



2023 DSA Convention Compendium

This updated Compendium contains Resolutions, Constitution/Bylaws Changes, and Platform Amendments, and amendments to those items, submitted before the relevant deadlines. Some submissions may have been edited to reflect standardized formatting. It also contains cost estimates for each proposal and work plans for each resolution. Cost estimates can be found at the end of each proposal, and work plans are linked in each resolution and can be found at the end of this document.

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Introduction

This is the final version of the compendium for the 2023 DSA Convention that will be released before the Delegate Survey and reflects Amendments and changes to proposals made during the Amendment period.

Several new sections have been added since the first compendium was initially compiled: recommendations from the National Political Committee; estimated costs for each proposal and a memo explaining how these costs were estimated by staff and the NPC; work plans for each resolution detailing how they may be carried out if Delegates vote for them; and Amendments that were written by members that were submitted before the deadline with 300 valid signatures.

Every proposal that may appear on the Convention agenda is included in this compendium. However, because of limited time, delegates will almost certainly not get to vote on every single item. Delegates will be sent a non-binding poll to determine which proposals Delegates want to debate and which, if any, proposals will appear on a consent agenda that will be voted on altogether because a supermajority of Delegates support them.

The Resolutions & Platform Subcommittee will draft an agenda that must then be approved by the Convention Steering Committee. The Subcommittee will write a brief memo justifying its agenda choices to Convention Delegates. All of the consensus resolutions and the NPC Recommendations will appear on the agenda. Delegates may motion to amend the agenda from the floor, but such a motion will require a suspension of the rules per II.D.12 of the Convention Rules, which requires a two-thirds majority.

During the Amendment period, the Resolutions & Platform Subcommittee asked several authors to combine their proposals or to turn their Resolutions into Amendments to a relevant Consensus Resolution. There are therefore proposals in this compendium that have different names or different language from when they were first shared with Delegates. In these cases, we required that authors maintain the spirit of their original proposals, that they not add new political questions, etc. You can find a summary of changes between the initial and final compendia below.

Solidarity,

Resolutions & Platform Subcommittee

Justin Charles, Griffin Mahon, Renée Paradis, Jeff Glass, Matt Haugen

Summary of Changes

Below are changes to proposals that occurred between the initial compendium and this version, in no particular order. For the sake of political clarity, the Resolutions & Platform Subcommittee urged some authors to combine proposals or turn their Resolutions into Amendments to a relevant Consensus Resolution and allowed authors to make some changes to their own proposals.

- The authors of “Socialist Militarism and the War in Ukraine” turned their Resolution into an Amendment to the International Committee’s Consensus Resolution.
- The authors of “Run DSA Candidates for School Boards” turned their Resolution into an Amendment to the National Electoral Committee’s Consensus Resolution.
- The authors of “Towards a Party-Like Electoral Strategy” turned their Resolution into an Amendment to the National Electoral Committee’s Consensus Resolution.
- The authors of “Democratize DSA 2023” made several changes to their own proposal. These changes concerned: hiring authority, YDSA presence on the NPC Steering Committee, the NPC’s right to overrule the SC, and allowing stipends and paid full-time leadership. One change, concerning regional elections to the NPC, was not allowed, and appears in the compendium as an Amendment. If “Democratize DSA 2023” appears on the agenda at Convention, its Resolution and Constitutional Amendment/Bylaws Change parts will appear together.
- The authors of “Full-Time Political Leadership” and “Convention-Elected Full-Time Co-Chairs” merged their proposals into one, now called “Full-Time National Chairs.” Two Amendments, reflecting differences between the authors, appear in the compendium: “Amendment for Convention-Elected Co-Chairs” and “Amendment for National, Electoral, and Labor Chairs.”
- The authors of “Strengthening Democracy by Increasing Member Input and Creating a National Delegates Council” made several changes to their own proposal. These changes concerned: slight word choices, dates, and numbers. Some changes – concerning the authority of the proposed leadership body, the allocation of votes, and the election system – were not allowed.
- The authors of “For a Political, Prolific and Democratic DSA Editorial Board” made several changes to their own proposal. These changes concerned publishing articles about the variety of organizing work in which members are engaged.
- The authors of “On the votes of DSA Congressmembers to fund the Israeli military and ban a railway workers strike” turned their Resolution into an Amendment to the National Electoral Committee’s Consensus Resolution.

- The authors of “Fighting the Right by Defending Abortion Rights, Trans People, and Democracy” turned their Resolution into an Amendment to the National Electoral Committees’s Consensus Resolution.
- The title of the Resolution “End National Harassment and Grievance Officer Contract and Make the Role a Staff Position” has been changed and a few background sentences have been removed for legal reasons. These changes do not affect the effect of the Resolution.

Memo for Resolution Costs

Strategy is About Resources!

We have big goals but limited resources. The existing national budget set by the National Political Committee in April projects that in 2023 we will spend over **\$1.6 million** more than we will raise, which puts us on track to deplete most of our current savings over the next year. This deficit means 2024 will be much more difficult. Unlike the federal government, we cannot print money. We will need to balance the budget at the same time as we try to carry out our new convention resolutions. In order to keep DSA on a secure longer term trajectory, this will mean either reining in spending, or increasing income through major fundraising — or ideally both. Therefore, this section is intended to help you understand the costs of each convention proposal so you can choose wisely.

Together, the proposed resolutions and constitutional changes would cost the organization an estimated **\$3.5 million, \$2.1 million of which is direct costs**. There would also be significant additional staff required given the current workload of staff is already unsustainable. Delegates can help the National Political Committee follow the will of the membership by passing *only* the most important resolutions. Even though the structure of the convention requires delegates to consider each resolution on its own, these decisions must be considered holistically. The Budget & Finance Committee has recommended that resource commitments should be considered by how directly they support member recruitment, engagement, and retention, especially at the chapter level, and longer-term potential to put DSA back on a growth trajectory.

If the resolutions that pass cost more than we have funds, we cannot carry them all out and the NPC will have to choose which to prioritize. Strategy is as much about what we choose to do, as it is about what we choose *not* to do.

Building a Mass Organization

In the last five years our organization has grown and become more complex. To protect ourselves in a hostile regulatory environment and to sustain our organizing across the country we have expanded our staff in all areas including compliance, fundraising and member services, technology tools, communications, financial administration, member data management, conference planning, overall administration and of course organizing.

Taking this comprehensive approach ensured we could remain fiscally solvent and stable. Some members may recall that when DSA grew from just a few thousand members to our

present size, our previous practices and structures were completely unsustainable and it took hard work to evolve to meet our new needs. Even so, we still have a relatively high ratio of staff to member ratio: 1 worker for each 2,000+ members.

Today, including open positions, we have 36 full time and 1 part time staff and 2 student interns (currently 8 of these positions are not filled). Yet we still struggle with the volume of DSA work, so we have to think long and hard before every new position we create, as well as about every new project we add for the national organization. This is why when we estimated costs for each resolution, we took into account the invisible labor of some departments, which may not be as obvious from the chapter level, such as finance staff who confirm, process, and document reimbursements for national committee expenses and dues share to chapters, or development and membership services staff who send reminder emails, texts and postal letters to members who need to renew. Other departments may be more visible, such as organizers who are in regular contact with chapter chairs, lead national and regional trainings, and visit chapters.

Our staff is proudly unionized with the Washington Baltimore News Guild, which means they play a direct role in negotiating their employment contracts. As socialists, we know the importance of workers being properly compensated for their work, and how doing so is one way DSA can ensure our staff positions are feasible for people without family wealth to subsidize them. Because we want to ensure staff can count on working for DSA longer than a year at a time, this also means understanding the longer term costs of providing that security for staff.

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

One of the most important lessons of the last few years is that it takes all of us to make DSA run. Our power comes from being member-led, member-driven, and member-funded, so the more labor that members carry out, both locally and nationally, the more funds we are able to raise and the lighter the work. If we succeed in meeting major fundraising targets together in the months ahead, that will put us in a position to enact more varied and ambitious funding proposals over the next term, especially new proposals that are prioritized by members at this year's convention. We hope more members sign up to pay a portion of your income each monthly to DSA through our Solidarity Income-Based Dues Program. You can sign up on the join page: dsausa.org/join.

Cost Implications of Resolutions

We developed this chart with our best estimates of typical costs based on current experience. If you are a resolution author with questions about the costing out of your resolution, please email costquestion@dsacommittees.org.

Direct Costs

For direct costs, if a gathering or election were to happen every *other* year, we would include only 50% of the cost because the full cost is averaged over two years for the purpose of this estimate. One-time costs however are included in their full amount. In addition, if major costs were approved in the 2023 budget but proposed again, we used those numbers to estimate annual costs but for simplicity did not try to cost out the impact on the 2023 budget itself, so those estimates need to be understood as annual costs going forward.

Gatherings	Note: Cost varies based on economies of scale + staff time needed, it is not a linear increase.
\$40,000	Cost of Multi-Racial Organizing Institute for reference (40 people, with attendance costs covered)
\$90,000	Cost of Socialism is the Future for reference (350 people, with partial travel scholarships)
Translation	
\$125/ per hour	Simultaneous translation
\$.20 per word	Written translation
Online Voting & Elections	
\$550 - 6,160	Platform/tech varies by complexity of ballot and number of voters.

Personnel Costs

Staff Chart By Department for Reference

Maria Svart National Director	
Glenn Rehn Organizing Director	Labor Organizer - Amanda Senior YDSA Organizer - Anna YDSA Organizer - <i>unfilled</i> 2 YDSA Interns - <i>unfilled</i> Organizing Manager - Amy Senior Field Organizer - Kaitlin Senior Electoral Field Organizer - Eric Field Organizers - Hayley, Patrick, Tom H., <i>two unfilled</i>
<i>Unfilled</i> Electoral Director	Electoral Campaigns Organizer - <i>unfilled</i>
Kristina Sepulveda Operations Director	People Operations Manager - <i>unfilled</i> Compliance Manager - Brandon Senior Events Coordinator - Michael Senior Chapter Pipeline Coordinator - Dana Senior Office Coordinator - Maura Data and Technology Manager - <i>unfilled</i> Full Stack Developer - <i>unfilled</i> Organizing Tools Coordinator - Walker
Emma Burke Development Director	Senior Program Associate - Membership Services - Elizabeth Senior Program Associate - Retention & Events - Zachariah Data Analyst - Eileen Database Coordinator - Émilia
Chris Kutalik Cauthern Communications Director	Senior Communications Coordinator - Claudia Senior Program Associate - External Communications - Priscilla Program Associate - Creative Assets - Rachel

Heidi Chua Assistant to the National Director & Fiscal Officer	Financial Manager (part time) - Fatou Finance Coordinator - Chris Revenue Bookkeeper - Tom B.
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Staff Unit Cost

For staff, if the resolution calls for a staffer, we would include only the cost of one year. But, we don't hire staff for just one year. We prefer to create permanent staff positions to create stability both for our workers and also for the organization. This means that new staff costs in a given year are baselined into the subsequent years. However, since our rainy day reserves policy requires us to set aside certain funds when we hire staff, *after* the first year the cost of staff goes down because we have limited need to add to rainy day reserves. Therefore this year we pulled the cost of reserves out to indicate separately and that is included in the direct costs.

For the purpose of estimating costs, we developed a unit cost for staff and based it on a new union hire at the base wage. There are two categories of staff costs. One, wages and costs derived from a percentage of wages. This includes employer taxes, employer 401k contribution, and overtime. Two, non-wage-associated costs. This includes major medical, dental and vision benefits (we use an average since they vary by if/how many dependents people have covered), staff work equipment costs including phone and internet, professional development stipend, travel costs (averaged across depts, some of which travel extensively and some minimally).

The staff cost estimate also includes the cost of one sixth of a supervisor because our target supervisory ratio is 1 to 6. This supervisory ratio is not included when estimating the cost of paid elected non-staff positions as they would not have a supervisor.

Staff Costs	
Wage related for one new union staffer (wage, employer taxes and 401k contribution, overtime). Non-wage related (benefits, equipment, travel costs, supervisory cost).	Full time staffer = \$113,750
Overhead Costs	

Covers things like rent, legal, and other non-staff related overhead costs and is estimated as 18% of other staff costs.	Overhead on FT staffer = \$20,475
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Combined Cost Per Worker	
The most accurate single number for one full time union staffer for one year	Combined for FT = \$134,225
Hourly cost for union staffer time	Combined cost by hour = \$65

Reserves Cost	
The NPC mandates a rainy day fund to cover operating costs in case of a drastic income loss. When new staff are hired, about 6 months of related personnel costs are added to the reserves fund. This happens in the first year only.	Reserves for year one FT = \$47,475
Reserves additional by hour	Reserves cost by hour = \$23

Staff Time Estimates

Senior staff carefully reviewed each resolution to estimate staff time based on our experience so far. What would it truly take to carry out each resolution?

While everything is an estimate, our goal was to have a consistent baseline and apply it uniformly. Each resolution is written differently and by different people with a specific vision of their own, but directors tried to apply our knowledge and experience to apply realistic numbers to the activities and goals outlined in each resolution.

Each director made estimates for the staff in their own department. We did not go through timesheets or ask every single staffer to analyze their own time, but we tried to be straightforward, neither conservative nor liberal in estimates, and look at things cumulatively to create reasonable averages. Staff time estimates were for work that a staffer would spend directly on carrying out the specific campaign work.

To make it easier to compare resolutions, we grouped the organizing or campaign oriented resolutions into two categories, depending on the level of investment and activity that the resolution language suggested. The primary distinction between them is in the level of staff time. For reference, one full time staffer works 2080 hours in a year. However, most departments to varying degrees contribute to national campaigns and committees in direct ways. Often resolutions are expressed as needing 1 or 2 staff, but including more staff time is a more holistic look at the full array of staff work supporting national campaigns and committees.

For staff costs if a gathering or election were to happen every *other* year, we would include only 50% of the staff time estimate because the full cost is averaged over two years for the purpose of this estimate. One time costs of staff time however are included in their full amount.

Closing

Please note that we have limited space in the budget to hire new staff, so if resolutions pass then we would look at which staff functions are essential and which could be ended and that staff time reallocated to meet the requirements of resolutions. The practical fact is that all resolutions should be evaluated based on whether it would stay within our existing budget, raise significant new resources such that the resolution is budget neutral or reallocate staff time away from existing work to instead carrying out the resolutions' projects.

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

In solidarity,

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

Kristian Hernandez - Chair of the NPC Steering Committee

Ashik Siddique - Secretary Treasurer, Budget and Finance Committee co-chair

Theresa Alt - Budget and Finance Committee co-chair

Kara Zuniga (Hall), Kevin Richardson, & Tefa Galvis - NPC members of Budget and Finance Committee

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

Throughout this Compendium, text that is added by a proposed constitution/bylaws change or an amendment to a resolution will appear in green text, while deletions will appear in ~~red strikethrough text~~.

Where an amendment modifies a constitutional/bylaws change, new additions to the underlying constitutional text are in purple. ~~New deletions are in orange strikethrough~~. Additions in the original proposed constitutional change are in green, ~~while deletions in the original are in red strikethrough~~.

I. Constitutional and Bylaws Changes and Associated Amendments

C/B Change #1: Democratize DSA 2023

Authors: Sam L., NYC-DSA, Renée P., East Bay DSA

Rationale: The National Political Committee (NPC) is DSA's only elected national leadership body and thus the only body democratically accountable to the membership of the organization. With only 17 members, this national leadership is far too small for an organization with nearly 100,000 members. It is far smaller than the leadership bodies of comparable historical, international, and contemporary mass political organizations.

From the beginning of DSA's era of exponential growth, there has been widespread agreement on the need for structural reform to DSA's national leadership, with multiple proposals to expand national leadership or create additional leadership bodies put forward at the 2017, 2019, 2021, and now 2023 conventions, each supported by various tendencies across the organization. No such proposal has achieved the necessary support of two-thirds of the delegates for multiple reasons: sincere disagreements about the best path forward, a lack of trust between different factions within the organization, and the complexity of some of the proposals.

The "Democratize DSA" proposal is informed by these failures, and represents the simplest path forward for expanding DSA's leadership. It starts with the existing structure of the NPC, and expands it to 51 members. As conceived in this resolution, the "NPC" would become an entirely new body; being on the NPC would no longer require a taxing full-time commitment, but could instead be as simple as attending quarterly NPC meetings, liaising with DSA chapters, and serving on a national committee, working group or commission. The NPC would retain its role as the highest decision making body in the organization between conventions, and would have deliberative, voting meetings in which it made binding political decisions, but would no longer serve as the executive body running the day to day operations of the organization.

Under the "Democratize DSA" proposal, incorporating several friendly amendments, the Steering Committee (SC) would be expanded to 13 including two YDSA representatives and would function as the executive arm of the NPC, as it does now. It would additionally take on the role of the legal board of directors of DSA, take over the NPC's responsibilities as related to the grievance process, and have a greater role in hiring staff. The NPC would retain the power

to hire the National Director(s) and director-level staff, but the steering committee would otherwise approve hiring. The steering committee would be fully accountable to the NPC, with the NPC having the power to overrule any SC decision by a simple majority vote, and to reconstitute the SC as necessary.

This change cannot resolve all of the internal challenges and political disagreements within DSA, much less guarantee victory over the external forces that stand in the way of our project. What it will do is allow many more members to be elected by the convention into a real, meaningful role in steering the organization, without the overwhelming commitment currently required to serve on the NPC – a commitment that discourages too many DSA members from considering national leadership and makes it impossible for the NPC to fulfill its constitutional responsibility to liaise with DSA chapters.

Delegates will also have the opportunity to consider two amendments to this proposal - one that require that the NPC Steering Committee be directly elected by convention delegates rather than the NPC, and the other that would authorize the use of regional elections to reduce the size of NPC ballots.

The overriding principle of the Democratize DSA proposal is simplicity. It leaves many other questions of structural reform to the convention or new NPC, including potential systems for regional and local representation, additional enumerated roles for NPC and SC members, potential compensation for political leaders in DSA, and the creation of new intermediate leadership bodies at the national level. All of these things deserve to be considered and many should be implemented in some form. There are versions of each that are compatible with the “Democratize DSA” proposal. But until we break the deadlock of the last three conventions and make a shared commitment to basic structural reform, none will be possible. The authors of this proposal believe this proposal represents the best chance to break through the gridlock around structural reform at the 2023 convention and welcome open discussion with our comrades about how to implement it.

[Companion Resolution](#)

Constitutional Changes:

Article III. Members

...

Section 4.

Members may be expelled by either the National or Local organization. For a member to be expelled nationally, a two-thirds vote of the National ~~Political Committee~~ Steering Committee shall be necessary. Criteria for expulsion are prescribed in the Bylaws. Decisions ~~on expulsion to expel a member~~ by either the Local or National Organization may be appealed to the National Political Committee or National Convention.

...

Article VIII. National Political Committee

Section 1.

The National Political Committee (NPC) shall be the collective leadership and the highest decision-making body of the organization between meetings of the Convention. It shall meet at least four times a year.

Section 2.

The members of the NPC shall be ~~one~~ ~~three~~ representatives of the Youth Section and ~~16~~⁴⁸ delegates elected at the national convention. Of the elected members, no more than ~~eight~~ ~~twenty-five~~ shall be men and at least ~~five~~^{seventeen} 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.

Section 3.

The National Political Committee shall elect a Steering Committee (SC) ~~and may remove members of the SC or elect a new SC for any reason~~. It shall be constituted as follows:

It shall be composed of the ~~five~~ ~~thirteen~~ people who shall be elected by the NPC from among its at-large members, ~~and the~~ ~~including at least one~~ Youth Section representative to the NPC. It shall include no more than ~~three~~ ~~seven~~ men and at least ~~three~~ ~~people~~ ~~one person~~ of color. The National Director and the Youth Section Organizer shall be ex officio members, without vote, of the SC.

The SC shall be responsible for decision-making between meetings of the NPC and for the supervision of all offices and staff of the organization. It shall be responsible for planning meetings and agendas for the NPC and for coordinating the work of the committees of the NPC.

A quorum of the SC shall be half of its voting members. It shall meet at least bimonthly, in person or by conference call.

In person meetings of the SC shall be open to all members of the organization. However, the SC may hold executive sessions if 60% of its members vote to do so in order to discuss personnel and related financial matters

...

Section 8.

The NPC and SC shall be responsible for hiring and discharging staff as necessary, as described in Article IX.

Article IX. Staff

Section 1.

The NPC shall hire no more than two National Directors, who shall be responsible for the functioning of the National Office(s) and staff, shall report on staff activities to the National Convention and shall have specific duties as prescribed by the NPC. An announcement of any open directorship shall be published. ~~Application shall be made to a Personnel Committee of the NPC. This committee~~ The Steering Committee shall make recommendations to the NPC, which shall have final approval for hiring.

Section 2.

The Director(s) may hire additional staff in order to aid the functioning of the National Office(s). Announcements of open staff positions will be published. The NPC SC shall have final approval of hiring, except that for all director-level positions the SC shall make recommendations to the NPC, which shall have final approval for hiring.

Section 3.

The NPC SC shall be able to discharge any staff person for nonfeasance or malfeasance of

office with proper notice as provided for in any contract, with the exception of the National Directors, over whom the NPC shall have sole authority regarding discharge.

Democratize DSA 2023	
Total Costs - First Year Only	0
Estimated Staff Costs	0
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	0
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	0
Other Direct Costs	0
Description of Main Staff Work	See information under the resolution by the same name.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	See information under the resolution by the same name. Note that it includes the cost of attorney time and fees to file bylaws changes.

C/B Amendment A: Direct Election of the Steering Committee by the Convention

Author: Michaela B., River Valley DSA

Amendment:

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Article VIII. National Political Committee

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Section 3.

The National Political Committee shall have a Steering Committee (SC) that shall be elected at the Convention from among the elected NPC members.

The National Political Committee ~~shall elect a Steering Committee (SC) and~~ may remove members of the SC or elect a new SC for any reason. The SC~~h~~ shall be constituted as follows:

It shall be composed of the ~~five~~ thirteen people who shall be elected ~~by the NPC~~ from among its at-large members, ~~and the~~ including at least one Youth Section representative to the NPC. It shall include no more than ~~three~~ seven men and at least three people ~~one person~~ of color. The National Director and the Youth Section Organizer shall be ex officio members, without vote, of the SC.

...

C/B Change #2: Strengthening Democracy by Increasing Member Input and Creating a National Delegates Council

Authors: Ramy K., Seattle, Connell H., River Valley, Sarah M., Portland, & Joseph P., New York City

Rationale:

1. The National Convention is the highest decision-making body of DSA, and the NPC is currently the highest decision-making body between conventions every two years. Since the DSA Constitution was adopted establishing these structures the organization has changed dramatically, growing from 6,000 members to 90,000. This places much greater responsibilities on the NPC to build a cohesive and powerful organization.
2. Since DSA's rapid growth the NPC has continually struggled with being able to effectively lead such a large and diverse organization. The impact of the national organization on the life of chapters (in our constitution: "locals") has often been very limited. This has contributed to a lack of cohesion and disorganization within DSA. Too often best practices are not spread, and too often campaigns and political discussion are siloed in separate chapters.
3. An organization the size of DSA, with 200+ chapters, needs a larger national body to meet in between conventions. Such a body will facilitate more national cohesion politically and organizationally. It would provide a valuable tool to support the NPC by allowing the NPC to ask for support and get feedback. It would also empower the NPC to be able to bring important issues and initiatives to a larger body, which could discuss and alter them and then bring them directly back to their chapters.
4. The lack of a larger national leadership body also means that there is no democratic membership check on the NPC outside the national conventions every two years. More tools in the hands of our tens of thousands of members are needed to democratically control the course of our organization on a national level.
5. It appears too often that the fate of decisions made by convention may depend on having sympathetic NPC members and staff support afterwards. Across DSA's political spectrum there has been ongoing frustration with DSA at the national level that could be remedied with a method for NPC oversight between conventions.
6. It is technically possible to call a special convention but the requirements are high in an organization that suddenly gained thousands of members, many of whom are not active on a daily basis. A special convention as the only check is not ideal since it is only reactive in case of dramatic events. This does not give the opportunity for the NPC to get feedback on a regular basis and guarantee a democratic check on the NPC that allows DSA's membership to be in charge of DSA's politics.
7. As we have seen over the past two years, the NPC deciding how to fill its vacancies can

be controversial and prone to gridlock. On a committee of this size small changes can dramatically swing the balance of votes, the NPC should not be selecting its own members. A larger representative national body that meets regularly would be far better for choosing who should fill vacancies on the NPC.

8. This proposal for a National Delegates Council provides a method for membership to have a say on NPC decisions and NPC membership during a term without calling a special convention, and would help the NPC to get support with work and bring its proposals to chapters. It is smaller than the full National Convention to make it more manageable to administer between conventions. DSA must have democratic control by members that extends beyond once every two years.

Constitutional Changes:

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Article VIII. National Political Committee

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Section 2:

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.

...

Article IX: ~~National Advisory Committee~~ National Delegates Council

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.~~
The National Delegates Council shall debate and vote on political and organizational questions between conventions, and provide oversight to the National Political Committee.

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.~~

The National Delegates Council shall be composed of delegates of the Locals and of at-large members.

Delegates to the National Delegates Council shall be elected for a calendar year based on the dues-paying membership of the organization (including all members up to one year arrears in dues) on November 1st of the previous year.

Every Local shall be entitled to at least one delegate. Locals with 500 or more members can elect a 2nd delegate; Locals with 1000 members or more can elect a 3rd delegate; additional delegates will be apportioned to Locals for every 500 additional members.

For every full 500 at-large members on November 1st, the at-large members can elect 1 delegate, up to $\frac{1}{4}$ of the size of the at-large delegate slots apportioned for the most recent National Convention.

Section 3.

The NPC (or its assigned representative) will inform at-large members and each Local no later than November 15th each year about the Locals's number of dues-paying members as of November 1st (including all members up to one year arrears in dues) and how many delegates to the National Delegates Council have been apportioned for the next calendar year.

Section 4.

Elections will happen between January 1 and February 28 of each year. Locals shall conduct their own elections for delegates and the NPC shall conduct elections for at-large delegates.

In case of resignations or other vacancies of delegate positions, Locals can fill vacancies by elections of delegates for the remainder of the calendar year.

Section 5.

The National Delegates Council will meet online at least twice between National Conventions.

Meetings of the National Delegates Council will be convened and organized by the National

Political Committee (or a body charged with this task by the NPC).

Special meetings of the National Delegates Council may be called by a majority vote of the National Political Committee or petition endorsed by either:

- Locals representing one third of the membership, or
- by signatures of five percent of the membership.

Once the threshold is met, the NPC shall organize a special meeting of the National Delegates Council, to take place within 60 days.

Section 6.

The National Delegates Council has the power to recall NPC members. NPC members shall be removed from their position by a three-fifths majority vote.

Section 7.

In the event that positions on the NPC reserved for minorities and oppressed groups in **Article VIII, Section 2**, are not filled at the Convention, the position(s) shall be filled by vote of the National Delegates Council, except that only members of those oppressed groups may be elected to fill such vacancies. In case of other such vacancies (for example through resignation, disciplinary action, or recalls), except a vacancy of the Youth Section Representative, the National Delegates Council shall appoint a member of the organization in good standing to serve until the next Convention.

Section 8.

The National Delegates Council shall have the power to review and reverse decisions of the NPC, by a majority vote (more than 50 percent) of the delegates present. When disagreements arise between the NPC and the National Delegates Council, the National Delegates Council overrides the NPC.

Section 9.

Quorum of the National Delegates Council shall be more than half of the elected delegates.

Section 10.

The first National Delegates Council elections will be held between January 1 and February 28,

and the NPC will convene the first National Delegates Council meeting no later than June 30, 2024.

Strengthening Democracy by Increasing Member Input and Creating a National Delegates Council	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$30,346
Estimated Staff Costs	\$18,200
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$3,276
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$6,440
Other Direct Costs	\$2,430
Description of Main Staff Work	Estimated 120 hours data and tech, operations, organizing and comms for annual election and 80 for each delegate meeting. Resolution calls for an annual delegate election to the NDC for both chapters & at-large members. The resolution also calls for NDC virtual meetings twice annually of approximately 250 people - if the goal was in-person the staff time required would be higher. Delegate elections are much more complex than a regular all-member vote.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Annual election of NDC at-large delegates including postcards to at-large members w/o emails and virtual meeting platform to host virtual meetings twice annually. Annual election of NDC at-large delegates including postcards to at-large members w/o emails and virtual meeting platform to host virtual meetings twice annually. Also includes attorney time and filing fees for bylaws change.

II. National Committee Consensus Resolutions and Associated Amendments

Consensus Resolution #1: Building Tenant Power and Organization (Housing Justice Commission)

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Foreword

There is no housing justice without tenant power. A tenant, for our purposes, is anyone who doesn't control their own housing. It is clear that tenants must develop class independent organizations to fight back against financialization of housing and landlord neglect and abuse. Through sustainable and durable forms of organization, tenants can advance a distinctly political struggle and cultivate the organizing skills necessary for both the defeat of landlordism and, ultimately, the abolition of private property.

Just as collective organization of workers is essential for the possibility of moving past capitalism and building socialism, so too must tenants become organized for us to transform society. Organization has always been the weapon of the oppressed.

Socialist tenant organizing embraces an outright rejection of the capitalist system. It wages war on racially discriminatory housing practices. It is a form of revolt against the increased proliferation of homelessness, disenfranchisement, and overall precarity.

DSA members, responding to the general crisis of tenancy and the intensification of tenant struggle brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic, have begun to make significant contributions to the nascent tenant unionist movement. This movement has grown not just in the largest cities, but has made its presence felt all across the country.

In April of 2022 the Housing Justice Commission (HJC) launched our Emergency Tenant Organizing Committee (ETOC). In the last six months, we've connected with over a dozen DSA chapters to share experiences and learn about their on-the-ground local organizing. The ETOC mentorship program has held 5 organizing trainings, providing direct training to 18 DSA chapters. We are currently mentoring 14 local tenant union formations from as far west as

Honolulu to as far east as East Tampa. We have a mentorship crew representing at least 12 different DSA chapters and autonomous tenant unions across the country. This promising new program has much room to grow and support all DSA chapters. We have scaled up the mentorship program at an encouraging rate and are currently planning on supporting at least 4 new cohorts every 3 months. We have reached these milestones without a budget.

Resolution

Whereas DSA's ability to advance a socialist politics requires being organized into fighting formations across all terrains of struggle, committed to a radical social revolution that creates a future without landlords and capitalists;

Whereas building a new tenant union is difficult work for a local DSA chapter without training and support from the national body;

Whereas engaging with an existing local autonomous tenant union requires support and collective mentorship, which has been possible through the Housing Justice Commission;

Whereas DSA should be developing a distinctly socialist line on tenancy and housing, and spreading it within the tenant unions in which we organize, driving home the dire nature of the tenant-landlord contradiction and strategically opposing the commodification of housing and the state which upholds it;

Whereas in 2021 the national general body of DSA affirmed democratically that tenant organizing should be prioritized, and the accomplishments noted in the foreword have been realized in under one year;

Whereas across the country, DSA members have led tenant organizations in their own housing, supported the formation of municipal tenant unions, identified and supported tenant leaders in their neighborhoods, and participated in the development of autonomous tenant unions;

Whereas tenant unionism integrates socialists into the struggles of the working class, attunes DSA to the unique conditions of our chapters, and empowers chapters with the information necessary to engage in local fights for housing justice;

Whereas tenant organizing engages diverse socialist organizers with new opportunities for hands-on organizing experience. ETOC (Emergency Tenant Organizing Committee) provides training on building an organization and relating to local communities through an external

facing and explicitly socialist project. Our trainings teach comrades how to build administrative skills, such as facilitating meetings, as well as political skills, like how to make hard asks of their neighbors to realize the potential for collective action.

Therefore, be it resolved that DSA builds upon its commitment to housing justice, with a focus on tenant organizing, as established in Resolution 21 passed at the 2021 DSA National Convention, to be coordinated on a national level by the Housing Justice Commission (HJC);

Be it further resolved that DSA commits to strengthening and expanding upon the initial success of the Emergency Tenant Organizing Committee (ETOC) in training and mentoring tenant unionists across the country;

Be it further resolved that DSA's NPC, in collaboration with the HJC, will provide for at least the following to support ETOC's work:

- Staff and technical support for fundraising; no more than 5 hours/month
- Access to member data as needed for chapter outreach
- Technical tools for organizing remotely (e.g. a dedicated Zoom line, password manager, etc.)
- Travel subsidies for ETOC mentors on request, not to exceed \$250/cohort and to be matched by cohorts
- Stipends for cohorts that complete the ETOC program, not to exceed \$250/cohort

Be it further resolved that the HJC will specifically commit to producing training materials to integrate language justice into tenant organizing;

Be it further resolved that the HJC will set a goal to train at least 25 cohorts of tenant organizers through the ETOC program by the end of 2023; and at least 50 cohorts of tenant organizers by the end of 2024;

Be it further resolved that the HJC's political education committee will be tasked with developing a series of popular education workshops that can be adapted to local conditions, and promote a popular education model of political education—that is, a model of education that requires collective knowledge and participation by tenants in its development;

Be it finally resolved that the HJC's policy committee will be tasked with developing policy definitions and campaign tool kits to strengthen the political power of tenants and explore multiple approaches to the creation of social housing.

Housing Justice Commission: Building Tenant Power and Organization	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$60,142
Estimated Staff Costs	\$23,400
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$4,212
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$8,280
Other Direct Costs	\$24,250
Description of Main Staff Work	Based on the activities described staff time estimate is 30 hours/month from staff in comms, tech and data, operations, development/fundraising, finance, and some organizing. This estimate assumes a minimal investment of staff organizing time based on past experience with national non-priority campaigns.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Travel subsidies for mentors and stipends for cohorts for 25 cohorts in 2023 and 50 in 2024 (average of 38 cohorts per year); dedicated Zoom line and password manager; translation for training materials.

Consensus Resolution #2: 2023 Green New Deal Campaign

Commission Priority Resolution

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas the existential threat of the global ecological crisis we face, unlike any in human history, requires socialists to make climate and environmental action a central field in the struggle by the working class for a better world and against a racialized capitalist system that is profiting from extraction, exploitation, and domination.

Whereas DSA is in a position to play a vital role in the process of class formation in relation to this struggle because of its size, democratic structure, capacity for mass political mobilization, and member-funded financial independence.

Whereas it is not enough to articulate the Green New Deal (GND) as a vision of racial, gender, economic, and environmental justice; a socialist GND contests the ongoing green capitalist transition by vying for democratic control over key economic sectors.

Whereas while recent, “historic” climate legislation is too little, too slow, and too tailored to the interests of capital, DSA is uniquely situated to contest this significant shift in the flow of public spending and private investment.

Whereas the green infrastructure and industries of the 21st century must be shaped by and for an organized working class.

Whereas DSA adopted resolutions in [2019](#) and [2021](#) to prioritize fighting for a socialist GND as defined by DSA’s democratically adopted [GND Principles](#), pursued in campaigns informed by our [Theory of Power](#) and coordinated by the GND Campaign Commission (GNDCC).

Whereas our proposals are rooted in a concrete analysis of ruling class power, which is located in control over investment and production.

Whereas capitalist responses to climate change and other environmental crises attempt to use this control to initiate technological transitions which further exploit and immiserate the working class, and are insufficient solutions to the crises at hand.

Whereas the GND as we see it aims to rebuild the public sector and the labor movement as both a means and an end, and we can accomplish this by fighting for projects that secure and

expand the public and ecologically-sustainable provision of social rights.

Whereas the Building for Power campaign aims to contribute to the development of a mass working-class proto-party in the United States by bringing together elements of the organized working class—construction workers, public sector workers, public service users, and environmental justice communities—in durable partnership at the local level,

Whereas the GNDCC has launched the [Building For Power](#) campaign to bring socialist politics to bear on a policy process dominated by capital by training and supporting DSA chapters to fight for state and local [GND-style legislation](#) in coalition with labor unions, tenant unions, transit rider groups, environmental justice groups, and other mass working class organizations behind a common vision of an emancipated, democratic, and ecologically sustainable society.

Whereas [Building for Power](#) internally brings together forms of organizing that DSA has consistently emphasized and excelled at—including legislative, electoral, labor, housing, direct action, and mutual aid—and prioritizes chapter outreach, training, and development—all essential to DSA’s stability and growth.

Be it therefore resolved that DSA authorizes and endorses the GND Campaign as one of its highest national priorities and charges the GNDCC with organizing and overseeing this work via the Building for Power Campaign.

Resolved that the GNDCC will continue to train and organize DSA chapters to run and win legislative campaigns for reforms that shift structural power to the working class by synergistically building public sector capacity and the labor movement—like expanded mass transit, democratized and decarbonized public energy, green social housing, and green public spaces and facilities.

Resolved that the scope of Building for Power will expand to include labor and ballot demands, where identified as appropriate by chapters and where the demands align with the overall purpose of B4P to rebuild the public sector and the labor movement through the expansion of green public goods and services.

Resolved that the GNDCC will continue to support the development of chapter capacity by providing campaign-oriented training, coaching, resources, and educational materials and facilitating cross-chapter coordination as part of a larger unified strategy.

Resolved that chapter capacity-building related to B4P will include but is not limited to:

1. Internal organizing that allows chapters to come to clear, well-informed decisions on B4P campaign planning, structure, and strategy,
2. Strategic mass recruitment from the working-class social bases identified by B4P,
3. The formation of coalitions which meet the following goals:
 - a. Messaging that draws a clear line between the working class and a common local ruling class enemy
 - b. Tactics that antagonize the target through an appropriate course of escalatory action and allow for the development of durable organizing relationships between DSA chapter members and between DSA chapter membership and the membership of coalitional partners
 - c. Structures that
 - i. Prioritize mass working class organizations and their auxiliaries in coalitional leadership,
 - ii. Engage and empower the membership (not just leadership) of DSA and coalitional partners on an ongoing basis to shape the direction of the campaign through clear and democratic decision-making rules,
 - iii. Endure beyond the conclusion of the B4P campaign to take on new campaigns—labor, electoral, and legislative—and form durable organizational partnerships on the road to a proto-party on the local level

Resolved that the GNDCC will continue to collaborate with other DSA national bodies on overlapping campaign and policy areas.

Resolved that the GNDCC will expand from 11 to 15 members in order to increase capacity. The new GNDCC will be appointed by the NPC within 60 days of the start of the NPC term, to serve a term of two years until the 2025 National Convention. The NPC will solicit applications and appoint candidates based on the capacity, skills, and knowledge needed for carrying out this campaign.

Resolved that the GNDCC will maintain such subcommittees and processes as are needed to fulfill the campaign's objectives.

Resolved that the NPC will ensure that major resources are committed to the work of the campaign, particularly coaching, training and growing DSA chapters engaged in work within its umbrella. Such resources shall include, at least, the following:

- One dedicated full-time staff legislative campaigns organizer to coordinate with the GNDCC;
- Staff, technical, and other support for campaign fundraising and merchandise, as reasonably needed and requested by the GNDCC;

- Budget funds necessary to support digital tools and resources for campaign organizing; and
- Access to DSA member data and other resources as reasonably needed and requested by GNDCC.

Green New Deal Campaign Commission: 2023 Green New Deal Campaign Commission Priority Resolution	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$131,148
Estimated Staff Costs	\$54,600
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$9,828
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$19,320
Other Direct Costs	\$47,400
Description of Main Staff Work	Transitioning to a full time organizer from partial organizing staff support is the new staff cost. Currently partial organizing staff time and significant hours from staff across departments such as comms earned media, social,email, website, and/or spox training, mass calls, possibly swag, and org tech/field support, as well as some cost reimbursements and grant dispersal, fundraising, and compliance work is all existing staff work so the new staff costs are zero.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Assuming the proposed annual budget would match the funds allocated by the current NPC for GND in the 2023 national budget, \$47,400.

Consensus Resolution #3: Growth and Development

Committee 2023 Convention Resolution

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas, the Growth and Development Committee, hereafter referred to as the GDC, was created in 2019 with the goal to further develop the recruitment, retention, training, mentorship, chapter development, infrastructure, and socialist analysis necessary to **build the mass organization** the political moment calls for,

Whereas, the GDC has restructured to a project-based model to allow for flexibility, increased capacity, and relevance to the needs of the organization,

Whereas, the GDC has seen the importance of intentional, dedicated, and active recruitment models, in the form of the 100k Drive, the Recommitment Drive, and February Membership Drive, to ensure DSA can continue to grow,

Whereas, the GDC was formed to educate members about the importance of a member-funded and member-driven organization through regular new member orientations,

Whereas, since the 2021 Convention, the GDC has offered dozens of trainings on organizing skills for chapters, as well as trainings in coordination with priority committees,

Whereas, the GDC has administered the implementation of matching funds, including assisting chapters who receive funds to open a chapter office, and is working to fully integrate matching funds for chapter staff,

Whereas, the GDC aims to fully integrate YDSA and recruitment of young people generally, the GDC will operate as a body serving both DSA and YDSA.

Be it resolved, the GDC will:

- Scale up its current national training program to develop socialist organizers capable of analyzing material conditions, identifying issues widely felt by the working class, running local campaigns, and connecting them to national priorities where possible.
 - a. In order to scale up, the GDC will create an accessible training curriculum for new DSA members, as well as for DSA organizers doing work in various terrains: the work place, the ballot box, as well as housing and campus-based efforts. This curriculum will emphasize the importance of multiracial and democratic

internal organizing.

b. It will be made available to all members via the DSA website. c. Chapter leads can request these training sessions for their chapters on a rolling basis.

- Train and support chapters to frame their work in socialist, anti-racist politics of solidarity, not based in race essentialism or separatism, and apply this framework to campaigns, chapter culture, and recruitment efforts in order to have greater material impact and salience for the multiracial working class.

a. The GDC will work with MROC to ensure all trainings use this framework.

- Develop and distribute chapter tools for membership development, including onboarding and various levels of leadership identification, primarily through putting on a standardized training program interwoven with political education.

a. The GDC will roll out the program in stages, focusing on helping 25-30 chapters on a quarterly basis.

- Work with chapters in developing active recruitment models by publicizing known metrics, such as growth rates, as a way for chapter leaders and members to assess the efficacy of their current recruitment/retention efforts. The GDC will also work to identify growth rate models as they relate to the health of DSA chapters. Also by facilitating various types of chapter to chapter knowledge sharing, such as case studies, focus groups, peer to peer coaching.
- Institutionalize a national arc of participation for new DSA members, from orientation to political education, organizer trainings, and campaigns, to work toward a shared understanding of what it means to be a DSA member, as well as the various levels of participation possible. The goal of this effort will be creating a general definition of active membership that takes into account the time, energy, resources, and ways the average working class person can devote to the organization.
- Finalize a five-year growth plan, with annual membership number goals, to create a blueprint that will allow DSA to achieve:
 - a. 100,000 by the end of 2023
 - b. 120,000 by the end of 2024
 - c. 140,000 by the Convention 2025
 - d. 200,000 members by 2028
- Utilize the biannual member survey and annual chapter survey to support this growth plan effort, including identifying hot spots for potential chapters, income-based dues efforts, and ongoing obstacles to recruitment and retention.
- House a centralized drive where chapters can submit campaign debriefs, recruitment projects, membership chapter models, mutual aid efforts, and other resources available for chapter leaders and active members. This effort will be coupled with a training series, including running a successful debrief and completing honest campaign assessments

- Bottomline a 2024 Membership Drive with the goal of increasing every participating chapter's membership numbers by 10% throughout the course of the Drive
- 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 every chapter's fundraising capacity
- Appoint a GDC SC member to serve as a liaison to DSA and YDSA for the purpose of supporting existing needs and efforts around growth and development in YDSA, specifically supporting YDSA's Fall Drive through coaching and trainings and collaborating with YDSA's NCC to develop an intentional recruitment strategy and work plan by 2024
- Recruit 50 members by September 2023 in service of the above efforts, with 5-10 for each specific training project. The project teams for the Dues Drive, Membership Drive, Chapter Resources, and Member Pipeline will aim to have 15-20 members on a regular basis.
- Continue administering the Matching Funds program, working alongside the Development Committee to set and meet fundraising goals, helping 10-15 chapters open offices by 2025 and working to implement a program to help chapters hire staff

Growth and Development Committee: GDC 2023 Convention Resolution	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$103,688
Estimated Staff Costs	\$67,600
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$12,168
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$23,920
Other Direct Costs	0
Description of Main Staff Work	Many of the costs are already included in staff time allocations as they are foundational organizational functions such as training and supporting chapters in legal compliance and administrative and organizing work. Staff time to coordinate with the committee for the level of activity in the resolution estimated at 20 hours/week.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Many of the costs are already included in the budget as they are core organizational functions such as membership recruitment, renewal, and dues increase drives.

Consensus Resolution Amendment A: Give our 1% for the 99 Percent (Amendment to CR #3 (GDC))

Authors: Rose D. , Maine DSA, Frances G., DSA LA, Tefa G., NYC-DSA, Marc K., DSA-LA, Ashik S., At-Large, Cara T., Louisville DSA

Whereas, the Growth and Development Committee, hereafter referred to as the GDC, was created in 2019 with the goal to further develop the recruitment, retention, training, mentorship, chapter development, infrastructure, and socialist analysis necessary to build the mass organization the political moment calls for,

Whereas, the GDC has restructured to a project-based model to allow for flexibility, increased capacity, and relevance to the needs of the organization,

Whereas, the GDC has seen the importance of intentional, dedicated, and active recruitment models, in the form of the 100k Drive, the Recommitment Drive, and February Membership Drive, to ensure DSA can continue to grow,

Whereas, DSA is faced with the question of how to continue resourcing the work to build a mass socialist organization for our time, and how to avoid a boom and bust model of membership growth,

Whereas, one answer is to deepen the commitment and investment of current members through Solidarity Income Based Dues (monthly dues based on a member's annual income),

Whereas, Solidarity Income Based Dues is a tool to not only deepen the commitment of individual members, but to increase our collective financial capacity through means that account for differences in individual members' income levels and access to capital (give your 1% for the 99%),

Whereas, the GDC was formed to educate members about the importance of a member-funded and member-driven organization through regular new member orientations,

...

Be it resolved, the 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, prioritizes Solidarity Based Income Dues, and develops every chapter's fundraising capacity
 - A. Implementing Solidarity Based Income Dues ask members to commit 1% of annual income to monthly dues
 - B. For a person making \$35,000 a year, committing 1% of annual income to monthly dues works out to a \$30 monthly dues payment.
 - C. In 2022, the average monthly dues payment was \$11.95. Based on 2022 membership trends, we currently expect to have approximately 22,000 monthly dues payers in 2023.
 - D. Committing 5,000 current monthly dues payers to income based dues at an average rate of \$30/monthly will generate an additional \$150k a month, or \$1.8 million a year — more than the deficit that DSA has nationally budgeted for 2023.

...

Consensus Resolution Amendment B: State Of DSA Reports and At-Large Member Program (Amendment to CR #3 (GDC))

Authors: Megan R., At-Large, John L., New Orleans DSA, Sam HL., DSA San Francisco

...

Be it resolved, the GDC will:

- Scale up its current national training program to develop socialist organizers capable of analyzing material conditions, identifying issues widely felt by the working class, running local campaigns, and connecting them to national priorities where possible.
 - a. In order to scale up, the GDC will create an accessible training curriculum for new DSA members, as well as for DSA organizers doing work in various terrains: the work place, the ballot box, as well as housing and campus-based efforts. This curriculum will emphasize the importance of multiracial and democratic internal organizing.
 - b. It will be made available to all members via the DSA website and a regular cadence of beginner and intermediate organizing trainings open to all members.
 - c. Chapter leads can request these training sessions for their chapters on a rolling basis.

...

- Utilize the biannual member survey and annual chapter survey to support this growth plan effort, including identifying hot spots for potential chapters, income-based dues efforts, and ongoing obstacles to recruitment and retention.
- Based on trends identified in the chapter and membership surveys, work directly with chapters to create an in-depth “State of DSA Chapters” Report or series of Reports. These report(s) will identify (1) tactics that have led to victories, (2) chapter-level processes and structures that have helped them grow, and (3) to identify common issues that chapters face and identify shared solutions.
 - a. The organization shall commit \$25,000 to this project, to be used for staff time, travel stipends, software, and other administrative costs. This budget shall be determined by the subcommittee assigned to the work, with input and approval from GDC Steering and the NPC.
 - b. Topics of this report shall include chapter structure and internal democracy, political education, and external political work (including electoral campaigns, legislative campaigns, mutual aid, labor organizing, and tenant organizing)

- c. Reports on internal democracy and chapter structure may be used to inform the work of other commissions and bodies studying democratic process within DSA, if such bodies are convened
 - d. One major focus on this report or series shall be on Small and Rural chapters, identified as chapters that are below 250 Members in Good Standing. This section of the report (or report in its entirety) will identify 3-5 leadership members of SRCs to participate in an NPC/GDC-led presentation of information from those leadership members about the challenges and circumstances facing rural and small chapter DSA organizing.
 - e. The GDC will build an action plan to address major issues found in the Report, and replicate strengths and winning tactics across the organization.
- Develop a plan for engaging at-large members in a politically productive manner, including forming OCs to develop chapters and plugging them into GDC work to support chapter organizing across the country
 - a. As part of this initiative, a subcommittee of member organizers will have access to communications apparatus (i.e. space in national communications and on the national calendar) in order to communicate directly with these members about trainings, mapping and identifying local areas that have strong potential for new OCs, and developing local cohorts to help pre-OCs form. Any member information will be given in line with best practices for information security and the protection of member data.
- House a centralized drive where chapters can submit campaign debriefs, recruitment projects, membership chapter models, mutual aid efforts, and other resources available for chapter leaders and active members. This effort will be coupled with a training series, including running a successful debrief and completing honest campaign assessments
- Bottomline a 2024 Membership Drive with the goal of increasing every participating chapter's membership numbers by 10% throughout the course of the Drive
- 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 every chapter's fundraising capacity
- Appoint a GDC SC member to serve as a liaison to DSA and YDSA for the purpose of supporting existing needs and efforts around growth and development in YDSA, specifically supporting YDSA's Fall Drive through coaching and trainings and collaborating with YDSA's NCC to develop an intentional recruitment strategy and work plan by 2024
- Recruit 50 members by September 2023 in service of the above efforts, with 5-10 for each specific training project. The project teams for the Dues Drive, Membership Drive, Chapter Resources, and Member Pipeline will aim to have 15-20 members on a regular

basis. These members working on GDC projects will represent a broad cross-section of the organization, sourced primarily from those who have shown strong leadership in local or state organizations. The roster will include a diversity of identities, political tendencies, organizing focus, chapter size, and geographical region.

- Continue administering the Matching Funds program, working alongside the Development Committee to set and meet fundraising goals, helping 10-15 chapters open offices by 2025 and working to implement a program to help chapters hire staff

Consensus Resolution #4: International Committee

Consensus Resolution

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas the 2021 National Convention passed a resolution for [Committing to International Socialist Solidarity](#), which expanded DSA's relations with mass parties, especially in Latin America, through coordination and delegations,

Whereas the International Committee is organizing to confront wide-ranging issues and global crises, which require timely responses, in-depth analysis, multiple simultaneous campaigns and projects, media and political education work, communication with DSA chapters and local groups, and coordination with organizations, political parties, and elected officials in the US and abroad,

Whereas socialists in the US have a unique challenge to confront the US empire from within the belly of the beast, and are faced with expansive opposition from the political and media establishments that protect the imperialist interests of the US capitalist class,

Whereas US imperialism and predatory, finance-led capitalism has exacerbated global crises to historically dangerous levels, leading to a record-high US military budget nearing \$1 trillion per year, increased foreign militarism, rising xenophobia and racism, global economic warfare, and regional instability, and

Whereas the US anti-war movement requires urgent revitalization to confront a new Cold War against China, US sanctions, wars and interventions, rising military spending, brinkmanship and overseas militarism, militarized domestic police, military recruitment in schools, weapons manufacturers, and the rising dangers of nuclear conflict.

Be it therefore resolved that, unless another DSA body has been mandated by a National Convention to take on such a role, the National Political Committee and the International Committee shall be the only DSA bodies empowered to conduct DSA's diplomatic work with foreign governments, political parties, and social movements, or to authorize other DSA bodies to do so on DSA's behalf,

Be it further resolved that the International Committee shall prioritize member recruitment and programming that reflect the international character of the U.S. working class, which is increasingly made up of people of color, migrants, and women,

Be it further resolved that the International Committee shall establish a chapter liaisons program, where these chapter liaisons are also IC members, in order to coordinate campaigns, communication, organizing, political education, diplomatic work, and national resource requests,

Be it further resolved that the International Committee shall be allocated at least \$25,000 per annum, particularly to: (1) fund exchanges between DSA and international parties and social movements aligned with DSA, for both delegations abroad and visits to the US by these international partners, and (2) provide resources to support internationalist work carried out on the local level by DSA chapters and other authorized bodies,

Be it further resolved that DSA shall begin the process to become a member of the Progressive International, to strengthen its coordination and solidarity with left- wing parties, organizations, and movements around the world,

Be it further resolved that DSA shall explore holding an international conference in between November 2024 and March 2025 to provide an assessment of the material conditions in the United States to various international partners from the perspective of DSA strategy, and

Be it finally resolved that the following item from DSA’s National Political Platform: “End US military aid to repressive governments, including the Philippines and Honduras.” shall be revised to “End US military aid to all governments.”

International Committee: Consensus Resolution from DSA International Committee	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$54,910
Estimated Staff Costs	\$19,500
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$3,510
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$6,900
Other Direct Costs	\$25,000
Description of Main Staff Work	Estimated 25 hours per month for tech and data, finance, compliance and communications staff, particularly coordinating international travel. Conference contemplated could take 120 - 700 hours staff time including translation

	coordination (not included in estimate here as resolution only states it would be explored.)
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	\$25,000 annually of allocated funds to support delegation travel abroad and delegation visits here, and to support local chapters and other authorized bodies on internalist work. Exploring an international conference is in the resolution and while the cost would be finalized later and would be in late 2024 or 2025, it could range from \$60,000-\$110,000, the range from Multi-Racial Organizing Committee Institute to Socialism is the Future costs but with additional costs to account for international travel and translation (not included in estimate here as resolution only states it would be explored.)

Consensus Resolution Amendment C: For a Class-Struggle Internationalism (Amendment to CR #4 (IC))

Authors: Ramsin Canon (Chicago), Abigail Gutmann-González (East Bay), Abdulla F. (DSA-LA) Oren Schweitzer (NYC-DSA), W. Smith (Chicago), Andrew Richner (East Bay)

Whereas, Internationalism is a core principle of democratic socialist politics. Capitalism is a global system that exploits and oppresses workers across the world to enrich a small capitalist minority. The international working class transcends borders and must be united in its fight against exploitation and oppression and to replace capitalism with democratic socialism. Socialists stand in solidarity with workers and popular movements around the world in their struggle for socialism and democracy, and a world free from exploitation and oppression.

The emancipation of the working class must be the task of the working class itself. Only the self-activity of workers can end capitalism and realize socialism. As such, socialists must support democracy and rank-and-file control within working-class organizations—trade unions and political parties—and the struggle of the working class against undemocratic leaders within these organizations. Only through expansive political democracy and freedoms can democratic socialism be achieved and maintained.

Over the past few years DSA's international work has gone two steps forward. In 2017, a rejuvenated DSA threw off its historical support for Israel, declaring our support for BDS, and left the neoliberalized Socialist International. DSA has also mobilized against U.S. militarism against Iran, sanctions against Cuba, and Israeli apartheid. Further, the Internationalism Committee (IC) has begun building meaningful connections with left parties and movements around the world, organizing multiple successful delegations to various countries.

DSA's international work has also retreated one step in two ways. First, is the inconsistent anti-imperialism of DSA's Socialists in Office, a prime example being formerly-endorsed DSA Congressman Jamaal Bowman voting for increased Iron Dome funding and subsequently taking a propaganda tour of occupied Palestine.

Second is the inconsistent internationalism of DSA's International Committee, which has actively muted criticism of authoritarian and militaristic countries throughout the world due to their nominal left status or opposition to U.S. imperialism. This has included conducting a state tour with the Maduro government in Venezuela without also conferring with independent trade unions and opposition left-wing worker organizations, refusing to support Hong Kong's independent trade unions against the repression of the Chinese

government, refusing to support independent trade unions in Belarus in fighting their government's participation in Russia's illegal invasion of Ukraine, and replacing DSA's statement on Nicaragua from one that simultaneously criticized U.S. sanctions and also stood in solidarity with popular left movements in Nicaragua fighting the authoritarian Ortega government, to one that excludes support for Nicaragua's working-class movements in its struggles for democracy.

The IC's uncritical support of nominally left governments around the world also includes moderate social democratic governments like those of Gabriel Boric in Chile and Lula Da Silva in Brazil. While these governments should be supported against their right opposition and U.S. imperialism, a critical section of organizers fighting for socialism and against U.S. imperialism in these countries recognize independence from and criticism of their ruling left parties as central to winning socialism given their ruling parties' significant concessions to capital. The IC has not shown significant interest in building relationships with and learning from left-wing working-class movements and parties independent from and critical of these center-left governments. Ultimately, this orientation takes us away from international class struggle and focuses us on competing nation-states, teams, camps, abandoning our comrades in other countries fighting for a democratic and socialist world.

DSA's international work should instead embrace the breadth and diversity of working class social movements, political formations, and labor unions around the world by making connections to a wide variety of working class organizations on the ground fighting for socialism and democracy across the globe, not just those with formal power.

Therefore be it resolved . . .

Three new Resolved clauses are added at the end of the Resolved clauses in the "Consensus Resolution from DSA International Committee":

Be it further resolved, DSA will take a "big-tent" approach to building relationships with socialist and movement groups, organizations, and parties in other countries. This means meeting and building relationships with a diverse array of left parties and movements in other countries, not just leading or ruling parties. This includes those in and out of government, as well as independent workers' organizations like trade unions.

Be it further resolved, DSA seeks to learn from and stand in solidarity with movements around the world fighting for democracy and socialism against all governments that engage in the repression of democratic rights and side with capital over workers. This

includes governments that ally with U.S. empire, claim to oppose U.S. imperialism, or even self-identify as socialist or left-wing. By democracy we mean the right to independently organized trade unions and political organizations; to participate, and vote in meaningfully democratic elections; racial and gender equality, and sexual freedoms; and the right to indigenous and national self-determination. Our main target is our own government and U.S. imperialism. However, as consistent anti-imperialists and internationalists, our starting point for establishing solidarity is the rights of workers and peoples and not the balance of geopolitical power or the nominal political identities of different governments.

Be it further resolved, DSA opposes imperialist interventions that claim to support democracy or workers' movements through broad-based economic sanctions and military intervention, intelligence operations, or state funding of opposition groups. We oppose all measures that act as collective punishment against a country's population, harm workers, and deny national sovereignty. These interventions undermine and delegitimize movements for democracy by associating them with foreign intervention and make it more likely for governments to restrict democracy in the name of anti-imperialism and national sovereignty. Principled criticisms of government policies that restrict democracy and attack workers does not mean support for imperialist intervention and regime change.

Consensus Resolution Amendment D: Socialist Anti-Militarism and the War in Ukraine (Amendment to CR #4 (IC))

Authors: Matthew S., Madison, Stephan K., Seattle, Micah J., Detroit, Maria F., YDSA at FIU

Whereas,

- The international situation has dramatically changed with the war in Ukraine. DSA needs to take a clear stance and give guidance to our elected officials to take a socialist and anti-militarist position. However, in its original form, the International Committee's Consensus Resolution is silent on this central issue in world politics today.
- The war in Ukraine has taken a horrendous toll, with millions of Ukrainian civilians displaced, and tens of thousands of Ukrainians and Russians killed or injured. It also raises the risk of a nuclear conflict.
- Following Russia's brutal invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, DSA correctly condemned it and called for the total withdrawal of Russian forces from Ukraine. Russia's 2022 invasion was a dramatic escalation of an existing conflict that had erupted into violence in 2014 between the forces of US-led Western imperialism and Russia.
- The present US global strategy is premised on trying to maintain its position as the world imperialist hegemon. NATO has expanded about 500 miles eastward despite earlier promises to Russia not to, and it has provocatively conducted massive war games near Russia's border.
- The US has supplied tens of billions of dollars in military aid to the Ukrainian army and far-right paramilitaries and has directly provided intelligence, training, and advisors to the Ukrainian forces, effectively making itself a party to the war.
- The US possesses by far the largest and most destructive military machine in the world. It supports the right-wing Israeli regime in its occupation and displacement of Palestinians. To facilitate Sweden and Finland joining NATO, the Western powers accept Turkey's brutal suppression of its Kurdish minority and its airstrikes against Kurdish people in Syria, denying Kurdish people their democratic right to self-determination.
- The United States' war economy and military-industrial complex are closely tied to police oppression of the working class and communities of color. The US military transferred \$7.6 billion in equipment to US law enforcement over the past 30 years.
- The pro-NATO Zelensky government is strengthened by the US support and uses that strength to stifle democratic rights in Ukraine, to weaken workers' rights including rights of collective bargaining, and to further crack down on the Russian minority in Ukraine.

- The war in Ukraine has significantly contributed to skyrocketing food and energy prices globally, a disaster for the poor especially in the global South.
- Socialists have to stand against the agenda of US imperialism, against the existence of NATO, and in favor of closing all US military bases abroad, bringing home all troops. Socialists stand for the right of self-determination of both the Ukrainian nation and the Russian speakers of the Donbass and Crimea, while defending minority rights in all regions. As socialists, we stand against the presence of Russian troops, and support those in the Russian Left who are fighting against Putin's war and his right-wing, Russian nationalist, and pro-capitalist agenda.
- DSA members in Congress have offered no serious criticism of the policy of the Biden administration in this conflict. Instead they have violated core socialist principles by voting in favor of every standalone authorization of military aid to the Ukrainian government, which serves to promote US imperialism's aims in the conflict. They have also voted to expand the imperialist NATO military alliance.

Therefore be it resolved the International Committee Consensus resolution will be amended as follows:

Be it ~~finally~~ resolved that the following item from DSA's National Political Platform: "End US military aid to repressive governments, including the Philippines and Honduras." shall be revised to "End US military aid to all governments."

Be it resolved that DSA stands at the forefront of the efforts to build a movement against war and militarism and reaffirms its calls for US withdrawal from NATO, the abolition of NATO, closing all US foreign military bases, and bringing home all US troops abroad (including the 100,000 US troops deployed to Europe). It calls on local chapters to join the work of the International Committee in building mass anti-imperialist consciousness and protests.

Be if further resolved that the basic elements of DSA's program on this war include:

1. Opposition to any budget that allows the Pentagon to maintain its global war machine and includes military aid to US client-states such as Ukraine and the apartheid state of Israel
2. Opposition to US weapons and military aid to the pro-NATO, pro-capitalist, undemocratic, and corrupt Ukrainian government.
3. Against the presence of Russian troops in Ukraine, solidarity with the Russian anti-war movement, and for the right of self-determination of both the Ukrainian nation and the Russian speakers, as well as for minority rights in all of the regions.

4. US withdrawal from NATO, closing US foreign military bases, and bringing home all US troops abroad.

Be it further resolved that the NPC and International Committee will organize an anti-war conference in early 2024, cohering leftist parties, labor unions, social movements, and other anti-war forces from across the world. The conference should discuss concrete actions to begin building a mass peace movement in the US. It should also build solidarity with left-wing, anti-imperialist forces in Ukraine and the Russian anti-war movement, and highlight anti-NATO voices internationally. The NPC will invite and urge DSA's elected members of Congress to publicize and attend this conference.

Be it further resolved that DSA calls on its members elected to public office to vote in accordance with the DSA policies described above.

Be it further resolved that the new NPC will prioritize opening up a discussion with DSA Congressmembers about adopting the position in this resolution. If agreement cannot be reached, the NPC will organize a town hall, inviting all DSA Congressmembers, for DSA to explain its policy and DSA members to hear the responses of our Congressmembers.

Consensus Resolution #5: Our Role in a Resurgent Labor Movement (National Labor Commission)

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Introduction

The workplace is a unique site of power and leverage for socialists. Capitalists can only make their profits when we show up to work for them everyday. That's why actions like strikes have the power to bring capitalists to their knees. This organizing has reverberations beyond the capitalist workplace to the institutions employers control—including the government. Thus, labor organizing is central to transforming not only our workplaces, but our entire social order.

The shop floor is central to building strong and powerful working-class organization and the primary focus of socialists in the labor movement is to be building power on the shop floor. Only by prioritizing militant, democratic shop floor action and organization can workers build the power to overturn capitalism.

Where are socialists in this dynamic? If workers are in a fight to overcome exploitation and live in dignity and respect, then that is where we stand. Socialism is an expression of working class struggle - and we as DSA are at our finest when we embody this expression.

At the 2019 Convention, we adopted the rank-and-file strategy as our approach to the labor movement. As a result, many DSA cadre entered the shop floor and joined the union ranks, and already have participated in some of the great historic efforts underway to transform our unions into vehicles of class struggle (e.g. the historic elections in the Teamsters, and the first democratic elections in the history of the United Auto Workers). DSA members are part of numerous historic changes within the labor movement, none more evident than the rapid growth of Starbucks Workers United (SBWU) and the momentum toward unionization happening in Amazon warehouses across the country.

In the worst national crisis since the Great Depression, DSA launched an unprecedented effort to organize the unorganized, forming the Emergency Workplace Organizing Committee (EWOC) in open partnership with the United Electrical Workers (UE). We sent thousands of members to support workers as they hit the picket lines. We ran candidates to bring the demands of working people into the halls of political power.

When at its best, workers see DSA as fighting alongside them. As the largest socialist organization this country has seen in decades, we must merge with the labor movement and the working class, in all its diversity, as we struggle for a democratic and socialist society. We

aim to become *the* political expression of the working class.

This process is underway. It is on us as DSA to recognize and consciously strengthen this dynamic. We aim for a day when the socialist movement and the labor movement will be indistinguishable from one another. An integrated whole, a workers' movement capable of putting our class enemies on the back foot and winning real change in society.

The resolution below seeks to build on the aspirations of the last Convention, in order to achieve a historic mission now within reach.

Resolution

Whereas, the ruling class in the United States seeks to take advantage of the chaos caused by Covid-19 to further restructure our economy and society to suit their interests, aiming at the total disintegration of all social bonds and solidarity in order to maximize their profits and their power;

Whereas, the ruling class globally exploits workers across all nations through an imperialist global system, denying workers the right to freely move and migrate, and also forcing them to migrate against their will; repressing workers' free expression in the workplace and in the political sphere, especially workers of oppressed nationalities and genders; and robbing current and future workers of a safe, well-functioning biosphere through their exploitation and destruction of the natural world;

Whereas, this ruling class offensive also expresses itself in the state, where our abilities to express power democratically continue to be constrained by reactionary attacks from anti-popular institutions such as the Supreme Court and the Senate;

And whereas, this ruling class offensive has been answered with an upsurge in working class struggle - from the Great Resignation to Striketober, from historic union elections and strikes to union drives at Amazon and Starbucks, workers are saying "enough is enough" and are demanding more;

And whereas, DSA has taken the initiative alongside workers to build the fighting capacity of our class, through the formation of EWOC, the fielding of class struggle candidates for public office, through successful efforts of strike solidarity across the country, and through the effective application of the rank-and-file strategy in the labor movement;

And whereas, DSA's 2021 convention approved a platform that encourages members in unions to build "reform caucuses that fight for democracy in their unions", and also approved A Labor Strategy for DSA in 2021-2023, which affirmed support for "transform(ing) ... unions into militant and democratic vehicles of and for the multiracial working class...";

Whereas: events in the UAW and IBT demonstrate the importance of a clear platform to promote union democracy;

And whereas, DSA, as the largest socialist organization in the country, can call no place home other than the working class, with a mission to build the organizational capacities of our class in order to build workplace democracy, expand political democracy, and ultimately win democratic socialism in our lifetimes;

Therefore, be it resolved, that this convention commits to making the fusion of the socialist and labor movements a top priority for DSA for the upcoming period of 2023-2025;

Be it further resolved, that this commitment to labor be expressed by means of:

1. The continued application of the rank-and-file strategy.

Socialism's true home is in the workplace and in the labor movement. This fact can only be cultivated and maintained through the active presence of socialists in the rank-and-file of the trade unions.

In order to overcome the historic divide between the socialist and labor movements in this country, DSA must continue to encourage its comrades to take jobs in unionized workplaces. Comrades that work together should organize together to build solidarity, win material gains for workers, oppose all forms of oppression in the workplace, and build a more militant, democratic labor movement. We encourage the organic development of DSA industrial networks at whatever level practical.

Further, DSA chapters and members will work to support and build Labor Notes, supporting members to attend the biannual Labor Notes Conferences, local Troublemakers Schools, and will collaborate with Labor Notes to put on local trainings for union activists.

As part of the rank-and-file strategy, DSA members in the labor movement will participate in and help build rank-and-file reform efforts to make unions more democratic and militant, working to give them a "class struggle" orientation, and DSA chapters will work to support these efforts.

By supporting the rank-and-file strategy, DSA rejects a strategy that prioritizes building relationships within the union establishment, and instead will prioritize building relationships with rank-and-file union members, support them in their efforts to challenge for union leadership, with the understanding that the ultimate goal is the

self-organization of our class as the path to realizing and asserting our power.

In doing so, we will 1) develop an organization more deeply rooted in the organized segment of the multi-racial US working class, 2) develop a cadre of dedicated socialist organizers rooted in the workplace, 3) win more workers to the cause of democratic socialism and 4) be able to support the best tendencies in our labor movement.

2. Organizing the unorganized.

Socialists and trade unionists openly collaborating to help workers in any workplace get organized - this would be unthinkable only a few years ago. Yet, that is exactly what our Emergency Workplace Organizing Committee (EWOC) has done.

EWOC's position on the front lines of building an organized working class must be maintained and reinforced, and all resources necessary to their further success must be directed toward them.

DSA will continue to encourage members and supporters to take jobs in strategically targeted not-yet-union workplaces where they can support and lead campaigns to win union recognition and collective bargaining rights. DSA will continue and expand the work already undertaken by the NLC to recruit more DSA members to this task, and investigate ways to materially support members taking up this work. Organizing the unorganized is our historic task – and an important way to rejuvenate our labor movement.

DSA will explore the development of salting academies to train and support members to take jobs in not-yet-union workplaces where they can support and lead campaigns to win union recognition. DSA will explore partnering with organizations such as YDSA, the DSA Fund, EWOC, Labor Notes and sympathetic unions to identify the funds and staffing necessary to develop a sustainable and successful national salting academy program as a part of DSA's labor work.

3. Standing in solidarity with all workers in struggle.

At factories in Iowa, coal mines in Alabama, grocery warehouses in New York, public schools in Oakland, and food processing plants in Oregon, workers today view the DSA as an ally and a friend.

Our efforts to provide support to workers in struggle, to put solidarity into action, wins workers over to the cause of democratic socialism. They must be continued and deepened. Ensuring that the National Labor Solidarity Fund is a self-sustaining

resource that any DSA chapter can use to support workers in struggle will greatly aid in this effort. In the short time since its launch, we have provided material support to many chapters who have used the funds to engage their membership and build ties to local workers in struggle.

In order to provide even more support directly to workers as well as chapters who are engaging in solidarity work, DSA will commit to growing the Solidarity Fund through national fundraising efforts, as well as giving chapters the tools and training to fundraise locally.

4. Continuing our work in DSA's national labor priorities.

We placed a priority on organizing in the logistics sector. There are practical reasons - the country's largest union drive (Amazon) and the largest union contract (UPS) are both within this sector. Our largest industrial network of comrades on the job is at UPS, while numerous comrades are working to build the Amazon union movement.

There are also strategic reasons to continue our work in the logistics sector. The vast web of ports, railroads, warehouses and trucking docks are the heart of the U.S. - and global - capitalist system. Worker power emanating from the shop floor of logistics will strike an existential threat to the ruling class, and will serve as a rallying point to fellow workers across the country. For these reasons, the NLC must commit to organizing in the logistics sector as a priority campaign for the coming period.

The NLC will continue to assess the national terrain of class struggle, as it is our assessment that our national body has the capacity to carry out two priority campaigns at any given time. The NLC should be prepared to respond to nationally strategic labor struggles in a concerted and coordinated way in order to maximize the effectiveness of our work as DSA.

5. Building up the national capacity of DSA to support labor struggles.

DSA's strength is in its members. We dedicate much of our time to building the socialist and labor movements, and the role of the NLC should prepare our members to fight alongside and as workers engaging in labor struggles. Therefore, the 2021-23 NLC established the Labor Corps. This national group leads on organizing national campaigns, develops trainings, holds regular events to deepen the political education of our membership, and supports members in chapters across the country as they build up their local labor work.

The greatest challenge we have faced in this term is the lack of capacity to carry out our

mission on a purely voluntary basis. In order to carry out the historic task of bringing socialism and labor together, and in order to fulfill our democratic mandate to the membership of DSA, our two co-chairs must become full-time elected positions, paid for as full-time employees of the organization. We have a mission: to build socialism in our lifetimes. The process to begin this extraordinary effort begins when we take seriously the need to support our democratically-elected comrades in dedicating themselves to the cause full-time.

6. **Developing a concrete program to advance union democracy**

Union democracy is a critical factor for building militant, class-struggle unions. To enhance our work in advancing union democracy, DSA shall adopt a minimum set of democratic principles to guide DSA members when these issues arise within existing and future unions.

This set of democratic principles shall include,

- The right of members to vote on all collective bargaining agreements
- All members to receive a copy of the CBA; prior to any contract vote, a complete copy (not just “highlights”) of proposed changes to the CBA will be available to all members, with time to review
- Bargaining committees to include rank and file members
- Direct election of officers at all levels – local and national
- Officer salaries should be set close to that of the people they represent
- Meetings, CBAs, constitutions, etc, to be translated (or conducted) into the languages spoken by 5% of members

DSA recognizes that the six points above do not exhaust what it will take to make our unions democratic, but they do provide a basic framework DSA members can take into just about any union. They also provide some guidance to members forming new unions.

National Labor Commission: Our Role in a Resurgent Labor Movement	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$376,482
Estimated Staff Costs	0
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	0
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	0

Other Direct Costs	\$376,482
Description of Main Staff Work	One full time labor organizer, and significant hours from staff across departments such as comms earned media, social, email, website, and/or spox training, mass calls, possibly swag, and org tech/field support, as well as some cost reimbursements and grant dispersal, fundraising, and compliance work, is all existing staff work so the new staff costs are zero.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Assuming the proposed annual budget would match the funds allocated by the current NPC for the NLC in the 2023 national budget, \$146,400. Cost of legal consultation on implementation of paid co-chairs. Cost of two full time staff, minus the 1/6 supervisory cost, for co-chairs.

Consensus Resolution Amendment E: For a DSA Ready to Move in the Labor Movement (Amendment to CR #5 (NLC))

Authors: Frances G., DSA LA, Marc K., DSA LA, Cara T., Louisville DSA

Whereas DSA's labor strategy can build up our capacity to organize and move within the labor movement to deepen solidarity, build unity of action, and merge the labor and socialist movements. It is vital for DSA to understand where we currently are as workers in the labor movement in order for us to prioritize where we can begin the labor-socialist merger, what sectors of the economy DSA can recruit rank-and-file workers, and what sectors we should support DSA members seeking jobs with the intent to organize. It is also important that we explore ways where we can ensure consistent capacity for DSA's labor work in order for the organization to be able to sustainably fund and expand the capacity that will be required as the labor and socialist movements gain speed. The amendments offered below ground the resolution in the realities we face: we must not only be aware of the material conditions in which we operate, but we must organize from this reality to ensure that our work is successful and can continue to grow in the years to come.

Therefore be it resolved the National Labor Commission's Consensus Resolution is amended by adding the following under the RESOLVED section 3 (Standing in Solidarity with all Workers in Struggle) and section 5 (Build Up the National Capacity of DSA to Support Labor Struggles):

3. Standing in solidarity with all workers in struggle.

At factories in Iowa, coal mines in Alabama, grocery warehouses in New York, public schools in Oakland, and food processing plants in Oregon, workers today view the DSA as an ally and a friend.

Our efforts to provide support to workers in struggle, to put solidarity into action, wins workers over to the cause of democratic socialism. They must be continued and deepened. Ensuring that the National Labor Solidarity Fund is a self-sustaining resource that any DSA chapter can use to support workers in struggle will greatly aid in this effort. In the short time since its launch, we have provided material support to many chapters who have used the funds to engage their membership and build ties to local workers in struggle.

In order to provide even more support directly to workers as well as chapters who are engaging in solidarity work, DSA will commit to growing the Solidarity Fund

through national fundraising efforts, as well as giving chapters the tools and training to fundraise locally.

As members of our unions, DSA members will also encourage proactive communication between different segments of the labor movement, to rebuild the connective tissue of the working class. Some unions are hostile towards each other, acting as competitors; DSA members should push their unions to work together with other organizations with aligned interests in political and workplace settings. This could include working together on shared legislative priorities, but especially includes solidarity with other unions in struggles (i.e. strikes) against their employers.

5. Building up the national capacity of DSA to support labor struggles.

DSA's strength is in its members. We dedicate much of our time to building the socialist and labor movements, and the role of the NLC should prepare our members to fight alongside and as workers engaging in labor struggles. Therefore, the 2021-23 NLC established the Labor Corps. This national group leads on organizing national campaigns, develops trainings, holds regular events to deepen the political education of our membership, and supports members in chapters across the country as they build up their local labor work.

The NLC shall publish its current mapping assessments, mandated by the 2021 and 2019 Conventions, for DSA's NPC and chapter leaders to understand the current membership concentrations in industries, unions, and work interests. This Convention asks the NLC to support local DSA chapters to continue to expand mapping their local labor movements, and to move the majority of DSA members into labor organizing as part of their other political work by joining a union, getting active in their union, and recruiting workers to DSA.

The greatest challenge we have faced in this term is the lack of capacity to carry out our mission on a purely voluntary basis. In order to carry out the historic task of bringing socialism and labor together, and in order to fulfill our democratic mandate to the membership of DSA, the NLC and DSA national leadership should explore the provision of stipends or other compensation for national committee chairs, including the two NLC co-chairs. ~~our two co-chairs must become full-time elected positions, paid for as full-time employees of the organization.~~ We have a mission: to build socialism in our lifetimes. The process to begin this extraordinary effort begins when

we take seriously the need to support our democratically-elected comrades in dedicating themselves to the cause full-time.

Consensus Resolution Amendment F: Local EWOC NLC Amendment (Amendment to CR #5 (NLC))

Authors: Zach W., East Bay DSA, Jason F., Chicago DSA, Ben M., NYC-DSA, Jade K., Omaha DSA

Whereas, the Emergency Workplace Organizing Committee (EWOC) was cofounded by DSA and UE during the pandemic to support workplace organizing campaigns, included but not limited to union drives. Its success is reflected in the current NLC resolution, which states that “all resources necessary...must be directed to [EWOC]”. However, there is no concrete example of what kind of support DSA will offer. Experimentation with local EWOC formations through DSA chapters (including in NYC and the East Bay) have had early success with support and encouragement from EWOC, without formal support from National DSA. This amendment seeks to authorize and encourage the NLC to work with EWOC and local DSA chapters to form and actively support more local EWOCs.

Therefore be it resolved the NLC Consensus resolution shall be amended by inserting the following text under the RESOLVED section, point 2 (Organizing the unorganized), and flesh out what our approach to EWOC should look like as a national organization:

2. EWOC’s position on the front lines of building an organized working class must be maintained and reinforced, and all resources necessary to their further success must be directed toward them. This will include support from the NLC for the formation of local or statewide EWOC formations (as appropriate) in line with DSA chapter territory, in areas where chapters have the capacity to support such formations. Local EWOCs formed through a DSA chapter or chapters will be accountable to the democratic structures of those chapters (such as chapter labor committees, where they exist).

The principles of local EWOCs will include following the lead of the workers at each organizing workplace and continuing to support those worker’s struggles beyond connecting with a union or winning recognition or an election.

The NLC and DSA chapters will coordinate with national EWOC on all such efforts. The NLC will coordinate with EWOC to develop materials and trainings on how to start a local EWOC and check in with new local EWOCs requiring assistance.

Consensus Resolution Amendment G: Our Program for Union Democracy (Amendment to CR #5 (NLC))

Authors: Stan S., Seattle DSA, Sean C., Seattle DSA, Luke B., Columbus DSA, Stephan K., Seattle DSA

Whereas,

- The resolution of the National Labor Commission outlines that “[a]s part of the rank-and-file strategy, DSA members in the labor movement will participate in and help build rank-and-file reform efforts to make unions more democratic and militant, working to give them a “class struggle” orientation, and DSA chapters will work to support these efforts.” This amendment will strengthen the practical conclusions we draw from this approach.
- The six bullet points that are presented at the end of the resolution as part of a “set of democratic principles” are all necessary for a democratic union, but are too limited for what we as a socialist organization will fight for. Most unions have, for example, votes of the members on the results of their collective bargaining. If members have not been involved before with a truly democratic process that puts the workers at the heart of developing demands, working out and implementing a strategy to win and keep them involved, such a vote is far too often just a rubber stamp. While not ignoring the difficulties to get there, we need to set our bar higher.
- While the resolution promotes a “class struggle” orientation and the need to build “rank-and-file reform efforts,” we think it is important to fill this out with the need for caucuses that have at least some understanding of the character of business unionism and labor liberalism, an idea of how to overcome the constraints we face under capitalism to compete with other workers, the false narratives about a lack of public funding, and so on.

Therefore, be it resolved that item 6 of the “be it resolved” section of the resolution “National Labor Commission: Our Role in a Resurgent Labor Movement” is amended as follows:

6. Developing a concrete program to advance union democracy

Union democracy is a critical factor for building militant, class-struggle unions. To enhance our work in advancing union democracy, DSA shall adopt a minimum set of democratic principles to guide DSA members when these issues arise within existing and future unions.

This set of democratic principles shall include,

- The right of members to control and manage the whole process of collective bargaining and the strategy around it. This includes members being consistently informed about the process and having democratic discussions and decision making on the content of proposed agreements and possible workplace actions, before, during and after negotiations. This can be achieved, for example through “Contract Action Teams” where union members in one work unit have a representative that meets all the other representatives on a regular basis, from developing the demands to accepting a tentative agreement. There must be a membership vote on all collective bargaining agreements.
- All members to receive a copy of the CBA; prior to any contract vote, a complete copy (not just “highlights”) of proposed changes to the CBA will be available to all members, with time to review
- Suspending or ending a strike requires a vote by the striking workers themselves.
- Bargaining committees to include rank and file members and to present a clear mechanism to ensure transparency on what is negotiated (for example with open bargaining where all members can Zoom in, or immediate reports to the representatives of Contract Action Teams).
- Direct election of officers at all levels – local and national. Right to recall all officers at all levels.
- Officer salaries should be set close to that of the people they represent
- Meetings, CBAs, constitutions, etc, to be translated (or conducted) into the languages spoken by 5% of members
- Regular meetings of shop stewards / representatives of the members.
- DSA recognizes that reforms in this direction will depend on organizing workers in reform caucuses and activating them to challenge all tendencies of bureaucratization and business unionism as well as labor liberalism. Socialists have a central role to play in this. While building “big tent” broad unions, our knowledge about ways to overcome the constraints of capitalism are hugely valuable for the success of union struggles. Our vision of a society based on solidarity and economic, racial, and gender justice helps to make sure that the struggles for “bread and butter issues” are closely connected to the fight against all forms of oppression to unite our class in struggle.
- In the UAW and Teamsters we have seen inspiring democratic advances with reform caucuses playing a key role. However, even in those unions a program of activating the membership and building a lively system of shop stewards has not yet been established. Socialists have a vital role to play to continue to push these efforts forward.

- DSA wholeheartedly welcomes the election of the new leaderships of the UAW and Teamsters. DSA will support these leaders whenever they take positive steps. It is also key for socialists in these unions to openly raise disagreements if they retreat or fail to deliver. DSA will always stress the need for building an independent rank and file base around a class struggle program, while clearly articulating the need to build worker power and support unions.

The eight ~~the six~~ points above do not exhaust what it will take to make our unions democratic, but they do provide a basic framework DSA members can take into just about any union. They also provide some guidance to members forming new unions.

Consensus Resolution Amendment H: We are Workers: DSA in a Resurgent Labor Movement (Amendment to CR #5 (NLC))

Authors: Frances G., DSA LA, Marc K., DSA LA

Whereas, DSA's membership is made up of workers with roots in various sectors of the economy with varying levels of union density (in 2022, 10.1% of U.S. workers were in a union), and if unionized, across a multitude of unions. It is vital that *all* members see themselves as organizers in the workplace and have the skills and training to effectively organize and fight the boss alongside their coworkers. We must all be working towards building a labor movement grounded in mass participation to grow working class power everywhere. Our labor strategy should apply to the entirety of our membership, which is why we believe these amendments will help center our membership as workers in the here and now, while grounding DSA's political project in building a labor movement for the masses.

Therefore be it resolved, the NLC Consensus Resolution is amended by adding the following text under the RESOLVED section 1 (The Continued Application of the Rank-and-File Strategy) and section 2 (Organizing the Unorganized).

1. The continued application of the rank-and-file strategy.

Socialism's true home is in the workplace and in the labor movement. This fact can only be cultivated and maintained through the active presence of socialists in the rank-and-file of the trade unions.

In order to overcome the historic divide between the socialist and labor movements in this country, DSA must continue to encourage **and support** its comrades to **organize in their unionized workplaces and** take jobs in unionized workplaces. Comrades that work together should organize together to build solidarity, win material gains for workers, oppose all forms of oppression in the workplace, and build a more militant, democratic labor movement. We encourage the organic development of DSA industrial networks at whatever level practical.

Further, DSA chapters **will support our members to attend labor trainings like the Rosa Luxemburg Organizing for Power training series, Labor Notes Troublemakers Schools, the biannual Labor Notes Conference, and other trainings for union activists hosted by unions and local labor councils.** ~~and members will work to support and build Labor Notes, supporting members to attend the biannual Labor Notes~~

~~Conferences, local Troublemakers Schools, and will collaborate with Labor Notes to put on local trainings for union activists.~~

As part of the rank-and-file strategy, DSA members in the labor movement will participate in and help build rank-and-file reform efforts ~~that transform unions into high-participation, to make unions more democratic, and militant, working to give them a~~ and “class struggle”-oriented organizations of the working class. ~~orientation, and~~ DSA chapters will work to support these efforts.

By supporting the rank-and-file strategy, DSA ~~rejects a strategy that prioritizes building relationships within the union establishment, and instead~~ will prioritize building relationships with rank-and-file union members, support them in their efforts to challenge for union leadership, with the understanding that the ultimate goal is the self-organization of our class as the path to realizing and asserting our power.

In doing so, we will 1) develop an organization more deeply rooted in the organized segment of the multi-racial US working class, 2) develop a cadre of dedicated socialist organizers rooted in the workplace, 3) win more workers to the cause of democratic socialism and 4) ~~organize for a model of unionism that identifies mass rank-and-file participation as an essential component of rebuilding labor power. be able to support the best tendencies in our labor movement.~~

2. Organizing the unorganized.

Socialists and trade unionists openly collaborating to help workers in any workplace get organized - this would be unthinkable only a few years ago. Yet, that is exactly what our Emergency Workplace Organizing Committee (EWOC) has done.

EWOC’s position on the front lines of building an organized working class must be maintained and reinforced, and all resources necessary to their further success must be directed toward them.

In addition to organizing unorganized workers through EWOC and salting, DSA members will push for large, strategic organizing campaigns within our unions. As members, officers, and staffers of existing unions, DSA members will advocate for increased funding for new organizing initiatives where possible. Furthermore, DSA members will work to ensure that new organizing initiatives develop a militant membership through high participation campaigns. It is vital to our project that the ranks of the labor movement are rapidly expanded and developed through such

campaigns; organized workers will be the key constituency of an effective socialist organization capable of winning major structural reforms that shift power to the working class.

DSA will continue to encourage members and supporters to take jobs in strategically targeted not-yet-union workplaces where they can support and lead campaigns to win union recognition and collective bargaining rights. DSA will continue and expand the work already undertaken by the NLC to recruit more DSA members to this task, and investigate ways to materially support members taking up this work. Organizing the unorganized is our historic task – and an important way to rejuvenate our labor movement.

DSA will explore the development of salting academies to train and support members to take jobs in not-yet-union workplaces where they can support and lead campaigns to win union recognition. DSA will explore partnering with organizations such as YDSA, the DSA Fund, EWOC, Labor Notes and sympathetic unions to identify the funds and staffing necessary to develop a sustainable and successful national salting academy program as a part of DSA's labor work.

Consensus Resolution #6: National Electoral Committee 2023

Consensus Resolution

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas contesting electoral power is central to DSA's platform political line to deepen and strengthen democracy. Our progress toward the ultimate horizon of a new democratic socialist political system rests in the intentional and solidaristic development of a working-class political party, as defined at the 2021 DSA National Convention as a mass democratic political organization capable of winning and wielding state power with a strategy for social transformation; and

Whereas US politics is dominated by an increasingly authoritarian right wing Republican Party that poses grave threats not just to the working-class, but to basic democratic rights, and a Democratic Party dominated by neoliberal politics that offers little in the way of political alternative and cannot or will not mobilize the working class in its own defense; and

Whereas pursuing the political goal of a working-class party enables DSA to create continuity across local, regional and national objectives. We join together at all levels in the fight to break new ground in socialist party politics; and

Whereas the primary obstacle DSA faces in pursuing working-class party formation is our need to build a mass base of not thousands, but millions of people, rooted in diverse, working-class communities across the United States, and building our collective capacity in the electoral arena is key to doing so; and

Whereas a significant barrier the National Electoral Committee (NEC) faces in pursuing working-class party formation is its lack of organizational capacity. To build on gains, the body should improve cross-connection with DSA's work in other organizing terrains and better mobilize latent but diffuse capacity across our membership; and

Whereas in service to a robust, party-building program, DSA needs a more extensive body that allows for a spectrum of involvement – from project-by-project volunteers, to chapter-based representatives, to national leadership; and

Whereas, the National Electoral Committee faces an incredible lack of capacity and its members are unable to administer the existing electoral apparatus while also completing important tasks and projects to improve the scale and quality of our electoral program; and,

Whereas, a larger commission of DSA members who have participated in electoral organizing would enable more members to directly contribute to DSA's national electoral program and inform our electoral strategy; and,

Whereas, the inclusion of a wider section of DSA members in other national bodies such as the National Labor Commission has led to stronger and more active formations; and,

Whereas, DSA needs greater alignment between local and national endorsement processes, as continuity in understanding core endorsement criteria and campaign standards necessitate ongoing communication with DSA chapters, transcending a status quo where outside the national endorsement process chapters relate to the NEC only intermittently; and

Whereas the national organization should play a more intentional role in helping chapters apply core DSA principles to their endorsements and post-election relationships; and

Whereas organizing capacity around the design of a nationwide Socialists in Office (SIO) program have prevented the development of a nationwide SIO; and

Whereas DSA elected officials express disappointment that they hear little from DSA after being elected and would appreciate more advice and support on carrying out the duties of their offices; and

Whereas, there should be clearer accountability expectations for elected officeholders – rooted in local relationships but anchored in generalized principles and expectations; and

Whereas, there should be closer relationships between DSA chapters and the national body and its elected officials; and

Whereas, there is a strong desire in DSA to demonstrate and practice class independence by running electoral campaigns that emphasize that our candidates are the products of working-class movements and that they explicitly stand against capitalism as socialists;

Therefore, so shall it be

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

Resolved, that DSA and its local chapters remain committed to the project of building a working-class party: a mass democratic political organization capable of winning and wielding state power with a strategy for social transformation; and

Resolved, that DSA will continue to pursue an approach of tactically contesting partisan elections on the Democratic ballot line and other lines where viable; and

Resolved, that DSA, through the NEC, will develop programs and strategies to establish operational independence from the Democratic Party; and

Resolved, that DSA commits to continuing the development and support of state- level organizations with a goal of running candidates for state legislatures as a means to contest state power and build our organizing capacity, bringing us closer to our goal of a working-class party and contesting statewide and federal races; and

Resolved, that the National Electoral Committee will be immediately renamed the National Electoral Commission; and,

Resolved, that the current National Electoral Committee's membership will be reconstituted as the Steering Committee of the National Electoral Commission; and,

Resolved, that the National Electoral Commission Steering Committee will work to reshape the NEC internal structure and governance to allow for a larger number of DSA members to hold membership in the National Electoral Commission; and,

Resolved, that the National Electoral Commission SC will develop a set of guidelines for membership in an expanded commission body

Resolved, that the National Electoral Commission will work with the National Political Committee to design a process for choosing the next Steering Committee of the NEC which will allow for membership involvement and participation, to take effect by the end of 2023; and

Resolved, that the National Electoral Commission will be responsible for the administration of various subcommittees and the distribution of work between those subcommittees; and,

Resolved, that the National Electoral Commission will expand its capacity by appointing additional DSA members from outside the NEC to its subcommittees, who will assist with the tasks and function of those subcommittees; and,

Resolved, that the National Electoral Commission will explore new internal structures that allow for more volunteer involvement in national electoral work; and,

Resolved, that the National Electoral Commission will collaborate with locals and the NPC to facilitate DSA's national endorsement process; and,

Resolved, that the National Electoral Commission will develop and disseminate an endorsements guide for greater alignment across geographic scales, including guidance on socialist campaign communications; and,

Resolved, that the National Electoral Commission will support chapters in developing Socialists in Office programs to improve coordination and accountability following elections; and,

Resolved, that DSA will continue to provide a budget for an annual grants program administered by the National Electoral Commission;

Resolved, that DSA will continue to allocate staffing dedicated to support of the organization's electoral campaigns, to be managed by a discrete Electoral Department; and,

Resolved, that the National Electoral Commission will apply expanded capacity to creating

new programs such as a distributed field operation for mobilizing members across the country and/or an Electoral Training Academy for developing socialist candidates, campaign workers and legislative analysts.

National Electoral Committee: 2023 Consensus Resolution	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$137,500
Estimated Staff Costs	0
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	0
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	0
Other Direct Costs	\$137,500
Description of Main Staff Work	One full time electoral campaigns organizer and one full time electoral director already on hiring plan, so no new staff line there. Significant hours from staff across departments such as comms earned media, social, email, website, and/or spox training, mass calls, possibly swag, and org tech/field support, as well as some cost reimbursements and grant dispersal, fundraising, and compliance work is all existing staff work so the new staff costs are zero.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Assuming the proposed annual budget would match the funds allocated by the current NPC for the NEC in the 2023 national budget, \$137,500.

Consensus Resolution Amendment I: Act Like an Independent Party (Amendment to CR #6 (NEC))

Authors: Neal M., NYC-DSA, Alex P., NYC-DSA

Whereas, the Democratic Socialists of America wants to build a party-like organization (a “proto-party” or “surrogate party”) that unites all our candidates around a single strategy and platform. We also want to build a base of people who believe in our project, identify with it, and fight for it;

DSA wants to be independent of the Democratic and Republican Parties and present a third alternative to both major parties. This is the key to defeating the far right and beating the neoliberal Democratic Party;

It is not advisable for us to form an independent political party with its own ballot line at this moment. But there are intermediate steps we can take to assert our independence from the politics of the Democratic Party leadership and build a party-like structure;

Political independence comes in at least three forms: organizational independence, strategic independence, and having an independent identity;

By organizational independence we mean having our own infrastructure, including our own membership and volunteer lists, our own fundraising capacity, controlling our own voter lists, building our own candidate schools, etc.;

By strategic independence we mean having our own policy priorities, as well as expectations for our candidates to cross-endorse each other, caucus separately from the Democratic Party in legislatures, and bloc vote;

By having an independent identity we mean building and emphasizing the collective identity of our candidates and expecting our candidates to identify publicly and proudly as “democratic socialists.” Left-wing parties (and parties of other ideological traditions) almost everywhere else in the world run under a single collective identity to increase people’s identification with their collective project (see, for example, [MORENA](#) in Mexico, [Die Linke](#) in Germany, the [Partido dos Trabalhadores](#) and the [Partido Socialismo e Liberdade](#) in Brazil);

DSA’s electoral work is at different stages of development across the U.S. so it would be a mistake to insist on a one-size-fits-all approach in every case, and in some cases there are opportunities to build larger left-wing coalitions and/or to support strong labor organizers and

other activists who do not want to be part of a party-like project as we envision here. Nevertheless, the National Electoral Commission should try to develop programs and strategies that help DSA move towards becoming an independent party-like organization, and this means creating a national standard that chapters can diverge from when and where appropriate;

Therefore be it resolved, the NEC Consensus Resolution is amended as follows:

After the second whereas clause, a new whereas clause is added:

WHEREAS the key to defeating the far right and beating the Democratic Party lies in presenting a third, democratic socialist alternative for working-class people that is organizationally, strategically, and visibly independent of the Democratic Party; and

In the fourth resolved clause, the following changes are made:

RESOLVED, that DSA, through the NEC, will develop programs and strategies to strengthen our already existing organizational ~~establish operational~~ independence from the Democratic Party, including building our own lists of voters and volunteers, our independent fundraising capacity, our own candidate schools, and exploring building our own tech tools; and

After the fourth resolved clause, the following two resolved clauses are added:

RESOLVED, that DSA, through the NEC, will develop programs and strategies to establish strategic independence from the Democratic Party, including developing our own legislative programs, organizing separately from the Democratic Party in legislatures in Socialists in Office committees (as is already happening in some places across the country), expecting our candidates to endorse other DSA candidates, and bloc voting; and

RESOLVED, that DSA, through the NEC, will develop programs and strategies to, wherever possible, establish an independent identity from the Democratic Party in the public consciousness. This includes running our candidates explicitly and proudly as “democratic socialists” and developing our own “party identity” and common messaging. A common identity will unite all our candidates across the country and will emphasize the existence of DSA as an independent political project from the Democratic and Republican Parties that working-class people can identify with and think of as an alternative to the two parties; and

Consensus Resolution Amendment J: Congressional Democratic Socialist Caucus (Amendment to CR #6 (NEC))

Authors: Marco O., Atlanta DSA, Sumter A., Atlanta DSA, Nate K., Atlanta DSA, Kelsea B., Atlanta DSA

Whereas

1. Winning socialism in the United States will require more than just winning elections. Electoral work is a means towards building the socialist movement and working-class power, not an end in itself.
2. A core benefit of running and electing DSA candidates is their ability to use their position and platform to champion socialist causes and promote class consciousness to millions of people;
3. The 118th United States Congress has over 200 registered Congressional Member Organizations, a.k.a. "Caucuses."
4. Contrary to popular belief, "The Squad" is not a formal caucus or organization and has no defined membership list.
5. DSA has greatly benefited from organizing legislative caucuses of our elected officials, such as the Chicago Democratic Socialist Caucus and the New York Socialists In Office.

Therefore be it resolved, the NEC Consensus Resolution is amended as follows:

...

Resolved, that the National Electoral Commission will apply expanded capacity to creating new programs such as a distributed field operation for mobilizing members across the country and/or an Electoral Training Academy for developing socialist candidates, campaign workers and legislative analysts.

Resolved, DSA shall form a Congressional Democratic Socialist Caucus

1. Formation: The National Political Committee (NPC) and National Electoral Committee (NEC) will establish a Federal Socialists in Office Committee (FSIO) tasked with establishing a Congressional Democratic Socialist Caucus ("the Caucus") before the next congressional endorsement is made. In order to receive

a national endorsement from DSA, a congressional candidate must be asked to join the Caucus upon election.

2. Purpose: The FSIO and Caucus will organize DSA Congresspeople to promote, amplify, and agitate around DSA's campaigns and platform points, to challenge neoliberal and conservative ideologies, and to educate the public about Democratic Socialism.

3. Structure: The Caucus will be a subsidiary of DSA, not a Congressional Member Organization. DSA will establish a website at caucus.dsausa.org or a similar URL with information about the Caucus including its current membership. DSA will organize regular meetings of the Caucus that bring together DSA Congresspeople (or their staff representatives) and representatives of DSA selected by the National Political Committee. Meetings of the Caucus will be held at least quarterly and should foster a strong, collaborative, and proactive relationship between DSA and DSA Congresspeople.

4. Membership: If a DSA Congressperson is un-endorsed by DSA, they will be suspended or expelled from the Caucus. National DSA should not advertise any elected Congressperson as a "DSA Member" unless they are nationally endorsed and a member of the Caucus.

5. Chapters: DSA chapters will be encouraged, but not required, to center their electoral work around supporting candidates who are both DSA members and also willing to join state and local legislative caucuses modeled after the Congressional Democratic Socialist Caucus. The NEC will provide guidance to chapters in doing this by compiling best practices, recommendations, and educational materials

Consensus Resolution Amendment K: Endorse Ranked Choice Voting (Amendment to CR #6 (NEC))

Authors: Brian D., Metro D.C. DSA, Luke P., Whatcom County DSA, Vinay O., Metro D.C. DSA

Whereas, The current ‘first past the post’ voting system marginalizes socialist and minority candidates and voters. By creating the perception that a non-establishment candidate is a ‘vote-splitter’ or ‘spoiler candidate’, voters feel forced to consolidate behind a single candidate (often a well-funded establishment candidate) as ‘the lesser of two evils’. This strongly serves to uphold the status quo – specifically to support an establishment candidate over a socialist in order to avoid a right-wing victory. This not only suppresses third parties / independents, but also the threat of organizing them - socialists are taken for granted by the establishment, as they have ‘nowhere else to go’.

Ranked Choice Voting (RCV)

RCV eliminates the problem above entirely. By allowing voters to rank candidates in order of choice, they may vote for their preferred candidate, and keep a ‘safer’ option as backup in case their preferred candidate does not win. This creates space for people to vote their conscience, and for non-establishment candidates to attract voters and win.

[Research by FairVote](#) indicates that minority candidates are much more successful as a direct consequence of RCV. DSA-endorsed candidates have already won under RCV, including Tiffany Cabán and Alexa Avilés in New York City’s 2021 Democratic Primary. [Cabán](#) and [Avilés](#) both embraced RCV and won due to it.

RCV is used in 74 US jurisdictions, including Alaska, Maine, New York City, Burlington (VT) and San Francisco. It is awaiting implementation in Seattle, Portland (OR) and other cities. It is used internationally in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Malta, Australia and New Zealand.

RCV is the fastest growing voting reform in the United States. It is a well-organized movement present in 47 states that boasts cross-partisan support and limited organized opposition. With multiple city and statewide pro-RCV ballot measures being filed for 2024, the DSA would be well-served by supporting RCV.

Proportional Representation (PR)

PR achieves all the same things as RCV, but also achieves a number of additional things - by having multiple members elected from (larger) districts, it eliminates gerrymandering, as well

as ensuring the most accurate representation of political parties and increasing voter turnout. PR is the “gold standard” of electoral reform, but with only six places in the United States using it, and with it being a much larger change for voters and boards of elections, RCV is the practical path to achieve PR long-term.

Therefore be it resolved, the NEC Consensus Resolution is amended as follows:

...

Resolved, that the National Electoral Commission will apply expanded capacity to creating new programs such as a distributed field operation for mobilizing members across the country and/or an Electoral Training Academy for developing socialist candidates, campaign workers and legislative analysts.

Resolved, the DSA endorses Proportional Representation (PR), an electoral system in which the electorate is reflected proportionately in the body elected to represent it. In the intermediate, DSA endorses Ranked Choice Voting (RCV) – also known as instant runoff voting – which allows voters to rank candidates in order of preference in municipal, state and federal elections;

Resolved, the National Electoral Commission will create an internal campaign to encourage Chapters and Organizing Committees to engage in local RCV and PR campaigns, especially ballot initiatives, and encourage chapters to participate in the electoral grant program to support their campaigns for RCV and PR.

Consensus Resolution Amendment L: Fighting the Right by Defending Abortion Rights, Trans People, and Democracy (Amendment to CR #6 (NEC))

Authors: Arielle S., NYC-DSA, Maggie O., NYC-DSA,, Matthew C., Chicago DSA, Melinda L., Lawrence DSA, Renée P., East Bay DSA, Sabrina C., Chicago DSA, Sam L., NYC-DSA

WHEREAS, the United States has a growing right-wing authoritarian movement that makes up a dominant faction of the Republican Party and has increasing access to state power;

WHEREAS, this right-wing movement seeks to impose Christian hegemony, white supremacy, and the heteronormative family order through minority rule and violence;

WHEREAS, the right's drive to enforce heteropatriarchal family and gender roles has necessitated an increased wave of attacks on the lives and autonomy of anyone who threatens those roles, including women, pregnant people, and trans and queer people;

WHEREAS, the right wing's attacks on reproductive rights include efforts to ban abortion nationwide, with total or near-total abortion bans having already gone into effect in at least [24 states](#) as of this writing following the Supreme Court's overturning of Roe v. Wade and its recognition of the constitutional right to abortion in Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization;

WHEREAS, bans on abortion increase the reach of the police and carceral state into the lives of the working class;

WHEREAS, abortion bans and restrictions make reproductive health care, already prohibitively expensive for many, even costlier and more difficult to access;

WHEREAS, the right's attack on trans and queer people has included the [introduction of over 430 anti-queer and trans bills](#) during the 2023 legislative session alone, including the passage of laws banning the discussion of queerness and non-heterosexual sexuality in schools and publicly funded spaces, restricting access to sports participation and sex-segregated facilities, and restricting access to gender-affirming healthcare, with the intent to ban trans healthcare outright;

WHEREAS, the anti-trans moral panic contributes to increased levels of violence against trans and queer people, especially trans women of color, with [at least 38 trans people](#) killed in 2022 alone;

WHEREAS, the attacks on trans people open the door to further attacks on the bodily autonomy and self-expression of all people and new forms of coercive state control, including the legalized sexual assault of children through genital inspections and menstrual cycle reporting as a requirement in order to participate in sports;

WHEREAS, enacting these policies relies on the undemocratic nature of the political system of the United States, including a Supreme Court that has arrogated to itself super-legislative powers, hyper-gerrymandered state legislatures, and the undemocratic structures of the Senate and Electoral College;

WHEREAS, this right-wing movement is aware of the minoritarian nature of their project and is therefore committed to eliminating even the limited democratic avenues currently available to the working class, knowing that working people will vote to affirm their rights when given the opportunity;

WHEREAS, the right wing's antidemocratic program is profoundly connected to white supremacy and racial capitalism in the United States, reaching far beyond attacks on reproductive and trans rights to partisan and racially biased gerrymandering, restrictions on the franchise, voter intimidation, rule by super-legislative judges, the criminalization of protest and dissent, the legalization of unlimited corporate influence in elections, attempts to overturn the results of democratic elections through legal institutions or violence, attacks on freedom of speech of educators and students in public schools and universities, attacks on public sector unions, expansion of so-called "Right to Work" laws, and the unimpeded expansion of carceral systems, deployed especially against Black people and immigrants, as key mechanisms of social control;

WHEREAS, the attacks on bodily autonomy and democratic rights, if left unchallenged, will result in escalating mass repression and the imposition of a new nationwide system of minority rule led by the most reactionary faction of the ruling class;

Therefore be it resolved, the NEC Consensus Resolution is amended as follows:

The following language will be added to the whereas section of the resolution:

...

Whereas US politics is dominated by an increasingly authoritarian right wing Republican Party that poses grave threats not just to the working-class, but to basic democratic rights, and a Democratic Party dominated by neoliberal politics that offers

little in the way of political alternative and cannot or will not mobilize the working class in its own defense; and

Whereas, this growing right-wing authoritarian movement, one that makes up a dominant faction of the Republican Party and has increasing access to state power, seeks to impose Christian hegemony, white supremacy, and the heteronormative family order through minority rule and violence, and this movement has spearheaded a wave of attacks on the lives and autonomy of anyone who threatens these roles including women, pregnant people, and trans and queer people;

Whereas, reproductive rights are being rolled back with total or near-total abortion bans having already gone into effect in at least 24 states as of this writing following the Supreme Court's decision in Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization; every abortion ban increases the reach of the carceral state into the lives of the working class and pushes reproductive health care, already costly and difficult to access, out of the reach of many working class people;

Whereas, the right's attack on trans and queer people has included the introduction of over 430 anti-queer and trans bills during the 2023 legislative session alone, including the passage of laws banning the discussion of queerness and non-heterosexual sexuality in schools and publicly funded spaces, restricting access to sports participation and sex-segregated facilities, and restricting access to gender-affirming healthcare, with the intent to ban trans healthcare outright; additionally, these legislative efforts are part of an anti-trans moral panic which is increasing violence against trans and queer people, especially trans women of color, with at least 38 trans people killed in 2022 alone; and, these attacks open the door for further state violations of bodily autonomy including the legalized sexual assault of children through genital inspections and menstrual cycle reporting as a requirement in order to participate in sports;

Whereas, this right-wing movement is aware of the minoritarian nature of their project and is therefore committed to eliminating even the limited democratic avenues currently available to the working class, knowing that working people will vote to affirm their rights when given the opportunity;

Whereas, this right-wing movement's attacks on bodily autonomy and democratic rights, if left unchallenged, will result in escalating mass repression and the imposition of a new nationwide system of minority rule led by the most reactionary faction of the ruling class;

The following language will be added to the resolved section of the resolution:

...

Resolved, that the National Electoral Commission will apply expanded capacity to creating new programs such as a distributed field operation for mobilizing members across the country and/or an Electoral Training Academy for developing socialist candidates, campaign workers and legislative analysts.

Resolved, we commit ourselves and the socialist movement to the struggle against all barriers to liberation. We organize for free abortion, birth control, gender-affirming care, and sexual health care on demand and without apology while also understanding that socialist feminism and trans liberation go far beyond access to medical care. We recognize that women, trans, nonbinary, and gender nonconforming people are members of the working class whose autonomy and liberation cannot be cleaved from socialist struggle. We recognize that it is essential for socialists to lead in the struggle against white supremacy and for full democratic rights in the United States. We commit ourselves to confronting the threat of the authoritarian right wing movement in the US, and to leading working people in fighting for reproductive rights, queer and trans rights, bodily autonomy, and democratic rights;

Resolved, DSA shall continue its work in defense of democratic rights. This convention authorizes the National Political Committee to assign the responsibilities of the Voting Rights Committee to the National Electoral Commission, and directs the commission to take up work reflecting a broad socialist conception of democracy.

Resolved, DSA shall commit itself to the defense of trans people in the electoral arena and beyond. DSA staff will work with chapters to coordinate responses and share strategies in confronting anti-trans legislation, defending trans people through direct action, defending trans inclusion in public institutions such as schools and libraries, and in advancing trans rights.

Resolved, DSA shall continue its leadership in the fight for reproductive rights, building on recent victories in Kansas, Kentucky, and Montana. DSA shall, wherever feasible, support ballot measures that will expand abortion rights in states where those rights are threatened and oppose ballot measures that would impose new limitations on abortion rights. This convention reauthorizes the NEC grant program for abortion ballot measures for two additional years, and encourages the development of statewide

coordinating structures to support abortion ballot measure work. DSA staff shall work with chapters to coordinate and share successful strategies for advancing reproductive justice.

Consensus Resolution Amendment M: No Endorsement for Joe Biden (Amendment to CR #6 (NEC))

Authors: Philip L., Seattle DSA, Jesse D., Portland DSA, Alex S., Phoenix DSA, Harris L., Seattle DSA

Whereas,

- Over the next 1.5 years US politics and specifically electoral politics will be increasingly dominated by the 2024 presidential election. However, the NEC consensus resolution has no mention of this enormous topic, nor does it give any indication of what DSA should say or do in relation to it. Nor is there any guidance in the resolution for our DSA electeds on what we expect them to do.
- While there is much that remains to be seen about how the election will unfold, this convention can and should declare now the most basic part of our stance on the issue - DSA will not endorse Joe Biden for president.
- We understand that many working-class and oppressed people will see Biden as the lesser evil as the very likely only viable candidate against the Republican candidate such as Trump or DeSantis. We also understand why workers, oppressed people, and the left will want to vote for Biden especially in swing states.
- Agreement to not endorse Joe Biden does not preclude a future discussion on tactically voting against the right in swing states. However, a discussion on tactical voting also needs to happen across DSA's membership and should be decided by a membership-wide vote.
- However, the biggest problem on the electoral field that allows the far-right to have a credible chance to win the presidency is the lack of a working-class, democratic socialist alternative to both the far-right Republicans and the Wall Street Democrats.
- The decline of real wages due to inflation for the majority of working people under Biden has opened up the space for the Republicans to capitalize on growing discontent with the state of the country. Further, Biden's continuation of Trump's brutal border policies, approval of new oil and gas pipelines and drilling, and expansion of military spending and imperialist policies all serve to demoralize left-wing voters. Our job as socialists is to build working-class opposition to the far right agenda of the Republicans and the pro-capitalist policies of the Democrats. This starts with a clear stance of political independence

Therefore be it resolved, the NEC Consensus Resolution is amended as follows:

...

Resolved, that the National Electoral Commission will apply expanded capacity to creating new programs such as a distributed field operation for mobilizing members across the country and/or an Electoral Training Academy for developing socialist candidates, campaign workers and legislative analysts.

Resolved, that DSA will not endorse Joe Biden in the 2024 presidential race. We ask DSA's elected representatives to join us in putting forward a clear critique of Biden, not endorsing him, and building an independent working-class movement against the threat of the far-right Republicans. Resolved, a DSA endorsement of any other Presidential candidate or any proposal to give tactical voting advice against the right (for example in swing states) must be submitted to a membership-wide vote and passed by a simple majority.

Consensus Resolution Amendment N: On the votes of DSA Congressmembers to fund the Israeli military and ban a railway workers strike (Amendment to CR #6 (NEC))

Authors: Spencer M., Portland, Ben G., Pinellas, Philip L., Seattle

Whereas,

- In September 2021 DSA Congressmember Jamaal Bowman voted in favor of \$1 billion for the Israeli government's "Iron Dome" military project (in contrast to the principled No vote by DSA Congressmembers Rashida Tlaib and Cori Bush). This followed Congressmember Bowman's [vote](#) in July 2021 for \$3.3 billion in direct military aid to the Israeli government (which all other DSA Congressmembers voted against).
- These votes cross a red-line and blatantly contradict DSA's core socialist principles of total opposition to imperialism and colonialism.
- While DSA opposes US military aid to Israel, and DSA did not re-endorse Congressmember Bowman in the 2022 election, Congressmember Bowman's votes were nevertheless associated with DSA, and have negatively impacted DSA's standing with activists opposed to Israel's oppression of Palestinians.
- In November 2022 DSA Congressmembers Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Cori Bush, and Jamaal Bowman voted to ban railroad workers from striking. Although this decision was backed by leaders of the rail worker movement and was motivated by a desire to win paid sick leave for the workers, it nevertheless violates a core socialist principle. Our [platform](#) explicitly demands "the right to strike for all workers" because it is one of the most vital democratic rights that working people have won through determined struggle which no socialist should be in the business of undermining.

Therefore be it resolved, the NEC Consensus Resolution is amended as follows:

. . .

Resolved, that the National Electoral Commission will apply expanded capacity to creating new programs such as a distributed field operation for mobilizing members across the country and/or an Electoral Training Academy for developing socialist candidates, campaign workers and legislative analysts.

Resolved, that guidance toward our elected officials and accountability of those electeds is essential in a democratic socialist organization. To that end, this national DSA Convention declares:

1. We censure Congressman Bowman, who was nationally endorsed by DSA in 2020 and was publicly known as a DSA member in Congress, for his votes in favor of US funding for the Israeli military. These votes are in fundamental contradiction with DSA's core principles. DSA is totally opposed to imperialism, colonialism, and oppression in general. Specifically, as stated in the DSA platform, we stand for "discontinu[ing] US support of Israel's oppression of the Palestinian people, including an end to all military aid."
2. We register our opposition to the misguided vote by DSA members in Congress (Ocasio-Cortez, Bush, and Bowman) to ban railroad workers from striking. A core democratic socialist principle, codified in the DSA platform, is the right of workers to withdraw their labor and engage in collective workplace actions such as striking. We sincerely thank Rashida Tlaib, who was the only DSA Congressman to cast a principled vote against the bill stripping railway workers of their right to strike.
3. To remove any possible ambiguity we establish as DSA policy that all DSA members in elected office are expected to uphold two essential socialist principles:
 - a. Publicly oppose and refuse to vote for military budgets, the imperial war machine, or military aid to US client states such as the apartheid state of Israel (see section 10 of the DSA platform).
 - b. Publicly oppose and refuse to vote for any restrictions by the capitalist state on the independent action of the working class, such as the right to strike or other basic democratic rights won by working people (see section 4 of the DSA platform).
4. The National Political Committee (NPC) and staff are tasked with publicizing this resolution in Democratic Left, on the DSA website, and as a press release to remove any possible doubt among the wider public where DSA stands on these vital questions.
5. The NPC and National Electoral Committee is tasked with communicating this policy to all DSA members in elected office, all DSA nationally endorsed candidates, and all DSA chapters.

Consensus Resolution Amendment O: Run DSA Candidates for School Boards (Amendment to CR #6 (NEC))

Authors: Shane R., East Bay DSA, Rose D., Maine DSA

Whereas, public schools remain one of the last bastions of public services in the United States despite being under attack from billionaires, the neoliberal charter movement, and the right wing,

Whereas, socialists should be leading the fight against the right wing and should make strategic interventions to defend democracy,

Whereas, one of the main tactics of the far right at present is to conduct takeovers of school boards in order to attack trans and queer youths, suppress intellectual freedom, and gut the public school system.

Whereas, DSA has a disproportionately high number of trans members, and serves as the central political home for many trans and queer comrades,

Whereas, the teacher movement is the tip of the spear of a revitalized labor movement and school boards races are a clear way to build relationships with teacher unions by showing ourselves to be the strongest fighters for teachers and quality public education for all,

Whereas, after the difficulty of working through the pandemic, teachers are now under immense pressure due to short staffing, austerity, and the far right's attacks on schools, leading to demoralization and burnout in a highly unionized sector.

Therefore be it resolved, the NEC Consensus Resolution is amended as follows:

. . .

Resolved, that the National Electoral Commission will apply expanded capacity to creating new programs such as a distributed field operation for mobilizing members across the country and/or an Electoral Training Academy for developing socialist candidates, campaign workers and legislative analysts.

Resolved, that DSA reaffirms its commitment to trans and queer rights, and to defending democracy against the ascendent far right, and DSA condemns to the strongest possible degree the growing and ongoing movement to eliminate trans people from our society,

Resolved, that DSA commits to running candidates in school board races and to fighting ring wing and neoliberal attacks on public schools by bringing together DSA, teachers, support staff and education worker unions, and grassroots parent and student groups behind candidates dedicated to building the working class movement; and

Resolved, that one subcommittee of the NEC will be the National School Board Working Group to help chapters in running members for school board, to connect chapters engaging in such races to coordinate and share resources, and to encourage chapters to monitor and agitate around the activity of far right school board groups and pro-charter school groups.

Consensus Resolution Amendment P: Towards a Party-Like Electoral Strategy (Amendment to CR #6 (NEC))

Authors: Philip L., Seattle, Ben L., NYC-DSA, Ben G., Pinellas DSA, Spencer M., Portland DSA

Whereas,

- Through its elected members, its independent organization, and its opposition to capitalism, DSA already represents the beginning of the only real socialist party in the United States. While a majority of DSA members do not believe it is possible at this time to form an independent political party with its own ballot line, there is broad agreement to build DSA into a party-like structure (a “proto-party” or “surrogate party”) that unites our candidates around a common platform.
- A party-like electoral strategy, regardless of ballot line, means developing a common brand identity across election cycles, running explicitly as “democratic socialists,” and forming socialist caucuses to act and vote together as a bloc. In this way our electoral work can build a broader base for DSA as an independent force opposed to the politics of the Democratic Party leadership.
- DSA members in elected office are the most visible face of the socialist movement, but they often have not represented the democratically agreed policies of DSA. The most glaring examples are the votes by DSA Congressmembers for US military aid to Israel and banning railway workers from striking, but there have been a number of other instances that have also damaged our standing among activists and workers in struggle.
- The pressures that socialist electeds face in the halls of power are immense. This is a structural reality, not fundamentally a question of personal commitment. It is our responsibility to both support our endorsed electeds and hold them accountable to DSA as an organization. The development of a party-like structure is needed to empower DSA and our endorsed electeds to resist the inevitable pressures to water down socialist politics.
- So far our actual electoral practice has in general (with some notable exceptions) fallen significantly short of this. The number of DSA endorsed candidates or electeds who actively promote DSA and our agreed policies is the exception rather than the rule. Too often DSA electeds are not seen by the broad public as being a clear cut opposition to the Democratic Party leadership. Further, there is a lack of established structures and standards to help run and elect more candidates who will act as champions of DSA and be accountable to it.
- We recognize the wide range of relationships that DSA currently has with endorsed electoral candidates—from left-wing candidates (such as Bernie Sanders) to DSA members with substantial ties to our organization (such as the DSA For the Many slate in NY). These existing relationships are valuable and should continue. We also need to

take steps to strengthen and prioritize running DSA candidates who commit to fighting for the democratically agreed politics of DSA, and a party-like structure to ensure accountability.

- As the highest democratic decision making body of DSA, the National Convention has the responsibility to refine our vision for socialist electoral work. To further advance this work and address challenges we face, it is important to take steps to prioritize running candidates who are committed to representing DSA and asserting a clearer public profile of independence from the Democratic Party leadership.

Therefore be it resolved, the NEC Consensus Resolution is amended as follows:

...

Resolved, that the National Electoral Commission will apply expanded capacity to creating new programs such as a distributed field operation for mobilizing members across the country and/or an Electoral Training Academy for developing socialist candidates, campaign workers and legislative analysts.

Resolved, that DSA's expectation of DSA members in elected office is that they will promote and fight for DSA's democratically-elaborated platform.

Resolved, that it is DSA's expectation that socialists in elected office will vote and act in accordance with core principles of the socialist movement. These red lines can be added to by future DSA National Conventions and the NPC:

- Publicly oppose and refuse to vote for measures which expand or strengthen the police and other repressive forces of the racist capitalist state (see section 2 of the DSA platform).
- Publicly oppose and refuse to vote for any restrictions on the independent action of the working class, such as the right to strike (see section 4 of the DSA platform).
- Actively oppose and vote against racial, national, gender, and all other forms of oppression and discrimination (see sections 3 and 6 of the DSA platform).
- Publicly oppose and refuse to vote for military budgets, the imperial war machine, or military aid to US client states such as the apartheid state of Israel (see section 10 of the DSA platform).

Resolved, that when electeds breach a standard they have not previously committed to, this will be answered with good faith outreach to the elected in question, aimed at persuading them of the importance of these foundational socialist principles. Immediate redress is with the leadership of the chapter within the elected's district. If the NPC feels that a national response is necessary, it has the authority to take action. Potential responses may include an open town hall, a vote to censure, or a vote to de-endorse.

Resolved, that a candidate who embraces these standards for electoral work (and all others adopted by DSA) is a DSA Representative, an organized representative of the socialist movement, and will be held to the strictest standards of accountability.

Resolved, we expect DSA Representatives to also:

- publicly and prominently identify as “democratic socialists;”
- cross-endorse each other;
- use their position to build DSA and the workers’ movement;
- form democratic socialist caucuses to vote, speak and act as a bloc; and
- meet quarterly with DSA leadership (chapter leadership or the NPC, when electeds hold federal office) to discuss legislative priorities and joint actions.

Resolved, that DSA, through the National Electoral Committee (NEC), will make support and development of DSA Representatives a strategic priority in its electoral work, including but not limited to the development of a training program for all DSA chapters.

Resolved, that the NPC and NEC are tasked with creating a Socialists in Congress Committee (SICC) to meet with nationally endorsed federal candidates and federal elected officials to establish regular communication, joint actions, coordinate endorsements and share strategies, ensure adherence to the standards established in this resolution, and organize regular town halls for discussion between DSA-endorsed electeds and DSA members.

Resolved, that the NEC and NPC may modify this plan as necessary in order to ensure legal compliance.

Consensus Resolution #7: Recommitment to Multiracial Organizing (Multiracial Organizing Committee)

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

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

Whereas, the DSA National Multiracial Organizing Committee (MROC) was formed by the 2021 National Convention to coordinate the work of offering material support (staff and resources), national guidance, and ongoing chapter and leadership development to ensure implementation and accountability;

Whereas, DSA must be intentional about supporting and developing BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, and People of Color) membership and leadership and in amending organizing practices that lead to burnout, tokenizing, or creation of hostile spaces within our ranks;

Whereas, DSA must organize from a culture of solidarity, grace, and transformation, not fear, guilt, or deference, in order to achieve an organization that is reflective of the multiracial working class;

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

Be it resolved, DSA will create an expansive recruitment plan for MROC, including onboarding members throughout the organization to specific leadership and project stewardship roles; and be it

Further resolved, the Steering Committee of MROC will be composed of at least two NPC members (as opposed to the previous requirement of six); and be it

Further resolved, DSA will work with relevant national bodies and staff departments to integrate the work of MROC through existing national projects, and through ongoing national, regional, and local trainings, particularly the MROC Organizing Institute; and be it

Further resolved, DSA will establish best practices for national committees and convention resolutions so those campaigns are oriented toward multiracial organizing, and for DSA chapters to become at least as racially diverse as the area in which they organize;

Further resolved, DSA will provide training to incoming chapter leadership about racial capitalism, retention of new BIPOC members, coalition-building, and conflict resolution in an anti-racist organization through collaborative efforts with relevant national committees; and be it

Further resolved, DSA will meet with priority committees to develop their orientation to multiracial organizing, including recruitment, retention, and leadership development.

Multiracial Organizing Committee: Recommitment to Multiracial Organizing	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$276,289
Estimated Staff Costs	\$154,050
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$27,729
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$54,510
Other Direct Costs	\$40,000
Description of Main Staff Work	Difficult to cost as this is a current priority but resolution does not explicitly propose it be a priority level. 190 hours/month from staff across departments assuming a national priority campaign level of investment including significant comms earned, social, website, and/or spox training, mass calls, possibly swag, and org tech/field support, as well as some cost reimbursements and fundraising, and 90 hours to organize annual in-person gathering comparable to that in 2022.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Resolution mentions MROC Organizing Institute so cost includes one in-person gathering, as in 2022.

Consensus Resolution #8: Young Democratic Socialists of America Consensus Resolution

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas, YDSA is a substantial force for growing, retaining, and developing future socialist leaders within DSA.

Whereas, YDSA chapters consistently engage in and win campaigns, punching far above their weight.

Whereas, YDSA labor work positions young socialists on the front lines of some of the quickest growing struggles of our time such as graduate, undergraduate, and food service unionization.

Whereas, YDSA chapters and members have launched more than a dozen student worker union campaigns in the past year, with several winning certification and impressive anti-austerity contracts.

Whereas, YDSA is uniquely positioned to identify, recruit, and develop lifelong socialist organizers because we meet people at a point in their lives when their politics are most malleable

Whereas, YDSA leaders increasingly take on positions of leadership in DSA and the labor movement after graduation.

Whereas, growing a base of experienced young socialist organizers who can take on leadership roles in the future will create a stronger DSA.

Whereas, YDSA members engage in many of the same fields of struggle as DSA members.

Whereas, YDSA nationally has many committees with direct DSA counterparts.

Whereas, greater engagement between DSA and YDSA committees would develop new leaders and political understanding of our mission within both YDSA and DSA.

Whereas, increased integration of YDSA and DSA will allow for far more successful member retention and dues collection with YDSA chapters.

Whereas, YDSA continues to grow its membership despite hundreds of members graduating and joining DSA every year.

Whereas, YDSA's growth is occurring mainly in established chapters that develop leaders and win campaigns, not in small temporary formations.

Whereas, the professionalization of volunteer leaders is a far more cost-effective investment than increasing staff time or hiring third-party non-socialist contractors

Whereas, many national leaders within DSA and YDSA maintain full time schedules to support themselves leaving little time to organize

Whereas, small stipends can exponentially increase the capacity individuals are able to devote to DSA

Whereas, the 2021 and 2022 YDSA Conventions overwhelmingly voted in favor of stipends for national elected leaders and increased investment in YDSA

Whereas, the NCC has taken on more work coordinating campaigns and committees as YDSA continues to grow in size and organization at the national level

Whereas, investments into YDSA grow both paper and cadre membership increasing the institutional and financial health of DSA in the long run

Whereas, YDSA chapters cannot engage in many efforts due to a lack of funding or membership dues and therefore must devote additional capacity to fundraising efforts that are less impactful when collecting from students

Whereas, the NPC passed a budget for 2023 that included stipends for NCC members (\$2,000/semester), national YDSA committee chairs (\$2,000/semester), funding for committee grants (\$12,000), chapter grants (\$7,000), and material creation and distribution (\$1,500)

Whereas, one of the functions of YDSA is to develop future leaders of DSA and participating in DSA leadership bodies is an effective means of training and developing leaders.

Whereas, YDSA is an organization with a budget, staffers, and does significant communications work, but is not meaningfully connected to DSA's Budget and Finance, Personnel, or Communications committees.

Memo to DSA chapters

Be it resolved, DSA regional field organizers will give a training on incorporating YDSA chapters during regional calls and/or check-ins with chapters.

Be it resolved, the NPC will send a memo to DSA chapters about the importance of meaningfully connecting local YDSA chapters within their DSA chapter, including information about the following provisions:

- Giving chartered YDSA chapters within the chapter's boundaries a voting position on the chapter's steering committee
- YDSA representatives will be elected by YDSA members within the geographic boundaries of the chapter

- YDSA representatives will primarily serve to represent the perspectives of YDSA members on the body and connect the work of YDSA chapters and the DSA chapter, but they are able to take on further responsibilities as full members of the body.
- YDSA representatives will primarily serve to represent the perspectives of YDSA members on the body and connect the work of YDSA chapters and the DSA chapter, but they are able to take on further responsibilities as full members of the body.
- Every DSA chapter with a chartered YDSA chapter within its geographic boundaries will commit to helping plan and matching funds raised for two YDSA fundraisers each year. These fundraisers will assist YDSA members in attending the annual Winter Conference and Summer Convention.
- Chapters may establish limitations on the amount of funds for sharing based on their particular conditions

Be it resolved, that this training shall include details on how and why to implement the following reforms

- Establishing a chapter lead YDSA to DSA pipeline process including chapter mentors, tracking of YDSA graduation dates, and onboarding of graduating YDSAers
- Explain and plug chapters into the Mentorship Coordinating Committee to ensure DSA members mentoring YDSA chapters are well equipped

Committee Cooperation

Be it resolved, that DSA and YDSA committees commit to working in cooperation with one-another

Be it further resolved, that associated committees are those that administer similar functions in the youth and overall sections of the organization including but not limited to: the NPC and the NCC, the NLC and YLC, the IC and ICYLC, the NPEC and YPEC, the NGC and GAC etc.

Be it further resolved, that associated committees will have joint committee meetings at least once a quarter during which cooperative campaigns and the integration of YDSA and DSA efforts are discussed

Be it further resolved, that associated committees will allow for at least one YDSA liaison seat from the respective YDSA committee

Be it further resolved, that during each full (16 hour/two day) NPC meeting 90 minutes of the agenda will be devoted to YDSA discussion and the full NCC will be invited to speak during this section

Be it resolved, YDSA will have at least one representative on each of the DSA Budget and Finance, Personnel, and Communications committees appointed by the YDSA National

Coordinating Committee

YDSA Budget

Be it resolved, that members of the National Coordinating Committee in good standing shall receive a monthly stipend of \$1,000 for their work within YDSA

Be it further resolved, that the cochairs of the YDSA NCC shall receive this \$1,000/month stipend in addition to the \$1,000/month stipend they receive for their work on the NPC SC, for a total of a \$2,000/month stipend.

Be it further resolved, YDSA national budgets will follow the schedule of YDSA conventions, rather than the calendar year

Be it further resolved, that the NCC will submit a budget request to the NPC for YDSA's national budget within the first month of their term.

Be it further resolved, that while in good standing the co-chairs of the YDSA committees and the editor-in-chief of the activist shall receive a stipend of \$350 a month (roughly equivalent to \$2,000 per semester)

Be it further resolved, that the NCC shall receive \$1,500 for material creation and distribution such as printing

Be it further resolved, that the NCC receive \$15,000 to distribute amongst YDSA committees in accordance with the projects they take on

Be it further resolved, that the NCC will have a \$10,000 budget for chapter grants which chapters may apply for in order to support specific local organizing projects

Be it further resolved, that the Operations Department shall prioritize filling the vacant YDSA staffer position and include the NCC in the hiring process including interviews and decisions about candidates.

Be it further resolved, that the NCC will meet with the DSA Finance and Budget committee once per quarter to discuss the YDSA national budget, ensure funds are distributed, and communicate any questions or issues that arise

Be it further resolved, relevant staff departments will work with the NCC to create a process for YDSA chapters to receive a share of their members' dues, subject to the same terms as DSA chapters, with the following exceptions:

- That DSA members paying monthly dues and belonging to both a DSA and YDSA chapter be permitted to choose with which chapter their dues will be shared or to split their dues-share evenly between both chapters.

- That YDSA chapters may decline to receive a share of their members' dues if doing so would endanger their access to funds provided by their school, be an excessive administrative or logistical burden for the chapter, be redundant due to an existing dues-sharing relationship with a local DSA chapter, or for another reason deemed appropriate by the chapter's membership or leadership.

YDSA: Young Democratic Socialists of America Consensus Resolution	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$212,317
Estimated Staff Costs	\$44,850
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$8,073
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$15,870
Other Direct Costs	\$143,524
Description of Main Staff Work	Estimated 30 hours one time and then 5 hours/month additional staff time to implement using two different fiscal years for DSA, one for DSA and one for YDSA, and the work processes and documents to maintain them and train leadership on them. 400 hours of finance, data and tech, and operations staff to further assess the feasibility of the dues share aspect of the resolution and then implement it, given the technical and other barriers in the nature of YDSA membership. These include high turnover of student populations and of addresses of students impacting both which chapter a YDSA member is in and which YDSA chapters are chartered, jurisdictional overlap between a DSA and YDSA chapter for 95% of YDSA members, lack of capacity to manage individual choice of dues allocation or splitting for the about 2,000 YDSA members, and campus chapters without bank accounts. The jurisdictional aspects have no clear technical or governance solution and would require further research and then negotiation and decision between YDSA and DSA leadership. Changing the YDSA chapter

	<p>charter process might address some challenges. PEX cards might be a feasible workaround for bank accounts but would require about 50 hours a quarter finance staff time to administer agreements for 125 YDSA chapters, including quarterly preparations and disbursements as well as monitoring receipts monthly, deactivating PEX cards for expired chapters, investigating fraudulent charges, issuing new PEX cards to new chapter treasurers, updating CRM records to include new chapters, and onboarding new YDSA chapters to the program. This component of the resolution would require hiring additional finance staff.</p>
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	<p>NPC already voted to provide a stipend of \$2,000 per semester to NCC members (\$36,000) in the 2023 budget but the new total would be \$108,000. The proposed annual costs would match the funds allocated for YDSA by the NPC in the current 2023 national budget for the Activist editor in chief stipend, material creation and distribution, national committee budgets and chapter grants, though with an additional \$6000 for committees and chapters, for a new total of \$30,700 per year. For the dues share portion of the resolution, if all other barriers were addressed there would be an \$4,824 additional cost per year to increase the contract with PEX to accommodate an additional 125 chapter PEX cards.</p>

III. Member-Submitted Resolutions and Associated Amendments

Member-Submitted Resolution #1: Accountable National Commissions

Authors: Nikhil P., Santa Fe DSA & Nate K., Atlanta DSA

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Definitions:

- A “commission” refers to a committee or working group officially sanctioned by DSA at the national level, which carries out an official DSA campaign, or manages official assets or other resources of DSA. This does not include the DSA NPC, convention-related committees established under [Article VI.4 of the DSA Bylaws](#), or the DSA National Convention, any local DSA chapter, or any formation of DSA’s youth wing, YDSA.

Whereas:

- A democratic organization must have all its organs accountable to a majority decision;
- DSA has limited resources, which include funding, staff time, and volunteer capacity, which must be allocated and prioritized in a democratic manner;
- DSA at the national level currently contains over 30 distinct national bodies, which has strained the ability for elected leadership to provide support and accountability;

Be it therefore resolved:

- Each commission may submit a resolution for reauthorization to be approved at convention. The reauthorization resolutions shall contain the following:
 - A clearly stated purpose of the commission, and defined scope of its tasks and activities
 - A description of the commission’s internal structure, including the process of membership and the process for selecting leadership.
 - An estimate of resources needed by the committee, such as any assets from DSA required, staff dedicated to the committee, or other services that require funding.
 - The term length of the committee, beginning no earlier than the end of the

current national convention, and ending no later than the start of the next regularly scheduled national convention

- A commission that chooses not to submit a resolution for reauthorization, or does not have a reauthorization resolution passed at convention, shall be disbanded. Any disbanded committee shall return all assets and minutes to DSA.
- This resolution will come into effect at the 2025 DSA National Convention • Nothing in this resolution shall be construed to affect the powers and duties of the DSA NPC, or its relationship and powers with respect to national bodies
- Nothing in this resolution shall be construed to affect any existing legal contracts between DSA and third party entities
- Nothing in this resolution shall be construed to violate any municipal, state, or federal laws surrounding the formation and management of 501c nonprofit entities.

Accountable National Commissions	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$3,988
Estimated Staff Costs	\$2,600
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$468
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$920
Other Direct Costs	0
Description of Main Staff Work	If resolution passes, some staff time after the 2025 National Convention to decommission and gather and shut down assets from any disbanded national body, estimated 40 hours.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	No major direct costs.

Member-Submitted Resolution #2: Defend Democracy through Political Independence

Authors: Zev R., NYC-DSA, Luca P., At-Large

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas

1. The Republican Party and the extreme Right pose a significant danger to the multiracial working class in the United States. The ongoing threat to democracy and civil rights and the offensive against the material conditions, liberty, and lives of women, Black people and people of color, immigrants, and the LGBTQ+ community should not be underestimated. However, the objective threat of an authoritarian turn is considerably lower now than it was when Republicans controlled the Presidency. The insurrectionary strategy of the extreme Right failed during the January 6, 2021 Capitol events and the main threat to democracy currently comes from Republican Party control over institutions.
2. Despite the ongoing threat posed by the Republican party and the extreme Right, the Democratic Party remains the primary political opponent of the working class in the 'blue' states, cities, and districts where DSA is often strongest. Even at the national level, the Democratic Party has proved more resilient than most socialists anticipated. Meanwhile, the Biden administration has sometimes adopted reformist tactics in response to the danger posed by the Republican Party, but its aim remains the defense of capitalism. DSA faces overwhelming pressure from Democrats and liberal NGOs to 'defend democracy' on terms that compromise our movement and play into capitalist plans.
3. On the international level, a political field polarized between the Center and the Right poses a difficult terrain for the socialist Left and the workers' movement. When the extreme Right wins, the working-class loses: look at Italy, where the neofascist Giorgia Meloni is prime minister. When centrists win, the working-class also loses: in France, centrist Emmanuel Macron defeated the Right to win the Presidency and launch a violent, regressive 'reform' of the French retirement system. Capital has an objective stake in preserving this type of polarization.
4. The core task of U.S. socialists is to build the independent socialist organization and working-class institutions like unions that enable us to fundamentally break the 'impasse' we find ourselves in and durably defeat the Right. However, in practice both capitalist parties oppose powerful independent working-class institutions, even if the Democrats sometimes extend a hand to organized labor in order to maintain a foothold

in the working class. In order to combat the Right, we must resist being subsumed into the Democratic Party and its NGO apparatus.

5. Socialists should also work to defend and expand democracy through agitation around civil rights, anti-racism, women's rights, LGBTQ+ rights, and the ability to form a union and to strike. Mass movements build the confidence and organization of the working class and inoculate against right-wing politics. Our strategy for combating the Right should not exclusively focus on elections and the formal political terrain. A significant number of workers and young people avoid voting altogether because the Democratic Party has failed them and they don't trust politicians; an equally significant current of workers vote primarily *against* Republicans, not *for* Democrats. Only a narrowing stratum of workers, typically over 45, remain ardent Democrats. However, that doesn't mean workers don't care about the outcomes of elections.
6. Our commitment to confronting the Right at the ballot in 2024 should selectively focus on preventing Republican subversion of democracy and civil rights. DSA should articulate a robust vision of democracy different from that of both capitalist parties.

Be it resolved

1. DSA shall contribute to mass movements in defense of democracy; civil liberties; racial equality and Black liberation; women's rights, including abortion rights; LGBTQ+ rights; and the ability to form a union and to strike. These campaigns should aim to alter class consciousness, immunize the working class against the extreme Right and the Republican Party and empower us to recruit and build both DSA and working-class institutions. DSA should encourage movements that prioritize mass participation and independence over recognition from top-down NGOs and the Democratic Party. Potential tactics for this approach include:
 - Hosting or participating in rallies and protests against the Republican nominee and the radical Right focusing on their attempts to undermine and attack democracy, workers', and civil rights.
 - Organizing with YDSA, student groups in high schools and colleges, as well as teacher, student workers, faculty, and other unions against legislation, executive orders, and judicial rulings that would target their members and institutions (for example, legislation prohibiting anti racist curriculum).
 - Initiating campaigns and ballot measures that defend and expand democracy and civil rights and shift working class consciousness to the disadvantage of the radical Right and Republican Party.
2. The NPC shall form a multi-tendency national committee to prepare for the 2024 national election by putting forward a positive program modeled after our [2020 DSA-For-Bernie campaign platform](#). The committee shall be formed no later than

August 31, 2023 and draft a program by no later than November 30, 2023. The program shall be revised by the NPC and submitted to a membership-wide vote no later than December 31, 2023. The 2024 program must be approved by a majority vote in order to be accepted and published. The committee shall also publish standardized recommendations to chapters, endorsed DSA candidates, and electeds about political communications during the 2024 elections. After the platform program is adopted, the committee shall also be empowered to identify, plan, and initiate a nationwide Priority campaign in defense of democracy and civil rights. The committee's mandate includes: political education, trainings, communications, and producing materials publicizing our vision.

3. Local DSA chapters shall adopt a common strategy for political communications relating to the 2024 elections while preserving tactical flexibility based on local conditions. Key themes include: defending democracy from corporate control; positive messaging around our program, democratic socialism, and building working-class institutions independent of the two parties; showcasing our endorsed candidates, referenda, and campaigns; and criticism of both the Republicans and centrist Democrats that draws out the contrasts between our visions.
4. The NPC shall organize DSA-endorsed candidates and electeds to adopt the same strategy outlined for DSA chapters above. The NPC shall publicly communicate disapproval to endorsed candidates and elected DSA members who reject this strategy in order to explicitly or tacitly support centrist leaders of the Democratic Party (for example, by attending rallies on behalf of centrists, political communications, or explicit endorsement of centrist Democrats).
5. Any DSA endorsement of a Presidential candidate must be submitted to a membership-wide vote and pass by a simple majority.

Defend Democracy through Political Independence	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$61,198
Estimated Staff Costs	\$35,100
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$6,318
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$12,420
Other Direct Costs	\$7,360
Description of Main Staff Work	35 hours/month from staff in comms, tech and data, operations, development and finance and organizing. 120 staff hours from membership,

	tech, operations and comms departments for membership wide vote.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Cost of national vote - voting tool, postcards to members without emails, spoke text reminders to vote.

Member-Submitted Resolution #3: Resolution on Full-time National Chairs

Authors: Allan F., At Large, Nate K., Atlanta DSA, Shane R., East Bay DSA, Oren S., NYC-DSA

Whereas,

- The Constitution and Bylaws specify that:
 - The Convention may elect a National Chair or National Co-Chairs
 - The NPC may fill National Chair/Co-Chair vacancies by 2/3rds vote
 - The NPC may recall any officer by 2/3rds vote
- DSA is a democratic, membership organization and seeks to build mass working-class power through a member-led party organizational model, rejecting an NGO organizational model that creates a division between professional staff leaders and passively-mobilized constituency members.
- Currently, DSA's elected leadership are part-time volunteers with full-time jobs, while there exists a permanent full-time staff. This can often create a situation that mimics NGOs where in practice management-level staff have more day-to-day decision-making power than elected leadership.
- DSA needs elected leadership to act as public outward-facing leaders traveling around the country to visit chapters; walking picket lines with workers; meeting with electeds and union leaders; going on the news, radio, podcasts; writing op-eds and getting interviewed; participating in public debates, etc. Our current lack of public-facing leaders is the result of a structural problem, given the limited time that part-time volunteers have to give to this work.
- The 2021 Convention passed stipends for SC members, helping partially alleviate the problem of a staff-led organization by further empowering elected leadership to lead.

Therefore be it resolved,

- **Establishing Salaried NPC Posts:**
 - DSA shall select two NPC members to be full-time salaried political leaders, serving as the National Co-Chairs.
- **Selection Method:**
 - Starting at the next National Convention, the Chair(s) will be elected either by Convention or the NPC according to the current rules stipulated in the Constitution and Bylaws.
 - At the first NPC meeting following the 2023 Convention, the NPC shall elect two NPC members to serve as NPC Chair(s) using a preferential voting system. The

NPC shall appoint the resulting winners to be the National Chair(s) of DSA, per Article VI Section 6 of the Constitution.

● **Implementation:**

- Following Convention, full-time salaries for the new NPC office post holders shall begin by November 1st, 2023.
- The National Chair(s) should work with the National Director and Director-level staff in the National Office on a day-to-day basis.
- The NPC shall set a policy that determines what kind of questions may be decided on by consensus of the National Chair(s) between NPC or NPC-SC meetings, and what kind of questions should be escalated to the NPC-SC and NPC for a vote before any action can be taken.
- In general, the National Director(s) shall report to the National Chair(s), who shall report to the NPC Steering Committee, who shall report to the NPC.
- The Convention recommends that the NPC elect the National Chair(s) to serve on the NPC Steering Committee.

● **Compensation:**

- The NPC shall vote on any compensation or benefits for NPC officers. Compensation for NPC members shall not be greater than the highest compensation currently paid to any DSA employee, adjusted for inflation.
- Salaries for NPC members will be implemented as compensation for service on the NPC, NPC Steering Committee, and/or DSA's Board of Directors, and the salaried organizers shall not be considered members of the National Staff.

● **Expectations:**

- Salaried NPC members must agree to work at least 40 hours a week, with work reviewed by the NPC, and agree to not take on additional jobs.
- The NPC will determine salaried NPC members' work portfolio, the bulk of which will be outward-facing political, not administrative, work, including acting as the organization's national spokespeople as a primary responsibility for National Chair(s). The National Chair(s) shall serve on the Budget & Finance and Personnel Committees in addition to their other work.
- If a salaried NPC member does not meet these expectations, the NPC may remove them per Article VI Section 5 of the Constitution.

● **Replacement:**

- If any salaried NPC member resigns, they may nominate a replacement candidate for the NPC to appoint, though the NPC retains full rights to choose the replacement.

● **Severability:**

- In case any provision in this resolution shall be invalid, illegal or unenforceable, the validity, legality and enforceability of the remaining provisions shall not in

any way be affected or impaired thereby and such provision shall be ineffective only to the extent of such invalidity, illegality or unenforceability, and the NPC shall be empowered to create and modify staff positions and officer posts to carry out the spirit of this resolution.

Note: These cost estimates are from two previous proposals that the authors merged into this resolution.

Convention-Elected Full-Time Co-Chairs	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$132,629
Estimated Staff Costs	\$4,550
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$819
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$1,610
Other Direct Costs	\$125,650
Description of Main Staff Work	70 staff hours, from membership, tech, operations and comms departments for running an election with candidate packets, forum and working with member committee, in addition to administrative staff time to restructure future work processes of staff. Since this happens once in two years the staff hour estimate here (70) is half of the total estimate.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Cost of election by convention delegates (split cost since happens only once in next two years). Cost of legal consultation on implementation in terms of salary, benefits, oversight, and possible job reclassifications. Compensation costs for two comparable to average union staffer (wage, benefits, overhead) minus cost of 1/6 supervisor.

Full-Time Political Leadership	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$343,414
Estimated Staff Costs	\$1,950
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$351

Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$690
Other Direct Costs	\$340,423
Description of Main Staff Work	Administrative staff time to restructure work processes around comms and NPC support and additional fundraising to expand the budget to cover costs.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Cost of legal consultation on implementation in terms of job classification and potential layoff of existing staff rendered redundant, and cost of salary/stipend of three people. Compensation comparable for three full time staff (cost of wage, benefits, overhead), minus the 1/6 supervisory cost.

Member-Submitted Resolution Amendment A: Amendment for Convention-Elected Co-Chairs (Amendment to MSR #3 (Full-Time Chairs))

Authors: Allan F., At Large, Oren S., NYC-DSA

Whereas, DSA's Constitution already stipulates that the National Chair or Co-Chairs are the organization's spokespeople. While there exists a mechanism to elect the National Chair or Co-Chairs at Convention, this clause has gone unused, and the default has been to have the NPC elect one NPC Chair from amongst itself. The Convention is DSA's highest democratic decision-making body and it should elect DSA's primary leaders and spokespeople.

Therefore be it resolved that "Resolution on Full-time National Chairs" shall be amended as follows:

...

• Selection Method:

- Starting at the next National Convention, NPC seats will be designated for all salaried NPC posts, to be elected by convention delegates with a preferential voting system. This election will occur before the election for at-large NPC members. Any losing candidates for the salaried NPC posts election will be eligible to run for at-large NPC seats. ~~the Chair(s) will be elected either by Convention or the NPC according to the current rules stipulated in the Constitution and Bylaws.~~
- For the 2023-2025 term, the salaried NPC posts shall be elected by the 2023 Convention delegates through an online election facilitated by the new NPC with a preferential voting system. Only candidates elected to the NPC at the 2023 Convention shall be eligible to run for salaried NPC posts. The election should be completed by November 1st 2023, after which time the NPC shall appoint the election winners to fill the National Chair(s) vacancies. ~~At the first NPC meeting following the 2023 Convention, the NPC shall elect two NPC members to serve as NPC Chair(s) using a preferential voting system. The NPC shall appoint the resulting winners to be the National Chair(s) of DSA,~~ per Article VI Section 6 of the Constitution.

Member-Submitted Resolution Amendment B: Amendment for National, Electoral, and Labor Chairs (Amendment to MSR #3 (Full-Time Chairs))

Author: Nate K., Atlanta DSA

Whereas, having salaried NPC members chair the national electoral and labor commissions would foster stronger unity and collaboration in DSA;

Therefore be it resolved that “Resolution on Full-time National Chairs” shall be amended as follows:

...

- **Establishing Salaried NPC Posts:**

- DSA shall select ~~three~~ ~~two~~ NPC members to be full-time salaried political leaders, serving as the ~~National Chair, Electoral Chair, and Labor Chair~~ ~~National Co-Chairs~~.

- **Selection Method:**

- Starting at the next National Convention, ~~these Chair positions~~ ~~the Co-Chairs~~ will be elected either by Convention or the NPC according to the current rules stipulated in the Constitution and Bylaws.
- At the first NPC meeting following the 2023 Convention, the NPC shall elect ~~three~~ ~~two~~ NPC members to serve as ~~NPC Chair, Electoral Chair, and Labor Chair~~ ~~NPC Co-Chairs~~ using a preferential voting system. The NPC shall appoint the resulting ~~NPC Chair-winners~~ to be the ~~National Co-Chairs~~ ~~National Chair~~ of DSA, per Article VI Section 6 of the Constitution.

Member-Submitted Resolution #4: Democratize DSA 2023

Authors: Sam L., NYC-DSA, Renée P., East Bay DSA

[Companion Constitution and Bylaws Change](#)

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas, the proposed “Democratize DSA” constitutional change would, if it passes, increase the size of the NPC from 17 to 51, which would create 34 new vacancies upon the adjournment of the 2023 DSA Convention,

Whereas, in the event of NPC vacancies, DSA’s constitution provides that the NPC should “appoint . . . member[s] of the organization in good standing to serve until the next Convention,”

Whereas, the 2023-2025 NPC will be tasked by the DSA constitution with filling the vacancies that would be created by the passage of the “Democratize DSA” constitutional change if it is enacted by this Convention,

Whereas, the purpose of the “Democratize DSA” constitutional change is to make DSA’s national leadership more democratic, deliberative, accountable, and representative of DSA’s membership, which purposes will only be served if the expanded NPC is elected in the same way as the NPC members elected at this convention;

Therefore, be it resolved, in the event of the passage of the “Democratize DSA” constitutional change, within 90 days of the adjournment of the 2023 DSA Convention, the NPC shall fill the newly created vacancies in a manner as close as possible to that used by delegates at the 2023 National Convention to elect the seventeen sitting NPC members. This method shall be:

1. Issue a call for chapters and national working groups to nominate NPC candidates in the same fashion as candidates were nominated prior to the convention.
2. Reopen the form used prior to the 2023 convention for NPC candidates to nominate themselves for the new NPC vacancies.
3. Organize Zoom forums featuring the candidates and open to all DSA members.
4. Conduct an online vote by those DSA members who were delegates to the 2023 DSA national convention, using the same voting method as was used to elect the sitting NPC members at the 2023 convention, with a recorded ballot, and with votes and results public to DSA members.

5. The NPC shall appoint those members selected through this vote to fill the NPC vacancies.

Be it additionally resolved that in the event of the passage of the “Democratize DSA” constitutional change, DSA’s Articles of Incorporation shall be updated to reflect that the Steering Committee of the NPC is the board of directors of DSA within the meaning of the Code of the District of Columbia.

Be it additionally resolved that in the event of the passage of the “Democratize DSA” constitutional change, the powers and duties given to the National Political Committee by Resolution 33 of the 2017 National DSA Convention, as amended by the 2021 National DSA Convention, shall be reassigned to the Steering Committee of the National Political Committee.

Democratize DSA 2023	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$32,732
Estimated Staff Costs	\$16,900
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$3,042
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$5,980
Other Direct Costs	\$6,810
Description of Main Staff Work	Estimated 120 staff hours for running an election w candidate packets, forum and working with member committee, after the convention for all the 2023 convention delegates to vote for candidates for the newly created seats of the NPC. Increased by an estimated 10 hours/month ongoing staff time for administrative support of the larger NPC for scheduling, expense reimbursements, etc.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Attorney and filing fees for bylaws/incorporation changes and cost of running the election after convention. Other costs which would go up based on existing practice or other resolutions at this convention include: cost of stipends for NPC and SC members, cost of in-person NPC gatherings, cost

	of email addresses for NPC members. Those costs are not estimated here.
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Member-Submitted Resolution Amendment C: Conducting the vacancy election using regions (Amendment to MSR #4 (Democratize DSA 2023))

Authors: Sam L., NYC-DSA, Renée P., East Bay DSA

Amendment:

...

3. Organize Zoom forums featuring the candidates and open to all DSA members.

4. In order to shorten the ballot for NPC vacancies, the Convention Committee of the 2023 Convention may approve a map of regional jurisdictions within which candidates from those jurisdictions, including at-large members, shall run for the NPC vacancies, proportionally allocated to regions based on the number of members in each region. If the Convention Committee establishes regions, the Committee shall also establish quotas for these regions as necessary to ensure the minority positions prescribed by the DSA constitution are filled. 2023 convention delegates from the same jurisdictions shall elect candidates to fill the NPC vacancies in an online vote, conducted ~~Conduct an online vote by those DSA members who were delegates to the 2023 DSA national convention,~~ using the same voting method as was used to elect the sitting NPC members at the 2023 convention, with a recorded ballot, and with votes and results public to DSA members.

...

Member-Submitted Resolution Amendment D: Direct Election of the SC by the Convention in the Vacancy Election (Amendment to MSR #4 (Democratize DSA 2023))

Author: Michaela B., River Valley DSA

Amendment

...

Therefore Be It Resolved, in the event of the passage of the “Democratize DSA” constitutional change, within 90 days of the adjournment of the 2023 DSA Convention, the NPC shall fill the newly created vacancies in a manner as close as possible to that used by delegates at the 2023 National Convention to elect the seventeen sitting NPC members. This method shall be:

1. Issue a call for chapters and national working groups to nominate NPC candidates in the same fashion as candidates were nominated prior to the convention
2. Reopen the form used prior to the 2023 convention for NPC candidates to nominate themselves for the new NPC vacancies.
3. Organize Zoom forums featuring the candidates and open to all DSA members.
4. Conduct an online vote by those DSA members who were delegates to the 2023 DSA national convention, using the same voting method as was used to elect the sitting NPC members at the 2023 convention, with a recorded ballot, and with votes and results public to DSA members.
5. The NPC shall appoint those members selected through this vote to fill the NPC vacancies.
6. The delegates will then vote for the Steering Committee from the newly elected NPC.

Additionally, be it resolved, that the NPC may elect an interim steering committee prior to the vacancy election.

...

Member-Submitted Resolution #5: DSA Organizing for Pandemic Justice

Authors: Dat L., Champaign-Urbana DSA, Matthew M., North New Jersey DSA, William S., North East PA DSA, Kristen S., Central Jersey DSA, Deborah S., NYC-DSA

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Rationale

Scale of the Pandemic

Whereas we are now in the fourth year of the COVID-19 pandemic, a world-historic catastrophe that has claimed more than 6.6 million lives globally based on documented cases alone—including over one million here in the U.S.—and whose toll has likely been much higher in light of nearly 15 million worldwide excess deaths in 2020 and 2021 alone;

Whereas the U.S. suffered all-cause deaths at least 10–20% above the pre-pandemic average during most weeks of 2022, and, despite claims the pandemic is fading, in March 2023 had more than twice as many emergency room visits for COVID as in March 2022;

Whereas official COVID case counts represent an extreme underestimate of the actual number of cases;

Whereas widespread transmission of SARS-CoV-2, the increasingly infectious virus that causes COVID-19, continues to pose a dire threat to the working class both domestically and internationally;

A Pharma-Focused Response Is Not Enough

Whereas U.S. resources could make everyone far safer from this dangerous virus but the nation's pandemic response, here and globally, leaves many at great risk and unsupported;

Whereas vaccination has so far been an important but insufficient tool for resolving this threat given that current vaccines provide incomplete and quickly waning immunity while new and increasingly contagious variants are emerging rapidly, and given that recent evidence suggests as much as one-quarter of the U.S. population may still be unvaccinated;

Whereas the vaccines approved thus far, for all their benefits, cannot stop transmission of the virus; do not protect many immunocompromised people, who have also now lost access to alternative pre-exposure prophylaxis; are not authorized in the U.S. for infants under six months; and do not eliminate the risk of death, hospitalization, or other severe adverse outcomes such as the post-acute syndrome known as “Long COVID”;

Whereas this nation and many others have increasingly abandoned efforts to prevent the spread of COVID-19, relying almost entirely on pharmaceutical products—vaccines, plus treatment for some infected people—to cope with the pandemic, while downplaying the seriousness of infection and insisting people must “learn to live with the virus”;

Whereas the ruling class has sabotaged preventive measures such as scientifically informed isolation periods, routine testing, and masking—with Pres. Biden ignoring his campaign’s COVID proposals for 100,000 new community contact tracing workers, paid COVID leave, free quarantine housing, and more with the CDC in December 2021 cutting its main isolation policy from 10 to 5 days, apparently to push workers back to work faster at the urging of Delta Airlines’ CEO; and with CDC now recommending “removing your mask” after day 10 even though infectiousness can exceed 14 days;

Whereas officials in the U.S. often focus on antiviral treatments in claiming that “we have the tools” to manage the effects of the pandemic, even though the usefulness of existing treatments is being severely eroded by rapid viral mutation arising from uncontrolled SARS-CoV-2 transmission; no antiviral monoclonal antibody treatments remain usable; evidence is growing that some viral variants are resistant to other mainstay treatments; and no effective therapeutics have been approved for Long COVID;

Vast Damage Is Persisting

Whereas on average, over 400 Americans per day were still dying from acute COVID as of early 2023, with the prospect that the next surge could come at any time, and over 13 million adults are currently suffering from some degree of Long COVID symptoms, with at least 4 million having substantially limited daily activities as a result;

Whereas unless massive prevention efforts are launched, uncontrolled mass infection and reinfection will tend to persist because both current vaccines and SARS-CoV-2 infection fail to induce durable immunity, and the rapidly mutating virus is now one of the most contagious human pathogens, so “herd immunity” is impossible and a future of “hyperendemic” COVID is likely;

Whereas COVID reinfections are common and risks of death and other bad outcomes, including brain damage, strokes, and heart attacks, rise with repeat infections;

Inequity Magnified

Whereas the pandemic has impacted everyone, but has hit people of color and low-income essential workers especially hard due to a lack of social supports such as healthcare; exploitative employers not providing personal protective equipment; greater likelihood of working in-person service or production jobs; and spending more time in high-contact environments, including public transportation and crowded housing;

Whereas the pandemic briefly revealed to all Americans that large sections of the low-wage workforce that were thought to be disposable by the well-to-do are in fact so essential that society cannot function without them;

Expanded Public Supports Are Urgent

Whereas pandemic emergency measures in some states and on the national level showed that bold public action can create previously unthinkable social benefits including stipends, free vaccines and medications, sick pay, eviction bans, and expanded medical coverage and food aid;

Whereas local jurisdictions with affordable housing and policies prohibiting evictions or utility shut-offs in response to the pandemic have had demonstrable decreases in COVID-19 cases and deaths.;

Whereas the lack of paid medical leave for many American workers and insufficient economic and social support for disabled and chronically ill people mean that Long COVID can have serious financial consequences, including loss of health insurance, a job, or even a home;

Whereas in 2020, the experience of the pandemic, for a moment, made it abundantly clear to nearly everyone that the government should provide free healthcare and education for all people in the U.S.;

Whereas in 2023, ending continuous Medicaid re-enrollment and public health emergency declarations in the U.S. will leave all but the very wealthy at risk of impossibly high costs for COVID testing, treatment, and Long COVID care, given the huge holes in this nation's patchwork of health coverage; growing numbers will be unable to afford vital care—even as

the chronically-ill and disabled population has soared by millions—and the toll of disability and death, and the viral spread, will worsen;

Whereas the fulfillment of these universalist demands would provide needed relief for everyone, but particularly for core constituencies that have been disproportionately harmed by the pandemic, such as the estimated 220,500 children who have lost one or both parents and need alternative sources of care, workers who have now assumed additional risk in their workplaces without additional compensation, and people of color and LGBTQ communities who have been disproportionately impacted by Long COVID;

U.S. Institutions Are Failing Us All

Whereas capitalist institutions that perpetuate systemic injustices like the U.S. healthcare system or foster care must be engaged in ways that do not reinforce these harms, while also addressing the immediate crisis posed by COVID-19;

Whereas both the Trump and Biden Administrations and both major parties have presided over increasingly disastrous and eugenic efforts to minimize and normalize the continuing pandemic and accustom the public to astonishingly high levels of ongoing death, disability, and social murder, and have treated human life and health as worthless and disposable in order to prioritize profits for the capitalist class;

Whereas the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention has abdicated its responsibility to control and prevent disease and has failed to properly educate the public about the scientific consensus that SARS-CoV-2 is an airborne virus, one that is predominantly transmitted via aerosols emitted while breathing, speaking, singing, coughing, or sneezing;

Whereas the Occupational Safety and Health Administration has also thus far declined to issue standards to protect workers from airborne infectious disease transmission;

Prevention Is Vital

Whereas the pandemic response in the U.S was characterized early on by few technical interventions beyond distancing, but there is now a greater scientific understanding about the value of widely available but under-used preventative measures effective against all variants, such as respirators and air cleaning;

Whereas indoor superspreader gatherings likely have caused a great majority of COVID infections;

Whereas healthcare should “first, do no harm,” but lack of universal masking and other vital protections in healthcare, such as air filtration in doctors’ offices, means people get infected with COVID while receiving other care and many people who need medical care avoid it for fear of infection;

Whereas the dismantling of virtually all public health protections has unjustly curtailed the freedom of many people who are chronically ill, disabled, immunocompromised, or otherwise especially vulnerable by substantially increasing the risks associated with accessing healthcare, use transportation, and other essential services, and has made it difficult for anyone concerned with the potentially catastrophic consequences of contracting COVID-19 in America today to fully participate in public life;

Whereas there is an urgent need to recover an understanding of public health as an inherently collective effort rather than a matter of “individual risk assessment,” and to reject a false opposition between the personal freedoms or material security of the working class and measures to protect human life and health;

DSA Stepping Up

Whereas several DSA locals and organizing bodies have taken exemplary steps to model in their own practices a scientific and inclusive approach to health and safety in the pandemic era, such as by distributing and requiring the use of high-quality respirators, operating “Corsi-Rosenthal boxes,” or portable air cleaners, at in-person meetings; and facilitating remote participation in these meetings for those who continue to shelter at home or who cannot attend in person for any other reason;

Whereas these measures can and should serve as inspiration for all DSA locals, for the national organization, for other socialist and leftist groups, and for civil society in general;

Whereas failing to safeguard our comrades will impede our ability to organize for socialism;

Whereas the COVID-19 crisis and the deadly response to it by the international capitalist class demands that we rise to the challenges of our moment in history and engage in collective struggle and sacrifice, not merely to restore the world of 2019, but to create a better one for the sake of the working class and all of society;

Resolve

Therefore, be it resolved that DSA commits to support efforts that would:

1. End the pandemic by halting the transmission of SARS-CoV-2 for the benefit of the working class, all of proletarian society, and people around the world besieged by the eugenic policies of unyielding mass infection and re-infection imposed by the capitalist class;
2. Bring greater attention within DSA to the continuing urgent need for a vigorous pandemic response rooted in solidarity—especially with those most severely impacted, including low-wage and health care workers, people with disabilities, elderly people, and people of color—and in recognition that no one is safe from this extremely infectious and rapidly mutating virus until everyone is safe;
3. Continue prioritizing COVID safety for all—and particularly for those who are especially vulnerable—when planning meetings, events, and organizing activities;
4. Engage, as DSA, in community-based efforts to provide aid where possible to those who most suffer from the ongoing pandemic by, for example, distributing free N95 masks to those who cannot afford them, organizing teams to construct air filter devices for schools and senior centers, or disseminating information about guarding against airborne transmission;
5. Build a movement to take society forward, not back, by retaining, restoring, and expanding on the unprecedented increases in public benefits and social supports—vital sustenance, although far from adequate—that were rapidly created when the pandemic hit the U.S.;
6. Build a movement for better public policies to prevent viral spread—with the ultimate goal of ending the COVID pandemic and reducing all airborne illnesses—to improve future responses to public health crises, and to aid people harmed by the pandemic by, for example, demanding that elected officials and government at all levels:
 - a. Reverse federal, state and local decisions that have undermined pandemic response efforts and are ending emergency policies as if the pandemic were over, and that have cut off vitally-needed benefits, including hunger relief, medical coverage, and more;
 - b. Invest in infrastructure to reliably clean the air in publicly-owned buildings, establish policies to require and facilitate ventilation and filtration upgrades in other indoor spaces where people gather, and set legally enforceable standards for indoor air quality;
 - c. Enact a large-scale public program of free PCR testing and robust contact tracing;

- d. Offer fully paid leave and supported isolation for those who test positive or are experiencing symptoms until they are no longer contagious;
- e. Make treatment for both initial infection with COVID and for its delayed effects, such as Long COVID, completely free of charge at the point of service;
- f. Increase research funding for Long COVID and related diseases such as ME/CFS;
- g. Compensate all pandemic-related injuries to health;
- h. Reintroduce hazard pay for essential workers and all those who have been forced by COVID's prevalence and the lack of protections to assume permanently higher job-related risks of illness and disability, a group that disproportionately includes people of color;
- i. Guarantee better and safer working conditions for all health care and home care workers, including safe staffing, adequate air filtration and ventilation, and mandatory respirator use for all hospitals and nursing homes;
- j. Enhance funding to provide free resource access for foster homes and participating youths in both foster care as well as residential services, and to improve their economic and health outcomes both during and after the pandemic while building systemic resiliency for future humanitarian crises that threaten great loss of life;
- k. Establish trust funds on a national level for the benefit of children whose parent or primary caregiver has died or been disabled due to COVID, taking inspiration from the California HOPE for Children Act of 2022;
- l. Require patent and royalty-free global technology transfer of all technological breakthroughs, including mRNA vaccines, testing, formulations, and prevention technologies, and issue a waiver of World Trade Organization (WTO) rules with the recognition that these technologies are global common goods;
- m. Ensure tests and vaccines are rapidly updated to match circulating variants, made freely available to all, and that frequent boosters to maintain resistance to infection are permitted;
- n. Provide safe housing, including continued eviction and utility shut off prevention, and reduced crowding in congregate settings (prisons, nursing homes, shelters, etc.)
- o. Automatically re-enroll all people covered by Medicaid during the pandemic and continue to protect them from being kicked off;
- p. Mandate daily reporting from health care facilities nationwide,
- q. Reinstitute mask mandates in all healthcare, public transportation, and government facilities until transmission is halted, and distribute high quality (N95/KN95) masks for free;

- r. Ensure availability of remote work for all positions with which it is compatible and remote school options for those who need them, and expand virtual access to government, arts, and community events;
 - s. Direct the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and other regulatory agencies to institute a strong protective and permanent policy for all workplaces, including educational facilities, to protect workers, students, and children in care settings nationwide from the airborne threat of COVID-19;
 - t. Act to expand production and drive down prices of masks/respirators and other personal protective equipment, HEPA filters, air purifiers, CO2 monitors, and other tools for cleaning indoor air of airborne infections, so those tools can be widely and affordably used;
 - u. Ensure recognition of the ongoing emergency nature of the COVID-19 crisis by both U.S. and international bodies such as the World Health Organization;
 - v. Clearly communicate through public health service announcements about the threat of SARS-CoV-2 exposure, the dangers of Long COVID, and how to protect against airborne threats from COVID-19;
 - w. Prioritize protecting public health in all federal, state, and local policies and budgetary decisions, and reject the pursuit of restoring business operations to pre-pandemic levels at all costs;
 - x. Remove obstacles to and facilitate enrollment in workers compensation and Social Security benefits on the part of people disabled by COVID.
 - y. Initiate a new program based on the successful model of Operation Warp Speed to research superior treatments and seek a vaccine that provides durable immunity to infection and stops transmission (“sterilizing immunity”);
 - z. Develop novel medical treatments for other conditions and pathogens and provide resulting treatments for free as in Operation Warp Speed, where the federal government effectively funded and coordinated the pharmaceutical research and development process;
7. Bring to justice leaders in business, government, and the media whose actions and omissions in the face of the pandemic have led to the social murder of the working class on a staggering new scale. This includes barring the chief architects of the disastrous U.S. COVID-19 response from future employment in government, healthcare, or public health-related roles; and calling for a people’s tribunal on that response modeled after international truth and reconciliation commissions, which could take the form of either an unofficial inquiry conducted by DSA in concert with other organizations, an official inquiry by the U.S. government, or an effort to seek justice through the application of international law;

8. Resolve the current crisis and improve responses to future public health crises by radically reorganizing the U.S. government to prioritize the needs of the people over the prerogatives of capital, in particular by demanding:
 - a. Enactment of Medicare For All to avert collapse of a fragmented and profit-driven healthcare system severely overstrained by the pandemic, and in order to make services available where they are needed and to guarantee that comprehensive care for all is paid for by the government and is free at the point of service—reforms that are crucial to putting patients before profits and protecting everyone in the U.S. from the debilitating and lethal effects of pervasive SARS-CoV-2;
 - b. Publicly-owned or publicly-contracted non-profit facilities to produce essential medications at an affordable cost and in quantities sufficient to prevent shortages;
 - c. Nationalization and defunding of the military industrial complex, which has been siphoning resources from the U.S. pandemic response and has been a key part in forcing the economy open without protections in order to further U.S. geopolitical strategy;
9. Denounce in the strongest terms the ongoing attempt by the U.S. government, its intelligence agencies, think tanks, and right-wing forces to pin the blame for the pandemic on China in the service of igniting national and racial hatreds in preparation for an illegal war of aggression against that country; as well as the directly related increase in anti-Asian hate crimes that have been occurring due to the fears, racism, and xenophobia stoked by the United States government and media to deflect responsibility from the inadequate response to the pandemic;

Therefore, this work will be developed collaboratively by seeking to unite related nascent efforts within DSA, such as by the Disability Working Group, National Mutual Aid Working Group, International Committee, Medicare for All and Labor Committee, etc., to leverage existing relationships with labor unions and other organizations to build coalitions that can help achieve the objectives described above;

Therefore, the DSA Disability Working Group (DWG) will house this work and be accountable for ensuring the work is done, by establishing a Pandemic Organizing Committee within the Disability Working Group, and a Health and Safety Sub-committee therein;

Therefore, the Disability Working Group will be responsible for developing and distributing to locals, regional bodies, and national DSA bodies, guidelines that can be dynamically updated according to new conditions for conducting DSA meetings, events, and other work (including

that of DSA staff) that aim for minimizing transmission of COVID-19 and that center medically vulnerable comrades.

Be it further resolved that DSA establishes minimum requirements for the health and safety of all in-person events to ensure that risk is mitigated as much as possible, known henceforth as the “National DSA COVID Safety Policy for In-Person Events”;

Be it further resolved that the first edition of this policy is included with this resolution based on current data and available countermeasures;

Be it further resolved that each local establish a Health and Safety Committee (HSC) to facilitate good health and safety practices in the local and ensure compliance with the COVID safety policy for in-person events, with assigned tasks including but not necessarily limited to: creating educational materials, purchasing and distributing materials for meetings (e.g. tests, respirators, air filtration materials), and ensuring safety policy compliance at meetings, working with event organizers, working groups, and committees as needed;

Be it further resolved that the HSC will be open to any local members who accept the efficacy, safety and importance of masking, vaccines, and other public health safety measures, and accept airborne transmission of COVID-19 as a basic principle;

Be it further resolved that the Disability Working Group may update the COVID safety policy and the remote meeting policy periodically based on scientific evidence that can be reasonably trusted not to be politicized towards minimizing the risk of the pandemic;

Be it further resolved that each established HSC will appoint one member to be a liaison to the Disability Working Group and provide DWG with contact information so that DWG may from time to time convene meetings to help coordinate and discuss health and safety policy across the nation;

Be it further resolved that the HSC in conjunction with other relevant committees or working groups in the local, YDSA local, organizing committee, or regional or national body, will be responsible for (1) ensuring membership is aware of the COVID safety policy, (2) reminding attendees of the policy in advance of in-person meetings, (3) ensuring hard copies of the policy are posted at in-person meetings, (4) ensuring that available safety supplies are accessible to members for in-person meetings and events, and (5) updating membership about changes to the policy.

Be it further resolved that DWG will serve as a national clearinghouse for reportable data from DSA and YDSA locals such as incident reports and anonymized counts of confirmed or suspected COVID-19 cases among participants at endorsed events; reportable data will be determined collaboratively with the local HSCs; ideally statistics will be published at least monthly, but no later than quarterly;

Be it further resolved DSA National will subsidize the purchase of a pandemic safety start-up kit up to \$950 per eligible DSA or YDSA local, organizing committee, regional or national DSA body (collectively “bodies”); eligible bodies will be ones that have passed a pandemic resolution that implements the current recommendations from the Disability Working Group; eligible bodies that have already purchased equipment will be reimbursable;

Be it further resolved the National Political Committee (NPC) and staff are tasked with publicizing this resolution in Democratic Left, on the DSA website, and as a press release to remove any possible doubt among the wider public where DSA stands on the pandemic.

National DSA COVID Safety Policy for In-Person Events

This policy applies to all in-person events held by DSA locals, including co-sponsored events.

The policy should be posted visibly at the entrance to in-person events.

Attendees are expected to abide by the COVID safety policy and may be asked to leave if they do not agree to comply with it.

The Health and Safety Committee (HSC) will be responsible for bottom-lining this task, but **any member should feel empowered to respectfully communicate the boundaries in the policy.**

If a member feels the boundaries of this COVID Safety Policy are/were not respected at a Local function even after being respectfully communicated and reiterated, both support requests and formal grievances can be filed.

I. At all events

- a. Any attendee who has been sick with any infectious illness should not attend within 14 days of the onset of symptoms

- b. Any attendee who has been sick with COVID-19 should additionally test negative on a rapid antigen test twice after waiting 48 hours between tests in advance of attending and must not be symptomatic
- c. Any attendee who has a known exposure to a sick person within the past 14 days should not attend
- d. Any attendee who has engaged in a high-risk activity in the past 14 days, such as being unmasked at a large indoor event or unmasked air/train/bus travel, should take a rapid antigen test on the day of the DSA event and attend only upon receiving a negative result
- e. Rapid antigen tests will be provided by the local for people who would be financially burdened by the cost of the tests
- f. If a participant tests positive or has suspected symptoms of COVID-19 within 4 days after the event, they should contact the HSC so that the HSC can perform contact tracing. (DWG will develop guidelines for contact tracing to protect both community health and patient privacy.)

II. Indoor events

1. Convening

- a. A member will be designated to perform intake of members to get contact information for contact tracing. (This may overlap with pre-existing intake duties.)
- b. A member will be designated to ask participants to wear their masks correctly if they are out of compliance.
- c. The chair will remind the participants that medically vulnerable people may be in attendance and that these conditions are not always visible, advertised, or known. The chair will also remind participants of the meeting safety features in effect.

2. Masking

- a. Masking with well-fitting N95 equivalent (N95, KF94, KN95, FFP2, P2) [or better](#) required for all attendees
- b. N95 equivalents, along with instructions for proper fit, will be provided by the local for attendees who do not have their own
- c. We recommend 3M Aura, as they are likely to [provide a good seal](#) on most people without requiring a fit test, along with a [bifold earloop](#) option for people who prefer it

3. Food/drink

- a. No food/social drinking; attendees should remain masked at all time

4. Ventilation

- a. Where possible and weather permitting, indoor air quality should be improved by opening windows and/or providing air filtration via [Corsi-Rosenthal boxes](#) or [commercial HEPA filters](#)
- b. A CO2 monitor should be posted in a location away from windows or doors and at least a few feet away from people along with directions for interpretation so that people can see at a glance their current risk of long range transmission.
 - i. A reading above 1000 ppm should trigger the introduction of fresh air or the subtraction of participants, with a goal of driving CO2 levels below 800 ppm (lower is better). If participants are exercising, talking loudly, or singing, 800 ppm is a more appropriate threshold for action.
- c. Venues should be considered based on their ventilation capacity

III. Outdoor events

As illness can still spread outside, outdoor events are not risk-free,

1. Masking

- a. Masking is recommended at outdoor events, particularly in larger groups, since larger/denser groups increase the risk of infection
- b. Masks will be provided by the local for those who want one, along with instructions for proper mask fit

2. Food/drink

- a. Food and drinks are allowed; good food-handling practice should be exercised. For example, attendees should wear a mask when handling or standing near food

IV. Large, outdoor outward-facing events, such as rallies or protests

As illness can still spread outside, outdoor events are not risk-free

1. Masking

- a. Masking is recommended, since larger/denser groups increase the risk of infection

Reasonable effort should be made to encourage attendees to wear masks, such as recommending masks on flyers and providing masks

	Indoor Events	Outdoor
Masking	N95/KN95 equivalent required	Recommended
Food/drink	No	Yes; exercise safe food-handling practices
Ventilation	Improve by opening windows & using air filtration	N/A

Recent Risky Activity	Must test negative on a rapid test on the day of the event if you have done a high-risk activity in the last 14 days: unmasked air/train/bus travel, unmasked at a large indoor event
Recent exposure/ illness	Do not attend if you have been exposed to a sick person within the last 14 days; if you are sick, do not attend an event within 14 days of symptom onset. If ill with COVID, additionally test negative before attending.

[*Unabridged version of resolution \(including Estimated Budget Projections, & Citations\)*](#)

DSA Organizing for Pandemic Justice	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$397,692
Estimated Staff Costs	\$44,980
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$8,096
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$15,916
Other Direct Costs	\$328,700
Description of Main Staff Work	Staff time to gather passed resolutions and issue reimbursements for each start-up kit.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Start up kits for all eligible DSA bodies.

Member-Submitted Resolution #6: End National Harassment and Grievance Officer Contract and Make the Role a Staff Position

Authors: CS J., San Diego DSA, Eli K., Mid Hudson Valley DSA

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Background

Paula Brantner, owner of PB Work Solutions LLC, was hired in 2018 to assist with the rollout of DSA's harassment and grievance process under Resolution 33 and serve as the organization's National Harassment and Grievance Officer (NHGO). This is a contract position rather than a staff or elected position. Paula Brantner and Ana Avendaño are the current members of the NHGO team providing services under the contract.

That contract was most recently renewed in November 2022. That contract is for \$540,000 for an 19-month term of service. The current NHGO's contract cannot be viewed by membership nor can the NPC speak to the details of the contract. A NPC member reports that the contract can be terminated any time, for any reason with 90 days notice and with continued payment for 30 days for transition assistance.

Resolution

Whereas, a standard contract fee in related industries is \$55,000-65,000 and agreeing to a \$540,000 fee without soliciting additional bids represents financial mismanagement on the part of the NPC.

Whereas, the employees of PB Work Solutions LLC are not staff and therefore not bound to the DSA staff requirement to demonstrate commitment to democratic socialist, feminist, anti-racist, anti-ableist, anti-heterosexist and pro-worker action and identify as socialists.

Whereas, a staff position may offer transparency, accountability and responsiveness to DSA members that this contract position does not.

Therefore, be it resolved, we end DSA's contract with PB Work Solutions LLC in accordance with its terms and conditions.

Be it further resolved, that it will be the policy of DSA that the National Harassment and Grievance Officer be a permanent staff position.

Be it further resolved, that the NHGO shall have a non-voting seat on the National Committee of Grievance Officers.

Be it further resolved, that the National Committee of Grievance Officers (NCGO) is authorized to solicit applications and fill vacancies on the NCGO committee before the staff NHGO position is advertised.

End National Harassment and Grievance Officer Contract and Make the Role a Staff Position	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$207,376
Estimated Staff Costs	\$135,200
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$24,336
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$47,840
Other Direct Costs	0
Description of Main Staff Work	One full time staff position.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	No cost to ending contract provided the terms and conditions are followed including 90 days notice including a 30 day transition period to train the new National HGO.

Member-Submitted Resolution Amendment E: Amendment to End National Harassment and Grievance Officer Contract and Make the Role a Staff Position (MSR #6)

Authors: Liz K., Chicago DSA & Wamiq C., NC Triangle DSA

Whereas, it is clear that DSA's NHGO contract with PB Work Solutions LLC is untenable and must be ended. Making the NHGO role a staff position poses potential conflict of interest issues, so this amendment calls on the NPC to explore both outside and staff options for the NHGO role going forward, allowing us to explore whether outside solutions would be prohibitively expensive before committing to the more complicated staff solution.

Therefore be it resolved that the resolution "End National Harassment and Grievance Officer Contract and Make the Role a Staff Position" is amended as follows:

End National Harassment and Grievance Officer Contract ~~and Make the Role a Staff Position~~

Whereas, a functioning and robust grievance process has been a priority of DSA since at least 2017, when Resolution 33 created a national grievance process,

Whereas, a non-functioning grievance policy poses a grave threat to DSA's stability, and the national organization will require flexibility to improve the grievance process without an unacceptable interruption in the position of NHGO,

Whereas, DSA's unique organizational culture and structure has severely limited the available pool of people willing and able to serve as a national grievance officer,

Whereas, the high cost of DSA's contract with its current outside consultant to handle grievance processes has raised reasonable concerns;

Whereas, having an outside consultant as NHGO entails paying an outside consultant the higher fees associated with a consultancy, while making a grievance officer staff, where they would be subject to ultimate supervision by the NPC, whose members may themselves be named in grievances, poses thorny organizational problems;

~~Whereas, a standard contract fee in related industries is \$55,000-65,000 and agreeing to a \$540,000 fee without soliciting additional bids represents financial mismanagement on the part of the NPC.~~

~~Whereas, the employees of PB Work Solutions LLC are not staff and therefore not bound to the DSA staff requirement to demonstrate commitment to democratic socialist, feminist, anti-racist, anti-ableist, anti-heterosexist and pro-worker action and identify as socialists.~~

~~Whereas, a staff position may offer transparency, accountability and responsiveness to DSA members that this contract position does not.~~

Therefore, be it resolved, the NPC shall advertise both a staff NHGO position and a request for bids on an outside NHGO contract within three months of the passage of this resolution;

Be it further resolved, ~~we end~~ DSA's contract with PB Work Solutions LLC ~~in~~ will be terminated in accordance with its terms and conditions as soon as a replacement NHGO is identified.

~~Be it further resolved, that it will be the policy of DSA that the National Harassment and Grievance Officer be a permanent staff position.~~

Be it further resolved, that if the NHGO is made a staff position the NHGO shall have a non-voting seat on the National Committee of Grievance Officers.

Be it further resolved, that the National Committee of Grievance Officers (NCGO) is authorized to solicit applications and fill vacancies on the NCGO committee with NPC approval in advance of the identification of a new NHGO. ~~before the staff NHGO position is advertised.~~

Member-Submitted Resolution #7: Fair NPC Elections

Author: Nate K., Atlanta DSA

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas

1. DSA members are free to endorse and campaign for NPC candidates in their own individual capacities, and DSA members are free to form organized groups outside of the incorporated 501(c)(4) DSA organization to endorse and campaign for NPC candidates.
2. In previous years, national DSA working groups have made endorsements of candidates in elections for the DSA National Political Committee, and used official DSA assets such as social media and email lists to promote specific NPC candidates.
3. The use of official DSA assets to endorse and campaign for NPC candidates is damaging to DSA's overall culture, internal democracy, and integrity.

Resolved

1. The 2023 DSA National Convention resolves that the National Political Committee, all national DSA Commissions, Committees, Sections, Publications, and Working Groups, and all other subsidiary components of the incorporated 501(c)(4) National DSA organization are hereby prohibited from endorsing or campaigning for candidates in elections for the DSA National Political Committee.
2. All DSA members are encouraged to exercise their democratic rights to campaign for NPC candidates without making use of national DSA assets.

Fair NPC Elections	
Total Costs - First Year Only	0
Estimated Staff Costs	0
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	0
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	0
Other Direct Costs	0
Description of Main Staff Work	No major staff time needed.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	No major direct costs.

Member-Submitted Resolution #8: For a Political, Prolific and Democratic DSA Editorial Board

Authors: Shuvu B., NYC-DSA, Gerard D., NYC-DSA, Nate K., Atlanta DSA, Jack L., NYC-DSA, Griffin M., At-Large, Calliope M., NYC-DSA

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas there currently exist substantial barriers to learn about DSA's national structure, status of national committee and chapter work, political strategy and active debates, and

Whereas members currently rely on a varied mix of forums, social media, articles published in a variety of outlets, and private group chats to learn about DSA's political work, strategy and debates, and

Whereas the decentralized and haphazard nature of political discussion within DSA contributes to a pattern of uneven and unconstructive communication, and

Whereas DSA lacks a centralized, member-driven working body to coordinate internal and external communications, with this responsibility spread between the National Political Committee (NPC), the Communications Committee, *Democratic Left* and *Socialist Forum* editors, and

Whereas the leadership and editorial boards of *Democratic Left* and *Socialist Forum* are appointed by the NPC in an ad hoc process, and no formal democratic mechanisms currently exist for decision-making or volunteering on editorial and administrative matters, and

Whereas [Article XII Section 2 of DSA's bylaws](#) says that the "NPC will be responsible for the editorial supervision of all publications," and

Whereas a prolific, democratic, and well-resourced DSA media operation has the potential to greatly benefit DSA's organization, public outreach, and political strategy,

Be it therefore resolved that the editorial boards of *Democratic Left* and *Socialist Forum* will be joined into one DSA Editorial Board, which may form subcommittees (e.g., one for each publication),

Resolved that the Editorial Board be composed of 9 Editors representative of DSA's political work, elected no later than 3 months after each national convention by the NPC following a

public call for nominations open to all DSA members in good standing,

Resolved that DSA's publications be open to the participation of members in good standing; to that end, the Editorial Board will create a public sign-up form for DSA members to volunteer in producing either publication (*Democratic Left* or *Socialist Forum*), and will follow up with each member who submits the form,

Resolved that the Editorial Board will choose among itself an Editor-in-Chief, functionally the chair, responsible for organizing meetings and ensuring tasks are bottomlined, and that all Board members have equal votes on matters,

Resolved that, at least once a month (and ideally on a weekly basis), the Editorial Board will review the articles submitted for consideration, and, for every article submitted, will take a vote on whether or not to publish, either as a whole board or in subcommittee,

Resolved that the Editorial Board prioritizes publishing content centered around DSA's political stances and organizing work,

Resolved that the Editorial Board ensures *Democratic Left* is an agitational publication geared towards current and future members of the wider U.S. left, publishing articles around 800 to 1,800 words that touch on political topics of interest to DSA members through news commentary and analysis; chapter and campaign report-backs highlighting organizing projects including but not limited to labor, tenant, electoral, abolitionist, social movements, and anti-imperialist and international work; focused political discussion; and cultural criticism,

Resolved that the Editorial Board ensures *Socialist Forum* is an in-depth party publication that is actively engaged with by DSA members and presents wide-ranging political discussion and debate by DSA members on important strategic questions for DSA, our organizing work, and the broader socialist movement in articles of around 2,000 to 3,000 words,

Resolved that the Editorial Board will develop and implement a plan to expand the digital and physical reach of *Democratic Left* and *Socialist Forum*, including but not limited to a plan to expand the print issues of *Democratic Left* (in number of pages and word count) by August 2024,

Resolved that the NPC provide the Editorial Board with a budget to carry out its mandate, and that the Editorial Board will build out mechanisms to solicit donations for the continued operations and expansion of *Democratic Left* and *Socialist Forum*,

Resolved that the Editorial Board will ensure that the print version of *Democratic Left* solicits and features regular reports of organizing work, including from national committees, the NPC, chapters, and DSA- endorsed socialists in office,

Resolved that the Editorial Board promote *Democratic Left* and *Socialist Forum* content using email and social media, including but not limited to circulating publication news and announcements, engaging with DSA members and chapters to solicit and republish content, and sharing individual articles,

Resolved that the Editorial Board ensures that *Democratic Left* and *Socialist Forum* publish content exclusively created or co-created by DSA members, including but not limited to content republished from other publications.

For a Political, Prolific and Democratic DSA Editorial Board	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$23,928
Estimated Staff Costs	\$15,600
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$2,808
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$5,520
Other Direct Costs	0
Description of Main Staff Work	Expanded fundraising and likely communications staff support to 20 hours per month.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	NPC would decide budget for Editorial Board after considering additional costs for printing and postage for an expanded DL and any paid methods to expand digital reach. DL does not currently pay contributors.

Member-Submitted Resolution #9: Hybrid Format for DSA Conventions

Authors: Brandon H., Central Jersey DSA, Brynne O., Akron DSA

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas, the DSA Convention is the highest decision-making body, which meets once every two years for the purpose of democratic debate, decision-making to set priority work, and electing leadership for the organization, toward guiding all dues-paying members' organizing efforts, and;

Whereas, DSA holding a hybrid Convention would bolster the organization's strategic ability to pivot to a virtual option if necessary to avoid a reactionary convention organizing standard, considering the ongoing crises of Covid, global capitalism, and climate change, by utilizing the technological innovations of pandemic organizing. In addition, canceling a hybrid Convention and reverting to virtual-only if needed is easier and more cost-effective than adding in hybrid capabilities last minute, and;

Whereas, COVID and future pandemics are unpredictable, surges of infection have occurred in the summertime when Conventions are held, and these surges are expected to reoccur, and;

Whereas, DSA is a member-funded organization, and this method of funding and Convention participation should benefit all members instead of a limited number, and;

Whereas, a hybrid Convention model would save the organization money otherwise spent on fundraising to cover travel, lodging, and food costs. Providing scholarships so some members can attend in person still limits a significant number of members who cannot attend in person, exacerbating inequity, and

Whereas, DSA purports to be building the largest multi-racial working-class movement in the United States, recognizing that this goal benefits from intersectional organizing strategies. A hybrid Convention would accommodate perspectives and voices from marginalized communities which include:

- People with disabilities
- Those who are institutionalized
- The rapidly growing numbers of people disabled by Long Covid, or those who are

immunocompromised, and thus at even greater risk in crowded settings

- Individuals requiring ongoing access to medical care, daily services, and treatment, including but not limited to psychological services
- Queer comrades, especially those who are trans thereby experiencing greater barriers to safe travel
- Those who are pregnant or may become pregnant, and are struggling in oppressive anti-abortion states
- Parents and other individuals with caregiving obligations to children, immunocompromised people, elderly relatives, or community members who can't take time away from these duties
- Students or teachers in educational institutions or trade schools with atypical semester schedules
- Those who do not get vacation time off from work and those who do receive vacation time but can't take time off from employment to travel
- Shift workers who benefit from the high differential pay rates for working overnights and weekends
- Those who are unionizing and face scheduling discrimination and retaliation for requesting time off related to travel
- Those living abroad
- Those who are surviving poverty
- Those who require language interpretation and/or spoken translation, and;

Whereas, having in-person only conventions undermines the effort of building a broad multi-racial working-class movement, by limiting the participation access of member delegates, and;

Whereas, we are facing pandemic employment insecurity and are in the midst of an unprecedented economic inflation crisis made more precarious by the growing number of disabled individuals due to the effects of long COVID, the high mortality rate of reinfections, and inaccessible healthcare for pre-existing conditions, and;

Whereas, the material reality of many DSA members is one of financial disability, and having a hybrid convention would be more accessible to both medically and economically disabled member delegates who are unable to incur the cost of travel or other societal barriers, and;

Whereas, as evidence grows that repeat COVID infections cause cumulative harm, including damage to people's immune systems, DSA should protect its valued organizers, and should not require people to face unpredictable pandemic-era hazards in order to democratically participate, and;

Whereas, DSA is committed to fighting for ecosocialism, and having a hybrid option supports decreased fuel consumption and pollution from traveling, and because the United States has poor infrastructure that limits personal and mass transit options, making it difficult for some to travel in an environmentally responsible way, and;

Whereas, the DSA Convention must be in a hybrid format to be truly just, respectful, and democratic by granting access to the widest range of DSA members. A hybrid format will also encourage participants to develop more skilled and diverse organizational leaders, who can better recruit and mentor new DSA members, furthering militant organizational growth. Therefore, be it resolved, that DSA commits to hold all future National DSA Conventions (hereafter “the Conventions” or “Convention”) in a hybrid format, with a virtual option, in instances where an in-person aspect will be utilized, making the Conventions more accessible to a greater number of member delegates, striving to be more representative of DSA membership as a whole;

Therefore, be it resolved, that DSA commits to hold all future National DSA Conventions (hereafter “the Conventions” or “Convention”) in a hybrid format, with a virtual option, in instances where an in-person aspect will be utilized, making the Conventions more accessible to a greater number of member delegates, striving to be more representative of DSA membership as a whole;

Be it further resolved, in instances where the organizers of the Conventions believe the complexity, cost, or any other factor, would make it too prohibitive to make hybrid feasible, a fully-virtual convention may alternatively be held;

Be it further resolved, DSA National Political Committee (NPC) and staff must thoroughly research and locate vendors and pricing options for a hybrid Convention, as opposed to making ballpark estimates.

Hybrid Format for DSA Conventions	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$124,925
Estimated Staff Costs	\$16,250
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$2,925
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$5,750
Other Direct Costs	\$100,000

Description of Main Staff Work	Staff time in organizing, comms, event planning, and tech, to manage two separate simultaneous convention spaces during the convention and processes for managing delegates of two types from delegate elections through convention. Cost is not divided by two as the resolution may be considered in the context of the annual convention cost.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Cost of online convention platform which integrates with in-person including debates and voting as well as other sessions, cost of enhanced AV capabilities in all in-person convention spaces.

Member-Submitted Resolution #10: Launch a Democracy Commission for DSA

Author: Neal M., New York City

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas ,

Efforts to make major changes to the structure of national DSA through amendments to the organization's constitution and bylaws have been proposed by a broad range of tendencies and groups at the 2017, 2019, and 2021 national conventions, demonstrating the widely shared desire to reform DSA. Proposals have tried to fix problems with the ineffectiveness of the National Political Committee, the lack of intermediate leadership layers, the political autonomy of an unelected National Director, problems with procedures to replace vacant spots on the NPC, and more. These problems point to significant deficiencies in DSA's democratic structures...

All major efforts at reforming DSA's national structure beginning in 2017 have failed to reach the supermajority at national convention needed to amend DSA's constitution and bylaws due to the absence of a broad-based consensus about how to make changes...

There is a great deal that DSA can learn in terms of how to build a democratic, mass-membership organization from other parties and organizations around the world...

Be it resolved that,

The 2023 National Convention of DSA supports the creation of a DSA Democracy Commission, whose task in its first year will be twofold. First, it will investigate the structures of other parties and political organizations from around the world and which are organized on a democratic basis. And second, it will develop an analysis about what needs to change about DSA's structures to make the organization more democratic and effective, carrying out a comprehensive investigation and review of DSA's current organization and staff structure. The Commission will present reports to DSA's membership by July 2024 on its findings...

The Democracy Commission in its second year will be responsible for drafting proposals for reforming DSA's national structure, informed by its findings in its first year. These proposals will be presented at the 2025 DSA National Convention for debate and vote by convention delegates...

To ensure that the Democracy Commission is representative of DSA membership, the commission will include 21 voting members. They will be elected by delegates from the 2023 DSA National Convention using single transferable vote after the convention but no later than October 15, 2023. Any member in DSA in good standing can run to be a member of the Democracy Commission, they do not have to have attended the 2023 National Convention. The National Office will be responsible for organizing this election. Any vacancies on the Commission after its election will be filled by the National Political Committee...

To ensure transparency and promote broad discussion of how DSA should be reformed, full meetings of the Democracy Commission should be held on Zoom and open to all DSA members to observe. Meeting minutes from the Commission should be published publicly...

The Democracy Commission will be responsible for organizing its own affairs, including electing a Steering Committee from within its own ranks.

Launch a Democracy Commission for DSA	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$14,608
Estimated Staff Costs	\$9,100
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$1,638
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$3,220
Other Direct Costs	\$650
Description of Main Staff Work	140 staff hours from membership, tech, operations and comms departments for running a national election with candidate packets, forum and working with the member committee planning the election, for the seats on this Commission.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Cost of running the election after convention.

Member-Submitted Resolution #11: Make Bud DSA's Official Mascot

Authors: Trey C., Champlain Valley DSA, Maddy GW., East Bay DSA, Heather H., Akron DSA, Sandy B., Chicago DSA, & Adam F., Champlain Valley DSA

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas:

Bud is a fun little guy (androgynous).

Resolved:

DSA makes Bud our official mascot. Bud will be frequently used on DSA communications and merchandise including a cardboard cutout of Bud for chapters to use while tabling, available for purchase at cost by all yDSA chapters and organizing committees



Make Bud DSA's Official Mascot	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$4,772
Estimated Staff Costs	\$1,560
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$280
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$552
Other Direct Costs	\$2,380
Description of Main Staff Work	Staff time to liaise with vendor on designs, order, proofs, trouble shooting, etc.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Cost of 350 3-5 foot cardboard cutouts - printing and distribution - is \$65 + \$3 each, or \$23,800. Difficult to cost as unit price might go up if less printed, but if all printed and even if sold at cost we would have to pay for storage and unsold inventory, so we cost as 10% or \$2,300.

Member-Submitted Resolution #12: Make DSA an Anti-Zionist Organization in Principle and Praxis

Authors: MJ A ., New Orleans DSA, Catherine E., At-Large, Abel A., Metro D.C. DSA, Francesca M., Connecticut DSA, James R., Philadelphia DSA, Alex M., Metro D.C. DSA, Brian F., North New Jersey DSA, Rosie S., Metro D.C. DSA, & Chris W., Seattle DSA

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas, and in line with Convention Resolutions #4 and #62 [from 2019](#), the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) is an anti-imperialist organization;

Whereas, and in line with Convention Resolution #50 from 2019, the DSA is an anti-colonialist organization committed to advancing decolonization projects;

Whereas, and in line with Convention Resolutions [#41 and #45 from 2017](#) and Resolutions [#4](#) and [#31](#) from 2021, the DSA is an anti-racist organization;

Whereas, and in line with Convention Resolutions [#7&8 from 2017](#) and [Resolution #35 from 2019](#), DSA National has publicly declared on numerous occasions in recent years that it “unapologetically stands [in solidarity](#) with Palestinian people everywhere;”

Whereas, Zionism – as popularized by Theodore Herzl and explicitly described by him as [“something colonial,”](#) meant to be “a wall of Europe against Asia... [an outpost of \[Western\] civilization against \[Eastern\] barbarism](#)” – is and has always been a racist, imperialist, settler-colonial project that has resulted in the ongoing death, displacement, and dehumanization of Palestinians everywhere (i.e., in Palestine and in diaspora around the world);

Whereas, the establishment of a Jewish ethnostate in Palestine (i.e., the so-called “state of Israel”) and its maintenance via ongoing and illegal occupation, [apartheid](#) and [ethnic cleansing](#) represent the culmination of Zionists’ [century-long](#) colonization of Palestine;

Whereas, and antithetical to the DSA’s contemporary principles and policies, DSA’s founding merger was heavily predicated on ensuring that the DSA would uphold DSOC’s position of supporting continued American aid for Israel’s Zionist colonial project, as explicitly noted in our organization’s founding merger documents (e.g., [Points of Political Unity](#)) and by [Michael Harrington](#) himself in his [autobiography](#);

Whereas, and antithetical to the DSA’s contemporary principles and policies, a number of DSA endorsed electeds (e.g., [Jamaal Bowman](#) & [Nithya Raman](#)) have consistently demonstrated a commitment to Zionism through their public opposition to BDS and/or support for legislation that harms Palestinians everywhere (e.g., public support for and votes in favor of U.S.

financial aid to Israeli military, which forcefully advances the ongoing ethnic cleansing of Palestine through systematic tactics of abuse, forcible displacement, and murder of Palestinians; governmental adoption of definitions of antisemitism that conflate anti-Zionism and antisemitism, leading to the suppression of speech of Palestinians and those in solidarity with them);

Whereas, the DSA's historic and contemporary association with and enablement of Zionism has jeopardized DSA rank- and-file membership's confidence in the integrity of DSA's overall politics, as well as our organization's [working relationships](#) with major [Palestinian-led grassroots](#) organizations across North America;

Whereas, DSA membership has overwhelmingly denounced Zionism through its stated principles and convention mandates since 2017 but has yet to articulate these newfound principles into a more coherent praxis;

Therefore, be it resolved, the DSA denounces the organization's Zionist roots and reaffirms its commitment to being an anti-racist, anti-imperialist organization by explicitly committing to being an anti-Zionist organization – in both principle *and* praxis;

Be it resolved, the DSA once again reaffirms our commitments to Palestinian liberation and the broad, international BDS movement by conveying our expectation that all of DSA's endorsed candidates hold true to the following basic commitments:

1. Fully and publicly support the [Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions \(BDS\) movement](#);
2. Refrain from any and all affiliation with the Israeli government or Zionist lobby groups, such as, but not limited to, AIPAC, J Street, or Democratic Majority for Israel (DMFI), including participating in political junkets or any event sponsored by these entities;
3. Pledge to oppose legislation that harms Palestinians, such as...
 - a. Any official adoption of a redefinition of antisemitism to include opposition to Israel's policies or legal system, or support for BDS (e.g., IHRA definition of antisemitism);
 - b. Legislative and executive efforts to penalize individuals, universities and entities that boycott Israel;
 - c. Legislative and executive efforts to send any military or economic resources to Israel;
4. Pledge to support legislation that supports Palestinian liberation, such as...
 - a. Legislative and executive efforts to end Israeli apartheid and ethnic cleansing against Palestinians and promote Palestinians' rights to return to and live freely on the land (e.g., [H.R. 2590](#));
 - b. Condemnation of Israeli apartheid and colonial practices (e.g., [H.Res. 751](#));
 - c. Attempts to end the spending of U.S. tax dollars on Israel and/or sanction Israel until it ceases its practices of apartheid and colonialism;

Be it resolved, local chapters with candidate questionnaires will, at the very least, include a question that inquires about the candidate's position on BDS;

Be it resolved, potential candidates who cannot commit to the aforementioned basic expectations will be disqualified from endorsement by the DSA at every level;

Be it resolved, the DSA's BDS Working Group, in collaboration with trusted Palestine Solidarity movement partners in the grassroots (e.g., Palestinian Youth Movement), will provide all endorsed candidates with anti-Zionist educational materials, 1-to-1 training opportunities and ongoing, open-door counsel as needed;

Be it resolved, upon receiving fair and ample opportunity for education about the Palestinian struggle for liberation, endorsed candidates who do not commit to the aforementioned basic expectations will have their DSA endorsements swiftly revoked;

Be it resolved, DSA members – regardless of endorsement status – who are credibly shown to 1) have consistently and publicly opposed BDS, even after receiving fair and ample opportunity for education about the Palestinian struggle for liberation, 2) be currently affiliated with the Israeli government or any Zionist lobby group(s), or 3) have provided material aid to Israel will be considered in substantial disagreement with DSA's principles and policies, and thus, expelled in line with [Article 1, Section 3](#) of the DSA Bylaws;

Be it resolved, members expelled on these grounds may be reconsidered for membership reinstatement once per year provided they write a statement to membership that 1.) demonstrates a basic understanding of Palestinian issues and Zionism and 2.) apologizes for past anti-solidaristic behaviors with a commitment to putting their new anti-Zionist principles into practice;

Be it resolved, membership reinstatement of reformed Zionists will require joint recommendation for reinstatement by their local chapter and the National BDS Working Group, followed by a majority vote in favor of reinstatement by the National Political Committee.

Make DSA an Anti-Zionist Organization in Principle and Praxis	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$1,196
Estimated Staff Costs	\$780
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$140
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$276
Other Direct Costs	0

Description of Main Staff Work	Minimal staff time, to track expulsions in member database.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	No major direct costs.

Member-Submitted Resolution Amendment F: Amendment to Make DSA an Anti-Zionist Organization in Principle and Praxis (MSR #12)

Authors: Y.L. Al-Sheikh, At-large, Rael A.R. (NYC-DSA), Aaron F. (NYC-DSA)

Amendment:

Whereas DSA's national platform exhorts, "As socialists living in the heart of the American empire, we must oppose imperialism and work to address, cease, and heal the harm caused by our ruling class. Only by listening to and aligning with those directly targeted by these policies can we begin to work toward a unified global vision of socialism and international working class solidarity";

Whereas DSA's national platform calls for DSA to "Stand in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle against apartheid, colonialism, and military occupation, and for equality, human rights, and self-determination, including the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement";

Whereas DSA's national convention formally adopted support for BDS in 2017 for the first time, repudiating a shameful tendency on the American Left to treat Israel as an exception to anti-racist, anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist politics;

~~**Whereas** and in line with Convention Resolutions #4 and #62 from 2019, the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) is an anti-imperialist organization;~~

~~**Whereas**, and in line with Convention Resolution #50 from 2019, the DSA is an anti-colonialist organization committed to advancing decolonization projects;~~

~~**Whereas**, and in line with Convention Resolutions #41 and #45 from 2017 and Resolutions #4 and #31 from 2021, the DSA is an anti-racist organization;~~

~~**Whereas**, and in line with Convention Resolutions #7&8 from 2017 and Resolution #35 from 2019, DSA National has publicly declared on numerous occasions in recent years that it "unapologetically stands in solidarity with Palestinian people everywhere;"~~

Whereas, Zionism – as popularized by Theodore Herzl and explicitly described by him as "something colonial," meant to be "a wall of Europe against Asia... an outpost of [Western] civilization against [Eastern] barbarism" – is and has always been a racist, imperialist, settler-colonial project that has resulted in the ongoing death, displacement, and dehumanization of Palestinians everywhere (i.e., in Palestine and in diaspora around the

world);

Whereas, the establishment of a Jewish ethnostate in Palestine (i.e., the so-called “state of Israel”) and its maintenance via ongoing and illegal occupation, [apartheid](#) and [ethnic cleansing](#) represent the culmination of Zionists’ [century-long](#) colonization of Palestine;

Whereas, the United States government funds and supports Israel’s apartheid state, providing over \$4 billion in military aid in fiscal year 2023 alone, and Israel is the largest cumulative recipient of U.S. foreign assistance since World War II;

Whereas, the Israeli lobby has worked to characterize criticism of Israel as anti-Semitic, passing anti-BDS laws in over 35 states;

Whereas, our task as socialists is to educate and organize the working class to support the BDS movement and to fight for Palestinian human rights, dignity, and sovereignty;

Whereas, the hostility to NYC-DSA Assemblymember Zohran Mamdani’s bill, “Not On Our Dime!”, which would prohibit NGOs complicit in the illegal occupation from receiving government funding, showcases the extent to which criticism of Israel has been shut out of American political life;

Whereas, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), Democratic Majority for Israel (DMFI), and their allies have spent millions of dollars to defeat progressive and socialist congressional candidates in Democratic primaries, treating any candidate unwilling to take an extreme pro-Israel line as an enemy, even where that candidate does not support BDS;

Whereas, Congressman Jamaal Bowman disappointed DSA members with his vote for US government funding of Israel’s Iron Dome system and his trip to Israel with J Street, including a photo opportunity with then-Israeli Prime Minister Naftali Bennett, who was personally responsible for the deaths of 106 civilians sheltering in a UN compound in the Qana massacre and who once stated during a cabinet meeting that, “I have killed lots of Arabs in my life – and there is no problem with that”;

Whereas, after DSA condemned Congressman Bowman for these actions and called upon him to demonstrate solidarity with Palestine, he has publicly opposed efforts by the United States to buttress the Abraham Accords and the Negev Forum, and in collaboration with Senator Bernie Sanders, called upon the Biden Administration to end the use of U.S. weapons against Palestinians and U.S. taxpayer funds to support projects in illegal settlements;

~~**Whereas**, and antithetical to the DSA’s contemporary principles and policies, DSA’s founding merger was heavily predicated on ensuring that the DSA would uphold DSOC’s~~

~~position of supporting continued American aid for Israel's Zionist colonial project, as explicitly noted in our organization's founding merger documents (e.g., Points of Political Unity) and by Michael Harrington himself in his autobiography;~~

~~**Whereas,** and antithetical to the DSA's contemporary principles and policies, a number of DSA endorsed electeds (e.g., Jamaal Bowman & Nithya Raman) have consistently demonstrated a commitment to Zionism through their public opposition to BDS and/or support for legislation that harms Palestinians everywhere (e.g., public support for and votes in favor of U.S. financial aid to Israeli military, which forcefully advances the ongoing ethnic cleansing of Palestine through systematic tactics of abuse, forcible displacement, and murder of Palestinians; governmental adoption of definitions of antisemitism that conflate anti-Zionism and antisemitism, leading to the suppression of speech of Palestinians and those in solidarity with them);~~

~~**Whereas,** the DSA's historic and contemporary association with and enablement of Zionism has jeopardized DSA rank-and-file membership's confidence in the integrity of DSA's overall politics, as well as our organization's working relationships with major Palestinian-led grassroots organizations across North America;~~

~~**Whereas,** DSA membership has overwhelmingly denounced Zionism through its stated principles and convention mandates since 2017 but has yet to articulate these newfound principles into a more coherent praxis;~~

~~**Therefore, be it resolved,** the DSA denounces the organization's Zionist roots and reaffirms its commitment to supporting the BDS movement and to anti-Zionism being an anti-racist, anti-imperialist organization by explicitly committing to being an anti-Zionist organization – in both principle *and* praxis;~~

Therefore, be it resolved, ~~the~~ DSA once again reaffirms our commitments to Palestinian liberation, political and social equality between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea, and the broad, international BDS movement, and to anti-racism, anti-imperialism, and anti-Zionism, by calling on DSA's nationally endorsed candidates to do the following, and by directing the NEC and NPC to consider whether they have met the following expectations in national endorsement and re-endorsement decisions: ~~conveying our expectation that all of DSA's endorsed candidates hold true to the following basic commitments:~~

1. Fully and publicly support the [Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions \(BDS\) movement](#),
2. Refrain from any and all affiliation with the Israeli government or Zionist lobby groups that support the occupation and apartheid regime (such as AIPAC, DMFI, and

Christians United for Israel), as well as any think tanks which obfuscate the reality of the occupation (such as the Foundation for Defense of Democracies), ~~such as, but not limited to, AIPAC, J Street, or Democratic Majority for Israel (DMFI)~~ including participating in political junkets or any event sponsored by these entities;

3. Pledge to oppose legislation that harms Palestinians, such as...
 - a. Any official adoption of a redefinition of antisemitism to include opposition to Israel's policies or legal system, or support for BDS (e.g., IHRA definition of antisemitism);
 - b. Legislative and executive efforts to penalize individuals, universities and entities that boycott Israel, **which violate the First Amendment**;
 - c. Legislative and executive efforts to send any military or economic resources to Israel;
4. Pledge to support legislation that supports Palestinian liberation, such as...
 - a. Legislative and executive efforts to end Israeli apartheid and ethnic cleansing against Palestinians and promote Palestinians' rights to return to and live freely on the land (e.g., H.R. 3103, **most recently introduced in the 118th Congress H.R. 2590**);
 - b. Condemnation of Israeli apartheid and colonial practices (e.g., H.Res. 751, **introduced in the 117th Congress**);
 - c. Attempts to end the spending of U.S. tax dollars on Israel and/or sanction Israel until it ceases its practices of apartheid and colonialism (e.g., "Not On Our Dime!");

Be it resolved, DSA's national endorsement process will include questions that inquire about the candidate's position on BDS and/or the above expectations;

Be it resolved, **we call on** local chapters with candidate questionnaires ~~to will, at the very least,~~ include a question that inquires about the candidate's position on BDS and/or the above expectations;

~~**Be it resolved**, potential candidates who cannot commit to the aforementioned basic expectations will be disqualified from endorsement by the DSA at every level;~~

Be it resolved, **the NPC, in consultation with** DSA's BDS Working Group, ~~in collaboration with trusted Palestine Solidarity movement partners in the grassroots (e.g., Palestinian Youth Movement)~~, will provide all endorsed candidates with anti-Zionist educational materials, 1-to-1 training opportunities and ongoing, open-door counsel as needed.†

~~**Be it resolved**, upon receiving fair and ample opportunity for education about the Palestinian struggle for liberation, endorsed candidates who do not commit to the~~

~~aforementioned basic expectations will have their DSA endorsements swiftly revoked;~~

~~**Be it resolved,** DSA members who consistently 1.) publicly oppose BDS, 2.) are affiliated with the Israeli government or any Zionist lobby group(s), and/or 3.) provide material aid to Israel—regardless of endorsement status—will be considered in substantial disagreement with DSA’s principles and policies, and thus, expelled in line with Article 1, Section 3 of the DSA Bylaws;~~

~~**Be it resolved,** members expelled on these grounds may be reconsidered for membership reinstatement once per year provided they write a statement to membership that 1.) demonstrates a basic understanding of Palestinian issues and Zionism and 2.) apologizes for past anti-solidaristic behaviors with a commitment to putting their new anti-Zionist principles into practice;~~

~~**Be it resolved,** membership reinstatement of reformed Zionists will require joint recommendation for reinstatement by their local chapter and the National BDS Working Group, followed by a majority vote in favor of reinstatement by the National Political Committee;~~

Member-Submitted Resolution #13: National Advisory Committee

Authors: Nate K., Atlanta DSA, Kelsea B., Atlanta DSA, Sumter A., Atlanta DSA, Marco O., Atlanta DSA

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas

1. Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) is a democratic, member-run organization that primarily relies on volunteer labor from members, not staff, to carry out our decisions and strategies
2. DSA has grown rapidly since 2016 by a factor of over 10:1, but still has a national leadership structure designed for an organization of around 5,000 people.
3. In order for DSA to be able to make consequential national decisions and carry them out, we must ensure that national decision-making processes are inclusive of our diverse and multi-tendency membership
4. National leaders, rank-and-file members, and staff would all benefit from stronger communication, consultation, and feedback ahead of major political decisions
5. Convening a National Advisory Committee would provide a platform for diverse voices within DSA to be heard and considered when making consequential national decisions

Resolved that:

1. **Purpose:** The DSA National Advisory Committee (NAC) will be elected and convened to advise the National Political Committee (NPC) on important political and strategic questions.
2. **Meetings:** The NAC shall meet by conference call at least three times annually. The NPC will set NAC meeting agendas, including a list of discussion questions. Regular NAC meetings shall be at least 90 minutes long, and include at least 45 minutes for NAC delegates to discuss questions presented by the NPC. Regular NAC meetings shall be open to all DSA members to observe, but only NAC members will have speaking rights.
3. **Special Meetings:** The NPC shall have the power to call special meetings of the NAC to discuss urgent political questions, such as how to respond to political emergencies like war, mass protests, political/economic crises, or pandemics. Special meetings may be called with at least one week's notice, and may be closed to NAC members only. If a special meeting ever replaces a regular public meeting, that regular public meeting shall be rescheduled to a later date.
4. **Composition:** The NAC shall be composed of roughly 100 NAC delegates elected by the 2023 Convention delegates. NAC seats will be apportioned at a rate of 1 NAC delegate

per 10 Convention delegates. The NPC will hold elections using Single Transferable Vote and appoint the winners to the NAC. In each election, half of seats (rounded down) will be reserved for candidates who are not cisgender white men.

- NAC seats shall be divided among regional elections for 7 regions based on the 2023 Staff Field Organizer turfs: -
 - Region 1, Northwest: WA, OR, CO, ID, WY, UT, MT, ND, SD, NE, KS, AK
 - Region 2, West: HI, CA, NV
 - Region 3, Southwest: AZ, NM, TX
 - Region 4, Midwest: MN, WI, IA, MO, IL, AR, OK
 - Region 5, Southeast: LA, MS, TN, AL, GA, FL, SC, NC
 - Region 6, Central: MI, IN, OH, KY, WV, PA
 - Region 7, Northeast: ME, NH, VT, MA, RI, CT, NY, NJ, DE, MD, DC, VA
- NAC seats will be allocated proportionally based on the total number of delegates apportioned to Chapters in each region. Chapters that span multiple regions will be assigned to the region which contains the largest number of their members. Convention delegates will vote in the one regional election for their Chapter's assigned region.

5. Polls: The NPC may, by majority vote, order non-binding advisory polls of NAC delegates, such as whether to endorse a presidential candidate or issue a particular statement. Only NAC delegates may vote in NAC polls.

- The votes of NAC delegate regions will be weighted proportionally to reflect the composition of the Convention, with each NAC delegate's vote weighted equal to the number of Convention delegates at the last Convention from each region, divided by the number of NAC seats apportioned to each region, rounded to two decimal places.
- For example, if the Northeast Region had 95 Convention delegates, and 10 NAC seats, each NAC delegate from the Northeast Region would have a vote weight of 9.50, because each NAC delegate represents roughly 9.50 Convention delegates.

6. Vacancy: In the event of an NAC seat vacancy, the NPC will appoint a replacement from the previous NAC delegate's region after publishing an application to members.

7. Ex- Officio Members: In addition to the elected NAC delegates, all NPC members and leaders of national commissions will serve as ex-officio members of the NAC, not as delegates, unless they are independently elected as NAC delegates.

8. Terms: The NAC shall serve for a term of two years, after which it shall be dissolved and replaced by new elections held during the next DSA Convention.

9. Timeline:

- Nominations for NAC candidates will open on or before September 1st, 2023.
- Elections for NAC delegates will be held on or before October 1st, 2023.
- The first NAC regular meeting will be held on or before November 1st, 2023.

National Advisory Committee	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$17,429
Estimated Staff Costs	\$9,880
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$1,778
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$3,496
Other Direct Costs	\$2,275
Description of Main Staff Work	Operations and data staff time to manage open meetings, run polls (estimated 4x a year), and administer 7 elections, one for each region.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Cost of running 4 NAC polls, cost of running 7 regional elections.

Member-Submitted Resolution #14: On the Defense of Immigrants and Refugees

Authors: Karen A., Portland DSA, Duane C., Sacramento DSA, Xiomara C., DSA Los Angeles, Janet H., DSA Los Angeles, Alexander H., Pasco-Hernando DSA, & Jeremy R., NE Pennsylvania DSA

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas, The defense of immigrants and refugees has been a priority as mandated by delegates to the [2017 \(r#41\)](#), [2019 \(r#5\)](#), and [2021 \(r#1\)](#) DSA national conventions.

Whereas, The migrant working class constitutes at least 20 % of the working class. More than 1 in 4 (26 percent), or approximately 18 million, U.S. children live with at least one immigrant parent. This working class population – residents of the U.S., must not be ignored. Political projects that do not include a substantive and realistic analysis of the migrant working class fail to understand both race and class in the U.S. and thus fail to address our fundamental political tasks.

Whereas, to achieve these ends we must first, promote the empowerment, self-determination, and liberation of Blacks, Latinos, Asians, indigenous, and other oppressed nationalities and immigrants within DSA and within the nation.

Be it therefore resolved, that the Democratic Socialists of America will make defense of immigrant and refugee rights a priority of the organization to be spearheaded by the National Immigrants Rights Working Group (IRWG) 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 regularization of status for all undocumented people, as well as the right of immigrants and their communities to lead in this struggle and to determine its tactics. We stand with all undocumented people, 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 ensure the full integration of all migrants and refugees. This includes both federal, state, and local policies which recognize the full humanity of workers

including social services, education, worker benefits, and workforce development.

Be it further resolved, there are several unresolved crises of 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 demand the closure of public and private immigrant detention facilities.

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 activists. 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 with local and state campaigns led by and for immigrant leaders (who are not necessarily DSA affiliated) in order to bolster and help win real policies that advance the demands of immigrant leaders.

Resolution On the Defense of Immigrants and Refugees	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$58,070
Estimated Staff Costs	\$28,080
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$5,054
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$9,936
Other Direct Costs	\$15,000
Description of Main Staff Work	36 staff hours/month from most departments for a nationwide campaign.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	\$15,000 budget for resolution.

Member-Submitted Resolution #15: Overturn the NPC Decision to Suspend the Steering Committee of the BDS and Palestine Solidarity WG

Authors: Chris W., Seattle DSA, Rosie S., Metro D.C. DSA, Brian F., North New Jersey DSA, James R., Philadelphia DSA, Francesca M., Connecticut DSA, Alex M., Metro D.C. DSA, Catherine E., At-Large, & Abel A., Metro D.C. DSA

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas, reaffirming the political stance established by [the combined Resolutions #7 and #8](#), which passed heavily at the 2017 Convention of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), the 2019 Convention established through [Resolution #35](#) “a national working group dedicated to BDS and Palestine Solidarity” and resolved “that the National will allow autonomous leadership and membership of said working group”,

Whereas, on February 23, 2022, a majority of the National Political Committee (NPC) voted to “decharter” the BDS and Palestine Solidarity Working Group (BDS WG),

Whereas, on February 23, 2022, a majority of the NPC voted to “suspend all BDS steering committee members from Leadership in other national working groups”, for a period of 1 year, without following the procedures outlined in [Resolution #33 \(2017\), as amended in 2021](#) – as well as [Article 3 Section 4](#) of the DSA Constitution, [Article 1 Section 3](#) of the Bylaws, and Robert’s Rules of Order Newly Revised – depriving these members of their rights as members,

Whereas, on March 18, 2022, Kristian H., as chair of the NPC, published [an internal statement to DSA members announcing](#) the NPC’s attempt to “decharter” the BDS and Palestine Solidarity Working Group for unsubstantiated and vague claims of violations of the [Code of Conduct for Members](#), and [false](#) claims of violations of the National Committee Criteria,

Whereas, for [the second time in two years](#), the NPC ignored a glaringly obvious conflict of interest in order to investigate and determine for themselves, and without any due process, the outcome of a grievance in which NPC members themselves are directly involved,

Whereas, on March 22, 2022, the NPC voted to reverse the decision to “decharter” the BDS WG, but has twice failed to reverse the suspensions by the narrowest of margins, without justification, without due process, and without an opportunity for the BDS WG Steering Committee to respond or appeal,

Whereas, on March 23, 2022, several major Palestinian grassroots formations across North America and Palestine (including the [Palestinian Youth Movement](#), [Good Shepherd Collective](#),

[USCPR](#), and [others](#)) condemned the decisions to “decharter” the BDS WG and suspend its steering committee members from leadership positions, and issued a boycott, declaring that they will not formally work with the DSA in any capacity should the organization fail to rescind these decisions,

Whereas, National Students for Justice in Palestine in particular wrote in [their statement](#), “DSA has an extensive history of reactionary [support for zionism](#) which, despite years of internal work pushing the DSA towards a more intentional solidarity with Palestine liberation, resurfaced in the winter of 2021”,

Whereas, the events detailed above led to an ongoing fracture between DSA and the grassroots Palestinian solidarity movement, and other internationalist formations, a fracture which has yet to be repaired,

Whereas, while the 1-year suspension of the BDS WG Steering Committee may have expired, the underlying decisions remain unreversed and the boycotts remain in effect,

Whereas, per [Article V Section 1](#) of the DSA Constitution, the decisions of the NPC or any DSA body are reviewable by the member-delegates duly assembled in Convention as the ultimate authority in this organization,

Therefore, be it resolved, the Convention reconsiders the suspension of the BDS WG Steering Committee, as initiated by the NPC, and declares the suspension to be null and void due to the substantive procedural errors that deprived members of their rights under the DSA Constitution, Bylaws, and Convention resolutions.

Overturn the NPC Decision to Suspend the Steering Committee of the BDS and Palestine Solidarity WG	
Total Costs - First Year Only	0
Estimated Staff Costs	0
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	0
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	0
Other Direct Costs	0
Description of Main Staff Work	No major staff time needed.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	No major direct costs.

Member-Submitted Resolution #16: Renew the National Activist Conference

Author): Nick C., Louisville DSA

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas, [Article VII, Section 2](#) of the DSA Constitution states “A National Activist Conference shall be held at least once between Conventions in the year in which a Convention is not held”; and,

Whereas, despite this language in our Constitution, DSA has failed to hold a National Activist Conference for many years; and, **Whereas**, in recent years DSA has cosponsored the annual Socialism Conference but has been unable to make this into an event associated with and beneficial to DSA and our needs; and,

Whereas, DSA has held small activist conferences for members organizing on certain subjects, such as the Socialism is the Future conference, but not a general activist conference open to the whole membership; and,

Whereas, an activist conference held in the off year between conventions will help develop our members as organizers and provide chapters and national bodies necessary space to develop our work in-person; and,

Whereas, a single activist conference held every other year will allow us to consolidate many existing smaller efforts into a larger and more effective event; and,

Whereas, the National Activist Conference would be a venue where our national leadership, staff, and campaigns would meet and hear directly from the wider DSA membership.

Be it therefore resolved, that the National Political Committee and DSA staff begin planning for a National Activist Conference to be held in 2024; and,

Be it further resolved, that the 2024 National Activist Conference include programs for socialist political education and general organizing skills trainings; and,

Be it further resolved, that the 2024 National Activist Conference include programs developed by all national commissions, committees, and working groups designated as a priority by the Convention or National Political Committee; and,

Be it further resolved, that the 2024 National Activist Conference include an open strategic discussion by the National Political Committee, and that members may watch this discussion and submit questions for NPC members to answer; and,

Be it further resolved, that DSA undertake a fundraising campaign to help offset the additional expense that comes with holding a new conference; and,

Be it further resolved, that DSA will do its best to make the conference open to all members who wish to attend with the caveats that space and financial constraints will provide limitations; and,

Be it further resolved, that DSA will make some programming available online for those unable to attend in person due to the aforementioned limitations; and,

Be it further resolved, that in the event that attendance has to be limited, that the application process will prioritize the attendance of representatives from every chapter and ensure an equitable representation based on race, gender, and income; and,

Renew the National Activist Conference	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$157,796
Estimated Staff Costs	\$44,200
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$7,956
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$15,640
Other Direct Costs	\$90,000
Description of Main Staff Work	The resolution envisions a conference similar to the spring 2023 Socialism is the Future conference so a realistic staff time estimate is 680 hours from across every department on staff.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Based on the cost of the 2023 Socialism is the Future conference direct cost estimate is \$90,000.

Member-Submitted Resolution #17: Strengthening Democracy by Strengthening DSA's Elected Leadership

Authors: Joseph P., NYC-DSA, Sarah M., Portland DSA, Connell H., River Valley DSA, & Ramy K., Seattle DSA

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas

1. The working class will only liberate itself based on radically democratic structures in our collective struggles for democratic socialism. DSA, as the largest socialist organization in the country, is a valuable part of this struggle.
2. DSA needs to be member-run, democratic, and transparent. We need to improve the effectiveness of our organization and develop the structures, political consciousness, and skills to hold our elected leaders and officials accountable.
3. DSA must navigate through crises and shifts in the terrain of class struggle and within our own organization, such as the turmoil following Congressman Bowman voting to fund the Israeli military and the US Congress banning a rail workers strike.
4. The leadership of DSA is the National Political Committee (NPC), and they must be in a position to adequately respond to the political needs of the moment.
5. We are proud to be able to have staff with full union rights, which strengthen DSA's impact. However, the staff need to be directed and organized by the democratically elected leadership of the NPC.
6. Because many NPC members have to work jobs to pay their bills, our NPC members are severely restricted in their ability to perform their political responsibilities to the entire DSA.
7. For the reasons outlined above, the DSA Convention approved the provision of stipends to NPC Steering Committee members in 2021.
8. Given the relatively large size of our organization, the size of our staff, and the size of the workload of NPC comrades, it is important we also support the ability of the other NPC members to play a full role. All NPC members need to be able to focus a significant part of their time on leading our organization.
9. Leadership in DSA must be possible for all working-class people, not just those who already have the resources to use their time leading our organization.

Therefore, Be it resolved all members of the NPC will be offered a monthly stipend of at least \$1,500. The full amount will also be offered to each of the 2 YDSA representatives on the NPC.

Strengthening Democracy by Strengthening DSA's Elected Leadership	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$219,589
Estimated Staff Costs	\$2,340
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$421
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$828
Other Direct Costs	\$216,000
Description of Main Staff Work	Staff time to process the financial paperwork to begin stipends and track terminations, leave time, etc.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Cost of \$1,500 monthly stipend for NPC members and YDSA Co-Chairs who share a vote on the NPC. Cost would go up based on other resolutions at this Convention to expand the NPC by 34 members. These costs are not estimated here.

Member-Submitted Resolution #18: Uniting Against the Ultra-Right

Authors: Duane C., Sacramento DSA, Itzhak E., NYC-DSA, Barbara J., Atlanta DSA, Max S., Metro D.C. DSA

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Preamble:

Democratic socialists must take seriously the threat to our democracy posed by the extremist right-wing elements in the US that have coalesced around the MAGA movement and its allies and gained control of the Republican Party to the point where it is barely distinguishable from them. The ultra-right's rule would undermine our already inadequate constitutional order in favor of authoritarian rule by the propertied classes, combined with weakening of the federal government and the suppression of basic civil rights, environmental protection and public services.

To say that the ultra-right is the principal enemy does not mean that it is the only enemy. It means, however, that we must focus on uniting democratic socialists, progressives and all those willing to build towards a majority which can defeat this threat. This broad front must be multi-racial and cross-class. It cannot be an alignment of the Left alone nor can it be limited to those who are in total agreement with a left/progressive agenda.

We are aware that the necessary organized nucleus of such a broad front does not exist and that DSA is not a part of such an alliance. Therefore, we are taking the first steps toward its formation and also addressing the issue that the democratic left is splintered among many organizations that often act with little coordination. Improvement should start by DSA approaching its nearest sister organizations.

Resolved:

DSA should urgently work in cooperation with like-minded organizations to establish a broad front that is committed to the defeat of the ultra-right. The foundation of this front should rest on improved cooperation and coordination among democratic left organizations on issues such as the defense of democracy, the Green New Deal, labor organizing, reproductive choice, universal health care, racial justice, and progressive taxation.

Uniting Against the Ultra-Right	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$43,070
Estimated Staff Costs	\$28,080
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$5,054
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$9,936
Other Direct Costs	0
Description of Main Staff Work	36 staff hours/month from most departments for a nationwide campaign and new national committee.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	No major direct costs.

Member-Submitted Resolution #19: Wage Equity for All and a Living Wage for Social Security

Authors: David Z., At-Large

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas, the Democratic Socialists of America already recognize that all workers are due not just a minimum wage for their labor, but a living wage.

Whereas, to ensure that ALL LABOR IS VALUED and that our disabled comrades are considered an important and valuable part of the working class despite the rampant ableism that they face in a capitalist society that does not value the physical, emotional, and intellectual labor that they provide to a thriving society.

Whereas, the National Low-Income Housing Coalition recognized that, as of the 2022 report, \$26 per hour is the national housing wage, where a worker would be paying no more than 30% of their income on housing and housing expenses.

Whereas, we are updating our definition of a living wage to match this pay rate given that housing is the largest expense for the vast majority of households, with the exception of households with disabled persons that have very high medical and care expenses.

Whereas, not only is the Fight for \$15 two decades outdated, but even this demand for a living wage of \$26 must remain indexed to inflation over time for all working-class people. We may not yet have won the battle against capitalist interests to update the minimum wage to even \$15 nationally, or even in most states and municipalities, but that does not mean we must degrade our demands as a result.

Whereas, this living wage, currently \$26 per hour and increasing with inflation every year, must be implemented for all workers. This must include, among others, tipped workers, recognizing the racism that led to that reduced wage and the many disabled workers who labor under such a wage now as well, and it must include disabled workers who are currently able to be paid legally at a sub-minimum wage that results in wages as low as pennies an hour.

Whereas, the current Social Security benefits are a fraction of even the current minimum wage, and they put disabled people and the elderly who are dependent on these benefits into abject poverty as a result.

Whereas, Social Security Disability pays slightly more than just Social Security, it also rejects over 90% of applicants and forces them to spend much time and labor trying to access the benefits that should be easily obtained as a way to force disabled people to continue to work for capitalists in desperation or to die from lack of supports, services, and benefits.

Whereas, this issue suffers from a lack of advocacy at all levels, and it must be raised to national importance.

Therefore, be it resolved, we must also make fighting for a Living Wage for Social Security a necessary step towards equity and as a recognition of our values.

Therefore, be it resolved, we must end all discriminatory systems of income, and ensure that the labor and time that workers give of themselves is given the value that it is due, and that every worker can not just survive but thrive on the wages they earn.

Wage Equity for All and a Living Wage for Social Security	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$43,070
Estimated Staff Costs	\$28,080
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$5,054
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$9,936
Other Direct Costs	0
Description of Main Staff Work	36 staff hours/month from most departments for a nationwide campaign and new national committee.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	No major direct costs.

Member-Submitted Resolution #20: Winning the Battle for Democracy

Authors: Parker M., River Valley, SA R., Furman YDSA, Ben G., Pinellas, Gil S., San Diego, Anton J., Pittsburgh, & Isaac KD., New York City

[Resolution Work Plan](#)

Whereas, the United States is the world hegemon, run by and for the capitalist class, and the specific political form of this class rule is the liberal-constitutional regime as outlined in the US Constitution, and,

Whereas, this Constitution emerged as a charter for plutocracy, imposed by a class alliance of the slavocracy and capitalists, in order to counter the democratic and levelling political influence of freeholders, one of the driving forces of the Revolution, and

Whereas, the political institutions established by the Constitution are intended to be an obstacle to democracy at every step. The exceedingly difficult process for Constitutional amendment, the unrepresentative Senate, the imperial presidency and electoral college combine to throttle the sovereignty of the people. This is compounded by further counter-revolutionary usurpations such as judicial review by a panel of unelected judges who serve for life, the establishment of a standing army to repress the people, and the sale of elections, officials, legal services and the press to the highest bidder, etc., and,

Whereas, the Civil War, together with Reconstruction as the Second Revolution, smashed the slavocracy through the general strike of the slaves, the political daring of revolutionary abolitionists, and the force of the Union Army, and,

Whereas, the defeat of Reconstruction signaled the absolute usurpation of political power by the capitalist class, and,

Whereas, while the toiling and oppressed masses have been able to win concessions from the reactionary Constitution, including the Bill of Rights, Reconstruction, and Civil Rights amendments, the extreme concentration of capital and its political power over the course of the 20th and 21st centuries, and especially since the advent of neoliberalism, has rendered reform by Constitutional amendment and federal legislation in this country nearly impossible, and,

Whereas, the overturning of Roe v. Wade, the retreat of the Supreme Court from enforcement

of the Voting Rights Act, and their attack on the regulatory and administrative state demonstrates that any reform won through class struggle is ultimately unsafe under the reactionary liberal-constitutional regime, which is designed to concentrate political power in the hands of the propertied classes, and

Whereas, the undemocratic nature of the Constitution, which enables minority rule with, for example, a Senate that allows conservative forces to win a controlling share of the chamber by states representing as little as eleven percent of the population, will only grow more extreme with each passing year as the distribution of population among the states continues to grow more imbalanced, further distorting the principle of "one person, one vote" and rendering any constitutional paths that may once have been open to the socialist movement forever closed,

Whereas, DSA's National Political Platform calls on socialists to oppose colonialism and struggle for "self-determination for all peoples" in "a multi-racial, economic democracy," yet the Constitution is settler-colonial in origin and to this day serves to deny self-determination to Black, Indigenous, and migrant populations through: (1) their subdivision into state units formed without their input yet possessing the power to manipulate electoral districts and voting laws to effectively exclude them from the political process, (2) the power of these state governments to impose white minority rule from above on local communities of oppressed peoples, as is currently being attempted in Jackson, Mississippi, and (3) in the case of migrant populations, outright disenfranchisement through the citizenship regime,

Whereas, mass movements of workers and oppressed peoples in Latin America have shown us the way in the fight against colonialism by struggling for new, plurinational constitutions that enshrine "multi-racial, economic democracy" in practice,

Therefore, be it resolved, DSA reaffirms its platform plank that the United States' political system is "no democracy at all". Every fight DSA wages is contextualized under the central goal of the working class taking political power, which is impossible under the constitutional regime of the capitalist class. Therefore, 'winning the battle for democracy' to finish Reconstruction and establish a genuinely democratic republic is DSA's central task. Rather than the stultified and limited process outlined in the existing constitution, this must be done through a constitutional convention composed of a newly elected democratic body responsible to the people and based on mass mobilization and participation, in which the working class will furnish the transition to socialism. For this reason, DSA demands a new and radically democratic constitution, drafted by an assembly of the people elected by direct, universal and equal suffrage for all adult residents with proportional representation of political parties, and rooted not in the legitimacy of dead generations of slave owners and capitalists, but from a majority consensus of the working masses. In every corner of the

country, from the picket line to the halls of Congress, it is our duty as socialists to fight the Constitution and demand a new republic. DSA declares that, in preparation for the Third American Revolution, to be a socialist in this country is to be an enemy of the US Constitution.

Winning the Battle for Democracy	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$398
Estimated Staff Costs	\$260
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$46
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$92
Other Direct Costs	0
Description of Main Staff Work	Minimal staff time, to publicize the statement.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	No major direct costs.

IV. Platform Changes

Platform Change #1: Railroad public ownership text for “Economic Justice” and “Green New Deal”

Authors: Matthew R., New York City, Ross G., Central Iowa, Nicole M., New York City, Heather H., Akron

Rationale:

Railroads are as crucial to transportation as highways, airports, and maritime ports, and yet remain in private hands. The largest and most profitable private railroad companies, collectively referred to as the “Class I” railroads, spend tens of billions of dollars each year on dividends and stock buybacks while pushing their workers and infrastructure to the brink under the euphemism “precision scheduled railroading.” Despite rail being the safest and most energy efficient way to move freight over land, the Class I railroads [cut corners on safety](#), are [reliant on hauling fossil fuel rail traffic](#), and [bankroll climate denial lobbying](#). They are also a major impediment to improvements of passenger rail, owning and dispatching most track used by Amtrak and a large share of track used by regional railroads, causing extensive delays in operations, and vetoing major capital improvements such as electrification. National ownership or control of railroads is common worldwide and has even happened in US history, albeit temporarily. Two of the greatest socialist leaders in US history, Eugene Debs and A Philip Randolph, were both railroad workers.

DSA’s platform already includes nationalization of railroads via its planks related to nationalization of utilities and key industries. However, recent events have demonstrated that the railroad industry demands special attention. In December of 2022, the federal government, acting in the interests of capital, broke a strike and imposed a boss-friendly deal that enshrines unsafe and exploitative working conditions even by capitalist standards. Only two months later, a major derailment of a Norfolk Southern train in East Palestine, Ohio unleashed a toxic chemical spill whose full effects on the health and environment of that community will not be known for years. Railroad Workers United, an inter-union, rank-and-file caucus of railroad workers, has [passed a resolution](#) for public ownership of railroads. UE soon [issued a similar statement](#). DSA, in solidarity with RWU, UE and other railroad workers, [issued its own statement of support](#) for public ownership as well. It is time that we amend the platform to reflect this increased recognition among workers, socialists, and the public on the importance of railroad nationalization and public ownership.

This proposed platform change also includes a plank to bring essential vendors into public ownership, or create in-house alternatives to them, in order to better provide the essential equipment and infrastructure to railroads and utilities brought under public ownership, and to accelerate a just transition to the Green New Deal.

The language related to institutions of monetary policy, insurance, real estate, and finance is also tweaked to say “nationalize and bring under public ownership,” in order to parallel the proposed language relating to railroads.

Platform Change:

Economic Justice

We propose a program of transformative regulation, nationalization, social ownership, and internationalism that builds the solidarity and democratic power necessary for us to succeed. We call for the nationalization of businesses like **railroads**, utilities and critical manufacturing and technology companies, alongside regulation of corporate, communications, data, and financial sectors. We seek to ensure social and worker control over these businesses. We support an expansion of worker cooperatives, mutual aid institutions, cooperative media, physical infrastructure, care work, and collective land ownership. To ensure the well-being of everyone, we also must secure adequate compensation and living standards, as well as effective infrastructure, healthcare, and institutions in our communities and abroad. We can fund much of this through public development and retail banks, socialized government finance, and taxing the rich and corporations. Wealth taxes, increased progressive income tax rates on the highest earners, and increased estate taxes can redistribute wealth from the billionaires who hoard it to the workers who made it.”

We fight for the abolition of capitalism and the creation of a democratically run economy that provides for people’s needs. Our demands:

- Social ownership and democratic control of utilities and key industries including **railroads**, water, gas, electric, telecommunications, media, and internet service providers and other critical sectors of the economy through direct government support, public banks, and pension funds at every level of government
 - **Nationalize and bring under public ownership (through federal majority ownership with worker, tribal, state, and municipal equity) railroad infrastructure and operations**
 - **Nationalize and bring under public ownership (through worker and community ownership and control) institutions of monetary policy, insurance, real estate,**

and finance

- Ensure that employees have the right to purchase businesses and are able to secure funding to facilitate their cooperative ownership in the event of a sale or closure
- Bring under public ownership and develop in-house alternatives to major vendors that provide essential equipment and contracting services to public agencies, such as manufacturing transformers; railroad and public transit fleets; lithium-ion batteries; and providing infrastructure planning, engineering, and construction services.

Green New Deal

...

- **Democratize control over major energy systems and resources.**

- Nationalize fossil fuel producers to phase them out as quickly as necessary—no new fossil fuel projects can be authorized or built. Socialize fossil-dependent industries so that they can be scaled back or transformed to fossil-free processes.
- Nationalize and bring into public ownership privately owned freight railroads to improve their safety and working conditions, modernize their infrastructure and operations, merge or better coordinate with intercity and regional passenger railroads, increase their modal share relative to trucks, and phase out their hauling of fossil fuel rail traffic as quickly as necessary.

...

Platform Change: Railroad public ownership text for “Economic Justice” and “Green New Deal”	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$199
Estimated Staff Costs	\$130
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	\$23
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	\$46
Other Direct Costs	0
Description of Main Staff Work	Minimal staff time, to change the platform.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	No major direct costs.

V. NPC Recommendations

NPC Recommendation #1: For Full-Time Political Leadership in DSA (Resolution and Constitution/Bylaws Change)

Resolution: For Full-Time Political Leadership in DSA

Author: National Political Committee (10-2 vote)

WHEREAS:

DSA staff do not set the organization's political goals. Rather, staff help to fulfill the goals set by DSA's completely volunteer, elected leadership.

Nearly every international socialist party and international union in the US, historically and contemporaneously, have had full-time, paid leadership positions. Consider Shawn Fain in UAW, Sara Nelson in the Association of Flight Attendants-CWA, or Stacy Davis Gates in the Chicago Teachers Union. Furthermore, NAM (New American Movement), Podemos in Spain, PSOL in Brazil, and the Communist Party USA (in the 1930-40s) all have or had full-time, elected political leaders working for these organizations.

Currently NPC members, as volunteers who hold full-time jobs and full-time responsibilities outside of DSA, often do not have the time or capacity to lead the organization to its full potential.

DSA's Growth Plan Subcommittee documented and presented to the NPC the results of over a dozen interviews with international socialist parties and major unions in the US, undertaken to research their structure and staffing. The subcommittee, and some of the international socialist parties themselves highlighted the need for full-time political leaders in DSA.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

We affirm that DSA should create full-time, paid, political leadership positions.

Full-time political leadership roles should focus on political work, like talking to press, chapters, DSA leaders, unions and political organizations, and other related political work, rather than focus on administrative work.

Constitutional Change: For Full-Time Political Leadership in DSA

Author: National Political Committee (13-0 vote)

Rationale:

DSA's Constitution prohibits anyone from serving simultaneously on the National Staff and on the NPC, and therefore could create unintended barriers to enacting paid full-time leadership roles.

As volunteer political leaders, NPC members often do not have the time or capacity to organize the many parts of our organization, to give effective political direction to our staff, or to lead the organization to its full potential under the time constraints any volunteer faces.

Should DSA create full-time political leadership positions in the future, leaders holding these roles should receive the same healthcare and benefits as current staffers do, but our constitution currently may pose constraints toward doing so.

Full-time, paid, political leaders in international socialist parties around the world, and in major unions in the US are considered to work full-time for their organizations. For example DSA's predecessor, NAM had three elected full time staff; the Communist Party in the US in the 1930-40s had people who worked full time for the party, with certain heads of commissions paid for their work. Furthermore, UAW's three vice presidents, who are members of the board, each has one of the big three automakers as their assignment. While such a responsibility would be given to an executive in a corporation, or to an unelected staffer in an NGO, in a democratic member organization, elected board members are rightly entrusted with leadership over major political tasks, and are often paid full-time to be able to do so.

In the previous term NPC members proposed at various times paying other NPC members for work leading important projects, responsibilities, and convention resolutions, but were constrained from doing so.

Amendment:

Article VIII. National Political Committee

Section 1.

The National Political Committee (NPC) shall be the collective leadership and the highest decision-making body of the organization between meetings of the Convention. It shall meet at least four times a year.

Section 2.

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 **except that the national organization may provide for stipends, salary, or benefits for elected DSA leadership on an ex-officio basis. Any NPC member with a paid political leadership role in the organization may be recalled for nonfeasance or malfeasance by a two-thirds vote of the NPC.**

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For Full-Time Political Leadership in DSA	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$650
Estimated Staff Costs	0
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	0
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	0
Other Direct Costs	\$650
Description of Main Staff Work	Should the NPC choose to pay political leaders, some administrative staff time to restructure future work processes of staff. That cost not estimated here.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Attorney and filing fees for bylaws/incorporation changes. Amendment would allow future expenditures which would be compensation comparable to full time staff (cost of wage, benefits, overhead), minus the 1/6 supervisory cost, approximately \$112,000.

Related Constitutional Amendment	
Total Costs - First Year Only	0
Estimated Staff Costs	0

18% Overhead on Staff Costs	0
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	0
Other Direct Costs	0
Description of Main Staff Work	See information under the resolution by same name.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	See information under the resolution by same name. Note that that includes cost of attorney time and fees to file bylaws changes.

NPC Recommendation #2: Developing an Actionable Plan/Program (Resolution)

Author: National Political Committee (10-1 vote)

WHEREAS the National Convention is the highest decision-making body of the organization, and body through which DSA members set and amend strategy for DSA;

WHEREAS the National Political Committee (NPC) is the collective leadership and the highest decision-making body of the organization between meetings of the Convention;

WHEREAS the NPC, as DSA's Board of Directors, is responsible for setting, planning, and monitoring the organization's program and priorities;

WHEREAS the NPC must politically lead DSA in adherence with its constitution, bylaws, organizational policies, and convention mandates, as well as budgetary, legal, and capacity restraints;

WHEREAS these NPC responsibilities are fundamental to the integrity and democratic structure of the organization, but no policies or processes for their actualization exist;

BE IT RESOLVED, the following requirements will be adopted:

- Upon the conclusion of National Convention and the election of the new NPC, the leadership body will be collectively responsible for synthesizing adopted convention resolutions and strategic priorities into an actionable plan for their term, including a clear timeline, budget, measurable goals and milestones, assignments, and directives for staff, NPC members, organizational bodies, and other members. All NPC members will be responsible for ensuring the plan is accomplished.
- The NPC will share a high-level plan, as well as NPC assignments and roles, with the membership. This plan will be shared with members no later than the month of March, following the National Convention.
- Mechanisms for measuring and tracking progress toward the achievement of metric goals will be instituted, with progress reported at quarterly NPC meetings. Updates may be reported on NPC Steering Committee meetings as well.
- If desired, the NPC can appoint members or a committee to support the development and/or coordination of the plan.
- In the final year of the NPC's term, prior to the next Convention, the NPC will publish a report on the work accomplished during their term, including progress on goals set

through the plan and reflections for the membership to consider for future strategies adopted at Convention. The report and outcomes of the plan will be further reflected on during the Convention.

Developing an Actionable Plan/Program	
Total Costs - First Year Only	0
Estimated Staff Costs	0
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	0
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	0
Other Direct Costs	0
Description of Main Staff Work	Minimal staff time.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	No new direct costs.

NPC Recommendation #3: Division of Secretary-Treasurer Role (Resolution and Constitution/Bylaws Change)

Author: National Political Committee (12-1 vote)

Resolution: Division of Secretary-Treasurer Role

WHEREAS DSA has grown in complexity and the size of overall membership in recent years, and so have challenges in communicating basic information to active membership about decisions made by the National Political Committee (NPC) and functions of the national organization;

WHEREAS the 2021-23 term of NPC has experienced particular challenges in consistently producing and distributing minutes of NPC meetings to members for long stretches of time, as well as in regularly producing reports of national DSA finances at least twice per year, a goal set by the prior NPC;

WHEREAS responsibility for managing or delegating these duties has been de facto concentrated in one NPC role, the Secretary-Treasurer;

WHEREAS the volume of work required for these record-keeping and financial responsibilities has proven unsustainable for any one person to manage for extended periods of time;

WHEREAS DSA membership would benefit from more consistent records and official communication about the business of DSA's national leadership, more transparent reporting of fiscal information, and more participatory national budget processes;

WHEREAS fulfilling all these functions will require a much higher degree of attention and collaboration with relevant staff and committees than one person can responsibly manage, and DSA membership will be better served by the elected NPC if the role of Secretary-Treasurer is divided into two distinct roles;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that going forward, the role of Secretary-Treasurer will be divided into distinct Secretary and Treasurer roles on the NPC steering committee, to better fulfill record-keeping and financial review duties as outlined in the constitution and bylaws, and as prescribed by the NPC.

Constitutional and Bylaws Changes: Division of Secretary-Treasurer Role

CONSTITUTION

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Article VI. Officers and Staff

Section 1.

The officers of this organization shall be the directors, the ~~Secretary-Treasurer~~ **Secretary, the Treasurer**, and the members of the Steering Committee of the NPC. There shall be one or two directors who shall be full time staff members as defined in Article IX of the DSA Bylaws. All of these officers shall perform the duties prescribed by this Constitution, the Bylaws and the standing rules.

Section 2.

The Director(s) shall be hired by the NPC according to the procedures set out in the DSA Bylaws. The ~~Secretary-Treasurer~~ **Secretary and Treasurer** shall be elected annually by a majority of the NPC and shall serve **on the Steering Committee of the NPC** until ~~a~~ successors ~~has~~ **have** been chosen.

Section 3.

Any member of the organization is eligible to hold any office.

Section 4.

The duties of the officers shall include the following:

The Director(s) shall be members of the full-time staff and shall be the official spokesperson(s) of the organization.

The Secretary shall be responsible for producing and distributing minutes of NPC meetings, and perform such duties as prescribed by the NPC.

The ~~Secretary-Treasurer~~ **Treasurer** shall present a detailed financial report at the first plenary session on the first full day of each Convention and perform such duties as outlined in the Bylaws and prescribed by the NPC.

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BYLAWS

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Article X. National Political Committee

Section 4.

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~~Treasurer shall serve as a member or an ex officio member of the committee.

...

Division of Secretary-Treasurer role	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$650
Estimated Staff Costs	0
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	0
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	0
Other Direct Costs	\$650
Description of Main Staff Work	Minimal staff time.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Attorney and filing fees for bylaws/incorporation changes.

NPC Recommendation #4: NPC Steering Committee Roles as Committee Chairs (Resolution and Constitution/Bylaws Change)

Author: National Political Committee (10-1-1 vote)

Background

In 2021, DSA convention delegates approved [Resolution #29 for Stipends for NPC Steering Committee Members](#) that grant \$2,000 per month to Steering Committee (SC) members of the NPC, with the expectation that SC members take on a greater share of NPC's collective workload. These stipends have provided greater support and flexibility to members of the SC, who hold meetings more often than the rest of NPC.

However, certain other NPC committee chair roles have proven to be highly demanding to fulfill at levels that meet the expectations of the rest of NPC and membership, with workloads that can be equivalent to a full time job, but are not financially compensated.

DSA's constitution and bylaws delegate to NPC the duty of appointing committees to supervise specific areas work, including a Budget and Finance Committee, a Personnel Committee, and editorial boards of publications, which have related to the Communications Committee. Chairing these committees can be particularly demanding, and so can chairing committees that are deemed central national organizing priorities.

Meanwhile, NPC Steering Committee roles have remained undefined in this past term, beyond regular participation in SC meetings.

Stipends for NPC Steering Committee members should correspond to the distribution of more demanding work on NPC. Steering Committee members should be expected to also serve as chairs of committees that supervise specific areas of work that are deemed critical functions of the national organization.

National committees that are prioritized for Steering Committee chair roles can be determined by the NPC at the beginning of a term.

Resolution: NPC Steering Committee Roles as Committee Chairs

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 (SC) is expected to take on an even bigger burden of responsibility for the organization; and

WHEREAS delegates at the 2021 national convention approved stipends for NPC Steering Committee members of \$2,000 per month, with the expectation that SC members take on a greater share of NPC's collective workload;

WHEREAS, certain NPC committee chair roles have proven to be highly demanding to fulfill at levels that meet the expectations of the rest of NPC and membership, with workloads that can be equivalent to a full time job, but are not financially compensated;

WHEREAS NPC Steering Committee roles have remained undefined in this past term, beyond regular participation in SC meetings;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that stipends for NPC Steering Committee members should correspond to the distribution of more demanding work on NPC, and Steering Committee members will be expected to also serve as chairs of committees that supervise specific areas of work that are deemed critical functions of the national organization.

CONSTITUTION CHANGES: NPC Steering Committee Roles as Committee Chairs

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Article VIII. National Political Committee

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Section 3.

The National Political Committee shall elect a Steering Committee (SC). 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. **Members of the SC will be expected to serve as chairs of committees that supervise specific areas of work that the NPC deems critical functions of the national organization.**

A quorum of the SC shall be half of its voting members. It shall meet at least bimonthly, in person ~~or~~ by conference call, **or via electronic meeting.**

In person meetings of the SC shall be open to all members of the organization. However, the SC may hold executive sessions if 60% of its members vote to do so in order to discuss personnel, **security**, and related financial matters.

...

Steering Committee Roles	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$650
Estimated Staff Costs	0
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	0
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	0
Other Direct Costs	\$650
Description of Main Staff Work	Minimal staff time.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Attorney and filing fees for bylaws/incorporation changes.

NPC Recommendation #5: Conforming Constitution/Bylaws to DSA Practice and Chapter Pipeline Recommendations (Constitution/Bylaws Amendment)

Author: National Political Committee (7-3 vote, referred on behalf of and unanimously by the 2019-2021 NPC)

Rationale

Whereas, the current Constitution and Bylaws (C/B) should be updated to reflect current processes by which DSA functions and current nonprofit best practices. Some examples of current DSA processes are:

- The NPC votes and meets electronically.
- DSA has added a monthly dues option; the C/B only mentions annual dues.
- DSA uses the term “Chapter” to refer to what is called “Local” in the C/B.
- DSA requires someone to be a member in good standing, including being current in their dues, in order to vote, to run for office in DSA, and to be appointed to National committees. The C/B does not include such a requirement.
- DSA has not had a functioning National Advisory Committee in over a decade.

Whereas, the formation of State and Regional Organizations currently only requires a poll of Chapters/Locals within the region, rather than a formal vote. A formal vote is preferable for such a major organizational decision;

Whereas, the minimum number of members required to form a chapter should be flexible in order for the NPC and Organizing Team to respond to changing local and national conditions, but the current C/B is fixed at 15;

Whereas, members of the Chapter Pipeline Committee, working since after the 2019 convention, drafted the proposed changes to the C/B that are intended to be uncontroversial;

Whereas, the 2019-2021 NPC unanimously approved the changes recommended by the Chapter Pipeline Committee, and the current NPC has adopted these recommendations as their own to propose to the convention;

Therefore, be it resolved that the recommended changes to the C/B be adopted.

Amendment Text

CONSTITUTION

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Article III. Members

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Section 2.

An individual shall apply to be a member following the procedure ~~Every applicant for membership shall sign an application, the contents of which shall be~~ prescribed by the Bylaws. Application for membership shall be made to the Local or National Organization. Members are in good standing provided that they pay annual dues as prescribed in the Bylaws.

Section 3.

~~Applicants who have been accepted by the Local organization shall, upon receipt of dues and approval of same, automatically become members of the National Organization.~~ Applicants who have been accepted by the National Organization shall, unless otherwise requested by the applicant, become members of the Local organization in the area in which they reside. Members of the National Organization who are not members of a Local organization shall be members-at-large.

Section 4.

Members may be expelled by either the National or Local organization. For a member to be expelled nationally, a two-thirds ($\frac{2}{3}$) vote of all members of the National Political Committee (NPC), voting in person or by electronic means, shall be necessary. Criteria for expulsion are prescribed in the Bylaws. Decisions on expulsion by either the Local or National Organization may be appealed to the National Convention.

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Article IV. Local, State, Regional Organizations and Sections

Section 1.

Local organizations, called Chapters ~~Locals~~, may be chartered by the National Political Committee according to the process defined in the Bylaws. ~~upon application of 15 or more members. The NPC may charter Locals of 10 or more in special circumstances as defined in the Bylaws.~~

...

Section 3.

Upon petition of two or more Locals, the NPC shall consider the application for State organizations. Such charters shall be granted if they meet the criteria set forth in the Bylaws and standing rules and if a majority of the Locals within the proposed boundaries **vote to** approve the establishment of the State organization. Members-at-large residing within the state shall be members of the State organization unless they request otherwise.

Section 4.

Upon petition of three or more Locals, the NPC shall consider the application for Regional organizations. Such charters shall be granted if they meet the criteria for such organizations set forth in the Bylaws and the standing rules and if a majority of all Locals within the proposed boundaries **vote to** approve the establishment of the Regional organization.

...

Article V. National Conventions

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Section 2.

National Conventions shall be held at least biennially. Special National Conventions may be called by a three-fourths vote of the National Political Committee or by petition endorsed by Locals representing two-thirds ($\frac{2}{3}$) of the membership or by one-half ($\frac{1}{2}$) of the membership.

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Section 7.

Calls to the National Convention shall be issued by the NPC at least **one-hundred** (100) days prior to the opening date of the Convention. Calls to Special Conventions shall be issued by the petition calling such Convention, providing that the date is set between **thirty** (30) and **sixty** (60) days from the issuing of the call.

Article VI. Officers and Staff

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Section 3.

Any member in good standing of the organization is eligible to hold any office.

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Section 5.

Any officer may be recalled for nonfeasance or malfeasance by a two-thirds ($\frac{2}{3}$) vote of all members of the NPC voting in person or by electronic means ~~by proxy~~.

Section 6.

A National Chair or two National Co-Chairs may be elected by the National Convention to serve for two-year terms or until a successor is elected. The term shall begin at the close of the National Convention at which they are elected. To be nominated or to be elected, a candidate for National Chair or Co-Chair must be a member in good standing of DSA for at least one year prior to the National Convention where the election takes place. The National Chair(s) shall be the primary spokesperson(s) for the organization, reporting directly to the National Political Committee. Following the National Convention where this Section is adopted or if the position of National Chair or Co-Chair becomes vacant between conventions, a National Chair or Co-Chairs may be selected by a two-thirds ($\frac{2}{3}$) vote of all members of the National Political Committee, voting in person or by electronic means.

Article VII. National Activist Conference

Section 1.

A National Activist Conference may ~~shall~~ be held ~~at least once~~ between Conventions in the year in which a Convention is not held.

Section 2.

The National Activist Conference shall include the officers of the National organization, the members of the National Political Committee, Chairs of Commissions, two delegates selected by each Local, and any additional DSA members in good standing who want to attend.

...

Article VIII. National Political Committee

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Section 2.

The members of the NPC must be members in good standing of DSA. The ~~members of the~~ NPC shall ~~be~~ include at least one representative of the Youth Section who share one vote and sixteen individuals ~~and 16 delegates~~ elected at the national convention.. Of the elected members, no more than eight shall be cis-gender men and at least five shall be members who identify as either a nationally marginalized race or ethnicity ~~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.

Section 3.

The National Political Committee shall elect a Steering Committee (SC). 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 once every two weeks ~~bimonthly~~, in person or by ~~electronic means~~ ~~conference call~~.

~~In person in~~ Meetings of the SC shall be open to all members in good standing of the organization. However, the SC may hold executive sessions if a simple majority ~~60%~~ of its members vote to do so in order to discuss personnel and related financial matters.

...

Section 6.

Meetings of the NPC shall be open to all members in good standing of the organization. However, the NPC may hold executive sessions if a simple majority ~~60%~~ of its members vote to do so in order to discuss personnel and related financial matters.

Section 7.

An NPC member may be removed for malfeasance or nonfeasance by a two-thirds ($\frac{2}{3}$) vote of all members of the NPC voting in person or by electronic means, with nonfeasance defined to include unexcused absences from two or more consecutive meetings.

...

~~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.~~

Article X. Commissions

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Article XIII. Amendments

This Constitution may be amended at a National Convention by a two-thirds vote of the delegates voting and present provided that written notice of such amendments has been given to members at least thirty (30) days ~~one month~~ prior to the Convention.

BYLAWS

Article I. Membership

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Section 2.

Members will receive the organizational outreach publication. Members are encouraged to participate in political activities and education. New members will receive a membership

card, and renewing members shall receive such a card upon request. Members will receive information on National policy from the National Office. A member is in good standing only if their payment of dues is current. Only members in good standing are eligible to vote and to hold office in the organization. Membership in the organization may be maintained by persons who are up to one year arrears in dues. Such members may cure their arrearage and place themselves in good standing by paying their dues.

Section 3.

Members may ~~can~~ be expelled if they are found to be in substantial disagreement with the principles or policies of the organization or if they consistently engage in undemocratic, disruptive behavior or if they are under the discipline of any self-defined democratic-centralist organization. Members facing expulsion must receive written notice of charges against them and must be given the opportunity to be heard before the NPC or a subcommittee thereof, appointed for the purpose of considering expulsion.

Article II. Dues

Section 1.

~~Annual~~ Dues for membership shall be determined by the NPC prior to the commencement of each annual dues cycle.

...

Article III. Locals

Section 1.

Charters may be granted to Locals upon submission of an application that contains bylaws that reflect ~~which contains a statement of~~ agreement with the principles and policies of the organization, a description of the geographic area to be served by the Local, and the signatures or votes of members in good standing who reside in the geographic region ~~of 15 or more people who are members of the organization~~ and who wish to be members of the Local. The number of members required shall be determined by the NPC. ~~except that in special circumstances, charters may be granted to Locals submitting applications with 10 to 14 signatures. Special circumstances are defined to include the establishment of Locals in areas of low population.~~

Section 2.

The NPC shall produce a Model Local Bylaws, which will be made available to groups applying to be Locals~~Standard New Local Constitution by which all newly chartered Locals shall operate~~. Members of the group applying will adopt draft bylaws to be approved by the NPC as part of the chapter application.

~~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).~~

The Model Local Bylaws and all subsequently amended Local's Bylaws shall contain the following: ~~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 informing all members of meetings; ~~and~~ procedures for the election of officers and delegates to National, Regional and State bodies and of decisions of the Local; and provisions requiring, in the event of the Local's dissolution, the distribution of the Local's assets to the Democratic Socialists of America.

Any amendments made to a Local's bylaws must be reported to the National Office, including the submission of the newly amended bylaws in their entirety. Each Local shall submit to the National Office information about the financial status of the Local annually.

Section 3.

A group of members in good standing~~Groups of five or more members~~ in a geographic area may become Organizing Committees upon approval of the NPC. The number of members required for application shall be determined by the NPC. Such Committees may become Locals upon attainment of the requirements described in Section 1 of this Article. Such Organizing Committees shall receive from the National Office information relevant to the formation of a Local, including criteria for chartering, and such guidelines for Local work and policy as are adopted by the NPC.

Section 4.

Charters for Locals may be revoked by the NPC or the Convention if the majority of members of a Local are found to be in substantial disagreement with the principles, practices and policies of the organization; or if a majority of members of the Local is under the discipline of any self-defined democratic-centralist organization; or if the membership in the Local falls below the number of members required to form a Local under Section 1 of this article;~~15 (except in special cases)~~; or if the Local does not function for an extended period of time. A

new Local for the geographic area may be granted a Charter following the revocation of a previous Charter upon application as described in Section 1 of this Article.

Article IV. State and Regional Organizations

Section 1.

Charters may be granted to State Organizations upon submission of an application which contains a proposed Constitution for the State Organization and the signatures of the officers of at least two Locals already chartered within the state boundaries. Upon receipt of such application, all Locals chartered in ~~with~~ the state shall ~~vote whether or not to establish~~ ~~be polled regarding the establishment~~ of said State Organization.

...

Section 3.

Charters shall be granted to Regional Organizations upon submission of an application which contains a proposed Constitution for the Region, a description of the geographic boundaries of the Region, and the signatures of the officers of at least three Locals already chartered within the proposed boundaries of the Region. Upon receipt of the application, all Local and State Organizations chartered within ~~with~~ the Region shall ~~vote whether or not to establish~~ ~~be polled regarding the establishment~~ of said Regional Organization.

...

Article V. Youth Section

Section 1.

A Youth Section shall be chartered by the National Convention. Such a Charter shall be granted upon the submission of an application which contains a proposed Constitution for the Section, a description of the membership and work of the Section and the signatures of ~~fifty~~ (50) members of the organization who wish to be members of the Section.

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Article VI. National Conventions

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Section 2.

Elections for at-large delegates shall be conducted by the NPC. A call for candidates for at-large delegates shall be sent to all at-large members not less than three months and not more than five months prior to the opening date of the Convention. Two months prior to the Convention a ballot containing the names of the delegate candidates shall be sent to at-large members. This ballot shall contain instructions regarding the number of delegates to be elected, voting procedures and date for the counting of ballots. Ballots shall be counted at the National Office one month prior to the Convention. No more than one-half of the available positions for at-large delegates may be available to men and one-fifth of the available positions (all genders) must be reserved for **members who identify as either a nationally marginalized race or ethnicity** ~~national and racial minorities~~. Those candidates who have been elected shall be immediately informed of their election by the National Office.

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 **fifteen (15) percent** ~~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 **ten (10) percent** ~~10%~~ of a Local's membership or a motion supported by **fifteen (15) percent** ~~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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Article VII. Officers

Section 1.

The National Political Committee may nominate candidates for National Chair or National Co-Chair. Candidates may also be nominated by petition of at least three locals. Written notice of nominations for National Chair or National Co-Chairs must get to the membership at least **thirty (30) days** ~~one month~~ prior to the National Convention where the election takes place.

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Article X. National Political Committee

...

Section 2.

The agendas for the NPC meetings will be proposed by the **Steering Committee (SC)**. These shall include, on a regular basis, discussion and supervision of staff, finances, publications, education, general political direction and coalition work.

Section 3.

Pressing issues may be placed on an agenda for an NPC meeting by a petition of **twenty (20) percent ~~20%~~** of Locals and **eight (8) percent ~~8%~~** of members. The SC shall publish the language of a petition at the time that it is successfully submitted and call for comments from the general membership. After the meeting the NPC or a committee thereof shall publish a report, separate from the normal minutes, detailing the debate surrounding the petitioned issue and any decisions that were made to address it.

Section 4.

The NPC may appoint committees to supervise specific work; these shall report to the NPC. They will include **but are not limited to:**

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

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

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

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

...

Article XI. Commissions

Section 1.

Commissions may be chartered by the NPC upon a motion by a member of the NPC or by petition of 10 members **in good standing** of the organization. Commissions shall have responsibility for proposing and implementing organizational programs within an area defined by the motion or petition. Membership and structure of Commissions shall be included in the authorizing motion.

...

Article XIII. Polls

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

Article XIV. Amendments

These Bylaws may be amended at a National Convention by a three-fifths vote of the delegates voting and present provided that written notice of such amendments has been given to members **thirty (30) days** ~~one month~~ prior to the Convention.

Constitution & Bylaws Amendments Recommendations	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$650
Estimated Staff Costs	0
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	0
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	0
Other Direct Costs	\$650
Description of Main Staff Work	Minimal staff time.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Attorney and filing fees for bylaws/incorporation changes.

NPC Recommendation #6: Articles of Incorporation (Resolution)

Author: National Political Committee (9-1 vote, referred on behalf of and unanimously by the 2019-2021 NPC)

Background

DSA's lawyers reviewed our current Articles of Incorporation and identified a number of issues that were out of order with our current practices. They recommend the following changes and the 2019-2021 NPC adopted them as their own to make to the 2021 Convention but were unable to implement the C/B changes so we are reintroducing these on their behalf.

Whereas, DSA was incorporated on April 19, 1982, as “Democratic Socialists of America, Inc.” in Washington, DC under the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act (the “Act”);

Whereas, since its incorporation, DSA's Articles of Incorporation have never been amended;

Whereas, the Act was substantially revised by the Council of the District of Columbia as of January 1, 2012, in part to provide membership organizations like DSA greater flexibility in how they govern themselves;

Whereas, DSA's Constitution and Bylaws, which together constitute bylaws under the Act, are DSA's primary governance documents;

Whereas, DSA's Articles of Incorporation, which take precedence over the Constitution and Bylaws, contain certain provisions that may be read as being inconsistent with DSA's Constitution and Bylaws or as being inconsistent with the manner in which DSA operates or wishes to operate;

Therefore, be it resolved, that DSA's Articles of Incorporation shall be amended and restated as shown in Attachment A with additions underlined and deleted text crossed out;

And be it further resolved, that the National Director is authorized to file Articles of Amendment with the District of Columbia Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs, or any successor agency (“DCRA”), as required by the Act setting forth the text of the amended and restated Articles of Incorporation hereby adopted and to make any further non-substantive revisions to the text of same that may be required in order for DCRA to accept the filing.

ATTACHMENT A to NPC Recommendation #5

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION
OF
DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS OF AMERICA, INC.

~~[To: The Recorder of Deeds
Washington, D.C.]~~

~~We the undersigned natural persons of the age of twenty-one or more, acting as incorporators of a corporation, adopt the following Articles of Incorporation for such corporation pursuant to Chapter 5 of Title 29 of the District of Columbia Code respecting Nonprofit Corporations and to Section 501(c)(4) of the United States Internal Revenue Code of 1954 as amended.]~~

I. NAME

The name of the Corporation is Democratic Socialists of America, Inc.

II. DURATION

The duration of the Corporation shall be perpetual.

III. PURPOSE

The Corporation is incorporated as a nonprofit corporation under Title 29, Chapter 4 of the District of Columbia Code (the “DC Nonprofit Corporation Act”) and is organized and will be operated exclusively for the promotion of social welfare within the meaning of Section 501(c)(4) of the U.S. Internal Revenue Code of 1954-1986 (or the corresponding section of any future federal tax code), as the same may be amended from time to time (the “Code”), including the following objectives and purposes:

Work toward creating a humane social order based on popular control of resources and production, economic planning, equitable distribution, feminism, racial equality and non-oppressive relationships.

Create a local and national organizational framework for the achievement of these goals;

Conduct educational and informational seminars on a local and national scale on the goals of the corporation and methods of achieving them;

Build a majority movement that will make democratic socialism a reality in America;

Support projects and issues that further betterment of the local and national community and at the same time move toward the goals of democratic socialism;

Exercise and enjoy all of the powers, rights, and privileges granted to, or conferred upon, corporations of a similar character by the laws of the District of Columbia provided that the Corporation shall not exercise any power, express or

implied, in such a manner as to disqualify the Corporation from exemption from income tax under Section 501(a) as an organization described in Section 501(c)(4) of the ~~United States Internal Revenue~~ Code.

Accordingly, ~~The Corporation shall not participate in or intervene in any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office;~~ The Corporation shall not be conducted or operated for profit, and no part of the net income of the Corporation shall inure to the benefit of any private ~~person~~ or individual except that the Corporation shall be authorized and empowered to pay reasonable compensation for services rendered and to make payments and distributions in furtherance of the purposes as set forth herein.

IV. MEMBERS

The ~~Corporation~~ shall have members whose qualifications, classes, and voting rights ~~of the members~~ shall be as provided in the Bylaws of the Corporation.

V. BOARD OF DIRECTORS (National ~~Political~~ Committee)

The Corporation shall have a board of directors, which shall be known as the National Political Committee.

The number of ~~National Political Committee members~~ shall be ~~specified in or fixed in~~ accordance with the Bylaws but shall never be ~~fewer~~ than three.

The manner of election of the ~~Board of Directors of the Corporation~~ (National ~~Political~~ Committee ~~members~~) shall be as provided in the Bylaws of the Corporation.

~~The number of the first, initial board of directors shall be four. The names and addresses of the persons who are to serve as the initial Directors until their successors are elected and qualify are:~~

~~Brian Doherty; 2456 20th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009~~

~~Timothy Sears; 5804 Broad Branch Road, Washington, D.C. 20015~~

~~Kathleen Lundy; 1669 Columbia Road, Washington, D.C. 20009~~

~~Marjorie Phyfe; 3317 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20010~~

VI. REGULATION OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

The Corporation shall be a member-governed corporation, and the statutory powers, authority, and functions of the Corporation's board of directors shall be vested in the assembly of delegates (the National Convention) as a designated body except to the extent explicitly granted to the National Political Committee by the Bylaws of the Corporation. The National Convention shall be the highest decision-making body of the Corporation and shall have the

right to approve all fundamental transactions. ~~The affairs of the Corporation shall be managed by the Board of Directors (National Political Executive Committee). The Board of Directors may elect or appoint persons to act in an advisory or honorary capacity in any manner provided for in the Bylaws.~~

~~The initial Bylaws shall be adopted by the Board of Directors (National Political Executive Committee).~~ The Bylaws of the Corporation for purposes of the DC Nonprofit Corporation Act and these Articles of Incorporation shall be comprised of the Corporation's Constitution and Bylaws.

A member of the National Political Committee or a delegate to the National Convention shall not be liable to the Corporation for money damages for any action taken, or any failure to take any action, as such a member or delegate except liability for:

- The amount of a financial benefit received by the member or delegate to which the member or delegate is not entitled;
- An intentional infliction of harm;
- A violation of D.C. Code § 29-406.33; or
- An intentional violation of criminal law

In the event of dissolution or final liquidation of the Corporation, the assets of the Corporation shall be applied and distributed as follows:

All liabilities and obligations of the Corporation shall be paid, satisfied, and discharged, or adequate provision shall be made therefore.

Assets held by the Corporation upon condition requiring return, transfer, or conveyance upon dissolution shall be returned, transferred, or conveyed in accordance with such requirements.

Assets received and held by the Corporation subject ~~to limitations permitting their use only for the promotion of social welfare or other nonprofitable purposes~~ but not held upon a condition requiring return, transfer, or conveyance by reason of dissolution, shall be disposed of as provided in the Bylaws or, if no such provision is made in the Bylaws, exclusively for the purposes of the Corporation or transferred or conveyed to one or more domestic or foreign corporations, societies, or organizations described in sections 501(c)(3) or 501(c)(4) of the Code, ~~pursuant to a plan of distribution adopted as provided by Chapter 5 of Title 29 of the District of Columbia Code or the corresponding provision of any future District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation law.~~

VII. REGISTERED OFFICE AND REGISTERED AGENT

The name and address of the commercial registered agent is:

Harmon, Curran, Spielberg, & Eisenberg, LLP
1725 DeSales Street NW, Suite 500
Washington, DC 20036

VIII. INCORPORATORS

~~The names and addresses of the incorporators are:~~

~~Brian Doherty; 2456 20th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009~~

~~Timothy Sears; 5804 Broad Branch Road, Washington, D.C. 20015~~

~~Kathleen Lundy; 1669 Columbia Road, Washington, D.C. 20009~~

~~Marjorie Phyfe; 3317 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20010~~

Articles of Incorporation	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$650
Estimated Staff Costs	0
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	0
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	0
Other Direct Costs	\$650
Description of Main Staff Work	Minimal staff time.
Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	Attorney and filing fees for bylaws/incorporation changes.

NPC Recommendation #7: Recommitment to a National Committee of Grievance Officers (Resolution)

Author: National Political Committee (8-1-1 vote, referred on behalf of the Committee of Harassment and Grievance Officers (CGO))

Whereas,

1. The Resolution 33 process which governs grievances in DSA was principally developed for serious harms including harassment on the basis of membership in a protected class, and many grievances currently adjudicated through the Resolution 33 process are principally rooted in political or interpersonal conflict;
2. Whereas DSA has lost members because of inadequate responses, by grievance officers and chapter leaders, to serious forms of harms including harassment and violence;
3. DSA is a large mass socialist organization of over 90,000 members and interpersonal harm as well as political and interpersonal conflicts are inevitable,
4. It is imperative that DSA and chapter HGOs have resources for addressing harm and mediating conflicts between members,;
5. Because of this, Resolution 28 was created to provide HGOs a system of support and collaboration to help improve the grievance process and retain members;
6. The HGO committee was officially formed in December 2022 and was unable to accomplish the goals of Resolution 28 and work plan in the time before the 2023 Convention;

Be it therefore resolved:

1. DSA reaffirms Resolution 33 from the 2019 National Convention and Resolution 28 from the 2021 National Convention;
2. The National Committee of chapter Harassment and Grievance Officers (HGOs) will continue its work through the 2025 National Convention;
3. This Committee will work to expand its existing membership to meet the composition stated in Resolution 28 and add to its membership at least one representative of the YDSA National Grievance Advisory Council, or NGAC, (as created by 2022 YDSA Resolution 6);

4. The Committee will additionally encourage HGOs from YDSA chapters to join the Committee;
5. The Committee will continue to organize meetings open to all chapter HGOs, ideally quarterly, which should include skillshares, trainings, and breakout sessions for consultation and mutual support of chapter HGOs;
6. The Committee will continue to seek input from chapter HGOs about existing community accountability and mediation programs, and will provide support to chapter HGOs in developing and implementing such programs;
7. The Committee will continue to develop materials to assist chapter HGOs, including the development of a standardized Resolution 33 and non-harassment member discipline process;
8. The Committee will commit to studying potential systemic reforms to R33 process in order to create survivor-centered processes rooted in transformative justice for intervening in serious forms of oppressive and/or interpersonal harm, as well as separate processes for resolving non-oppressive conflicts, and that the national grievance committee will deliver these recommendations to the NPC for dissemination ahead of the 2025 national convention;
9. The NHGO will work with the committee to survey grievance officers, chapters, and national committees on their needs and to help identify currently-serving chapter grievance officers; and,
10. DSA will allocate \$20,000 over two years to the Committee, in order to conduct appropriate chapter HGO trainings.

Recommitment to a National Committee of Grievance Officers	
Total Costs - First Year Only	\$10,000
Estimated Staff Costs	0
18% Overhead on Staff Costs	0
Reserves Funding Direct Cost First Year	0
Other Direct Costs	\$10,000
Description of Main Staff Work	Minimal staff time.

Description of Direct Costs (except Reserves)	\$20,000 spread over two years so \$10,000 per year.
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VI. Work Plans

Work Plan for Consensus Resolution #1: Building Tenant Power and Organization (Housing Justice Commission)

Introductory Summary

The United States faces a housing crisis caused by colonization, segregation, and capitalism. That crisis requires that we stand in opposition to real estate capital, landlords & land developers. It requires us to work toward the goals of the decommodification of housing. Capitalist housing markets cannot, and will never, meet the basic right of people to shelter. Housing development should be racially, and income integrated, environmentally friendly, permanently decommodified, and off of the private market. To achieve those goals, we need a mass movement of working-class tenants. The only way out is through, and that through is mass tenant organization.

ETOC is a project within the Housing Justice Committee that began in 2022. It has the explicit purpose of developing and facilitating a structure that can enable local DSA chapters to build and support tenant unions to facilitate this mass movement. To date, nearly 300 DSA members from 18 chapters have participated in training, with 14 new tenant organizing cohorts and 5 new tenant unions emerging from the program. Nearly 50 DSA chapters are represented in ETOC's work, either as mentors, trainers, or ETOC participants.

This proposal builds on this initial success to expand ETOC and make it a sustainable program through regular training and mentorship schedules, funding for tenant unions, and fundraising capacity. Through this program, we will engage even more DSA chapters and train members in critical skills like having organizing conversations and membership recruitment.

In addition to training and mentorship through ETOC, the HJC also has subcommittees that focus on the areas of Policy and Political Education. Both of these areas are crucial to creating a mass tenant movement, and this proposal gives direction for these subcommittees.

Strategic Landscape

Rent increases nationwide averaged over 12% in 2022, with some cities like New York seeing increases closer to 25%. Meanwhile, landlords have quadrupled their income, with income from rent increasing from \$211 billion in 2008 to \$877 billion today.

Tenants across the US are in an acute crisis. Most tenants are rent burdened, paying over 30% of their income in rent. (In places like New York and Miami, that percentage of income is closer to 40-60%.) Given rising inflation rates, rental increases and rent burden are nearly guaranteed to continue to skyrocket.

ETOC provides chapters with the training and mentorship they need to create resilient, militant tenant unions. The HJC has laid the foundation of this work over the past year, and it's critical for DSA to continue to invest in this organizing.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

ETOC is currently mentoring 14 tenant unions. With our increased capacity from recruiting additional mentors and trainers, we plan to increase that number to at least 25 cohorts per year over the next two years.

Conversely, failure would look like not growing our current cohort number. This plan takes the following steps to ensure success:

1. Creating fundraising capacity to keep the program sustainable
2. Creating a quarterly training and mentorship schedule to standardize the intake of new cohorts
3. Creating incentives for cohorts to complete the program
4. Creating travel subsidies to facilitate building face-to-face organizing relationships.

The HJC will regularly report on the progress of the resolution to the NPC and to HJC members. We have also planned quarterly townhalls to hear feedback from ETOC participants and to allow us to adjust our strategy to changing conditions.

ETOC is a project with a consistent feedback loop. Our training materials are consistently updated according to changing conditions; our mentor program inherently works in two directions - to mentees from mentors, and to mentors from mentees. For chapters, accountability includes promoting HJC and ETOC such that members may join and build the committee and program.

Objectives

The goal is to seed tenant unions across the country. We aim to increase the number of tenant unions ETOC is supporting from 14 to over 50 in the next two years.

To date, nearly 300 DSA members have already participated in the ETOC process and are currently engaged as cohorts of tenants under mentorship. ETOC is currently mentoring over 14 tenant union formations from San Diego to Nashville to Lower Hudson Valley. In January 2023, we launched a new Mentorship Pilot with aims to better assist our fellow organizers' ability to make tangible progress at a sustainable, and transformative rate in the necessary anterior steps of building city-wide tenant unions. We're nearing the end of the first pilot program and are working to transition cohorts to the longer-term support of ETOC's Mentorship program.

Capacity

Members of the HJC Steering Committee will primarily be responsible for overseeing and executing the plan. However, it will be helpful to have assistance from fundraising staff, as well as access to member data (upon reasonable request) for outreach purposes.

This program builds DSA's organizational capacity as it is focused on building a mass movement of tenants, many of whom are not currently organized, or are not currently socialists. ETOC includes a training wing responsible for building and running a train-the-trainer program that teaches comrades how to either build new autonomous tenant unions 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 tenant unions if they already exist.

These are translatable organizing skills relevant to DSA members as they build internal capacity of DSA chapters, or contribute to other organizing efforts, such as local labor struggles.

Recruitment & Retention

The ETOC training includes 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 Black and brown working-class tenants.

New tenant organizers, especially those creating new autonomous tenant unions, get ongoing support from mentors that helps them develop their leadership to organize; navigate known

issues; help the movement create new solutions; and build the pathway from tenant unionism to socialism.

Resources

We are requesting small stipends for cohorts that complete the ETOC program, as well as matching travel funds for mentors and cohorts to organize together face-to-face.

We are requesting a small amount of staff time to help set up fundraising so we can sustain this work. We are also requesting resources in the form of technical tools (a Zoom line, etc.) to ensure that we can carry out this work in an efficient manner.

We included fundraising support in this plan to ensure that we can carry out this work sustainably. The bulk of the work outlined here can be carried out by members.

Messaging

We currently do our own comms and will continue to do so. HJC currently runs a website, a blog, a newsletter, and a twitter account. Our messaging is clear: to break the shackles of private property, we need a mass movement of tenants who fight for each other and themselves. The aim of this messaging is to familiarize the concept of a tenant union, as well as encouraging members to join ETOC and form a local tenant union.

We may on occasion ask staff to assist with outreach to chapters such that they can participate in ETOC and/or join HJC. We may request space in DSA publications, such as Democratic Left.

External Partners

While we have relationships with local tenant unions across the US, we don't plan to seek MOUs with any other organizations for this plan.

Timeline

Now that the HJC has worked on ETOC for a year, we have a sense of the cadence needed to make the program successful. We plan to host quarterly trainings, quarterly townhalls for cohorts, mass calls about tenant unionism at least twice a year, and regular pushes for outreach. We also intend to build in checkpoints and milestones around fundraising once we have met with DSA staff to develop a plan.

- August 2023: Work with fundraising staff to develop a fundraising strategy and plan for the next 2 years.
- September 2023: Host quarterly training for at least 4-7 new cohorts.
- October - November 2023: Conduct chapter presentations, 1-1 outreach, social media campaign to encourage signups for December 2023 training.
- December 2023: Host quarterly training for at least 4-7 new cohorts.
- January 2024: Mass call featuring selected ETOC participants, highlighting organizing wins and challenges
- January 2024: Quarterly ETOC townhall for all cohorts
- January - February 2024: Conduct chapter presentations, 1-1 outreach, social media campaign to encourage signups for March 2024 training.
- March 2024: Host quarterly training for at least 4-7 new cohorts.
- April 2024: Quarterly ETOC townhall for all cohorts
- April - May 2024: Conduct chapter presentations, 1-1 outreach, social media campaign to encourage signups for June 2024 training.
- June 2024: Mass call focusing on basics of organizing conversations in a tenant organizing context
- June 2024: Host quarterly training for at least 4-7 new cohorts.
- July 2024: Quarterly ETOC townhall for all cohorts
- July - August 2024: Conduct chapter presentations, 1-1 outreach, social media campaign to encourage signups for August 2024 training.
- August 2024: Host quarterly training for at least 4-7 new cohorts.
- September 2024: Quarterly ETOC townhall for all cohorts
- September - October 2024: Conduct chapter presentations, 1-1 outreach, social media campaign to encourage signups for November 2024 training.
- November 2024: Host quarterly training for at least 4-7 new cohorts.
- December 2024: Mass call focusing on an intro to tenant unionism
- December 2024: Quarterly ETOC townhall for all cohorts
- January 2025 - February 2025: Conduct chapter presentations, 1-1 outreach, social media campaign to encourage signups for March 2025 training.
- March 2025: Host quarterly training for at least 4-7 new cohorts.
- April 2025: Quarterly ETOC townhall for all cohorts
- April - May 2025: Conduct chapter presentations, 1-1 outreach, social media campaign to encourage signups for June 2025 training.
- June 2025: Mass call, topic TBD. May focus on a retrospective of what ETOC has achieved so far or a topical issue.
- June 2025: Host quarterly training for at least 4-7 new cohorts.
- July 2025: Quarterly ETOC townhall for all cohorts

- July - August 2025: Conduct chapter presentations, 1-1 outreach, social media campaign to encourage signups for September 2025 training.
- September 2025: Host quarterly training for at least 4-7 new cohorts.
- October 2025: Quarterly ETOC townhall for all cohorts
- October - November 2025: Conduct chapter presentations, 1-1 outreach, social media campaign to encourage signups for December 2025 training.
- December 2025: Mass call, topic TBD.
- December 2025: Host quarterly training for at least 4-7 new cohorts.

For more detail about the mentorship program and schedule, see the ETOC mentorship phases [here](#).

Open Questions

N/A

Work Plan for Consensus Resolution #2: 2023 Green New Deal Campaign Commission Priority Resolution

Introductory Summary

Develop and facilitate DSA chapter campaigns for GND-style legislation in four main areas: public power, public transit, green social housing, and green public spaces. This will involve coaching and training chapters, developing resources and educational materials, and coordinating a larger shared narrative and purpose with comms, coaching, and political education. This will build DSA member and chapter capacity and win reforms that build broader working class power.

Strategic Landscape

It is not enough to articulate the Green New Deal as a vision of racial, gender, economic, and environmental justice; a socialist Green New Deal contests the ongoing green capitalist transition by vying for democratic control over key economic sectors. Our proposals are rooted in a concrete analysis of ruling class power, which is located in control over investment and production of surplus value. Capitalist responses to climate change and other environmental crises attempt to use this control to initiate technological transitions which further exploit and immiserate the working class, and are insufficient solutions to the crises at hand.

Beyond addressing the climate and ecological crisis, the Green New Deal as we see it aims to **rebuild the public sector and the labor movement as both a means and an end**. We can accomplish this by fighting for projects which secure and expand the public and ecologically-sustainable provision of social rights: energy, mobility, and housing. These demands promise not only to dislodge the entrenched position of the capitalist class, but also to unite social bases within the working class—workers in the public sector and the building trades, transit riders, tenants, environmental justice communities—behind a common vision of an emancipated, democratic, and ecologically sustainable society. After all, environmental protection, community safety, and transit expansion are a part of both our working conditions and our living conditions.

Because of this campaign's focus on building up local chapters with varied local campaigns tailored to their interests and conditions, we do not foresee external conditions or events having a significant effect on this work over the next 1-2 years at the national level. However, the 2024 federal elections changing control of branches of government could affect potential

funding/legislation in 2025, and there is always the possibility of an unpredictable black swan event or existential crisis that drastically alters the strategic landscape.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

Successful implementation will look like building chapter capacity and cross-chapter cohesion in service of winning state and local campaigns, with the key intention of building working class power through the development of class consciousness, organization, and ties between organized segments of the working class in the process. While winning transformative legislation is the primary goal of chapter campaigns, chapters which are unsuccessful in winning their primary demand can still achieve the key organizing objective of Building for Power if:

1. They substantially increase the size of both their active and paper membership, i.e. by 10% or greater for small to midsize chapters;
2. They develop durable close working partnerships with both the membership and leadership of working-class organizations in a way that sets up coalitional campaigns in the near term;
3. They develop cadre members who are qualified to hold positions in leadership by virtue of their organizing skills, knowledge, and relationships.

Chapter strategies and campaigns will be assessed via GNDCC coaches on a regular basis, and overall Building for Power strategy will be assessed by the GNDCC in regular meetings and in particular at the planned strategy retreat.

Objectives

- Train 30-40 chapters in running strategic campaigns that improve, expand, create, and sustain public goods that:
 - Improve the public's quality of life
 - Expand union coverage and strengthen union power by organizing and winning transformative labor standards
 - Decarbonize and democratize public services
 - Builds an independent working class base through open confrontation with a capitalist boss or politician (the “target”) and easy-to-understand demands which connect with common struggles (e.g., housing crisis, transit shortage, pollution, dilapidated school buildings)
 - Create or strengthen ties with organized labor, both rank-and-file and union leadership (track number of R&F members in campaign)

- Develop chapter capacity to:
 - Create and implement communications strategies that strengthen their campaigns (e.g. regular cadence of social posts, media hits, newsletters,
 - Research [policy demands](#) and develop cohesive campaign strategies
 - Train and coach their members throughout their campaigns
 - How to develop and lead a coalition where DSA is at the core
- Help chapters win their Building for Power campaigns within the 2-year period
- Develop and implement a fundraising plan which:
 - Raises at least \$10k per year to be used to assist chapters running Building for Power campaigns
 - Creates a chapter grant program to support chapters running Building for Power campaigns

Capacity

The GNDCC will be responsible and accountable for executing this plan, and chapters will be responsible for executing their local campaigns. The GNDCC will continue to regularly meet and coordinate with field organizers in this capacity. The GNDCC will also work with national Comms and Tech committees on an as-needed basis.

Through this campaign, the GNDCC will intentionally bring in and develop leaders both at the chapter and national levels and train members on relevant campaign tasks like coaching, strategy, research, and comms.

Recruitment & Retention

Chapters will be coached on activating and mobilizing their existing members as well as recruiting new members through DSA-led coalitions and intentional campaign outreach to build their muscle and capacity to win.

Resources

- One dedicated full-time staff organizer to coordinate with the GNDCC
- Staff, technical, and other support for campaign fund-raising and merchandise, as reasonably needed and requested by the GNDCC
- Budget funds necessary to support digital tools and resources for campaign organizing
- Access to DSA member data and other resources as reasonably needed and requested

Messaging

The GNDCC comms team will continue to work closely with national comms staff to create and propagate messaging that educates, politicizes, and inspires as well as publicizing chapter and national events and campaigns. They will also continue to work with chapters by providing guidance and resources like comms toolkits and messaging guides. All of this will be done in order to cohere local, state, and national efforts into a shared narrative of a broader struggle and the overall Building for Power campaign.

External Partners

External partners will mostly be determined at the chapter level with labor unions and environmental justice groups. The GNDCC will help facilitate and guide building these coalitions and ensuring that socialists are driving them.

Timeline

Each chapter will have their own timelines for their own campaigns based on the conditions in which they exist. Each city and state have their own procedures and the GNDCC will be working alongside chapters on the chapter's timeline.

GNDCC-specific timeline:

- 2023
 - Transition in leadership of GNDCC
 - Transition of coaching/mentoring relationships between GNDCC and Chapters ○ Have GNDCC members attend at least two (2) Regional Organizing Retreats to encourage strong relationship development with chapters
 - Host Strategic Campaigns Training or equivalent in collaboration with the Growth and Development Committee (GDC)
 - Host at least two (2) mass calls directed towards DSA members and non-DSA members in collaboration with other national committees on topics related to or aligned with Building For Power campaigns
- 2024
 - GNDCC will convene in-person (if possible) over a three-day period for a Strategic Retreat to discuss, debate, and align on specific strategies and next steps moving into the remainder of the term.
 - Have GNDCC members attend at least four (4) Regional Organizing Retreats to encourage strong relationship development with chapters

- Host at least four (4) mass calls directed towards DSA members and non-DSA members in collaboration with other national committees on topics related to or aligned with Building For Power campaigns
- Host two (2) Strategic Campaigns Trainings or equivalent in collaboration with the GDC
- 2025
 - Have GNDCC members attend at least two (2) Regional Organizing Retreats to encourage strong relationship development with chapters
 - Have GNDCC members attend at least four (4) Regional Organizing Retreats to encourage strong relationship development with chapters
 - Host at least four (4) mass calls directed towards DSA members and non-DSA members in collaboration with other national committees on topics related to or aligned with Building For Power campaigns
 - Host two (2) Strategic Campaigns Trainings or equivalent in collaboration with the GDC
 - Prepare for 2025-2027 National Convention

Open Questions

- If a chapter is running a ballot measure campaign, are there legal/compliance specifics that we need to be aware of that may impact how the GNDCC is able to tangibly support these initiatives? (i.e. related to campaign finance law)
- How can we develop durable working relationships between chapters, their Socialists In Office, and organized labor, with the goal of including them as an integral part of the campaign strategy and coalition needed to win Building for Power campaigns?

Work Plan for Consensus Resolution #3: Growth and Development Committee 2023 Convention Resolution

Introductory Summary

In order to build and strengthen DSA into a socialist organization with a mass character, it's crucial that there is a strong focus on developing socialist organizers and creating resilient chapter infrastructure, with the GDC coordinating the overarching strategy as well as adding overall capacity to these projects. The main projects of this resolution entail the development of an accessible training curriculum, the institution of a national arc of participation, publicizing known metrics (such as growth rates), finalizing a membership growth plan for the next five years, centralization of organizational campaign and project knowledge, a 2024 membership drive, a Dues Drive, and a continuation of the Matching Funds program. All of the aforementioned projects will ensure that DSA chapters and their members have the skills required to engage in active recruitment to DSA, to broaden our class presence, and have clear and reachable goals for growth over the next five years as a way to better prepare our organization for future fights. Additionally, the Committee will continue its commitment to helping chapters development, with programs like KickStart Your Chapter, Treasurer's Trainings, and other capacity-building focused trainings.

Strategic Landscape

As a membership-driven and membership-led organization, efforts to support the development of members into skilled organizers and to organize in specific and strategic terrains of struggle are vital to the well-being of a growing organization. Our current infrastructure is from a time when our membership was only around 5,000 members, and now, at more than 80,000, it is crucial that we scale up our work, create and fortify centralized infrastructure for supporting our numerous campaigns and projects, and develop a shared understanding of what it means to be a DSA member that is actively involved in the health of the organization. While the crux of this resolution is internally focused, the efforts by the GDC are crucial to getting DSA in a position to win any and all fights. To wage strategic campaigns, our members must see themselves as socialist organizers, have the skills to bring in more of our class into this fight, and have access to the collective knowledge of our organization to learn from previous efforts to better inform future demands. The work of this body must be done in coordination with other work and only serves to strengthen external efforts.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

- Success:
 - Clear numeric goals and due dates
 - % of people we want to recruit or retain
 - # of people we want to engage in trainings
 - # of people we want to train to lead trainings
 - Giving chapters the tools they need to onboard and retain members, and measure member retention
 - Defining engagement and what it means to be a DSA member
 - Are we able to move this person to action? Whatever that action might be
 - Standard curriculum for organizer training
 - Carrying out each of the objectives outlined below
- Failure:
 - Ad hoc efforts that are ongoing but aren't working toward a specific goal or not complementing existing campaign work
 - Chapters continuing to struggle through diminishing recruitment percentages
 - No new chapters being formed out of the at-large pipeline project

Objectives

- Scale up our current national training program to develop socialist organizers capable of analyzing material conditions, identifying issues widely felt by the working class, running local campaigns, and connecting them to national priorities where possible.
- Develop and distribute chapter tools for membership development, including onboarding and various levels of leadership identification, primarily through putting on a standardized training program interwoven with political education
- Work with chapters in developing active recruitment models
- Institutionalize a national arc of participation for new DSA members, from orientation to political education, organizer trainings, and campaigns, to work toward a shared understanding of what it means to be a DSA member
- Finalize a five-year growth plan, with annual membership number goals
- House a centralized drive where chapters can submit campaign debriefs, recruitment projects, membership chapter models, mutual aid efforts, and other resources available for chapter leaders and active members
- Bottomline a 2024 Membership Drive
- Organize a Dues Drive
- Appoint a GDC SC member to serve as a liaison to DSA and YDSA
- Recruit 50 members by September 2023
- Continue administering the Matching Funds program, so that 10-15 chapters open offices by 2025 and creating a plan to implement a program to help chapters hire staff.

- Through the development Matching Funds program, members of the GDC subcommittee will create material and trainings that can help chapters navigate financial and administrative questions, in conjunction with staff.

Capacity

The Growth and Development Committee will be primarily responsible for carrying out this plan. The GDC will bring in relevant national bodies for ongoing coordination, such as past projects with the GDNCC and NLC. We hope we can continue to count on the support of the Organizing Director as the primary staff contact to ensure that this work is disseminated to chapter leaders, is relevant to current chapter concerns, and is in line with the work of field organizers. The work of the GDC is specifically formulated to develop leadership in chapters, however, there will need to be some additional work to ensure that outgoing leaders can help feed into the ongoing work of the GDC. While chapters should be doing this work on a continuous basis, this body seeks to support, guide, and complement those efforts in a way that is centralized: meaning as a body that can help develop shared language and even distribution of skills throughout the organization. The trainings themselves are continuously being built on to help members grow as leaders and to support leaders in their leadership roles but also in their work to identify and develop other leaders.

Recruitment & Retention

The GDC's main projects will have recruitment and retention as inherent to their success. Two of these will be explained below in their respective sections, however, we would also add that ongoing member training for members, locals, and national bodies will be an ongoing way that we retain members who can often feel overwhelmed at being in a political organization for the first time. We will also continue to retain members by strengthening our mentorship capacity to both complement the work of our staff Field Organizers, to make sure chapter leaders are supported, and to have consistent updates on the needs of locals.

- Dues Drive: The Dues Drive will include and build upon already existing trainings the GDC Training subcommittee and staff organizers have developed and already carry out. In addition, this campaign requires the creation of new resources and trainings, such a guide on how to calculate chapter retention rates, making financial asks related to dues, and training on financial accounting and fundraising skills. This campaign builds chapters' internal organizing capacities as it is driven by members at the local level. The campaign will make chapters more durable and sustainable in the long term while also developing new leaders in our organization. A major goal of the drive will be supporting chapters in the development of essential and lasting organizing practices. Chapter core members will be intentionally outreaching lapsed or disengaged

members, making a fundraising ask, and building up local practices and resources so that this becomes an ongoing practice in the chapter. Another goal of this work is to help chapter leadership identify and re-engage members who may be less active in their chapters, ultimately building their bases, or rebuilding in a period of conflict or struggle or inactivity due to the pandemic.

- **At-Large Member Development:** A main goal of at-large member work is to support members as they move from disconnected at-large members of DSA to forming organizing committees and active chapters. Staff working on chapter pipeline development, and already existing trainings, like the So You Want To Start A Chapter Training, will be incorporated into this plan. Because At-Large member development will help members build organizing committees and chapters, member recruitment will be central to that work. There are many opportunities to intentionally target working-class communities and communities of color. For example, we can first target specific regions or At-Large members, such those who identify as BIPOC, those who are union members, or those living in areas of strategic interests, such as rural areas, the South, or diverse zip codes.

Resources

The main resource we require for this work is staff time. Our ability to work alongside the Organizing Team is incredibly important and vital to ensuring that our scope of work is uniform and sustainable for the entire organization. This does, however, mean splitting time with Field Organizers who already have quite a workload with their assigned region, and many of the staff members who are working with the GDC also have national bodies they're assigned to, which means increased staff time would be useful. A big question here is how to most effectively and efficiently use resources to meet the goals of this plan, as much of this work relies on the same set of resources. Much of this is already carried out by members, and a main goal of these projects is for members to build capacity to carry out this work independently in their locals, while also standardizing this work so members get a shared understanding about DSA.

Messaging

The main messaging mechanisms necessary will be to establish the audience of members that our trainings, calls, or resources are aimed at. It's been difficult to hone in on a specific audience (i.e. chapter leaders, struggling chapters, new members) in a sustained way and we have not been tracking ongoing progress in how effectively we are reaching our intended audiences with the messaging we've been using. Over the next two years, the aim will also be to really hone in on how we reach the various layers of leaders in this organization so that the

materials are relevant and useful to their current work and current skills, as well as to set an inspirational tone and build confidence in the work we are doing.

External Partners

While we have had some instances of bringing in organizations on the left who focus on racial justice, labor, or training broadly, there are not currently any specific groups we are looking to bring on to this work, as the primary focus of this body is internal facing and meant to support our layers of leaders.

Timeline

- August 2023
 - Onboard new NPC members to the GDC SC
- September 2023
 - Create a more detailed timeline and operationalizing proposal for the work of the GDC based on the final version of the consensus resolution, as well as any relevant resolutions passed
- October 2023
 - Recruit new GDC members to specific projects based on the timeline and operationalization document

Open Questions

- What is our collective/organizational definition of “membership?” of “active member?” How do we encourage members to move into action beyond joining? What are the expectations we have of our members? Are they universal? What should a typical DSA member be expected to do on a regular basis? How does this definition drive the way we “respond” to membership?
- What is our collective/organizational definition of “engagement”? How do we measure engagement and how do we create a definition of engagement that allows for different livelihoods, lifestyles, and capacities in member participation?
- How do we define priority criteria to determine which chapters fit into certain named categories? Particularly “rural” chapters, and how do we make sure these definitions don’t become static (for example defining certain chapters as “small” instead of understanding these chapters are only “small” until they become “big”) Similarly, how do we continue define at-large membership in a way that assumes the ultimate destination for any at-large member should be a chapter?

- How do we improve the new member orientation process and how they are funneled to chapters?
- How can we structure trainings and systems for monitoring engagement and retention within chapters in a way that is held by the chapter and not just a few self-selecting members who drive the work (and then take it with them when and if they leave the chapter)?
- How will this work be standardized across the organization? Many groups currently hold different pieces of the work that's implicated in this resolution. How do we assess the current capacity of national bodies and create a plan that draws on what already exists, while holding a long term goal of standardizing practices and the purpose of trainings across the organization?
- How do our current mentorship practices push current chapter leaders to engage in national work while simultaneously helping them do leadership development within the chapter to move the local work they hold into new hands? Relatedly, how do we get an accurate and realistic assessment of our current leadership layer?
- How do we clarify the relationship between YDSA and DSA?

Work Plan for Consensus Resolution #4: International Committee Consensus Resolution

Introductory Summary

DSA's International Committee is a large National commission under the oversight of the NPC, and is charged with coordinating DSA's diplomatic relationships, international programming, and internationalist and anti-imperialist organizing within DSA. The IC has been invited to develop a Consensus Resolution for the 2023 Convention, with “big-tent” input from 25 NPC-appointed leaders and over 750 general members from more than 125 chapters.

The IC's Consensus Resolution seeks to strengthen DSA's ties to the international left, while also strengthening DSA chapters, campaigns, and organizers. Specifically, the IC calls for DSA to formally join the Progressive International; to provide resources for internationalist organizing, particularly through DSA chapters; and to prioritize programming that reflects the international character of the U.S. working class, which is increasingly made up of people of color, migrants, and women.

Strategic Landscape

Internationalism is imperative for our shared socialist project, and socialists in DSA especially have a duty to organize against the devastation of U.S. imperialism. The U.S. – and institutions within U.S. control, such as the IMF – have long played a leading role as enforcer of a global economic system that benefits the few at the expense of the many, and wealthy nations at the expense of the Global South. Amid shifting geopolitical conditions, the U.S. dollar seeks to maintain dominance through both violence and financial coercion. Here in the heart of U.S. empire, Congress, the military industrial complex, the media, and even our own neighbors are beating the war drums against both China and Russia.

Endless war and militarism have diverted trillions to military spending over the years, particularly since the Russian invasion of Ukraine, which DSA and the IC have thoroughly condemned. Those billions in U.S. taxpayers' dollars are desperately needed to address vital needs at home, such as an overburdened health care system, our affordable housing crisis, a failing education system, decaying public transit, and the existential threat of climate change.

Socialists must prioritize our intertwined fights against global capital, against climate change, and against a new cold war; at the same time, we must build toward a vision of a new socialist global order, alongside socialists around the world. DSA is in a critical position to develop a

multi-racial, anti-imperialist, working-class movement for socialism and against the U.S.'s constant exacerbation of escalating global crises. The IC's resolution calls for DSA to commit to strengthening our relationships with the international left, and to strengthening our own chapters and organizers as internationalists and anti-imperialists.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

Our outcomes are listed in priority order, and each includes a description of how success vs. failure looks:

- IC prioritizes member recruitment and programming that reflect the international character of the U.S. working class, which is increasingly made up of people of color, migrants, and women
 - Success: The IC reviews and streamlines its current application process, and focuses more energy on active recruitment of people of color, migrants, and women. This can be done by continuing existing practices such as developing feminist and internationalist programming, but also by actively building campaigns and outreach that target these groups.
 - Failure: The IC fails to maintain IC organizing and programming in general, which is not expected. OR, the IC fails to actively recruit and maintain such members and/or to develop such programming. It would not be acceptable to fall into a pattern of passively supporting proposals only from “organizers with the time” who do not reflect such character. These failures are not expected given IC's volunteer capacity and programming to date.
- IC receives \$25,000 per year for delegations and chapter organizing
 - Success: IC leadership develop a procedure for requesting funds for chapter organizing or delegations. Requests could be small such as for printing or translation, or medium-sized such as for events or campaign work, or large such as for delegations.
 - Failure: If this resolution is amended to remove this allocation, or if the funding is simply not feasible given DSA's budget, we would not consider that a failure of the IC. However, if we are allocated this funding, a failure could look like many different things: failing to spend the funds at all, failing to set up a streamlined procedure to request and distribute funds to chapters, failure to organize delegations to chapters especially. This is not expected, given IC volunteer capacity and how anti-imperialism is a natural component of DSA's many anti-capitalist campaigns.
- IC establishes chapter liaison program
 - Success: During Q4 2023, IC leaders develop a proposal for improving existing activities with chapters, and funding additional activities. IC general members

- provide feedback. IC leaders finalize a standard procedure for requesting funding from the IC, and also generally prioritize chapter organizing such as selecting liaisons, integrating local/chapter organizing into IC campaigns, and supporting ongoing chapter campaigns. The IC will also help to develop and fund proposals to bring international delegations directly to chapters.
- Failure: This can take multiple forms, such as the IC failing to develop the program, but also limited chapter interest in a developed program. However, we expect interest in a more developed program, given the IC's current membership of over 750 people from over 125 chapters, who often seek guidance for internationalist organizing within their own chapters. (To date, this has been uneven, for example with many legislative campaigns prioritizing MDC participation, and many anti-war campaigns relying on organized DSA bodies within NYC and the Bay Area.)
 - NPC and IC centralize and coordinate on international strategy and relationships
 - Success: NPC liaisons to the IC attend standing meetings with IC Chair (or Steering Committee) to coordinate international strategy and relationships. IC tracks all relationships and outreach via centralized tools including inbox and AirTable. Strategy (and Platform and Convention resolutions) guide IC decisions and efforts.
 - Failure: NPC liaisons to the IC are not able to prioritize this coordination, but are still able to defer to the IC's efforts here.
 - DSA joins the Progressive International
 - Success: DSA becomes a formal member of the PI, participates in the annual remote Summit, and sends a delegate to the annual in-person Summit (for 2023, in Brasilia). DSA and the PI coordinate strategy, relationships, and campaigns that combines DSA's mass memberships with the PI's party relationships. Relationship is held by IC Chair and PI General Coordinator, with regular reports to NPC and IC leaders and members.
 - Failure: DSA becomes a formal member of the PI, but fails to uphold our commitments to the PI's Summits and campaigns, and ignores outreach from the PI. This is not expected, given our strong existing relationship with and formal invitation to join the PI.
 - The National Political Platform is updated to say "End US military aid to all governments."
 - Success: National website administrator updates the site. This update guides the IC's decisions on opposing U.S. military aid to other governments.
 - Failure: National website administrator fails to update the site. This is not expected, given National staff's responsiveness to the Convention and the IC.
 - DSA/IC hosts an international conference in 2024

- Success: Around November 2023 during the standard DSA budgeting process, IC leadership develop a conference proposal that includes strategic objectives, potential invitations, location options, and different budget scenarios. This proposal is reviewed by the NPC liaisons to the IC before the formal budget submissions are made to the Budget Committee.
- Failure: It would be a failure to fail to develop the proposal above. However, the resolution is framed as an exploration because the IC also understands the possibility that there may not be sufficient resources (financial, administrative, or otherwise) available in 2024 to support this conference; a failed proposal would not be a resolution failure, per se.

Objectives

- Continue to build organizing efforts based on 2021 Convention Resolution #14 and DSA's National Political Platform
- Coordinate strategic outreach and strengthen ties between DSA and the international left
- Equip DSA chapters with needed resources for internationalist organizing, particularly against rising United States militarism

Capacity

This is a conservative resolution in terms of organizing capacity. The IC already has the volunteer organizing capacity (of 25 NPC-appointed leaders and 750+ general members) to complete this Resolution, but we are seeking Convention approval to ensure that we have DSA's full endorsement of this work.

The IC's Steering Committee and Subcommittee Co-Chairs meet regularly to evaluate our progress and coordinate organizing efforts. IC leadership also prioritize development of new leaders through our many campaigns, events, and other organizing work.

The change to the IC's status quo is our funding request for \$25,000; we typically receive \$0 to \$1,000 per year for our "operating costs," and fundraise separately for delegations. This \$25,000 per year allocation would enable us to directly fund internationalist organizing via chapters, including international delegations TO chapters, event and rally support, printing costs, translators, and more.

Our additional \$750 staff time allocation covers our typical occasional requests to our wonderfully supportive National staff, such as running membership checks, processing

reimbursements, and setting up national Zoom webinars. We also heavily utilize and appreciate National infrastructure resources from staff and the NTC, such as Action Network, Zoom, the DSA website, and AirTable.

Recruitment & Retention

The IC has demonstrated sustainable success in attracting and retaining DSA members, not only to the IC but to DSA itself. The IC has a strong mass member infrastructure, including for 25 NPC-appointed leaders, over 750 general members, and over 500 applicants in waiting (due to quarterly onboarding schedule and prioritization of non-white cis male applicants). IC members come from over 125 chapters of all sizes and regions.

In our experience, the IC's internationalist and anti-imperialist efforts appear to attract more people of color and migrants than other DSA spaces, and the IC is proud to have a strong cadre of both leaders and general members who are people of color, women, and/or migrants. Our seven Subcommittees offer many leadership and retention opportunities, through campaigns, events, political education, diplomatic work, chapter organizing, and more. We hope that the IC's commitment to a chapter liaisons program will also help to even more tightly integrate DSA chapters and organizers with the IC, especially by providing resources to help integrate internationalist goals into all ongoing DSA campaigns.

Resources

Total request: \$25,750, inclusive of:

- **Staff time: \$750.** The International Committee is volunteer run, but staff provide administrative support services such as running membership checks, processing reimbursements, and setting up national Zoom webinars.
- **Delegation and chapter funding: \$25,000.** The Resolution calls for at least \$25,000 per annum as described above to support international and domestic delegations, and for distributing resources for chapter organizing.

Messaging

- **Progressive International:** The resolution calls for an exploration of joining the Progressive International. DSA has already been formally invited to join the Progressive International, which carries no administrative or financial requirements for member organizations. Two meetings are held per year, one virtual and one in-person, and the PI strives to fund both travel and in-country costs for in-person

delegates. The 2023 Summit in Brasilia has already secured funding for in-country costs, and should soon be confirming any coverage for travel costs.

- **Various international political parties and other institutions:** The IC maintains relationships with many different institutions, especially political parties. Some examples are Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) in Brazil, Sinn Féin and Ógra Shinn Féin in Ireland, the Communist Party of Kenya, Podemos in Spain, Halkların Demokratik Partisi (HDP) in Turkey, and many more. The IC also organizes with non-party institutions such as Women Cross DMZ, the Yemeni Alliance Coalition, and Okinawa's Zenko Henoko Anti-base Project. The IC also formally engages in coalitions such as the Black Alliance for Peace Solidarity Network, Foro de São Paulo (FSP), National Network on Cuba (NNOC), and Peace in Ukraine (PIU) Coalition.

External Partners

The IC will continue to use our existing infrastructure, particularly Action Network and Twitter, for mass communications. We appreciate any support that National can provide, such as Retweets and disseminating some of our events using the standard National events procedure. We also look forward to our deep investment in a chapter liaisons program where individual chapter members can help provide resources, trainings, and other campaign support to chapters.

Timeline

- **August 2023:** Formally join the Progressive International and send a DSA delegate to the 2023 Progressive International Summit in Brasilia
- **September 2023:** Appoint NPC liaisons to the IC, who attend standing meetings with IC Chair (or Steering Committee) to coordinate international strategy and relationships
- **September 2023:** Update DSA National Political Platform (via National website administrator)
- **October 2023:** Develop procedure and open applications for IC chapter liaisons program, with a particular prioritization of people of color, migrants, and women
- **November 2023:** During standard DSA budgeting period, initiate exploration of potential 2024 international conference, and develop procedure for chapter resource requests
- **October 2024:** If funded, host international conference

Open Questions

- **Will DSA's 2024 budget be able to sustain an international conference?** We don't know, but this resolution only commits to an exploration of hosting it, not to funding it. Around November 2023 during the standard DSA budgeting process, IC leadership will develop a conference proposal that includes strategic objectives, potential invitations, location options, and different budget scenarios. This proposal should be reviewed by the NPC liaisons to the IC before the formal budget submissions are made to the Budget Committee. Whether we host a conference would be based on an evaluation of both the proposal and DSA's 2024 budget.
- **What capacity will DSA chapters have in the next two years, particularly for the IC's chapter liaisons program?** The program is intended to be opt-in. We also eagerly await this year's Convention to help guide prioritization for everyone in DSA.

Work Plan for Consensus Resolution #5: Our Role in a Resurgent Labor Movement (National Labor Commission)

Introductory Summary

N/A

Strategic Landscape

The momentum building in the labor movement in recent years is the strongest argument to put our time and effort there. From the educators' strikes to the covid workers' upsurge, to recent upticks in strikes in the private sector, to new organizing at Starbucks and Amazon, to the major historic union reform wins of TDU and UAW, and real potential for labor struggles at UPS and the Big 3 automakers, the labor movement is in motion. We are at the very start of our journey in overcoming a historic separation between socialists and the labor movement. We have a promising start, but we will need more years of sustained work to merge the socialist and labor movements.

In addition, electoral and legislative prospects for the next few years are looking bleak. There is no 'Bernie' on the horizon, the Democrats are showing early signs of consolidating around Biden (including progress and left Dems) and it will likely be difficult for a centrist Biden to hold on to the presidency. We are no longer taking incumbent Dems by surprise in downballot primary races. Our wins are fewer and hard-fought.

Without splashy, headline-grabbing electoral wins to count on, we have all the more reason to dig in deeper to the budding labor upswing.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

Success:

- 2 or more additional national industry networks developed
- DSA members and chapter integral to reform efforts to making unions more democratic, militant and with a class struggle orientation
- Concrete program to advance union democracy
- DSA more deeply rooted in the organized, multi-racial working class
- Expanded salting program

- Written exploration of national salting academy; possible steps taken towards creating one
- Solidarity Fund growth; chapters trained to fundraise locally
- DSA can say all chapters do excellent labor solidarity work
- Continued development of our Logistics work
- No more than 2 priority campaigns for the NLC, well-resourced and well-organized
- Two paid full-time elected cochairs of the NLC

Failure:

- Fail to produce the items listed above
- ‘Approve’ a laundry list of campaigns, none of which are well-resourced
- Fail to develop a broader layer of leaders in DSA
- Fail to root ourselves in the organized, multi-racial working class

A more detailed work plan will need to be created by the new NLC SC, and NPC reps focused on labor. Any new proposals should be read in conjunction with this resolution, to see if they fit or advance the goals of the resolution. Accountability means understanding that we need to carry out what we pass at convention, in order to have a democratic organization, and members who want to participate in the democratic life of the org and stick around long-term.

Objectives

- 2 or more new national industry networks
- DSA participation in union reform efforts to make unions more democratic, militant and class struggle oriented
- DSA objectively more rooted in the organized, multi-racial working class, with higher numbers of members fitting that
- Continued resourcing of EWOC
- Written exploration of salting academy
- Solidarity Fund growth
- Chapter training and tools on local labor fundraising
- Further developed Logistics work
- 2 priority NLC campaigns at most, at any given time
- 2 paid full-time elected cochairs of the NLC
- Concrete program to advance union democracy

Capacity

The National Labor Commission Steering Committee will be primarily responsible for leading the execution of this resolution. The NLC SC, the Labor Corps, the NLC membership, the NPC and staff will also be responsible for carrying it out. The plan will require the support and work of the Comms Committee and the Tech Committee. Staff's duties will vary based on what part of the plan is currently underway, what the NLC SC's priorities are, and the balance of DSA's external campaigns.

This work will build organizing capacity within the membership. There is no better place to get hands on organizing experience than in the labor movement, and through moving coworkers to shop floor action. Leaders are forged in this work, and a major goal is to move more DSA-ers into the labor movement.

Currently existing infrastructure includes: the NLC SC, an NLC membership body, quarterly membership meetings, the Labor Corps, monthly Labor Corps meetings, communications channels, a website, a Solidarity Fund, a Logistics Network, the Strike Ready Campaign Commission, the cross-priority meetings, dormant but potentially reactivated industry networks and campaigns. This plan will require continuing to build the Labor Corps and the NLC membership, and finding more on-ramps for participation.

Recruitment & Retention

Many of our chapters have been successful recruiting the organized working class, including working class people of color, through solidarity actions and on the picket line. We have also made initial progress recruiting an activist layer of our coworkers through our shop floor organizing and union activism. The chapters that have been the most successful in recruiting from outside our own workplaces have been unrelenting on their labor solidarity, establishing DSA in their city as **the** people who will always have your back in a labor fight, and push you over the edge with community support to win. We need to study that work in those chapters and crystalize it into lessons for all DSA chapters.

This recruitment is not contingent on winning labor fights, but is certainly more likely if and when we help workers win their fight in some way.

Recruiting working class people of color will also require prioritizing workplace fights that are majority people of color, and picking unions and industries to prioritize strategically by who we want to recruit, among other factors like economic impact, social impact, likelihood of success, etc.

We can take lessons from this summer's Strike Ready campaign on recruitment and retention, and on better tracking recruitment. Already this campaign is delving deeper into retention, as chapters taking on the campaign are reaching out to inactive DSA members in their chapter to get them to sign pledge cards and get involved in the campaign. We strongly recommend taking what works from this campaign and applying it to the work of this resolution, and adjusting/learning from what doesn't work.

Resources

To carry out this plan successfully, we will need two full-time cochairs, as well as our existing labor staffer. We have found that substantial time is needed to lead this work cohesively, and it can't be pieced together through solely member hours after other full-time jobs.

Messaging

Comms strategy and messaging will depend substantially on the labor priority campaigns being taken on at any given time. The currently under-development comms strategy for the Strike Ready Campaign can serve as an example and give us lessons on developing future comms strategies.

Social media will continue to be a primary mechanism for disseminating externally, Slack can continue to be used for internal comms. If capacity allows, an NLC newsletter may also be developed.

External Partners

This proposal calls for prioritizing building relationships with rank-and-file union members, and supporting reform efforts with the goal of self-organization of our class. It also calls for collaborating with Labor Notes. It calls for continued participation in EWOC and exploring partnerships with other organizations who may be interested in a salting academy.

Timeline

Timeline will depend on the specific campaigns and labor fights the NLC SC and NPC choose to prioritize, and how they lay out the work. We strongly recommend labor reps on the incoming NPC meet with the NLC SC in the first two months of their term to work on a timeline.

Open Questions

There are open questions on which labor fights the NLC SC and NPC will choose to prioritize. In late 2021, when we created our initial work plan, it was very clear that the UPS contract fight would be one of the most important fights on the horizon. No other clear priority labor struggles are evident 1-2 years out. On the immediate horizon, the Big 3 Automakers' contract is up 9/14/23. We have an initial timeline of big contract expirations around the country - many educators' contracts are up in 2024, and a Nabisco contract is up in 2025. Many big union contracts are currently expired. The next NPC and NLC SC will need to continue to closely monitor developments in the labor movement to know what to prioritize.

Work Plan for Consensus Resolution #6: National Electoral Committee 2023 Consensus Resolution

Introductory Summary

The National Electoral Committee will perform most of the work of enacting this resolution, as the committee is the body tasked with carrying out DSA's National Electoral Strategy. In many ways this document is not just a priority resolution work plan, but the outline of a national committee work plan.

In the US electoral context, all campaigns, save the presidency and the most high-profile battleground races for the US Congress, are local. Given this fact, and given the wide electoral landscape in the US, plus the limited resources with DSA at the national level, and still limited experience and expertise across the organization running electoral campaigns aligned with DSA's National Electoral Strategy, the NEC is most effective by providing assistance to chapters and campaigns, rather than running any one campaign in a particular district. The NEC works with chapters to not only help chapters win their electoral campaigns, but most importantly, sharpen the skills of local electoral leaders who can then go on to reproduce themselves within the organization. This work plan encourages the NEC to strengthen the areas where it has been and can be most effective as a national body and most strategically make use of our limited time and resources.

In addition to providing assistance to chapters, the DSA and the NEC need to improve our long term strategic planning and outreach, be less reactive to electoral opportunities and changing conditions, and must continually build buy-in for our existing National Electoral Strategy. While DSA has a clear vision of an electoral model and has a sense for the general types of campaigns or races we ought to engage in, we do not at the national level have a sense of what specific states or districts or incumbents to target. We must deliberate over where to make the most strategic interventions, and as we do so, our strategy needs to be informed by our prioritized issue campaigns. Communication between the NEC, NPC, and other national committees has been poor. Developing our long term electoral strategy in concert with these other bodies will ideally unify the vision of these committees and bolster the work of each other.

Finally, given the realities that the US is a formally democratic state, given the size of the electoral landscape in the US, and given that for now, we will need blocs of legislators in governments across the country in conjunction with an organized mass of the working class agitating for the transformative legislative priorities named by our priority committees, DSA

take electoral organizing more seriously by properly resourcing and funding electoral organizing. Resolution 8 in 2021 requested the hiring of two electoral staff just to start, but as we grow our electoral infrastructure and scope of our electoral program, DSA will need more staff and resources. We must develop the staff side of our electoral program now to be prepared for the future fights to come.

Below is an outline of the projects the NEC and DSA must take on to continue growing our electoral and organizational infrastructure, make sure our electoral strategy is rooted in a wide array of conditions across the US, ensure the harmony of various other national campaigns, and develop strong buy-in for electoral organizing across DSA. There are probably many other projects that should or could be taken on, and some of these fall under the key areas of support provided by the NEC and must be developed in detail by these subcommittees, but the projects listed below are the most important ones to tackle first.

- The National Electoral Committee will continue to support chapters engaging in electoral campaigns through the Chapter Organizing subcommittee (formerly Outreach and Training/Membership subcommittees) and Campaign Operations subcommittee (formerly the Fundraising and Communications subcommittees).
- Providing direct and meaningful material support to chapters with electoral campaigns is crucial for building trust in the national organization and buy-in from chapters and chapter leaders regarding the importance of electoral organizing. Chapters need to be able to feel concretely supported to feel confident to tackle larger races.
- The NPC in concert with the NEC and in line with the following principles outlined in the consensus resolution:
 - DSA commits to making electoral politics a priority for the next two years; and
 - DSA and its local chapters remain committed to the project of building a working-class party: a mass democratic political organization capable of winning and wielding state power with a strategy for social transformation; and
 - DSA will continue to pursue an approach of tactically contesting partisan elections on the Democratic ballot line and other lines where viable; and
 - DSA, through the NEC, will develop programs and strategies to establish operational independence from the Democratic Party; and
 - DSA commits to continuing the development and support of state-level organizations with a goal of running candidates for state legislatures as a means to contest state power and build our organizing capacity, bringing us closer to our goal of a working-class party and contesting statewide and federal races; and
 - The National Electoral Committee will be immediately renamed the National Electoral Commission; and,

- The current National Electoral Committee's membership will be reconstituted as the Steering Committee of the National Electoral Commission; and,
- The National Electoral Commission Steering Committee will work to reshape the NEC internal structure and governance to allow for a larger number of DSA members to hold membership in the National Electoral Commission; and,
- The National Electoral Commission SC will develop a set of guidelines for membership in an expanded commission body
- The National Electoral Commission will work with the National Political Committee to design a process for choosing the next Steering Committee of the NEC which will allow for membership involvement and participation, to take effect by the end of 2023; and
- The National Electoral Commission will be responsible for the administration of various subcommittees and the distribution of work between those subcommittees; and,
- The National Electoral Commission will expand its capacity by appointing additional DSA members from outside the NEC to its subcommittees, who will assist with the tasks and function of those subcommittees; and,
- The National Electoral Commission will explore new internal structures that allow for more volunteer involvement in national electoral work; and,
- The National Electoral Commission will collaborate with locals and the NPC to facilitate DSA's national endorsement process; and,
- The National Electoral Commission will develop and disseminate an endorsements guide for greater alignment across geographic scales, including guidance on socialist campaign communications; and,
- The National Electoral Commission will support chapters in developing Socialists in Office programs to improve coordination and accountability following elections; and,
- DSA will continue to provide a budget for an annual grants program administered by the National Electoral Commission;
- DSA will continue to allocate staffing dedicated to support of the organization's electoral campaigns, to be managed by a discrete Electoral Department; and,
- The National Electoral Commission will apply expanded capacity to creating new programs such as a distributed field operation for mobilizing members across the country and/or an Electoral Training Academy for developing socialist candidates, campaign workers and legislative analysts.
- DSA will hire two staffers focused on electoral organizing, an electoral director focused on field, outreach, and strategy, and another focused on fundraising as soon as possible.

Strategic Landscape

The biggest existential threats to a broader left/socialist movement, as well as the future of the world are climate change, the eroding of democratic and civil rights with increasing police repression and militarization that criminalizes dissent domestically, and US militarization and imperialism abroad that further fuels climate and destabilizes entire countries and regions.

The electoral landscape DSA operates on is one where the nation is divided by a right-wing extremist Republican Party that seeks to criminalize dissent and roll back Democratic rights, and a Democratic Party coalition that is still led by neoliberal leadership but increasingly open to major reforms. DSA's membership is largely concentrated in Democratic states, where the primary fight in the short term can be municipal and state level races that pit class struggle candidates against neoliberal and corporate Democrats within the Democratic Party.

DSA will almost definitely not have majorities in the Democratic conferences in state legislatures or congress by the end of this decade, but may have significant voting blocks in a small handful of state legislatures, as well as hold some city council majorities, though not in the largest US cities. We will need to work hard to significantly grow electoral skills within chapters and across the chapters within a state, so that individual chapters can tackle tougher races and groups of chapters can contest power within state legislatures and congressional districts that span wide geographical areas. In order to make the most impactful strategic interventions to fight against the existential threats outlined above over the current decade, we must carefully research for electoral opportunities between 2024-2030 and work to organize chapters to rise to the occasion of contesting those races.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

- Successful implementation
 - Success means winning elections running serious electoral campaigns can effectively build DSA chapter capacity.
 - All chapters with endorsed campaigns that need mentorship receive it
 - Chapters/campaigns receiving grant funding demonstrate greater capacity after the campaign than before
 - We hire two full-time electoral staffers by Spring 2023
- Failure
 - Chapters feeling inadequately supported, increasing tensions between chapters and national organization.
 - Chapters do not build lasting infrastructure, institutional memory, or skills that can be used on future electoral campaigns

- Unable to build buy-in for electoral organizing across the country
- Unable to organize chapters to orient toward targeting particular strategic races
- Steps for success
 - Restructuring NEC leadership to strengthen accountability. NEC SC regularly having one-on-ones with NEC members to make sure mentorship is going well and that they are completing assigned projects within their bucket of work
 - Consistent organizing of chapters and having one-on-ones with chapter leaders about our electoral strategy
 - Regular evaluation of the support the NEC is providing
- Most important action items to prioritize
 - Continuing to use NEC to support chapters/campaigns and orienting NEC around the three core-areas of work where we can make the most impact
 - Hiring staff
 - Beginning conversations around long term strategic planning
- Steps to ensure constant assessment of strategy
 - NEC tasks
 - End of cycle debriefs with chapters
 - Mid-cycle evaluations of tasks/projects
- Accountability for members involved
 - NEC tasks
 - A SC that directs work and constantly checks in with NEC members to make sure they are taking on work, completing it, etc.
- Accountability for chapters
 - Through mentorship and outreach
- Accountability for NPC members
- Accountability for staff

Objectives

- A strong system of national support and mentorship for endorsed electoral campaigns
- A labor strategy for electoral organizing
- A concrete strategy for targeting races over the next decade and passing legislative priorities of our national priority campaigns and a plan for implementing it
- An organization that is thoroughly bought into to electoral organizing being a central pillar of building socialism, from national staff, to the NPC, to other priority committees, down to to chapters across the country

Capacity

- NPC Members (Currently: Jenbo, Sofia)
- NEC Steering Committee
- Main Committee: National Electoral Committee
 - NPC chair -- 10 hrs / week
 - 5 hrs / week per member (24 x 5 = 120)
 - 130 hours / week
- Other Committees:
 - DSA Priority Committees
 - Personnel Committee
 - National Communications Committee (ongoing)
- Staff:
 - Organizing Staff
 - Communications Staff (ongoing)
 - Compliance Manager (ongoing)
 - Two future full-time electoral staffers
- Infrastructure
 - Existing: National Electoral Committee
 - To be built on the NEC: mentorship program, communications committee, dedicated fundraising committee

This work will build capacity within our membership by developing skilled electoral organizers in more chapters across the organization. Mentorship will build strong electoral chapters + leaders who could serve on NEC and mentor more people/chapters in the future. Electoral campaigns build new leaders in chapters with skills

Recruitment & Retention

- Anecdotally and as observed from membership bumps post Bernie, PGH 2018, AOC 2018, etc. electoral campaigns bring new members into DSA
- Exciting local campaigns, especially waged by candidates of color and in regions where the right is especially threatening, can generate engagement from less involved local members and bring in new members, especially people of color (e.g. Byron Sigcho-Lopez, Jaslin Kaur), or at least raise the visibility of DSA communities where we have fewer members (Indianapolis, Milwaukee, St. Petersburg), and make future efforts to organize people into chapters easier.
- Exciting, higher profile electoral campaigns generate national excitement and spread the word about socialism and DSA to a larger audience and can drive significant membership growth

- Issues: hard to quantify/track (how do you know who joined because of a campaign? Growth might not come from bump at the end of the campaign, but over the course of a campaign -- how to distinguish from regular membership growth)
- Ultimately recruiting members from local campaigns is a chapter's responsibility -- how do we help them?

Resources

- Two full-time electoral staffers.
- Assistance from Communication staff
- Assistance from the National Tech Committee
- Assistance from the Compliance Manager
- Outreach/education/organizing assistance from Field Staff

Messaging

Chapter electoral campaigns will need to craft messaging suited to their local conditions. At the same time, we need a coordinated national communications strategy that develops guidance on how chapters should message their electoral campaigns and provides a strategy for building a cohesive message that weaves together all of our seemingly disparate electoral campaigns that articulates that the candidates we support are not just isolated individuals with good ideas running for office, but they are part of a socialist movement fighting for the working class. To that end, the NEC will develop a national communication strategy focused on leveraging the visibility and reach of the national organization to earn media for our endorsed campaigns,, including by pitching stories to media outlets and podcasts. Additionally, the NEC must improve its internal communication and messaging to organize members to participate in chapter groups and as individuals in distributed field operations, educate members about our endorsed campaigns and how the work the NEC does to help chapters. The communication strategy should also include plans for sharing information from DSA social media accounts, the National Electoral Committee website, and better using the main DSA National website to promote our current and past electoral organizing.

External Partners

No external partners at the national level, though chapters may want to work with various external partners on local campaigns.

Timeline

The timeline for this will be under the purview of the NEC.

Open Questions

N/A

Work Plan for Consensus Resolution #7: Recommitment to Multiracial Organizing (Multiracial Organizing Committee)

Introductory Summary

As an organization, DSA is committed to building a political home reflective and welcoming to the entire working class, in both its membership and leadership. Historically, the organization has skewed predominantly white, college-educated, male, and more recently, has taken a sharp turn toward a membership primarily composed of young people. Nearly $\frac{1}{3}$ of our existing membership joined in the last two years, giving our organization a body that is not evenly developed in terms of political education, organizing experience, and familiarity with navigating political spaces. This resolution seeks to increase the racial diversity of its national committees and membership at large, tackle DSA's existing culture that prompts burnout, tokenization, and hostile spaces, and develop its analysis of, and engagement in, anti-racist and abolitionist organizing work.

Strategic Landscape

There is a key question in DSA that is asked over and over again: "how do we make DSA an organization more reflective of the working class?" The importance of this question is that we know we must build a movement of the whole in order to win socialism. We know we need a multiracial organization in order to achieve our vision.

The how is still not entirely clear, however, it is important to give time and energy to figuring out some best practices around how we answer this question and how we engage in multiracial organizing.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

The markers of success for this resolution are as follows:

- Continue the work of the Training Institute by having in-person and online events with both old and new cohorts.
- Compiling a comprehensive curriculum for the Training Institute focused on developing leadership skills, conflict resolution, building coalitions, and carrying out strategic campaigns
- First cohort helps with outreach for follow up cohort
- Increasing the percentage / number of members of color overall: in national committees and in chapters

- Chapters will do their own internal assessments with success being indicated not by percentages/quotas, but rather by reflecting on their work, culture, and processes and identifying obstacles to recruiting and retaining members of color, as well as members broadly
- Retention of BIPOC members overall, in national committees and in chapters. This effort will be measurable post-Dues Drive (chapters will be trained in how to calculate existing retention rates)
- The MROC SC will begin their work by developing specific and measurable goals for all aspects of the work but particularly with the Training Institute and with identifying urgent organizational needs (such as best practices and patterns that require guidance/support)
- High rate of integration into actual work by incoming BIPOC members (and shared definition of “engagement in the org”) → MROC’s goal is to have DSA members of color apply their training knowledge by getting plugged into chapters or national committees and/or supporting future cohorts as facilitators/trainers

A failure of our intended outcomes would look like a work plan that fails to address and transform the organizational culture and member makeup in a noticeable way or in a manner where progress is not measurable or sustainable.

Objectives

- Training and Leadership Development
 - Continue hosting a **training institute** that teaches DSA’s theory of power and develops leaders of color
 - **Create a training curriculum** for the training institute
 - Goal: Build organizing skills of existing BIPOC members
- Recruitment
 - Support chapters and priority campaigns in their development of intentional BIPOC recruitment strategies
- Conflict Resolution and Transformative Justice
 - Develop an anti-racist lens for dealing with conflict in chapters
 - Develop an accountability process for chapters and national bodies in order to standardize how we engage in this work
- Best Practices
 - Collect, develop, and distribute resources on best practices for multiracial organizing for chapters and national committees
 - Help chapters collect demographic information to establish success criteria
 - Develop and promote a shared analysis of racial capitalism and multiracial organizing across DSA chapters

Capacity

The original MROC resolution made the work of MROC fall largely on the shoulders of NPC members. The consensus resolution loosens up the demand on the time of NPC members and encourages other leaders to take ownership of this work. While at least two NPC members will be part of this committee, the entire committee, in concert with the chair, will primarily be responsible and accountable for the execution of this work. There will also need to be additional members brought in to lead this effort as part of the SC.

This resolution specifically requested staff time as a key resource to building up administrative capacity as well as organizational knowledge around prospective members to tap for the Training Institute. We envision this effort being supported largely by Field Organizers, who have an overarching view of chapter dynamics and obstacles to growth. Working closely with the organizing team will be crucial.

This proposal is aimed at building up the capacity of our members of color in particular, to lead effectively and strategically and to understand and carry out DSA's theory of change/power and identify ways to alter and improve DSA's organizing culture. This work would do a lot to increase chapter capacity since it would have MROC oversee helping chapters develop intentional recruitment plans for their work and support the GDC in working to develop comprehensive onboarding processes for all chapters.

Recruitment & Retention

The recruitment and retention of working class people of color is inherent to the success of this internal priority, and in our opinion, to the success of all our internal and external priorities. This goal is built into the ongoing work of the Training Institute as well as the recruitment strategies required of national campaigns and suggested best practices for chapters. For members who are wanting to develop their skills but are perhaps not yet involved in their chapter, the Training Institute could serve as a space for them to learn about DSA while developing their skills as an organizer, with a next step being their integration into their local chapter as someone prepared to take on leadership role and most importantly, to develop other organizers.

This plan also aims to recruit and retain by making sure chapters are at least as diverse as the areas they're forming in. This is done not by asking chapters to "be less white" once they're already formed, but starting the chapter pipeline process with the very deliberate aim of reflecting their local racial demographics. We intend to have MROC members, and those

trained at the Training Institute, in as many chapters as possible. They will help can facilitate this work in locals.

Resources

The most important resource for this resolution is staff time. It would be helpful to have staff members who are also members of color and can help carry out the outreach components of this work with chapters. Over time, training cohorts could themselves be responsible for identifying and recruiting members and potential members to join and take part in these Training Institutes.

We already have some of the curriculum for the Training Institutes. We hope to modify the curriculum and build it out further, over the next two years. These resources will be developed by MROC, potentially with help from members in other DSA bodies.

Messaging

Since this is not an external campaign, most of the messaging or comms around this priority has been directed at existing members, particularly to recruit members of color to the Training Institute. In the future, there is a plan to reexamine our messaging efforts and orient it toward particular constituencies or industries outside of DSA. This effort will also be expanded to supporting our existing Communications Committee in identifying best practices.

External Partners

This proposal will not likely involve working with coalition partners, as the bulk of this work is internal, but it would emphasize the importance of working with external partners in the context of campaigns for both chapters and national bodies. The Training Institute would also help members understand how, why, and when to engage in coalition building and the ways to do this work effectively. Depending on how the curriculum is developed, there is also an opportunity for external partners to collaborate on specific trainings. These external organizations would probably be abolitionist organizations, unions, organizing academies, or community organizations focused on specific issue-based work. MROC would also be working together with NPEC, AfroSOC, and the GDC to ensure shared language and to complement the work of the Training Team under the GDC

Timeline

- August 2023
 - Leadership hand-off from the previous MROC steering committee to the new one
- September-October 2023:
 - The new SC would begin the process of defining what we mean by multiracial organizing and what it means to transform DSA into a multiracial organization, through preliminary discussions as a body and later develop opportunities to have this conversation with the the broader membership
 - This SC would also develop a consultation plan/timeline for discussing MROC's implementation and what it means for existing national committees. This consultation would also include an assessment of existing efforts (what has and hasn't worked)
 - The SC would create a more detailed work plan for the next twelve months.
- November 2023-December 2023
 - Begin working on the 2024 Training Institute.
 - During this time, the committee will carry out the consultation plan for discussing with national committees and make any necessary adjustments
- January 2024-February 2024
 - Recruiting members for training institute
 - Finalize Training Institute curriculum
 - Finalize assessment of current national committees, including opportunities for recruitment and retention
- March 2024 - June 2024
 - Focus on building out programming for MROC resources that can be distributed to chapters.
 - Facilitate online MROC trainings for chapters.
 - Support MROC leaders who are in chapter leadership as they carry out the work of MROC.
- July 2024
 - Begin second iteration of Training Institute

The MROC SC will focus on mapping out the remaining timeline from July 2024-August 2025 as one of its first tasks as a new committee, and will share this with the NPC once complete.

Open Questions

- Are there aspects of the resolution which have a transformational element to it, to transform DSA culture so they are actually spaces for everyone?
- Should the committee form explicitly defined “multiracial organizing”?

- What do we want to measure as far as demographics?
- How do we support chapters whose demographics have a wide disparity from existing demographics of their area?
- What are the implications for coalition work?
- How does this intersect with recruitment (including specifically renewal and recruitment drive), comms, etc.?
- What are the staffing needs?

Work Plan for Consensus Resolution #8: Young Democratic Socialists of America Consensus Resolution

Introductory Summary

The YDSA consensus resolution seeks to provide more resources to support YDSA's growth and organizing as well as better connect YDSA with DSA at the national and chapter level. This is accomplished by providing YDSA with a larger budget, including stipends for national elected leaders, creating YDSA representative positions on DSA national bodies that correspond to the work of YDSA, and providing DSA chapters with more information about how they can better connect with their local YDSA chapter(s).

In contrast to declining membership, YDSA membership has consistently grown since 2020. Much of this growth comes from our largest chapters becoming more sophisticated and organized. With greater resources, YDSA organizers and staffers nationally would continue expanding to new campuses and supporting chapters in becoming more sophisticated and organized to grow the size of DSA. Connecting YDSA and DSA institutionally will also reduce the barriers for YDSA members to stay involved in DSA after they graduate as they will already have some level of involvement in DSA prior to graduating.

Strategic Landscape

Young people, and students especially, are at a point in their lives when they are most amenable to socialist politics. Many of them are members of vibrant communities through their campuses, something that is increasingly uncommon in our society as a result of capitalist alienation, and are not decided on their careers after graduation. Thus, YDSA is strategically positioned to identify, recruit, and develop young people into socialist organizers. YDSA members have gone on to enter strategic industries like teaching, nursing, and education; work in reform caucuses like TDU and UAWD; salt at Amazon and Starbucks; and run for local offices on socialist platforms. Through political education, strategic campaigns, and a commitment to the rank-and-file strategy, we can ensure that YDSA members have valuable skills and experience to bring to DSA or the labor movement after they graduate.

The time is also ripe to invest in YDSA because of the explosion of undergraduate student worker labor organizing in the past year. This unionization wave, in large part spurred by YDSA members at Kenyon College who formed the Kenyon Student Worker Organizing Committee in 2020, has seen nearly 30 unions and drives launch on campuses across the country. YDSA chapters alone are on the way to unionize 3,450 workers by the end of this

academic year. Thanks to political and strategic leadership from YDSA members, many of these unions are committed to democratic structures and militant organizing. For example, after the Student Worker Collective at Dartmouth's strike authorization vote earlier this year, the union won all of their contract demands including a starting wage of \$21/hour for dining workers. Investing in YDSA will help sustain and expand this organizing and allow YDSA leaders to develop programs and pipelines to ensure that these militant student workers stay involved in the labor and socialist movements for the long term.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

Nearly all of the resolved clauses of this resolution would be implemented by YDSA's national leadership and national committees. Perhaps most important are the budget clauses, including monthly stipends for YDSA National Coordinating Committee members. These stipends will open the position up to more students, especially working-class students who often have to work one or multiple jobs to afford the costs of receiving a degree. The committee cooperation clauses, too, could be easily implemented by the NPC ensuring that YDSA liaisons are connected to their respective DSA committees.

As far as the memo to DSA chapters goes, the creation and distribution of the memo should be relatively straightforward with the help of staff. Supporting DSA chapters in implementing these recommendations will likely require some level of collaboration between the YDSA National Coordinating Committee, YDSA members, and DSA chapters including. Possible models of collaboration could be YDSA NCC members giving presentations to DSA chapters and creating resources for YDSA members to propose bylaws changes in their DSA chapter.

The final aspect of this resolution is dues share for YDSA chapters, which would need to be designed by the future YDSA NCC, DSA NPC, and staff members to ensure consistent distribution of funds, continuity, and accountability for YDSA chapters using dues share funds. Figuring out how to do this effectively could take considerable time, but will be worth it in the long run as it will encourage YDSA chapters to recruit more members and encourage existing members to increase their dues payments.

Objectives

1. Expand the Capacity of YDSA
 - a. Stipends for national leaders will make these positions more accessible for working-class students, and allow national leaders to devote more of their attention towards growing YDSA.

- b. Funding for YDSA national committees and chapter grants will allow YDSA to run more sophisticated campaigns at the national and local levels, especially campaigns oriented around student worker labor organizing and the fight for reproductive justice and bodily autonomy, which have been our national priorities this year.
 - c. Dues share for YDSA chapters will encourage them to recruit more members and encourage members to increase their dues payments. YDSA chapters are generally smaller than DSA chapters and would receive less in dues share at the start, but overtime their dues share would grow as they recruit more members. Just as dues share encourages the growth of DSA chapters, it would encourage the continued growth of YDSA chapters.
2. Better Connection Between YDSA and DSA
- a. Nationally
 - i. Ensuring better communication between YDSA and DSA national bodies through the creation of YDSA liaison positions and recurring joint committee meetings between DSA committees and their YDSA counterparts.
 - ii. Dedicated time for YDSA at full NPC meetings to bring the strategic and political debates within YDSA to DSA's highest leadership body.
 - iii. Representatives from YDSA on the Budget and Finance, Personnel, and Communications committees to increase communication between YDSA and DSA and give YDSA members experience serving on these bodies.
 - b. Locally
 - i. Encourage DSA chapters to create YDSA representative positions on their leadership bodies and support YDSA members fundraising to attend national conferences and conventions.
 - ii. Facilitate the creation of local mentorship and pipeline programs to connect YDSA members with their DSA chapter.

Capacity

This resolution will primarily be carried out by YDSA's National Coordinating Committee and DSA's National Political Committee. Staff from the Organizing, Finance, and Development departments will assist in carrying out some aspects of the resolution, particularly those relating to the memo to DSA chapters, national funding for YDSA, and dues share program.

Since this resolution seeks to connect YDSA with existing DSA bodies, this resolution will not require the creation of new committees, only new positions for YDSA liaisons and

representatives on existing committees. Infrastructure for a YDSA dues share program will need to be created to implement the dues share portion of the resolution. The YDSA National Coordinating Committee, with input and support from the DSA National Political Committee, will be the main actors implementing this resolution.

Recruitment & Retention

This proposal will help grow and diversify DSA by investing in YDSA. Despite declining DSA membership, YDSA has continued to grow over the past several years. The creation of stipends for national leadership will also make these positions more accessible to working-class students of color who often have to work while going to school to support themselves and/or their families. Taking on these leadership roles will make these members more committed to Y/DNA for the long term and facilitate the development of a new layer of leaders in DSA. Furthermore, stipends will allow national leaders to consistently devote more of their time to supporting YDSA, which will allow the organization to expand to new campuses and communities. By prioritizing Historically Black Colleges and Universities, Community Colleges, and High Schools in working class neighborhoods, this expansion will help further diversify DSA.

Resources

The YDSA budget proposals would require funding from DSA to expand stipends for national leaders and provide financial support to national YDSA committees. The YDSA NCC, DSA NPC, and staff will work together to create a memo to send to DSA chapters and design a process to provide dues share to YDSA chapters.

Messaging

This resolution is mainly focused internally within YDSA and DSA and should not require extensive communications requests. YDSA and DSA national leadership will need to communicate with chapters about some of the provisions of this resolution (the memo to DSA chapters, dues share process, chapter grants, etc.) but there should be little, if any, external comms needed.

External Partners

N/A

Timeline

An ideal timeline for the implementation of this resolution would be as follows:

1. ASAP - Implementation of stipends for YDSA national leaders and YDSA budget requests.
 - a. Implementing stipends expeditiously will ensure that YDSA national leaders do not have to start a part-time job to provide the income that the stipends are designed to provide. This means that they will better be able to manage and anticipate their capacity over the course of the term.
 - b. Also ensures that stipends are institutionalized ahead of the 2024 YDSA Convention which means that potential candidates that would require a stipend to step down from a part-time job when running for the NCC will be able to run with an assurance that NCC stipends will be provided.
2. By the end of 2023 - YDSA Committee Liaisons and Memo to DSA Chapters
 - a. YDSA committee liaison positions should be established and filled by the end of the calendar year at the latest, but ideally on the same timeline that DSA committees are formed and leadership approved. This will ensure collaboration between YDSA and DSA bodies from the start of the term.
 - b. The memo to DSA chapters should similarly aim to be sent out, and any accompanying resources created, by the end of the year. This gives the NCC, NPC, and staff time to work on these resources, while still getting them to chapters in a timely manner to create YDSA representative positions and fundraising support before the end of the next academic year.
3. By Fall 2024 - YDSA Dues Share Program
 - a. Several logistical and legal questions will likely need to be addressed to implement the YDSA dues share portion of this resolution. This timeline gives the NCC, NPC, and staff a year to work through these questions and create this process while still having a full academic year to pilot the program. This will create important feedback ahead of the 2025 DSA Convention as to whether this program is feasible and should be continued/expanded.

Open Questions

The most pressing questions revolve around the implementation of the YDSA dues share portion of this resolution. Though YDSA and DSA chapter leadership turnover at similar rates (elections generally once per year), YDSA chapters have less experience managing finances independently of their universities. Implementing this program will require the NCC, NPC, and staff to develop ways to support YDSA chapters in managing their finances and work around the legal and institutional policies of their universities or high school

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #1: Accountable National Commissions

Introductory Summary

This proposal it meant to democratize DSA's system of national commissions, consolidate the alphabet soup of working groups and committees, and instill a more strategic approach at convention towards orienting DSA's structure towards our existing goals

Strategic Landscape

Currently, DSA faces several challenges with the scale and structure of the national organization. The list of national commissions is too large for the NPC to manage, as attested by multiple NPC members. Moreover, DSA as an organization has rapidly grown in the last four years, and constantly sees an influx of new members each year. It is necessary for DSA members to have the chance to weigh in and decide for each national commission whether its purpose remains necessary for DSA's overall interests and goals.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

If successfully implemented, this resolution would require national commissions to submit proposals to each convention for reauthorization. One way to implement this would be to have reauthorization proposals placed on the Convention Consent agenda. If a particular reauthorization proposal faces scrutiny, delegates can vote to remove it from consent agenda and bring it to further debates.

Delegates could also propose amendments to each national commission's reauthorization proposal. Ideally, contentious resolutions on electoral strategy, labor strategy, internationalism, etc would be structured as amendments to each of the respective national committees addressing these topics. If implemented successfully, this would shift the convention into focusing on DSA's actual, existing structures, rather than abstract ideological debates.

A failure of this resolution would occur if national commissions are unable to submit reauthorization proposals in time, or if the convention becomes excessively bogged down in more pedantic disputes over national commission structures. If the resolution proves impossible to implement, we can rescind it at the next convention.

Objectives

1. Consolidate DSA's national commissions towards reflecting the interests of DSA's membership and DSA's strategic goals
2. Give members a chance to weigh in on existing national commission structures
3. Improve engagement and awareness from DSA membership with the existing national bodies

Capacity

This resolution would be implemented primarily by the Convention Committee in the structuring of convention agenda to accommodate each national commission's reauthorization proposal in a timely and fair manner. The reauthorization proposals would be written by each national commission, under guidelines and support provided by the NPC liaisons and DSA national staff, if necessary. Reauthorization proposals need to be no longer than a standard convention proposal, and should not require an excessive number of hours to complete.

Recruitment & Retention

This resolution does not directly address questions of recruitment, but giving delegates a chance to directly scrutinize and amend national commissions will increase the stakes that members feel in the national organization and its bodies, and hopefully will improve membership retention as a result.

Resources

This resolution would require a small number of volunteer hours from the Convention Committee and each of the other national commissions, but would not require any additional costs of material or staff hiring.

Messaging

This resolution would require minimal external messaging. It would require the NPC to properly inform each national commission about the requirements to submit reauthorization proposals, and set clear deadlines and guidelines for proposal submission. The NPC would also need to communicate to DSA members and DSA delegates about the deadline and process for submitting amendments to these proposals.

External Partners

This resolution would not affect any external partners of DSA. For national commissions that operate under a close working relationship with other organizations, it may be necessary to inform those organizations about the process entailed for reauthorization.

Timeline

This resolution would be implemented at the 2025 national convention, and would need to be taken into consideration during the planning process.

Open Questions

N/A

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #2: Defend Democracy through Political Independence

Introductory Summary

This resolution intends to unite DSA around a common program and political communications for the 2024 electoral cycle that meets two major organizational needs: 1) to reinforce our own independent socialist organization and voice during a period of high pressure to subordinate ourselves towards the centrist leadership of the Democratic Party in order to defend democracy on terms that play into capitalist plans, and 2) to organize and coordinate with DSA endorsed candidates and socialists in office around a common strategy and consistent political communication to the working class during the 2024 elections.

This resolution requires the NPC to appoint a Defend Democracy Commission (DDC) that would draft a common program for the 2024 elections to be submitted to membership and a guide for local chapters, DSA-endorsed candidates, and socialists in office around our message and our strategy.

After drafting these materials and a platform, the DDC would shift gears to working on a national priority campaign designed to inoculate working-class voters against the radical Right. The design of this campaign would be modular and flexible since DSA chapter conditions are not homogeneous between regions.

Strategic Landscape

As in 2016, 2020, and 2022, the rising competition between the two parties of capital creates a difficult situation for the socialist movement. Many well-intentioned socialists believe that the answer to the danger to democracy is to rally to the political center at any costs—a position that will only contribute to strains on our organization and our movement while doing nothing to alter the broader structural situation in which the extreme Right is empowered to circumscribe democracy and civil liberties.

In other countries, socialists and Left parties have continued to articulate an outspoken, oppositional position and agitate against capital while refusing to endorse or support the Center against the Right. In 2017 and 2022 in France, Jean-Luc Mélenchon of La France insoumise (France Unbowed, LFI) refused to be intimidated into endorsing centrist Emmanuel Macron in the Presidential election runoffs against neo fascist Marine Le Pen. In both cases, Macron still won. Meanwhile, Mélenchon's LFI and the broader left coalition

around him (NUPES) continue to gain ground by taking an oppositional stance to governing centrist forces and the right.

In 2020, DSA members refused to endorse centrist Democrat Joseph Biden for President—and despite the fears of some of our thought-leaders, democracy did not die in darkness. A key lesson since 2015 is that the Democratic Party and its proxies strategically exploit our concern for democracy to subordinate and compromise the Left and motivate voters, all the while holding back on significant reforms. We must defend democracy on our terms, not theirs.

Since 2020, liberal claims about the threat to democracy have ground down the courage and fortitude that inspired our organization to reject capitalist blackmail in 2016 and 2020. Prominent voices in DSA have argued that we must conceive of DSA as a ‘party of government’ although even in the strongholds of our electoral operations, less than 10% of state legislatures and city councils self-identify as socialist. Such an orientation is destined to lead to powerlessness and integration into the capitalist plan. A DSA that adopts this position will only become a cog in a broader system of capitalist control over our economy and political institutions, even if it manages to marginally contribute to the short-term defense of the democratic institutions of the United States.

While legal constraints and the relatively low level of class struggle and working-class power pose significant obstacles to forming an independent party in the United States, we should ask the leaders of DSA on the NPC, local chapters, and affiliated DSA candidates and socialists in office to take an outspoken, oppositional stance to the status quo, raise the expectations of the working class, and enhance our political profile and reputation as an independent force in US politics even—particularly—during election periods. As long as the centrist Democrats remain the only significant force of opposition to the extreme Right, US democracy will be hostage to their arrogance, strategic shortsightedness, and structural dependence on the capitalist class. Yet there is no particular reason for capitalists to prefer democracy to dictatorship. For most of modern history, capital has opposed democracy and preferred monarchy, elite-controlled liberal parliamentarism that excluded the majority, and authoritarianism. Subordinating ourselves to the Democratic Party—even in the guise of a ‘tactical alliance’—ensures that we will remain hostage to an irresponsible political class structurally opposed to winning the battle for democracy—the same political class whose arrogance and myopia delivered the Presidency to a radical Right authoritarian in 2016.

The same route of subordinating ourselves to the Democratic Party will only force a crisis onto our own organization. DSA membership largely stagnated in 2021 and entered decline in 2022, exactly the period that high-profile socialists in office largely deferred to the centrist leadership of the Democratic Party. Ironically, chapters that have the most elected socialists in

office have fared worse than the national average when it comes to declining membership numbers. By contrast, YDSA—which does not have an electoral strategy—is one of the sole rapidly-growing wings of our organization. Evidently, the thesis that running political campaigns and electing socialists to office would automatically allow us to recruit and retain members has proven incorrect. It was based on an assumption that down-ballot primary races would have the same effects on our movement as Bernie Sanders’ galvanizing Democratic Primary runs of 2016 and 2020 — runs that had a much higher political profile and gave Sanders access to a national platform.

Unfortunately, we are unlikely to see another galvanizing run in the near future; both ‘progressives’ like Jamaal Bowman and socialists like Bernie are lining up to endorse Joe Biden for another term. And one of the reasons that DSA is currently in a slump is that prominent socialists in office have learned to be ‘team players’ (to paraphrase a recent Politico [article](#) on Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez) and largely sidelined their oppositional role to the centrist leadership of the Democratic party. While the conversion from ‘outsider’ to ‘insider’ might represent the path of least resistance for socialists in office, it is damaging to our broader movement and represents a shortsighted path. We should ask AOC and the Squad to take a more productive and patient approach towards building a socialist force in US politics, raising expectations, and encouraging the working class to build its own independent institutions.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

This resolution would be successful under the following conditions:

- DSA puts forward a program for 2024 that allows us to demarcate our vision and strategy from the two capitalist parties, gain recruits, and build out our public profile. (This resolution is complementary to the resolution proposing elected co-chairs who are spokespersons for our vision).
- NPC successfully organizes DSA endorsed candidates and socialists in office to opt in to our vision, stance in the November 2024 elections, and long term strategy.
- Local chapters opt-in to our DDC launched priority campaign and run grassroots campaigns on strategic issues (abortion, voter rights) that produce wins and/or allow them to build out their political profile and recruit and retain members.

—Through the success of some or all of these steps, recruitment and retention improves relative to 2021-present.

This resolution would fail if:

- The DDC and NPC fails to produce a 2024 program
- The DDC does not draft guides to local chapters, DSA endorsed candidates, and socialists in office.
- Membership rejects the program or local chapters do not implement it.
- NPC does not successfully organize socialists in office and DSA endorsed candidates to adopt a strong and independent position against the centrist Leadership of the Democratic Party in the 2024 elections and socialists in office continue to be pulled ‘upward and rightward’ by the structural forces of the Democratic Party.
- Local chapters do not opt in to our nationwide Defend Democracy priority campaign and/or the campaigns are unsuccessful both on their own terms and in terms of recruitment and retention.
- Either because this strategy is not executed or because implementation does not allow us to address the real issues behind membership decline, declining membership accelerates.

Accusations of divisiveness and allegations that socialists are playing into the hands of the radical Right by centrist Democrats, liberals, and NGOs dependent on corporate funding and Democratic Party political patronage are to be expected if we pursue this approach—as in Bernie Sanders’ primary bids in 2016 and 2020—and do not represent failures of this strategy.

Objectives

Immediate objectives of the DDC

1. A program for the 2024 elections suitable for agitation and endorsed by a membership-wide vote. Key themes would include our vision of a stronger democracy and how to get there through independent political action and rebuilding strong, independent working class institutions. This can serve as a model for unified nationwide political communication in the future.
2. A guide to chapters, DSA candidates, and socialists in office on political communication around the 2024 elections.
3. An orientation for the NPC to use to talk to DSA-endorsed elections and candidates to discuss how DSA plans to orient to the 2024 elections with an emphasis on our broader vision, political communications, and norms of behavior towards centrist leadership of the Democratic party.

4. A modular national Priority campaign that local chapters can participate in. The DDC shall organize and support these through: trainings, strategic guides w/ case studies of similar campaigns that have already been successful, graphics, social media templates and materials

Medium term objectives:

1. A cohort of DSA members in office and DSA endorsed candidates adopt our vision and strategy for 2024 and begin to take more distance from the Democratic Party and raise the profile of the DSA.
2. The return to a more agitational and oppositional stance by high profile socialists in office or our own organizational spokespeople (if we are unable to convince electeds).
3. Public awareness of DSA, our program, and our unique vision for democracy increases during the 2024 electoral cycle.
4. The organization emerges more unified through political coordination between NPC, the Defend Democracy Commission, and local chapters about our vision of defending democracy.
5. The priority campaign of the Defend Democracy Commission produces successful local campaigns that build chapters who opt in.
6. The DDC offers an example of 'bridging' between electoral agitation and social movement work too often kept separated.
7. The DDC functions as an experiment in attempting to organize DSA candidates and electeds around a common vision and strategy.

Capacity

This resolution establishes a new committee, the Defend Democracy Committee. Its members will be primarily responsible for the work involved. The DDC should be expected to relate to the NPC, NEC, DSLC, and Comms. The NPC will be responsible for appointing this committee on a multi-tendency, broad basis. The NPC shall also revise the 2024 program before submitting it to membership-wide vote. Members of the NPC should expect to take part in organizing socialists in office and prominent candidates through the DDC. Staff will relate to

the plan on an as-needed bases by helping to move along the publication of the program and providing the DDC w/ contacts for nationwide outreach in Locals.

The Priority Campaign part of the resolution will rely on buy-in from local Chapters. Because the campaign will be designed to be modular, it will inherently require understanding local conditions to successfully put it into practice. It will develop local leadership in the same way as other local campaigns like ProAct.

The work of the committee will build membership capacity in communications, graphic design, strategizing, and coordination between working groups, the NPC, and local chapters.

This plan will generate the forces it needs for success by connecting to membership enthusiasm for articulating an alternative democratic vision that contrasts those offered by the two capitalist parties, regaining the momentum and sense of purpose that defined DSA from 2016 to 2020, and confronting the danger of the radical Right to defend democracy on terms that empower the working class. Infrastructure and institutional power will be built in stages by regularly publicizing our work to membership; giving membership the final say over the program; involving local chapters in strategy and planning; and designing flexible structures that allow local chapters to relate to either the electoral or movement side of the program in ways that work for them. In addition, the NCC will host trainings and orientations for local chapter leadership, DSA candidates, and the like.

Recruitment & Retention

This resolution could aid in recruiting new members insofar as the NPC and DSA leadership take a more active, outspoken role in publicizing our alternative vision and strategy for defending democracy during the 2024 elections—targeting their communications to Americans who are disillusioned by the current political options.

The aim of this strategy is to recruit new members who are disillusioned by the two capitalist parties and/or want to go beyond voting for the lesser of two evils every four years and are looking for an organization that is articulating an alternative to putting our trust in Democratic Party leadership and its political consultants.

The working group formed by this resolution will re-engage our own members and enhance retention by articulating a long-term strategy for our organization that acknowledges the obstacles facing our politics and the setbacks we have faced since 2020, treating members as mature socialists and reconnecting with their deeper motivations for joining the DSA.

Resources

This resolution does not for the most part require specialized skills. However

1. Web management skills will be needed to update the website to reflect the work of the DDC, and permission will be needed to allow a trusted member or members of the Defend Democracy Commission access to the back end of the website.
2. Graphic design skills will be needed for the publications of the committee.
3. The program and the guide to local chapters, candidates, and socialists in office on comms will involve print costs (\$20,000) and might involve staff time (20 hours).

Messaging

This comms strategy of this resolution involves messaging around the program, our alternative vision of democratizing the United States and our alternative strategy for struggling against the Right. Likely messaging includes some of the following themes:

- the importance of building working-class institutions and a movement to win back democracy from corporate control;
- the need to entirely reform or abolish our undemocratic institutions;
- trusting ourselves, not political consultants and Democratic Party leadership to save democracy;
- organizing to democratize our workplaces;
- building a democracy that is worth defending together;
- defending against the radical Right attack on BIPOC, LGBTQ+ communities, and abortion;
- creating universal programs so all can benefit from our democratic system;
- and the need for working families and young people to organize independently of the two parties to ensure a democratic future.

To disseminate communications, we expect to have access to our own Defend Democracy DSA twitter handle as well as to make use of the typical DSA twitter handle. The 2024 program will be made available in digital (.pdf) format and we expect to print several thousand copies for distribution to chapters for use in local political operations. Our outreach to chapters and guide for local chapters, candidates, and socialists in office will also be used to try to build consensus and promote similar comms strategies in a more capillary approach.

Internally, we expect DDC members to write to publicize our work for online publications like Socialist Forum and *Democratic Left*.

External Partners

This resolution does not require coalition-building or working with external partners that would require memorandums of understanding. It does entail tasking the DCC establish more formal, directly political, and frequent communications between DSA National, endorsed candidates, and socialists in office about our platform, the political content of their messaging around the 2024 elections, democratic socialism and defending and expanding our democracy, and Republicans versus centrist Democrats.

Timeline

August 2023 – Resolution passes.

August 31, 2023–the DDC is created by the NPC who select a chair or co-chairs and recruit a multi-tendency body.

November 30, 2023 The DDC submits a draft of the program to the NPC.

December 31, 2023. The NPC revises the program and submits it to a membership-wide vote.

January 31, 2024. The DSA publishes the program (if approved) in both digital and paper form.

February-March 2024. The DDC drafts the guide to chapters, socialists in office, and DSA candidates on our approach to 2024 and coordinates w/ local chapters who are planning on running candidates or home to socialists in office. The DDC is also creating the connections to local chapters and involving them in planning a Nationwide priority campaign around defending democracy.

April-August 2024. The DDC launches a modular priority campaign on defending democracy and civil rights

September-November 2024. The NPC and/or other national spokespersons are publicizing our vision for defending democracy past the 2024 election cycle, agitating to raise our profile on the national stage, and coordinating with and organizing to support DSA candidates and socialist in office who agree to our vision and/or strategy.

Open Questions

Although there is definitely a correlation between the decline of, ‘outsider’ communications, agitation, and insurgent messaging by socialist candidates and socialists in office since 2020 and the recent difficulties of the DSA, we do not know if a return to outsider communications by high-profile socialists in office or—if that is unsuccessful—our own national spokespeople will allow DSA to improve its public profile, membership recruitment, or retention. We do not even know for sure if bottom up agitation around a program in 2024—will accomplish that. We do know, however, that a significant current of DSA membership joined during the insurgent moment from 2016 to 2020 and has been disappointed by the increasing deference by DSA and socialists in office to centrist leadership of the Democratic Party since then.

Another external variable in this resolution includes the behaviors of the same socialists in office and DSA candidates. We have already seen figures like Jamaal Bowman and Bernie Sanders announce their support for centrist Democrat leadership and there will almost definitely not be a Democratic Primary in 2024. It is certainly possible that despite our best efforts we will not be able to organize members of the Squad behind our vision. However, failing to even try to persuade the Squad to return to oppositional and outspoken political stances we are missing a valuable opportunity to dialogue about differences between our political approaches and to clarify the political situation.

There should not be legal or compliance implications involved in this resolution.

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #3: Full-Time National Chairs

Introductory Summary

In the wake of Bernie's runs for President and Trump's election, DSA experienced an enormous growth in membership. For this new era of DSA to fulfill its promise, we need a new political infrastructure that can advance the democratically-decided priorities of our membership. That means we need political leaders whose full time job is the advancement of DSA. This minimal step is crucial to establishing ourselves in the national political landscape.

Strategic Landscape

DSA is the largest socialist organization in the country, and one of the few, mass membership organizations in the country, yet it plays almost no role in shaping national politics. It is not merely a case of being ignored by politicians or the media, in many cases we simply aren't showing up. Given that our membership is mostly comprised of working people, we need full time staff to execute while our members are organizing their workplaces, local elected, and tenant unions.

While there are many structural barriers to any sort of socialist influence in national politics, we also have almost no presence on the national media stage whatsoever. On podcasts, cable news, public radio, DSA should be promoting its political vision, commenting on news of the day, and building a hegemonic case for Democratic Socialism.

Moreover, we have, in multiple instances, failed to even communicate the desires of our members on key political questions to our elected officials. We need full time staff to coordinate with politicians, unions, and other political organizations.

Lastly we need democratic accountability of the staff. The staff need clear, political direction on their day-to-day work. How are national supporting chapters in their political goals? What should the staff prioritize given the myriad of political priorities passed at convention? How can the staff move quickly to change priorities if real world conditions call for it?

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

Success

- Hiring 2-3 full time political staff by January 2024

- Raising our profile on cable news, podcasts and more by January 2025
- Improving communication with our elected officials and having them act more as coherent caucuses
- Having a lean, mean, fighting staff that can execute effectively and adapt to changing political conditions
- Clarify organizational “chain of command” and decision-making processes between elected leaders and staff.

Failures

- Don’t hire any political staff
- DSA remains invisible in national media
- DSA continues no infrastructure connecting our electeds and political allies
- DSA has aimless staff

Accusations of divisiveness and allegations that socialists are playing into the hands of the radical Right by centrist Democrats, liberals, and NGOs dependent on corporate funding and Democratic Party political patronage are to be expected if we pursue this approach—as in Bernie Sanders’ primary bids in 2016 and 2020—and do not represent failures of this strategy.

Objectives

- Fundraise \$300,000
- Hire two-to-three political staff by January 2025

Capacity

- Development Committee
- 2-3 committed leaders to implement
- Legal

Recruitment & Retention

- Hiring staff will improve our recruitment and retention

Resources

- Significant fundraising will be required

Messaging

- DSA should be able to execute on its political priorities nationally.

External Partners

- No external partners are required for this resolution

Timeline

- Fundraise from starting September 2023
- Hire by January 2024

Open Questions

- Legal advice on bylaws and hiring political staff

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #4: Democratize DSA 2023

Introductory Summary

This resolution is not a typical political resolution, but instead calls for three specific organizational steps to be taken in the event of the passage of the Democratize DSA 2023 Constitutional Change (Democratize DSA): (1) the election of additional National Political Committee (NPC) members to the vacancies that would be created by the passage of Democratize DSA; (2) changing the legal designation of DSA's board of directors from the NPC to the Steering Committee of the NPC (SC); and (3) reassigning certain powers and duties of the NPC related to the grievance process to the SC. The election of new NPC members in the 90 days after the convention is vital to fulfill Democratize DSA's goals of expanding the democratically elected national leadership of the organization, while the legal changes reflect the new status of the SC as the executive or administrative body running the day-to-day work of the organization and the NPC as a more deliberative or legislative body.

Strategic Landscape

This resolution would only come into effect if Democratize DSA passes, which would make this resolution vital to executing the goals of the Democratize DSA proposal. The Democratize DSA proposal puts forward structural reforms that are a strategic priority for an organization still governed by the structures used when DSA was less than 10,000 members.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

Successful implementation of this proposal would involve (1) running the election for additional NPC members in a timely and democratic fashion; and (2) filing an amendment to DSA's articles of incorporation with the District of Columbia Department of Licensing & Consumer Protection, Corporations Division (DLCP). The reassignment of the grievance process responsibilities would happen automatically at the close of convention as a result of the passage of this resolution.

1. Election

- Successful implementation

- Running the election for additional NPC members in the same manner as the convention's NPC election
- Fielding a broad range of candidates from different regions and with different backgrounds
- Members and chapters experience the election as fair and democratic
- Member engagement with the election
- Failure
 - Not running the election in a timely fashion
 - Inadequate publicity about the process
 - Low engagement with the election
- Steps for success
 - Developing a timeline and specific process for nominations, campaigning, and the election itself and publishing those within 30 days after the convention
 - Publicity about the election from staff and national leaders through social media channels, district calls, national emails, national committees, chapter leader lists, etc.

2. Legal change

- Successful implementation
 - Filing the Form DNP-2 with the DLCP
- Failure
 - Not filing the DNP-2
- Steps for success
 - Legal counsel for DSA, working with staff and the NPC, drafts an amendment to the article of incorporation
 - The NPC elected by the convention approves that amendment
 - Staff or counsel file the change using the DNP-2 form

Objectives

- Allow the 2023 national convention delegates to democratically elect NPC members to fill the 34 vacancies created by Democratize DSA
- Change the legal designation of DSA's board of directors from the NPC to the SC
- Reassign grievance process responsibilities from the NPC to the SC

Capacity

National staff, legal counsel, and the newly elected NPC will be primarily responsible for carrying out the provisions of the resolution within 90 days.

The primary role of the new NPC or such committees as it appoints would be to release the application to run for the NPC vacancies and facilitate the DSA candidate forum.

The primary role of the national staff would be to conduct a remote election using OpaVote or another equivalent software to ensure a fair and democratic election, adhering as closely as possible to the rules used at the 2023 national convention.

The primary role of legal counsel would be to amend the legal designation of DSA's board of directors.

Recruitment & Retention

This resolution, along with the associated constitutional changes, will make it easier to recruit and retain members for national leadership. Currently NPC elections are relatively uncompetitive due to the high workload, and the NPC has high turnover. An expanded NPC will offer more opportunities for political leadership in national DSA to members from diverse backgrounds, including those who have more limited capacities due to employment or engagement in mass work such as labor unions.

Resources

The resources needed in the first 90 days will include substantial staff support to conduct a national NPC candidate forum and election. Subsequent to 90 days, the additional resources required will be smaller recurring costs in the form of email addresses and other paid accounts for a larger number of NPC members.

Messaging

This proposal will not require a comms strategy, other than publicizing the opportunity to run for the newly created NPC vacancies and communication with 2023 national convention delegates about their role in the vacancy election.

External Partners

This resolution does not require any work with external partners.

Timeline

August 2023 - Reopen NPC application for vacancies

August 2023 - Request that legal counsel begin process of amending governing documents to make SC board of directors

September 2023 - NPC candidate forums open to all DSA members

October 2023 - conduct remote election to fill NPC vacancies

Open Questions

The open questions related to this resolution are those raised by the underlying constitutional change, namely, how the new much larger NPC will function

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #5: DSA Organizing for Pandemic Justice

Introductory Summary

- The massively deadly, disabling, and whitewashed COVID-19 pandemic is still ongoing at a high level and is expected to continue for the foreseeable future. People do not understand the mode of transmission, true impact, or how to protect themselves.
- Immunocompromised people are increasingly trapped at home and workers are exposed to elevated risk on-the-job that increases with each infection. Inequities worsen as POC, disabled, and LGBT people are impacted disproportionately.
- DSA has a responsibility to protect our comrades and the public from this passive eugenics campaign that benefits the capitalist class by forcing workers back to their jobs. Our resolution refocuses DSA on continuing to fight the virus, centers the health of our comrades, and emphasizes doing mutual aid to provide PPE, air filters, and education to the public.
- We reorient DSA to a fighting posture with respect to the pandemic by demanding a true end to the COVID-19 crisis through public policy changes to combat the virus and sustain and extend health, financial, and housing protections won early on.
- DSA must also demand research money for Long COVID and a second Operation Warp Speed to find a vaccine that blocks transmission durably.
- A peoples' tribunal to adjudicate the deadly decisions made by the U.S. government must also be fought for along with denouncing attempts to pin the blame for the pandemic on China.
- We also call for establishing a Health and Safety Committee in each chapter, in coordination with DWG, to halt transmission of COVID-19 within DSA, report collaboratively developed statistics periodically, and monitor relevant legislation.
- These efforts reaffirm the call for Medicare for All (M4A), publicly produced pharmaceuticals, and nationalizing the defense industry.
- The national Disability Working Group (DWG) will lead efforts to coordinate DSA's pandemic response. • Chapters adopting the DWG-recommended pandemic health and safety resolutions would be eligible for \$950 in subsidies for safety equipment.

Strategic Landscape

- Organizers and communities will be in danger if not protected. Over time, this will degrade our ability to organize effectively. The rich continue to take precautions, famously so at the Davos conference, and maintain their ability to organize as a class.

- The political and business class's choice to ignore the ongoing pandemic' is a demonstration of high criminality by the ruling class that can be used to attack the legitimacy of the capitalist system with over a million dead, more disabled, and public spaces saturated with one of the most dangerous human pathogens (when measured as the product of transmission and deadliness).
 - This is a mass disabling event orchestrated by a confluence of elite interests from billionaire dark money, corporate boards, security state interests in war, captured school boards, and fascist small business owners.
 - Non-mobility disabilities, such as Long COVID, are overlooked and this is taken advantage of in economic planning to delude the population into cooperating.
- Major constituencies have a rational interest in programs that DSA can promote as death, illness, disability, and workers rights are major consequences. Health is a systemic, not an individual responsibility and this plays right into our democratic socialist political philosophy.
 - Everyone is at risk from SARS-CoV-2 with risk of serious injury compounding with each infection. ○ Everyone needs safe, effective, and accessible healthcare.
 - Lack of access to initial COVID testing, to prove a positive diagnosis, is a huge barrier
 - When seeking medical care, even those with stark symptoms are being required to prove they had Covid-19 with test results, despite the lack of access to testing
 - These individuals will face additional barriers as they seek accommodation in work, school, and their social lives
 - Workers require safe working conditions. Getting sick may get them fired, injured, and may seriously injure loved ones. Disabled workers may no longer be able to work, causing cascading personal, social, and economic impacts.
 - Medically vulnerable individuals, who exist in every economic, racial, and social grouping at all levels of ability (other than their vulnerability to illness), require community protection.
 - DSA purports to be a multi-racial working class organization. The pandemic's harms hit especially hard among low-income workers, BIPOC communities, and people with disabilities.
 - Long COVID will continue to be an important issue for millions, and perhaps hundreds of millions as indicated by the WHO, into the indefinite future.
- There are a number of external conditions that will impact the execution of our organizing and political program:
 - End of PHE and privatization of COVID response
 - Significant new variants including waves, increased severity, and evasion of existing treatments

- Development of a sterilizing new vaccine or treatments
- Rising baseline in excess deaths
- Increasing disability in the population
- Increase in indoor spaces with air cleaning
- Changes in national masking policies.
- Failure to restrain the pandemic is pushing the health care system towards collapse. ● DSA and other socialist organizations are the only political formations capable of offering a comprehensive and honest response to this crisis.
- All political formations to the right of socialists have completely bought into an individualist crisis response and the need to privilege business interests over the working class.
- The pandemic offers a unique, incredibly important lane on issues that impact every single person in the country every day, in a way that is in their face, that is not being addressed.
- The left isn't currently meeting the moment to tackle the pandemic. DSA must take a lead and fill the gap.
- There is a radically different public policy trajectory that is not being voiced.
 - Fast tracking vaccine research.
 - Sharing and collaborating with global health agencies.
 - Clean indoor air is increasingly clearly crucial to protect the public's health from many health hazards – pollutants as well as viruses – which will be an issue no matter what year it is.
 - DSA locals have already been organizing to build Corsi-Rosenthal boxes, and these efforts can support that work
 - DSA locals have passed resolutions toward masking policies for in-person organizing events and actions to keep themselves and community members safe from transmission; resolutions have also included hybridizing meetings for deliberative democracy and pathways for their membership to continue organizing
- This issue ties into labor organizing efforts like the work done by National Nurses United.
 - Opportunities for intersectional organizing.
 - Pandemic safety has been a major point in the recent upsurge of rank and file labor organizing.
 - We will emphasize how the profit-driven health care industry fails to put the public's health first.
 - Low staffing numbers due to poor working conditions
- By winning socialist demands, we can end the pandemic.

- Housing Justice
 - Summer 2021: Eviction and utility moratoriums lowered COVID cases
- Medicare for All
 - Free vaccines, test, trace, respirators, and treatment for COVID-19 have already given the public a reference point for what is possible. These programs were maintained for years.
 - Federal schemes and programs under the PHE bolstered access to healthcare for millions of Americans previously ineligible for Medicaid or affordable care
- Union won COVID safety in workplaces
- Reducing congestion in prisons, or even abolishing the institution, would have positive effects on the pandemic.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

- Develop guidelines to protect locals.
 - In-person, hybrid, and virtual meeting/event tips.
 - Finding creative and natural solutions to common issues and objections.
- Establish a health and safety committee in as many chapters as possible, aiming for 100%.
 - For chapters who have one, ensuring they receive their subsidy (equipment, dues, guidance, etc.).
 - Coordinate with Mutual Aid Working Group (MAWG) to integrate mask distribution, air filters, and scientific education.
- Communications efforts: Social media, DSA Discussion Board, Canva, Action Network.
- Denouncing the U.S. government's racist anti-Chinese propaganda.
- Holding a public tribunal for the U.S. government.
 - Collaborating with external organizations to empanel international experts and victims to evaluate questions of fact and potentially point the finger at bad actors. This panel will act along the lines of a truth and reconciliation commission or scientific investigation.
 - Such questions might look like:
 - Could the U.S. government have acted to reduce or prevent the damage of the pandemic?
 - Were decisions made that privileged the wealthy over the health of the population? How disproportionate were these decisions?
 - Were crimes against the people committed?
 - What are the likely on-going consequences of the current policy trajectory?

- Does there still exist a trajectory out of the pandemic?
 - The commission will issue a report and publicize its proceedings.
- Identifying elected officials with sound pandemic views and reaching out to them
- DWG will establish a Pandemic Organizing committee with a Health and Safety Subcommittee
 - They will support the corresponding committees in locals and other DSA national committees
- One challenge will be interacting with locals and leadership who do not believe there is urgent need for pandemic organizing, such as believing the pandemic is over, or not making their locals accessible
- If faced with people arguing to deprioritize these efforts due to wanting to focus on efforts such as union organizing, our messaging will include how pandemic organizing intersects with everything such as labor. For example, unions being more COVID safe.
 - DSA must not only focus on their priority campaigns, but build inroads to connecting the organizing occurring in other DSA bodies, toward a sustainable and growth oriented cadence of membership

Objectives

- Halt COVID-19 transmission at DSA events.
- Establish a health and safety committee within every local.
- Collaborate with other organizations with shared goals.
- Track COVID-19 data for DSA events to measure efforts.
- Integrate pandemic organizing into all DSA efforts.
 - Providing resources, education, accessible events, and guides.
 - Increasing knowledge within DSA
 - Identify relevant public policies to organize behind at every level of government.
 - Campaign to win the passage of vital public policies or halt unsafe policies, such as protecting mask mandates and funding air filtration.
 - Make medical, scientific knowledge accessible to all.
 - Democratization of knowledge is vital to socialist ideals.
- Initiate community mutual aid efforts to educate and protect the public.
 - Build Corsi-Rosenthal boxes, distribute masks/respirators and tests, offer mask fit-testing and educational materials for covid-safe guidelines and organizing in communities, that underscore a socialist politic as requisite to comprehending systemic oppressions in everyday material life.
- Make U.S. officials accountable for their actions.

Capacity

- This work will be housed within the Disability Working Group.

- Vendor identification, supply comparisons, accessibility
- Staff will help with ordering pandemic safety start-up kit items
 - How much work this will be depends on how many locals are able to establish health committees. As well, work can be delegated to DWG with a budgetary allocation
 - Buying supplies in bulk is cost and capacity effective
- With guidelines from DWG, locals will develop their own plans and methods for using the safety kit items in their work
- Policy and tribunal campaigns will develop leaders educated in socialist organizing, scientific knowledge about COVID-19, and will induct new interested members into the Disability Working Group which will have beneficial spillover effects.
- The National Tech Committee will assist locals with accessibility such as hosting hybrid meetings
- Infrastructure
 - Educational resources will be built for locals to utilize
 - Disability Working Group will host this work
 - Working group is already established
 - Disability Working Group will utilize its existing infrastructures
 - Other national committees already are established and have infrastructures as well, so does external partners and elected officials
 - Locals already engaged in this work will utilize their existing infrastructure
 - This resolution will support chapter involvement and onboarding because when locals have safer organizing practices, they will be able to have more people participate, such as immunocompromised members. Members being onboarded will get more resources and support to be able to organize safely, and receive more education.
 - This plan will build the capacity necessary by engaging with locals, external partners, elected officials, and other committees.

Recruitment & Retention

- Currently there are numerous members and past members passionate about pandemic organizing, so they will plug into these efforts
- Marginalized populations are especially affected by the pandemic, so members from those communities may be more engaged in these efforts
- Efforts that are accessible and safe will mobilize members who were previously not able to participate in DSA locally and nationally, and protect members so they can continue to stay active
- Recruitment will be built into the ongoing work

- New recruits will be supported by members helping them identify their closest local for them to plug into.
- People who previously disconnected from DSA due to its lack of pandemic organizing may choose to reengage with DSA due to this resolution

Resources

- DSA funds will go to:
 - Helping locals hold or continue hybrid meetings/events, including distributing resources such as buying guides
 - Supplies that make in-person events more safe such as Corsi-Rosenthal boxes, masks, CO2 monitors, hand sanitizer, etc.
- Members can continue to be plugged into pandemic organizing work because the pandemic is not going away anytime soon, and other health hazards are always ongoing
- The total subsidy of up to \$950 per local will depend on the number of Health and Safety Committees formed by locals. With 222 DSA locals, 114 YDSA locals, and 30 national working groups, the total cost will be capped at the following if the given percentage of local and national working groups drew on this subsidy:
 - If 10% of locals: \$34,865
 - If 25% of locals: \$87,163
 - If 50% of locals: \$174,325
 - If 100% of locals: \$348,650

Messaging

- Social Media, DSA Discussion Board, Action Network, Canva, LinkTree, YouTube
- The Disability Working Group's established communications infrastructure will feed efforts.
- The messaging would include:
 - Fighting against the narrative that the US is post-pandemic and accusations of deadly ongoing high criminality by U.S. officials in service of the oligarchic 0.01%.
 - That we have the technology and will to end the pandemic.
 - The pandemic affects everyone, and we should keep each other safe.
 - Educational resources, guides, and webinars to ensure the public and our comrades have accurate and practical scientific and political information.
 - Community centered messaging, care, accessible language, eye catching materials.
 - Working class solidarity. "We are all we have."
 - Working towards a better future than the pre-pandemic world of 2019.

- The need for universal programs like Medicare for All.
- When faced with naysayers, our strategy will be disagreeing but moving on to focus on engaging with people we can influence.
- Intersectionality should be included in messaging. Explaining how this issue intersects with many populations, groups, and marginalized communities.
- Messaging must be accessible regarding its literacy level, visual appearance, and meeting people where they are at and meeting people's needs.

External Partners

Work with external partners active on pandemic prevention, including many local groups as well as potentially the following:

- Pandemic Organizing Group
- National Nurses United and other unions
- People's CDC
- Marked by COVID
- Mandate Masks U.S.
- National COSH
- YDSA
- Poor People's Campaign
- Long COVID Justice
- ME Action and other condition based groups
- Raging Grannies
- World Health Network
- ADAPT (American Disabled for Attendant Programs Today)

Timeline

- 2023:
 - Recruitment. Outreach to locals.
 - Building Health and Safety Committees.
 - Scheduling meetings to meet with external partners, national committees, etc.
 - Building capacity. Communications items such as graphics and list building.
 - Discovering capacity and potential pool of partners, funds, international experts, and testimonies to recruit for the peoples' tribunal. Developing the first draft of high level questions to answer. Develop timeline for tribunal proceedings.

- Network with other DSA bodies such as the International Committee since both the expert pool and crisis are international in scope.
 - Creating educational resources
 - Distributing mutual aid pandemic supplies
 - Reaching out to external partners
 - Building a toolkit for chapters
 - Recruiting people who can translate materials into other languages
- 2024:
 - Reordering mutual aid supplies and reevaluate budget
 - Expanding into more local chapters through engaging with newly formed ones and continuing efforts for chapters that are not responsive
 - Continuing to develop resources on the tribunal and possibly holding it in Q3 or Q4 2024.
 - Continuing to check in with the Health and Safety committees to support them and their locals
 - Ensuring each local has the toolkit and other resources
 - Posting the graphics and other materials created
 - Creating versions of materials in other languages
 - Continue to touch base with external partners, other committees, etc. through meetings and communications

Open Questions

- We will need to establish how the Tribunal process will occur.
 - Which top level questions will be most important to focus on?
 - Which organizations will be onboard to supply experts, funding, or space?
 - Which independent experts to select?
 - What testimony to take?
 - How will we publicize the proceedings and report to make a high impact?

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #6: End National Harassment and Grievance Officer Contract and Make the Role a Staff Position

Introductory Summary

DSA members have identified conflict resolution and our internal grievance process as a priority area since 2017 when Resolution 33 - creating our organization's harassment and grievance process - passed at the National Convention.

In 2018, Paula Brantner was contracted to serve as National Harassment and Grievance Officer (NHGO) and implement Resolution 33. Two 2019 DSA National Convention resolutions and a 2020 petition called for changes to the grievance process. At the 2021 DSA National Convention, Resolution 28 passed ("Building Transformative Justice through a National Committee of Grievance Officers"). That committee had its first meeting in March 2023.

Proposal 24 does the following:

- Ends the contract with PB Works Solutions LLC on performance grounds as well as due to the associated contract fee.
- Creates a permanent staff National Harassment and Grievance Officer position with a non-voting seating on the National Committee of Grievance Officers (NCGO).
- Authorizes the NCGO members to solicit applications and fill vacancies on the NCGO committee per requirements of Resolution 28 before the staff position is advertised.

Proposal 24 represents a move toward compliance with our prior grievance resolutions, the development of a fair and impartial grievance process and cost savings for DSA. It supports a continued key role for the National Committee of Grievance Officers and is a step toward a conflict resolution program that, designed and run by members, reflects the world we want to build.

Strategic Landscape

As we build a mass organization that will win socialism for the multiracial working class, conflict and harm are inevitable. People enter DSA with varying emotional regulation, communication and conflict resolution skills, as well as a range of ideas about how harm and conflict should be addressed in a socialist organization. DSA provides formal guidance to

members through our National Code of Conduct; Resolution 33, DSA's harassment and grievance policy, chapter-level codes of conduct, and in some cases, chapter-level conflict resolution or related training.

Right now, DSA is facing urgent questions about best practices, process design, confidentiality and other aspects of the Resolution 33 grievance process. A central tension within these and other questions is what our NHGO describes as "a lack of organizational consensus...some prefer a more punitive approach that removes the member and prevents further harm to the chapter's reputation. Others feel strongly that a restorative justice approach is most consistent with DSA's values." This mirrors¹ ongoing debate in our country about punishment, harm, and rehabilitation that became prominent for many of our members in the aftermath of George Floyd's murder in Summer 2020.

In 2021, the DSA National Convention made a commitment to abolitionist organizing through Resolution 3. Abolition in our present context is both a political vision and a practical organizing strategy that works to dismantle the racist prison-industrial complex and build a society that addresses harm without violence. That Convention also passed Resolution 28, "Building Transformative Justice Through A National Committee of Grievance Officers," informed by abolitionist principles. That resolution created a committee to formalize connections between chapter Harassment and Grievance Officers (HGOs), establish guidelines for member discipline, make recommendations about the Resolution 33 grievance process, and assist HGOs in developing and implementing restorative/transformational processes in chapters.

The staff NHGO must recognize the abolitionist backdrop against which they implement Resolution 33 and be willing to support the NCGO in the work sanctioned by Resolution 28. Resolution 24 acknowledges the authority of the NCGO and later sections of this work plan recommend that this committee be given significant autonomy around designing the role of and selecting the staff NHGO. This is part of a long term strategy for democratizing knowledge to create a stronger, more resilient organization and ensure that DSA remains member-led, not staff-driven.

Externally, other organizations have made commitment to external abolitionist organizing and internal transformational justice approaches. Some of these organizations may be future coalition partners for whom evidence of robust, non-punitive alternatives in DSA may help us create and maintain effective organizing relationships.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

¹ Brantner, P. (n.d.). DSA Res33 Annual Report 2020-2021.

Successful implementation will mean hiring a staff NHGO that supports the National Committee of Grievance Officers, all HGOs, and all other members and bodies in carrying out requirements of Resolutions 33, 28 and any other mandates from membership related to grievances and conflict resolution. Success will also mean quality assurance measures to ensure that the staff NHGO and our grievance/conflict resolution programs are working as desired.

Successful implementation also includes an interim body, such as the Steering Committee of the NPC, who can temporarily hear appeals and perform other functions of the NHGO during the recruitment and hiring process.

Failure would look like not hiring a staff NHGO, the NCGO/NHGO failing to design other described measures, or maintaining the contract with PB Work Solutions LLC longer than necessary due to delays in implementation of Proposal 24.

Priorities listed in table below. Accountability for meeting those priorities rests with the NPC liaison or liaisons who are responsible for following up on deadlines and deliverables from the NCGO. A constant assessment of strategy will be established by the NPC liaison or liaisons who work with the NCGO to develop quality assurance measures for the staff NHGO position.

The priorities table below reflects the authors' recommendation that the National Committee of Grievance Officers be given significant autonomy around designing the role of and selecting the staff NHGO.

Proposal 24 Priorities

The authors note that these recommendations may be impacted by the date of NPC synchronous meetings, the approved NCGO work plan, and other factors. These recommendations offer one possible pathway to NPC and NCGO members for an effective, timely transition.

Goal	Key Action Steps	Timeline	Who Does It
End Contract with PB Work Solutions	NPC submits notice to PB Work Solutions LLC regarding contract termination.	8/6/23. 90 day notice required in contract; end date 11/6/23	National Political Committee

	Designate NPC member(s) to ensure transfer/maintenance of forms, resources and data	By 9/6/2023	National Political Member, National Tech Committee
Fill vacancies on National Committee of Grievance Officers	NCGO members solicit applications for open seats	By 8/14/23	National Committee of Grievance Officers
	Complete interviews and make appointments	By 8/28/23	National Committee of Grievance Officers appoints (recommended), or: NCGO reports on all applicants, makes recommendations; NPC appoints
Create plan for handling grievances if there is a gap between the end of the contract and hiring of the staff NHGO. Currently, Steering Committee hears appeals.	NCGO creates & submits plan to NPC re: fielding questions from HGOs	By 09/15/23	National Committee of Grievance Officers
	Communication to chapters/HGOs re: who to contact with questions	By 10/01/23	National Political Committee
Hire staff NHGO	NCGO determines qualifications for	By 9/29/23	National Committee of Grievance

	position ²		Officers
	NCGO creates job description & scope of work; submits Operations Director for review and posting	9/29	National Committee of Grievance Officers; Director of Operations
	Personnel Committee, plus at least one member members of NCGO Committee makes recommendations, NPC appointments	Selection by 10/13	Personnel Committee (ED, NPC members, NCGO member; National Political Committee

Capacity

See table above. The National Committee of Grievance Officers, independently or in collaboration with the National Political Committee, is responsible for filling NCGO vacancies and making recommendations around qualifications for and hiring of the staff NHGO. The Operations Director will have a role in recruiting and hiring the staff NHGO. The Executive Director, Maria Svart, serves on the Personnel Committee that is responsible for hiring.

The approach as proposed builds leadership/familiarity with policy within the National Committee of Grievance Officers.

Recruitment & Retention

As a change to DSA's internal structures, Proposal 24 is not expected to substantially impact recruitment of new members. Ensuring the NHGO shares the organization's socialist principles and mission, and expanding the role of membership in designing and administering DSA's grievance policies will render the process more legible and trustworthy to

² Qualifications should include: Experiencing conducting workplace, Title XI or similar investigations, including as an HGO; Experience with mediation, and conflict resolution; Familiarity with transformative justice/abolitionist principles; References who can speak to their ability to navigate interpersonal conflict transparently, respectfully and constructively; That person must also meet requirements for DSA employment, including general agreement with the positions and perspectives of YDSA and DSA

participants, ideally increasing retention of members who participate in or observe a grievance process in any way as well as all members.

Resources

Please see [Proposal 24 Priorities](#) for additional resource information

Messaging

As a change to DSA's internal structures, external messaging around Proposal 24 is not expected.

External Partners

No external partners.

Timeline

See [Priorities table](#)

Open Questions

Current NHGO Contract. Members are not permitted to view DSA's contract with current NHGO, according to current NPC members. The authors of Proposal 24 recommend that the current NHGO contract be made public immediately to ensure membership is aware of any outstanding legal/compliance issues.

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #7: Fair NPC Elections

Introductory Summary

In previous years, national DSA commissions have made endorsements of candidates in elections for the DSA National Political Committee, and used official DSA assets such as social media and email lists to promote specific NPC candidates. The use of official DSA assets to endorse and campaign for NPC candidates is damaging to DSA's overall culture, internal democracy, and integrity.

Strategic Landscape

Multiple National Commissions have made inappropriate endorsements of NPC candidates in the past and inappropriately campaigned for them.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

Success

- National Commissions don't endorse or campaign for any NPC candidates in the future

Failure

- National Commissions endorse or campaign for at least one NPC candidate in the future

Objectives

National Commissions should not endorse or campaign for NPC candidates in the future.

Capacity

The NPC is responsible for telling all national commissions to not endorse NPC candidates in the future.

Recruitment & Retention

National Commissions will be more focused on recruiting and retaining members because they are spending less time endorsing or campaigning for NPC candidates.

Resources

National Commission resources will be freed up for more productive work, since they will no longer be usable for endorsing or campaigning for NPC candidates.

Messaging

The NPC should send all National Commissions an email telling them that they are not allowed to endorse or campaign for NPC candidates.

External Partners

External Partners will no longer hear about NPC candidate endorsements or campaigns from National Commissions

Timeline

- August 4-6 2023, DSA National Convention
- August 5 2023 until Forever, National Commissions are not allowed to endorse or campaign for NPC candidates

Open Questions

No questions.

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #8: For a Political, Prolific and Democratic DSA Editorial Board

Introductory Summary

This resolution intends to improve DSA's two national publications (*Democratic Left* and *Socialist Forum*) by increasing participation, reach, and political relevance. To accomplish this, the resolution requires the NPC to appoint an Editorial Board after each convention so that the people responsible for the publications reflect political developments in DSA. New editors means new connections to chapters and projects about which articles can be written. The resolution does not substantially change the missions of the two publications, but does suggest that our publications should be more political, facilitating discussion and debate. Over time, there should be more articles written by new people, and read by more members. This resolution also calls for print issues of *Democratic Left* to eventually become longer – more than the four pages or less they have recently been reduced to.

Strategic Landscape

DSA must convince more people to become organized socialists. This requires reaching the public in a variety of formats, including writing. Well-edited and interesting publications can convince progressives about socialism and other socialists about the need to act on their beliefs. This need for mass communication and persuasion is true regardless of the political moment, but it is especially vital now, as there has been an ebb in the political advance of socialist ideas nationally. Additionally, a vibrant culture of public political discussion can introduce people to the concepts of democracy and member-run organizations, ensuring them that they are joining an organization that doesn't stifle disagreement but instead is held together by solidarity.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

This resolution would be successful if a politically representative Editorial Board establishes concrete and democratic structures for the publications and facilitates member engagement to expand the scope and reach of *Democratic Left* and *Socialist Forum*, leading to an increase in the regularity of articles published as well as the diversity and number of writers, types, and topics of articles. It will also be successful if articles contribute more to the intellectual life of the organization – if more people read the articles, talk about them amongst themselves, and use them to make organizing decisions.

This resolution could be a failure if most or all of the above do not happen, or if the NPC does not establish the Editorial Board.

Articles and reach can be easily and precisely measured and tracked on a regular basis, and editors can adjust based on these data. In terms of accountability, editors must keep in mind that they are responsible for a key aspect of DSA's public profile, chapters should encourage members to write more frequently, and the NPC must establish the Editorial Board. This resolution likely does not require any more staff time than currently required.

Objectives

1. More input from the NPC on the direction of *Democratic Left* and *Socialist Forum* via electing the Editorial Board
2. More member participation (editors, writers, volunteers)
3. More, and more relevant, articles (total number and readers)

Capacity

This resolution establishes a new body, the Editorial Board. The Editorial Board may need to communicate with the Comms and Tech committees to ensure that articles are shared regularly on a timely basis and to make website updates as needed. Otherwise, the implementation of this resolution depends first on the NPC and then upon the work of the Editorial Board they select. Increased open volunteer participation will also aim to address delegating workload.

Recruitment & Retention

This resolution may recruit new members by publishing articles that interest people on the broader Left (DSA campaigns, organizing projects, current events, books, media, political issues) and demonstrating the quality of political discussion within DSA. Relevant articles and the website could include pitches to join DSA or points about the need to organize. Expanding our publications operation and distributing print issues to chapters will provide resources for members to distribute locally at events and actions to engage people politically and get them interested in the work DSA is doing. This resolution will engage existing members by offering more opportunities to share their perspectives, enter into generative political discussions with members across the country, and absorb organizing best practices into their current work.

Resources

New people may need access to the backend of DSA's website, which is already granted to members involved with the publications, and some time may need to be dedicated to redesigning the website pages for the publications. A budget for the print issues will also be necessary, which the new Editorial Board will provide a plan for how to approach this in a cost effective way.

Messaging

This resolution is essentially all about comms. The best articles from each publication could be shared more consistently with members via social media and email, and should be prioritized for inclusion in expanded versions of the physical *Democratic Left*. The publications should continue to expand their opt-in newsletters to cultivate a readership and develop writers. The Editorial Board should maintain an updated list of previous writers and invite them all to write on a list of topics a few times a year. An email announcing changes to the publications could be sent to all members. Regularly sending communications to all members about recent articles is likely counterproductive, however, because of the volume of communications that DSA members currently get about other things.

External Partners

This resolution does not require coalition-building or working with external partners. The one way that this has and may come up, however, is other publishers or authors seeking book reviews or promotions or articles incorporating their work. This has mostly been managed via personal connections and likely would not require formal partnerships or memoranda of understanding.

Timeline

August 2023 – Resolution passes

September 2023 – NPC puts out a public call for applicants for the Editorial Board

November 2023 – NPC elects 9-person Editorial Board for a 2 year term
November 2023 – Editorial Board elects an Editor-in-Chief among itself

December 2023 – Editorial Board publishes a public sign-up form for DSA members to volunteer

November 2023 to August 2024 – Editorial Board drafts a plan for expanding print issues of *Democratic Left* back to full size which NPC will implement once a plan and budget is agreed on

June 2025 – Editorial Board creates a report on its progress to be presented to the 2025 Convention as well as documenting lessons learned and best practices for the upcoming Editorial Board

Open Questions

It is not a fact that more aggressively “marketed” and political publications will naturally elicit writers and readers. However, we think that publications that have more of a mandate from Convention and the NPC and that, over time, publish more articles that interest the average member, will increase the legitimacy of DSA’s publications – and eventually increase members’ interactions with them. It is possible that external conditions mostly dictate how interested people are in written political content, but this seems unlikely because of the core of dedicated activists that DSA has attracted and developed over the last few years. There should not be legal or compliance considerations. The quality and effectiveness of *Democratic Left* and *Socialist Forum* depends upon delegates, the NPC, and the Editors they choose.

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #9: Hybrid Format for DSA Conventions

Introductory Summary

The Hybrid Format for DSA Conventions resolution will require a virtual option for all DSA national Conventions to allow people to participate without being in-person. This change not only ensures that disabled and immunocompromised comrades can attend without risking a COVID-19 infection, but also makes the Convention more accessible for all and helps the DSA reduce its carbon footprint. The plan will also help the organization remain nimble should other factors force the organization to pivot to a completely virtual Convention.

Implementing a hybrid format has two main goals: removing barriers to Convention access for a variety of members, and adapting to the continuing challenge of COVID-19 surges and possible future illnesses. In-person only Conventions undermine the effort to build a broad multi-racial working-class movement by limiting Convention attendance to people who are able to take time off to attend, pay for accommodations, and manage other challenges that prevent them from traveling.

Convention in DSA occurs every 2 years, and this resolution ensures

Utilizing a hybrid platform provides for a contingency if social conditions continue to devolve, so if a pivot to an all-virtual Convention became necessary, costs would not be as significant due to the preparations already in place.

Unpredictable changes in economic and social conditions

COVID-19 and future pandemics are unpredictable, surges of infection have occurred in the summertime when Conventions are held, and these surges are expected to recur.

We are facing pandemic employment insecurity and are in the midst of an unprecedented economic inflation crisis made more precarious by the growing number of disabled individuals due to the effects of long COVID-19, the high mortality rate of reinfections, and inaccessible healthcare for pre-existing conditions.

Travel pollution and fuel consumption

DSA is committed to fighting for ecosocialism, and having a hybrid option supports decreased fuel consumption and pollution from traveling, and because the United States has poor

infrastructure that limits personal and mass transit options, making it difficult for some to travel in an environmentally responsible way.

Strategic Landscape

- A hybrid Convention would accommodate perspectives and voices from marginalized communities which include:
 - People with disabilities.
 - Those who are institutionalized.
 - The rapidly growing numbers of people disabled by Long Covid, or those who are immunocompromised, and thus at even greater risk in crowded settings.
 - Individuals requiring ongoing access to medical care, daily services, and treatment, including but not limited to psychological services.
 - Queer comrades, especially those who are trans thereby experiencing greater barriers to safe travel.
 - Those who are pregnant or may become pregnant, and are struggling in oppressive anti-abortion states.
 - Parents and other individuals with caregiving obligations to children, immunocompromised people, elderly relatives, or community members who can't take time away from these duties.
 - Students or teachers in educational institutions or trade schools with atypical semester schedules.
 - Those who do not get vacation time off from work and those who do receive vacation time but can't take time off from employment to travel.
 - Shift workers who benefit from the high differential pay rates for working overnights and weekends.
 - Those who are unionizing and face scheduling discrimination and retaliation for requesting time off related to travel.
 - Those living abroad.
 - Those who are surviving poverty.
 - Those who require language interpretation and/or spoken translation.

Offering a virtual option also protects one of the DSA's most valuable resources: its people. As evidence grows that repeat COVID infections cause cumulative harm, including damage to people's immune systems, DSA should protect its valued organizers, and should not require people to face unpredictable pandemic-era hazards in order to democratically participate.

As we face the possibility of more upheaval in the future due to the myriad issues outlined above, it is imperative that we find ways to ensure organizational efficiency, even in the face of a crisis that prevents in person gathering.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

- Seamless as possible interactions between all Convention delegates on both the main floor and in panel sessions.
- Efficient floor votes that transparently tabulate both in person and virtual votes.
- Minimal technical issues—no disruption of proceedings due to setup.
- Ensuring disabled members are centered in planning is vital
- NPC and staff must communicate fully with members instead of behind closed doors
- Chapters must include the hybrid option when whipping delegates
- One challenge will be accessibility conflict
- Asking members if their access needs are being met for each event will help ensure constant assessment of strategy
- Successful implementation will meet all access needs and members can fully participate

Objectives

Conventions are the highest, most democratic decision making body of the DSA. In order to open up participation in that process to the most diverse and inclusive possible delegation, and greatly increase accessibility, the Convention must have a seamlessly integrated virtual component available for participants. This resolution seeks to hold DSA Conventions in a hybrid format, with a live, virtual broadcast of the Convention with ways for members to vote and participate virtually. The virtual space and attendees should be treated on-par with in-person attendees, with neither taking precedence over the other.

This resolution also seeks:

- An accessible location for the 2025 Convention
 - Visual floor and sign markers.
 - Wheelchair ramps of 8% slope or less or elevators inside and outside the building.
- Political education surrounding disability
 - What is disability?
 - How does socialism intersect with disability?

- Can disabled people participate in revolution? (Yes, then explain how) ○ Educate DSA organizers to meaningfully move towards universal access to DSA participation, through comradely advocacy and critique
- Intersectionality
- Disability Justice
- Healing Justice

Capacity

- Disability Working Group
 - Provides consultative services and will offer members to be on Convention planning committees.
 - Advise on, and test, the accessibility of hybrid platforms prior to their implementation to better ensure all comrades can engage with the platform, regardless of ability or impairment.
 - Develop members' leadership potential by putting together a successful accessible hybrid Convention in collaboration with other groups.
- Staff and NPC
 - Conduct a proper budget analysis and cost projections for both a hybrid Convention, and an alternatively fully virtual Convention. This will include cost breakdowns, and take into account the foreplanning for a hybrid Convention from the start, rather than a more expensive and last minute afterthought.
 - Working with DWG and NTC to find an accessible Convention venue. This will be done with preference toward venues that have the necessary hybrid equipment already available and in place
 - Working with NTC to select the best possible software platforms and equipment vendors to meet organizational needs and best achieve a seamless hybrid experience that avoids prioritization of either the virtual or in-person component over the other.
- National Tech Committee
 - Will assist in determining the most optimal and accessible platforms to achieve a seamless hybrid experience. This is inclusive of virtual platforms, as well as voting platforms, and any other related technology. ○
 - Will assist in set up and implementation, when and where possible, of hybrid-related tech.
- Comms Committee

- Will assist with ensuring information is received by all members, such as sign ups for Convention accessibility committees, accommodations, and more

Infrastructure

- Educational resources will be built to help teach organizers and staff how to best implement a hybrid Convention.
- Disability Working Group will host this work
 - Working group is already established
 - Disability Working Group will utilize its existing infrastructures
- Other national committees already are established and have infrastructures as well, so does external partners and elected officials
- Locals already skilled in hybrid organizing can utilize their established tools and techniques to help make the Convention successful.
- This resolution will support chapter involvement and onboarding because when locals have safer organizing practices, they will be able to have more people participate, such as immunocompromised members. Members being onboarded will get more resources and support to be able to organize safely, and receive more education.
- This plan will build the capacity necessary by engaging with locals, external partners, and other committees.
- Countless organizers have improved their skills, built-out infrastructure, and broken down communication silos online during the pandemic. They can help staff to help realize successful hybrid Conventions.

Recruitment & Retention

This campaign would lower the barrier to entry for all new members providing an easier and cheaper way to attend the Convention. For people with disabilities and workers with low incomes, inflexible schedules, and/or family caregiving obligations, this emphasis on accessibility will demonstrate DSA's commitment to including all people and may encourage undecided people to join.

Likewise, removing the barrier of requiring in-person presence and travel, would tend to promote retention, particularly by making it clear that the organization welcomes members with disabilities, low-income workers, and workers with family obligations in active leadership roles.

Resources

- Review DSA's own How DSA Built an Online Convention resource, and consider how these factors may be utilized to build a hybrid Convention
- Reach out to the planning individuals and bodies from Convention 2021 (virtual) and Convention 2019 (in-person), as well as the current Convention (in-person 2023), to request feedback on planning logistics
- Visual floor and sign markers
- Wheelchair ramps of 8% slope or less or elevators inside and outside the building
- Canvass
- OPA Vote
- Open Slides
- Action Network
- Communication Software (Zoom, Discord, Etc)
 - Gather Town

Messaging

Messaging key points:

- Convention for all
- Build strength within our multi-racial working class movement
- Protect our organizers from harm
- Offer the chance for participation in person, while also offering those who cannot/do not want to travel the chance to be a part of the decision making process

Twitter, Facebook, DSA Discussion Board, Slack, DSA Newsletters, Email, Spoke, Action Network

External Partners

Work with external partners that may provide important tech, software, equipment, and/or accessibility, such as:

- Closed Captions like:
 - CART
 - ASL Interpreters
 - Vision Guides
- A/V equipment renting, such as:
 - Cameras; Speakers; Laptops; Displays; Microphones; Podiums

- Potentially work with other organizations who have put on large hybrid events and gather feedback

Timeline

- 2023:
 - August 2023 Convention
 - Take any lessons from the 2023 Convention, as well as prior Conventions, and formulate a plan for a hybrid 2025 Convention.
- 2024:
 - Form an accessibility team internally
 - Form a tech team
 - Decide on an accessible location for the in-person component of the 2025 Convention, with preference toward a location that may have hybrid equipment available
 - Deciding on groups, programs, contractors for external partners
 - Distributing accessibility information to all Convention staff
- 2025:
 - Trialing and testing all necessary hybrid components
 - August 2025 Hybrid Convention

Open Questions

There are no open questions at this time. The responsibility for implementation which may uncover and open questions lays with the next elected NPC, DSA Staff, DSA National Bodies, and membership to sort through and organize in order to bring this much needed format to fruition

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #10: Launch a Democracy Commission for DSA

Introductory Summary

The DSA Democracy Commission will be a two year project. Its objective will be to propose reforms to DSA's national organization that have the support of representatives from a wide range of the DSA membership. These proposals will be informed by research the Democracy Commission will conduct on how other democratic membership parties and organizations work. The commission is primarily an internal project, therefore it is not responding to wider social conditions — though the fact that we're in a period that is less intense/active than 2017-2021 does mean that we have breathing room to reflect on our organizing and how our organization could be strengthened.

Strategic Landscape

This is an internal project. As such it is responding to problems inside DSA. Many members feel that DSA as a national organization could be stronger, more democratic, and more effective. Repeatedly at DSA National Conventions, members have brought forward reforms to fix perceived problems in the national organization, underscoring the fact that many members are dissatisfied with the way things work at a national level. However, almost all of these organizational reforms have failed to reach the supermajority required to change DSA's constitution and bylaws. The Democracy Commission, by bringing together elected representatives from the different tendencies and currents in the DSA membership (organized and unorganized), aims to overcome this problem. By bringing together these different representatives, learning from other organizations, and collectively deliberating on a plan to reform DSA, we hope that the Democracy Commission can be a place where broadly-acceptable reforms can be developed.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

Success: In 2025 the Democracy Commission proposes a raft of reforms to DSA's national organization that receive the support of a supermajority of the National Convention.

Failure: In 2025 the Democracy Commission fails to present reforms that are acceptable to a broad range of DSA members.

Steps to ensure success: By studying how other parties and organizations work, and collectively deliberating on the problems in DSA, we hope that the Democracy Commission will help representatives of different parts of DSA come to some shared understanding of the challenges facing national DSA and possible solutions. By making the Democracy Commission open and accessible to the wider membership (through open meetings and public notes), we hope to keep the wider membership engaged and supportive of its work.

Important action items: Most important is actually proposing reforms to the 2025 National Convention. To get there, it is also important for the commission to study other parties and organizations and develop a collective analysis of the problems facing DSA.

Steps to assess strategy: The Democracy Commission will meet regularly and make sure it's on target to complete its assessment of problems facing DSA and lessons learned from other parties and organizations by July 2024. Then it will need to make sure its proposals are complete by the deadline to submit proposals to the 2025 DSA National Convention.

Accountability for members: Meet the deadlines set above.

Accountability for staff: The staff must conduct a STV election for a 21 member commission to be completed by October 15, 2023. After that the commission will be responsible for organizing its own affairs. The only remaining task for the staff will be helping the commission get access to Zoom and helping the commission broadcast information about its meetings (how to attend, sending out minutes after as well as reports) to the membership.

Accountability for NPC: The only responsibility of the NPC vis-a-vis the commission is to appoint replacements to fill any vacancies in a timely manner.

Chapters will not be accountable for the work of the commission so they don't have to be concerned.

Objectives

As already mentioned, the objective of the Democracy Commission is to present organizational reforms to DSA that 1) can win the support of a supermajority of delegates to the 2025 National Convention and 2) make national DSA more democratic and more effective.

Capacity

The national staff will be responsible for conducting the STV election to elect the commission and occasionally helping the commission get access to DSA's zoom, sending out information to the membership, etc, as discussed above. The elected commission will be responsible for all the rest of its work after its election. Members of the commission will have an opportunity to learn from each other and grow as leaders.

The commission will need staff to give it access to zoom and means to communicate with the membership.

Recruitment & Retention

The commission will not be involved in recruiting members. Hopefully existing members will take an interest in its activities.

Resources

The commission will need access to zoom and means to communicate with the membership. Staff involvement has already been discussed above.

In addition, it would be good for the commission to meet in person for a weekend before the deadline to submit amendments to the 2025 national convention. The commission should use this meeting to finalize its proposals and hash out any remaining questions. We are asking for a budget of \$20,000 to make this happen, to cover the cost of transportation for members of the commission and to rent space and pay for any additional expenses the commission may want to cover. Commission members will be responsible for organizing the in-person meeting. Staff need not be involved.

Messaging

The commission will need to be able to send reports, minutes, and information about how to attend meetings to the whole membership.

External Partners

The commission will interview members of other democratic membership parties and organizations to learn about organizational best practices. Otherwise there will be no external partners.

Timeline

October 15, 2023: Deadline for national staff to have completed an STV election to elect the commission. The voters will be all delegates to the 2023 DSA National Convention.

End of July 2024: Deadline for the commission to present reports to the membership on its assessment of problems in national DSA in need of fixing and its assessment of best practices from other democratic membership organizations and parties.

Some time in 2025: Submit reforms for national DSA to be considered by the 2025 DSA National Convention.

Open Questions

None come to mind at this moment.

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #11: Make Bud DSA's Official Mascot

Introductory Summary

Bud has been used as a mascot for DSA-LA and used on DSA Labor merchandise. People like Bud and they should be on more stuff.

I don't think the form is relevant to the resolution so I will keep responses brief, so as to save valuable staff time.

Strategic Landscape

Bud is a fun little guy. People like to organize with fun little guys.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

DSA will make merch with Bud on it. Offer chapters a cardboard cutout of Bud to use while tabling. Designers will consider putting Bud in propaganda.

Objectives

- Make Bud the Mascot
- Put the mascot(Bud) on promotional materials
- Offer chapters a cardboard cutout of Bud to use while tabling

Capacity

Whoever runs comms and orders merchandise.

Recruitment & Retention

People like Bud. They got rizz. People will want to join DSA and be their friend.

Resources

Logistics of cardboard cutout orders. Designing templates and reusable forms of Bud. Make Bud more versatile.

Messaging

Put Bud on everything.

External Partners

No. Bud is ours.

Timeline

It would be nice to have the cutouts available before fall of 2023.

Open Questions

Filing Bud as the intellectual property/trademark/copyright whatever...to be owned by the Democratic Socialists of America.

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #12: Make DSA an Anti-Zionist Organization in Principle and Praxis

Introductory Summary

This proposed work plan is intended to serve as a supplemental document for the resolution to “Make DSA an Anti-Zionist Organization in Principle and Praxis.” Here, we will elaborate on key aspects and goals of the resolution.

The founding merger that formed the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) was heavily predicated on ensuring that the new organization would uphold one of its predecessor’s, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), position of supporting continued American aid for Israel’s Zionist colonial project. DSA’s original Points of Political Unity document details one of our organization’s very first resolutions passed as part of the founding merger, which states, “The U.S. should continue to provide such aid as is necessary to guarantee Israel’s secure existence.” Additionally, Michael Harrington, just like a number of other founding members, was a staunch, vocal supporter of Zionist colonialism, once stating in a repulsive interview from 1975 that he supports Israel “as an internationalist” and calling the occupying settler-colonial entity “a democratic country whose people are passionately defending its self-determination.”

Harrington’s warped, racist writings and interviews from the 60’s, 70’s, and 80’s about Zionism and Palestine came in the wake of multiple Zionist colonial ethnic cleansing events in the forms of the 1948 Nakba (750,000 Palestinians forcibly displaced from their homes; 15,000 murdered) and the 1967 Naksa (250,000 Palestinians forcibly displaced from their homes; 20,000 murdered). The ethnic cleansing of Palestine and its occupation by Zionist settler-colonists remains ongoing to this day and has caused over a century of death and misery for Palestinians everywhere. Meanwhile, DSA’s denial of Israel’s settler-colonial nature and embrace of so-called “liberal Zionist” politics continued all the way into the 2010’s but, thanks to an influx of principled anti-imperialist members joining DSA, the organization’s approach to Palestine began to change with the Convention’s endorsement of BDS in 2017 and the democratically mandated formation of a National BDS & Palestine Solidarity working group in 2019.

But nevertheless, DSA’s internal enablement of Zionism still continues to be as damaging as ever to Palestinians and their liberatory struggle. A number of DSA endorsed electeds (e.g., Jamaal Bowman & Nithya Raman) have not only consistently demonstrated a commitment to Zionism through their public opposition to BDS and support for legislation that directly harms

Palestinians, but DSA's institutional response to these actions via its national leadership for the past two years has been to opportunistically trade off solidarity with Palestinians for access to the Democratic Party by protecting and boosting Zionists as leading faces in major DSA national and local campaigns.

This continued enablement of Zionism and minimization of harm to Palestinians has jeopardized the rank-and-file membership's confidence in the integrity of the organization's overall politics, as well as our working relationships with major Palestinian-led grassroots organizations across North America and the globe.

And yet, despite everything, the current proposal offers DSA one last opportunity for redemption on not only Palestine, but on all of the issues that Palestine represents (e.g., anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, anti-racism). National leadership has made clear for the past two years that they seek to co-opt anti-Zionist rhetoric while rejecting anti-Zionism in practice, which has led to a justified and righteous boycott of the DSA by major Palestinian-led grassroots organizations. This proposed resolution offers the Convention – the organization's highest decision-making body – the chance to show that the NPC of the past two years has been completely out of step with the rank-and-file, and that the organization is, in fact, ready to be in powerful, unapologetic solidarity with Palestinians and their long-standing demands for an end to colonial occupation and the Palestinian right of return as an anti-Zionist organization – in principle and in praxis.

Strategic Landscape

Internal landscape/conditions:

Growing appetite from rank-and-file DSA members and chapters to hold elected officials accountable to the BDS picket line. Over 50 chapters explicitly called for Bowman's expulsion from DSA, and nearly 2000 members rapidly mobilized in a week to sign a petition calling for an Internationalist DSA in the wake of the NPC's historically reckless decision to "decharter" the convention-mandated National BDS & Palestine Solidarity working group.

If the organization is going to continue to engage in the electoral arena, we need to ensure that we are growing electoral power in principled and strategic ways, lest we - implicitly or explicitly - end up replicating the structures of oppression we claim to be fighting against by acting as an appendage of the Democratic Party.

External landscape/conditions:

Zionism continues to cause violence, dispossession, trauma, and death for Palestinians everywhere, just as it has for the past century.

Zionism is rampant in US politics in both of our ruling political parties (Republican and Democratic).

Growing awareness in America about the Palestinian struggle as an asymmetrical liberation struggle against a colonial apartheid regime, not just a symmetrical “national” or, even more absurdly, “religious” conflict.

Politicians are being called out more and more as being “progressive except for Palestine (PEPs)”, but are still being given political cover by so-called “left” political and media institutions.

Finally, because of DSA’s recent anti-Palestinian actions (e.g., giving political cover to Zionist celebrity elected members like Bowman, illegally attempting to “decharter” the convention-mandated National BDS & Palestine Solidarity working group, and sanctioning of some of the organization’s most active Palestinian and Palestinian-allied organizers), the most prominent Palestinian-led grassroots formations across North America have been explicitly boycotting the DSA for over a year now. Our organization will inevitably fail to be a vehicle for transformational socialist change if we cannot be in basic alignment and maintain working relationships with oppressed people engaged in liberatory struggle in the grassroots.

Objectives

The current proposal aims to make the DSA an anti-Zionist organization in principle and praxis by:

1. Recognizing and denouncing the Zionist roots of DSA for the first time in the organization’s history;
2. Standardizing basic expectations on Palestine and BDS for endorsed candidates at the local and/or national levels;
3. Standardizing educational resources and protocols for member-politicians willing to be educated; and
4. Explicitly defining the conditions, in accordance with DSA’s pre-existing Constitution and Bylaws, under which members will be considered in substantial disagreement with

our organization's principles and thus subject to expulsion as open antagonists to the Palestinian struggle for liberation and its intersecting movements (i.e., consistent public opposition to BDS, maintaining affiliations with the Israeli government and/or the Zionist lobby, providing Israel with material funding).

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

Objective 1 of this proposal will require no special executive plan beyond passing the proposed resolution through convention.

Objective 2 will be executed through the good faith adoption and implementation of the BDS WG's electoral resources by every chapter who engages in electoral work, as well as the National Electoral Committee (NEC) and the National Political Committee (NPC) at large.

Objective 3 will be executed in a coordinated fashion between the BDS WG, the NEC, local chapters, and Palestinian-led grassroots movement partners. It will be crucial that local chapters use the BDS WG's novel electoral resources (i.e., include BDS WG questionnaire guide questions in each chapter's questionnaire; provide endorsed candidates and politicians with our endorsed candidate FAQ as a form of basic media training for when they speak on Palestine). Given the extent to which American media has been biased against the Palestinian cause over the past century – and especially the past half century – the BDS WG and relevant movement partners will also lend our expertise on an as needed basis to endorsed candidates. These same bodies can also provide 1-on-1 education on an as needed basis, but to avoid burning out Palestinians and educated allied comrades, these 1-on-1 teach-ins should be limited to individuals who demonstrate a desire to be educated. In other words, the first step is properly screening potential endorsees through the questionnaire process, and then using education to teach good faith comrades in office about the issue(s) to either help them overcome a one-off accidental mistake made out of ignorance, or to help them gain more advanced knowledge if they desire it.

Objective 4, concerning expulsions for political reasons pertaining to consistently antagonistic actions that impede Palestinian liberation, will be executed in a coordinated fashion between the organization's national, intermediate, and local levels. DSA members will be considered in substantial disagreement with the principles and policies of the organization – and thus subject to expulsion in line with the organization's Bylaws – if they are credibly shown to:

1. Have consistently and publicly opposed BDS (e.g., denouncing the BDS movement in public interviews; writing public op-eds denouncing the BDS movement; drafting and voting in favor of legislation that suppresses BDS, such as legislation that suppresses

speech rights around the right to freely criticize Zionism/Israel and/or the right to boycott), even after receiving fair and ample opportunity for education about the Palestinian struggle for liberation.

2. Be currently affiliated with the Israeli government or any Zionist lobby group(s) in any capacity.
3. Have provided material aid to Israel (e.g., Congresspeople voting to provide Israel with material aid; gave financial donations of any kind to Israel and/or settler NGO's who carry out the mission of Israeli settlement and Palestinian dispossession/displacement, such as the Jewish National Fund, the Israel Land Fund, the Hebron Fund, and Regavim)

Capacity

See above for how specific bodies will be involved. This has historically been an organization-wide problem, so it will require an organization-wide solution. To be clear, the BDS working group is willing to take the lead where appropriate, but it would be racist to put the bulk of the burden of solving the organization's Zionism problem on the only Palestinian-led body in the National, and moreover, our Palestinian movement partners.

No additional staff time should be required, outside of normal duties, given the scope of the resolution. The process of political education about the topic and holding the organization accountable to the principles of this resolution is work that could and should be done by members over time.

Recruitment & Retention

By being principled on Palestine, and not using it cynically as an abstract political football; by not normalizing explicit anti-Palestinian racism and dehumanization (e.g., signaling or explicitly telling Palestinians to be grateful for legislative crumbs); the hope is more Palestinians join the DSA and make it a political home. Currently, DSA is neither a safe nor affirming nor practical space for Palestinians to organize towards their own liberation. We must change that shameful fact together if we are at all serious about building a socialist multiracial mass movement. DSA has to earn people's trust, not tell oppressed people to wait on their own liberation in favor of social democratic reforms specific to America.

Resources

The resources needed to execute this plan are the questionnaire guide and the endorsed candidate FAQ created by the BDS & Palestine Solidarity Working Group in 2021. Also, the general primer & FAQ guide is an important resource for prospective candidates, as well as for chapters to craft their messaging around anti-Zionism and support for Palestine liberation. The BDS & Palestine WG also has a resource library, organized by topic area, meant to help those that wish to learn more about Palestine.

Messaging

The Primer & FAQ Guide created by the BDS & Palestine WG can be used as a starting point for messaging around DSA's anti-Zionist values. Further, frameworks highlighting settler-colonialism, as well as understanding of anti-Zionism within an anti-racist framework should be centered. DSA's communications strategy around anti-Zionism should also focus on centering and uplifting Palestinian voices and grassroots organizations.

External Partners

Yes, our resolution specifically names the Palestinian Youth Movement as a partner in developing or modifying educational resources and providing counsel to endorsed candidates.

The Palestinian Youth Movement ("PYM") is a transnational, independent, grassroots movement of young Palestinians in Palestine and in exile as a result of the ongoing Zionist colonization and occupation of their homeland. They strive to revive a tradition of pluralistic commitment toward the Palestinian cause to ensure a better future, characterized by freedom and justice on a social and political level, for Palestinians now and in subsequent generations. Given the scope of their grassroots connections across North America and in Palestine, their clear-eyed revolutionary political analysis, and the number of actions they have had a hand in organizing across the U.S. in recent years, they are exactly the kind of dedicated grassroots group with whom the DSA should be building. They have already agreed to be involved in the capacity stated at the top of this paragraph.

The BDS Working Group has also built strong connections between DSA and the US Campaign for Palestinian Rights and National Students for Justice in Palestine, with whom DSA should develop deeper levels of trust and partnership.

All three of these groups, and more, are boycotting DSA right now. The passage of this resolution can begin to mend those burned bridges, which in and of itself is important to coalition building. But further, our working group can facilitate local connections between

chapters of DSA/YDSA, PYM, and SJP. But as of now, the DSA lacks credibility, and is correctly seen as hypocritical on Palestine – historically and contemporarily.

Timeline

By the end of 2023, the National Electoral Committee, in coordination with the BDS & Palestine Liberation WG, should begin planning a political education program for endorsed candidates, as well as potential candidates for endorsement. As candidates seek our endorsement or re-endorsement in early 2024, the NEC and BDS & Palestine WG, in coordination with the NPC, will proactively offer and strongly encourage candidates seeking endorsement to attend a training/political education session on Palestinian liberation.

The timeline for an individual chapter on building commitment to Palestinian liberation with endorsed elected officials will depend on whether an electoral program exists, on whether the chapter has a uniform questionnaire for candidates, etc. If the chapter has a questionnaire, it should be amended to include questions outlined in the electoral working group guide. Chapters should inform potential endorsed candidates at the onset of the endorsement process of the expectation to publicly support BDS and support pro-Palestinian legislation.

Open Questions

Everything proposed here is very doable; it's just a question of whether members want to stand in material solidarity with Palestinians and actually hold Zionists accountable, and then if the resolution is passed, whether members and the leadership of the national organization will carry out the Convention's democratically determined will.

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #12: National Advisory Committee

Introductory Summary

In order for DSA to be able to make consequential national decisions and carry them out, we must ensure that national decision-making processes are inclusive of our diverse and multi-tendency membership. National leaders, rank-and-file members, and staff would all benefit from stronger communication, consultation, and feedback ahead of major political decisions. Convening a National Advisory Committee would provide a platform for diverse voices within DSA to be heard and considered when making consequential national decisions

Strategic Landscape

The National Political Committee has only 16 members who have to represent 1000+ Convention Delegates. Currently the ratio of delegates to NPC members is 60:1 which is way too high for meaningful 1:1 relationships with the NPC's constituencies. The NAC would fix this by introducing an intermediary body between the NPC and Convention delegates, with a ratio of 10 delegates per NAC member.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

Success:

- Greater buy-in for national decision making
- National decisions are perceived as legitimate and final
- NPC is able to more effectively move chapters into action via NAC delegates

Failure

- No increase in buy-in for national decision making
- National decisions are still perceived as illegitimate and continue to be relitigated online
- NPC is not able to move chapters into action any better than they were before

Objectives

- Greater transparency and buy-in for national decisionsmaking
- Less harassment and bullying in national political conflicts
- DSA is stronger and more united as a nationwide organization

Capacity

The NPC is responsible for running the election and convening the NAC. The NPC should create a subcommittee of people appointed to run the election process. The NPC should designate specific NPC members to organize NAC meetings and draft NAC discussion questions. Orgtools should help set up the Zoom meetings and NAC voting system.

Recruitment & Retention

National DSA should be more accessible to ordinary working-class members. 100+ NAC delegates will be retained and developed as leaders. The stronger connection between national and local DSA groups should amplify our recruitment efforts in general.

Resources

We need a Zoom line, airtable voting system, and some dedicated NPC hours to work on organizing the meetings. We need to run an online Opavote of Convention delegates after the Convention is over.

Messaging

NAC meetings should be publicized to members and chapter leaders via email and 1:1 outreach.

External Partners

N/A

Timeline

Nominations for NAC candidates will open on or before September 1st, 2023. Elections for NAC delegates will be held on or before October 1st, 2023. The first NAC regular meeting will be held on or before November 1st, 2023.

Open Questions

None

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #13: On the Defense of Immigrants and Refugees

Introductory Summary

DSA will make defense of immigrant and refugee rights a priority of the organization to be spearheaded by the National Immigrants Rights Working Group (IRWG). Reaffirming 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. support the struggles of immigrant communities around immediate demands, as well as the right of immigrants and their communities to lead in this struggle and to determine its tactics.

DSA nationally has been absent from the broader immigrants rights movement. The next 2 years must be dedicated to building relationships with communities currently outside of the organization. In the past this has looked like inviting leaders in migrant farmer workers in Yakima county, Washington or grassroots organizers from Georgia fighting ICE detentions for educational events for the membership and general audience.

Strategic Landscape

The immigrants rights movement is broad and everywhere, engaging in struggles wherever power can be contested. If we are serious about building a powerful multiracial working-class base, we, too, have to be part of the immigrants' rights movement. The key word here is "part." We must be willing to be led by those most affected.

The immigrants' rights movement today has no shortage of leaders to learn from as we build the truly multiracial working-class base necessary to win power.

The next 2 years of building relationships in a social movement largely outside of DSA will only strengthen the organization.

This proposal is not intended to take precedence over any other priority, instead its a reminder that as socialists, the struggle of immigrants and refugees, is one we must be in the frontlines. Particularly when there are several unresolved crises of racism and abuse of power in the US. targeted at immigrant communities.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

Successful implementation will require buyin from the NPC and other national committees to join in pushing forward immigrant and refugees rights in all of our work.

This will include at least 4 public forums a year spearheaded by the IRWG with the goal of collaborating with other national commissions, AfroSOC being one in the past, hopefully NLC and IC in future, and always elevating chapter work.

Objectives

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 with local and state campaigns led by and for immigrant leaders (who are not necessarily DSA affiliated) in order to bolster and help win real policies that advance the demands of immigrant leaders.

Capacity

Spearheaded by the National Immigrants Rights Working Group (IRWG) in coordination with NPC through liaison and national staff.

Staff roles include executing Org Tools request, occasional update website landing page (irwg.dsausa.org), and assistance with webinar livestream (4 times a year max).

To build capacity, a new 10 person steering committee will be elected. The election itself, in the leadup to the convention, will draw in those IRWG members already showing interest in implementing this resolution.

The IRWG membership peaked in March 2022 with 1,003 members, at least 31 chapters having a formal immigrants rights group and 50 others interested in forming one, the work has been neglected by a lack of attention and lack of resources. This proposal intends to correct.

Recruitment & Retention

Public forums will be key for recruitment. A pass example of targeting and actually recruiting members was the IRWG all Spanish webinar where Chicago DSA member and elected Alderperson Rossana Rodriguez made the ask and participants in the forum informed us of joining DSA.

Resources

\$15,000 (detailed budget). Understanding that both the sum is not enough for a serious national campaign, but just enough to be taken seriously by the incoming NPC.

Much of staff assistance can eventually be carried out by the members overtime. For example, IRWG will no longer have to request membership verifications from Staff, once members are trained on simple Action Network (AN) settings. The same can happen with webinar live streams.

Messaging

Papers, not crumbs, Refugees Welcome, Not One More, Abolish ICE, ¡Aquí estamos, y no nos vamos! Are just a few of the messages from the broader immigrants movement that DSA can adopt and elevate.

Because the struggle for immigrants rights is everywhere, there is almost certainly a local connection to the struggle for the chapters.

For disseminating information internally and externally will be email AN, text Spoke, and social media.

External Partners

This plan includes coalition-building and working with external partners. In the past these groups have included Mijente, Migrant Justice, Georgia Latino Alliance for Human Rights (GLAHR). The idea groups, like GLAHR are grassroots, community based groups with working class bases. Because relationship building is the crucial component of this work, the partnerships have been less formal, with clearly identified roles and responsibilities around political education webinar events.

Timeline

IRWG 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 activists.

Open Questions

Sustaining national work has proven difficult when resources are not allocated.

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #14: Overturn the NPC Decision to Suspend the Steering Committee of the BDS and Palestine Solidarity WG

Introductory Summary

Please refer to the “Whereas” clauses of the resolution, which explain the necessity of and context for this proposal. Passage of this resolution would lead to the end of the boycott of DSA by Palestinian-led organizations, those we should be working most closely with towards the strategic goals set out in the call for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS). This resolution would also be a public acknowledgement and self-criticism of how internal dissent and politics are handled (or mishandled) in this organization.

In a voluntary membership organization, the legitimacy of decisions and discipline itself rests solely on the perception of fairness and impartiality on the part of leaders of that organization. The resolution describes how the BDS and Palestine Solidarity Working Group (“the WG”) has been treated unfairly and in a partial manner, leading to a lack of confidence among members internally, and a boycott of the organization externally by key stakeholders in the movement for Palestinian liberation.

Organizing is built on trust, and this resolution is a necessary, albeit insufficient, step towards rebuilding that trust. The convention in recent history has not seriously taken up its important role in providing oversight over or supervising the National Political Committee (NPC) which it elects every two years. It is right and proper for the delegates to take up that task and have confidence in themselves, and thus the organization, and build up that oversight capacity.

But more importantly, the adoption of this resolution would break down barriers in working with working-class grassroots Palestinian organizations who are justifiably skeptical of DSA due to its origins and the published opinions of its founders. Though a short, technical resolution, its adoption carries positive benefits to the actual task of organizing in coalition with others, with restoring confidence in DSA’s internal democratic processes, and in building the capacity of its members by encouraging more oversight and interrogation of elect

Strategic Landscape

DSA finds itself isolated in the Palestine solidarity movement and again an outcast in the international left movement. Several organizations in the movement for Palestine have denounced DSA and discouraged working class people from associating with the organization.

These boycotts remain in place even after the suspensions have expired because the organization, represented by the NPC as its leadership, has not reflected on its decision and taken sufficient corrective action to reverse all its wrong-headed decisions.

There is widespread dissatisfaction in the membership of the organization. Anecdotal evidence shows DSA experienced some of its highest quit numbers during the period immediately following these decisions. A review of the surveys completed by DSA members as they quit in droves subsequent to these decisions will show that these reckless decisions played a significant part in the rationale for members leaving the organization. The chaos wrought by these decisions have also contributed to staff resignations and widespread structural damage to the organization.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

Successful implementation of this resolution will mean repairing and restoring some of the harm that has been done by the decisions that this resolution would nullify. To successfully implement the goals of this resolution, DSA would reestablish some of the organizational relationships that were damaged by the NPC's decision to "decharter" the working group and suspend its steering committee. The national organization will also have to regain the confidence of its membership, especially the membership and leadership of the BDS and Palestine Solidarity WG, Palestinian members, and members of color.

Implementation will also require swift notice being given to all affected in both semi-public and private channels in which the NPC's decisions were disseminated. Implementation will require self reflection on the part of the organization on how it failed to follow its own rules on this issue and how to safeguard against similar situations.

Objectives

- Repair DSA's organizational relationship with the Palestine liberation movement
- Reestablish the rights of members and repair the structural damage the NPC decisions have done to the organization
- Rebuke a failure of the NPC to adhere to Resolution 33
- Create precedent for how Resolution 33 should be interpreted in such situations
- Allow for collective healing and reflection

Capacity

The pre-convention rules say the National Director and the Convention Steering Committee are responsible for maintaining the record of the convention itself, per Rule II.C.1, so they should also ensure that the decision is reflected in the minutes on the DSA Convention website. This is the primary executable item of this resolution.

Secondarily, the BDS WG steering committee members originally disciplined should get formal communication from the National Director, Convention Steering Committee, incoming NPC, or staff about the nullification of their previous suspensions as a courtesy.

Thirdly, this work would restore the good name and reputation of leaders who were unfairly disciplined by the 2021-2023 NPC, removing unjust discipline from their records. This would enable these experienced leaders to fully participate in the work of the organization without prejudice or discrimination. This resolution fosters a healthy organizing environment, free of pre-judgement or animus. It protects morale and furthers our organization's goals across the board.

Finally, this resolution also removes an obstacle in building relationships with Palestinian-led organizations who are currently boycotting DSA. This would require the new NPC to work with the BDS WG for outreach to national organizations that have boycotted DSA, and to build working relationships that sees them as legitimate and important stakeholders in this struggle.

If this resolution is adopted, the BDS WG steering committee members originally disciplined should receive formal communication of the nullification of their suspensions as a courtesy. This would be a simple email from the committee responsible for recording the convention itself, or the newly-elected NPC.

The original announcement of these suspensions was made on the DSA Discussion Board by the NPC chair. The chair of the newly-elected NPC or their designee should post on the forum about the nullification of the suspensions as well.

Having the nullification published in the convention minutes and available on the convention website, along with announcing the convention's decision in the forums, would allow chapters to reference this, assisting with recruiting members who have let their dues lapse, or have resigned, in protest of the decision to suspend the WG's leadership. Moreover, this would also allow chapters (in Houston and Seattle, for example) to resume coalition work with BDS and Palestinian organizers who have been boycotting DSA as a whole, ever since the original decision to suspend was handed down.

Recruitment & Retention

The past few years have been incredibly demoralizing for many members. A significant number have left DSA or not renewed their membership because of this and other similar decisions by the NPC. Passage of this resolution will allow us to re-engage those members and recruit new members. Many members also await a good outcome at this convention to determine if they will remain active in DSA or look elsewhere. The outcome of this resolution and others at this convention will determine

Resources

The communications resources needed to execute this plan already exist and are described in the Capacity section above. No additional staff time should be required, outside of normal duties. Staff already maintains the convention website, where minutes would be published.

Messaging

Messaging, in terms of the need to communicate the decision to the individuals affected by the suspension specifically, and the membership in general, is partly addressed by the Capacity section above.

But in terms of a communications strategy, this resolution can be used as an olive branch to grassroots BDS and Palestinian organizers who have explicitly boycotted or distanced themselves from DSA. It could be described as another affirmation of DSA's support for BDS and solidarity with Palestine in the tradition of the 2017 and 2019 conventions.

Most importantly, the messaging would emphasize that the organization believes that a steadfast commitment to the strategy of BDS and the importance of material solidarity with Palestine far outweighs the internal political maneuvering of this organization. Skepticism of DSA's commitment to Palestine and BDS remains very high despite the retraction of all the other adverse actions against the WG, announcing the nullification of this unjust action would go a long way to reassuring not only members, but also coalition partners.

External Partners

A meaningful outcome of this resolution must include building of new and improved organizational relationships with Palestinian grassroots formations across North America and Palestine. It must include those named in the resolution – Palestinian Youth Movement, Good Shepherd Collective, USCPR, SJP – as well as those not named in the resolution – Falastiniyat Seattle, Samidoun, and others – who have boycotted DSA because of the NPC decisions which

the resolution rescinds. The time may have arrived for DSA to begin formal partnerships with a few of these organizations, specifically the Palestinian Youth Movement and National SJP.

Timeline

Members who would be directly affected by the passage of this resolution (the BDS WG steering committee members) should be notified as soon as possible, as a courtesy. A post on the DSA Discussion Board should also be made, as soon as possible, pointing to the original post announcing the decision, and indicating that the decision is “null and void”. The passage of the resolution should be duly entered in the minutes of the convention, and published alongside all other convention business as planned by the Convention Steering Committee.

Once published, this decision can be used by the WG, chapters, and members to achieve the strategic goals stated above, including reestablishing organizational relationships with allied organizations who have boycotted DSA.

Open Questions

There are many open questions about how DSA moves forward, which the resolution to “Make DSA an Anti-Zionist Organization in Principle and Praxis” will hopefully answer. However, there are no “legal/compliance considerations” or “external variables” relevant to execution of this particular resolution. These decisions (the suspension of the WG steering committee) were made by an NPC acting outside the bounds of its mandate, and reversing the decisions in line with the organization's established rules and procedures is perfectly within the bounds of the powers given to the Convention, the highest decision-making body of the organization according to the DSA's Constitution and Bylaws.

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #15: Renew the National Activist Conference

Introductory Summary

The resolution would re-establish the DSA National Activist Conference to be held in 2024. The conference will be a general space for DSA members to come together, trade lessons on their political work, discuss major political questions, and receive programming that will further membership and leadership development. The conference will fill the gap between the 2023 and 2025 DSA National Conventions and give another space for active DSA members to cohere and work together on our major priorities and organizing tasks. Taking place in 2024 also gives socialists a political space to gather during what will likely be a time of high political activity due to it being a Presidential election year.

Strategic Landscape

DSA currently lacks a regular activist conference which can develop the leadership and development skills of our members. We lack a major in-person event between conventions where members can meet in-person to discuss our political organizing and priorities. Major political and economic developments between 2023 and 2025 will likely provide many topics of discussion for members at an activist conference. Developing our members and having in-person organizing spaces may be internal organizing but it strengthens our external organizing as well.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

A successful implementation would look like this: in 2024 DSA hosts a National Activist Conference attended by a wide section of members from across the organization, does so in a way that does not place a heavy financial burden on the organization, and the conference allows for organizer training, membership development, and political discussion and education. The most important action items in order will be: DSA actually holding the conference in 2024, DSA does the fundraising called for in the resolution, the NPC coordinates the planning and/or appoints a committee to do so, other national bodies and members develop programming for education and training, and the NPC holds an open political discussion at the conference. The NPC will hold member volunteers, national committees, and staff accountable for the quality of the programming at the conference. Members will hold the NPC accountable for the ultimate success or failure of the project.

Objectives

- DSA will hold a National Activist Conference in 2024
- National Activist Conference will include programs for socialist political education and general organizing skills trainings
- National Activist Conference will include programs developed by all national commissions, committees, and working groups designated as a priority by the Convention or National Political Committee
- National Activist Conference will include an open strategic discussion by the National Political Committee
- DSA will undertake a fundraising campaign to help offset the additional expense that comes with holding a new conference
- DSA will make some programming available online for those unable to attend in person

Capacity

The organization of the National Activist Conference will be led by a Planning Committee made up of representatives from the NPC and the leadership of the priority national commissions, committees, and working groups to be represented in the program or their designees. Once a host city is selected, two members from the hosting chapter will join the planning committee.

The Planning Committee will be convened approximately 8 months prior to the date of the conference to begin the process of selecting a date, location, and venue. The committee will select from among itself a Steering Committee (SC) who will be responsible for keeping track of the overall project and facilitating meetings and decision making by the broader Planning Committee.

One staff member should be assigned to work with the Planning Committee on event logistics, including collaborating with the Steering Committee to coordinate a fundraising campaign to offset the cost of the event.

The staff member is anticipated to devote 10 hours/week to the Conference for the first 7 months of the planning period, increasing their commitment to 20 hours/week in the last month leading up to the conference (approximately 360 hours of staff time total).

Additional support will be needed from the Communications Committee to advertise the conference and adjacent fundraising campaign. The Tech Committee will be needed to create and update a website for the Conference and to assist with the technical aspects of

registration. Some Tech Support will also be required to record or livestream parts of the program for those not attending in person.

Recruitment & Retention

The conference will help organizers in DSA learn best practices on how to recruit members through our campaigns and chapter work. The existence of an activist conference will help engage members, especially in less active chapters, and retain them as part of DSA. The conference may also draw in members who are less active, if space allows, and help move them further inside the bullseye towards being core members of DSA.

Resources

Based on the costs of the 2023 Socialism is the Future Conference, we anticipate a cost of approximately \$150,000-\$200,000 for a National Activist Conference attended by 400 DSA members.

Approximately \$120,000 will cover the cost of the venue, food, and printed materials. Another \$50,000-\$80,000 will be set aside for scholarships for members attending the conference. The exact amount of scholarship money available will be determined by the success of the fundraising campaign.

Messaging

DSA will need to communicate the date, location, and other logistical information for the conference as soon as absolutely possible. As we get closer to the conference date, DSA will need to communicate more about logistical details, how to register and attend, how to submit proposals for workshops and programming, and provide information about programming so people know what to expect. This will involve social media, email, and a website like exists for the convention and other conferences. There will need to be significant internal communications from staff and the NPC to members and chapters; as well as a public facing report on the conference after it happens, demonstrating how this is strengthening our movement.

External Partners

It is unlikely that this plan will require an extensive agreement with any external partners. However, it is possible that we partner with some outside organizations in the form of sponsorships or programming collaborations, in a similar fashion as the convention now.

Timeline

August 2023 – Resolution passes

November 2023 – Planning Committee is constituted

January 2024 – Date and Venue selected and announced

Spring 2024 – Communications launch and registration information made available

Spring 2024 – Fundraising plan approved

Summer 2024 – Programming is developed and registration of attendees

Late Summer/Fall 2024 – Conference is held

Open Questions

We do not know the venue and timing yet and the costs and size of the conference may depend heavily on those factors. We do not know the external and internal political situations that will dictate the specific programming needs of the conference. There also exists uncertainty regarding COVID-19 and other unforeseen circumstances that could limit or alter the organization's ability to hold the conference

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #16: Strengthening Democracy by Strengthening DSA's Elected Leadership

Introductory Summary

Because many NPC members have to work jobs to pay their bills, our NPC members are severely restricted in their ability to perform their political responsibilities to the entire DSA.

Leadership in DSA must be possible for all working-class people, not just those who already have the resources to use their time leading our organization.

Therefore, this change is needed to ensure equal opportunity of leadership in the organization for all members.

Strategic Landscape

Democracy in our organization is crucial to build the socialist movement and our organization. Too often, top-down and bureaucratic approaches in the workers' and socialist movement have paved the way to disengagement of members and political decline. DSA stands for democracy on all levels. To overcome the challenges DSA itself is facing in the current conjuncture, we need to extend the weight of our elected leadership. Given the relatively large size of our organization, the size of our staff, and the size of the workload of NPC comrades, it is important we also support the ability of all NPC members to play a full role. All NPC members need to be able to focus a significant part of their time on leading our organization.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

The success of this resolution can be measured in the ability of our next NPC to function as a collective leadership of our organization, to be in charge of steering our organization, creating more transparency for members, increasing the accountability of our elected officials and directing our staff in the direction the Convention - our highest decision making body - has decided and elected them for.

Objectives

This resolution, when adopted, will increase the ability of our elected NPC members to perform their political responsibilities to the entire DSA.

Capacity

DSA is already paying the Steering Committee members of the NPC a stipend. This task of staff will need to be extended to the whole NPC

Recruitment & Retention

An attractive DSA is a DSA in which the members control and decide. This is a material, practical step to increase the weight of our elected leadership, to allow all NPC members to be more visible and effective inside DSA and beyond. This will contribute to DSA's ability to retain members, activate and motivate members to fully participate and attract new members.

Resources

The budget of paying a stipend to Steering Committee members needs to be expanded to include all NPC members. Staff work to organizationally make this happen will slightly increase.

Messaging

“DSA is fighting for democracy on all levels of society - from workplaces to schools, from offices to corporate headquarters. That's why DSA takes significant steps to also improve the ability of our members through our elected leadership to steer our organization. We empower our members - including in material ways - to take on the job of steering our organization. Be part of a movement for democratic socialism, join DSA!”

External Partners

This resolution does not include external partners. Hopefully, it sends a healthy signal to the workers' movement, that elected leaders – not staff and not elected officials – need to run the show in our working class organizations.

Timeline

This needs to be implemented within the first months of the newly NPC's tenure.

Open Questions

The NPC should work out how much DSA can pay all NPC members as a stipend on a monthly basis based on the needs of the NPC members and the abilities of our budget. The minimum that this resolution sets is \$1,500 per month.

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #17: Uniting Against the Ultra-Right

Introductory Summary

By this resolution DSA chapters and individuals are encouraged to work together and with allied organizations to form a broad political front against the Ultra-Right forces, which include MAGA-Fascist right, neo-confederates, Oath Keepers, ALEC, and many Republicans and super-PACs. We propose to cooperate with others and other organizations to create a broad political front.

This approach fits in with and supplements other strategic projects of DSA, including the Green New Deal and labor support. It provides an electoral and organizing strategy for the many campaigns and interests of DSA members.

A combined campaign should increase DSA participation in a number of critical struggles, both advancing a socialist perspective and growing socialist membership. Working with activists in campaigns brings in new activists to DSA. And, it will bring in a more diverse DSA membership.

Strategic Landscape

Our grounded left strategic approach begins with the reality we face: the nature of the authoritarian threat from the far right, with its drive to institutionalize white supremacy and autocratic minority rule in the state, and the real danger it poses to essential democratic institutions and cultural norms. Even in their increasingly attenuated forms, political democracy and civil liberties in the U.S. are the indispensable foundation for the organization and struggles of working people, people of color, women, LGBTQ folk, immigrants, and religious minorities. Consequently, a serious left strategy prioritizes the defeat of the neo-fascist threat, which in the U.S. takes the form of a MAGA-dominated Republican Party. *In this historical conjuncture, the MAGA forces are our immediate and primary enemy, and their defeat is our first and most important objective.*

We assume that there is a possibility of the successful capture of the U.S. government by the right -- just as over 15 state governments have been captured by the right. Further victories by the ultra-right would further undermine our already inadequate constitutional order in favor of authoritarian rule and the propertied classes. We must focus our efforts and defeat them.

This plan will shape much of our work and recruitment from the time of the convention through the 2024 elections at both national and local levels. Should there be a challenged election in 2024, as in 2020, this work will well prepare us for informed and cooperative resistance efforts.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

This plan would have us contribute to the creation of a cooperative network of left forces in dialogue with each other to build a democratic socialist future. We will have more activists participating in critical campaigns and campaigns yet to be developed.

Prior campaigns have been limited in drawing in new activists from campaigns, particularly people of color. While we attract some excellent individuals, we have not moved significantly toward a movement including Black Lives Matter, immigrant rights work, the fight for the South, resistance to the neo-confederacy, and the protection of individual freedom in issues of reproductive rights. We will gain depth and participation by working with and alongside these movements. We can continuously assess how well we are making progress by assessing the numbers and participation of new allies in communicating and cooperating on campaigns. We will also gain new members educated and prepared in each of these movements, which will improve our own internal education efforts.

Accountability will be measured by assessing the growth in numbers and participation of new members in cooperative work. Our work should move forward from contacting, to communicating, to coordinating. A two-year assessment would include measurement of increased DSA membership from new activists, particularly experienced activists and members of communities of color.

Objectives

Participate with others in the creation of two or more networks for communication and coordination of multiple groups in the campaigns and efforts. DSA members in several chapters and individual members will participate in building and maintaining a large-scale, multi-racial, class-based pro-democratic front. We will assist with media outreach and the building of mutually supportive networks of activists.

Capacity

We assume there will be coordination with DSA groups, including the National Political Education Committee and the National Electoral Committee, among others. We request a

single staff position to assist and encourage local chapters and individuals to work with allied organizations such as the Poor People's Campaign, the Working Families Party, Third Act, the Sunrise Movement, Black Lives Matter and yet-to-be-identified groups such as veterans. Associations with these individuals and groups will most often be on a local level. We will need the assistance of Comms and tech committees in building new networks of participants.

The first year will focus on both building internal to DSA contacts and facilitating outreach to political and social movement groups outside of DSA. This proposal is not intended to take precedence over other priorities of DSA. Our goal is to facilitate organizing and cooperation between and among the many DSA members engaged in the multiple struggles against the far right.

Recruitment & Retention

This project will recruit new members through our members reaching out to the allies we work with in several regions. By working alongside of others, including communities of color, we will establish that DSA is a significant participant in popular struggles and discourage apathy.

Resources

We request one staff person to help us collaborate with other organizations and to build collaborative relationships between local chapters and local struggles. The broad front may establish its own staff and financial resources.

If a staff person is not available, we will look toward union allies and other democratic left organizations for assistance.

Messaging

We will use existing DSA internal educational and messaging resources to reach and involve our own members.

External Partners

This plan is built upon the creation of new networks of external partners and allies. Our primary outreach will be to social justice and movement groups along with friendly allies in organized labor. Working with these partners does not at this time include developing MOU's or such arrangements. Our first-year work would depend upon informal arrangements and

structures. Typical partners would be Democratic clubs, Working Families Party, progressive organizations, immigrant rights groups such as Su Voto es Su Voz! and Migrant Justice, Make the Road New York, and specific local unions.

Timeline

2023. DSA Convention. Establish Goal.

- Coordinate with appropriate DSA Committees and Commissions

- Identify DSA staff person (if any)

- Establish outreach plan internal to DSA

- Contact community groups and establish coordination.

- Develop outreach plan

- Develop outreach / recruitment plan.

2024.

- Create chart of organizational allies.

- Meeting with representatives of allied groups.

- Plan future activities.

- Work with local DSA's to select targeted states and communities.

2024/2025

- . Possible resistance to authoritarian take over of the federal government.

- Evaluation of the work. Adjustment of goals, timelines.

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #18: Wage Equity for All and a Living Wage for Social Security

Introductory Summary

The Democratic Socialists of America already recognizes that all workers are due not just a minimal wage for their labor, but a living wage. To ensure that ALL LABOR IS VALUED and that our disabled comrades are considered an important and valuable part of the working class despite the ableism that they face every day in a capitalist society that does not value the physical, emotional, and intellectual labor that they provide to a thriving society, we recognize at this time that we must also make fighting for a Living Wage for Social Security is a necessary step towards equity and as a recognition of our values.

First, we must update our definition of a living wage. In 2022, the National Low-Income Housing Coalition recognized that \$26 per hour is the national housing wage, where a worker would be paying no more than 30% of their income on housing and housing expenses. As such, we are updating our definition of a living wage to match this pay rate given that housing is the largest expense for the vast majority of household, excepting some household with disabled persons that have very high medical and care expenses. As such, not only is the Fight for \$15 two decades outdated, but even this demand for a living wage of \$26 must remain indexed to inflation over time for all working class people. We may not yet have won the battle against capitalist interests to update the minimum wage to even \$15 nationally, or even in most states and municipalities, but that does not mean we must degrade our demands as a result.

This living wage, currently \$26 per hour and increasing by inflation every year, must be implemented for all workers. This must include, among others, tipped workers, recognizing the racism that led to that reduced wage and the many disabled workers who labor under such a wage now as well, and it must include disabled workers who are currently able to be paid legally at a sub-minimum wage that results in wages as low as pennies an hour. We must end all these discriminatory systems of pay and ensure that the labor and time that workers give of themselves is given the value that it is due and that every worker can not just survive but thrive on the wages they earn.

Meanwhile, the current Social Security benefits are a fraction of even the current minimum wage, and they put disabled people and the elderly who are dependent on these benefits into abject poverty as a result. Social Security Disability can often pay slightly more than just Social Security, but it also rejects over 90% of applicants and forces them to spend many months and

even years trying to access the benefits that should be easy for disabled people to obtain as a way to force disabled people to continue to work for capitalists in desperation or to die from lack of supports, services, and benefits. Even champions like our own Bernie Sanders are not proposing solutions that fit the needs of the people here, and we must raise this issue to national importance to ensure that we're doing all we can towards this goal and to fight it at the level that the fight is at, the federal government.

Strategic Landscape

- Engage with labor to come to a consensus on a new definition for a living wage
 - Inflation, housing costs, \$26/hour needed to keep up with the cost of living
 - \$15/hour is not enough, we must demand a living wage. Must update.
- Demand electoral candidates seeking DSA's endorsement are in line with wage equity
 - This stretches into 2024 and 2026 election cycles
- Engage with elected officials and state legislatures who support wage equity and/or implemented wage equity to boost our work
- Social Security and Social Security Disability must be based on a living wage
 - Disabled people have higher costs of living. Intersectionality.
- Provide additional support to wage equity organizing in rural areas
- Highlight the gap between wage amounts and wage needs. Build urgency.

Intended Outcomes: Success vs. Failure

- Any increase in SSI and SSDI anywhere is a win. Harm reduction. Steps toward long term goals.
- Changing the societal messaging so it centers those most marginalized and their oppression
- Stress that the wage equity gap is severe and we must close the gap ● Tipped wages must be equitable
- "Right to Work" is wrong
- Subminimum wage must be abolished
- Legislation language must make sure backdoor oppression cannot happen, such as ensuring rates such as housing rates is used
- Source of Income housing protections
- Benefits discrimination towards justice involved community members must be monitored

Objectives

- Raising SSI and SSDI so all labor is valued, all receive a living wage
- Reducing barriers to program access
- Indexing to inflation living wage

Capacity

- DSA national bodies with a stake in the campaign, particularly DWG and DSLC, as well as HJC
- DSA staff with regard to coordinating org tools and communications
- Local Chapters and DSA Membership at large who are involved in campaign organizing
- Infrastructure
 - Disability Working Group has existing channels such as Twitter, Slack, Linktree YouTube Facebook, and a presence on the DSA Discussion Board
 - Chapters can engage by asking members about their interest in wage equity organizing
 - About 20% of the population is disabled
 - Most chapters do not have 20% disabled membership
 - Chapters must reflect their communities and support all in their ability to participate

Recruitment & Retention

- This work can align intersectionality with labor, disability, and other communities ◦ Start organizing in new areas or strengthening existing work
- This campaign can engage existing membership base since many members and/or their loved ones are affected by inequitable wages
- Current membership feels disillusioned by DSA's disability inclusion, so these efforts can rebuild trust and re engage members who have lost interest due to internal ableism

Resources

- Unsure

Messaging

- Messaging will center those most marginalized by wage equity. Spoke, Facebook, Twitter, DSA Discussion Board, YouTube, and Slack can be utilized for disseminating information. Submissions will be sent in for Democratic Left, and other DSA publications.

External Partners

- Labor unions
- Poor People's Campaign
- Black Alliance for Peace
- YDSA
- Other Socialist/Leftist Organizations

Timeline

- 2023:
 - Track signatures/supporters of the resolution in order to follow up
 - Establish guides and resources for chapters to engage in these efforts ○ Ask organizers to attend chapter events to discuss these efforts
 - Build out accessibility resources to help guide chapters on inclusion
- 2024:
 - Ask chapters to help expand outreach
 - Recruit members into these efforts
 - Connect with internal and external organizations
 - Create multi-media resources and pieces for the campaign such as graphics

Open Questions

The organizing strategy for this resolution, contingent on support from national and other DSA bodies

Clearly defining aspects of this work plan to move toward implementation

Work Plan for Member-Submitted Resolution #19: Winning the Battle for Democracy

Introductory Summary

This resolution is not one to initiate a campaign or organizational reform, but rather a resolution in the classical sense that orients the socialist movement around a vision of its minimum goal—the conquest of political power by the working class, to establish real economic, social, and political democracy, as well as provide a concrete analysis of the political order imposed on us now. It's important to unite around our vision for socialism itself to forge a more meaningful unity that allows disagreements and debate on tactics, strategy, and campaigns. It fits into the broader strategic framework of US politics because our minoritarian and oligarchic constitutional order is crumbling, putting forward increasingly more nakedly anti-democratic reactionary policies in place, like the aristocratic Supreme Court's reversal of *Roe v. Wade*. A mass socialist organization standing together on a vision for a real democratic order will be attractive to millions of people in the coming years as the constitutional crisis continues to unfold.

Strategic Landscape

The work of the resolution itself is intended to be a debate over the broad strategic vision and analysis the resolution provides, before and during convention. It is not putting forward a campaign that will use resources, but it will be key to formulating a response to the continued degeneration of the oligarchic constitutional order.

Objectives

To provide a compelling analysis of our history and legal order, and reaffirm our vision of workers democracy.

Capacity

Only the working class itself can “execute” the vision put forward in this resolution!

Working Groups or Committees? How will this work build capacity within our membership? Develop leaders?

As an ideological resolution that just reaffirms a platform plank—it could be referred back to by members to help shape political education, and broader agitation and propaganda efforts.

Resources

N/A

Messaging

N/A

External Partners

Requires winning the majority of the working class over to democratic socialism!

Timeline

As long as it takes

Open Questions

N/A