipal resolutions and running local campaigns, organizing health justice mutual aid such as health fairs and medical debt clinics, and like activities; and

**Resolved**, that participants in the DSA Medicare for All campaign pursue realizable short and medium term goals and stay in touch with national organizing infrastructure via the Regional Organizers; and,

**Resolved**, that the DSA Medicare for All campaign committee shall support locals in developing local health justice campaigns and in other health justice organizing efforts through the Regional Organizer program and by producing an annual organizing guide and series of trainings on topics within that guide; and

**Resolved**, that the DSA Medicare for All campaign committee shall, within the first three months after Convention, recruit and train new Regional Organizers into the RO program, and

**Resolved**, that the DSA Medicare for All campaign committee shall, within the first three months after Convention, revisit and approve any governing committee documents as well as current committee leadership and leadership development to ensure compliance with the “Resolution to Prioritize BIPOC Recruitment, Engagement, and Development.”

**Resolved**, that the DSA Medicare for All campaign committee shall promote tactical and strategic local successes with the aim of building cross chapter communication and organization.

**Resolved**, that the DSA Medicare for All campaign committee shall work in close coordination with other national formations and shall strive not to duplicate work.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Resolution Number	Resolution 37
Estimated Staff Costs	\$601,526.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$108,274.68
Estimated Direct Costs	\$23,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$732,800.68
Description of Main Staff Work	Does not call for staff but we interpret the language in this resolution as calling for close to PRO Act level staff involvement. As such, staff time estimate: 500 hours/month organizing, 140 hours/month communications, 80 hours/month tech and data, 10 hours/month other operations like mass calls and compliance, 10 hours/month development and 4 hours/month finance, plus one time swag production costs of 50 hours (assuming three kinds of swag distributed to 100 chapters.) This is a total of 8978 staff hours/year, or the equivalent of 4.3 full time staff. Additional supervisory staff cost is built into estimated cost per staff hour.
Description of Direct Costs	Proposal calls for \$10,000 per year but we budget for the cost to send posters, buttons and brochures for 100 chapters.

# Constitution and Bylaws Changes

## #1: Strike Regional Requirements for National Conventions

Authors: Danya L-B. (East Bay)

### Rationale:

In the past, DSA has rotated its convention locations by regions of the United States, including Atlanta, GA (2019), Chicago, IL (2017), Bolivar, PA (2015), Emeryville, CA (2013), and Vienna, VA (2011). These practices were instituted when DSA was a much smaller organization than it is now, and when the number of delegates attending these conventions was much smaller. Rotating the convention locations may not be the ideal practice for DSA in 2023 and beyond, for a variety of reasons, including questions of environmental sustainability and fluctuating convention attendance costs.

Furthermore, meeting in a geographically central location may help better distribute the impact of jet lag and long travel times.

Potential good faith arguments to maintain the current practice of rotating regions for our conventions include:

1. Supporting the growth of locals in a variety of regions through the convention - not just in one concentrated area.
2. Distributing the amassed burden of travel time and expenses equitably across locals.

The intentions behind these arguments ought to be taken very seriously, but there has not been significant growth in chapters that have hosted conventions that can specifically be attributed to the hosting of conventions in these cities. DSA conventions are largely internal events restricted to attendees who are already members and the press, due to space reasons, and do not generally attract a large presence of interested but unaffiliated individuals. Furthermore, the financial burden of travel is already redistributed through programs such as travel share, and it is difficult to quantify whether rotating the burden of travel time every two years is really making the travel

time burden lighter for anyone but delegates who have been attending the convention for many, many years.

Rather than prescribing a specific location or set of locations for future conventions, the location of the 2023 DSA Convention and future conventions after that should be decided on by the NPC based on the following considerations:

1. Minimizing the number of delegates who must travel out of town to the location of the convention, and maximizing the number of delegates who can offer solidarity housing.
2. Minimizing the average distance and travel costs traveled by all delegates living 50 miles or more away from the convention location.
3. Minimizing the lodging costs for out-of-town delegates, while continuing our practice of only patronizing union-staffed hotels or convention sites.

Given its density of DSA members who would not need to travel and could potentially provide solidarity housing to delegates, the high density of cost-efficient union hotels, and central geographic location in the continental United States, the signatories recommend locating most conventions in the Chicago metro area. Other conferences on the scale of DSA's convention meet in Chicago each year, such as the Socialism Conference, and the city's role as a major airline hub should also keep pricing for both travel and lodging reasonable. The city's role as a major rail hub for Amtrak and bus lines might also encourage the use of lower-carbon travel options by delegates. However, we are open to any other location being chosen depending on the unique circumstances that present themselves with each convention.

### **Amended Language :**

#### Article VI. National Conventions

[...]

##### Section 5.

National Conventions shall be held ~~in different areas and regions of the country each time.~~ in a location decided on by the NPC at least a year in advance of the convention, based on finding a location that can best meet the following criteria: (1) Minimizing the number of delegates who must travel to the location of the convention and maximizing the number of delegates who can offer solidarity housing. (2)

Minimizing the average distance and travel costs traveled by all delegates living 50 miles or more away from the convention location. (3) Minimizing the lodging costs for delegates, while continuing our practice of only patronizing union-staffed hotels or convention sites.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Constitutional Change Number	Constitutional Change #1
Estimated Staff Costs	\$0.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$0.00
Estimated Direct Costs	\$0.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$0.00
Description of Main Staff Work	No major new costs.
Description of Direct Costs	Potential savings from building multi-year relationships with the same vendors, but difficult to estimate.

## #2: National Referendum

Authors: Andy S (Madison); Natalia T (New York City); Hakan Y (New York City); Derek B (Oklahoma City)

### Amended Language :

The DSA Constitution shall be amended,

Adding a new article after V National Conventions:

#### Article VI. Referenda Section 1.

Between conventions, the membership may direct the organization by Referendum. The mechanism for petitioning for and voting in Referenda shall be established in the Bylaws. Only a Referendum may override a resolution of the Convention. A Referendum may establish policy; override decisions of the National Political Committee; or bind the NPC to any action permitted by the Constitution, Bylaws, and applicable laws.

And subsequent articles renumbered.

Amending Article XIII. Amendments by adding:

#### Article XIII. Amendments

This Constitution may be amended at a National Convention by a two-thirds vote of the delegates voting and present provided that written notice of such amendments has been given to members one month prior to the Convention or by a two-thirds Referendum vote if a quorum of 15% of members participate.

## BYLAWS

### ~~Article XIII. Polls~~

~~Polls of the members on specific issues may be held upon petition of one half of the Locals or one third of the members. Such polls shall be advisory and not binding.~~

#### Article XIII. Referenda

Section 1.

The NPC shall administer an online petition and voting system for members to participate in Referenda. (a) The NPC may call a Referendum by majority vote. (b) Members may call a Referendum by petition from 1% of members, not to exceed 1000 members. (c) Locals may call a Referendum by petition of locals representing 10% of the total number of recognized chapters. Signatures for petition may be gathered in person or electronically. Calls to Referendum shall be in the form of a question put to members, along with options responding to the question, among which members may vote. One of these options shall represent no action by DSA.

Section 2.

Calls to Referendum shall be announced to members within 15 days of receipt, and shall declare the referendum schedule. Voting on the referendum shall begin no sooner than 45 and no later than 90 days after the Call to Referendum is announced.

Section 3.

All members in good standing on the date a Call to Referendum is announced will be eligible to vote in such Referendum. Voting will be open for 14 days. Every member eligible to vote will be notified electronically when voting opens, and 48 hours before voting closes. Members without electronic contact information on file will be informed of the vote by postal mail. An option to abstain shall be included with each ballot. If a supermajority is required, it will be calculated by comparing the winning option directly with the No Action option.

Section 4.

A quorum of 10% of eligible members must vote or respond with an abstention for a Referendum vote to be valid.

Section 5.

The NPC shall encourage online deliberation and deliberation within Locals on each Referendum, facilitating a fair and open discussion of the issue. National DSA resources, including but not limited to, staff, finances, and member lists, except discussion forums open to members, shall not be used to argue for any option in a Referendum.

Section 6.

An optional survey, asking for demographic information, ZIP code, National Working Group membership, whether the member is an elected leader of any kind, and date of

last participation in a DSA meeting or activity, shall be included with each referendum vote. After the vote is complete, ballot and survey data shall be made available to members for research purposes.

And subsequent articles renumbered.

And amending Article XIV Amendments by adding:

Article XIV. Amendments

These Bylaws may be amended at a National Convention by a three-fifths vote of the delegates voting and present provided that written notice of such amendments has been given to members one month prior to the Convention. The Bylaws may also be amended by majority at a National Convention if the amendments in question have been discussed at an NPC meeting at least three months prior to the Convention. The Bylaws may also be amended by a Referendum vote if a quorum of 15% of members participate.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Constitutional Change Number	Constitutional Change #2
Estimated Staff Costs	\$8,040.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$1,447.20
Estimated Direct Costs	\$11,100.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$20,587.20

Description of Main Staff Work	For each referendum, 120 hours for comms, tech and data work. Additional supervisory staff cost is built into estimated cost per staff hour. The threshold triggering referendum is fairly low so we could see a fair number of them in one year but difficult to estimate, so this is on only the cost of one single vote.
Description of Direct Costs	Cost for one referendum vote, assuming 6400 members in good standing who we cannot email, \$3500 for printing, postage and handling for postcards driving members to a website to vote; plus \$7600 for an all-member OpaVote.

### **#3: Adding Candidate Membership to the NPC**

Authors: Ryan M. (Metro DC)

#### **Rationale:**

The National Political Committee (NPC) is the highest decision making body for our organization between conventions and acts as our executive board nationally. It is also a really big job and takes a considerable amount of time and work for an all volunteer leadership. Since 2017 DSA has elected two NPCs, one in 2017 and again in 2019. Both NPCs saw relatively significant attrition rates, with the current NPC having three members drop off less than a year into their term. Under the current bylaws, vacancies are filled by the NPC themselves, and can be anyone in the organization. While this isn't totally unusual compared to other organizations, as a member run democratic organization it poses some issues. At times these vacancies has sat open for months, and appointments always involve a fair bit of political debate as they often affect the political balance of the NPC. Moreover the appointed NPC members are often coming into their new roles completely cold, and have to learn on the fly how to perform their duties.

This amendment to our constitution would add 4 additional seats to the NPC for "candidate members." Candidate members would sit on the NPC without a vote, and if a vacancy comes up they would step into that seat in the order they were elected. This way, we are maintaining the convention's authority to decide the composition of the national leadership, and avoid any disruption in continuity as vacancies are filled. It also has the added benefit of slightly expanding the NPC to incorporate more voices, without compromising the ability of the NPC to function decisively and transparently.

This bylaw amendment would take effect in 2023.

#### **Amended Language:**

DSA Constitution, Article VIII, Section 2:

The members of the NPC shall be one representative of the Youth Section and 16 delegates elected at the national convention. *The convention shall also elect 4 candidate members who shall be ex officio members of the NPC without a vote.* Of

the elected members, no more than eight shall be men and at least five shall be racial or national minority members of DSA. In the event that these minority positions are not filled at the Convention, the position(s) shall be filled by the NPC, except that only minority members of DSA may be elected to fill such vacancies. In case of other such vacancies, except a vacancy of the Youth Section Representative, *candidate members shall fill such vacancies as at-large members. They shall be appointed in order of their vote while maintaining the overall diversity quotas outlined in this section.* ~~the NPC shall appoint a member of the organization in good standing to serve until the next Convention.~~ No person shall serve simultaneously on the National Staff and the NPC.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Constitutional Change Number	Constitutional Change #3
Estimated Staff Costs	\$0.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$0.00
Estimated Direct Costs	\$4,120.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$4,120.00
Description of Main Staff Work	Minimal staff time to coordinate with additional ex officio NPC members.
Description of Direct Costs	Travel & food for adding 4 more people to quarterly in person NPC meetings.

## **#4: Electing DSA's National Director**

Authors: Marianela D. (Chicago), Jeremy G. (East Bay), Keon L. (Philadelphia), Jack M. (New York City), Natalie M. (Philadelphia), Megan S. (New York City)

### **Rationale:**

The DSA Constitution outlines a Director position by stating in Article VI, Section 2 that "Director(s) shall be hired by the NPC according to the procedures set out in the DSA Bylaws." and in Article VI, Section 4 that "The Director(s) shall be members of the full-time staff and shall be the official spokesperson(s) of the organization."

Now that the organization has grown substantially from its previous size of ~6,000 members to ~90,000 members, DSA's most important leader should be elected by and democratically accountable to the membership of the organization. Winning an election for the Director position from the delegated convention every two years will give the National Director the mandate they need to effectively lead our organization. Encouraging healthy campaigns for the position will motivate candidates to put forward a compelling vision for our organization.

While the National Director has been viewed as a mostly administrative position, we should recognize that the director's direct control over DSA's multi-million budget, dozens of staff, and media prominence makes it an important political leadership position, and it should be treated as such.

Ensuring that the National Director has a vote on the NPC will help allow them to lead politically along with other elected leaders, encourage them to participate actively in important debates over the organization's policies and practices, and increase transparency of their leadership of national organization.

### **Amended Language:**

DSA Constitution: Article VI. Officers and Staff; Section 2.

The Director(s) shall be ~~hired by the NPC according to the procedures set out in the DSA Bylaws~~ *elected by a majority of convention delegates for a two-year term and shall be a voting member of the NPC*. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be elected

annually by a majority of the NPC and shall serve until a successor has been chosen.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Constitutional Change Number	Constitutional Change #4
Estimated Staff Costs	\$0.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$0.00
Estimated Direct Costs	\$6,880.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$6,880.00
Description of Main Staff Work	One month overlap of old and new national directors for orientation and transition divided by two to get a per year cost.
Description of Direct Costs	

## #5: For a National Leadership Elected by and Accountable to DSA members

Authors: Haley P (New York City); Phil G (Madison); Elizabeth L (Chicago)

### Amended Language:

Amendment To DSA Constitution & Bylaws

1) Article VIII National Political Committee, Section 2 of the DSA Constitution currently reads:

“The members of the NPC shall be one representative of the Youth Section and 16 delegates elected at the national convention. Of the elected members, no more than eight shall be men and at least five shall be racial or national minority members of DSA. In the event that these minority positions are not filled at the Convention, the position(s) shall be filled by the NPC, except that only minority members of DSA may be elected to fill such vacancies. In case of other such vacancies, except a vacancy of the Youth Section Representative, the NPC shall appoint a member of the organization in good standing to serve until the next Convention. No person shall serve simultaneously on the National Staff and the NPC.”

**The DSA Constitution shall be amended so that this section reads as follows:**

“...In case of other such vacancies, except a vacancy of the Youth Section Representative, ~~the NPC shall appoint a member of the organization in good standing to serve until the next Convention.~~ a special election by all members shall fill any vacancy on the NPC. The NPC is responsible for setting up elections to fill vacancies in between conventions, and for ensuring that such elections are well-publicized and become a top priority in internal communications to the membership. Voting shall be open to all dues-paying members in good standing at the time of the election announcement. Eligibility to run for a vacant position on the NPC shall be subject to the same criteria established at the convention from which the vacancy arises. Elections to fill a vacancy on the NPC shall be announced within thirty days following the vacancy and voting will commence no more than two months from the start of the vacancy. In the event that the vacancy occurs within six months of the start of a National Convention, the NPC may vote to appoint a member in good standing to temporarily fill the position, or it may remain vacant until the election of a new NPC at the National Convention. No person shall serve simultaneously on the National

Staff and the NPC.”

**2) Article VIII shall be amended to add a new section that reads as follows:**

**Section 9.**

Elected NPC members are subject to recall by the organization’s membership. Members in good standing may call for a recall vote of any member or members of the NPC by either (1) petition of 1% of members, not to exceed 1000 members, or (2) by petition of locals representing 10% of the total number of recognized chapters. Signatures for petition may be gathered in person or electronically. Following submission of a valid recall petition, a binding vote will be taken by all members in good standing on whether to recall and remove from office the named member(s) of the NPC on the petition. Recall votes will be publicized to members through national communications. For an NPC member to be recalled, at least 60% of votes cast must respond in favor of recalling the individual(s) in question. A quorum of 10% of eligible members must vote or respond with an abstention for a Referendum vote to be valid. A successful recall vote will automatically trigger new elections by the membership to fill the vacancy.

**3) Bylaws Article X National Political Committee shall be amended to add a section that reads as follows:**

**Section 7.**

All votes taken by the NPC, save for those taken in executive session, shall be roll-called with the name of each member and their vote cast, whether aye, nay, abstain, or not present. The NPC will provide minutes of its meetings to the membership within three days of their approval. A meeting shall be considered any gathering of the NPC or SC to conduct business, whether in-person or online. These minutes will include roll call votes on action items, names of motion makers, and shall report the results of online votes in the event that voting occurs between meetings. Roll call votes shall be provided to the membership within three days of being taken.

**4) Bylaws Article X National Political Committee, Section IV. currently reads:**

“The NPC may appoint committees to supervise specific work; these shall report to the NPC. They will include:  
A Finance and Budget Committee which will regularly review with the

Director(s) the financial situation of the organization. It will prepare an annual budget; such preparation may be delegated to staff persons in consultation with the chair of the committee. It will direct a fund-raising program. The Secretary-Treasurer shall serve as a member or an ex officio member of the committee.

A Personnel Committee which will periodically review staff performance, and fulfill other responsibilities assigned by the NPC.

Editorial Boards for the general publications of the organization which will supervise and edit these publications.

At the first meeting following their appointment, NPC committees shall elect from among their number a chair who shall be responsible for the organization of the committee, that is, for calling meetings, for notifying members of the meetings, for preparing agendas, for producing and distributing minutes to members, and for informing the NPC of the committee's work."

**The DSA Bylaws shall be amended to add the following sentence at the end of this section:**

*NPC committees shall meet no later than six weeks after their appointment by the NPC. Committees that fail to meet within six weeks of their appointment shall be disbanded.*

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Constitutional Change Number	Constitutional Change #5
Estimated Staff Costs	\$8,040.00

18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$1,447.20
Estimated Direct Costs	\$11,100.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$20,587.20
Description of Main Staff Work	For each election, 120 hours for comms, tech and data work. Additional supervisory staff cost is built into estimated cost per staff hour. Assumes only happening 1x a year.
Description of Direct Costs	Cost for one election, assuming 6400 members in good standing who we cannot email, \$3500 for printing, postage and handling for postcards driving members to a website to vote; plus \$7600 for an all-member OpaVote.

## #6: Establishing a National Organizing Committee

Authors: Sam L. (New York City), Renée P. (East Bay)

### Amended Language:

#### Amendments to the Constitution

##### Article IX. ~~National Advisory Committee~~

###### ~~Section 1.~~

~~Members of the National Advisory Committee shall be available to consult with the NPC and the officers of the organization. It shall, however, have no decision-making authority.~~

###### ~~Section 2.~~

~~Members of the National Advisory Committee shall be chosen by the NPC and must be members of the Democratic Socialists of America. In electing members to the NAC, the NPC shall act so as to ensure fair representation of women, genderqueers, and minorities.~~

#### *National Organizing Committee*

##### *Section 1.*

*The National Organizing Committee shall be composed of representatives proportionally allocated based on state and regional organizations formed pursuant to article IV, sections 3 and 4 and approved by the NPC; and all members of the NPC including any youth section representatives. For chapters and at-large members that are not within such a state or regional organization, the NPC shall establish boundaries for representation on the NOC prior to each national convention. The NOC shall meet at least four times per year.*

*The NOC shall consist of at least 100 members, inclusive of NPC members. The NPC shall have the power to increase but not decrease the number of representatives on the NOC. Any increase in the size of the NOC shall take effect at the next convention.*

The regional representatives of the NOC shall be elected at each convention by the delegates for each designated region. In the three months following the initial enactment of this amendment, the NPC shall hold a virtual election for the NOC regional representatives among the delegates to the convention that enacted this amendment

If any vacancy arises in the NOC, the NPC shall select a replacement representative from that region.

Each region that is allocated four or more representatives shall elect a delegation that is no more than 50% men and 70% white.

#### Section 2.

The NOC shall be the chief policy-setting body between conventions. It shall enact programs to be carried out by the NPC. It shall set the overall political agenda for the organization.

#### Section 3.

The NOC shall have the power to enact and revise bylaws between conventions by a 2/3 vote.

#### Section 4.

The NOC shall have the power to approve annual budgets upon the recommendation of the Secretary-Treasurer and the NPC.

#### Section 5.

The NOC shall have the power to review and reverse decisions of the NPC, by a majority vote of the members present at a quarterly meeting.

#### Section 6.

The NOC shall have the power to oversee the work of national committees, commissions, and working groups, and to approve any strategic plans developed by those committees, and to designate members to serve on those committees.

#### Section 7

Quorum of the NOC shall be more than half of its members.

#### Section 8

An NOC member may be removed for malfeasance or nonfeasance by a two-thirds vote of the NOC, with nonfeasance defined to include unexcused absences from two or more consecutive quarterly meetings.

## Amendments to the Bylaws

### Article VI. National Conventions

...

#### Section 3.

Elections of at-large delegates to the Convention shall be held under procedures established by the NPC, except that a motion for the use of the Hare system of proportional representation supported by 15% of those NPC members present and voting will require the use of the Hare system in at-large elections of Convention delegates. Locals may determine their own method of election of delegates to the Convention except that a petition from 10% of a Local's membership or a motion supported by 15% of those present and voting at the Local meeting which determines the method of election will require the use of the Hare system in that Local's election of delegates to the National Convention.

#### Section 4.

The NPC may establish committees to serve prior to and during the Convention. These committees shall include at least one member of the NPC and one state or regional NOC representative in addition to the officers of the organization who shall be ex officio members of the committees except as indicated. These committees may include a Pre-Convention Planning Committee, a Credentials Committee, a Rules Committee, a Resolutions Committee and a Personnel/Nominating Committee. When a committee continues to serve during the Convention, the delegate body must ratify its membership. Membership in committees established to consider resolutions at the convention will be open to all delegates who are not already members of another such committee.

#### Section 5.

National Conventions shall be held in different areas and regions of the country each time.

#### Section 6

Election of at-large members of the NOC shall take place at the National Convention under procedures set forth by the appropriate committee except that preferential voting will be used to elect at-large members of the NOC.

#### Section 7

The NOC may place items on the convention agenda by a 2/3 vote.

#### Article XIV. National Organizing Committee

The National Political Committee shall be responsible for organizing meetings of the National Organizing Committee, including but not limiting to selecting chairs, creating a process for NOC members to submit resolutions to be agendaized, and providing reports to members of the activities of the NOC.

#### Article XV. Amendments

These Bylaws may be amended at a National Convention by a three-fifths vote of the delegates voting and present provided that written notice of such amendments has been given to members one month prior to the Convention.

These Bylaws may also be amended by a 2/3 vote of the NOC at one of its quarterly meetings.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

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**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Constitutional Change Number	Constitutional Change #6
Estimated Staff Costs	\$100,500.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$18,090.00
Estimated Direct Costs	\$96,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$214,590.00
Description of Main Staff Work	Operations and finance staff for one in person and three virtual meetings. Additional supervisory staff cost is built into estimated cost per staff hour.
Description of Direct Costs	Cost of one two-day in person meeting of 100 people: \$760 per person for travel, hotel, food, plus direct cost of venue \$5000 total. Cost of one virtual meeting of 100 people could be just staff time if using zoom or \$5000 if using specialized platform.

## **#7: Hold All Leadership Elections by Single Transferable Vote**

Authors: Moira M. (Buffalo)

### **Rationale:**

In a fair and democratic electoral system, voters deserve proportional political and ideological representation reflective of the actual makeup of their constituencies. Ranked choice voting has been adopted by several countries, most notably Ireland, where it has allowed left-wing parties like Sinn Féin and People Before Profit to secure parliamentary representation.

Ranked choice voting has been adopted by states and municipalities in the United States as a meaningful and winnable electoral reform that provides such an opportunity for proportional political and ideological representation.

Single Transferable Vote (STV) ranked choice voting was used to elect the DSA's National Political Committee in 2019 and in leadership and convention delegate elections in many DSA Chapters.

Democratic Socialists of America leaves the selection of an election method for local officers, delegates to convention, committee chairs, and/or other officers to the discretion of local chapters.

Internal conflict or lack of experience within Democratic Socialists of America locals when choosing a voting system may distract from preparation duties that are vital to conducting a fair election.

Voting systems currently used by some Democratic Socialists of America locals, including Borda count and multi-member plurality, are [flawed, vulnerable to manipulation, and unrepresentative](#).

The DSA can lead by example from within and educate members on electoral reform by eliminating the inefficient and inconsistent standard currently in place for the electoral processes of locals.

In fact, for this Convention, the NPC recognized the need for proportional representation within DSA and adopted STV as the only method chapters may use to elect their delegates.

Instant-runoff ranked choice voting and Single Transferable Vote are widely considered by [specialists](#) to be the most effective at encouraging sincere voting, the least vulnerable to manipulation or domination of a single ideology, and among the most representative electoral systems.

In single-winner elections, instant-runoff ranked choice voting reduces vote-splitting between like-minded candidates (also known as “the spoiler effect”) in a plurality count.

In a single-winner election, STV is equivalent to instant-runoff voting.

In multi-winner elections, STV yields proportional representation of a whole body, based on the strength of preference of its members.

Digital voting solutions are increasingly considered best practice in DSA elections, the necessary fees are a small price for the membership’s confidence in election results, and free tiers are available for small chapters.

**Amended Language:**

Democratic Socialists of America resolves to eliminate first-past-the-post and plurality voting at all levels of democratic organization, from government to groups like ours, in favor of ranked choice voting.

Amend Article VIII, Section 2 of the Constitution of Democratic Socialists of America to read:

**Section 2.**

The members of the NPC shall be one representative of the Youth Section and 16 delegates elected at the national convention. *All NPC elections shall be conducted by Single Transferable Vote.* Of the elected members, no more than eight shall be men and at least five shall be racial or national minority members of DSA. In the event that these minority positions are not filled at the Convention, the position(s) shall be filled by the NPC, except that only minority members of DSA may be elected to fill such vacancies. In case of other such vacancies, except a vacancy of the Youth Section Representative, the NPC shall appoint a member of the organization in good standing to serve until the next Convention. No person shall serve simultaneously on the National Staff and the NPC.

Amend Article VIII, Section 3 of the Constitution of Democratic Socialists of America to read:

**Section 3.**

The National Political Committee shall elect a Steering Committee (SC) *by Single Transferable Vote*. It shall be constituted as follows:

It shall be composed of the five people who shall be elected by the NPC from among its at-large members, and the Youth Section representative to the NPC. It shall include no more than three men and at least one person of color. The National Director and the Youth Section Organizer shall be ex officio members, without vote, of the SC. The SC shall be responsible for decision-making between meetings of the NPC and for the supervision of all offices and staff of the organization. It shall be responsible for planning meetings and agendas for the NPC and for coordinating the work of the committees of the NPC.

A quorum of the SC shall be half of its voting members. It shall meet at least bimonthly, in person or by conference call.

In person meetings of the SC shall be open to all members of the organization. However, the SC may hold executive sessions if 60% of its members vote to do so in order to discuss personnel and related financial matters.

Create a new section of Article III of the Bylaws of Democratic Socialists of America, to be inserted after present Section 1:

*Section 2.*

*Locals shall conduct all elections for chapter officers and delegates to National, Regional, and State bodies by secret ballot Single Transferable Vote. The de-identified ballots used to calculate the results will be sent out to the Locals' members to verify election results.*

Renumber present Article III, Section 2 of the Bylaws of Democratic Socialists of America to Section 3 and amend it to read:

*Section 3.*

The NPC shall produce a Standard New Local Constitution by which all newly chartered Locals shall operate. New Locals shall elect leadership in accordance with the Standard New Local Constitution. The Local's

members may vote to ratify a new Constitution, at which time the Local shall submit to the National Office a file copy of their Constitution (and any subsequent changes therein). Such Constitution shall contain provisions which call for at least two meetings per year of the Local. It shall contain provisions for making constitutional amendments. ~~It shall contain provisions for the election of officers of the Local.~~ *It shall contain provisions for the election of Officers of the Local and delegates to National, Regional, and State bodies by secret ballot Single Transferable Vote.* It shall contain provisions for informing all members of meetings and procedures for the election of officers and delegates to National, Regional and State bodies and of decisions of the Local. Each Local shall submit to the National Office information about the financial status of the Local.

Renumber the remaining Sections of Article III.

Amend Article IV, Section 2 of the Bylaws of Democratic Socialists of America to read:

**Section 2.**

The Constitution for the State Organization shall include provisions for holding at least one state-wide meeting annually and for the election of Local representatives to the State Organization and for the election of officers. *The Constitution shall also include provisions that elections for officers and Local representatives to the State Organization must be held by secret ballot Single Transferable Vote.* Model Constitutions shall be available from the National Office. State Organizations shall submit changes in the Constitution and financial information to the National Office on a regular basis.

Amend Article IV, Section 4 of the Bylaws of Democratic Socialists of America to read:

**Section 4.**

The Constitution for the Regional Organization shall include provisions for the holding of at least one Regional meeting annually, for the potential establishment of subregions within the Regions, and for the election of officers and for the election of State and Local representatives to the State Organization. *The Constitution shall also include provisions that elections for officers and Local representatives to the Regional Organization must be held by secret ballot Single Transferable Vote.* Model Constitutions

shall be available from the National Office. Regions shall submit changes in the Constitution and financial information to the National Office on a regular basis.

Amend Article V, Section 2 of the Bylaws of Democratic Socialists of America to read:

**Section 2.**

The Constitution of the Youth Section shall contain provisions for the holding of meetings, for the election of officers of the Section and for the election of representatives to the NPC. The Constitution shall also include provisions that elections for officers of the section, representatives to the NPC, and delegates to National convention must be held by secret ballot Single Transferable Vote. Changes in the Constitution and information on the financial status of the Youth Section shall be submitted on a regular basis to the National Office.

Amend Article VI, Section 3 of the Bylaws of Democratic Socialists of America to read:

**Section 3.**

~~Elections of at large delegates to the Convention shall be held under procedures established by the NPC, except that a motion for the use of the Hare system of proportional representation supported by 15% of those NPC members present and voting will require the use of the Hare system in at large elections of Convention delegates. Locals may determine their own method of election of delegates to the Convention except that a petition from 10% of a Local's membership or a motion supported by 15% of those present and voting at the Local meeting which determines the method of election will require the use of the Hare system in that Local's election of delegates to the National Convention. Elections of at-large and Local representative delegates to National convention shall be held by secret ballot Single Transferable Vote.~~

Democratic Socialists of America resolves to provide resources for local chapters, including recommendations on how to prepare for and hold a Single Transferable Vote election.

National DSA will be required to adopt STV voting for their leadership elections by 12/31/2021.

For an orderly transition, existing DSA chapters, State and Regional Organizations, and Youth Sections will have until 2/28/2022 to adopt Single Transferable Voting. New DSA chapters formed after passage of this amendment will implement STV from their creation.

A fund will be established to cover election costs for chapters who request assistance.

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**Budget or Staff Implications:**

Staff Cost	\$0	
Direct Cost	\$0	
Total Cost	<a href="#">Varied per election</a>	

**Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee**

Constitutional Change Number	Constitutional Change #7
Estimated Staff Costs	\$1,340.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$241.20
Estimated Direct Costs	\$4,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$5,581.20
Description of Main Staff Work	Staff time to develop and disseminate materials on how to do STV elections - we assume staff would not

	run the actual elections in this estimate. Additional supervisory staff cost is built into estimated cost per staff hour.
Description of Direct Costs	Cost of OpaVote for running elections, assuming 100 chapters in middle range of chapter size request financial assistance. However, because the cost is contingent on both electorate size and also how many candidates there are, difficult to estimate. We as

## #8: Defining the Role of DSA's National Political Platform

Authors: Matthew S. (Madison), Alexander G. (Santa Cruz), Michael C. (Space Coast), Peter M. (Central New Jersey)

### Rationale:

DSA is considering the adoption of a national political platform for the first time in recent history. Platforms and programs have historically played a very important role in defining the political principles and practice of socialist organizations. Defining this platform's role clearly will give it greater meaning and practical relevance as the great goal of our work. Political unity based on a definite program is more durable than unity based on rigid dogma, so the political criterion for membership should be acceptance of the national political platform. If a national political platform is adopted at this convention, the DSA constitution ought to be amended in the following way.

### Amended Language:

Article III, Section 1:

Membership shall be open to every person who ~~subscribes to the principles~~ accepts the national political platform of the organization. Acceptance does not mean agreement with every point of the platform, and members are free to organize within DSA to make specific changes to the platform. Rather, it means committing to fight for the platform as the overall expression of the movement's aims.

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### Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee

Constitutional Change Number	Constitutional Change #8
Estimated Staff Costs	\$0.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$0.00

Estimated Direct Costs	\$0.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$0.00
Description of Main Staff Work	No major new costs.
Description of Direct Costs	NA