

2021 DSA National Convention: August 1st - August 8th

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2021 DSA National Convention Order of Business & Results

[Find Results here](#)

Sunday 8/1 (all times ET)

OPENING SESSION, 1:00–4:00 pm

1:00–2:00 pm	Welcome ★ National Director's Report (Maria Svart) ★ Chair's Report (Jen McKinney) ★ Financial Report (Kristian Hernandez) Chair: Natalie Midiri
2:00–3:00 pm	Credentials Committee Report ★ Credentials Committee Report (Bryan LaVergne) Chair: Natalie Midiri
3:00–4:00 pm	Convention Rules ★ Convention Standing Rules (Keon Liberato) Chair: Natalie Midiri

Thursday 8/5 (all times ET)

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DEBATE BLOCK, 6:30–10:00 pm

5:00-6:00 pm	Priority and National Committee Reports  Democratic Socialist Labor Commission (Zack P)  Green New Deal Campaign Committee (Ashik S)  Medicare for All Committee (Frances)  National Electoral Committee (Mike N)  National Political Education Committee (Riley W-P) Facilitator: Kristian Hernandez
6:30-7:00 pm	Convention Order of Business ★ Order of Business (Marianela D'Aprile) Chair: Sandy Barnard
7:00–8:30 pm	Consent Agenda Chair: Sandy Barnard
8:30–10:00 pm	Constitution/Bylaws Changes • Constitutional/Bylaw Change #1: Strike Regional Requirements for National Conventions ◦ Amendment #1 to Constitution/Bylaws Changes #1 • Constitutional/Bylaw Change #5: For a National Leadership Elected by and Accountable to DSA members • Constitutional/Bylaw Change #4: Electing DSA's National Director Chair: Sandy Barnard

Friday 8/6 (all times ET)

DEBATE BLOCK, 7:00–10:00 pm

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6:00-7:00pm	Panel Block
7:00-8:30 pm	Constitution/Bylaws Changes • Constitutional/Bylaw Change #1: Strike Regional Requirements for National Conventions ◦ Amendment #1 to Constitution/Bylaws Changes #1 • Constitutional/Bylaw Change #5: For a National Leadership Elected by and Accountable to DSA members • Constitutional/Bylaw Change #4: Electing DSA's National Director Chair: Natalie Midiri
8:30-10:00 pm	NPC Recommendations • State organizations • Growing Staff • Standardization of Committees • Chapter Affiliation Agreements ◦ Amendment to Chapter Affiliation Agreements • Grievance Process Updates ◦ Amendment #1 to the Grievance Process Recommendation ◦ Amendment #2 to the Grievance Process Recommendation • Motion to refer C/B Changes to 2021-2023 NPC Constitution/Bylaws Changes • Constitutional/Bylaw Change #3: Adding Candidate Membership to the NPC • Constitutional/Bylaw Change #6: Establishing a National Organizing Committee ◦ Amendment #2 to Constitution/Bylaws Change #6

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	◦ Amendment #3 to Constitution/Bylaws Change #6 • Constitutional/Bylaw Change #7: Hold All Leadership Elections by Single Transferable Vote Chair: Natalie Midiri
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Saturday 8/7 (all times ET)

DEBATE BLOCK, 11:00 am–7:00 pm

10:00am-11:00am	Plenary
11:00am–2:00 pm	NPC Recommendations • Chapter Affiliation Agreements ◦ Amendment to Chapter Affiliation Agreements • Grievance Process Updates ◦ Amendment #1 to the Grievance Process Recommendation ◦ Amendment #2 to the Grievance Process Recommendation • Motion to refer C/B Changes to 2021–2023 NPC Constitution/Bylaws Changes • Constitutional/Bylaw Change #3: Adding Candidate Membership to the NPC • Constitutional/Bylaw Change #6: Establishing a National Organizing Committee ◦ Amendment #2 to Constitution/Bylaws Change #6 ◦ Amendment #3 to Constitution/Bylaws Change #6 • Constitutional/Bylaw Change #7: Hold All Leadership Elections by Single Transferable Vote

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	<u>Platform</u> • Platform Amendment #2 Green New Deal Amendment text • Platform Amendment #1 International Solidarity Amendment text • Platform Amendment #6 Economic Justice Plank Amendment text Chair: Justin Charles
2:00pm-3:00pm	Break
3:00–5:00 pm	Constitution/Bylaws Changes • Constitutional/Bylaw Change #7: Hold All Leadership Elections by Single Transferable Vote <u>Platform</u> • Platform Amendment #2 Green New Deal Amendment text • Platform Amendment #1 International Solidarity Amendment text • Platform Amendment #6 Economic Justice Plank Amendment text Resolutions • Resolution #5: Building Worker Power to Win Democratic Socialism: A Labor Strategy for DSA in 2021–2023 ◦ Amendment #2 to Resolution #5 • Resolution #8: Toward a Mass Party in the United States (Electoral Priority) ◦ Amendment #5 to Resolution #8 ◦ Amendment #6 to Resolution #8

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	• Resolution #27: Beyond 100K: Building a Mass Socialist Organization ◦ Amendment #13 to Resolution #27 • Resolution #23: Childcare for All ◦ Amendment #10 to Resolution #23 Chair: Walker Green
5:00-6:00pm	Break
6:00-7:00 pm	Platform • Adoption of full platform • Constitutional/Bylaw Change #8: Defining the Role of DSA's National Political Platform Chair: Justin Charles
7:00-8:00pm	Break
8:00-9:00 pm	NPC Candidate Introductions and Voting ★ NPC Voting will remain open from 8 pm ET until 12 midnight ET Chair: Bryan Lavergne, Chair of Credentials & Elections
9:00-10:00pm	Panel Block

Sunday 8/8 (all times ET)

DEBATE BLOCK, 11:00 am-4:00 pm

10:00am-11:00am	Panel Block
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11:00 am–1:00 pm	Resolutions • Resolution #8: Toward a Mass Party in the United States (Electoral Priority) • Resolution #27: Beyond 100K: Building a Mass Socialist Organization ◦ Amendment #13 to Resolution #27 • Resolution #23: Childcare for All ◦ Amendment #10 to Resolution #23 • Constitutional/Bylaw Change #8: Defining the Role of DSA's National Political Platform • Resolution #20: Class Struggle on the Housing Terrain: Building Power in the Tenants' Movement ◦ Amendment #9 to Resolution #20 • Resolution #30: Strengthening DSA From the Bottom Up Through National Matching Funds for Chapters to Hire Staff and Open Offices Chair: Walker Green
1:00-2:00 pm	Break
2:00 –4:00 pm	Resolutions • Resolution #1: Resolution on the Defense of Immigrants and Refugees ◦ Amendment #1 to Resolution #1 • Resolution #29: Stipends for NPC Steering Committee Members • Resolution #38: A Socialist Horizon ◦ Amendment #14 to Resolution #38 • Resolution #18: International Committee and Mass Organizing

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	◦ Amendment #8 to Resolution #18 • Resolution #26: Developing Independent Organizations & Training Organizers for Emerging Conditions ◦ Amendment #12 to Resolution #26 • Resolution #36: Prioritizing Working-Class Latino Organizing in DSA • Resolution #25: National Communications & Technology Policy ◦ Amendment #11 to Resolution #25 Chair: Graham Denevan
4:00 - 5:30 pm	Closing Speaker / NPC Announcement

Results

- [Consent Agenda](#) ADOPTED
- [Resolution #14: Committing to International Socialist Solidarity](#) ADOPTED
- [Resolution #32: Strengthening YDSA](#) NOT ADOPTED
- [Constitutional/Bylaw Change #1: Strike Regional Requirements for National Conventions](#) ADOPTED WITH AMENDMENT #1
 - [Amendment #1 to Constitution/Bylaws Changes #1](#)
- [Constitutional/Bylaw Change #5: For a National Leadership Elected by and Accountable to DSA members](#) NOT ADOPTED
- [Constitutional/Bylaw Change #4: Electing DSA's National Director](#) NOT ADOPTED
- [NPC Recommendations](#)
 - [State organizations](#) ADOPTED
 - [Growing Staff](#) ADOPTED

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- [Standardization of Committees](#) ADOPTED
- [Chapter Affiliation Agreements](#) ADOPTED WITH AMENDMENT
 - [Amendment to Chapter Affiliation Agreements](#)
- [Grievance Process Updates](#) ADOPTED WITH AMENDMENT #1
 - [Amendment #1 to the Grievance Process Recommendation](#)
 - [Amendment #2 to the Grievance Process Recommendation](#)
- Motion to refer C/B Changes to 2021–2023 NPC PASSES
- [Constitutional/Bylaw Change #3: Adding Candidate Membership to the NPC](#) NOT ADOPTED
- [Constitutional/Bylaw Change #6: Establishing a National Organizing Committee](#) NOT ADOPTED
 - [Amendment #2 to Constitution/Bylaws Change #6](#)
 - [Amendment #3 to Constitution/Bylaws Change #6](#)
- [Constitutional/Bylaw Change #7: Hold All Leadership Elections by Single Transferable Vote](#) NOT ADOPTED
- [Platform](#) PLATFORM ADOPTED WITH AMENDMENTS 2, 1, & 6
 - [Platform Amendment #2 Green New Deal Amendment text](#) PASSES
 - [Platform Amendment #1 International Solidarity Amendment text](#) PASSES
 - [Platform Amendment #6 Economic Justice Plank Amendment text](#) PASSES
 - Adoption of full platform
- [Resolution #5: Building Worker Power to Win Democratic Socialism: A Labor Strategy for DSA in 2021–2023](#) ADOPTED UNAMENDED
 - [Amendment #2 to Resolution #5](#)
- [Resolution #8: Toward a Mass Party in the United States \(Electoral Priority\)](#) ADOPTED UNAMENDED
 - [Amendment #5 to Resolution #8](#)
 - [Amendment #6 to Resolution #8](#)
- [Resolution #27: Beyond 100K: Building a Mass Socialist Organization](#) ADOPTED WITH AMENDMENT #13

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- [Amendment #13 to Resolution #27](#)
- [Resolution #23: Childcare for All](#) ADOPTED WITH AMENDMENT #10
 - [Amendment #10 to Resolution #23](#)
- [Constitutional/Bylaw Change #8: Defining the Role of DSA's National Political Platform](#) NOT ADOPTED
- [Resolution #20: Class Struggle on the Housing Terrain: Building Power in the Tenants' Movement](#) NOT ADOPTED
 - [Amendment #9 to Resolution #20](#)
- [Resolution #30: Strengthening DSA From the Bottom Up Through National Matching Funds for Chapters to Hire Staff and Open Offices](#) ADOPTED
- [Resolution #1: Resolution on the Defense of Immigrants and Refugees](#) ADOPTED WITH AMENDMENT #1
 - [Amendment #1 to Resolution #1](#)
- [Resolution #29: Stipends for NPC Steering Committee Members](#) ADOPTED
- [Resolution #38: A Socialist Horizon](#) NOT ADOPTED
 - [Amendment #14 to Resolution #38](#)
- [Resolution #18: International Committee and Mass Organizing](#) NOT ADOPTED
 - [Amendment #8 to Resolution #18](#)
- [Resolution #26: Developing Independent Organizations & Training Organizers for Emerging Conditions](#) REFERRED TO NPC WITHOUT AMENDMENT
 - [Amendment #12 to Resolution #26](#)
- [Resolution #36: Prioritizing Working-Class Latino Organizing in DSA](#) NOT CONSIDERED DUE TO TIME
- [Resolution #25: National Communications & Technology Policy](#) NOT CONSIDERED DUE TO TIME
 - [Amendment #11 to Resolution #25](#)

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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

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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.

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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.

Budget or Staff Implications:

Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee

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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.

Secondary Amendments to Constitution/Bylaws Changes #1: Amendment to Constitution/Bylaws Changes #1 – Strike Regional Requirements for National Conventions

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

Rationale:

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We agree with the spirit of the initial amendment: striking the current rigid requirement--that the national convention rotate to different regions each time--makes sense. Where we differ is the imposition of a new set of requirements that will result in even less flexibility: the convention will take place in Chicago every year if this amendment passes, barring major changes in the distribution of the United States population that seem unlikely. It may very well be that the convention should be held in Chicago every other August; it may also be that circumstances arise that mean that the criteria specified in the original amendment no longer make sense. Rather than locking ourselves into any specific criteria for a convention location, this amendment would allow the NPC to choose the convention location that makes sense each time.

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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Constitution and Bylaws Changes #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

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~~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,

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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.

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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.

Budget or Staff Implications:

Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee

Constitutional Change Number	Constitutional Change #5
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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.

Constitution and Bylaws Changes #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:

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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.

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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.

Budget or Staff Implications:

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.

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Description of Direct Costs	
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Constitution/Bylaws Changes #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.

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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:

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.

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Constitutional/Bylaw Change #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.

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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.

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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

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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.

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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

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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 agendized, 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 $\frac{2}{3}$ vote of the NOC at one of its quarterly meetings.

Budget or Staff Implications:

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

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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.

Amendment #2 to Constitution/Bylaws Change #6 - Establishing a National Organizing Committee

Authors: Tal L. (Los Angeles), Frances G. (New Orleans)

Rationale:

The National Organizing Committee amendments proposed originally get a lot right. They create a large “legislative” governing body that can serve as a regular intermediary between more local and regional chapters in DSA and the national organizing. This amendment is offered by DSA members who believe that the NOC as written is likely the ideal future organizational and governing structure for DSA. However, it suffers in that the structure it offers is premature: it creates a body made up of state or regional representatives, when DSA is not yet organized along state and regional lines. If implemented prematurely, it would expose several key weaknesses:

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- By defining regions to elect NOC representatives in the absence of state or regional organizations, it would elect representatives who are responsible for representing a diverse group of otherwise-unconnected chapters, which may not organize together and would accordingly have trouble expressing their collective goals to their representatives.
- It presumes the existence of a layer of DSA leaders able to effectively represent the interests of many diverse chapters across a region, without giving them a body to organize within that region and build a broad base of support first.

This amendment would maintain the NOC as the organizational structure that DSA should build into, while not granting the NOC any non-advisory powers until DSA has reached a level of organizational complexity to support it, modeled by having a supermajority of DSA members and chapters represented by state or regional organizations, and having the non-advisory NOC only made up of such representatives.

Amended Language:

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. *The National Organizing Committee shall only hold advisory power if fewer than 80% of DSA members and two-thirds of DSA Chapters are represented by existing state or regional organizations. While in an advisory state, the NPC shall establish boundaries for chapters not represented by state or regional organizations*

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for representation on the advisory NOC prior to each convention. ~~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.~~

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Amendment #3 to Constitution/Bylaws Change #6 – Establishing a National Organizing Committee

Authors: David D. (New York City)

Rationale:

We agree with the necessity of a new intermediate organizing body for DSA, but disagree that this body should have the power to amend the organization's bylaws.

Amended Language:

Article IX. . . .National Organizing Committee

Section 3. The NOC shall have the power to ~~enact and revise bylaws between conventions~~ *recommend revisions to the bylaws and have them considered at the next national convention* by a $\frac{2}{3}$ vote.

Constitutional/Bylaw Change #7: Hold All Leadership Elections by Single Transferable Vote

Authors: Moira M. (Buffalo)

Rationale:

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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

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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,

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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

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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

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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

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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

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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.

Budget or Staff Implications:

Staff Cost	\$0	
Direct Cost	\$0	
Total Cost	<u>Varied per election</u>	

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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

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Resolution #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.

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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.

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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.

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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

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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

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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.

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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.

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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

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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.

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

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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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Amendment #2 to Resolution #5 – Building Worker Power to Win Democratic Socialism: A Labor Strategy for DSA in 2021-2023

Authors: Logan S. (Seattle), Kshama S. (Seattle), Justin H. (Philadelphia), Toya C. (Boston), Grian G. (New York City), Genevieve M. (Boston)

Amended Language:

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.~~ *Following decades of attacks on labor by the capitalist class and both the Republican and Democratic Parties, a key strategic task of the socialist movement is to help rebuild a strong and fighting labor movement. The main barrier to this is the majority of the existing labor leadership who run their unions in a top-down fashion with little involvement of the rank-and-file, accept far too many compromises and concessions, are unwilling to lead militant struggle, and give cover and*

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support to the Democratic establishment. Given this approach they will also act as a major barrier to organizing new unions in previously unorganized workplaces and industries.

DSA members should actively fight to transform their unions into more democratic and fighting unions, including supporting and helping lead reform caucuses and reform leadership slates. Reform leaderships have recently played key roles in jumpstarting many unions, often leading to victories which have had a knock-on effect. In the course of struggle, however, even reform leaderships can make conservative mistakes as many do not have fully rounded out class struggle and socialist perspectives. One reason why even left-wing leaderships often stop short of what is necessary to win far-reaching victories, especially in public sector unions, is to avoid upsetting their relationship with the Democratic Party. DSA should argue for the labor movement to end its abusive relationship with the Democratic Party and help build a new working class party.

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

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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.

DSA should fight for all elected union leaders to accept only the average wage of the workers they represent, to prevent situations where labor leaders are making several times more than their membership which is the current reality in many unions. DSA members in leadership positions should lead by example and put this into action themselves. DSA members in unions should fight to rebuild democratic structures and processes in their unions including the election of all leading positions with the right to recall, and membership votes on all candidate endorsements. DSA members in unions should also fight against their unions endorsing corporate, establishment Democrats as a step toward breaking from the Democratic Party altogether and building a new working class party.

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.

Resolution #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)

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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

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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

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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

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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.

Budget or Staff Implications:

Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee

Resolution Number	Resolution 8
Estimated Staff Costs	\$598,176
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$107,672
Estimated Direct Costs	\$50,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$755,848

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Description of Main Staff Work	This resolution calls for 2 FT staff but given this is significantly more than current national priority level and also needs to take into account other staff support, we interpret the language in this resolution as calling for possibly up to the PRO Act level staff involvement. As such, upper range of 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. This is a total of 8928 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	"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.

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Amendment #5 to Resolution #8 – Toward a Mass Party in the United States (Electoral Priority)

Authors: Matt S. (East Bay), Michelle F. (Snohomish County), Jack M. (New York City), Nick F. (East Bay), Jeremy G. (East Bay), Keon L. (Philadelphia)

Rationale:

Resolution #8 is silent on the question of whether we are trying to realign the Democratic Party / whether we think a "break" is eventually necessary. Because of that, it also leaves out concrete tactical prescriptions as to how DSA can help build a politically independent workers' proto-party in the near term. This amendment aims to fill these gaps, in line with the historical orientation of B&R towards a "dirty break" and the Class-Struggle Elections resolution adopted at the 2019 DSA Convention.

Amended Language:

Resolved that DSA and its local chapters *reject a strategy of capturing the capitalist-controlled Democratic Party or Democratic Party clubs or committees at the local, state, or national level, and instead* commit to the project of building a working-class party *independent of capitalist influence*; 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~~ *maintaining tactical flexibility with regard to ballot lines, running candidates as independents, socialists, or in the Democratic*

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primary — whichever ballot line will best allow us to run class-struggle candidacies in each local context — while building power independent of the Democratic Party apparatus and the capitalist class; and

Resolved that, in order to build toward political and organizational independence, DSA encourages nationally-endorsed candidates to

1. Clearly identify, in public-facing campaign messaging, as democratic socialists who are running against the Democratic Party's corporate establishment;
2. Use campaigns and elected offices to encourage supporters to join DSA, help organize unions, and build independent working-class political organizations;
3. Refuse support for corporate Democrats, actively support left-wing challenges to establishment incumbents, and help build fundraising and campaign networks for DSA candidates instead of contributing to Democratic legislative PACs (e.g. DCCC, DSCC, etc.);
4. Defend anti-corporate and left-wing independent electoral candidates from corporate and right-wing attacks;
5. If elected, work to build democratic socialist caucuses in legislative bodies, orient these caucuses towards conflict with the capitalist Democratic Party establishment, and prioritize the creation and expansion of socialist caucuses over reforming Democratic legislative caucuses;
6. Be active, dues-paying members of DSA and frequently consult their local chapters on political and legislative decisions.

Resolved that DSA will explore developing or procuring alternatives to electoral technology infrastructure controlled by the Democratic Party and allied organizations (such as NGP VAN and ActBlue); and

Resolved that the National Electoral Committee will coordinate with chapters during and

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between campaigns to help develop class-struggle messaging, messaging on democratic socialism that can be used for public-facing campaign materials for endorsed candidates and ballot measures, and train chapters to do polling on policy issues and voter self-identification, with the goal of shifting working-class voter identity from “Democrat” to “democratic socialist”; and

Resolved *that the National Electoral Committee will help create “home-grown” electoral candidates and campaigns, including by training chapters in candidate recruitment and development and developing Candidate Schools and Campaign Manager Schools to give DSA cadre the training and perspective necessary to run effective class-struggle campaigns; and*

Resolved that DSA commits to fighting for reforms to democratize the US electoral system (such as institution of proportional-representation voting systems and abolition of the Electoral College) to make independent electoral challenges more feasible.

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Amendment #6 to Resolution #8 – Toward a Mass Party in the United States (Electoral Priority)

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

Rationale:

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.”

For socialists, which ballot line to run on is a tactical question, but what must be consistent, no matter which ballot line DSA candidates choose, is running as an open socialist. This means advocating a clear socialist viewpoint on the major issues in the election campaign.

This point was registered by the 2019 DSA National Convention when it agreed that a vital task 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.”

While DSA candidates will continue to run on the Democratic ballot line where this is advantageous, we should still articulate a socialist message in these campaigns. Especially if socialist candidates are running on the Democratic ballot line, they need to make clear the fundamentally pro-capitalist character of the Democratic Party and use the platform of their election campaign to encourage working people to self-organize in their own independent working-class movements and

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organizations.

Even if socialists make use of the ballot line of a capitalist party, DSA candidates should still use every opportunity to raise people's consciousness that workers and capitalists have opposing interests and that the multiracial working class needs to form our own independent political organization to fight for our interests against the capitalists and their political parties. Since we have not yet built our own independent workers' party, DSA candidates should appeal to sympathetic voters to join DSA, which is playing the role of a pre-party formation.

Amended Language:

~~**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 will urge DSA candidates to clearly promote a socialist message about the Democratic Party, regardless of which ballot line the candidates are running on (Democratic or independent). Key components of a socialist message about the Democratic Party include: (1) openly identifying as a socialist running against the Democratic Party's corporate establishment, (2) openly criticizing the Democratic Party as dominated by corporate interests, and (3) promoting the need for a working-class political organization structured as a mass-membership, democratic organization and appealing to supporters to join DSA; and

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Resolution #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,

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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,

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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.

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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.

Budget or Staff Implications:

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

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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.

Amendment #13 to Resolution #27 – Beyond 100K: Building a Mass Socialist Organization

Authors: Justin C. (New York City), Jordan F. (New Orleans)

Rationale:

At the time Resolution #27 of submission, we optimistically wrote that DSA was an organization of “over 100,000 members” as we remained hopeful we’d pass that goal

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before convention. We are currently just shy of 95,000 members and it's unlikely we'll hit our 100K by August so we are amending the resolution to reflect that.

Amended Language:

WHEREAS, with a membership of ~~over~~ *approaching* 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,

Resolution #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.

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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.

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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.

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.

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Amendment #10 to Resolution #23 – Childcare for All

Authors: Emily W.G. (Portland), Sarah R. (New River Valley)

Amended Language:

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

Whereas universal childcare ~~is~~ *can be* 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~~ *can be* 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 *25,460* a year and providing substandard working conditions.

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Whereas the socially necessary work of childcare has historically been gendered, racialized, and unpaid; and as women have sought greater participation in productive labor, this particular form of reproductive labor has become a growing industry ripe for capitalist exploitation; and because this work is overwhelmingly done by women and people of color, capital has justified paying poverty wages with no benefits as this work is already systematically devalued and the workforce super-oppressed.

Whereas there will be no successful challenge to capitalism without the participation of the super-oppressed and hyper-marginalized, and any form of socialism that ignores the most marginalized will only reproduce the oppressions of capitalism in a different form.

Whereas organizing this historically marginalized workforce, with its legacy of exploitation by both gendered and racial capitalism, is a direct step toward DSA's vision of a humane social order based on popular control of resources and production, economic planning, equitable distribution, feminism, racial equality and non-oppressive relationships.

...

Whereas members of DSA locals with active Childcare for All workgroups can follow the lead of Portland DSA's successful Universal Preschool ~~to~~ NOW! / Preschool For All ballot initiative campaign, a homegrown electoral project that brought universal ~~childcare~~ preschool to all 3 and 4 year old children in their Multnomah 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** the DSA has a need for an economist staffer to help local DSA Childcare~~

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~~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.

***Whereas** DSA locals will have varying needs for technical support in producing viable policy and legal proposals that meet the local requirements of their target jurisdictions.*

~~**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.~~

***Be it resolved** that DSA will allocate \$75,000 to a Childcare For All grant fund to which locals may apply to assist with research, legal advice, and any other expenses associated with*

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drafting viable policy for local Childcare for All campaigns.

Be it resolved that this fund be administered by the National Electoral Committee (NEC) and be open to applications no later than January 1st 2022.

Be it resolved that DSA dedicate 3.5 hours a week of staff time to coordinate support for Childcare for All campaigns at the national level. The staff would help the NEC field email requests regarding childcare electoral work; maintain a database of contacts for the purpose of disseminating information about Childcare for All; maintain a webpage about Childcare for All and be available to talk to interested chapters about the Childcare for All fund and universal childcare electoral campaigns.

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Resolution #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,

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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

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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

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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

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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.

Budget or Staff Implications:

Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee

Resolution Number	Resolution 20
Estimated Staff Costs	\$598,176.00

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18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$107,672.00
Estimated Direct Costs	\$62,000.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$767,848.00
Description of Main Staff Work	50% of one organizer is estimated by resolution but we interpret the language in this resolution as requiring significantly more staff support, possibly up to the PRO Act level staff involvement. As such, upper range of 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. This is a total of 8928 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	Translation costs are estimated at \$12,000 per year, and seed fund for \$50,000. Potential legal costs associated with setting up legal aid projects is difficult to estimate.

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Amendment #9 to Resolution #20 – Class Struggle on the Housing Terrain: Building Power in the Tenants' Movement

Authors: Lawrence L. (East Bay), Nicholas W. (Boston), Sarah M. (Boston), Cecelia S. (East Bay), Daniel T. (East Bay), Kellen D. (Los Angeles), Justin G. (East Bay)

Amended Language:

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 as 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. The HJC is also directed to develop a guide for tenant unions to search for and connect with legal support networks, and develop a strategy and practice that uses tenant rights knowledge for organizing outside the legal system; 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~~

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~~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 three wing tenant-organizing structure approved herein devote all its efforts to facilitating the organizing of DSA members as they build new, or strengthen existing, autonomous tenant unions. The structure shall not engage in lobbying, nor work on any campaign unless it is being carried out directly by a related autonomous tenant union. This in no way limits the action of the HJC outside of this three wing structure; and be it

Resolved, that each of the three wings shall be led and directed by DSA members actively engaged in organizing autonomous tenant unions, and that DSA staff shall play a supportive and administrative role; and be it

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

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Resolution #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

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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.

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- 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.

Budget or Staff Implications:

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

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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.

Resolution #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.

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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.

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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

Budget or Staff Implications:

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

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Resolution Number	Resolution 1
Estimated Staff Costs	\$135,876.00
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$24,458.00
Estimated Direct Costs	\$0.00
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$160,334.00
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. This is a total of 2028 hours/year or the equivalent of 1 full time staff.
Description of Direct Costs	

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Amendment #1 to Resolution #1 – Resolution on the Defense of Immigrants and Refugees

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

Amended Language:

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 further resolved,** The Immigrants' Rights Working Group will organize up to 4 webinars per year for general audiences and DSA members. IRWG will organize up to 2 webinars per year focusing on outreach to immigrants and immigrant rights organizations and activist. IRWG will assist local DSA chapters and individuals in their organizing efforts by providing support, media resources and a network of support for developing and growing locally identified campaigns as well as to participate in selected national campaigns. IRWG will coordinate activities within DSA under this resolution and develop a program of education on the history and political economy of immigration.*

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

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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

Budget or Staff Implications:

~~One full-time staff person and appropriate support personnel and resources.~~ *One quarter time staff person to work with the IRWG to achieve the above tasks.*

Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee

Resolution Number	Resolution 1
Estimated Staff Costs	\$135,876.00 <i>\$34,735.00</i>
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$24,458.00 <i>\$6,252.30</i>
Estimated Direct Costs	\$0
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$160,334.00 <i>\$40,987.30</i>
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

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	hours/month other operations, 3 hours/month development on average, 4 hours/month finance. This is a total of 2028 hours/year or the equivalent of 1 full time staff.
Description of Direct Costs	

Resolution #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

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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.

Budget or Staff Implications:

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

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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.

Resolution #38: A Socialist Horizon

Authors: Erin C (High Peaks); Andy S (Madison); Emma WB (East Bay)

Whereas the 2019 National Convention voted to establish R31 - “Class Struggle Elections” as the guiding perspective on DSA’s electoral work

Whereas this included language emphasizing that “DSA is committed to building political organization independent of the Democratic Party and their capitalist donors” and “our goal is to form an independent working-class party”

Whereas the new socialist movement has had to reassess its strategic outlook following the defeat of Bernie Sanders’ campaign for the presidency

Whereas elections will likely continue to play an important role in the activity of DSA, and the strategic use of elections can be a useful tool in shifting the political balance of forces,

Whereas there is no singular strategic agreement on the particulars of how an independent party may be formed, whether by reform of the political representative

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system, separation of working class blocs from existing capitalist parties, or immediate introduction of an entirely new political party

Whereas DSA's national electoral strategy should work toward building working-class power and spreading socialist ideas across the country, distinguishing socialist politics from establishment or liberal/progressive approaches, therefore...

Be it resolved that DSA reaffirms the commitment to building political organization independent of the Democratic Party and their capitalist donors and the aim of forming an independent working class party

Be it further resolved DSA electoral strategy shall require candidates to fulfill the following minimum criteria to be nationally endorsed:

1. Openly identify as socialists in live, digital, and print communications.
2. Commit to using their campaign, elected office, and position to build and promote working-class politics and organization outside of the Democratic, Republican, and other capitalist parties.
3. Through their election campaigns, and once in office, see mobilizing and fighting alongside working people as one of their primary responsibilities. They will use their public profile 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. Campaigns should use the political space created by an election to promote existing struggles and attempt to unify socialist, labor, and other class forces.
4. Actively and explicitly oppose racial, national, gender, and other forms of oppression and discrimination and repudiate support from oppressive or bigoted figures.
5. Commit to refuse a vote of approval to any budget, motion, bill, or amendment

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that would increase funding for those agencies primarily tasked with criminal and immigration law enforcement.

6. Refuse support from individuals, companies, and/or organizations that uphold oppressive capitalist structures such as law enforcement, real estate, the fossil fuel industry, or other institutions, such as Chambers of Commerce, that advance an anti-working class agenda.

Be it further resolved that for a candidate to be endorsed by DSA they must meet all minimum criteria outlined above, and exceptions shall not be made by the National Political Committee. Candidates for national endorsement, save for the president, must first be endorsed by the chapter(s) in their geography. In the case of a statewide race, a majority of members in the state must approve an endorsement.

Be it further resolved that should a DSA-endorsed candidate fail to uphold their commitments to the above criteria, either during their campaign or while holding office, they will be subject to censure, up to and including revocation of local and national membership.

Budget or Staff Implications:

Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee

Resolution Number	Resolution 38

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Estimated Staff Costs	\$0
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$0
Estimated Direct Costs	\$0
Total Costs - One Year Only	\$0
Description of Main Staff Work	No major new costs
Description of Direct Costs	

Amendment #14 to Resolution #38 – A Socialist Horizon

Authors: Kshama S. (Seattle), Dustin S. (Chicago), Bruce C. (Boston), Hannah F. (Pittsburgh), Morgan Q. (East Bay), Michael H. (Philadelphia), Elan A. (Boston), Emilia M. (Boston)

Amended Language:

Whereas the new socialist movement has had to reassess its strategic outlook following the defeat of Bernie Sanders' campaign for the presidency, *which highlighted that socialists cannot rely on the Democratic Party's rigged, corporate-dominated primary*

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process.

...

Be it resolved that DSA reaffirms the commitment to building political organization independent of the Democratic Party and their capitalist donors and the aim of forming an independent working class party. *including by prioritizing running candidates explicitly independent of the Democratic Party*

Be it further resolved DSA electoral strategy shall require candidates to fulfill the following minimum criteria to be nationally endorsed:

1. Openly identify as socialists in live, digital, and print communications.
2. Commit to using their campaign, elected office, and position to build and promote working-class politics and organization outside of the Democratic, Republican, and other capitalist parties.

Commit to taking home only the average skilled workers' wage within the district they represent, if their pay is higher than that amount, and donating the rest to social movements and labor struggles. This should be a hallmark of all working class and socialist leaders.

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Resolution #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

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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.

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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.

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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.

Budget or Staff Implications:

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

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

Amendment #8 to Resolution #18 – International Committee and Mass Organizing

Authors: Jessica V.M (Birmingham), Edward K. (Olympia), Drew L. (New York City), Christine J. (New York City), Margaret C. (Greater Baltimore), Alex N. (At-Large), Jake A. (At-Large)

Rationale:

The first sentence of the fourteenth paragraph of Resolution #18 both needlessly constrains the International Committee in terms of its relations with DSA members living abroad and, more importantly, will directly undermine vital stateside activities by those members. The sentence in question stipulates that, “when organizing with DSA members abroad, the International Committee will encourage **and prioritize** [emphasis added] organizing through participation in existing bodies abroad, such as through political parties and organizations.”

We believe this resolution-mandated reprioritization will negatively impact the ongoing U.S. political activities of DSA members living abroad *vis-à-vis* the International Committee. There are currently over a thousand DSA members living abroad, many of whom have already mobilized and formed working groups that

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have proven critical to U.S. political initiatives and campaigns.

Specifically, DSA working groups in the UK, France, and Germany were pivotal in mobilizing—and winning—votes and delegates for Bernie Sanders in the 2020 Global Democratic Primary. They also have been phone-banking for the PRO Act, organizing campaigns for Medicare for All based on their experiences with their host countries' universal healthcare systems, and undertaking other similar initiatives while living abroad. These activities are additional to the groups' work with local political groups; for instance, DSA members in Germany are currently working closely with Deutsche Wohnen & Co Enteignen to combat exploitative landlords in Berlin, while DSA members in the UK are planning a protest with British pro-Palestinian organizations outside the US Embassy for July 4th. These dues-paying members living abroad wish to continue prioritizing crucial stateside political activities as one facet of their work, in addition to their collaboration with local organizations, and should not be urged to do otherwise by the International Committee.

Furthermore, this resolution-mandated reprioritization ignores vital facts on the ground about U.S. citizens residing in foreign countries. It is often difficult for U.S. citizens living abroad to assimilate into “political parties and organizations” in their new country for a number of reasons:

1. First, such participation by U.S. citizens living abroad in political parties is legally prohibited in many countries. Countries such as Russia, China, and others expressly forbid non-nationals from joining political parties. Consequently, for the International Committee to encourage DSA members abroad to do so would be impractical.
2. Second, many political organizations are hostile to Americans participating in their country's politics. Given the United States' history, they view such behavior as

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colonialist and imperialist. Attempts by DSA members abroad in both Europe and South America to participate in existing political bodies have sometimes triggered negative reactions by local leftist groups. In Germany, for example, leftists in Berlin advised DSA members to focus on changing the politics of their own country, the United States.

3. Third, some countries where DSA members live may not have political parties or major organizations that espouse democratic socialist principles. For instance, a current DSA member abroad in Estonia has been unable to find a political party that fits her democratic socialist views (in addition to being legally prohibited from officially joining a political party as a non-EU citizen). Similarly, Die Linke in Germany mostly takes a hard anti-Palestinian line, putting leftist anti-Zionists in Germany in a difficult position. In the most extreme cases, countries may persecute individuals who participate in any political organizations that challenge the government in power.

4. Fourth, linguistic and cultural barriers often pose challenges for U.S. Americans to participate in the politics of their host countries. For example, a DSA member living in Brazil who does not speak Portuguese, especially if they are living there temporarily, may be unable to participate directly in Brazilian political organizations. Consequently, organizing with other DSA members abroad to participate remotely in stateside U.S. political initiatives may be their best option for political involvement.

Given the potential legal, political, and linguistic obstacles, this resolution-mandated reprioritization is ill-advised and impractical in some contexts. The International Committee should trust DSA members living outside the U.S. to determine where their own organizing efforts can be best directed based on the political context in their countries of residence and their own knowledge and skills. While the existing working groups of DSA members abroad greatly value involvement in and collaboration with existing political organizations in their countries of residence whenever possible and when aligned with democratic socialist goals, they are also involved in important

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activities to support socialist politics in the US. Given the disproportionate influence of US politics on international politics, these efforts to push US politics further left have beneficial impacts for the political left around the globe.

The International Committee should not be mandated to deprioritize these US-focused efforts in their interactions with DSA members abroad. The resolution as written would tie their hands to support only some political activities of DSA members over others that could further DSA's goals.

Amended Language:

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.

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Resolution #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;

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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

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- 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

Budget or Staff Implications:

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

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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.

Amendment #11 to Resolution #25 – National Communications & Technology Policy

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

Amended Language:

~~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;~~

...

Further, the aforementioned plan will study existing national, state, and local efforts; center coordination with tech committee members and coordinations at all levels of

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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

Resolution #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;

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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

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independent institutions based on an evaluation of factors such as cost, viability, democratic governance, regulatory compliance, and legal liability.

Budget or Staff Implications:

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.

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Description of Direct Costs	Potential opportunity cost from adding a new fundraising priority, but difficult to estimate.
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Amendment #12 to Resolution #26 – Developing Independent Organizations & Training Organizers for Emerging Conditions

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

Amended Language:

Therefore, ~~the national organization with the aid of the~~ **National Antifascist Working Group, and other** 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, ~~the National Antifascist Working Group, and other relevant working groups and committees, will coordinate with DSA to the maximum degree possible will incorporate in existing and new national DSA campaigns and working groups about~~ **how to implement** tactics that include, but are not limited to, waging successful

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boycotts and direct actions;

Further, ~~relevant national working groups, including but not limited to the Housing Justice Commission, and the~~ **National** Mutual Aid Working Group and other relevant working groups and committees, in conjunction with the NPC and national staff, will develop a study by March 2022 to determine how best to fund **and develop independent institutions such as mutual aid networks**, 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, **the process of winning necessary legislative and regulatory changes**, and legal liability.

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Resolution #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.

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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

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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.

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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.

Budget or Staff Implications:

Costing out by Staff and Budget & Finance Committee

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

2021 DSA National Convention: August 1st - August 8th

FROM THE ASHES OF THE OLD

Socialism for a New Tomorrow



convention2021.dsausa.org



Updated 8/6/2021

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.