



DSA-SF 2021-2022 CONVENTION PACKET



Welcome Letter

Dear esteemed members of DSA SF,

We would be remiss to not take this opportunity to acknowledge the adversity posed by the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as all who would oppose us -- those stoking the fires of blatant racism and senseless violence in our country, and abroad. As the toll of vaccine apartheid and its natural consequences weighs heavily on us, take a moment to reflect on the lives of friends, family, community members and other loved ones whose lives were lost, whether to COVID-19, violence at the hands of the state, or otherwise.

Comrades, you have endured in the face of these challenges, and at many times because of the new challenges that faced you. If you have been active in organizing this year, I am sure you learned some hard lessons -- there is no playbook for doing so during a global pandemic in this day and age.

You fought hard to keep the promises you made to the chapter and to our San Francisco community.

Last summer, you rallied to close the ICE detention camps, where detainees were being held with no COVID-19 precautions -- no masks, no handwashing, crowded together in pens, often separated from their families.

You kicked off the Hotels Not Hospitals campaign, which ultimately exceeded its fundraising goal and is on track to provide permanent housing for seven city residents. You organized mutual aid to attain and distribute masks, both to those without housing, and chapter members without access to PPE; you also made hand sanitizer in your own homes and distributed it to those who needed ready access to sanitation the most.

You applied public pressure when elected officials were unwilling to provide anything but lip service in opposition to funding SFPD in their campaigns.

In the fall, you rallied at a safe distance, door-knocked with plenty of extra reading material when residents wouldn't open doors, phone banked, donated money and countless hours to Jackie Fielder and Dean Preston's campaigns.

You stood with us as we stood up the Election Response Provisional Work Group, as we worked in coalition with other Bay progressives to ensure voters would not be intimidated by interlopers on our turf, and that elections could not be bought -- or stolen, and planned what might happen were the fallout of the national election to take one of several shapes. You put together the Protect the Results Rally. You also turned out after Election Day for the parade

with Bay Area labor partners and others to celebrate numerous state and local victories and to show force that we would uphold the results.

And as elections drew closer, you supported Local Propositions I, K, and State Propositions 15, 16, and No on 22, again calling local voters, doing door knocks and literature drops, and having numerous conversations to help other SF residents understand the importance of their support. And locally, you won favor on all these measures across the board.

You supported DSA USA's 100k drive by standing up new processes for outreach, to ensure new members looking to organize with us had a direct contact and a hand to hold as they found their way.

And you restarted the Healthcare Committee to fight for single payer healthcare, the need for which has only been highlighted.

Winter was, in many respects, the hardest time, as COVID finally arrived in full effect in our city and restrictions were reintroduced after a brief period of laxity had occurred in the season prior.

At this time you began planning for what would become the Chapter Convention.

You consolidated the lessons learned from electoral campaigns and activities in the fall in an unprecedented collaborative effort. That document can now serve as the start of a playbook for future campaigns and election activity.

You voted to oppose the Saudi coalition's war on Yemen.

You formulated guidance for both internally and externally facing communications for our chapter, so that we might speak with one voice.

You also supported our joining a CA DSA, which will hopefully enable larger scale organizing power of our movement -- and for those engaged with myriad types of work across the state, to learn from each other and work in coordination.

In the spring, you turned out to the May Day march.

And you supported a resolution to show solidarity with Palestinians in the wake of weeks of bombings and airstrikes by the Israeli state.

More broadly, throughout the year, you created new administrative bodies and tools through the still relatively new Chapter Coordination Committee. This committee became vital for the function of the chapter. Meetings became much smoother, and the Steering Committee was

left to, well -- steer. This group continues to grow as you and the chapter continue to understand what administrative functions and tasks are required to function well.

You, our fearless chapter leaders, also attended and brought life to our leadership meetings, sharing your organizing knowledge and lessons from your work freely. You also crowd-sourced knowledge on strategic planning which is an area that will continue to be explored.

As locally we begin to see the beginning of the end of the pandemic, we, your 2020-2021 Steering Committee want to express our deepest gratitude for your persistence, your commitment, and just in general being willing to stick with us!

We can't wait to see what happens in the next year with the priorities you choose, and the challenges that lie ahead as we transition to a different, post-pandemic world.

Your 2020-2021 Steering Committee

Artem I., Chris T., Faiq R., Faye W., Melissa H., Jason K., Sam H.L.

Introduction

DSA San Francisco's bylaws specify that the chapter will hold an annual Convention, at which the organization will determine its priorities for the coming year and elect its officers.

This year's convention will be held over the weekend of June 12 and 13th, from noon-4pm each day. This packet will serve as the source-of-truth for all business going before the membership - as members deliver suggested amendments to resolutions and candidate statements, we will add them here.

Register here:

dsasf.org/2021-convention-day-one

dsasf.org/2021-convention-day-two

In order to vote at convention, you must be an active chapter member in good standing with the national organization. If you have questions about your eligibility status, please email eligibility@dsasf.org.

Convention Agenda

[Full schedule here](#)

Day 1 (June 12): Priorities Resolutions and Bylaws Amendments

The chapter will decide whether to advance **four priority resolutions** for adoption to a ranked-choice voting process, and consider **three amendments to chapter bylaws**.

Priorities Resolutions

The following resolutions require a **majority vote** to advance to the prioritization process, where **three campaigns** will be adopted via ranked-choice voting:

[DSA SF International Solidarity Education and Mass Action](#)

[DSA SF Ballot Measure Campaign](#)

[Worker Organizing to Advance Shared Political Goals](#)

[A DSA SF Chapter Commitment to Black Liberation, Indigenous Sovereignty, and Fighting Global White Supremacy](#)

[Looking Beyond NGOs: An Amendment to Priority Resolution “A DSA SF Chapter Commitment to Black Liberation, Indigenous Sovereignty, and Fighting Global White Supremacy”](#)

Bylaws Amendments

The following resolutions require a **two-thirds vote** in order to change the bylaws governing DSA SF:

[Steering Committee Portfolios Amendment](#)

[Committee and Working Group Democracy Bylaws Amendment](#)

[Adding Chapter Coordination Committee To The Bylaws](#)

Day 1-Day 2: Ranked-Choice Voting for Chapter Priorities

All eligible DSA SF members will receive an **OpaVote link** asking them to rank their choices between all priority resolutions advanced by the membership. The chapter will adopt the top three resolutions as priorities for the 2021-2022 year.

This vote will open at the end of Day 1 and close at 11:30am on Day 2.

Day 2 (June 13): Resolutions and Chapter Leadership

The chapter will vote on **three resolutions for adoption**, and hear candidate speeches for **four leadership positions**.

Resolutions

The following resolutions require a **majority vote** in order to be adopted:

[DSA SF Electoral Strategy](#)

[DSA SF Communications Committee](#)

[Resolution Establishing a Chapter Budget for 2021-2022](#)

[Amendment to Budget Resolution - LOC Action Network](#)

[Amendment to Budget Resolution: Accountant Expenses](#)

Leadership Elections

The chapter will hear candidate speeches and vote for **four leadership positions**.

[Steering Committee](#)

[National Convention Delegate](#)

[National Political Committee](#)

[Grievance Officer](#)

PRIORITY: DSA SF International Solidarity Education and Mass Action

By Bert K, Savannah K., Nik E.

This resolution outlines a chapter commitment to International Solidarity political education and mass action. This resolution commits the chapter to ongoing internal and external political education, mass organizing campaigns in unity with anti-war, solidarity groups and diaspora communities, and incorporating an internationalist perspective into all the work that we do.

Political Rationale:

Imperialism is an essential aspect of capitalism. As socialists living in the belly of the beast, we have a responsibility to work to dismantle the US empire.

Present day US imperialism is not just a collection of policies applied to one or another foreign entity. It is the mature embodiment of US capitalism. Imperialism is rooted in the peculiar racial capitalism that first appeared in the late 17th-century English colonies in the Western Hemisphere. Founded on stolen indigenous land and developed by the slave labor of kidnapped incarcerated Africans, this system also strengthened and reproduced patriarchal gender oppression.

Under the rubric of manifest destiny, the original colonialists pushed westward brutally killing indigenous populations including women and children, stealing more land and seizing the already colonized Southwestern states from Mexico.

US imperialism is tied to how our military operates around the world as well as how the police state manifests in our communities.

- In an era of intersecting crises, the ruling class retrenches further into policing and militarism in order to put down resistance.
- Poverty, food insecurity, and paramilitary terror spread around the world as coups and invasions are used to maintain and expand the neocolonial system.
- Working people in the US are increasingly unable to meet the basic needs of survival as resources are channeled into an extravagant military budget.
- The threat of nuclear war has never been greater. US strategy targets China and Russia as the main threats to its global hegemony and is stoking a new Cold War and justifying a military buildup to confront and defeat its great power rivals. The sinophobia being whipped up against China in particular has given rise to a wave of racist attacks against Asian communities in the US.

- The US maintains over 800 foreign military bases that encircle the world; US involvement in at least seven armed conflicts now underway.
- The US military is the largest consumer of fossil fuels, THE largest emitter of greenhouse gas in the world, and the world's largest polluters.
- Militarism is tightly connected with policing and the maintenance of white supremacy. This was illustrated recently as the National Guard, regular military, and militarized police deployed against participants in the anti-racist uprising following the murder of George Floyd. All this interlocks with the racist history of US foreign policy, marked by white-settler nationalism, expansionism, and American exceptionalism. US militarism is directly related to domestic policing via the 1033 program, which supplies domestic police with "surplus battle equipment."

Solidarity with Immigrant and Diaspora Communities

War, neoliberal austerity and climate change are some of the largest imperial factors causing harm around the world. These talons of empire forcibly displaced communities causing mass migration, refugee populations and torn diasporas. An anti-imperial positionality from a local city socialist organization includes recognizing that imperial destruction abroad requires solidarity with diaspora and immigrant communities in San Francisco.

As a socialist organization that is focused on building a popular movement against capitalist empire, we must engage in solidarity with communities that are organizing fights in the Bay Area against common enemies. Engaging in solidarity also means fighting for liberation for all our oppressed neighbors that are impacted by US imperialism. Solidarity implies providing support during mass actions and pushing our local elected officials to build mass movement.

It should be noted that protest actions and all forms of resistance in the imperial core **DO** have an impact, not only in constraining the war machine, but also in lifting up oppressed people in countries targeted by the US in their struggle against the empire. The recent wave of Palestine solidarity demonstrations and the occupation of the Venezuelan embassy in DC in 2019 by the Embassy Protection Collective are some recent examples of this.

Resolution:

DSA SF resolves to strengthen its analysis and capacity for mobilization in solidarity with international movements under the boot of US imperialism. By doing so we aim to be part of a pole of opposition within the home base of the empire that constrains US state violence at home and abroad and lays the basis to eliminate it once and for all.

I. Leadership

Three co-chairs, elected by chapter members at large, are responsible for the development of this work in tandem with the chapter steering committee.

- International education lead: Works with Education Committee or other bodies assisting with political development
- Chapter mobilization lead: Works to develop chapter capacity for effective mobilization over the coming year and with committees like AfroSocialist Committee, Ecosocialism Committee, and Labor Organizing Committee on collaborative projects
- External outreach lead: Works with other chapters and the International Committee on national campaigns to build solidarity for the international community, along with bringing in as much of an internationalist perspective through coalitions like the Palestine Action Network, the Free Them All Coalition, and the Bay Area Anti-war Network

II. Internationalist Political Education

DSA SF will:

- Conduct political education about the historical development and current dynamics of US imperialism; its centrality to global capitalism; anti-colonial, anti-imperial struggles; and the new cold war with China. This will include topical webinars for a broad internal and external audience with “watch parties” for comrades of contextual excerpts from selected webinars followed by group discussions
- Develop materials for use by comrades in workplaces and communities.

The chapter will work to engage as many chapter members as possible in at least one participatory engagement on each of the following topics:

dd

- The economic and political basis of imperialism and how it structures the global order under US hegemony
- Critical and nuanced examinations of modern socialist movements and the new Cold War with China
- History of anti-war and anti-imperialist movements in the US and around the world

This education can take many forms:

- Short talks at chapter meetings with breakout room discussions
- Panel discussions and lecture webinars with audience Q&A or group discussions
- Podcast episodes and recorded lectures with forum posts for members to engage

The chapter will also develop materials for use by comrades in workplaces and communities, for example by incorporating education and organizing around international solidarity issues into regular sessions of Labor Circles and other work across the chapter.

III. Mass Organizing Work

DSA SF will:

- Center solidarity with Palestine In line with the [National DSA Statement on Palestine](#). Identify chapter liaisons to the National DSA's BDS and Palestine Solidarity Working Group. The Palestinian struggle for liberation and against Israeli apartheid is once again front and center. There has been an outpouring of solidarity around the world and in this country at an unprecedented scale. Our solidarity work must include joining in demonstrations called by our Arab and Palestinian allies as well as direct actions like the Block the Boat campaign against the Israeli Zim ship at the Port of Oakland. This work must go on, not only in moments of crisis, but also in a sustained manner like the movement against Apartheid South Africa in the 80's.
- Fight domestic militarization by joining campaigns such as those against Urban Shield and domestic spying programs which target many communities and the left. This also means rejecting the use of chemical weapons and less-lethal projectiles by police, and deployment of the National Guard and regular military against protestors. Part of this work also calls for disarming, defunding, and abolishing the police. It is time to end their subjugation towards Black and Brown communities.****
- Join with other chapters and the International Committee in a [Defund the Military](#) campaign in the works both within DSA and by groups like the Poor People's Campaign, Movement for Black Lives, and Codepink. This will be a sustained effort with key junctures that include the Omnibus Budget Bill, the NDAA, and the Defense Appropriation Bill.
- Work with other chapters and the newly reconstituted DSA International Committee on campaigns such as the Global Day of Action against the Saudi/US war in Yemen, solidarity with the struggle of the Haitian people against the US-backed Moïse dictatorship, solidarity with the struggle of the Filipino people against the US-backed Duterte dictatorship, the BDS campaign against Israeli apartheid and campaigns against sanctions on Iran, Venezuela, and Cuba.
- Build capacity for mass mobilization in emergency situations by working in coalition with existing anti-war, migrant justice, and climate/environmental justice organizations in the Bay Area. Within the chapter we would want every chapter member to commit to participate in these mobilizations.
- Authorize and financially support chapter members to travel internationally as part of National DSA Initiatives to send election observers & engage with mass parties in other countries, outlined in [Pending National Resolution #14](#) and currently being piloted with [DSA Delegations to Peru & Caracas](#)
- Organize with at-large members to attend mass mobilizations. The chapter will also appoint a few members to build partnerships with diaspora communities, coalitions, and other movements working on international solidarity issues.

IV. Timeline of Commitments ***

June-October 2021*****

- Host online political education events targeting DSASF chapter membership, helping educate members about the history of US Imperialism and global movements for socialist liberation

- March/Rally in SF targeting the US government as part of the Defund the Military campaign.

October-December 2021

- Host online political education events targeting DSASF national membership + broader audience
- March/rally in SF Bay Area targeting war profiteers in tandem with campaign of International Committee Anti-War SubCommittee and Yemeni Solidarity groups

July-March 2022

- Host online political education events targeting DSASF chapter membership, helping educate members about the history of US Imperialism and global movements for socialist liberation
- Mobilize national membership and a watch party of video excerpts followed by discussion
- Formation of Cross Chapter Bay Area DSA anti-war, anti-imperialist formation with East Bay DSA
- Develop antiwar materials for use by comrades in workplace & community organizing

April-June 2022

- Host online political education events targeting DSASF national membership + broader audience
- March/rally in the Bay Area targeting military weapons-maker in tandem with campaign of the International Committee Anti-War SubCommittee and other anti-war groups.
- Start building a base for anti-war and anti-imperialist movements in the working class and oppressed communities

Plans for Next Year

- More work in line with organizing tasks described above and sustained campaigns targeting the war machine increasingly based in working class and oppressed communities
- AntiWar job actions disrupting the war machine

*****Our ability to execute this plan will depend on growing capacity and recruiting a core team of organizers to spearhead this work.**

******We would seek to work collaboratively with members in other committees:
E.g. AfroSoc, BLCC, EcoSoc, Education, Justice, Labor whose work is relevant to particular actions or campaigns**

*******The actual details of this plan may vary depending on world events and popular resistance which are inherently dynamic**

Signatories

1. Bert K
2. Marianne T
3. David P
4. Julien B
5. Savannah K
6. Nik E.
7. Sam HL
8. Greg M
9. Kalya P
10. Shreyan S
11. Mike S
12. Jack C
13. Andrew M.
14. Matt P.
15. Stella C

PRIORITY: DSA SF Ballot Measure Campaign

By the DSA SF Electoral Strategy Commission

(Regardless of the passage of this priority, the chapter will consider a resolution to establish a strategic approach to endorsement. This priority campaign would supplement that work, and take precedence when considering how to prioritize mobilization and outreach to members.)

DSA SF's electoral work has shown the power of a ballot measure campaign to draw a clear line of distinction between ourselves and the enemy. Through ballot measure campaigns, the chapter has helped fund free legal representation to any tenant facing eviction, curtailed the excesses of the San Francisco Police Officers Association, established a major public infrastructure for homeless services, and paid for rent relief and social housing — all against the protests of organized capital.

This campaign would take the next step in DSA SF's development, building on our electoral successes and improving our approach to account for our chapter's growth in the past 3 years. It would put forward a ballot measure campaign that would grow our chapter's members into organizers and increase democratic control over our electoral infrastructure.

The chapter would develop up to 3-5 ballot measures for the November 2022 election. DSA SF would run the campaigns end-to-end, working to build coalition with allied organizations and set the legislative agenda for the city.

Resolution:

DSA SF will prioritize organizing a ballot measure campaign or constellation of campaigns for the November 2022 election, put forward by and run by the membership at large. This campaign will have the goal of:

- Advancing measures that win transitional demands for the working class in San Francisco
- Uniting the chapter in our common goals and building practice in democratic decision making
- Building an efficient and replicable DSA campaign infrastructure with strong chapter leadership
- Setting the legislative agenda for the city and making a public demonstration for a socialist vision

This campaign will exist in parallel with any other electoral work the chapter takes on, with chapter work on this campaign taking priority for chapter resources and mobilization over other endorsed races on the November 2022 ballot.

Leadership

The membership will elect a 5-member November 2022 Electoral Board tasked with organizing the chapter's work on this campaign. If the [general electoral strategy resolution](#) passes, this commission will also serve as the leadership for the chapter's work on the rest of the election.

The Electoral Board may appoint other chapter members in good standing to assist with fulfilling their responsibilities. They should communicate these appointments as part of their regular progress reports to the Steering Committee and the chapter, who will have the ability to veto and appoint a replacement.

Meetings of the Electoral Board will be open to the membership at large as non-voting attendees, with the ability to move into closed session by majority vote for discussion which requires confidentiality.

Development

The chapter will target the development of up to 3-5 ballot measures, taking into account the feasibility of signature gathering, ability to use the Board of Supervisors to bring items forward, and coalition partnerships.

The chapter will prioritize developing ballot measure(s) that align with other chapter priority campaigns if possible, with a democratic process to determine any other items to be included.

The chapter will develop no more than two ballot measures which require signature gathering in order to land on the ballot, with other measures coming via Dean Preston's office or partnership with allies.

Upon adoption, the Electoral Board will accept proposals for measures to be included, and on a timeline determined by the Steering Committee, hold at least one chapter-wide special meeting to align on a proposed composition for the package. The Board will work to develop the measures and bring them before the membership for approval in a closed session with strict confidentiality rules. Upon an affirmative vote, elected leadership will recruit and staff the leadership of DSA SF's political action committee, which will develop and oversee operations and hire staff for each individual campaign committee.

Execution

The chapter will aim to run two campaign infrastructures:

- A slate of measures, put forward in order to set the agenda for the city, directly grow DSA SF's membership and build a forceful presence in the city (as mentioned above, a large portion of this slate should come through Dean Preston's office).
- At least one major ballot measure in this slate that the chapter will organize a standalone campaign for, including gathering signatures.

The slate campaign will focus on growing the chapter, running events in order to demonstrate a clear working-class vision for citizens of San Francisco.

The single-measure campaign will operate under a more traditional campaign approach, hiring staff and performing fundraising in order to pay for consultant fees, mailers, and other best-practice campaign expenditures.

The chapter may run a coordinated campaign for a June 2022 ballot measure as a "trial run" for this infrastructure, with a priority for a supervisor-developed ballot measure.

Timeline

June - September 2021: Development of platform

- Education sessions on San Francisco politics
- Special meetings to align on policy goals

October 2021 - February 2022: Measure drafting

- Engagement with partner orgs and coalition building

March 2022 - July 2022: First round of organizing

- "Trial run" campaign for June 2022 election
- Signature gathering for November measures

July 2022 - November 2022: Electoral campaign

- Analyze success and failure of June Electoral work
- Execute electoral campaign through collective engagement
- **Every DSA SF member** attends a training session on the mechanics of San Francisco politics.
- **Every DSA SF member** participates in at least one field event for the campaign.
- **At least 50 DSA SF members** help with organizing field mobilizations, including cutting turf, performing outreach to DSA SF members, and training volunteers.

- **At least 10 DSA SF members** move from event participant to organizer, taking a central role in the campaign architecture.
- **At least 5 DSA SF members** are ready to be Electoral leaders, with the skills necessary to independently manage a campaign.

Measuring success

The chapter will measure the success of the campaigns in several ways:

- Measuring the effectiveness by analyzing and releasing a report of the results
- Measuring coalition-building with organizations outside of DSA SF
- Measuring the increase of membership and sustained engagement of members within DSA SF

Budget

The chapter will obtain the money required to execute several campaigns:

- Consulting with campaign lawyers and strategists to develop measures which require signature gathering

Education

Through execution of this priority, the membership will work to grow event attendees into organizers well-versed in the conditions of San Francisco politics.

The Electoral Board will work with chapter members organizing around education in order to meet the following goals:

- Fundraising target amount of money required for each individual committee to work on the effort
- Make fundraising calls for each separate campaign committee
- Will not accept contributions from real estate, fossil fuel, and police lobbying groups
- Create a slate card to campaign for all campaign priorities at once

As part of the development process, the Electoral Board will bring forward a fundraising plan in order to execute the adopted campaigns, to be approved by the membership. This will include any funds set aside by the chapter as part of the 2021-2022 budget.

Signatories

[Sign here to support the chapter's consideration of this resolution!](#)

Jen S - Chair, Electoral Strategy Commission

Andrew T - Vice Chair, Electoral Strategy Commission; Co-Chair, Writing Committee

Julian L - Member-at-large, Electoral Strategy Commission; Co-Chair, Electoral Committee

Vanessa P - Member-at-large, Electoral Strategy Commission; Co-Chair, Electoral Committee

Sam HL - Member-at-large, Electoral Strategy Commission; Secretary, DSA SF Steering Committee

Jason K - Member, DSA SF Steering Committee

Max T - Co-Chair, Labor Organizing Committee

Miriam G - Co-Chair, Chapter Coordination Committee

Matthew P

Jasper W

Shanti S

Jeff M

Chris A

June L

Alex L

Jackie F

Patrick Cochran

Kaylah W

Harlo P

Gabe G

Terri S

Jordan D

Marianne R

Terri S

Lex VK

PRIORITY: Worker Organizing to Advance Shared Political Goals

Authors: Natalie S, Socrates L, Max T, Joseph H

Introduction

Our shared struggle for liberation from capitalism, white supremacy, and all other forms of oppression which subvert the common good in favor of a privileged few will rise or fall by the power of the organized working class. A sustained, strategic effort by capital and the forces of reaction have led to this moment of extreme disorganization of the working class. Participation in labor unions in the U.S. is at a decades-long low. Old models for worker organizing based on a managed peace between labor and capital, which often excluded the most vulnerable members of the working class, continue to prove themselves unable to meet the demands of the moment. This failure, coupled with the increasingly severe crises of economic inequality, ecological collapse, and racist violence at home and abroad, presents opportunities for radical, militant labor organizing. We have seen this in the waves of wildcat strikes and rank-and-file movements for democracy within business unions over the last decade. It is absolutely critical that socialists commit to advancing working class movements for liberation through organizing in our workplaces and unions.

Summary

This resolution presents a plan for a sustained commitment to worker organizing in order to advance the political goals of DSA SF. The major structural component of this resolution is the establishment of Chapter-endorsed Labor Circles. Labor Circles will encourage DSA SF members to engage politically as workers and worker-organizers, bring new members into DSA SF through workplace and union organizing campaigns, and increase our political power by strengthening our bonds to organized labor and working peoples' movements in San Francisco. Chapter-endorsed and centrally coordinated Labor Circles will present opportunities to disseminate political education to workers across industries in San Francisco and use our collective power as workers to support Chapter priorities.

Motivation for the Resolution

- To build socialism will require an organized, class-conscious workers movement. This resolution prioritizes labor organizing work within the Chapter by formalizing a new structure called the Labor Circle. Labor Circles are designed to draw more chapter members into workplace struggles at their own workplaces or at workplaces within their industry.

- Most of the work we do in the Chapter requires organizing skills. This proposal outlines an educational component that will be developed alongside Labor Circles to provide the Chapter with regular organizing skills training and practice-oriented political education.
- Our Chapter needs as much people power as it can get to achieve its goals. Labor Circles will provide a proactive reason for new people to join the Chapter and will help the Chapter expand more strategically.

Whereas:

- As socialists we acknowledge the centrality of the working class in the struggle against capitalism, racism and oppression.
- Most members of DSA SF are workers or working class.
- The most powerful political arena available to working people is in the workplace, but our power has been limited by the forces of the capitalist class and its political instruments.
- Organizing and radicalizing the working class must be a major component of any liberatory movement for socialism.

Be it Resolved that DSA SF:

I. Establishes **Labor Circles** as a major structural component of the chapter.

A. Definition

1. A Labor Circle is a regularly-meeting formation of workers organized by economic sector, employer, union, or other strategic grouping, that gathers to discuss and conduct worker organizing from an explicitly socialist perspective. Members of a Labor Circle are not required to be DSA members.

B. Formation of Labor Circles

1. New Labor Circles can be proposed by any DSA SF member in good standing. They will be formally established by a vote of the chapter membership. Proposals for new Labor Circles must meet the following requirements as outlined in the [Labor Circle Proposal Form](#)
 - a) New Labor Circles must be tied to a specific geographic jurisdiction and industry. The jurisdiction of the Circle will constrain the geographical area in which its members must work, and the industry of the Circle will constrain the types of workplaces (e.g. by company, sector, union) in which its members must work.
 - b) A DSA SF member in good standing must be specified as the Labor Circle's interim chair. This member will propose the new Circle to the Chapter and motivate their fitness to bottom-line it before the Chapter votes on formation of the Labor Circle.

- c) No fewer than three additional DSA SF members in good standing must be specified as founding members of the Labor Circle, such that no Labor Circle can be formed with fewer than four DSA SF members.
 - d) At least one workplace-of-interest must be identified in the Circle proposal. At least one founding member of the Circle must either be currently employed at this workplace or actively involved in an organizing campaign at this workplace. This member will be referred to in future instances as a Liaison.
 - e) At least one tentative short-term (within 6 months) and one tentative long-term (within 1 year) organizing goal for the primary workplace-of-interest must be specified in the Circle proposal. These goals must be specific, concrete, and measurable (e.g., we will have an organizing committee of 3 members, each responsible for 10 workers, by the end of July 2021).
 - f) The Labor Circle must be able to identify how their organizing scope and proposed goals will advance the political goals of the Chapter.
 - g) Any resources (e.g., people, money) that will be required from the chapter to achieve the proposed short- and long-term goals specified must be outlined in the proposal.
2. Within three months of the formation of a new Labor Circle, the Labor Circle will democratically decide upon the final organizing goals and required resources for the coming year. These may be the same or different from the proposed goals originally identified during the Circle's formation. The Labor Circle will bring these proposed organizing goals and required resources to the chapter membership for a ratification vote.
 3. LOC and the Labor Circle Coordinator (see below) will work together to support the formation of new Labor Circles as well as the expansion of existing Circles.
 - a) New Labor Circle formations will be prioritized based on member interest, member density in a given sector, and strategic or political considerations.
 - b) To ensure that the Chapter's labor organizing work reflects the demographics and income levels of the San Francisco working class, LOC and the Labor Circle Coordinator will encourage formation of labor circles in particular sectors, including but not limited to: service, retail, hospitality, construction and health care.
 - c) LOC and the Labor Circle Coordinator will assist members interested in forming a new Circle or expanding an existing one by sharing relevant Labor Census Data, providing resources like example agendas, or directing available LOC resources to enlisting new Circle members.

- d) LOC and the Labor Circle Coordinator may use Labor Census data to identify participants and potential leaders to encourage formation of a Labor Circle that the Chapter has an interest in forming.

C. Structure of Labor Circles

1. Membership

- a) The interim chair of a newly formed Labor Circle will communicate with LOC until elected positions are filled. Labor Circles will decide on the governance structure and fill any elected positions in the Circle within three months of formation.
- b) Any elected positions within a Labor Circle can only be held by members of a DSA chapter that sponsors the Circle.
- c) Labor Circles may admit both DSA members and non-member workers who work in the target industry. Each labor circle will keep a secure record of their membership and elected officers. Outside of the labor circle, the full membership list of a circle will only be made available to the elected officers of LOC, CCC and the Steering Committee. The current elected leadership of a circle will be shared with all members of the chapter.
- d) A circle may invite DSA members in good standing from outside of their industry to participate in organizing or help with administrative functions, but these members will not have voting rights within the Circle.

2. Amending a Labor Circle

- a) A Circle's geographic jurisdiction and industry may be modified or expanded by a vote of the Chapter. This may include expanding a Circle to include workers or workplaces outside of the geographical boundaries of San Francisco or assigning a Circle to a specific district or neighborhood within San Francisco. Circles may be run collaboratively among Labor Committees and Working Groups of multiple California DSA chapters, where support for such Circles exists.
- b) The chapter membership may dissolve a Circle by a majority vote at a meeting.

D. Activity of a Labor Circle

- 1. Circles will largely be allowed to make their own short term tactical decisions. These decisions will be made by majority vote of voting-eligible Circle members.
- 2. Circles will emphasize strategies that include:
 - a) Organizing the unorganized within their workplace, industry or sector.
 - b) Internal organizing within unions to build rank and file movements, electing socialist worker-organizers to leadership positions within unions, and electing socialist worker-organizers to positions within

Central Labor Councils

- c) Conducting solidarity or support campaigns with other organizing efforts or workers' movements in their industry or sector.
3. Labor Circles will be expected to advance political goals of the chapter, including through its members who hold leadership positions in unions or Central Labor Councils.

E. Eligibility to Participate and Vote within a Labor Circle

	DSA Member*	Non DSA Member*
Industry MATCH	Full participation in organizing and administrative work. Full voting rights. May serve as Chair or other elected position.	Full participation in organizing and administrative work. Full voting rights. May not serve as Chair or other elected position.
Industry MISMATCH	Full participation in organizing and administrative work. No voting rights. May not serve as Chair or other elected position.	Not allowed to participate.

*Note that here "DSA Member" means a member of any DSA chapter that is sponsoring the Labor Circle.

F. Relationship of Labor Circles to the Chapter

1. Within three months of formation, a Labor Circle shall vote on short- and long-term goals for their organizing and bring these goals to the chapter for approval. Labor Circle Chairs will regularly (at least 2 times a year) report back to the Chapter regarding the progress towards its goals, current organizing projects and resources needed. Additionally, a Circle shall update its short and long term goals regularly, or when priorities change, but no less than once each year.
2. Established Labor Circles will receive logistical and training support from LOC (see [Pt. II](#) below). LOC may develop internal resources and training to provide to Labor Circle members, direct members to external resources (for example, from Labor Notes or EWOC), or a combination of the two.
3. Labor Circles will maintain strong connections to DSA SF and its endorsed priorities through shared political education programs and dedicated space on Labor Circle agendas to discuss leveraging organized labor power towards the chapter's political goals.
 - a) Each Labor Circle meeting shall follow an agenda and produce written notes to be made available to all DSA SF members and members of the Labor Circle
 - b) Each Labor Circle meeting agenda will include information about how to join DSA SF and upcoming chapter meetings

- c) Labor Circles will periodically hear political education that emphasizes socialist labor organizing, at the discretion of Circle leadership. This political education will be done in collaboration with the Education Committee and LOC.
- d) Labor Circles will regularly hear from organizers in DSA SF working on chapter priorities and endorsed campaigns to educate labor circle members about these priorities and present strategies for leveraging organized labor power to advance these goals. Organizers in DSA SF presenting to Labor Circles will present specific, actionable asks to the membership of a Circle.

G. Role of Labor Census in Labor Circle Formation

- 1. The LOC's Labor Census will be used to identify appropriate existing or potential Labor Circles for every member in the chapter.
 - a) DSA SF's onboarding team will fill out the labor census with new members when conducting intake, one-on-one calls and inform new members of any existing Labor Circles that may be suitable for that member.
 - b) The LOC will continually phone bank current members who have not filled out their Labor Census. The LOC will maintain the Labor Census database and process data requests from DSA members working on labor organizing projects within the purview of the Chapter, LOC or a Labor Circle.

II. Commits to **Supporting Labor Organizing** by members of DSA SF and the broader San Francisco working class by providing instrumental resources to worker organizing campaigns, training Chapter members to be better organizers, and connecting more Chapter members to workplace struggles.

A. Supporting Labor Organizing Externally

- 1. The chapter will support the organizing campaigns of its Labor Circles as well as other worker organizing campaigns within San Francisco and the Bay area.
 - a) This support may include, but is not limited to, mobilizing members to rallies or pickets; providing strike support or raising strike funds; conducting community canvassing, pressure campaigns targeting bosses or elected officials, and social media campaigns; or recruiting members to salt workplaces.
- 2. The LOC will identify strategic labor organizing campaigns that the chapter membership can support and will recommend ways to support them to the chapter.

B. Supporting Labor Organizing Internally

- 1. The Labor Circle Coordinator will work with LOC and Steering to develop a political education curriculum for the Chapter membership focused on organizing basics.

2. The Labor Circle Coordinator, in coordination with LOC, The Education Committee and CCC, commits to providing at minimum the following curriculum in classes available to both DSA SF members and the public:
 - a) Every six months: A multi-week, in-depth training for novice and intermediate organizers to learn the ins and outs of the full organizing campaign arc. This training will take a similar form to [EEOC's](#) organizer trainings and the trainings associated with Labor Notes' [Secrets of a Successful Organizer](#).
 - b) Every two months: A single, drop-in session for DSA SF members, non-members, and organizers of any experience level to learn about a specific organizing-related topic or the centrality of working class struggle to the socialist project. The sessions will alternate between these two broad themes (i.e., theory and praxis). Potential "praxis" topics include: power-mapping, 1:1 conversations, a comparison of mobilizing and organizing, [them and us unionism](#), building rank and file caucuses within unions, and running for positions in union leadership or Central Labor Councils. Potential "theory" topics include: the origin of profit and the determination of wages, historical materialism vs. idealism, and radical labor history, including the role of labor radicals in advancing racial justice.

Budget

The Steering Committee will set aside \$2,500 of the chapter's annual budget for the Labor Organizing Committee to allocate to public campaigns being supported by Labor Circles. The Steering Committee may also approve separate funds requests for labor organizing support above this earmarked amount. These funds will be used to print campaign posters, flyers, and / or educational pamphlets relevant to the campaign in question. These funds could also be used to send worker-organizers to trainings and conferences, like Labor Notes.

Budget by quarter:

- **Summer, 2021**: \$0
- **Fall, 2021**: \$500 to support training materials and any organizing campaigns that may require financial resources at this time
- **Winter, 2021/2022**: \$500 to support training materials and any organizing campaigns that may require financial resources at this time
- **Spring, 2022**: \$1500 to support organizing campaigns and trainings
- Ongoing: ¼ of the allocated funds each quarter to support organizing campaigns and trainings

Funding will be prioritized for public campaigns by unions with which LOC does not yet have an established relationship. Allocating funding in this way will allow LOC to replicate the successful support campaign model tested with Anchor Brewing (ILWU) on other campaigns. Through this instrumental show of solidarity, LOC hopes to deepen its relationship with existing trade unions,

to recruit new members into the chapter, and to prove itself (and the Labor Circles) to be a useful asset to labor organizers outside the chapter.

Leadership Structure

I. Labor Circle Chairs

- A. Each Labor Circle will elect at least one chair every 6 months, responsible for basic administrative functions like making sure regular meetings take place, and ensuring reportbacks to LOC and, twice a year, the Chapter. The Circle may decide, by majority vote of Circle members, to create other positions as necessary. The Chair(s) and other elected positions shall be DSA members in good standing who work within the Circle's industry.
- B. The Chair(s) of each labor circle will report back to the Chapter not less than twice each year.
- C. Labor Circles must elect a chair (can be the interim chair) within 3 months of the circle's formation.
 1. Before the election meeting, interim chair should confirm with circle whether they are interested and able to stay on for the next 6 months
 2. Circle members may also nominate or self-nominate other candidates
 - a) All candidates (which may include the interim chair) must prepare brief statements by the time of the election meeting.
 - b) The elected candidate will serve as chair for a term of 6 months.
 - c) The election will be held by Scottish Single-Transferable Vote (STV).

II. The Chapter shall elect one Labor Circle Coordinator, whose term will last six months. The duties of the Coordinator shall be to:

- A. Work with relevant members and committees to present opportunities for advancing Chapter priorities and campaigns to Labor Circles.
- B. Hear regular reports from Labor Circle chairs and ensure that Labor Circle chairs report back to LOC regularly. This includes attending LOC meetings to facilitate these report backs.
- C. Develop the classes outlined in this resolution in concert with LOC, Education Committee, and CCC, and ensure that they are held.
- D. Every six months, report back to the chapter on the status of the Labor Circles program as well as the progress of Labor Circles towards their goals.
- E. Help transition a new Coordinator into their role as their term ends.
- F. The Labor Circle Coordinator is empowered to delegate their authority at-will and is expected to seek help in performing their duties.

- G. Any chapter member may propose to the chapter that an additional Labor Circle Coordinator elected position be created.

Existing Labor Circles

The following already-existing Labor Circles, formed by the LOC, shall become chapter-endorsed Labor Circles and must abide by the structures and rules outlined in this resolution. These Labor Circles shall decide on organizing goals, resources required, and leadership according to the timeline below.

ILWU Labor Circle

Open to members of ILWU, or retired members of ILWU

- Industry: Logistics, Manufacturing, Service
- Interim Chair: Robert I
- Founding members: Blake D, Christopher C, Patrick M, Graham C, Robert I, Evan McL (non-voting organizer), Brendan K (non-voting organizer)
- Workplace(s) of interest: Tartine, Dandelion Chocolate, Anchor Steam
 - Liaison to workplace(s) of interest: Evan McL
- Description: This labor circle builds upon our relationship with ILWU members in the Bay Area. The primary focus of the circle is to build upon our organizing work, such as the work we've done with Anchor, Tartine, and Dandelion workers in order to push the working class movement forward in SF, and bring more workers into contact with DSA.

Education Workers Labor Circle

Open to education workers, or retired educators

- Industry: Education (K-12 & higher education)
- Interim Chair: Ryan M.
- Founding members: Ryan M., Ann R.
- Workplace(s) of interest: SFSU, CCSF, SF public schools
 - Liaison to workplace(s) of interest: Ryan M. (SFSU), Greg M. (SFUSD)
- Description: This labor circle will forge connections between teachers and other workers in the field of education, from K-12 schools to local colleges and universities. Our main objective is to create networks that can exchange information and resources in struggles that might otherwise be confined to a particular district or campus. We recognize that the success of teachers' strikes in recent years has been made possible by support from the broader communities where they were situated. In striving to build the alliances and networks that are crucial for this kind of community support, we recognize that it is necessary to organize semi-autonomously from our unions. While most of us are active members of our local unions (CFA, AFT, UESF, etc.), we know union bureaucracies have also frequently been an impediment to class struggle. With this labor circle, we hope to create a space where socialist educators can organize, exchange information, and form

networks that enable us to link our local struggles and agitate for more aggressive actions.

Timeline

- **June, 2021:** Annual General Meeting
- **July, 2021:** Elect Labor Circle Coordinator and Chairs of existing Labor Circles. Existing Labor Circles decide on goals and required resources and report this information to the Chapter.
- **Summer, 2021:** Three Chapter-endorsed Labor Circles are formed and meet regularly. These first Circles will have developed goals, leadership, required resources, and identified target workplaces or unions by the end of the Summer.
- **Fall, 2021:** Labor Circle coordinator begins coordinating priority programming in Labor Circles. The Labor Circle coordinator, with relevant committees, begins to develop organizing training curricula.
- **Winter, 2021/2022:** First Coordinator term ends. This Coordinator will provide a retrospective report to the Chapter about the successes and failures of Labor Circles and of labor organizing priority work. The first organizing training classes are held. A chapter-wide election is held for Coordinator.
- **Spring, 2022:** Five Chapter-endorsed Labor Circles have been formed and meet regularly.
- **Summer, 2022:** Review of Labor Circles. The Labor Circle Coordinator, in consultation with LOC and CCC will report a retrospective to the Chapter, focusing in particular on the following:
 - Did the inaugural Labor Circles a) happen as planned and b) achieve their goals?
 - The Labor Circle Coordinator will make recommendations to the chapter on structural changes to Labor Circles based on the answer to the above question.
- **Beyond:** Labor Circles continue to meet. New Labor Circles are created based on member interest and strategic considerations.

Resources and Links

[Labor Organizing Committee's Resolution on the Labor Census](#)

[DSA LA Labor Circle Program](#)

DSA SF Labor Census: dsasf.org/census

[Material from DSA SF LOC Organizing Classes](#)

DSA LA Organizing Conversations Training: [script](#) and [slideshow](#)

[EWOC Resources](#)

[EWOC Organizing Basics Resource Page](#)

[UE Guide to Talking with your Coworkers](#)

Appendix A: Labor Circle Proposal Form

DSA San Francisco

Instructions

Please complete this proposal form and submit it to the Labor Circle Coordinator (email). Proposal forms submitted 3 or more weeks before the next regular chapter meeting are eligible to be voted on at that chapter meeting. Proposal forms submitted within 3 weeks of the next regular chapter meeting will be saved for the following chapter meeting.

The Labor Circle Coordinator will review the completed form with the Steering Committee and LOC. Reviewers will have 10 days to provide feedback and resolve potential issues with the proposal. Proposals are eligible for a chapter vote after the 10-day review period. Author(s) will have the remaining time before chapter meeting to make recommended changes and finalize the language of the proposal. The recommendations made by Steering and LOC can be made available to any chapter member upon request.

Proposal Form

The Basics

Who is authoring this proposal? Please provide contact information for at least the primary author.

What industry will this labor circle focus on?

What are the geographical bounds of this labor circle?

[default is San Francisco]

Members

Who will serve as interim chair of this labor circle?

Please list at least 3 additional DSA SF members in good standing who will be founding members of this labor circle.

Strategy

Please name at least one workplace-of-interest where the circle's organizing work will be focused.

Which founding member(s) of the circle are currently employed at this workplace or actively involved in organizing this workplace?

Which of the above member(s) will serve as a Liaison (primary point of contact) between the chapter and the organizing committee?

Please outline one tentative short-term (within 6 months) organizing goal. Goals must be specific, concrete, and measurable (e.g., establish an organizing committee of 3 at a specific workplace by the end of November 2021).

Please outline one tentative long-term (within 1 year) organizing goal.

Connection to DSA SF

How will a) organizing at this circle's workplace-of-interest and b) achieving this circle's proposed organizing goals advance the political goals of the chapter?

What resources (e.g., people, money) will the circle need from the chapter in order to achieve its proposed short- and long-term goals?

How might this circle collaborate with and support the goals of other committees and working groups?

Appendix B: Labor Circle Meeting Agenda Template

Founding Meeting

The Basics

Facilitator:	Name	Note Taker	Name
Stack Taker:	Name	Timekeeper:	Name

Zoom Info

[zoom link, etc.]

Community Agreements

- Agree to work through disagreements as they arise
- Keep information shared during meetings confidential (assume it's confidential unless someone tells you this is something to share)
- Assume good intent on your comrades' part
- Explain terms and references, even if you think everyone knows them
- Respect different experience levels and perspectives
- Make sure to WAIT - Why Am I Talking?
- Mic Discipline for online meetings: Mute when not talking

Attendees

Name, Name, Name...

Agenda [2 hours total]

Intros + Roles + Icebreaker [5 minutes]

Establish Purpose of Meeting [5 minutes]

This is the first official meeting of the [industry] labor circle! The chapter has voted to approve formation of this circle, so now it's time to set it up and start working towards its goals. By the end of this meeting, the circle should have:

- Clarified its short- and long-term goals
 - Developed a rough timeline for achieving these goals
 - Assigned bottom-liners to these goals

- Note: details on the circle's short- and long-term goals is due to the chapter within 3 months of when the circle was approved
- Identified additional potential circle members using the labor census data
 - Laid out a plan for engaging these potential members
- Confirmed the interim chair (i.e., the primary author of the alabor circle proposal) for the next 6 months via unanimous consent
 - If a founding circle member objects to the interim chair taking on the full 6-month position (or if the interim chair cannot serve for the 6-month period), an election must be held within a month. (Note that the interim chair may compete in this election if interested.) The candidate who receives a simple majority of the circle vote will be elected to the 6-month chair positions. Candidates should prepare a brief (~3-minute) statement to read on election day.
- Discussed potential areas of focus for political education within the circle
- Agreed upon a regular meeting cadence for at least the next 3 months

Review, Discuss, and Refine Organizing Goals [45 minutes]

1. Present proposed short- and long-term goals
2. Solicit amendments from group
3. Approve goals via unanimous consent
4. Select one bottom-liner for each goal (ideally not the same person!)
5. Time-permitting: begin to sketch out timelines for these goals
 - a. Bottom-liner should continue this effort after the meeting and recruit help from other circle members

Discuss Growing the Circle [30 minutes]

1. Data Czars, LOC Co-chairs, the Labor Circle Coordinator, or some other entity who has access to Labor Census data will be in attendance to provide data during the meeting
2. Circle should spend some time power mapping the chapter to determine:
 - a. Which non-circle DSA SF members are in the same industry
 - b. Who knows these people and can contact them about joining the circle
3. Select one person to bottom-line the growth effort

Discuss Internal Political Education Goals [20 minutes]

1. Identify 2-3 specific, measurable, and actionable political education goals
 - a. These goals should be as specific to the industry and geographical jurisdiction of the circle as possible.
2. Identify 2-3 authors / pieces that the circle will reach together over the next 6 months
3. Identify a bottom-liner who will keep political education going within the circle

Figure Out Recurring Meeting Schedule [10 minutes]

1. Pick a recurring day and time that works for as many circle members as possible

2. Plan to meet no less than once a month, although twice a month is ideal
3. Chair will bottom-line meeting agendas and facilitation (but is also encouraged to develop other circle members' capacities in these areas!)

Wrap it up! [5 minutes]

PRIORITY: A DSA SF Chapter Commitment to Black Liberation, Indigenous Sovereignty, and Fighting Global White Supremacy

bDrafted by Melissa H, Aditi J, Rakesh G, Elina K, and Y. Faye W

Inspired by DSA-LA's [Socialist Commitment to Black Liberation](#)

If you would like to express SUPPORT or opposition before convention, please do so here: bit.ly/BLCC2021

Submitted to be considered at DSA SF's 2021 Annual Convention
on behalf of:

1. Melissa H
2. Y. Faye W
3. Rakesh G
4. Elina K
5. Aditi J
6. Gracie Q
7. Eddy H
8. Rachel S
9. Alisha F
10. Humphrey O
11. Marianne T
12. David H
13. Allie C
14. Emily M.
15. Gaelan S
16. Christopher M
17. TJ H
18. Dylan Y
19. Catalina B

1. Summary

This resolution calls for the chapter to make a sustained and ongoing commitment to addressing white supremacy within the chapter and our city, explicitly following the teachings of the Black freedom movements. The resolution features five main components: 1) an introduction outlining the circumstances of white supremacy in San Francisco and within our chapter, 2) an overview of current chapter efforts to address white supremacy, 3) an outline and timeline of resolution commitments that span two years beginning with the adoption of the resolution in June 2021, 4) an outline of the leadership structure tasked with implementing resolution requirements, and 5) a summary of the budgetary and other resources the resolution will utilize; and 6) an appendix of shared abolitionist tenets to drive this work forward.

2. Table of Contents

A DSA SF Chapter Commitment to Black Liberation, Indigenous Sovereignty, and Fighting Global White Supremacy	1
Submitted to be considered at DSA SF's 2021 Annual Convention on behalf of:	1
Summary	2
Table of Contents	2
Introduction	2
Chapter Projects: Past, Present, Successes, & Failures	7
Resolution Commitments	9
Building Solidarity Internally	9
Building Power & Working for Black Liberation Externally	12
Prioritizing Black Liberation Through Electoral Work	14
Timeline	14
2021-2022 Summary	14
Long Term Implementation	16
Desired outcomes	16
Resolution Leadership Structure	17
Budget (Estimates)	19
Appendix	20

3. Introduction

The public execution of George Floyd in the summer of 2020 ignited a mass uprising. Protesting the antiblack violence endemic to the United States, the mobilizations that summer built upon

the work and reasserted the urgency of the Black Lives Matter movement, which begun in the aftermath of George Zimmerman's acquittal in the murder of Trayvon Martin in 2013 and has persevered in demanding accountability and redress for the ongoing state and state-sanctioned murder of Black people. Last summer's movement emphasized the horrors of racist police violence in the United States. People across the nation gathered in the name of all those the police have maimed and killed, including those in their own cities. That the mass mobilization had no provenance underscores the pervasiveness and historical continuity of police violence in the United States. The forcefulness and persistence of the uprising made defunding the police -- and abolition more broadly -- a mainstream demand, demonstrating once more the radical transformative power of mass political organizing and action. Finally, the recent murders of Daunte Wright, Adam Toledo, and -- in Daly City, close to our own homes -- Roger Allen underscore that police terror remains ongoing, despite these demands.

Racist state violence is fundamental to maintaining the U.S. capitalist order. The police act as the enforcement arm of capital. As socialists, we recognize that policing and prisons are active impediments to dismantling capitalism. We stand staunchly in support of abolitionism and against white supremacy. However, the carceral state makes up only a portion of the infrastructure of U.S. racial capitalism. As Trayvon Martin's murder demonstrated, police are not the only ones who commit and are exonerated of the violence that targets Black people in this country. In addition, the Coronavirus Pandemic as well has underscored that racial violence acts systemically and exists within the very structures of our society and institutions. It acts both actively through executions and passively due to neglect.

We name racial capitalism not to distinguish it from capitalism writ-large, but to underscore that white supremacy is fundamental and inextricable from capitalism. The enslavement of Black people did not only provide the labor that produced the accumulation of capital that funded the wealth at capitalism's foundation, but the articulation and dehumanization of blackness through enslavement also stripped Black people of their personhood and turned them into capital. This process built the basic infrastructures of capitalism and established the nature of capital itself. Settler dispossession and the erasure of Indigenous sovereignty undergird the logics of property under capitalism. This process was and continues to be a protracted campaign of violence that has resulted in the ongoing genocide of Indigenous peoples. As antiblackness outlined the racial dimensions of property ownership, settler dispossession asserted the racial dimensions of property expropriation. Capitalism is not only a system of extraction, but also one that organizes the social structure of extraction, and the systems of violence meant to enforce those structures, through white supremacy.

Race is not a category of social organization that existed a priori to capitalism. It is not just a tool capitalism uses to divide labor and obstruct mass organizing. Race is the means through which capitalism defined the boundaries of property and ownership: who could own property, who must be property, and whose rights to property -- labor, land, and sometimes of their very selves and their lives -- are to be erased and dispossessed. Race, built upon the opposition of whiteness to blackness and the erasure of Indigenous peoples, imposed a social order for

capital -- implementing racial striations, distinctions, and internal hierarchies -- and became the means through which capital enforced that order.

Black liberation rejects these articulations and, in doing so, upends capitalism. In affirming their own freedom, enslaved people seized the primary means of production foundational to early American capitalism: themselves. They tore down the system that had organized American economies for centuries. Following in this tradition, the Black freedom struggle has continued to resist capitalism's property order, even as capitalism has subsequently made and remade race to serve its own ends.

In addition, honoring Indigenous sovereignty refutes the extractive, imperialist, and settler colonialist structures of capitalism. Learning from Indigenous communities and their/our deep knowledge rejects white supremacy-sanctioned theft of land and life. In acknowledging and, more importantly, fighting for the sovereignty of Indigenous nations and their/our peoples, we act not just in solidarity with (and as) Indigenous peoples, but actively recognize that our own lives are indebted to and dependent on the land and resources taken from Indigenous peoples, who continue to live here and fight against land occupation and settler-colonialism.

As anticapitalists, as socialists, we owe a great debt to Indigenous revolutionary projects, including contemporary projects. As students of history, we must learn from tribes' work to fight the ways these notions of property help capitalism and white supremacy act in tandem to reinforce themselves. And we must support current and local Indigenous sovereignty efforts including landback, local California Indian priorities, as they emerge.

Despite the centrality of white supremacy to capitalism, DSA SF has historically failed to sufficiently apply resources and support fighting white supremacy inside our own chapter and incorporating this fight into our organizing outside the chapter. Our chapter's Points of Unity lack any reference to the realities and harms perpetuated by racial capitalism or analysis on the ways that white supremacy gets in the way of building working class solidarity. We must address white supremacy within our own chapter because it impedes our ability to fight capitalism -- and if we cannot fight white supremacy within our own spaces, if we are not practicing and learning how to fight white supremacy, we will never be up to the task of addressing white supremacy at-large.

We must actively incorporate antiracist struggle into all our projects -- there is no path to dismantling capitalism that does not also dismantle white supremacy and vice versa, because they are entangled systems that prop each other up. DSA SF must make a commitment to fight for racial justice and a specific commitment Black liberation, because it is the foil upon which whiteness and white supremacy become coherent, and the fulcrum upon which white supremacy and capitalism assert the social order of property relations. Indigenous sovereignty upends imperialist notions of possession and dispossession and the capitalist logics of property.

Black liberation liberates us all. To paraphrase Assata Shakur: it is our duty to fight for Black liberation. We have nothing to lose but our chains.

Indigenous sovereignty returns power to us all. We follow Lilla Watson's directive: "If you have come here to help me you are wasting your time, but if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together."

3.1. San Francisco's Complicity in White Supremacy

The City and County of San Francisco sits on stolen (occupied) Ohlone land. Its wealth is drawn from the expropriation of this land. Its occupation and expansion is a product of, first, the pursuit of mineral wealth in the 1850s and, later, through the development of industrial agriculture, among other capitalist commodification of the land. Settlers pursued a protracted campaign of genocide and terror to steal this land and in an effort to exterminate the region's original residents some of whom are still here.

While California became a state as a "free" state, the political actors behind this choice pursued it in order to preserve California as a haven for white labor and to open its land to white settlement and ownership. Its rejection of slavery was not an act in support of Black liberation but an attempt to enclose the state against the presence of Black labor. Absent the exploitation of Black labor, the state's industries used Chinese labor as a source of cheap, disposable labor. White populist revolt against Chinese labor later banned Chinese labor migration in the name of preserving the privileges of white labor, creating the basis of the country's exclusionary immigration policies and bureaucratic infrastructures, even as its industries have continued to rely on immigrant labor.

The material circumstances of San Francisco are built upon this history. We still see the consequences of this history every day in the structural conditions of our city: in wealth gaps, homelessness and the housing crisis, policing, and, as it has recently been highlighted during the pandemic, health disparities. We will never be able to adequately address their ongoing influences if we are not willing to confront white supremacy's role in capitalist exploitation.

3.2. Economic Justice

San Francisco and the larger Bay Area have some of the [most pronounced wealth gaps](#) between white people and people of color in the United States. Between 2007 and 2017, median earnings for white people in San Francisco hovered between \$60,000 and \$70,000 while the median earnings for people of color hovered around \$40,000. As recently as 2019, Black households had an average income of \$31,000 compared with \$116,000 for white families. ([Source](#), p. 7)

Nearly 60 years after the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which purportedly abolished Jim Crow laws, BIPOC people face deep-seeded segregation and other barriers to building wealth. Segregated white neighborhoods have [more than double](#) the household incomes and home values of highly segregated Black and Latinx neighborhoods. Similarly, while people living in segregated Black/Latinx neighborhoods participate in the labor force at the same levels as highly segregated white neighborhoods, they earn only 39% as much income.

3.3. Homelessness

Not surprisingly, the massive wealth disparities and, in more recent years, decades of neoliberal policies in San Francisco have led to a growing population of San Franciscans who have lost their homes and remain houseless. Like the other hardships of capitalism, BIPOC communities in San Francisco experience housing-related difficulties disproportionately. For example, despite making up a rapidly-shrinking 5% of San Francisco's total population, 36% of San Francisco's unhoused population is Black. ([Source](#), at p. 7) [60% of houseless youth](#) in the Bay Area are Black. The housing crisis in San Francisco is also likely to increase as over [1 million California renters](#) struggle to pay an estimated \$3.7 billion in rent debt. Latinx, Black, and Asian renters are nearly three times as likely as white households to be behind on rent.

3.4. Policing

For decades, BIPOC communities have called attention to police harassment and the criminalization of Blackness. San Francisco is not immune to the white supremacy embedded within the system of policing and criminalization. The city's own data and trainers have confirmed that the San Francisco Police Department harbors rampant anti-Black bias, with one recent city-commissioned study showing that Black people were 2.5 times more likely to be pulled over than white drivers. San Francisco cops were also nearly 19 times more likely to use force on Black people than they were on white people.

Once Black people enter the [criminal punishment system](#), they are jailed before trial for 62% longer than whites and are convicted of 60% more felonies than whites. After conviction, they receive sentences that are 28% longer than those given to white people convicted of similar crimes.

San Francisco's systems of incarceration and e-carceration are similarly anti-Black. Nearly half of the people in the city's jails are Black. Black people also make up approximately half of the people subjected to e-carceration through the use of electronic ankle shackles.

3.5. Health and COVID-19

The health outcomes for San Franciscans are racially stratified, and these disparities have only become more pronounced during the pandemic.

- Black San Franciscans have the highest mortality rate for nine of the top ten causes of death in San Francisco. ([Source](#), at p. 7)
- Life expectancy is [more than 5 years greater](#) in white neighborhoods than in highly segregated Black and Latinx neighborhoods.
- Between [2015 and 2017](#), more Black San Franciscans-- primarily from the Bayview and Tenderloin neighborhoods-- died as a result of drug use disorders than people from all other races or ethnicities who died as a result of drug use disorders combined.
- At the height of the pandemic last year, [UCSF reported](#) that COVID-19 infections and outcomes were racialized:
 - Black patients were 3.8 times more likely to die than white patients
 - Native American patients were 3.2 times more likely to die than white patients
 - Latinx patients were 2.5 times more likely to die than white patients
- Despite these disparities between COVID-19 deaths, Black, Native American, and Latinx people have [collectively received](#) less than 13% of San Francisco's vaccinations,

compared to the 30.6% that have been given to white people.

3.6. Immigration and Citizenship

Despite San Francisco's national praise for its sanctuary city policy, the city has long failed and targeted its immigrant community. Along with its history of colonization, genocide, and dehumanizing use of Angel Island to humiliate and separate immigrants, San Francisco continues to fail immigrants through misguided and racist policies, such as City Attorney Dennis Herrera's civil gang injunctions and, most recently, civil injunctions against immigrant teens in the Tenderloin.

3.7. Environmental Racism

Systemic inequality disproportionately impacts communities who are already experiencing social, racial, and economic inequalities. San Francisco's legacy of environmental racism is robust. Historically, San Franciscans of color, particularly Black San Franciscans, have been left out of the city's allocation of green spaces and subjected to hundreds of pollution sources. Bayview Hunters Point, which is predominantly inhabited by low income and Black families, is the most industrialized neighborhood in San Francisco. The neighborhood has faced polluted air and water, and was the subject of radioactive contamination and a subsequent coverup, which has led to [disparate health outcomes](#) for area residents and their descendants. The area is considered to be one of the [most toxic in the United States](#). Despite Navy records and other whistleblower accounts of the contamination, city government has for years turned its back on residents who raised concerns about contamination.

3.8. Indigenous Genocide and Oppression

The very existence of San Francisco is based upon the genocide and colonization of people Indigenous to the San Francisco Bay Area, including Ohlone tribes such as the Ramaytush, Chochenyo, Awaswas, Karkin, Yokuts, Muwekma, and the Tamien. Hundreds of years of violence and systemic oppression have left San Francisco's Indigenous population at less than 1%. Like Black community members, Indigenous communities in San Francisco face high levels of poverty and residential instability, police brutality, disparate health outcomes, and high rates of unemployment or underemployment in comparison to white San Franciscans. These disparities have also been exacerbated by the pandemic.

4. Chapter Projects: Past, Present, Successes, & Failures

4.1

Despite not proactively pursuing Black liberation, Indigenous sovereignty, and racial justice as a chapter, our chapter has participated in or taken on projects that help San Francisco's working class and, by extension, Black San Franciscans, such as the Yes on F campaign to guarantee a right to counsel to all San Franciscans. We have also taken on other projects with a more explicit call for racial justice, such as the No on H Campaign against giving the SFPD yet

another potentially-lethal weapon to use against San Franciscans, DSA SF's Brakelight Clinics in the Outer Mission and the Bayview, and the Bayview-Hunter's Point Task Force to oppose toxic contamination, environmental racism, and housing injustice. Not every project our chapter has carried out has been successful; however, in each case, our chapter has learned valuable lessons about strategy, goals, and what it takes to build solidarity within a multi-racial working class.

The chapter has also been directly engaged in anti-prison and anti-police work since establishing the Justice Working Group. Since 2019, we have worked as a part of the No New SF Jail Coalition fighting to close the city's existing incarceration centers and oppose the construction of new ones. At the beginning of the pandemic, the working group helped to produce and distribute hand sanitizer throughout the state's prisons and jails, acting as a stopgap to state failures to protect the people who the state has incarcerated.

Most recently, the working group has invested full-time in supporting DefundSFPDNow, which has not only spearheaded one of the most successful police budget defunding campaigns in the country, it has also built strong relationships with grassroots community organizations focused on combating police violence, promoting public safety, and fighting for racial justice in the city. DefundSFPDNow has also recruited and trained dozens of participants, many who were new to political organizing but are themselves deeply knowledgeable organizers in their own right.

Through our Immigrant Rights and International Solidarity Committee, DSA SF co-founded and regularly participates in the Free Them All Coalition, which includes the Committee to Close the Camps and Free Our Children, East Bay DSA, the Party for Socialism and Liberation, No Justice Under Capitalism, and the Workers World Party and has worked to keep pressuring our elected officials to close U.S. detention camps, stop deportations, and abolishing ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement). Through this work, our chapter has shown solidarity in movements to stop the targeting of Haitian immigrants and prevent deportation of all immigrants, particularly immigrants of color and those from countries that have been destroyed by U.S. imperialism. Similarly, our chapter has participated in events demanding that the private prison company, GEO Group, stop its retaliation against Black journalism and leave San Francisco for good.

In 2020, members of the Homelessness Working Group started efforts that would eventually become the Hotels Not Hospitals (HnH) project, which sought to ensure that unhoused neighbors were provided hotel rooms in part to help them safely shelter in place throughout the pandemic. Our chapter endorsed that project in August 2020; since then HnH has worked to secure shelter for a dozen people who were left out in the cold by City Hall, many of them people of color. Seven people have been permanently housed in apartments via the project, including four people of color. The Homelessness Working Group supports abolitionist partners and, in the short term, seeks to eliminate the San Francisco Police Department's role in homelessness. HnH is developing a community cop-watch program in FY 2021-2022. In the process, our chapter has been able to show electeds and community members alike that we have the power to make a difference when we band together.

4.2

The chapter has also engaged in work related to our collective liberation that is outside the scope of police & prison-industrial complex abolition: The IRIS Committee offers regular anti-imperialism education through panels and other educational events. The Ecosocialist Committee has been studying and sharing the Red Deal and collaborating with other chapters on Red Deal work as an extension of Green New Deal work. The Ecosocialist Committee also mobilized to participate in a multi-chapter mutual aid project to raise funds for Navajo Nation, which was disproportionately affected by COVID-19, during the height of the pandemic. Through the Labor Organizing Committee, the chapter supported the formation of a union at Dandelion Chocolate, where anti-Black racism from management was a major organizing issue.

Despite this work, DSA SF continues to struggle with recruiting and retaining organizers, particularly organizers who are Black, Indigenous, or people of color. Over the years, some comrades have reported anti-Blackness within our chapter and discussions of race often lead to heated and unproductive discourse. Thus, while our chapter's individual projects have involved and helped communities of color, our chapter must continue growing and learning if it wants to build a truly multicultural working class.

5. Resolution Commitments

This resolution represents the internal and external initiatives necessary to achieve an organizing culture and vision that prioritizes Black liberation, Indigenous sovereignty, and racial justice. We define internal initiatives as necessary reflections and transformations of our organizing culture and inclusivity of our spaces. The enlistment of third-party anti-oppression experts to audit, assess, and facilitate change is necessary both for impartiality and to ensure the responsibility does not fall on marginalized organizers. We define external initiatives as actions that impact the communities our branches serve through projects, coalition building, and campaigns such as the defunding policing through the People's Budget of San Francisco and DefundSFPDNow, fighting against incarceration through the No New SF Jail Coalition, showing up for our unhoused neighbors through the Hotels Not Hospitals project, and fighting against deportations and imperialism through the Free Them All Coalition. The resolution will be carried out by chapter-elected leaders with the assistance of other comrades, which will be referred to as the Black Liberation Core Campaign (BLCC) for ease of reference.

5.1. Building Solidarity Internally

Be it resolved, DSA SF shall:

- 5.1.1. Commit to an Anti-Oppression Organizational Assessment every other year.

- Third Party Anti-oppression experts will, in collaboration with the Black Liberation Core Campaign, audit the internal organizing structures, practices, and cultures and provide recommendations to the DSA SF chapter leadership based on their findings. The initial proposal for a third party auditor is AORTA. The preference is for an auditor that is anti-capitalist and structured as a worker-owned cooperative, collective, or similar; however, ultimately, we defer to and trust the chapter-elected BLCC leadership in selecting an auditor after discussion with chapter members as outlined in section 6.3.1 The assessment should specifically strive to provide recommendations regarding the following items:
 - Chapter bylaws
 - Code of Conduct
 - Conflict Resolution process
 - Grievance process
 - Meeting formats and structure (chapter, Intro to DSA, committee)
 - Recruiting and retention practices
 - Training, communication and support structures
 - Interpersonal culture (especially as it relates to inclusion and accessibility)
 - Other processes needed to address general harm to community
 - The Steering Committee will then place the recommendations before the membership for adoption within 30 days of receiving them in the initial assessment.
 - BLCC will implement recommendations passed by general membership of DSA SF.
 - *Required Resources: Cost of third-party anti-oppression experts.*
 - **Assessment in October 2021. Final analysis in February 2022. Overall 18-24 months: Assessment 6 months; implementation in phases. Extensions of time can be sought in 30-day increments as outlined in section 5.4.3.**
- 5.1.2. Host Quarterly Anti-Oppression Workshops for general membership led by outside facilitators with a focus on white supremacy and capitalism.
 - **Initial workshop for DSA SF membership in October 2021**
 - **Thereafter, workshops should be scheduled in late January, early May, mid July, and early October for 2022.**
 - *Required Resources: Expenditure on third-party anti-oppression facilitators.*
- 5.1.3. Require all elected leadership, conflict resolution team, and grievance officers to undergo anti-oppression and racial-bias training led by a third-party facilitator.

- Elected leaders and other named members who fail to participate in required training must vacate their positions until they have been able to meet training requirements.
 - **Training in October 2021.**
 - *Required Resources: Expenditure on third-party anti-oppression facilitators.*
- 5.1.4. Incorporate anti-racism sections into the chapter's Points of Unity.
- 5.1.5. Incorporate anti-racism sections into new membership courses and start the process of incorporating those sections into any chapter political education curriculums.
- DSA SF's introductory public materials will include an analysis of Racial Capitalism; how structural racism and white supremacy are inextricable, and reproduced from capitalism.
 - Any centralized DSA SF "Intro to Socialism" or other similar chapter-sponsored introductory political education will include an analysis of Racial Capitalism; how structural racism and white supremacy are inextricable, and reproduced from capitalism.
 - Any DSA SF structure that contains an educational component in its structure, such as circles, will include an analysis of Racial Capitalism; how structural racism and white supremacy are inextricable, and reproduced from capitalism.
 - Leadership for this priority, in conjunction with the Steering Committee, Afrosocialists and Socialists of Color Committee, and Education committee (or equivalent political body), shall devise a curriculum for an introductory course dedicated to the dismantling of white supremacy in organizing spaces and in San Francisco.
 - Build a dedicated resources webpage to combat Anti-Blackness in DSA SF.
 - **Revised courses and webpage will be implemented by January 2022 or as soon as possible.**
 - *Required Resources: Time for priority resolution leadership to revise training and website.*
- 5.1.6. Provide regular abolition training for members (at least thrice a year) and start the process of incorporating it into a chapter-wide political education curriculum should the chapter choose to implement a chapter-wide curriculum.
- In 2017, DSA adopted a [resolution](#) supporting the abolition of the prison industrial complex. Following those footsteps, in 2019, DSA SF [voted to join the No New SF Jail Coalition](#), which is a coalition of people and organizations fighting against the prison industrial complex in San Francisco. However, since then, our chapter has failed to provide any regular abolition training for members.
 - Given the nuance and complexity of abolition as a political vision, goal, and strategy for liberation, DSA SF must provide regular

abolition training for members to discuss why abolition is central to a socialist future. Such training can be outsourced to abolitionist organizations or provided by chapter members or committees after approval from leadership for this priority and the Steering Committee.

- These abolition training may be led by external organizations that align with our anti-capitalist values or internal trainers with the approval of BLCC leadership. Both internal and external trainers will be financially compensated for their labor.
- **Initial workshop for DSA SF membership in October 2021. Thereafter, workshops should be scheduled every 17 weeks.**
- *Required Resources: Expenditure on third-party or internal abolitionist trainers.*

5.1.7. Continue providing regular anti-imperialist education and start the process of incorporating it into a chapter-wide political education curriculum should the chapter choose to implement a chapter-wide curriculum.

- While our chapter has engaged in a number of local campaigns, any long-term strategy will require an understanding of how our work fits within the global context.
- Ensuring a robust and nuanced understanding of imperialism will also help us build connections with allied organizations who can, in turn, help us build power within the city and outside of it.

5.1.8. Collaboration between BLCC leadership and leaders for any other adopted priority resolutions to ensure a cohesive framework that prioritizes Black liberation as outlined in this resolution.

5.2. Building Power & Working for Black Liberation Externally

Be it resolved, DSA SF shall:

5.2.1. Recommit to campaigns to defund the police, dismantle the prison industrial complex, and reinvest in human-centered services via our chapter's endorsed campaigns and coalitions: DefundSFPDNow and No New SF Jail Coalition. This includes supporting the People's Budget of SF, which DefundSFPDNow is leading, and dedicating resources (including time, people power, existing and future chapter communication tools, and money) to these efforts. Descriptions of our chapter's engagement with DefundSFPDNow and No New SF Jail Coalition are provided in the appendix.

- The commitment to DefundSFPDNow will include sending at least one official DSA SF representative, to be appointed by BLCC leadership, to DefundSFPDNow meetings and events, with an understanding that the representative(s) will attend at least 75% of all regular meetings for the organization. The chapter

representative will be expected to represent the chapter and its interests within the campaign.

- The commitment to No New SF Jail Coalition will include sending at least one official DSA SF representative, to be appointed by BLCC leadership, to the No New SF Jail Coalition, with the understanding that the representative(s) will join and attend at least 75% of all regular meetings for the Coalition. The chapter representative will be expected to represent the chapter and its interests within the Coalition.
- DSA SF representatives will be expected to report back to BLCC; BLCC will be responsible for providing and/or coordinating the regular updates to the at-large membership and the Steering committee as well as opportunities for feedback.
- The passage of this resolution includes an expectation that chapter members will attend at least one mobilization, event, or training from each group per quarter.
- BLCC or designees will coordinate member involvement by:
 - Organizing DSA SF member contingents at coalition events
 - Doing targeted recruitment of chapter members into campaign positions
- The chapter representative for each group will be expected to coordinate social media support between the chapter and the campaign and coalition using the chapter's relevant process.
- **Year-long commitment starting upon resolution adoption and strongly urged to recommit in following years via resolution outlined in 5.4.2.**
- *Required Resources: Communications support, campaign organizing resources, printing, graphic design, live streaming (upon request), funding as-needed throughout the year.*

5.2.2. Identify and build, through the AfroSOC Committee and the Steering Committee, potential coalition opportunities with local Black and other POC-led organizations who share our broad political goals. AfroSOC Committee and BLCC can prioritize organizations based on the priorities identified in this resolution and any other adopted chapter priorities.

- **Year-long commitment starting upon resolution adoption and strongly urged to recommit in following years via resolution outlined in 5.4.2.**
- *Required Resources: Time and chapter tools to research for potential coalition partners and relationship development.*

5.2.3. Officially endorse the IRIS Committee's work within the Free Them All Coalition in order to continue building solidarity with immigrant communities and further our connections with anti-imperialist

organizations, particularly within communities of color.

5.3. Prioritizing Black Liberation Through Electoral Work

Be it resolved, DSA SF shall:

- 5.3.1. Any candidates or elected officials who wish to be DSA SF members or receive the chapter's endorsement will be required to:
- Reject donations from “law enforcement” groups and individuals, including, but not limited to, police, Sheriff's deputies, and prosecutors.
 - Issue, at minimum, one public statement per quarter via all social media platforms on which they are represented and press releases to be amplified by DSA SF via social media and/or complementary press releases supporting efforts to defund the police, sheriff, or other policing institutions or broadly supporting abolition as outlined in the [appendix](#).
 - If running for or elected to local or state office, include, in their campaign platform, support for defunding the police by at least 50% within their first two years in office and a long term goal of abolition
 - Also must provide a proposal to advance defunding of the police and/or PIC at least each fiscal year to Steering committee and BLCC
 - If running for or elected to federal office, include in their initial campaign platform, support for abolishing ICE, support for defunding the police, sheriff, or other policing institutions and broad support for abolition and anti-imperialism.
 - Participate and encourage their staff to participate in at least one of each of the following as soon as each is available every 18 months:
 - Anti-oppression training
 - Abolition training
 - DSA SF anti-imperialism event or training
 - Accommodate other recommendations of the BLCC regarding emergent issues that affect Black and brown lives.
 - Must ensure they stop using carceral language in updates, pieces, social media communication, and press releases. See section 8 for guidance.

5.4. Timeline

5.4.1. 2021-2022 Summary

5.4.2. This resolution is a two-year resolution.

- **June 2021 (Upon Resolution Adoption):**
 - Recommit to campaigns to defund the police, dismantle the prison industrial complex, and reinvest in human-centered services via our chapter's endorsed campaigns and coalitions: DefundSFPDNow and No New SF Jail Coalition.
 - Begin research/commitment to identify and build potential coalition opportunities with local Black and other POC-led organizations who share our broad political goal
- **October 2021**
 - Commence Anti-Oppression Organizational Assessment
 - First Quarterly Anti-Oppression Workshop
 - All elected leadership, conflict resolution members, and grievance officers must complete anti-oppression training this month
 - First Abolition Training
- **January 2022**
 - Second Quarterly Anti-Oppression Workshop (beginning of regular schedule)
 - Second Abolition Training
 - Revised courses and webpage must be implemented if not accomplished already
 - BLCC writes a resolution for recommitment to the following: AfroSOC coalition-building described in section 5.2.2 , DefundSFPDNow, and No New SF Jail Coalition. This resolution ought to be put up for chapter vote (regular, special, or online vote) between January 2022 and June 2022.
- **February 2022**
 - Finalize Anti-Oppression Organizational Assessment and bring recommendations up for a chapter vote within 30 days of delivery
- **March 2022**
 - Following the chapter vote on recommendations in February 2022, BLCC will lay out a plan for implementation of recommendations within 6-12 months or less.
- **April 2022**
 - Third Quarterly Anti-Oppression Workshop
- **May 2022**
 - Third Abolition Training
- **July 2022**
 - Fourth Quarterly Anti-Oppression Workshop
- **September 2022**

- Fourth Abolition training
- **October 2022**
 - Fifth Quarterly Anti-Oppression Workshop
- **January 2023:**
 - Quarterly Anti-oppression workshop
 - Fifth abolition training
- **March 2023**
 - Deadline for implementation of recommendations
- BLCC leadership may seek extensions, in 30-day increments, to each component of this timeline as necessary by notifying membership no later than the regularly-scheduled chapter meeting for the deadline being extended.

5.4.3. Long Term Implementation

- Quarterly Anti-Oppression workshops should be scheduled regularly for late January, early May, mid July, and early October.
- Abolition training should continue to be scheduled at minimum every 17 weeks, as outlined above.
- Second assessment by third party auditor no more than 2 years and no less than one year after initial audit

5.5. Desired outcomes

- 5.5.1. DSA SF will build a meaningful understanding of racial capitalism and white supremacy that is founded on solidarity and a recognition of the material reality of living under capitalism as a person of color.
- 5.5.2. DSA SF will reduce the presence of white supremacy and white supremacist structures. This will be measured by a biannual audit. Surveys may be launched between external audits, with the approval of BLCC.
- 5.5.3. DSA SF will successfully leverage its platform and electoral relationships to bring abolition of San Francisco's police (SFPD, Sheriff's, park rangers) and jails into the mainstream discourse and make a commitment to abolition a capstone/key issue/political litmus test in San Francisco politics broadly.
- 5.5.4. DSA SF members will attend at least one abolitionist educational event per quarter and become versed in abolitionist principles and practice
- 5.5.5. DSA SF chapter members will attend at least one mobilization or event from our external partners (No New SF Jails, DefundSFPDNow, or partners identified by BLCC/Afrosoc in 5.2.2) per quarter
- 5.5.6. Every DSA SF member will identify as an abolitionist, understanding that abolitionism is an inextricable part of socialism and anti-capitalist work.

- In identifying as an abolitionist, which is not only a politic, but also a practice (see section 8.3.1), we hope DSA SF members will make a commitment to divest from policing in their day-to-day lives by not calling the police and seeking to resolve interpersonal conflicts and violence through transformative processes and restorative [justice] processes.
 - We hope members will engage with the positive abolitionist project by genuinely caring for one another and building/strengthening community wherever they are (including outside of DSA SF spaces). In other words, we hope DSA SF members will be willing to go a little further for strangers, neighbors, comrades, and friends with every day that passes.
- 5.5.7. DSA SF will collaborate meaningfully with No New SF Jail Coalition and DefundSFPDNow with the goal of (1) either shrinking the size and scale of policing and the prison industrial complex and/or building alternative institutions as part of the positive project that is abolitionism (2) rebuilding trust with abolitionist organizers
- 5.5.8. DSA SF will rebuild trust with communities of color and grassroots organizing efforts through work carried out by BLCC.

6. Resolution Leadership Structure

- 6.1. This resolution would establish a DSA SF priority, and as such requires deliberate and intentional implementation and collaboration between resolution leadership and other chapter committees and working groups.
- 6.2. This new structure will consist entirely of DSA SF members and will represent the chapter's commitment to fulfill the terms of the Black liberation resolution outlined above. It will be responsible for establishing internal and external initiatives outlined above. This formation will be known as the DSA SF Black Liberation Core Campaign (BLCC).
- 6.3. The BLCC will be organized as follows
- 6.3.1. Three co-chairs, elected by DSA SF members at large, who will serve a one-year term and be responsible for securing and implementing the following:
- External audit
 - Anti-oppression training
 - Abolition training
 - Anti-imperialist training
 - Ensuring one DSA SF representative attends at least 75% of DefundSFPDNow general meetings & coordinates support and/or collaboration between DSA SF and DefundSFPDNow
 - Ensuring one DSA SF representative attends at least 75% of No New SF Jail Coalition general meetings & coordinates support

and/or collaboration between DSA SF and the No New SF Jail Coalition

- Holding at least one open discussion session before choosing a third party auditor and third party trainers to gather feedback and ideas from chapter membership
- Authoring a resolution for recommitment to the following: AfroSOC coalition-building described in section 5.2.2 , DefundSFPDNow, and No New SF Jail Coalition. This resolution ought to be put up for chapter vote (regular, special, or online vote) between January 2022 and June 2022.

- 6.3.2. Subcommittees and other formal roles may be created as needed by BLCC leadership to carry out the resolution.
- 6.3.3. BLCC leadership may request replacement of non co-chair BLCC leadership & liaisons who are unable to carry out their duties by two-thirds vote of BLCC leadership.
- 6.3.4. BLCC Resolution leadership will be responsible for updating the Steering Committee and the chapter membership-- through whichever communication channel is deemed appropriate by resolution leadership-- of its progress on each of the components at least once a month.
- 6.3.5. The BLCC will be empowered to task their members to interface with community partners, coalitions, or additional internal chapter structures.
- 6.3.6. BLCC Resolution leadership will be expected to develop a budget every four months and present to the Steering Committee prior to making any expenditures.
- 6.3.7. Until the BLCC Committee has been elected, the DSA SF Steering Committee will set meeting times. The election must take place within six weeks of the passage of this resolution.
- 6.3.8. BLCC leadership may be recalled in accordance with the procedures outlined in the DSA SF bylaws.
- 6.3.9. BLCC Body:
 - The body of the Black Liberation Core Campaign will be composed of all DSA SF members who participate in the campaign. The BLCC body may make determinations on internal and external initiatives described in 6.3.1 by a majority vote of a quorum of qualified participants provided they are not major strategic deviations as outlined in chapter bylaws. A qualified participant shall be defined as a DSA SF member in good standing who has attended at least three (3) BLCC meetings within the last six (6) months. A quorum is defined as the two-thirds ($\frac{2}{3}$) of the average number of qualified attendants at the prior three BLCC meetings. If there are other BLCC meetings established to carry out the work, these meetings will count towards becoming a qualified participant. Items can be brought to

a vote if referred to the BLCC by a majority vote of the BLCC Core Campaign or by a qualified participant with a second from another qualified participant.

- Committees and working groups that have demonstrated a commitment to police & prison-industrial complex abolition as described in section 4.1 are encouraged to send up to two representatives who, with approval from BLCC leadership or body, can formally assist the resolution's leadership in finding or formulating the required components of the resolution.
- To ensure a smooth and successful integration of the priority into Intro to DSA and Intro to Socialism events, at least one member of the BLCC body should be designated for the following positions:
 - Chapter Coordination Committee liaison
 - The member(s) filling this role is expected to attend one CCC meeting per month as well as all BLCC meetings designated by BLCC leadership.
 - This role can be designated by the elected BLCC leadership and, given the likely substantial time commitment, term length can be decided by BLCC leadership.
 - Education committee (or equivalent) liaison
 - The member(s) filling this role is expected to attend one Education committee (or equivalent) meeting per month as well as all BLCC meetings designated by BLCC leadership.
 - This role can be designated by the elected BLCC leadership and, given the likely substantial time commitment, term length can be decided by BLCC leadership.
 - Priorities Campaign liaison
 - The member(s) filling this role are expected to coordinate with other chapter priority campaigns to ensure shared chapter action on priority work.
 - This role can be executed by BLCC or designated by the elected BLCC leadership and, given the likely substantial time commitment, term length can be decided by BLCC leadership.

7. Budget (Estimates)

- Anti-Oppression Organizational Assessment.
 - *Cost of third-party anti-oppression experts: \$3000*

- Quarterly Anti-Oppression Workshops for general membership led by outside facilitators with a focus on white supremacy and capitalism.
 - *Expenditure on third-party anti-oppression facilitators:* \$2000/session; **\$8000/year**
- Require all elected leadership, conflict resolution team, and grievance officers to undergo anti-oppression and racial-bias training led by a third-party facilitator.
 - *Sessions in addition to quarterly sessions:* **\$2000/session**
- Provide regular abolition training for members (at least thrice a year) and start the process of incorporating it into any chapter political education curriculums
 - *Expenditure on third-party or internal abolition trainers:* \$500/session; **\$1500/year**
- Campaign support for DefundSFPDNow, No New SF Jail Coalition, and the People's Budget of SF
 - *Cost of communications support such as printing materials and canva as well as materials for protests and actions:* **\$3000**

Total Estimated Budget: \$15,500

- + Additional Training Sessions as needed (costs vary)

7.1. By Quarter

- Q1 (June-Aug): None (unless trainings or assessments in Q2 listed below request payment upfront)
- Q2 (Sept-Nov): **\$5500**
 - Anti-Oppression Organizational Assessment: \$3000
 - Anti-Oppression Workshops: \$2000
 - Abolition Training: \$500
- Q3 (Dec-Feb): **\$2500**
 - Anti-Oppression Workshops: \$2000
 - Abolition Training: \$500
- Q4 (Mar-May): **\$2500**
 - Anti-Oppression Workshops: \$2000
 - Abolition Training: \$500
- Following year's budget: **\$2000**
 - Anti-Oppression Workshops: \$2000
- Unallocated (as needed money): **\$3000**

8. Appendix

8.1. **DSA SF and the No New SF Jail Coalition:** a short introduction.

8.1.1. In 2019, DSA SF voted to join the [No New SF Jail Coalition](#), which is a coalition of local organizations, residents and community members joining together to fight the expansion of imprisonment and criminalization in San Francisco. As members of this coalition, our comrades played a role in ensuring the closure of former County Jail 4 (CJ4), located at 850 Bryant Street, in September 2020. Our comrades canvassed the local community

about the decrepit and unsafe conditions of CJ4, assisted in legislative efforts to close the jail, and answered calls for mobilization after the Sheriff attempted to keep housing people in the jail in violation of the ordinance closing the jail.

- 8.1.2. The Coalition operates by consensus of its members, meaning that it does not engage in work unless all members consent to it.
- 8.1.3. Currently, the Coalition has three broad working groups: outreach, legislative, and media. Each workgroup has its own workflow and responsibilities. The Coalition also has a Rapid Consensus Committee (RCC) elected by each workgroup to make last-minute decisions about endorsements. RCC members cannot be from the same organization and the RCC must notify the entire coalition of its intent to make a decision on an endorsement request prior to doing so. The RCC must then notify the membership of its decision and rationale.
- 8.1.4. Should DSA SF wish to propose any changes to the Coalition's structure, it is welcome to do so as a member of the space.
- 8.1.5. The No New SF Jail Coalition's work currently involves work around abolition of jailing and e-carceration via budget advocacy, political education, and media such as a People's Report on Electronic Monitoring in San Francisco, which is on track to be published in the summer of 2021.
- 8.2. **DSA SF and DefundSFPDNow:** a short introduction.
 - 8.2.1. In 2020, DSA SF voted to endorse DefundSFPDNow, which started as a joint project by the SF Afrosocialists & Socialists of Color Caucus (Afrosoc) and the Justice Committee of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) SF. The SF Afrosocialists & Socialists of Color Caucus is a Black-led organization created in 2020 to center BIPOC voices within socialist spaces. It is a chapter of the national Afrosocialist and Socialist of Color Caucus. The DSA SF Justice Committee was formed in 2017 and organizes DSA SF's work fighting for the abolition of policing and prisons. Currently, the campaign operates independently from but with support of DSA SF.
 - 8.2.2. DefundSFPDNow has several working groups, including coordination, direct action, city hall, political education/social media, outreach, public safety door-knocking, and People's Budget.
 - 8.2.3. DSA SF members are able to participate in the campaign via DSA SF by attending the Justice Committee's meetings to support DefundSFPDNow, joining DefundSFPDNow, and participating in events/mobilizations.
 - 8.2.4. DefundSFPDNow's current work involves pushing for police abolition through community building, outreach, political education, limited budget advocacy, and coalescing with other organizations and community members working toward police abolition.

8.3. **Shared Abolitionist Tenets:** the following will be considered to be shared abolitionist tenets for purposes of evaluating candidate or elected official's membership/endorsement requests and adherence to chapter priorities:

8.3.1. "Abolition is not just a goal—it is a politic, framework, and practice." (Woods Ervin, Critical Resistance). Abolition is both a theory of change and a toolkit for organizing in the present moment. Abolitionist organizing is about making things just as much as it is about dismantling the systems in power. Abolitionists recognize that everyone causes harm, and the current retributive systems in place to administer consequences for causing harm disempower all of us.

8.3.2. "Abolition" encompasses the political strategy and long-term goal of abolishing policing, imprisonment, and surveillance, or the prison industrial complex (PIC), and creating lasting alternatives to punishment and imprisonment, [as defined by Critical Resistance](#).

- The PIC includes entities such as the military, border patrol, ICE, police departments, sheriff departments, SF park rangers, and other actors who engage in policing, imprisonment, and surveillance on behalf of the state.
 - Police are some of the most visible components of the prison industrial complex.
 - "Police cannot be reformed because the essence of their power is the discretion to use violence, the ability to decide whether or not to use violence in any conceivable situation." - Mariame Kaba
 - "Police do not enforce the law. They handle the law after the fact to justify the way that they decided to restore order." - Mariame Kaba
 - However, policing can encompass a wide range of professions and practices. As explained by [Critical Resistance](#), "[p]olicing is a social relationship made up of a set of practices that are empowered by the state to enforce law and social control through the use of force. ... As social conditions change, how policing is used to target poor people, people of color, immigrants, and others who do not conform on the street or in their homes also shifts."
- The PIC also includes systems and institutions that [jail](#) and surveil people, including jails, prisons, detention centers, mental health jails, mass surveillance, and electronic ankle monitors.
- The concept of abolition attempts to address the root causes of "crime" and violence by ensuring that people have the tools they need to survive and thrive. However, it also recognizes that people will still harm others. Instead of relying on a punitive carceral system, abolitionists want systems of [transformative justice](#) which are meant to foster real accountability, growth, and healing.

- As Ruth Wilson Gilmore says: “Abolition is about presence, not absence. It’s about building life-affirming institutions,” and “Abolition means not just the closing of prisons but the presence, instead, of vital systems of support that many communities lack.”
- “A tiring critique of prison abolition that can make even a self-identified radical sound like a mouthpiece for the right is that if we abolish the PIC, we will all be subject to greater risks of harm. In response to this assertion, it is important to note at least two related points. First, the most dangerous, violent people in our society are not in prison, but are running our military, government, prisons, and banks. Secondly, what we have now, even for people who have caused harm, is a form of nonaccountability where the survivors of a violation are often harmed again through the desires of a district attorney whose only interest is conviction rates. Anyone who has been deposed or been through a trial can attest to this. Abolition is not simply about letting everyone out of prison, as our critics like to suggest, although that would be an important component. It is forged in the work of daring to ask what true accountability, justice, and safety might look and feel like and what are the ways we might build our world now so violence in all its forms is decreased, rather than something that we only attend to post-infraction.” -Eric Stanley
- “[A]bolition does not mean that people will not do ‘bad things’ but that our carceral state does little to reduce the occurrence of violence and harm and does nothing to alter the social and political conditions that potentially facilitate interpersonal violence. In short, an abolition politic excavates core or root causes of violence masked by the carceral regime.” - Erica Meiners

8.3.3. Achieving abolition:

- Abolition is not achieved through [reformist changes](#) that increase or otherwise validate the various tenets of the prison industrial complex.
- In determining whether a position or proposal is abolitionist in nature, we ask ourselves: Does it reduce the scope, scale, and life of the PIC? We also ask:
 - Does it reduce funding to the PIC?
 - Does it challenge the notion that the PIC increases safety and eliminates violence?

- Does it reduce the tools / tactics / technology the PIC has at their disposal?
 - As such, replacing an armed police force with a non-armed police force is not an abolitionist reform as it does not reduce the scale and scope of policing.
 - Similarly, if we replace mental health crisis intervention with social workers who respond by incarcerating or criminalizing people, such a program would not reduce the scale and scope of policing, and would likely give the prison industrial complex more tools to police people.
 - For other concrete examples of reformist and abolitionist changes to policing and jailing, please see the following:
 - [Reformist reforms vs abolitionist reforms - policing](#), by Critical Resistance
 - [Reformist reforms vs abolitionist reforms - jailing](#), by Critical Resistance
 - [8 to Abolition](#), by Mon Mohapatra, Leila Raven, Nnennaya Amuchie, Reina Sultan, K Agbebiyi, Sara T. Hamid, Miakah Herskind, Derecka Purnell, Eli Dru, and Rachel Kuo
- 8.4. Abolition, Black liberation, and a socialist future:
- 8.4.1. Socialists' relationship to the bourgeois state is one of the key differences between our position and that of liberal reformists.
 - 8.4.2. Police act as the enforcement arm of capitalism. Capital and its owners have deputized police and other law enforcement agencies with the power to protect capital at all costs. Capitalism organizes forces to defend itself and justify the violence necessary in the process.
 - 8.4.3. This violence disproportionately affects Black, Indigenous, and other people of color and has been used as a further tool for exploitation by capitalists who benefit from policing and imprisonment— both as a tool for social control and as a tool for private profit.
 - 8.4.4. We can't limit ourselves to any one narrow location of class struggle but have to understand that class struggle is waged across many fronts and understand the state particularly as an instrument of class rule.
 - 8.4.5. So we seek to abolish the prison industrial complex, understanding it as a necessary component of the bourgeois state's strategy to maintain capitalism, racism, and imperialism/colonialism.
 - 8.4.6. As such, the only true alternative to policing is an abolitionist and, therefore, socialist future.
- 8.5. Abolitionist messaging:
- 8.5.1. Given that abolition is still making its way into public consciousness, it is important that any messaging around the concept is strategic. This is especially so when it comes to abolitionist messaging by the chapter or any elected officials/candidates.

- Abolitionist messaging must “penetrate the public's consciousness to disrupt the idea that cops=safety.” (Mariame Kaba, *We Do This Til We Free Us*).
- We are “challenging the belief that caging and controlling people makes us safe. We believe that basic necessities such as food, shelter, and freedom are what really make our communities secure. As such, our work is part of global struggles against inequality and powerlessness. Because we seek to abolish the PIC, we cannot support any work that extends its life or scope.” (Critical Resistance). As Ruth Wilson Gilmore says, “we only have to change one thing: everything.”
- Rhetoric that upholds existing pro-police institutions (‘jail killer cops’, etc.) is not abolitionist as it suggests that the current systems—prosecutors, prisons, jails, courts, and police that kill Black, brown, Indigenous, unhoused, trans people—can bring us justice.
- Abolition is a verb, an invitation to dream of a world where accountability isn’t synonymous with punishment, where everyone’s basic needs are met, and where we all care for one another.

8.5.2. In addition, the chapter and any candidates/elected officials must ensure they stop using carceral language in updates, pieces, and press releases. Some examples of non-carceral language can be found [here](#)

Looking Beyond NGOs: An Amendment to Priority Resolution “A DSA SF Chapter Commitment to Black Liberation, Indigenous Sovereignty, and Fighting Global White Supremacy”

Authors: Socrates L, Ryan M, Natalie S

Rationale

“We got to face some facts. That the masses are poor, that the masses belong to what you call the lower class, and when I talk about the masses, I’m talking about the white masses, I’m talking about the black masses, and the brown masses, and the yellow masses, too. We’ve got to face the fact that some people say you fight fire best with fire, but we say you put fire out best with water. We say you don’t fight racism with racism — we’re gonna fight racism with solidarity. We say you don’t fight capitalism with no black capitalism; you fight capitalism with socialism.”

- Fred Hampton, Chair of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party

While we are heartened that the resolution in question focuses on political education and shared struggle, we do not believe that using outside facilitators and third party auditors to conduct this work is appropriate for DSA SF. **While socialists have historically worked alongside progressive NGOs, we have maintained a firm political independence from them. Socialists have long critiqued the non-profit industrial complex as a capitalist-funded agent of containment, a flood barrier against social change.** This is largely because the foundations that fund NGOs directly constrain the scope of their work by setting strict bourgeois accommodationist requirements as a condition of receiving grant money.

As we wrote this amendment, we reflected on our experiences as participants in these trainings and were aligned in our recognition that they lack a systemic perspective and thus individualize racism, framing it as a phenomenon that manifests primarily in interpersonal interactions. Given the incentive structure within which NGOs must operate (patronage by the bourgeoisie), the trainings they design can only address racism in this way. While they may give shoutouts to systemic racism and perhaps even capitalism itself, they must ultimately focus on individual failings and individual solutions. More egregiously, they often present individualist problems and solutions as systemic problems and solutions, further leading participants away from understanding the actual mechanisms of racism.

As socialists, we reject this framework of atonement and performance in favor of shared struggle for our collective self-interests. We also reject the idea that we should accept at face value the radical language of NGO-style trainers. While it has become common practice among NGO management to criticize capitalism and racism as intertwined forces, their critiques do not and cannot spark radical action — they must submit to a capitalist philanthropy system that pays their wages, maintains their reputations, and gives NGOs as institutions a reason to exist.

If these organizations *were* to achieve their stated aims, they would immediately render themselves obsolete!

As socialists, we also value insights gleaned from the scientific process. [Empirical evidence](#) strongly suggests that NGO-style trainings on antiracism are in fact tremendously ineffective. Though they have become increasingly commonplace (the co-authors of this amendment collectively have undergone 6 antiracism or anti-oppression training courses), antiracism trainings neither reduce individual racist attitudes nor — given their individualist bent — alter the balance of power within the workplace.

To understand the problem with NGO-style trainings, we must analyze their political economy. NGO trainers such as antiracism trainers or diversity officers are at-will employees and contractors hired by the bosses of NGOs. Much like HR, they are unable to offer structural solutions to problems of racism (i.e., those solutions which would truly transform the power balance of the workplace) because they are directly accountable to the bosses. No matter how much antiracism trainers discuss structures, institutions, and capitalism, they cannot offer solutions that hurt the bosses because they would get fired. Their position as powerless “change agents” tasked with addressing imbalances of power both informs their politics and ties their hands. They cannot offer real structural solutions such as unionizing, a central strategy within the socialist theory of change. Antiracism trainers can only be permitted to buttress the most powerful group in a workplace: management. Ultimately, antiracism trainings abstractly gesture toward looming societal problems but can only concretely offer solutions that take the form of fixing individuals’ attitudes. This is why hiring outside trainers is a common union-busting tactic — it encourages workers to forget about changing the power structure of their workplace in favor of fixating on specific “bad apple” managers that upper management can fire.

Simply put, one cannot find the right third-party to do the job of auditing DSA SF and setting our curriculum because the organizations which conduct such audits and trainings are in the business of dismantling worker radicalism, protecting the capitalist workplace structure, and promoting individualistic solutions to racism. No matter how well-meaning specific trainers may be, that is their objective relationship to their clientele. As such, they have a material conflict of interest with our own work: the self-emancipation of the working class.

As we all know, capitalism divides workers and fomenters distrust among them. It teaches us that when we encounter racism, we cannot trust our peers but we can trust our bosses or their appendages in the form of HR and antiracism trainers. Capitalism only offers ceaseless introspection and further alienation from one another. As socialists, we reject this narrative, and affirm that we can build a better world through collective decision-making and the solidarity born of struggle. DSA members are best suited to conduct organizational reform through our democratic process, and it’s up to us to do the work of building our capacity to organize and foster dialogue across racial lines, using shared struggle to overcome racial divides. **Our critique of racism must not be delegated to organizations that do the work of capitalists; our critique of racism must be collectively formed and truly anti-capitalist, because**

anything else accommodates the multiracial ruling class in reinforcing its power over the multiracial working class.

"If people living under the most severe constraints, such as prisoners, can form study groups to learn about the world, then free-world activists have no excuse for ignorance, nor should they rely on funder-designed workshops and training sessions to do what revolutionaries in all times have done on their own,"

- Ruth Wilson Gilmore, prison abolitionist and prison scholar, writing in an anthology on the non-profit industrial complex, *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded*.

Be it Resolved That

The priority resolution [A DSA SF Chapter Commitment to Black Liberation, Indigenous Sovereignty, and Fighting Global White Supremacy](#) will be amended as follows (highlights indicate modified or deleted sections):

5. Resolution Commitments

Original text

This resolution represents the internal and external initiatives necessary to achieve an organizing culture and vision that prioritizes Black liberation, Indigenous sovereignty, and racial justice. We define internal initiatives as necessary reflections and transformations of our organizing culture and inclusivity of our spaces. The enlistment of third-party anti-oppression experts to audit, assess, and facilitate change is necessary both for impartiality and to ensure the responsibility does not fall on marginalized organizers. We define external initiatives as

Amended text

This resolution represents the internal and external initiatives necessary to achieve an organizing culture and vision that prioritizes Black liberation, Indigenous sovereignty, and racial justice. We define internal initiatives as necessary reflections and transformations of our organizing culture and inclusivity of our spaces. We define external initiatives as

5.1.1.

Original text

Third Party Anti-oppression experts will, in collaboration with the Black Liberation Core Campaign, audit the internal organizing structures, practices, and cultures and provide recommendations to the DSA SF chapter leadership based on their findings. The initial proposal for a third party auditor is AORTA. The preference is for an auditor that is anti-capitalist and structured as a worker-owned cooperative, collective, or similar; however, ultimately, we defer to

and trust the chapter-elected BLCC leadership in selecting an auditor after discussion with chapter members as outlined in section 6.3.1 The assessment should specifically strive to provide recommendations regarding the following items

...

Required Resources: Cost of third-party anti-oppression experts.

Amended text

The Black Liberation Core Campaign will audit the internal organizing structures, practices, and cultures and provide recommendations to the DSA SF chapter leadership based on their findings. The BLCC may create a chapter-elected position to conduct this audit. The assessment should specifically strive to provide recommendations regarding the following items

...

~~Required Resources: Cost of third-party anti-oppression experts. (this bullet point will be removed)~~

5.1.2.

Original text

Require all elected leadership, conflict resolution team, and grievance officers to undergo anti-oppression and racial-bias training led by a third-party facilitator.

...

Required Resources: Expenditure on third-party anti-oppression facilitators.

Amended text

Require all elected leadership, conflict resolution team, and grievance officers to undergo anti-oppression and racial-bias training led by the BLCC or other chapter-elected trainers.

...

~~Required Resources: Expenditure on third-party anti-oppression facilitators. (this bullet point will be removed)~~

5.1.3.

Original text

Require all elected leadership, conflict resolution team, and grievance officers to undergo anti-oppression and racial-bias training led by a third-party facilitator.

...

Required Resources: Expenditure on third-party anti-oppression facilitators.

Amended text

Require all elected leadership, conflict resolution team, and grievance officers to undergo anti-oppression and racial-bias training led by the BLCC or other chapter-elected trainers.

...

~~Required Resources: Expenditure on third party anti-oppression facilitators. (this bullet point will be removed)~~

5.1.6.

Original text

- Given the nuance and complexity of abolition as a political vision, goal, and strategy for liberation, DSA SF must provide regular abolition training for members to discuss why abolition is central to a socialist future. Such training can be outsourced to abolitionist organizations or provided by chapter members or committees after approval from leadership for this priority and the Steering Committee.
- These abolition training may be led by external organizations that align with our anti-capitalist values or internal trainers with the approval of BLCC leadership. Both internal and external trainers will be financially compensated for their labor.
- Initial workshop for DSA SF membership in October 2021. Thereafter, workshops should be scheduled every 17 weeks.
- Required Resources: Expenditure on third-party or internal abolitionist trainers.

Amended text

- Given the nuance and complexity of abolition as a political vision, goal, and strategy for liberation, DSA SF must provide regular abolition training for members to discuss why abolition is central to a socialist future. Such training can be provided by chapter members or committees after approval from leadership for this priority and the Steering Committee.
- Initial workshop for DSA SF membership in October 2021. Thereafter, workshops should be scheduled every 17 weeks.

5.4.3. Long Term Implementation

Original text

Second assessment by third party auditor no more than 2 years and no less than one year after initial audit

Amended text

Second assessment by chapter-elected auditors no more than 2 years and no less than one year after initial audit

6.3.1.

Original text

Holding at least one open discussion session before choosing a third party auditor and third party trainers to gather feedback and ideas from chapter membership

Amended text

Holding at least one open discussion session before **holding chapter elections for auditors and trainers** to gather feedback and ideas from chapter membership

7. Budget (Estimates)

Original text

- Anti-Oppression Organizational Assessment.
 - *Cost of third-party anti-oppression experts: \$3000*
- Quarterly Anti-Oppression Workshops for general membership led by outside facilitators with a focus on white supremacy and capitalism.
 - *Expenditure on third-party anti-oppression facilitators: \$2000/session; \$8000/year*
- Require all elected leadership, conflict resolution team, and grievance officers to undergo anti-oppression and racial-bias training led by a third-party facilitator.
 - *Sessions in addition to quarterly sessions: \$2000/session*
- Provide regular abolition training for members (at least thrice a year) and start the process of incorporating it into any chapter political education curriculums
 - *Expenditure on third-party or internal abolition trainers: \$500/session; \$1500/year*
- Campaign support for DefundSFPDNow, No New SF Jail Coalition, and the People's Budget of SF
 - *Cost of communications support such as printing materials and canva as well as materials for protests and actions: \$3000*

Total Estimated Budget: \$15,500

- + Additional Training Sessions as needed (costs vary)

1.1. By Quarter

- Q1 (June-Aug): None (unless trainings or assessments in Q2 listed below request payment upfront)
- Q2 (Sept-Nov): **\$5500**
 - Anti-Oppression Organizational Assessment: \$3000
 - Anti-Oppression Workshops: \$2000
 - Abolition Training: \$500

- Q3 (Dec-Feb): **\$2500**
 - Anti-Oppression Workshops: \$2000
 - Abolition Training: \$500
- Q4 (Mar-May): **\$2500**
 - Anti-Oppression Workshops: \$2000
 - Abolition Training: \$500
- Following year's budget: **\$2000**
 - Anti-Oppression Workshops: \$2000
- Unallocated (as needed money): **\$3000**

Amended text

- **Campaign** support for DefundSFPDNow, No New SF Jail Coalition, and the People's Budget of SF
 - *Cost of communications support such as printing materials and canva as well as materials for protests and actions: \$3000*

Total Estimated Budget: \$3000

+ Additional Training Sessions as needed (costs vary)

1.1. By Quarter

- Q1 (June-Aug): None
- Q2 (Sept-Nov): None
- Q3 (Dec-Feb): None
- Q4 (Mar-May): None
- Following year's budget: None

Unallocated (as needed money): **\$3000**

BYLAWS AMENDMENT: Steering Committee Portfolios Amendment

Author: Sam HL

WHEREAS a productive and efficient DSA SF requires a well-organized Steering Committee providing active development to help the chapter,

WHEREAS the below amendment codifies work that the current Steering Committee has started to do, while ensuring that all members have transparency and input into the process,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT DSA SF amends Article VII of our bylaws as below.

Article IV. Steering Committee

Section 1. Members

The Officers of DSA SF along with any at-large members and representatives of branches shall compose the Steering Committee.

Section 2. Responsibilities

- The Steering Committee shall meet as a whole at least once per quarter (in person or by conference call). Those meetings shall be open to chapter members unless the Committee goes into executive session by two-thirds vote of the committee.
- The Steering Committee shall concern itself primarily with establishing program activities and proposing guidelines for consideration by the general membership.
- The Steering Committee shall be responsible for providing the organizational infrastructure required for DSA SF's meetings and for members to accomplish projects and tasks within working groups and committees.

- The Steering Committee, working with relevant committees, must publish annual reports describing the planned projects and accomplishments of DSA SF to members 15 days prior to General Meeting.
- The Steering Committee is responsible for organizing efforts to satisfy DSA's priorities within San Francisco, as determined by the general membership.
- The Steering Committee shall be responsible for presenting budgetary appropriations to the members at Regular Meetings, to be approved by a majority vote of members present.
- The Steering Committee shall be responsible for acting on the organization's behalf between Regular and General Meetings.

Upon election of a new Steering Committee, the current Steering Committee will stay on in an Emeritus form for one month in order to facilitate the transfer of leadership. They will assist the new Steering Committee in any business which requires continuity, and provide feedback on their established Plan of Work.

Section 3. Portfolios.

In order to distribute work within the Steering Committee and provide active guidance to the chapter, the Steering Committee shall establish "portfolios" of work that Committee members will drive forward during their term. These portfolios may consist of a set of goals for improving chapter infrastructure, plans for engagement with chapter Committees, Working Groups, and priority campaigns toward shared ends, or other divisions of work within the Steering Committee.

Portfolios will consist of a description of the plan for the given year, and contact information for the Steering Committee member responsible for that portfolio.

Together, these portfolios will comprise a Plan of Work for the Steering Committee in their term. This Plan of Work shall be distributed to all chapter members within one month of taking office, and the Steering Committee shall report at least semesterly on the progress of this Plan with a report to the membership.

Section 34. Quorum.

A quorum of three members or fifty percent, whichever is higher, is required for a valid meeting of the Steering Committee. A Steering Committee member may appoint a proxy who is not already a voting member of the Steering Committee to vote on the member's behalf when necessary. Unless otherwise specified in the bylaws, all votes by the Steering Committee require a simple majority of votes cast.

Signatories

[Fill out this form to sign on!](#)

Sam HL, Secretary, DSA SF Steering Committee

Melissa H, DSA SF Steering Committee

Artem I, DSA SF Steering Committee

Jason K, DSA SF Steering Committee

Miriam G, Co-chair, Chapter Coordination Committee

Gabriel G, Co-chair, Ecosocialist Committee

Ryan V, Democracy Team Lead, Chapter Coordination Committee

Sam R, Community Team Lead, Chapter Coordination Committee

Ryan S

Michael S

Matthew P

Jack C

Natalie S

Greg M

Cara H

Will S

Joseph H

Nick N

BYLAWS AMENDMENT: Committee and Working Group Democracy

Author: Sam HL

WHEREAS, the first stated objective of the Democratic Socialists of America, San Francisco is to “Build *collective* power that can stand up to capital,”

WHEREAS, a vital goal for the socialist movement should be to build practice in self-governance and **democratic decision making** by and for the masses,

WHEREAS, the power for a democratic body should rest in the membership of that body in order to build collective stake in all work happening across the chapter,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT DSA SF amends Article VII of our bylaws as below.

FURTHER RESOLVED that all existing Committee and Working Groups will be automatically approved as rechartered for the 2021-2022 year, and put forward candidates for ratification at the July chapter meeting.

Article VII. Committees and Working Groups

Section 1. Definition and Purpose

In order to more effectively organize to achieve its mission and objectives, DSA SF may establish committees and working groups. Committees may be established for the purpose of organizing around and/or performing specific functions for the chapter (e.g., design, marketing and communication, public outreach, recommending endorsements, etc.). Working groups may be established for the purpose of organizing action around political themes or projects (e.g., housing, immigration, feminism, reading groups, etc.) that fall under the purview of the DSA and/or DSA SF’s political platform.

Section 2. Creation

Members who wish to form a committee or working group must submit a proposed charter that includes (1) a group name; (2); mission statement and objectives; (3) ~~initial~~ strategy for achieving the stated objectives; (4) list of at least five prospective members (including, if a newly-chartered committee, two who are designated as provisional Co-Chairs) signed by those members; and (5) if it is anticipated that the proposed committee or working group will seek authorization to expend the chapter's funds, a short explanation of the anticipated use of those funds and estimate of the amount to be spent.

Proposed charters for committees, but not working groups, must additionally include (6) a statement of whether the proposed committee is to be a standing committee of indefinite duration or a temporary committee to expire at a time certain or upon the occurrence of a specified event; (7) whether membership in the committee is to be open to all members in good standing or limited; and (8) if membership is to be limited, the number of members the committee shall have and the means by which members will be selected.

A proposed committee or working group shall be recognized and chartered with the approval of a majority of the votes cast at a Regular, Special, or General meeting. Charters for proposed committees and working groups must be published on the agenda or announced to the membership at least 15 days prior to the meeting.

Section 3. Membership and Election of Co-Chairs

Membership in a committee shall be open to all DSA SF members in good standing unless the committee's charter limits membership, in

which case the terms of the charter shall control. Committees shall maintain an official membership list.

Membership in working groups shall be open to all DSA SF members in good standing. Working groups are encouraged to maintain an official membership list, but are only required to do so to maintain eligibility to make authorized expenditures under **Section 6**, below.

~~The founders of a new committee or working group must designate two temporary co-chairs. Temporary co-chairs will serve once the group is chartered; an election for committee leadership must then be held at no later than the second meeting following ratification. It is recommended that committees use the same Single Transferable Voting system that DSA SF uses for chapter-wide elections, especially for contested committee elections. Ratified committees and working groups must elect two co-chairs and may also elect a vice-chair to serve as their deputy. Terms will last either 6 months or one year.~~

Between chapter ratification and the next chapter meeting, committee or working group members will hold an election for the positions of co-chair using the Single Transferable Vote system described in Article XII section 3 and 4. The chapter will ratify these elected positions with a vote at the next Regular meeting or Special meeting called for that purpose.

Committee and working group co-chairs will serve for 6 month terms, at which point the committee will hold another election in advance of a mid-year leadership election at a chapter Regular meeting or Special meeting called for that purpose. In the case of a mid-term vacancy, the committee will elect an interim replacement to be ratified at the next chapter Regular meeting or Special meeting called for that purpose.

All co-chairs and vice chairs must be added to current leadership channels and listservs. All co-chairs and vice-chairs must voluntarily leave said channels and listservs after their terms are over if they are not re-elected.

In the interest of sharing leadership opportunities and elevating rank and file members, co-chairs of committees and working groups (including steering committee) cannot chair more than one committee or working group unless no other eligible members wish to run.

Section 4. Diversity

At least 50% of each committee's co-chairs, vice chairs, and other elected officers determined by the committee should be either a woman, transgender, non-binary, or any combination of these categories, determined solely by that officer's own identification. Additionally at least 50% of each committee's co-chairs, vice chairs, and other elected officers determined by the committee should be Black, Indigenous, and/or People of Color (BIPOC). If either of these conditions are not met then the officers elected by the next election for any of these offices shall satisfy all of the unmet conditions, unless no such candidates stand for election, in which case the officers shall satisfy one of the unmet conditions, unless no such candidates stand for election, in which case this requirement is waived.

Section 5. Duties and Responsibilities

The members of a committee or working group are responsible for executing their respective body's strategy in fulfillment of its objectives.

Co-Chairs are responsible for organizing their respective body's members, running meetings, acting as liaisons to the Steering

Committee, and serving as the body's points of contact to the DSA SF membership.

Co-chairs may appoint a vice chair, who will provide administrative and organizing support to their body, acting as their deputy and stepping in to fill gaps within leadership as needed.

Committees must keep official records of meeting dates, attendance, and meeting notes, which must be made available to the DSA SF membership. Working groups are encouraged to maintain these records, but are only required to do so to maintain eligibility to make authorized expenditures under **Section 6**, below.

Section 6. Expenditures

Committees, as well as working groups that maintain an official membership list and official records of meeting dates, attendance, and meeting notes, may seek authorization to expend the organization's funds if necessary to accomplish their objectives. All requests for authorization must be presented to the Treasurer and Steering Committee and must be approved by the Steering Committee. A committee or working group shall maintain records of all authorized expenditures made using the organization's funds and shall provide these records to the Treasurer.

Section 7. Review, Modification, and Dissolution

A committee's or working group's activities shall be reviewed by the Steering Committee at the Regular Steering Committee meetings. Committees and working groups shall report on their activities to the DSA SF membership at one Regular meeting each quarter or more frequently as necessary.

Existing committees and working groups may amend their charters with the approval of a majority of the votes cast at a Regular, Special, or General meeting. Proposed amendments to a committee's or working group's charter must be published on the agenda or announced to the membership at least 15 days prior to the meeting.

Committees that are chartered as temporary committees shall dissolve automatically upon the expiration of the certain time or occurrence of the particular event specified in their charter. All other committees and working groups shall ~~continue in existence indefinitely unless dissolved by a majority of the votes cast at a Regular, Special, or General meeting. Working groups shall also continue in existence indefinitely unless dissolved by a majority of the votes cast at a Regular, Special, or General meeting, or by the resignation or unanimous consent of the working group's active members.~~ expire automatically at the next chapter Convention following their establishment. Committee and working group co-chairs will make a report on the committee's activities to deliver at the chapter Convention, including a recommendation for ceasing or continuing their work into the following year. If continuance is recommended, they will submit an updated charter for the chapter to ratify at the following Convention. If a previously-established committee or working group is being rechartered, the previous leadership will continue until new leadership is elected. If a committee or working group is being chartered for the first time, the charter will include two provisional co-chairs who will serve until leadership is elected.

Upon dissolution, the member(s) maintaining custody of the committee's or working group's records shall provide copies of those records to the Secretary.

Section 8. Provisional Working Groups

Working groups may be created on a provisional basis so the chapter has a means to support nascent organizing work without a vote at a meeting. To form a provisional working group, members interested in forming the provisional working group will inform the Steering Committee of their intent to form a provisional working group, naming two provisional co-chairs and stating their purpose and immediate tasks, via a form. The provisional co-chairs must be active members as defined in these bylaws. Once the steering committee has acknowledged this form submission and verified the eligibility of the provisional co-chairs, the group is considered to be a chartered provisional working group.

After two months, the provisional working group must either submit a proposal to charter as a full working group to be voted on at the next general meeting or re-apply for a charter as a provisional working group, or else the provisional working group dissolves. After six months, a provisional working group may no longer re-apply for a charter. At any time, fifteen members can call a vote at the next general meeting, or special meeting if such action is within the purview of that meeting, on whether the provisional working group should continue to exist, or call a snap election for the provisional co-chairs at a general or special meeting.

They are not eligible to spend chapter funds without Steering Committee approval. Provisional co-chairs are not considered part of chapter leadership, and may not vouch for provisional working group members to grant them voting power.

Signatories

[Sign here to have your name added!](#)

Steering Committee members

Chris T - Vice-Chair, DSA SF Steering Committee

Sam HL - Secretary, DSA SF Steering Committee

Artem I - Treasurer, DSA SF Steering Committee

Jason K - Member-At-Large, DSA SF Steering Committee

Current committee/WG leadership

Max T - Chair, Labor Organizing Committee

Marti D, Co-chair, Tenant Solidarity Committee

Miriam G - Co-chair, Chapter Coordination Committee

Andrew T - Co-chair, Writing Committee

Kyle H - Co-chair, Writing Committee

Savannah K - Vice-chair, Writing Committee

Ryan V - Democracy Team Lead, Chapter Coordination Committee

Daniel O - Onboarding Team Lead, Chapter Coordination Committee

Other chapter members

Matthew M, former DSA SF Co-Chair

Rose K, former DSA SF Co-Chair

Drew D, former DSA SF Steering Committee Member

Harvey W - Former Co-chair, Homelessness Working Group, and Tenant Solidarity Committee

Ryan S - Former Lead, Chapter Coordination Committee Democracy Team

Evan M, Co-chair, Red Star San Francisco Caucus

Matthew P, Co-chair, Red Star San Francisco Caucus

Jack C

Michael S

Natalie S

Will S

Joseph H

Nick N

BYLAWS AMENDMENT: Adding Chapter Coordination Committee To The Bylaws

Authors: Miriam G

Article III. Membership

Section 4. "Active"

Members are considered "active" provided they have attended two of the three most recent "Regular Meetings" or consistently participate in Working Groups or Committees, as testified by nomination by a chair of a Working Group or Committee they are in or if they are working towards a DSA SF priority as put forward by the Steering Committee member responsible for said priority.

Section 5: DSA SF Member Expectations

There is an expectation for all members to participate in creating a safe and open space, so that our chapter can assert our priorities. In doing this there is an expectation that all members follow the code of conduct and are respectful to all other members and potential members, in all spaces, including; in person, slack, discord, the forum, signal, and email. In addition in order for the chapter to effectively run there is an expectation that membership will participate in supporting the infrastructure and/or priorities.

Article V. Officer Positions and Duties

Section 4. Secretary

The secretary shall be responsible for the functioning of the Chapter Coordination Committee and see that the administrative functions of the chapter are properly carried out, including maintaining accurate membership lists, keeping minutes and records of chapter meetings, maintaining communication channels utilized by DSA SF, and notifying the Steering Committee and the membership of all meetings. Part of this job includes attending CCC meetings and reporting back to steering.

Article X: Chapter Coordination Committee roles and officers

Section 1: Purpose

The Chapter Coordination Committee (CCC) assists the chapter and is accountable to the chapter through passing their goals each year through the chapter regular meeting two meetings after the chapter convention. CCC has two co-chairs, one vice chair, one onboarding lead, one community lead, one comms lead, one democracy lead, and one tech lead. Any member of DSA SF can help with CCC projects.

Section 2. Candidacy and Elections

Candidates for the CCC must be active members in good standing with DSA SF. All candidates are running for a specific position, those positions are, co-chairs, Vice Chair, and all leads.

Candidates must be nominated by five members in good standing, not including themselves, by no later than the last regular meeting before the election is to be held.

At the meeting where the election is held, every valid candidate is given equal time to speak. Voters then rank their choices for candidates. Elections for the CCC will be held according to the rules set forth in Article XII. The election will be held in the regular meeting after the convention, terms will be 1 year, if a member steps down, membership will nominate and then vote on a member to fill that spot.

Section 3: CCC Co-Chairs

CCC Co-Chairs are elected by membership at large. They are in charge of reporting directly back to the chapter as well as the steering committee. They will present the goals set forth by all teams at a regular meeting. They are the two candidates who get the most votes for CCC Chair.

Section 4: CCC Vice Chair

Vice Chair is elected by all of DSA SF membership as the third place victory in the CCC Chair election and keeps track of where all team leads are in their goals as well as helps to recruit and direct new members of CCC.

Section 5. Team Structure

The Chapter Coordination Committee will divide its responsibilities among a set of teams internal to the Committee. The creation of a new team may be done on an interim basis by the Co-chairs of the Committee. An interim team lead must be approved by the membership through an election for its leader within one year of its appointment. A team may be dissolved by a vote of the membership or if no member stands for the election as Lead of the team.

Section 6: Team leads

Each team within the Committee will be led by a Team Lead who reports to the Committee Co-chairs; they are elected by the chapter at large. They lead a team of members from the chapter at large. Team leads will keep track of the members on their team. Multiple leads may be elected for a team subject to the decision of the Committee co-chairs. All terms are for one year.

Section 7: General CCC membership

All members of DSA SF are eligible to be members and run for officer positions. Being active in CCC is being active in a team and the list of active members is kept track of by the team lead.

Section 8: CCC Goals

The goals of CCC are the goals for the chapter infrastructure at large, therefore in the regular meeting after all team leads and chairs will present their goals to the chapter at large at the regular meeting at which the goals will be voted on by the chapter at large in order to keep the efforts democratic. The goals will be posted under the CCC page of the website after voting.

Section 9. Acting Team Lead or Chairs

Should a team lead or chair leave DSA SF, resign from the position, or be removed from office, a special election must be held as soon as feasible to fill the remainder of that officer's term unless the regular election for that position is already scheduled to be held within 90 days. The Co-Chairs may, but are not required to, select an acting officer to hold the position until the election. If the chapter is not in compliance with the diversity requirement of Section 2 after the original officer's departure, any acting officer selected must satisfy the diversity requirement, and any special election may be limited to candidates who would satisfy the diversity requirement at issue.

Section 19. Removal of an Officer

A lead or chair may be removed from their position by a majority of votes cast at a Regular or Special meeting called for that purpose. A removal vote is triggered by a majority vote of the CCC to recommend removal of the lead or chair, or by a petition of 10% of active membership or 15 active members, whichever is greater. The membership must be given at least two weeks notice of the upcoming removal vote, which must be held as soon as feasible after the vote is triggered.

Signatures:

Miriam G; Co-Chair CCC

Jason P; Co-Chair CCC

Daniel O; Onboarding Team lead CCC

Sam R; Community Team lead CCC

Jason K; DSA SF Steering Committee

Sam H-L, Chapter Secretary, DSA SF Steering Committee

Artem I; DSA SF Steering Committee

Rose K; Former DSA SF Steering Committee

Ryan S; Former Democracy Team lead CCC

Harvey W
Maria M
Matty P
Michael S
Greg M
Hasan A

RESOLUTION: DSA SF Electoral Strategy

By the DSA SF Electoral Strategy Commission

[Comment copy here](#)

(A [priorities resolution](#) put forward for chapter consideration would commit the chapter to democratically developing a ballot measure campaign for the June and November 2022 elections. Regardless of whether the chapter commits to that as a priority, this resolution outlines the way DSA SF should engage in Electoral work that is germane to DSA's fight against capitalism and promotes our values.)

The Democratic Socialists of America is not a political party. We say so every General Meeting. But we run people for office, and [have won](#). We run ballot measures, and [have won](#). We have done wholesale takeovers of [Democratic Party establishments](#). Yet in many ways despite our electoral successes, socialism is still just a nascent project in this country. In order to win the world we want, we need an independent vehicle for working-class politics that can set a clear agenda and wage struggle democratically and collectively. This resolution outlines a basic approach to Electoral endorsements that can move the chapter in that direction.

See the Appendix for more details on the background behind this resolution and some of the strategic motivations for this recommended approach.

Resolution:

DSA SF will adopt an Electoral endorsement and mobilization strategy with the following goals:

- Goal 1: Establish clear expectations and processes for electoral work within the chapter.
- Goal 2: Build the chapter's electoral capacity, in terms of campaign skills, experience, and knowledge and in terms of preparing chapter members to run for office.
- Goal 3: Connect electoral campaigns with the chapter's long-term strategy, as defined by the chapter priorities.

Work beyond this endorsement strategy will be performed through dedicated campaigns established by the chapter membership at-large, including chapter priority campaigns like the [one put forward for November 2022](#), or legislative pressure campaigns like passing the PRO Act or winning state and municipal legislation.

I. Leadership

The chapter hereby dissolves the standing Electoral Committee and replaces it with 5-member Electoral Boards, elected by the membership at large and serving for the term of each Municipal Election, including Primary and General, to be established at a timeline recommended by the Steering Committee and passed by the membership. Each resolution to establish an Electoral Board will have a timeline of duty and process for evaluation and recall. In the case of a Board which serves for both a Primary and General Election, the Electoral Board will go up for a vote of confidence of the membership following the Primary Election. If the membership does not approve this vote, a new Electoral Board will be established by the membership.

This Electoral Board will serve as a deliberative body subordinate to any decisions made by the membership at large, with a primary goal of recommending campaign endorsements for the chapter and overseeing chapter work on endorsed campaigns.

The membership will also elect a single campaign coordinator for each endorsed campaign who reports to the Electoral Board and will manage chapter work on the campaign. This member may or may not be a member of the Electoral Board.

Electoral Board members and campaign coordinators may not be hired staff on any campaign going for chapter consideration for endorsement. In the event that Electoral Board members are hired as staff, the Steering Committee will elect an interim replacement to serve before a chapter election as soon as possible.

An Electoral Board or campaign coordinator may appoint other chapter members in good standing to assist with fulfilling their responsibilities. They should communicate these appointments as part of their regular progress reports to the Steering Committee and the chapter (or the Electoral Board in the case of campaign coordinators), who will have the ability to veto and appoint a replacement.

Business meetings of the Electoral Board or those organized by campaign coordinators will be open to the membership at large as non-voting attendees, with notes taken and made available to all chapter members. The Electoral Board will hold an open discussion at least monthly on topics for consideration for the membership, and report back to the membership at every chapter Regular meeting.

II. Recommendation Process and Criteria

A DSA SF endorsement means that the membership have deemed a campaign useful to the goal of winning socialist transformation. This utility may come directly -- from increased ability to enact DSA SF's priorities -- or it may come indirectly, by increasing DSA SF membership or solidarity with other organizations. An endorsement comes with the understanding that DSA SF will commit significant time and resources to a campaign to ensure its success. Due to the inherent cost

assumed by approving an endorsement, membership must have ample time to consider the question, and must be adequately briefed about the race generally to make a decision. Because a DSA endorsement costs the chapter to approve, the chapter expects the endorsed candidate or campaign to allow DSA SF members to be integrated with their campaign and treated with comradely respect.

Endorsement Process

The Electoral Board's recommendation will include a report on each candidate or measure recommended, including:

1. How the candidate or measure meets the criteria established below.
2. The expected chapter relationship to the campaign.
3. How the campaign can be used to tangibly increase DSA SF's organizational capacity or build our power.
4. How the chapter will define success for this campaign and how the campaign's success would increase the chapter's ability to enact its priorities

The Electoral Board will hold at least one major session of ballot review and discussion for any member who wishes to attend to gather feedback and perspectives in addition to their monthly open discussions. They will interview candidates or campaign staff and make a holistic recommendation of which items the chapter should endorse on a given ballot, due at a timeline set by the Steering Committee but with a goal of at least 6 months before the election for candidates and 3 months before the election for ballot measures.

Electoral Board recommendations will automatically move to chapter consideration, ideally at chapter Regular meeting(s) designated by the Steering Committee. At this meeting or meetings, any member can put for consideration an endorsement not recommended by the Electoral Board. In order to do this, they must develop a report with the same content and gather 15 signatures from members in Good Standing. The Electoral Board will be asked to provide guidance on the question, but the endorsement will appear alongside Electoral Board recommendations in the same meeting.

Ballot Measure Endorsements

Ballot measures are a unique opportunity to collaborate with other organizations without competing for an individual candidate's loyalties. Thus the Electoral Board will consider ballot measures using the following criteria:

1. Does the law proposed by the measure itself build worker power or work to tear down capitalism?
2. Does the measure present an opportunity to collaborate with organizations that we want to build ties with?

3. What due diligence (polls, signature gatherings, etc.) have the writers of the measure done? Are they willing to share data? If so, does the data suggest a high likelihood of success?
4. Does the proposed measure have the personnel infrastructure (volunteer excitement, staff or expertise) to run a campaign without DSA SF's involvement? If not, what level of investment would be expected and can the chapter meet those expectations?
5. What are the fundraising prospects for the campaign?
6. What else is on the ballot and how could that impact the campaign?
7. What opportunities will DSA have to build membership and awareness during this campaign?

Any ballot measure put forward by an in-office member of DSA SF will be automatically considered for an endorsement at a chapter meeting. The Electoral Board will consider their recommendation using the same criteria listed above.

Candidate Endorsements

The Electoral Board will research all seats up for state, city, city college, & school board elections. The Board will analyze the electoral factors to consider in each race, including:

1. Winnability, as measured by historical data, analysis of the voters (including class and other qualitative factors), and analysis of the competition.
2. The degree that it will prepare the candidate/DSA SF for future runs.
3. The opportunities to build relationships with other organizations via coalition.
4. The value of replacing the incumbent.
5. The estimated costs of running, including monetary, time, and reputational costs.
6. The appetite of DSA SF members to engage in the campaign.

For each seat the Board should deem the race winnable or otherwise valuable to compete in. If no DSA member is running for these seats, the Board must begin proactively seeking candidates from within DSA and within our network of coalition organizations. In case no viable candidate can be found in time, the Electoral Board may consider endorsing candidates who are not DSA cadre, provided that as part of the endorsement process they meet the criteria below.

When considering the endorsement of a candidate, the following is a list of metrics by which to evaluate a candidacy and include in the written report to the chapter membership. This is not an exhaustive list; these questions are the minimum that should be answered for the membership to make a qualified judgement on endorsement.

1. Commitment to carrying out DSA SF's democratically-developed priorities
 - a. Candidates for endorsement must be a member of DSA in good standing.

- b. Candidates must commit to adopting DSA SF chapter priorities as part of their legislative platform as long as they remain a chapter member.
 - c. Candidates must be willing to outwardly say they are a socialist and member of DSA anywhere it will mutually benefit DSA and the campaign -- such as field communications to very progressive areas -- to build membership and awareness of DSA through the campaign.
 - i. While messaging strategy is up to the candidate, and the candidate may choose not to use certain terms or language with conservative demographics, candidates must be open about being a DSA member.
 - d. Even if running on the Democratic ticket, candidates must speak and demonstrate support for an independent party / organization to represent working people. This demonstration takes the form of:
 - i. The candidate must allow DSA members to contribute a campaign's strategy and plan, or take on and own specific precincts or areas.
 - ii. Wherever possible, DSA should have their own campaign literature that is DSA-branded. The campaign must allow DSA volunteers to bring DSA-branded literature on lit drops, where strategically feasible (as determined by the DSA campaign coordinator).
 - iii. Where feasible, the campaign will hire DSA-affiliated consultants, as well as recruit campaign staff from the pool of qualified DSA members.
 - iv. The campaign should tap DSA members as trainers, interns and project leads.
 - e. Candidates must convince the membership of DSA SF that they have a clear vision of how they will build the socialist movement and worker power once elected.
 - i. This must involve commitments to host meetings at least quarterly between the candidate/elected official and the chapter membership. Additionally, elected officials may assign any necessary office liaison roles for ongoing collaboration with the chapter between these quarterly meetings.
 - ii. It may also involve commitments to involve DSA in the legislation drafting process, the ballot measure drafting process, or in mobilization efforts.
 - iii. While the specific commitments will depend on the office sought by the candidate, chapter interest, etc. the membership must have confidence that endorsed candidates will pursue a strategy that builds a movement outside of government to complement the powers of office.
2. Candidate preparedness
- a. Previous public organizing or electoral experience, name recognition
 - b. Polls, where applicable
 - c. Initial fundraising accomplishments
 - d. Community ties to their constituencies
 - e. Demonstrated work ethic and commitment

- f. Quality of team, including consultants, campaign manager, and treasurer.
- g. Fit for the seat in question, in terms of aspects such as:
 - i. Would the candidate credibly represent communities of color in their district?
 - ii. Does the candidate understand the political landscape of their district?
 - iii. Is the candidate familiar with the history of their district and capable of credibly framing local issues in socialist terms?

III. Coordinating Campaigns

As mentioned in Section I, DSA SF will elect a single campaign coordinator for each endorsed campaign. The responsibilities of this campaign coordinator will be to:

- Assess volunteer needs of the campaign on a monthly basis and coordinate with the Electoral Board to schedule volunteer events
- Regularly report campaign progress to the Electoral Board, the Steering Committee, and the membership. The coordinator should also regularly collect feedback from DSA campaign volunteers and incorporate this feedback into their reports
- Report regularly on the state of fundraising in the campaign
- Have dedicated check-ins with campaign staff on their assessment of campaign morale and candidate conduct
- Coordinate DSA engagement by:
 - Running DSA volunteer events
 - Coordinating DSA SF contingents and sign-in kiosks at candidate-controlled field events
 - Doing targeted recruitment of chapter members into campaign positions
- Coordinate lit drops so that DSA material is included wherever feasible

IV. Building Skills

During the campaign season, the Electoral Board will be responsible for working with Electoral leaders across the chapter to build member skills in Electoral organizing, focusing on growing DSA members from event attendees to leaders. These responsibilities may include:

- Hosting education events to help members understand the political terrain of the city.
- Hosting training sessions in skills like messaging, script writing, fundraising, turf cutting, and other campaign work.
- Hosting cross-campaign learning sessions for electoral staff to share ideas and best practices.
- Maintaining cross-campaign organizing lists to ensure organizers follow up with attendees to get them involved, and to ensure that volunteer resources are properly allocated.

- Recruit for intern and leadership roles on campaigns where comrades can learn through practice how to run a campaign

Though the Electoral Board is the ultimately responsible party for ensuring the development of educational infrastructure, building a participatory education program will require a major collective investment. Members with Electoral organizing experience who aren't serving on an Electoral Board will be asked to participate in the above efforts, taking on organizing roles in partnership with the elected Board members.

V. Measuring Success

At the conclusion of the election, each campaign team will have learned an immense amount about running campaigns and to be an effective organization we must share these learnings so that we can improve our knowledge through practice. In addition, many of the strategic decisions made early on in the electoral season will have played out, and the Board will be in a position to assess their decisions post-facto. Thus the Electoral Board will be responsible for preparing a post-election report, in conjunction with the Campaign Coordinators, for presentation to the membership.

The report will measure success using the following qualitative and quantitative aspects:

- Final vote results, including analysis via demographics, geography, and class.
- The coalition experience, including honest analysis of each partner's contributions and potential for further partnerships.
- The volunteer experience, including both DSA's coordination of events and the campaign's treatment of volunteers.
- A post-mortem analysis of the endorsements the Electoral Board recommended, and those which the membership ratified.

Finally the report may include recommendations from the Board regarding future electoral efforts.

Appendix

This resolution was authored by the DSA SF Electoral Strategy Commission, a group chartered by the chapter to provide a recommendation on an Electoral Strategy that will build collective power for the chapter. Its creation was proposed by the DSA SF Steering Committee as part of the chapter's [2020 Election Report](#), which identified key problems and successes of the chapter's Electoral work.

Some issues raised by the report include:

- No clear definition of the goals of Electoral endorsements and chapter engagement with endorsed campaigns

- Over-reliance on hired campaign staff, both to push endorsement recommendations within the Electoral Committee, and to ensure that DSA SF was running active chapter work on endorsed campaigns
- Lack of DSA SF control over DSA SF work on endorsed campaigns, leading to an unclear idea of what DSA SF actively did or did not do to contribute to victory

Some successes mentioned in the report:

- Chapter success on ballot measure campaigns as tools for unifying chapter work in different arenas of struggle
- Progress towards establishment of subcommittees and responsible parties to handle Electoral work on endorsed campaigns

The proposed structure for DSA SF's Electoral Strategy was built with a few principles in mind:

- **The chapter should outline a realistic approach for any Electoral work that isn't a formal chapter priority.** The base endorsement strategy should allow the chapter to make realistic commitments that grow our chapter and build coalition without making a commitment the chapter isn't set up to deliver on. The chapter should scope out any Electoral work that will require a major transformative commitment from the membership as a priority resolution, which we have done this time around with our proposed [Ballot Measure campaign](#)
- **Winning State power or ballot measures alone isn't how we win socialism, but Electoral work does have an important role to play.** The work of the chapter in the Electoral arena should be to prepare the subjective conditions for winning the world we want. Democratically focusing our work, putting a vision forward and enacting it through practice to improve material conditions, all this makes our organization stronger and more able to take power in a future crisis moment
- **Endorsement strategy should be developed on the authority of the at-large membership.** An endorsement is a collective commitment from the whole membership, and reserving the first line of recommendations to chapter-elected leaders gives all members the power to determine the direction our electoral work should go. The proposed approach provides that first-line power to the elected commission but reserves all power of actual endorsement to the full chapter, and allows any group of 15 members to propose an additional endorsement for chapter consideration if desired
- **Active investment in education and skill building should be a primary focus for the chapter.** Rather than running an ongoing self-selecting committee infrastructure, members with electoral experience should spend their time actively driving efforts to build skills within the rest of the chapter. New members should get plugged into electoral work by helping out with campaigns and attending targeted education sessions, all of which will require a huge amount of effort from members outside of elected leadership. Developing this infrastructure is a paramount goal for all members with electoral experience
- **The chapter should empower its elected leaders to make important decisions.** This is part of ensuring that the structures we create in this resolution are positions of power that

people vie for -- this will help the chapter democratically resolve contradictions within our organization more fully and decisively. Furthermore, chapter-elected leaders should be able to see their decisions through to the end, while still allowing the membership to recall them in extreme circumstances. That way there is a continuity of thought and practice that can gain momentum over the course of the election season. We have also specified explicit powers of appointment that both the board and campaign coordinators enjoy -- this will help increase our electoral capacity and ensure that elected roles stay high-level & strategic.

- **The electoral structures we create should be time- and mission-bounded.** Electoral work always has a cyclic cadence, unlike nearly every other part of socialist work. We came to the conclusion that since every election season must be analyzed using the local conditions, the best way to ensure that the electoral board represents the will of the membership *in the context of a specific election* is to bound each electoral board to that specific election, after which it dissolves. Note that this structure can also be run in parallel - i.e. multiple electoral boards can be simultaneously commissioned, such as for the case of non-municipal elections like ADEMs.

Signatories

[Sign here to support the chapter's consideration of this resolution!](#)

Jen S - Chair, Electoral Strategy Commission

Andrew T - Vice Chair, Electoral Strategy Commission; Co-Chair, Writing Committee

Julian L - Member-at-large, Electoral Strategy Commission; Co-Chair, Electoral Committee

Vanessa P - Member-at-large, Electoral Strategy Commission; Co-Chair, Electoral Committee

Sam HL - Member-at-large, Electoral Strategy Commission; Secretary, DSA SF Steering Committee

Jason K - Member, DSA SF Steering Committee

Max T - Chair, Labor Organizing Committee

Miriam G - Co-Chair, Chapter Coordination Committee

Matthew P

Jasper W

Shanti S

Jeff M

Chris A

June L

Alex L

Jackie F

Patrick C

Kaylah W

Harlo P

Terri S

Jordan D

Marianne R

Terri S

Lex VK

RESOLUTION: DSA SF

Communications Committee

By the Chairs of the Writing Committee: Andrew T., Savannah K., Kyle H.

Introduction

The base for any political program is a shared language for articulating the problems of the world. Marx developed a theory of class struggle that took the language of his time and applied it for revolutionary ends, and many others have carried on in this tradition. Political movements succeed to the extent that they can build shared language and convert people using that language.

Communications in DSA SF has been ad-hoc for some time. Teams have their own processes and sub-teams for communication. For example, Hotels Not Hospitals runs its own social media accounts and DefundSFPD has its own small comms team to make [press releases](#) and [whitepapers](#). To an extent, each problem needs dedicated subject experts to be properly treated. But there is much duplicated work that is not subject-related (such as search-engine optimization, editing, illustration, etc.) and this leads to members burning out from being overworked and undertrained.

To consolidate efforts in Chapter-wide email and text usage, the Comms team was chartered under the Chapter Coordination Committee (CCC) last year. The Comms team has been a resounding success: members receive fewer emails and texts, but each one is more pointed and readable. The communication is consistent, and there is redundancy in responsibilities so that no one person is responsible for the reliable delivery of newsletters (for example). However, the remit of the Comms team is reactive or scheduled communication (newsletters, comms requests, etc.); it is not their goal to strategically plan the long-term messaging of the organization.

DSA SF needs a team which focuses on proactive communication that can be a resource for the entire Chapter. This proposal from the Writing Committee outlines the parameters of such a team.

Resolution: Form a Communications Committee

A Propaganda Resource for the Chapter

DSA SF will dissolve the Writing Committee and the CCC Comms Team, and in their place will charter a Communications Committee with the following goals and structure.

Goals

Every chapter effort should be able to produce propaganda to advance their cause among the public. As an explicitly external communication effort, the Communications Committee will:

- Craft and disseminate a long-term propaganda and messaging strategy for the Chapter, to be voted on by the Chapter membership.
- Publish the [SF Independent Journal](#) to advance socialist & leftist narratives among mainstream media consumers. For those who are unfamiliar with SFIJ, here is the [project questionnaire](#).
- Publish whitepapers on DSA SF priorities, in concert with relevant committees.
- Provide language translation services to the chapter.
- Provide graphic design and illustration services for external communications.
- Provide editing, writing, and SEO services to the chapter.
- Train members on propaganda skills, including:
 - Social media,
 - Search engine optimization, and other quantitative metrics,
 - Writing, editing, and other forms of content creation,
 - Framing potentially controversial topics for different audiences.

Budget

- \$10/month for SFIJ DigitalOcean hosting costs.
- \$400/month for SFIJ freelance reporting.
- \$50/month for contracted translation services.
- \$100/month for graphic design & illustration services.
- \$50/month for one-off reimbursements for reporting (travel, etc.)
- \$15/month for social media scheduling tool.

Structure

The Communications Committee will be structured on the CCC model. The chairs will be elected by the full chapter, at Regular Meetings. Chair terms will be 1 year. Elections will be held via ranked-choice voting. The top two vote-earning candidates in the election will become the co-chairs, while the third place will become the vice chair.

Team leads and priority campaign liaisons will be elected by the committee membership. Their terms are 1 year. The functions of the Writing Committee and the Comms Team (now part of CCC) will be performed by the Communications Committee.

Leadership Role	RESPONSIBILITIES
Co-Chairs	Directly reports back to Steering. Organizes meetings. Keeps Team Leaders accountable. Engages Steering Committee proactively in high-level decisions.
Vice Chair	Recruits for open roles from the general membership. Checks in with Team Leads and report back to Co-Chairs
Team Leaders	Communicates with other DSA SF committees on a regular basis to execute projects. Reports to steering member they are responsible to Organizes meetings for the goal that they are responsible for. Directs Committee Members to help with projects. Collectively keep the Co-Chairs accountable.
Priority Campaign Liaisons	Communicates with an assigned DSA SF priority campaign. Reports back regularly on upcoming actions & developments. Engages Priority Campaign Leadership to develop proactive campaigns.
Committee Members	Report to a particular Team Leader that best fits their interests. Work with the Team to define and execute projects towards a particular goal.

Transition

The current chairs of the Writing Committee will become the chairs of the Communications Committee. Within 6 months of establishment of the committee, there will be a chapter-wide election held for those chair positions. For the first 6 months, the Communications Committee will coordinate closely with CCC to transition processes and tools to the new committee.

Teams

Every team will have a lead that is elected by the full committee membership.

Social Media Team

Responsible for amplifying and coordinating content on Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, TikTok, Instagram and other social media sites. We estimate 3 hours per week of work on this team.

- Manage DSA SF's many social media accounts.
- Develop specialized content tailored to specific social media channels. For example, explainer videos on TikTok or tweet threads.
- Track metrics across accounts and produce regular reports on engagement, demographics, and funnel conversion (i.e. how many people who saw our Instagram joined DSA?).
- Set fair and consistent social media policies to ensure that official DSA SF social media activity stays on message.
- Additionally, promulgate voluntary social media guidelines for the general membership to educate the general membership on how to stay on message.

Newsletter Team

Responsible for producing a weekly newsletter that goes out to the DSA SF membership. More generally, is responsible for liaising with other Committees and Working Groups to collate updates, upcoming actions, and project propaganda needs. We estimate 3 hours of work per week for this team.

- Check-in with committees weekly to solicit updates.
- Coordinate with other teams to alert them of upcoming actions and ensure that propaganda material is ready to publish as soon as the action begins.
- Work with CCC to populate the DSA SF calendars and update the dsasf.org website.

Content Team

Responsible for creating content to publicize DSA actions, priorities, and accomplishments in a friendly framing. The content may take a variety of forms such as education, entertainment, memes, or agitprop; the main constant is that it is geared towards an external audience that is not already part of DSA. The content will be thematically driven by the Chapter Priorities and other Committee work. We estimate 6 hours of work per week for this team.

- Write news articles for SF Independent Journal.
- Produce infographics or other design products.
- Produce video content.

- Photograph DSA SF actions.
- Produce long-form whitepapers in concert with Chapter Priority teams.

Signatories

Andrew T.

Savannah K.

Kyle H.

Audrey B.
Gabriel G.
Melissa H.
Miriam G.
Ryan S.
Matthew P.
Joseph H.
Matthew M.
Ryan V.
Artem I.
Nathan G.
Sam H-L.
Andy M.

RESOLUTION: Establishing a Chapter Budget for 2021-2022

Author: Artem I

Motivation

The bylaws expect the organization to lay out a specific budget deliberated on and decided by the whole chapter. Until this point, the chapter has mainly operated with appropriations directed on an ad-hoc discretionary basis by the Steering Committee, and reported back to the chapter at regular meetings in the case of large expenditures. This resolution intends to rectify this process by laying out specific financial spending for the year, which would then be modifiable only by decision of the chapter membership as a whole.

A comprehensive and specific budget adopted by the membership as a whole is very beneficial to the health of the organization. Currently, the policy of Steering Committee ad-hoc spending results in the vast majority of members, including members of the Steering Committee itself, not being fully aware of all DSA SF spending. It also provides little guidance to membership on how to create projects that require financial resources, or insight as to which such projects currently exist and how many resources they are consuming.

This budget lays out all expected spending for the next year in an itemized fashion. This allows all members of the organization to have insight and democratic input into how DSA SF spends its money. It will also provide all members with a clear idea of DSA SF's total budget, for the purposes of planning projects that require financial resources. The budget also includes a line item for Steering Committee discretionary funds, allowing flexibility in the way that the chapter has had in the past while providing a specific limit to which this flexibility is authorized. The Steering Committee discretionary fund is intended to be the source for unanticipated expenses authorized by the Steering Committee.

Resolutions

- DSA SF resolves to adopt [this budget](#) (on the sheet titled "Budget Proposal 7/21-6/22") as the organization's budget from July 2021 to June 2022.
- DSA SF resolves that all spending of the organization from July 2021 to June 2022 will be limited to the amounts laid out in the budget, with all expenses not explicitly listed drawing from the SC discretionary fund, and that any previous budgetary commitments not outlined here are no longer in effect.
- DSA SF resolves that the Steering Committee will itemize all spending from the Steering Committee discretionary funds, provide reports to the chapter on new items at all regular meetings, and maintain this itemization in a document viewable by all chapter membership.

- DSA SF resolves that the Steering Committee will create and publish to chapter members a policy on requesting funds from the Steering Committee discretionary funds no later than July 1, 2021.
- DSA SF resolves that any spending outside the constraints of this budget may only be approved by the chapter membership through any methods laid out in the bylaws.

Signatures

Harvey W.

Jason P.

Miriam G.

Ryan V.

Sam HL

Matty P.

Daniel O

Eddy H.

Max T.

Audrey B.

Jesse K.

Socrates L.

Alexander P.

Melissa H.

Jason K.

Chris T.

Amendment to Budget Resolution - LOC Action Network

Submitted by Max T., co-signed/seconded by Jack C.

Members of DSA SF are collaborating with East Bay DSA to produce a bimonthly Bay Area labor newsletter to reach left labor interested readers, including many union members. We will use an Action Network account to distribute this newsletter, and the cost of the account will be split with East Bay DSA. Members of DSA SF comms will have oversight on this project to ensure that the newsletter agrees with DSA SF's comms policies and strategies.

To the budget spreadsheet ("Budget Proposal 7/21-6/22"), under "Anticipated Committee Expenses," add the following lines:

Labor Organizing Committee		(monthly)
	Action Network	\$5

Amendment to Budget Resolution: Accountant Expenses

Submitted by Artem I

Seconded by:

Chris T. (DSA SF Vice Chair)

Motivation

Accountant expenses were first incurred in 2020 due to need for professional services to file the organization's taxes. These were originally anticipated to be around 1000 dollars, but they ended up at 1750 after we received the invoice. This amendment increases the funding for accountant expenses to 2000 dollars in the 2021-2022 budget to account for this.

Amendment

Amend the "2021-2022 Budget Resolution" by replacing the number "1000" with "2000" in the line "Accountant Services" under "Administration Expenses" on the "2021 Budget Proposal" spreadsheet.

Amendment to Budget Resolution: Priorities Resolutions

Submitted by Sam HL

Seconded by:

Motivation

The budget was developed before the chapter chose which priority campaigns to establish. Some priority campaigns allocate a specific amount of money, and some proposed using whatever resources were allocated by the chapter and developing a plan around that allocation.

Though this amendment would mean that DSA SF further increases its deficit spend this year, the chapter has enough in reserve to cover, and the chapter can consider whether to perform a dues drive or other means of increasing its receipts at a later date.

Amendment

Old:

Priority Expenses			
Priority 1			5000
Priority 2			5000
Priority 3			5000
Total			15000

New:

Priority Expenses			
Ballot Measure Campaign			5000
Labor Organizing			2500
Black Liberation			15500
Total			23000

Amendment to Budget Resolution: Communications Committee

Submitted by Sam HL

Seconded by:

Motivation

Add expenditures from the Communications Committee to the budget

Amendment

New:

Add:

- \$10/month for SFIJ DigitalOcean hosting costs.
- \$400/month for SFIJ freelance reporting.
- \$50/month for contracted translation services.
- \$100/month for graphic design & illustration services.
- \$50/month for one-off reimbursements for reporting (travel, etc.)
- \$15/month for social media scheduling tool.

Total:

625/mo

\$7500

Candidate Questionnaires

Steering Committee

We will elect 7 members to serve on the Steering Committee, in accordance with [Article V](#) of the bylaws. The candidates are as follows:

[Miriam G](#)

[Harvey W](#)

[Ryan S](#)

[Sam H-L](#)

[Cara H](#)

[Elizabeth M](#)

[Matthew P](#)

Miriam G Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

My name is Miriam Goldman, I have been a working member of DSA SF for a little over a year and a paper member since 2018. I am a graduate student at UCSF studying biomedical informations and researching the gut microbiome. I also work for UAW on their union campaign for student researchers as a data analyst. I have spent most of my time in DSA SF as co-chair of our chapter coordination committee, trying to improve the central systems of our chapter and weather this pandemic while still getting as much done as possible. I love DSA SF and I truly think we can have a change on the future if we work together.

Q1: Why did you join DSA? Why did you decide to run for DSA SF Steering Committee, and what makes you a good fit?

I joined DSA early in 2020 after having moved to SF in late 2018, I joined because I felt like after having volunteered for Bernie a bunch with Kayla and Jeff there was much more I could do. I decided to run for steering because I really care about the chapter and after a few people I really respect asked me to run I agreed because I do see that as one of the founding members of CCC I see as my next step to make sure that CCC can survive a SC change over and I think that my background in CCC puts me in a good place to help with that.

Q2: What is your view of the role of SC, and how would the chapter benefit by having you on it? How will you check to make sure you do what's best for the chapter?

I view the role of SC as kind of our first responders in event there is something that can not go to the whole chapter because of sensitivity or speed needed to respond. I think the best way we can check to do whats best for the chapter is be democratic, push forward votes, ask for feedback, make everything as accessible and understandable as possible.

Q3: How will you keep yourself accountable to the duties of steering, and your role within this committee?

I feel like as someone who has taken on a lot of jobs from CCC and followed through with all of it, I think I will hold myself accountable in the same ways I have this year, by knowing what I am doing is important and helps more people be able to engage in socialism and therefor gets us closer to a socialist future.

Q4: Do you subscribe to a particular political tendency? If so, what tendency, and how will this affect your role or shape your opinions on the Steering Committee?

I most closely identify as a revolutionary marxist, I think how that effects my views of DSA SF is that it is deeply important to me to get workers involved in our work and make it as accessible as possible.

Q5: What do you see DSA SF doing in the next six months? Next year? What will you do to advance them during your tenure on the SC? How do you see aligning (or not) with national DSA priorities?

I see DSA SF improving our educational offerings to new and current dsa members through priorities, focusing more on fewer projects and improving our ability to mobilize the many new members on project orientated goals and therefor grow the number and power of DSA in our community.

Q6: What are some ways you envision using some of the "lessons learned" by our committees and working groups this year, to enhance the work of the chapter going forward into 21-22?

I think continuing to make our central organizing functions as a way to take off admin work from the committees themselves, making sure that people take time away from DSA and leadership to recharge, and continuing to facilitate open and clear ways of communication between all members so we can facilitate more rotating of positions to

improve our institutional knowledge as well as lower levels of burnout.

Q7: There are several opinions as to why our chapter, DSA SF, is "split" -- siloing of committees, factionalism due to interpersonal dynamics, and differences of political opinion. What do you see as the main or root cause of these divisions, and how do you intend to work toward repair/interoperability among the committees, working groups, and projects and their organizers within DSA SF?

To be completely honest I don't know how to point at a root cause of siloing and divisions, but I can say that it does make it harder to onboard new people to the chapter since they have to subscribe to an affinity group, as well as a lot of committees are incredibly small, I think that having clear projects that are cross committee and more one on one organizing is how we shrink this divide.

Q8: What is your biggest aspiration for the chapter?

My biggest aspiration is to help the people of the chapter carry out the good work the cities needs in a more sustainable and explainable way. Keep more people engaged, learn how to grow for the socialist future we all want.

Q9: What is the interaction between racism and capitalism?

Racism and capitalism inextricably linked, one reinforces the other, capitalism must rely on racism to work and racism is made worse by capitalism. That being said forming a socialist world does not mean there would be no racism, we still need to fight that battle day by day.

Harvey W Questionnaire

Q1: Why did you join DSA? Why did you decide to run for DSA SF Steering Committee, and what makes you a good fit?

A: I joined DSA SF in mid-2018 after moving back to San Francisco. I was looking for a group doing local organizing around homelessness issues that shared my socialist principles. I literally googled “san francisco homelessness socialist organizing” and DSA SF came up. I joined and have been active ever since. Prior to joining DSA I had spent time organizing around democratic reforms to mitigate the impact of money in politics.

Running for Steering is a natural progression of my work in DSA SF over the years. I have deep institutional knowledge of this chapter and I've spent more time recently working on chapter-wide issues. I also co-wrote the Priorities Resolution which was recently adopted and I would like to facilitate the implementation of the priorities we adopt .

Q2: What is your view of the role of SC, and how would the chapter benefit by having you on it? How will you check to make sure you do what's best for the chapter?

A: Per our bylaws: Steering's job is to provide organizational infrastructure for meetings, help members accomplish projects, publish reports on chapter accomplishments, organize efforts to satisfy our chapter's priorities, present budget appropriations for approval by the chapter, act on the org's behalf between meetings, and establish program activities and guidelines for consideration by membership.

I think SC should be responsible for the administrative work needed to help the chapter function, work with conflict resolution and grievance officers to create a safe space, and play a structural and strategic role that improves communication, coordination, and efficacy towards our chapter's democratically-decided goals.

This means not just making sure meetings run well and our budget is healthy, but also fostering structural reforms that make us a more effective organization. I would point to things like the recent Electoral Commission or the Priorities Resolution as concrete examples.

I have a lot of experience organizing in this chapter in different capacities which makes me very prepared for this role. I have organized both within a committee and at the chapter level, which gives me a good perspective on our organizational landscape. I'm good with admin work, documenting processes and policies, and building institutional knowledge. I'm thoughtful and dedicated to the cause of socialism.

I joined the Homelessness Working Group in 2018 where I organized for 2 years, first as Homelessness Mobilizer helping activate and onboard members, and then as Co-Chair for 1 year. I started out by helping with Prop C and quickly began bottom-lining projects employing a variety of tactics including many mutual aid efforts, direct actions, lobbying of supervisors, media campaigns, and assisting with legal action against criminalization.

In 2020 I helped execute the Chapter's Points of Unity around COVID by co-founding the Tenant Solidarity Provisional Working Group and served as co-chair for 6 months, helping create its charter, policies, and processes. I later drove the push for it to become a full committee.

Over the years I've seen needs that members have had and structures that can improve our organization and felt driven to help. Here are some ways I contributed at the chapter level:

- Wrote a [guide](#) on how to practically organize mutual aid projects.
- Wrote a [rubric](#) for how to make mutual aid projects strategic in a socialist organization.
- Wrote a [guide](#) on how to do public records requests.
- Co-wrote the [Chapter Project Endorsement](#) resolution which our chapter adopted.

- Created a [video tutorial](#) for filling out the Project Endorsement questionnaire.
- Co-wrote the [priorities resolution](#) which our chapter adopted and is implementing during the 2021 convention.
- Kept our [media contact list](#) up to date (which I still use to publicize public records releases around homelessness criminalization).
- Pitched in with the CCC doing onboarding.
- Wrote a [rough draft](#) for accessibility guidelines that I would like to develop further.
- Co-ran the chapter's first [Power Mapping training](#) for Hotels Not Hospitals

I intend to use my relative privilege as a white person with the benefit of some free time to take some administrative burden off of other steering committee members while offering my perspective as someone with a lot of organizing experience in the chapter and someone who reads and thinks a lot about socialism.

A couple of personal things that will shape my work: I'm queer and trans/non-binary, I'm a recovering alcoholic and addict. I've suffered from serious mental health issues for most of my adult life. These things inform my perspective on overlapping struggles as well as the impetus for inclusive and sustainable organizing.

Q3: How will you keep yourself accountable to the duties of steering, and your role within this committee?

A: Ask questions when I don't know something. Ask for help when I need it. Foster healthy channels of communication between Steering and the rest of the chapter. Make sure SC provides transparency and regular report backs to the chapter. Make sure there are avenues for membership to provide feedback to Steering. Engage in self-reflection and encourage [constructive criticism](#). Focus on executing the democratically-decided priorities of the chapter.

I have a flexible schedule which allows me to dedicate enough time each week for SC duties. I have written a daily schedule that balances work, life, and organizing in the event that I am elected. Organizing is the one of the most fulfilling things in my life so my challenge is usually around setting boundaries and avoiding taking on too much work. I have developed tools over the years to do this and I intend to continue to sharpen those tools as well as foster a culture that finds a good balance between shouldering the expected duties and avoiding burnout. As an example, in the Homelessness Working Group I co-wrote the [leadership structure](#) that distributed workload to mitigate burnout.

Q4: Do you subscribe to a particular political tendency? If so, what tendency, and how will this affect your role or shape your opinions on the Steering Committee?

A: I'm a revolutionary socialist. I have studied a lot of theory, philosophy, and history and I'm constantly developing my thinking. I'm not an expert on anything but I know some things about a lot! I intend to use that knowledge in my role on steering, along with my years of organizing experience.

I was initially introduced to socialism through anarcho-syndicalist thought inspired by the Zapatista movement and others. From that I learned that we should demand that systems of authority justify themselves and if they can't that they should be abolished. I have a political science degree from SF State and I'm well-versed in liberal idealist thought. From that I learned (in spite of academia's best efforts) the ways in which capitalism, racism, and other systems of oppression perpetuate and defend themselves (including via our education system). In recent years I've developed a Marxist, anti-colonial, feminist, and anti-racist groundwork by reading Marx, Engels, Luxemburg, Lenin, Fanon, Federici, Angela Davis, CLR James, and others. From that I learned the significance of sharp materialist analysis, the importance of coordinated mass organizing, the need for reform towards revolution, and the need for an intersectional approach to socialist organizing to combat the forces of white supremacy, cisheteropatriarchy, ableism, imperialism, and capitalism.

More lessons I have learned from these readings and my organizational experience:

- The capitalist forces we seek to overthrow are more organized than us and we need to catch up. This means growing our organization because without people power we can't win. It means working intentionally and with purpose - analyzing our current conditions (e.g. through power mapping) and shaping our work accordingly. It means improving coordination, communication, and focus. It means having concrete and efficient methods of democratic decision-making. It means democratically empowering people with legitimate authority to make decisions on our behalf.
- I have learned that our strategy must be flexible and adapt to conditions. What makes sense now may not work best in a world in an advanced state of climate disaster, for example.
- I have learned the importance of organizing around strategic sites of struggle including building militant labor and tenant unions.

Q5: What do you see DSA SF doing in the next six months? Next year? What will you do to advance them during your tenure on the SC? How do you see aligning (or not) with national DSA priorities?

A:

- Our chapter should execute our chapter priorities and develop effective, democratic campaigns to achieve them. I intend to make sure they have the support from SC they need to succeed.
- Our chapter should develop an effective political program to enhance the education and analysis of historical and present conditions to aid our fight. This education should be adopted in our internal organizing to educate ourselves and develop organizers with sharp analysis, as well as in our external work to educate the community and grow new socialists. I plan to help implement this.

- We should strengthen our code of conduct and grievance process with input from the results of the Black Liberation priority and our membership at large.
- We should adopt anti-oppressive principles in our internal organizing and our external work. This means acknowledging and addressing the fact that our chapter is too white, male, cis, het, and upper middle class. We should interrogate our internal organizing practices and we should employ external organizing in solidarity with BIPOC and other communities that are not sufficiently represented in our chapter, learn from them, and adapt our practices accordingly. I will support the AFROSOC caucus and the implementation of the Black Liberation priority.
- We should work to build sustainable organizing practices to avoid burn-out and distribute work equitably. I plan to call out when we lack capacity for something so we avoid taking on work we cannot do. I plan to encourage vacations, boundaries, and an equitable distribution of work. SC should not be a body of people who sacrifice themselves for the greater good. As of writing this, no BIPOC people are running for steering. I plan to push for a Steering Committee Sustainability Resolution to increase the size of steering, decrease workload, shorten and stagger terms to reduce burnout, maintain institutional knowledge, and allow BIPOC people to run before next year's election. I also plan to listen to AFROSOC for input about how to make Steering more welcoming for BIPOC people.
- We should continue making structural changes that improve our ability to communicate, coordinate, and function as an effective whole in order to achieve our goals. I will encourage work similar to the Priorities Resolution and Electoral Commission.
- Nationally, I hope our organization matures into a more cohesive, coordinated, effective organization. I want our priorities to work in synergy with National's (and with other chapters) - for example I support the National "Empowering DSA's Mass Abolition Work" resolution which will complement our own Black Liberation resolution, and I support the National Housing Justice Commission's "Prioritizing Tenant Organizing" resolution which will help provide our chapter's Tenant Solidarity

Committee with training and resources. I plan to listen to our representative on the NPC for advice on the best ways for our chapter to support National's work.

Q6: What are some ways you envision using some of the "lessons learned" by our committees and working groups this year, to enhance the work of the chapter going forward into 21-22?

A: I have learned that when we employ electoral work, mutual aid, labor or tenant organizing, etc, we should make sure to power-map our conditions and couple our work with concrete demands and goals that work in concert with the rest of our work towards a long-term strategy of revolutionizing our mode of production. This is why I helped create the [questionnaire](#) and [rubric](#) to that effect.

My experience working on the issue of homelessness has emphasized the need for strategic thought - we cannot end homelessness without ending capitalism. So while we employ mutual aid projects and push for reforms (and we should), they all need to be guided by a long-term strategy towards building working-class/poor people power and ending capitalism. Often long-term and short-term perspectives are pitted against each other, with one being framed as more abstract, or one being framed as more ethically urgent. This is a false dichotomy. We can and must chart the path that balances being most strategic in the long-term with being most impactful in the short-term.

Finally, I think our chapter is at its best when we work together. The times that our members came together chapter-wide to show up for DefundSFPD events, Anchor union events, phone-banking and door-knocking for Prop C and Dean Preston, etc., we showed the potential for effective socialist organizing. When we silo-ed ourselves and when our work conflicted, we became less than the sum of our parts. I am excited about creating structures and fostering a culture that supports chapter-wide discourse and coordination to productively and democratically work through our contradictions and real political disagreements towards collective mass action.

Q7: There are several opinions as to why our chapter, DSA SF, is "split" -- siloing of committees, factionalism due to interpersonal dynamics, and differences of political opinion. What do you see as the main or root cause of these divisions, and how do you intend to work toward repair/interoperability among the committees, working groups, and projects and their organizers within DSA SF?

A: Having organized in a silo-ed working group for two years and then at the chapter level for a year, I have noticed multiple dynamics working in concert that create silo-ing - namely: structural problems, political differences, and interpersonal dynamics. I think we should implement 3 approaches: 1) Create structures and processes that encourage coordination, communication, and effective chapter-wide democratic decision making. I see the Priorities Resolution that I co-authored and the Electoral Commission as examples of this and I intend to push for similar changes. 2) Build a coherent chapter-wide political program for our chapter and integrate it into our internal and external work. This includes but is not limited to a Socialism 101 course with a curriculum and space for us to engage in healthy and productive political discourse. 3) Create more opportunities for socializing and organizing across groups. I will encourage CCC's social events and push for opportunities for priority campaigns and chapter entities to work together in concert where appropriate.

Q8: What is your biggest aspiration for the chapter?

A: I've written at length about this above so I'll just reiterate: to improve coordination and communication and become a more effective vehicle for mass organizing.

Q9: What is the interaction between racism and capitalism?

A: Through listening to BIPOC comrades, reading BIPOC socialist authors, and organizing around issues of Homelessness and Tenancy, I have learned that our work must pay attention to what former Black Panther and East Bay DSA

member Gerald S. calls the “special oppression” and history of marginalized groups and explicitly combat racism (along with imperialism, colonialism,, patriarchy, ableism, cisheteronormativity, and other forms of oppression) which exists in a dialectical relationship with capitalism, possessing its own character, both defending capitalism and using capitalism in its defense, both requiring socialism as a necessary condition for its destruction while requiring special attention in order to successfully achieve socialism. To quote [CLR James](#), the Black liberation movement “has a vitality and a validity of its own...it has deep historic roots in the past of America and in present struggles; it has an organic political perspective, along which it is traveling, to one degree or another...it is able to exercise a powerful influence upon the revolutionary proletariat.” [As James notes](#), Black communities are “for the most part proletarian or semi-proletarian”, making the Black liberation struggle also a class struggle. As [Ruth Wilson Gilmore puts it](#), “capitalism requires inequality and racism enshrines it.”

Concretely, applying this lesson means supporting caucuses like AFROSOC, engaging in internal and external work as outlined in the Black Liberation priority resolution, and building an inclusive organizing space for a multi-racial working and poor people’s organization that is anti-oppressive, accessible, and welcoming. It means being intentional about making sure our external organizing actively works towards dismantling systems of oppression like the prison industrial complex, and builds solidarity with marginalized communities in San Francisco and oppressed people around the world. Practical examples include reaching out to Black communities in San Francisco in a thoughtful way to build tenant and labor power, as well as joining international socialist solidarity coalitions to engage in mutual education and coordination with indigenous and anti-colonial struggles.

Through mutual aid, direct action, and homeless sweeps defense, I have seen first hand the brutal and racist violence our unhoused neighbors face every day in the name of defending capitalism. I’ve spoken to countless BIPOC neighbors who have had their shelter, belongings, and medication stolen from them. I continue to dedicate a large portion of my time to filing and publishing public

records to expose the ways the city inflicts this racist violence. Ultimately, all of my organizing around homelessness has served to highlight that only building a mass-movement through strategic socialist organizing will fundamentally change the state of things.

Ryan S Questionnaire

Personal Statement: I'm Ryan and I'm a junior lighting designer at a small firm in SF. My time in DSA SF has focused on building out our administrative structure through CCC, and I served 6 months as the Democracy Team Lead, running online votes and checking folks into our Zoom meetings, as well as responding to emails to eligibility@dsasf.org.

Q1: Why did you join DSA? Why did you decide to run for DSA SF Steering Committee, and what makes you a good fit?

I joined DSA in college as a paper member because I did not believe the Democratic party represented my views, and I wanted to identify with something that stood against the continuation of neoliberalism and capitalism.

I decided to run for Steering because of my time in CCC. I was the Democracy Team Lead for six months, and during that time I saw the ways in which our chapter's administrative backend was often unnecessarily complicated and difficult. Much happens behind the scenes even just to execute a simple vote, and over my time, I also found that things that should have been clear (who gets to vote in a committee election that's run online?) were actually not well-defined whatsoever. I am a proponent of clear and transparent organizational structure, and I am a good fit for steering because my main goal will be to streamline and well-define as many important administrative tasks and policies of the chapter. The organizers on the

ground can do their best work when they are supported by strong and reliable administration of the chapter's operation.

Q2: What is your view of the role of SC, and how would the chapter benefit by having you on it? How will you check to make sure you do what's best for the chapter?

See above for some color on this question. I highlight two primary roles of steering from our bylaws: "The Steering Committee shall concern itself primarily with establishing program activities and proposing guidelines for consideration by the general membership... The Steering Committee shall be responsible for providing the organizational infrastructure required for DSA SF's meetings and for members to accomplish projects and tasks within working groups and committees."

As noted above, I believe I have strong qualifications for the latter. I also believe that when it comes to "program activities" and "guidelines for consideration," I have an eye for detail and I often do good work in regards to making sure that good ideas also have a *good execution*. I would certainly bring that eye to decisions I would make on steering. As for checking that I do what is best for the chapter: the chapter is its members. Ensuring that as many DSA SF bodies and processes are transparent, work together, and are accountable to full democratic oversight by membership where possible, will be a high priority of mine.

Q3: How will you keep yourself accountable to the duties of steering, and your role within this committee?

I will schedule myself well -- I keep a mean calendar -- and I will be honest with my comrades about my time constraints, when I am having a bad week at work or in life, and will plan with my comrades accordingly to make sure the work gets done. I will also make sure to involve bodies like CCC where appropriate and effective for delegating work.

Q4: Do you subscribe to a particular political tendency? If so, what tendency, and how will this affect your role or shape your opinions on the Steering Committee?

I consider myself a Marxist. I'm still developing details about if I identify as something more specific politically, but I find that using historical and dialectical materialism as a structure by which to measure political effectiveness and tactics is extremely useful. In

some ways I guess I am a “scientific” socialist. I will bring this eye to steering, using a somewhat scientific logic in my work and planning. What has been done in the past? How did it go? Can any conclusions be drawn structurally? How can this apply to the task at hand, and how might this lead to change in the future?

Q5: What do you see DSA SF doing in the next six months? Next year? What will you do to advance them during your tenure on the SC? How do you see aligning (or not) with national DSA priorities?

In the next 6 months DSA SF should develop well-detailed executions of the chapter Priorities passed at the convention and begin to execute on them. I leave it to the general membership to decide exactly what those priorities are. I also see DSA SF doing the tough work of assessing our “siloeing” problem and unifying as a single body of comrades wherever possible, and will do my best to support that work. I also leave judgement on alignment with National Priorities until the National Convention has passed, but I expect that as always, DSA SF will be fully on board for some and more strategically engaged with others.

Q6: What are some ways you envision using some of the "lessons learned" by our committees and working groups this year, to enhance the work of the chapter going forward into 21-22?

I want to ensure the success of our labor campaigns can continue with a strong administrative backend from the chapter. I want to ensure that the Electoral committee is extremely thoughtful about how and when DSA SF gets involved in electoral work, and see the results of the electoral commission as a promising way to go about this. I also want to help CCC as much as I can and help to create a strong administrative support system for this chapter that will stand the test of time and have some institutional memory.

Q7: There are several opinions as to why our chapter, DSA SF, is "split" -- siloeing of committees, factionalism due to interpersonal dynamics, and differences of political opinion. What do you see as the main or root cause of these divisions, and how do you intend to work toward repair/interoperability among the committees, working groups, and projects and their organizers within DSA SF?

I have never been in a group that is supposedly a single organization and is more split amongst itself than DSA SF. As it exists, DSA SF is a brand that can be applied to individual political projects. This is not how we win long-term. We might be able to win here and there, but one of my top priorities is repairing these divisions. I noted on the Forum: “A few comrades suggested it would be too complicated for DSASF members to know all of the internal workings of each committee/WG, and that the [smaller] group knows best. Although I understand where this point comes from, I respectfully think that using an approach like that is opposite to what an organization should be doing, and stand firmly opposed to any approach that places self-selecting groups on a pedestal above DSA SF’s full membership.”

I would like DSA SF to move to a model in which committees/working groups are rechartered yearly, leadership is elected by the membership at large, and that **the work of DSA SF is done on a chapter level and not a committee level**. Committees and working groups should exist for research, strategizing, education, administration, and the like. But the **work** of our organization should be done on the full-chapter level and membership should not be asked to self-select into a subgroup in order to do any activism. I would ask all folks on all sides of this issue to interrogate the question of “what is the point of being a part of DSA SF?” I would hope that through engaging with our answers to that question we can reach a common ground that recenters the whole chapter as the body that does work, and not individual political projects that only use DSA SF writ-large as a brand.

Q8: What is your biggest aspiration for the chapter?

Functioning as a single body and not standalone committees, and using the strong structure that comes out of that to make material conditions better for San Franciscans. Hopefully those strides we make can prove that neoliberal austerity politics will not work in our city, and we can even see arms of the city government operating a much stronger public infrastructure that supports workers and labor instead of tech bros and venture capitalists.

Q9: What is the interaction between racism and capitalism?

Most “isms” are intertwined. Ending capitalism doesn’t end racism and it is necessary to engage with the structures of racism that the US is built on in order to have a coherent political analysis of the US-as-a-whole. I also think that perhaps this question

proposes a split in the chapter about this topic, and I haven't actually noticed any members of DSA SF proposing that ending capitalism also ends racism by default. In order to fully understand how to weaken and end capitalism we must understand the material conditions of our nation and our world, which includes conflicts of all sorts, including racism.

Sam H-L Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

My name is Sam Heft-Luthy and I am a current member of DSA SF's Steering Committee running for a second term. My goals as a member of steering are to continue the work we've done to build shared chapter infrastructure and ensure that the chapter is able to use our shared priorities to advance a clear socialist line for the city of San Francisco.

I think I've done a good job in a difficult role that requires a lot of collaboration and communication, and I'm looking to continue that work for the coming year. A note that I am strongly considering stepping down from my role after 6 months, but would like very much to see the chapter through the process of establishing our priority campaigns.

Q1: Why did you join DSA? Why did you decide to run for DSA SF Steering Committee, and what makes you a good fit?

I joined DSA to help push for Prop F to provide free representation to tenants facing eviction. In that time, I've helped do chapter work and canvasser training on Prop C, participated in DSA SF political education and developed chapter infrastructure for our monthly meetings, and served for the last year as a member of DSA SF's Steering

Committee, chapter Secretary, and an at-large member of the chapter's Electoral Strategy Commission.

My time on Steering Committee has shown that the only path forward lies in collective struggle - we must establish a Steering Committee with the mandate and political drive to help ensure our chapter is able to work together on the tasks we set for ourselves.

I'm running for a second Steering Committee term because I want to be able to see that work through. As a returning member, I pledge to do the work needed to transform the chapter into a powerful collective organ capable of building working-class power in the city of San Francisco.

Q2: What is your view of the role of SC, and how would the chapter benefit by having you on it? How will you check to make sure you do what's best for the chapter?

The Steering Committee should be the body which stands in for the at-large membership between meetings and helps ensure that all chapter work is moving in the direction our membership wants.

Historically, that role has been difficult to live up to practically in a chapter with a dozen committees and working groups with independent political lines and unconnected memberships. The Steering Committee has no guidestones to point to, and can only act in a way that must inherently upset some contingent over another. With the coming priorities resolution process, we will for the first time have a set of three campaigns that the chapter has collectively decided to push forward, which Steering can look to in order to guide our work.

This means that for the first time, the incoming Steering Committee will have a specific political mandate of things to drive forward - and I intend to use that mandate to help the chapter Steering Committee be the political leadership we need.

Q3: How will you keep yourself accountable to the duties of steering, and your role within this committee?

If the [Portfolios Bylaws Amendment](#) passes, I want my chapter portfolio to be shared political education that can tie our caucus priorities together and improve member political development.

As a member of Steering Committee I will work with priorities campaign leadership, the Education Committee, and other chapter-developed campaigns in order to build an approach to chapter education that is capable of reaching and developing **every chapter member** into a well-educated and effective chapter organizer.

That means:

- **As many chapter members as possible:**
 - Attend a basic education session associated with each of the three priority campaigns
 - **Attend** a training session for one of the three priority campaigns, helping them build a skill useful in their organizing and plug into campaign work
 - **Attend** a session involving advanced investigation into the history and theory of the socialist movement
- **Half the active membership:**
 - Helps host a chapter education event
 - Participates in onboarding new members and plugging them into our educational infrastructure

Q4: Do you subscribe to a particular political tendency? If so, what tendency, and how will this affect your role or shape your opinions on the Steering Committee?

I am a revolutionary Marxist and member of Red Star San Francisco. I believe that the goal of the socialist movement is to overturn the brutal, exploitative, and historically backwards system of production we call capitalism, and establish working class power capable of bringing about the transition into the next phase of collective ownership and self-organization that we call socialism.

What that means in practical terms is that we need to act collectively, decisively, and strategically - and apply a scientific and methodical approach to building the power we need.

As a member of Steering Committee, I believe in guiding the largest American socialist organization in over a century to a stronger position of political development, helping us learn from our mistakes and successes in order to become stronger. I don't know if DSA will be the worker's party we need to win the world we want, but I believe it has a part to play in the path forward

Q5: What do you see DSA SF doing in the next six months? Next year? What will you do to advance them during your tenure on the SC? How do you see aligning (or not) with national DSA priorities?

Luckily the priorities resolutions outline a basic timeline for our chapter work :)

First 6 mo: focused on developing leadership and building out a shared educational program for our priority campaigns. We should expect to be spending a lot of time developing our analysis and building skills. We will start to align on shared tactical goals for campaigns and build up capacity within the chapter as we address several years of steady dissolution and work on a shared approach.

Rest of the year: focused on execution and organizing for chapter campaigns. We should be ensuring new members have a way to get involved with chapter work and can grow into campaign leaders in their own right.

Q6: What are some ways you envision using some of the "lessons learned" by our committees and working groups this year, to enhance the work of the chapter going forward into 21-22?

One major lesson I've learned from the past year is how important it is for any one project in our chapter to have collective development in order to succeed.

Defunding SFPD requires, among other things, a major organizing effort within SF Labor Council and a robust electoral apparatus capable of making credible threats to politicians that oppose it. Building a robust electoral apparatus requires an ability to connect to all forms of struggle in San Francisco and build a strong relationship with labor formations and community organizations. Rebuilding the union movement requires an ability to marshal community solidarity and connect every member of the chapter to their struggle at the point of production. And so on and so forth.

We can get up to a certain point without this collective development - we can get a ballot measure or two passed, we can win occasional policy victories, and we can even win some major worker organizing campaigns. But our chapter is chafing at the limits of the *laissez faire* approach.

That's why in the coming year, it's vital for us to use every opportunity to build a shared approach to our work. Everything we do affects each other, and we must take this basic fact to heart as we move into the year ahead.

Q7: There are several opinions as to why our chapter, DSA SF, is "split" -- siloing of committees, factionalism due to interpersonal dynamics, and differences of political opinion. What do you see as the main or root cause of these divisions, and how do you intend to work toward repair/interoperability among the committees, working groups, and projects and their organizers within DSA SF?

The main point as I see it is the aforementioned lack of shared development for chapter work. As long as any self-selecting group of people is able to lay claim to the right to fully represent the chapter's interests without being under the decision-making discipline of the rest of the membership, no work done on the chapter's behalf can really be done by "us" as a collective group.

This condition was created on purpose at DSA SF's outset — fear of a dominating social reformist cadre that would lead us away from concrete and effective struggle helped inform much of our orientation in DSA SF's early years. But the last two years have shown the logical conclusion of our current approach, a move away from "the chapter" and democratic decision making and towards independent forms of

organization that constantly exist in opposition to one another. This must be transcended in order to build an effective approach, and I believe that conditions in the chapter are such that the political line we develop as a result will be a strong one!

There are political questions and contradictions within the chapter that must be addressed, but without shared democratic mechanisms to *resolve* those questions, the only thing we can hope for is for a series of symbolic fights that devolve into moralism and acrimony, with little ability to steer future behavior within the chapter.

With that, I think it's vital that our shared chapter political infrastructure - membership of Steering Committee, development and execution of chapter priorities, and eventually all the work of our relatively-independent committees and working groups - become actually up for political contest. A chapter vote needs to be not merely a symbolic approval of work already done, but a collective commitment by the membership to *do a definite action*, with a no vote meaning that the membership has decided *not* to perform that action.

At every opportunity, we should move away from chapter-*endorsed* campaigns and towards chapter-*performed* campaigns. As a member of Steering Committee, I will push for chapter control of chapter work on all campaigns being done in DSA SF's name, and a clear approach to member development that puts the at-large membership in a position to grow into talented organizers and leaders.

Q8: What is your biggest aspiration for the chapter?

I will measure success for next year by the number of people who currently identify as "members of DSA SF {committee/working group}" that start identifying as "members of DSA SF who do {organizing work}."

I want an approach to chapter work that allows us to actually work together on shared goals and change the course of our organizing through this collaborative action.

Q9: What is the interaction between racism and capitalism?

Capitalism is the mode of production under which we live. Imperialism is its current form, capitalism on the global stage. Racism is a means in which this mode of production inscribes itself around the globe and within a particular society, delineating ownership and subjugation in order to reinforce the relations of production that are dominant under bourgeois society.

As that mode of production has developed, bourgeois society has developed ways to ensure capitalism's continued development. Among other things, this has meant new forms of class organization in which productive relationships would literally be inscribed based on skin color. The most barbarous of these forms, of course, was the development of chattel slavery, in which racialized populations particularly from Africa came to be synonymous with being literal property of slaveholding classes.

It is important to note the historical contingency of all of this; as Marx says in response to this assumed "natural" distinction of Black people as slaves:

Only under certain conditions does [a Black person] become a slave. A cotton-spinning machine is a machine for spinning cotton. Only under certain conditions does it become capital. Torn away from these conditions, it is as little capital as gold is itself money, or sugar is the price of sugar.

The continued development of racial class divisions is far more detailed than I have time for in a steering committee questionnaire. But an analysis which addresses the historical basis of racism and its impact on our present conditions is vital to understanding our current situation, and must be reckoned with if we are to build a movement which rejects organizing around the *regressive*, cross-class white majority in America, and builds the *progressive* majority that can rebuild society in its own image — members of all the working classes, gathering together in their common interest to overthrow the system of production that reigns above us.

Cara H Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

Hi! I'm Cara, I've been around the chapter in some form or another since the Steering Committee forum at El Rio in 2017. I've generally been a rank-and-file member since then (briefly serving as the chair of the SocFem working group), but have helped out with various aspects of the chapter, from mutual aid projects to Dean's campaign, consistently over the last 4 years.

Q1: Why did you join DSA? Why did you decide to run for DSA SF Steering Committee, and what makes you a good fit?

I joined DSA in 2016 after the election. I had been a socialist for a while, but generally didn't feel that there was an organized left in the USA that I could put my time and effort into until I saw a number of friends joining DSA that day. So I joined up, first with Portland DSA (where I was living at the time), then East Bay DSA, then SF.

I feel like I'd be a good fit because I've been involved in the chapter since its inception, and have a deep understanding of the history of DSA SF and a deep desire for the chapter to advance the socialist cause and build power here in San Francisco.

Q2: What is your view of the role of SC, and how would the chapter benefit by having you on it? How will you check to make sure you do what's best for the chapter?

My goal for SC is for it to be a body that can act quickly in accordance with the democratic will of the chapter. In situations where a decision has to be reached quickly or fine details of a priority voted on by the chapter need to be worked out, SC can step in to resolve these things. All of those decisions, however, should ultimately be accountable to membership. Ideally, SC should be regularly checking in via chapter communications like Slack and the forums to take the temperature of membership. Also, SC should be active participants in chapter organizing alongside other members, to ensure that they're not just helping to plan work, but doing it too.

Q3: How will you keep yourself accountable to the duties of steering, and your role within this committee?

This is something I've thought a lot about, and I think the solution is having supportive comrades on SC who organize work and hold each other accountable for it. I plan to set up regular times to check in with other SC members, as well as setting aside time for working sessions to get through things. The goal, I think, is to set up sustainable processes and procedures to make sure things get done without forcing too much work on any individual members of SC.

Q4: Do you subscribe to a particular political tendency? If so, what tendency, and how will this affect your role or shape your opinions on the Steering Committee?

Yes, I am a revolutionary Marxist. I think the goal of every revolutionary Marxist should be to organize to raise class consciousness and build socialist power as the contradictions of capitalism continue to destabilize society and create crises. In my opinion, that organizing needs to include the broadest base of people possible, including not only the people who share my tendency, but anyone who can be organized into a broad left movement. The goal of SC is to help make that movement as successful as possible, which means acting out the democratic will of the membership to act in common cause and to facilitate building power. This isn't something that's done by a small group of people making decisions, but by creating a durable, democratic organization with membership who's committed to building socialism.

Q5: What do you see DSA SF doing in the next six months? Next year? What will you do to advance them during your tenure on the SC? How do you see aligning (or not) with national DSA priorities?

I see DSA SF acting on the priorities set by the chapter. The SC's job isn't to decide what we'll be doing, but help to facilitate that. Over the next year, I hope to see our chapter build robust structures to both set priorities and to check in on them. This can happen via communication outwards, like Slack and the forums, or communication inwards, where SC members can hear from individual members and listen to their concerns.

As far as national priorities go, I think that the first and foremost goal of DSA SF should be to focus on building socialist power locally. If there's a way to do that which can coordinate and link up with other chapters' work, that's wonderful, but I don't think the projects we take on necessarily should be exactly in line with National priorities just for the sake of it.

Q6: What are some ways you envision using some of the "lessons learned" by our committees and working groups this year, to enhance the work of the chapter going forward into 21-22?

I think we've got to find ways to organize around specific projects that are decided upon democratically by chapter membership, rather than around projects decided upon by individual working groups or committees and presented to the chapter membership when fully developed. It's important that projects originate in working groups and committees, as these groups are the most knowledgeable at the specific concerns they're addressing, but it's critical that these groups don't see themselves as struggling against the rest of the chapter to accomplish them. Likewise, we need to find ways for chapter members to deliver feedback in kind and comradely ways that don't seem inconsiderate to organizers who have put a great deal of work into their projects. Both of these together mean taking projects to get chapter buy-in and feedback earlier, and creating expectations around what feedback will be delivered and when.

Q7: There are several opinions as to why our chapter, DSA SF, is "split" -- siloing of committees, factionalism due to interpersonal dynamics, and differences of political opinion. What do you see as the main or root cause of these divisions, and how do you intend to work toward repair/interoperability among the committees, working groups, and projects and their organizers within DSA SF?

This is just generally the result of working in any relatively new, broad-based leftist organization, and has been exacerbated by the pandemic. Not to dismiss any real divisions that exist, but rather just to say that this is simply an expected part of working in any large group. The goal, I think, should be to make those divisions less interpersonal, and find agreement where we can. If the only divisions we have are political, and relate to strategy, that's something we can address democratically, via voting on chapter priorities, organizing for specific projects, and the like. I'd like to see a world where everyone agrees on a democratic process for discussing and deciding upon organizing projects, and then works within that process to advance their politics.

It will be hard to fully clear the air re: interpersonal divisions, but I think building the process will have to involve good faith efforts from all sides to hear people out and create structures which we can all work under; once those structures are tested and have legitimacy, our divisions will start to be less personal and more political.

Q8: What is your biggest aspiration for the chapter?

My local aspirations for the chapter are for us to become a recognized center of the left within San Francisco that's both durable (I'd love to see DSA SF continuing to build power locally for the next decade or more) and doing long-term material good for the community. I want every person who lives in San Francisco or the Bay in general to see the work DSA SF does and think "this is what socialism makes possible," whether that work is electoral, or building power through other means, like mutual aid. If workers can look at us and see a group that's both committed to ending capitalist oppression and making real strides in doing so locally, I'd consider DSA SF a successful organization.

Nationally, I'd want us to be a model of a democratically run, successful chapter, whose structures could be emulated by other chapters across the country. I think in order to do this, we have to first accomplish those successes locally, however.

Q9: What is the interaction between racism and capitalism?

Whole books could be written answering this question, but I'm going to give my best (albeit abbreviated!) answer. I think modern capitalism as we know it was formed by the convergence of three particular features of Western European society at the beginning of the modern era: enclosure (the conversion of the commons to private property), colonialism (especially in regards to the exploitation of Africa and the Americas), and the subjugation of women. All of these disparate items together gave way to the modern relations of production that exist in society.

Colonialism, specifically, gave birth to mass indigenous genocide and chattel slavery, both of which required social norms to enforce, in the form of racism. In that sense then, colonialism (and racism) were necessary to create what we know as capitalism now. In the centuries since, this aspect of capitalist production has remained ingrained within it. Class society, especially in the Americas, is frequently racialized. Nowhere is that more true than in the United States, where the most marginalized parts of proletarian society are Black and indigenous workers.

If we hope to fight a struggle against capital, that struggle has to also focus on eliminating racism as a key component in capitalist hegemony. But victory against capital alone doesn't mean we'll be through with racism too; social structures created

and refined through centuries existing under a mode of production that's dependent on them don't disappear overnight. And that's especially true within groups like DSA, which fight against capital, but which necessarily exist in a world which ingrains white supremacy and colonialist violence into its very fabric.

Our responsibility in fighting against capitalism in DSA has to take into account the racial structures that support capitalism, and which are pervasive in our culture.

Elizabeth M Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

Hi! I'm Lizzie or Elizabeth Morgan. I've been a member of DSA SF since 2017 and I've been involved in a whole host of projects over the last four years, as a rank-and-file member, sometimes as a committee leader, and as a Steering Committee member from 2018-2019. Some of the projects I'm most proud of, in roughly chronological order, are:

- Organizing and building DSA SF's involvement in the anti-fascist protests in Berkeley in the summer of 2017, which, as far as I know, still includes one of the biggest demonstrations we've helped plan. I'm particularly proud that we built a large coordinated coalition, from East Bay anarchists to anti-racist organizations like APTP and UC Berkeley's Black Student Union to unions like SEIU and UAW (which rarely take a stand on issues like this), all while holding a strong line against the liberal platitudes offered by Berkeley's mayor and the UC Berkeley chancellor. The political moment has changed a lot since then, and I don't think it would be possible in the same way nowadays, but it wouldn't have been possible at all without the hard and thoughtful work we put in.
- Canvassing and demonstrating as a rank-and-file member for a whole host of DSA SF projects. Some of these were purely electoral, like our Dean Preston

campaigns, our Yes on Proposition F campaign (guaranteeing representation to tenants facing eviction), the No on Proposition H campaign (keeping tasers out of the hands of SFPD), and the Yes on Proposition C campaign (taxing wealthy businesses to provide funding for housing). Some were unionization campaigns we pitched in on -- the Anchor, Tartine, and Dandelion union efforts. Each of these made me feel like part of a cohesive whole, a team of socialists pitching in to make the world better.

- Deciding to expel a member of leadership, one of the most difficult projects I worked on when I was on SC. Obviously this was not a great situation, but I'm proud that we took a stand against an openly racist and sexist member who had wormed his way into our organization, and I'm more proud of the work we did to explain and document the situation to our membership.

I'm involved in DSA SF because, even with all of its challenges and complexities, I think it's the best shot we have to build a real challenge to capitalism. Some of the most meaningful experiences of the last few years of my life have come from struggling alongside all of you, and I'd be honored if you chose me to help steer this ship.

Q1: Why did you join DSA? Why did you decide to run for DSA SF Steering Committee, and what makes you a good fit?

I joined DSA in 2017. I had been shopping around for a place to organize for a while and two meetings convinced me to make DSA SF my political home. The first one was the chapter's strategy meeting. I wasn't a member yet, but I had decided to come anyway. It was riveting. We discussed a lot of things that would become recurring themes in DSA SF -- from our relationship to the Democratic Party and Democratic Clubs to coalition work with local NGOs to political education to building the organization. I sat through the whole thing and it was incredible to see a room full of socialists taking these questions seriously and in a structured way.

The second was the first general meeting I attended, at Counterpulse, where we elected our first Steering Committee. An all-women steering committee, with two women of color as co-chairs, was something I had never seen on the left and it was a huge reason I decided to continue. Eventually I joined, started attending LPRAC and SocFem meetings, and gradually became more and more involved.

This isn't the first time I've considered running since the end of my term in 2019. What convinced me this time was, on the one hand, observing the increasingly large generation gap in our chapter and, on the other hand, hearing that some newer members I've worked closely with and admire were considering running. I think the chapter's next SC will be a good team and I would be delighted to be a part of it, if that's how you all vote.

If I can be a little self-congratulatory, I think I was a good fit for SC in 2018 and I think, with the experience and knowledge I built alongside the other members of that committee, I'm an even better candidate now. I've always taken the role seriously and I'll strive to keep our decision-making transparent and rooted in the membership of the chapter.

Q2: What is your view of the role of SC, and how would the chapter benefit by having you on it? How will you check to make sure you do what's best for the chapter?

Steering Committee does the hard work and has the difficult conversations that no one wants to do. There used to be a meme in our chapter that SC is administrative not political -- I strongly disagree with that. The kind of leadership to decide on issues the chapter's stuck on isn't administrative, it's political. What I do think is that SC needs to be on the same wavelength as the membership as a whole.

The way we'll achieve that is by increasing visibility into the decisions that SC makes, scheduling informal check-ins with experienced and involved members, and bringing things to the chapter when possible. We're a democratic organization: that's what makes us different from the nonprofits and political clubs, and that's our strength.

Q3: How will you keep yourself accountable to the duties of steering, and your role within this committee?

To be honest it's something I struggle with sometimes! I keep a planner now, if anyone's wondering. But when I was on SC it wasn't a big issue and, even though it

consumed a big chunk of my time, it worked out OK, and I was able to balance things by scheduling specific recurring check-ins with the rest of SC.

Q4: Do you subscribe to a particular political tendency? If so, what tendency, and how will this affect your role or shape your opinions on the Steering Committee?

Sure -- I'm a Marxist, and that shapes everything from like, the importance I attach to learning about historical movements, to my insistence on strategic collective action, to the ways I'm hoping we can develop our chapter into a strong, collective-minded group of organizers.

Q5: What do you see DSA SF doing in the next six months? Next year? What will you do to advance them during your tenure on the SC? How do you see aligning (or not) with national DSA priorities?

In the next year, -- or even the next six months, if we're very lucky -- it'll become safe again to meet and organize in person. I'd like to see us start to repair some of the serious issues that have developed during the pandemic. It's been pretty rough, to be honest, and I think we need to take a lot of care to make this work. The problems I'd like to fix specifically are:

- We don't have strong, organic connections with each other. In-person organizing builds friendship and common bonds but more importantly it forces us to meet and interact with fellow members we wouldn't otherwise spend time with. Every serious organizer I know prioritizes one-on-one conversations, in person when possible. Introducing yourself to the people sitting next to you and chatting in line for pizza are pretty powerful things.
- Organizing digitally is difficult, and for many people who don't use these tools daily at work, almost totally inaccessible. There are advantages to digital organizing, and we ought to work to incorporate these too, but on balance I think we've lost a lot.
- Staring at a screen is, for many of us, draining and hard to pay attention to. It's a recipe for burnout and bad feelings. Hashing things out at a bar or over dinner or coffee feels generative and exciting to me and I can do it for hours, but a one-hour Zoom call leaves me totally drained.

I know this isn't what we would normally consider to be an external priority, but it's a precondition to our effectiveness in the rest of our projects. I expect that the conventions -- both national and local -- will give us more collective clarity about what those ought to be.

Q6: What are some ways you envision using some of the "lessons learned" by our committees and working groups this year, to enhance the work of the chapter going forward into 21-22?

I'm not sure my committee work has been very generative. Part of that was my own difficulties with managing my time alongside the pandemic, my roommates and I stopping paying rent, my new job, and some health issues (these are all mostly resolved now, by the way) but a big part of it was the pandemic. I'm pretty hesitant to take my last 16 months on a committee as an example. But I'm very interested in reading all of the committee reports and seeing what we can reflect on as a chapter in the lead-up to and during our local convention.

I do think we've learned a lot about working as a chapter -- not necessarily in our committees and working groups but as a whole -- and I think we'll need to reflect on those lessons, too.

Q7: There are several opinions as to why our chapter, DSA SF, is "split" -- siloing of committees, factionalism due to interpersonal dynamics, and differences of political opinion. What do you see as the main or root cause of these divisions, and how do you intend to work toward repair/interoperability among the committees, working groups, and projects and their organizers within DSA SF?

I have also felt this "split" quality and I think its causes are a big open question. I don't think I have all of the answers, but I can list some contributing factors. Trying to repair this rift is a major reason I decided to run and I really hope we can all agree to work towards that.

I think one reason for this split is that I and some of the other members haven't put in as much work as we could have to build leadership among the newer generation of DSA SF. A lot of us are tired and feeling alienated from the chapter -- it's not easy, and there are real reasons for that feeling of alienation, but it's still our responsibility to fix it.

Another reason for the split is that we, as a chapter, haven't had much of a chance to articulate real political differences, even when we've had serious political conflicts. In the absence of that we just have rumors and telephone games, pretending to know what others believe.

I think it would also be pretty silly to dismiss the pandemic as a factor. It's harder to see eye-to-eye with people you've never seen.

Q8: What is your biggest aspiration for the chapter?

We're already the biggest socialist organization SF has seen in decades. I think genuinely that we can run the city in the next five years and start to use our local leverage to build a rock-solid movement in California and the rest of the US.

Q9: What is the interaction between racism and capitalism?

I mean, someone could spend a lifetime writing about this -- people do! As a Marxist in the US I think we have a major responsibility to learn about the development of racism -- the country we live in is like, the crucible in which anti-black racism was formed and the beating heart of modern imperialism. It's impossible to understand the development of capitalism in North America and even South and Central America without recognizing the enslavement of Black Africans, the coordinated murder, displacement, and dispossession of Native American peoples, and the continued violent exploitation worldwide at the hands of the US military and international capital.

As for like, now: what's the relationship between modern capitalism and modern racism--it's complicated! This seems like one of the big questions of our moment. Every day brings more twists, from two-faced mayors cultivating progressive and anti-racist

images while propping up violent racism in their police departments, to multinational corporations proclaiming “Black Lives Matter” while using the COVID-19 pandemic as a money-making opportunity worldwide, leaving colonized people and people of color to die at the altar of profit.

I do think putting some serious, collective study into the origins of racism and the successes and failures of the anti-racist movements of the last 100 years will get us pretty far. But I can’t pretend to have all of the answers.

Matthew P Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

My name is Matty Pancia and I’ve been an active member of DSA SF since 2016. Within DSA SF, I’ve been both a rank-and-file member and served as leadership in several committees.

Q1: Why did you join DSA? Why did you decide to run for DSA SF Steering Committee, and what makes you a good fit?

I joined DSA SF in late 2016, during its post-Bernie revitalization period. I’m running for DSA SF Steering Committee because I want to be a more active part of the current political moment that we find ourselves in. I believe that DSA SF has the opportunity to become a powerful political force within the city and to set an example for other DSA chapters around the country, and we need to take advantage of this as quickly and effectively as possible.

I think that I’m a good fit for this role for a couple reasons. One of them is practical: I have a lot of practical experience related to the logistics of organizing, and I believe that I’m generally a dependable person in terms of doing assigned tasks, attending

meetings, trying to help others, etc. Besides that, I like to think of myself as a generally-helpful, diplomatic person with good political sensibilities and an ability to incorporate the knowledge and needs of others into those sensibilities without too much ego.

Q2: What is your view of the role of SC, and how would the chapter benefit by having you on it? How will you check to make sure you do what's best for the chapter?

I believe that the Steering Committee serves to advance the political goals of the chapter, working as a representative executive proxy for the general membership.

Historically, this has meant a lot of time-consuming bureaucratic work coupled with a lack of clear political mandate, making SC membership a thankless, draining position. Thankfully, a lot of the more logistical drudgery has been absorbed into the workings of the (saintly) CCC. This means that the SC, especially with some of the reforms coming in chapter structure (chapter priorities, portfolios, etc.), can focus more on political leadership and coordinating the efforts of the chapter.

I don't believe that there is necessarily something that is "best for the chapter" -- I think that around most issues there will be a variety of views around what is "best", and the job of SC members is to integrate those views in a way that *they feel* is most representative of the general interests of the chapter. I think that I generally have a mind for decision-making that intentionally takes into consideration the input and interests of everyone impacted. As an SC member, I will make an effort to both use my own sensibilities and solicit input from as many sources as possible when acting.

Q3: How will you keep yourself accountable to the duties of steering, and your role within this committee?

For logistical matters, I feel as though I'm generally a reliable person when it comes to sticking to schedules, getting tasks done, etc. I'm the lead organizer for the Red Start educational series, which entails a lot of organization, planning, and delegation of tasks that are necessary to keep the series going. I think this series has been pretty

successful, something that I'm very proud of. In terms of fulfilling the mandate to act on behalf of the organization in a democratic way, it goes back to what I mentioned before - I will make an intentional effort to be deferent to the needs and opinions of others, and leave myself as open to feedback and constructive criticism as possible.

Q4: Do you subscribe to a particular political tendency? If so, what tendency, and how will this affect your role or shape your opinions on the Steering Committee?

I'd call myself a revolutionary Marxist, which is a bit of a cop-out without any further explanation -- this means many things to many people. For me, it means most importantly 3 things: 1) communism is good 2) having a view of history through the lens of historical materialism 3) having an analysis of capitalism that sees it as being an inherently unstable system whose end must result from a revolution led by a self-aware working class.

The first is mostly self-explanatory. I believe that the goal of the left ought to be a classless, moneyless society where everyone's needs are met and people are generally free to pursue their own desires. This, as the story goes, results from a period of socialism and control of the state by the working class that results in the eventual dissolution of the state itself. It sounds pretty rad to me.

The second means that I have a view of history (and politics in general) as being driven by the broader material conditions of real, existing people, not primarily by ideas or unique individuals. As this results to SC work, it means that I believe that our analyses ought to be rooted in reality and largely focused around structural phenomena. Our organizing ought to be as scientific as possible - seeing what works, seeing what fails, and adjusting our approaches to fit as a result. For me, this also implies a pragmatism and desire for results that, as much as possible, requires that organizers to put their own egos aside for the sake of organizing effectively.

The last bit means that I don't believe in reformism as a long-term pathway towards communism (or even socialism). While there are a number of reforms to our current system that might be good (for harm reduction, organizational, or educational purposes), there is simply no way that we can reform ourselves out of capitalism. It is,

in my mind, a system that will go to any violent ends to preserve itself, and can only be excised with a revolution.

Q5: What do you see DSA SF doing in the next six months? Next year? What will you do to advance them during your tenure on the SC? How do you see aligning (or not) with national DSA priorities?

Hopefully, DSA SF will be doing lots of things in the next six months, driven by the chapter priorities that we will soon be passing. This is a very exciting moment for the chapter, I think -- for the first time, we will have a well-defined set of chapter-level projects and a pipeline for getting members to engage in meaningful chapter work. The SC ought to lead the way in advancing this work, and I see it going hand-in-hand with work towards connecting the “silos” within the chapter mentioned in a later question. I see the next 6 months being a lot of organization building, where we develop some of the missing structures, relationships, and skills necessary to work on our chapter priorities. The remainder of the year, hopefully, will be spent doing that work as effectively as possible.

Q6: What are some ways you envision using some of the "lessons learned" by our committees and working groups this year, to enhance the work of the chapter going forward into 21-22?

I think that we've learned a lot of lessons over the past year, lessons that are especially colored by the conditions of the pandemic. The foremost one for me relates to some other things asked about in this questionnaire: the isolation associated to not being able to organize in person, the stresses of mass death and economic uncertainty, never-ending police violence, and, well, pretty much everything about the year have also isolated the chapter from itself. In the absence of strong mechanisms for collective action, collective decision-making, and collective support of one-another, we have seen ongoing “siloiing” of the chapter and a lot of missed opportunities for engaging in productive political action. We've survived and managed to do lots of good things during this time regardless, but I believe the current state of the chapter shows a need to take advantage of upcoming reforms to build better capacity for acting together in a healthy productive way.

Q7: There are several opinions as to why our chapter, DSA SF, is "split" -- siloing of committees, factionalism due to interpersonal dynamics, and differences of political opinion. What do you see as the main or root cause of these divisions, and how do you intend to work toward repair/interoperability among the committees, working groups, and projects and their organizers within DSA SF?

I think that there is indeed some siloing that has happened in the chapter, and it's a problem that I've seen popping up for several years. I see a general lack of communication and trust between committees/working groups, over-personalization of organizational conflicts, and at times a saddening distrust of the general membership on the part of people working on specific projects (believing that more democratic involvement might interfere with their project).

We have come to this situation for a variety of historical reasons related to the development of the chapter -- we live in the shadow of some of the early organizational issues from back in the earlier years of post-2016 DSA SF, which were complicated and ultimately do not stand up to our current political climate.

We now stand in a place to start patching things together to develop a more coherent, effective organization. Adding democratic structures and processes that allow for better chapter cohesion is, categorically, *not* sufficient to resolve these issues. However, they are *necessary* -- without spaces that enable the effective resolution of political conflicts, collective decision making, etc., there is no way for politics to happen at all. As an SC member, I will at all times seek to develop structures and culture that encourage democratic participation in collective action on behalf of the organization. I want for rank-and-file members to feel as though they have a fair say in what the chapter decides to do, as well as feeling empowered (or, ideally, obligated) to help advance the democratically-decided decisions of the chapter.

Q8: What is your biggest aspiration for the chapter?

It depends on the time scale. Of course, long-term, I want our chapter to be part of a larger movement that brings about socialism and a transition into a communist society.

Shorter-term, I want the chapter to become more effective at taking political power within the city with an eye towards building long-term power. This means not just engaging in projects that succeed (on the face of it), but also intentionally building organizational skills within the organization, building relationships with other groups, engaging in political education, and generally setting up a pipeline for members to become effective, experienced organizers that understand both theory and practice.

Q9: What is the interaction between racism and capitalism?

This is an extremely complicated question that, rightfully, has generated a lot of debate, often involving people far more insightful than myself. I do think that it's pretty important to have some answer to this question, though, and so I'll give it a shot:

First, there is a distinction between 1) the abstract concepts associated to the terms "racism" and "capitalism" and 2) the ways in which they manifest themselves in reality. Racism and capitalism are, on paper, different things -- racism is a cultural phenomenon relating to the belief of the superiority of one race over another, while capitalism describes a political and economic situation where private property exists, capitalists own stuff, wage labor exists, etc. This means that, in some sort of (silly) abstract sense, racism and capitalism are separate things, and conceivably there is some version of capitalism worth talking about that doesn't involve racism.

However, "race" itself is a social construct, and is only constructed out of historical and social necessity. The same could be said of "capitalism", which really describes a set of relations between people that are also historically contingent. This means that these two notions, in practice, evolve with society, and generally in a mutually-reinforcing way. It is undeniable that the capitalism that we are presented with in 2021 is one that is tied in with its deeply racist history, emerging out of an era of colonization that sought to legitimize its exploitative goals. This relationship is so thorough that in various times and various places, the notions of race and class have nearly coincided (see: African colonies, or certain times in U.S. history, as remarked by Fanon).

All of that is to say that there is, well, a highly-complicated set of relations between racism and capitalism that can vary: from "race and class are roughly the same" to

“race and class are extremely different” to the most important one that we must contend with presently: “race and class are different, but deeply intertwined in geographically and historically dependent ways”.

This last one is complicated, but real -- we are presently faced with a modern version of racism in the U.S. that is deeply complicated by the realities of history, cultural inertia, economics, etc. As such, any analysis we do that involves *any one* of these things necessarily needs to consider all of the others. We cannot correctly talk about class in the U.S. without talking about race, and vice-versa, full stop, and the nuances of these interactions need to be taken seriously if we are to organize effectively.

National Convention Delegate

We have been allocated 20 delegates and 4 alternates to the DSA National Convention on August 1-8, proportional to DSA-SF's membership size. The candidates are as follows:

[Socrates L](#)

[Matthew P](#)

[Ryan S](#)

[Miriam G](#)
[Harvey W](#)
[Lex VK](#)
[Micheál M](#)
[Sam H-L](#)
[Tyler \(C\) B](#)
[Jennifer B](#)
[Emily A](#)
[Evan M](#)
[Justin T](#)
[Cara H](#)
[Matthew M](#)
[Julien B](#)
[Alexander G](#)
[Melissa H](#)
[Sam R](#)
[Drew D](#)
[Elizabeth M](#)
[Michael S](#)
[Ryan M](#)
[Ryan V](#)

Y Faye W [No Questionnaire Submitted]
Alex P [No Questionnaire Submitted]
Harlo P [No Questionnaire Submitted]
Peter M [No Questionnaire Submitted]
Ian W [No Questionnaire Submitted]
Jen S [No Questionnaire Submitted]
Peter O [No Questionnaire Submitted]
Dean P [No Questionnaire Submitted]
Jackie F [No Questionnaire Submitted]
Rose K [No Questionnaire Submitted]
Nicole V [No Questionnaire Submitted]

Socrates L Questionnaire

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

I think we need to start our analysis of the climate change problem by recognizing that a capitalist, profit-driven economy incentivizes people to exacerbate climate change. So combating climate change requires seizing significant power away from capitalists, which requires building working class power. I think abolition work and labor organizing are ways to do this. Grounding our work in struggles for concrete improvements that make the working class more powerful is an excellent tonic against alarmist liberal discourse around climate change and other broad social problems. That discourse tells us that we are doomed, or that we don't have time for the work required to build power - these are calls to give up or to fall into the orbit of capitalist-funded organizations as a shortcut solution, when in reality the lack of working class base building is the reason for the left's position of weakness. We can use our work to foster class consciousness and a sense of solidarity, an "us vs. them" understanding of the relationship between workers and capitalists. Within our labor and abolition work, we can look for opportunities, especially in political education sessions, to talk about the ways that the profit motive affects the environment. Through this process, we can illustrate how under capitalism there is no way to effectively combat climate change while building the power we need to fight capitalists.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

The NPC should provide support to chapters such that they become avenues for labor organizing. Firstly, the NPC can help develop all members into labor organizers through labor organizing training. Even though not all members can organize in their own workplaces, they can use these skills to better support other campaigns; many aspects of labor organizing such as 1-on-1 conversations and power mapping are broadly applicable to a variety of DSA work such as tenant organizing and electoral campaigns. The NPC can also help chapters connect with unions in their area - one of the challenges when organizing a union campaign is getting a contact in an established union and figuring out which unions can represent the workers. The NPC should help DSA chapters make these connections. DSA can become an institution that workers approach if they need help getting in touch with unions, and unions can approach DSA to discuss getting broad community support on their organizing campaigns. In the long term, such institutional relationships will improve DSA's work by increasing the

proportion of members with direct experience in organizing; it would also move organized labor toward socialist politics once they have enough strength to maintain a significant degree of ownership at the shop floor level.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

I think DSA can become a significant force in US politics by building working class power with a focus on engaging with people outside of electoral campaigns. I think that DSA needs to avoid the pitfall of allegiance to the Democratic Party; DSA needs to recognize that both the Democratic and Republican parties are parties for capitalists, and elections are their favored playing field. Any left organization, not just DSA, risks falling into the Democrats' orbit until ultimately it becomes little more than a member of the party's progressive wing; the electoral arena accelerates this process because there is often little choice but to rely upon the Democratic Party if one's objective is electing candidates. DSA can engage in power-building outside of the electoral realm, where these two parties have significantly less of an advantage. DSA can reach people directly by engaging in labor organizing, tenant organizing, and public goods campaigns; through this process, it can build a left base by maintaining a rigorous stance of opposition to both liberals and conservatives while fostering working people's sense of their class interests.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

The convention can support DSA over the next two years by setting organizational priorities. This can direct the work of people within the organization and attract people outside of the organization to join by demonstrating that we have a focused program.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

[2021 DSA Convention Resolutions & Constitution/Bylaws Changes Compendium](#)

Below are some bylaws amendments and resolutions that I am almost sure I will support. However, I expect that I will support many more; I am waiting for the final language before I decide.

- Bylaws Amendment #7: Hold All Leadership Elections by Single Transferable Vote
 - I support this resolution because it would make elections in DSA more democratic. Single Transferable Vote (STV) is a good system for ensuring proportional political representation. It is already used for NPC and national convention delegate elections.
 - In DSA San Francisco, most of our elections are already held by STV. This bylaws amendment would extend all chapter officer elections to be held by STV. This would be a fairly simple change as our CCC has a robust system in place for online voting.
- Resolution #19: Amnesty for All, Socialist Internationalism, and the Right to Stay Home
 - I support this resolution because it identifies immigration policy as a tool for capitalists to increase competition between workers, superexploiting undocumented workers directly while using undocumented labor as a threat against other workers. Bosses regularly threaten workers with replacement by undocumented immigrants when they object to working conditions or make demands. The resolution's analysis is critical to DSA's orientation toward immigration because it lays the foundation for solidarity between workers with citizenship and those without, showing how the mistreatment of some workers allows capitalists to treat all other workers more poorly ("An injury to one is an injury to all"). Unfortunately, the majority of immigration advocacy organizations have focused on narrow "pathways to citizenship" which discipline undocumented immigrants by means-testing them and placing them in precarious immigrant statuses; furthermore, "pathways to citizenship" legislation obscures the real reasons why capitalists want undocumented labor, thus obscuring the basis for working class solidarity. Amnesty for all immigrants is an alternative stance toward immigration policy that has the best interests of the working class at its core. It is a universalist policy, standing apart from liberal approaches calling for relief for specific groups (DACA/TPS holders, farmworkers, immigrants from specific national or ethnic backgrounds, etc.). The resolution sets a clear goal of building power among immigrants rather than lobbying the Biden

administration, as amnesty for all is a policy that would clearly and directly benefit DSA's labor and tenant organizing campaigns by removing the threat of deportation for our undocumented comrades. By adopting amnesty for all as our stance on immigration, we can set ourselves apart from both xenophobic anti-immigration groups and liberal "pathways to citizenship", helping us build closer connections with immigrant communities while providing a socialist alternative that we can use to raise class consciousness.

- In DSA SF, the passage of this resolution would help us build connections with immigrant communities as we set ourselves apart from the Democrats and Republicans on immigration policy. It would also directly commit the national Immigrant Rights Working Group to helping us strengthen our labor and tenant organizing efforts with the goal of building relationships with undocumented and temporary contract workers.
- Resolution #23: Childcare for All
 - I support this resolution because its vision of universal childcare shifts our political agenda toward public goods. Most childcare advocacy revolves around either means-tested and extremely limited programs or privatized childcare. This resolution would commit DSA to an alternative vision of public childcare institutions which would genuinely expand public goods and would constitute a large downward redistribution of wealth. This resolution is also clear in its required resources and how this would benefit DSA's work: DSA requires staff to craft childcare legislation so that we can use this legislation to engage in campaigns in several states. As the resolution states, childcare is a deeply felt issue for most people and therefore it is strategic to organize around this.
 - In San Francisco, the passage of this resolution would encourage more people from the early childhood education (ECE) workforce and the broader ECE community to engage with DSA as an organization committed to a distinct public goods vision of childcare. This would also give us more opportunities to strengthen our connections to ECE workers which we have begun to develop in the Labor Organizing Committee, helping us tie workplace organizing to broader legislative goals.

- Resolution #35: Spanish Translation & Bilingual Organizing
 - I support this because it is a low-cost way to make DSA more accessible for Spanish speakers who have little or no English proficiency. It also adds some application form questions that would help all chapters potentially find members to do interpretation work to further increase meeting accessibility.
 - In DSA SF, the passage of this resolution can give us more ways to do outreach to Spanish speakers who do not speak English, which constitute a significant population in the Bay Area. It can help us build coalitions as we can offer more Spanish-language material about ourselves when working with organizations that primarily use Spanish.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

Not at the moment. I'm waiting for the finalized language before I decide which ones I will oppose.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

I believe that the national organization should prioritize base building work outside of the electoral realm for the next two years. Specifically, I believe that we should focus on developing our capacity for labor and tenant organizing and directly supporting such campaigns. I also think that we should develop campaigns for universal childcare as a way to build a base around an issue that is deeply felt for most working class people. I recognize that we will inevitably be involved in many electoral races in many chapters, so I think that the national organization should also develop a rigorous set of rules for DSA members elected to public office and a set of measures for disciplining members who violate these standards (unenrollment, suspension, removal from DSA, etc.).

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

DSA SF should engage more frequently with the national organization, and the national organization should engage more with chapters. One way for us to proactively build this engagement is to request more resources from the national organization, such as training, connecting with other chapters in order to find out common areas of work, etc. The organizer staff of DSA have conducted training sessions for other chapters in the past, so they are readily available.

Matthew P Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

My name is Matt Pancia and I've been an active member of DSA SF since 2016. Within DSA SF, I've been both a rank-and-file member and served as leadership in several committees. I'm running for delegate to the national convention because I believe that I can effectively represent the chapter, and do so in a way that advances a politics that will help both the chapter and the organization write large advance socialism.

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

Climate change poses an existential threat to all of humanity, and is ultimately an expression of the mindless, destructive need for capitalism to extend past ecological limits. That is, climate change is the ultimate crisis in a long line of crises that capitalism makes itself vulnerable to by its very nature, but this doesn't mean that we can sit around assume that capitalism will destroy itself, or that what might come after would be any better. If we've seen anything, it's that claims of a "final crisis" that signals the end of capitalism by itself are wrong -- capitalism is a nasty, adaptable beast, and we've seen it capable of wriggling out of all sorts of dire situations, generally by inventing a new form of exploitation.

It is through this lens that we must view our organizing -- climate change is going to present a number of unique crises of a scale we have not experienced. We need to be ready to provide as much useful aid to (likely already-oppressed) populations to mitigate the impact of these crises, as well as to fill the political and ideological space created by these crises to push for socialism, without which we simply cannot avoid the worst. Specifically, we ought to expect massive displacement, food shortages, water shortages, and increased geopolitical conflict on behalf of capitalists that want to protect their wealth and take advantage of these crises (see current saber-rattling with China and Russia). This will likely come with the growth of genocidal, eco-fascist ideologies, and we must combat both the ideological and material consequences of all of these things.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

The NPC exists to advance the political goals of DSA, both locally and nationally. To this end, I think that this should be done in as scientific of a way as possible. I view local chapters (ideally) as laboratories where different strategies and tactics to advance socialism (or simply the interests of locals) can be tested, and the results used by other chapters to refine their own work moving forward. The NPC ought to provide support to local chapters doing labor work as well as systematically observing the results of that work and allowing other chapters to replicate and improve it.

Specifically, this could mean boosting local union organizing efforts in a variety of ways (like Tartine, Anchor, Dandelion) as they occur, as well as providing more active resources to people trying to do labor organizing in earlier stages -- trainings, organizational resources like money or technology, directing expertise from other chapters, etc. Here, the NPC could do some coordination that allows for more solidarity across the organization for labor organizing efforts, which we've seen a bit of in the PRO Act campaign. I look forward to the NPC doing more of this type of thing.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

Through a variety of tactics, including electoral work, political education, labor organizing, direct action, etc. I believe that it is our obligation to take a sober, scientific approach to organizing that does not dismiss any particular tactic, but rather methodically uses whatever is situationally appropriate to advance the ultimate political program of DSA: the development of a self-aware, powerful working class movement. This ought to result in a mix of things:

- some short-term projects that, while they may not be immediately revolutionary, have an at least an eye towards the longer-term project of developing socialism (electoral projects, well-considered mutual aid, street protests, etc.)
- longer-term projects that more explicitly get at our desire to develop socialism (political education, organizational structuring, building relationships with other socialist organizations, skill training)

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

The convention exists to set the priorities and structure of the organization so as to advance the goals of the organization, and it should do exactly that.

I believe that it's especially important to deal with structural issues that relate to the massive growth of DSA over the past several years. We have seen some failures of the national organization to handle issues related to that growth and to develop a cohesive politics beyond a vague Brand of DSA. I would like for the convention to push for reforms that move DSA in a direction of being more supportive of its large membership.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

I am generally (but not exclusively) in support of all of the resolutions put forward by Cardinal, which is a coalition of several caucuses in DSA including our local Marxist Caucus, Red Star.

This includes "Building Worker Power to Win Democratic Socialism: A Labor Strategy for DSA in 2021-2023", "Committing to International Socialist Solidarity", "Beyond

100K: Building a Mass Socialist Organization”, “Building Transformative Justice through a National Committee of Grievance Officers”.

While all of these will impact our chapter in one way or another, I am particularly interested in how #14 “Committing to International Socialist Solidarity” can impact our local organizing work. I think it would be extremely productive (and cool) for SF to have specific ties with socialist groups in other cities that we could learn from and build solidarity with locally representative communities. Joining the São Paulo Forum and starting up some exchange programs seems like a great first step in doing this, and I believe that DSA SF would benefit greatly from participating in it.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

I’m withholding judgement on many of them as they might be amended or I might be convinced otherwise after some discussion, but I do think that there are several resolutions that potentially “put the cart before the horse”. This is in terms of setting up organizational structures or doing organizing work based on utopian ideas and not The Actual Conditions That We Face.

I see a bit of this in #9: “Running 10 Candidates Independent of the Democrats in 2022”, which sets an organizational goal suggested in the title. I don’t think that running candidates as independent is important *per se*, nor does accomplishing this priority necessarily advance socialism in a meaningful way. If the organization is to engage in electoral politics at all, then it ought to do so with a clear-headed, cynical goal of winning and exerting control over the elected officials, not standing on a principle of nominal independence on the ballot line.

In addition, I’m not supportive of #17: “Internationalist Principles, Political Education and Solidarity.” as written, which seems to move towards taking an unnecessary (and I believe incorrect) stance in some debate around third-campism that mostly serves to divide people.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

I would like for the national organization to become more coherent, and to develop itself as an effective mass organization that could serve as some sort of proto-party. DSA is the largest "socialist" formation in recent U.S. history, and exists during a time of political possibility: we have a number of global crises and growing political awareness in the U.S. that places DSA in a unique position to be a genuine agent of change. I want the organization to take this opportunity seriously, and this means shaping itself up and providing resources for chapters to do this in parallel.

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

I think that the relationship that we have with national is, roughly speaking, a decent one, given the current structure of the national organization. We operate semi-independently, which grants us the freedom to tailor our own political work to the conditions of SF. If the national organization becomes a bit more coherent, then we might look to change that relationship in some ways.

That being said, I do think that SF (as a larger chapter with a relative surplus of resources) ought to try and do more outreach with smaller chapters and other socialist organizations throughout the world. We have a lot of capacity to try things out, develop resources, etc. that could be used to provide support and knowledge to smaller chapters that may only have a few members.

Ryan S Questionnaire

Personal Statement: I'm Ryan and I'm a junior lighting designer at a small firm in SF. My time in DSA SF has focused on building out our administrative structure through CCC, and I served 6 months as the Democracy Team Lead, running online votes and checking folks into our Zoom meetings, as well as responding to emails to eligibility@dsasf.org. I am running for delegate so I can help make sure that National DSA is oriented in such a way to help us carry out work on the ground.

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

DSA should approach work, generally speaking, by understanding the interconnectedness of our political struggles and using a framework of historical materialism to assess our current situations and strategize for further work. Climate change poses an existential threat to humanity and should be considered along with our immediate needs, medium-term needs, and long-term needs, in a thoughtful and nuanced way.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

The NPC serves to run DSA's national platform. Local chapter labor work should be both an inspiration and a framework for how labor work may succeed in other chapters. I would be happy to see NPC promote successful campaigns like DSASF's involvement in Tartine, Dandelion, Anchor, etc., and to foster a good relationship with the ILWU and other unions that do the good work on the ground.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

DSA should not solely use the ballot line to change US political situations. DSA should also have activism that changes on-the-ground material conditions for the working class in a more immediate sense. DSA also needs to have a more cohesive political program, with less sniping inside the big tent, to succeed. DSA should find the baseline political program that almost all members can get on board with.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

By doing exactly what it is tasked to do -- deliberate on the resolutions at hand, amend resolutions to make them even better, and set up a framework in which DSA can work and succeed on the national stage for the next few years.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

Empowering DSA's Mass Abolition Work, Building Worker Power (Labor Strategy resolution), Committing to International Socialist Solidarity, Prioritizing Tenant Organizing, Beyond 100K. These resolutions, among others, make solid strides towards finding the right avenues for DSA to do work outside of electoralism.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

I definitely want to withhold some judgement until the resolutions are in front of us at convention. However, I am wary of resolutions that lock DSA into any specific tactic. The members doing the work, when the work is being done, should not be blocked from working a certain way if it is what they find most helpful. For example, a resolution currently requires that all members of DSA elected to a governmental position should form a voting block within their elected body. This *might* be strategic -- but might not be. It is silly to lock tactics in when we're not yet even on-the-ground with a problem.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

Doing work outside of the GOP-Dem binary and building towards a mass socialist organization in the United States, through any means that are strategically considered and found to be a net good by those involved in the deliberations.

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

DSA SF should have a similar relationship to the national organization as other large city chapters do. We are a proving ground -- a sandbox of sorts -- and our successes can be used as a model and shared, as well as our failures, which it would behoove us to come to terms with locally.

Miriam G Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

My name is Miriam Goldman, I have been a working member of DSA SF for a little over a year and a paper member since 2018. I am a graduate student at UCSF studying biomedical informations and researching the gut microbiome. I also work for UAW on their union campaign for student researchers as a data analyst. I have spent most of my time in DSA SF as co-chair of our chapter coordination committee, trying to improve the central systems of our chapter and weather this pandemic while still getting as much done as possible. I love DSA SF and I truly think we can have a change on the future if we work together.

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

We need to keep in mind that the future literally depends on us and fight for abolition, labor, and a green future not run by capitalism, with everything we have in us because it's the only chance we have at a future.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

We need the npc to help us communicate across chapters better it doesn't make sense that every chapter is individually recreating the wheel over and over NPC should help make accessible solutions used by other chapters to our problems.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

Run more of our own members, grow our membership and run people that are responsible to us not to any other party.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

If some of these resolutions pass we could get much needed support in tech, in office management and communication with our groups in SF.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

#25: National Communications & Technology Policy

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

#30: Strengthening DSA From the Bottom Up Through National Matching Funds for

Chapters to Hire Staff and Open Offices

#34: No Spy Zone

#35: Spanish Translation & Bilingual Organizing

I think all of these have the capacity to help us be able to communicate with our current members and reach out to new ones.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

#11: Campaign for a Democratic Socialist Party

I simply do not think it is the right time to create a third party and starting one too early would open us up to too much bad press.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

The national organizations priorities should be to help facilitate national wide campaigns like pass the pro act.

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

Working on the big stuff with things that do apply to a national level and asking for help on things that are SF/California specify, things like fighting Prop 22 and other things like it.

Harvey W Questionnaire

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

I think DSA should engage in strategic messaging and recruitment to highlight the role of capitalism in climate change and bring people into the organization with positive messaging that emphasizes collective organizing towards a socialist future. I think we should pass Resolution 3: “Empowering DSA’s Mass Abolition Work” and Resolution 5: “Building Worker Power to Win Democratic Socialism: A Labor Strategy for DSA in 2021-2023” in order to support local and national efforts towards abolition and labor organizing. I think DSA will need to be flexible and engage in periodic power mapping in order to adapt as conditions change while climate change continues. What works now may not work in a state of advanced climate disaster. Mutual aid networks and parallel institutions may become increasingly significant.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

I think National should foster small chapters and provide the resources they need to establish basic structures and processes and run unionizing campaigns. It should also provide chapters with training and resources. I also think it should be a body that connects and coordinates our various chapters to build a more cohesive labor movement. Specifically, I think it should execute Resolution 5: “Building Worker Power to Win Democratic Socialism: A Labor Strategy for DSA in 2021-2023.”

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

The capitalist forces we seek to overthrow are more organized than us and we need to catch up. This means we need to grow our organization because without people power we can’t win. As we do that, we should work with intention and purpose, analyzing our current conditions and shaping our work accordingly. This means pushing for robust political education. We should also work towards more effective coordination, communication, and focus. This includes having concrete and efficient methods of democratic decision-making and democratically empowering people with legitimate authority to make decisions on our behalf. I hope National can work to coordinate campaigns across the country to heighten their impact. In terms of specific issue areas I think National should focus on political education, tenancy, labor, electoral, climate work, and abolition work, among other things.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

The convention will set the organization's priorities and leadership. This will have a significant impact on the direction our organization moves. I hope that it will move in a direction that is more coordinated, cohesive, and effective. This includes building processes to coordinate work across chapters. I'm sensitive to the financial constraints of the NPC and want to make sure we pass resolutions that can be effectively implemented rather than simply overburden the NPC with aspirations or too many (equally) urgent priorities. DSA is not the state and can't print money so financial restraints are real and we should be strategic and make tough choices that balance urgent issues with our long-term goals.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

I support Resolution 3: "Empowering DSA's Mass Abolition Work" which will complement our own Black Liberation resolution. Abolition work is critical to confronting racial capitalism and expanding our organization to be a vehicle for a multi-racial working class.

I support Resolution 21: "Prioritizing Tenant Organizing —Resolution by the Housing Justice Commission" which will help provide our chapter's Tenant Solidarity Committee with training and resources. Tenancy is a critical site of struggle for socialist organizing because it allows us to organize against the capitalist class where we live.

I support Resolution 14: Committing to International Socialist Solidarity. Socialism is an international project and anti-imperialism and socialism go hand in hand. We should build ties to international socialist entities to knowledge-share and build solidarity with one-another towards an international socialist future. I hope our chapter can plug our political education into this work.

I support Resolution 5: "Building Worker Power to Win Democratic Socialism: A Labor Strategy for DSA in 2021-2023" Our workplaces are key sites of struggle between the

people and the capitalist class which means a socialist organization should make it a priority. Workers run the economy which means uniting workers = power. I support national efforts to empower the kinds of successes we've seen in DSA SF with Tartine and Anchor unionization efforts.

This is not a comprehensive list. Resolutions have yet to be amended and I am still engaging in thought and discussion regarding the other resolutions. I also think we should focus on climate, electoral, and education work.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

I oppose Resolution 9: "Running 10 Candidates Independent of the Democrats in 2022"

The two-party system is broken and existing parties are tools of the capitalist class. At the same time, our system is not conducive to a third-party trajectory at the moment. I largely agree with [the analysis](#) which says we should run candidates on the Democratic ballot while working towards a "party surrogate". Some day a "dirty break" from the Democratic party might be strategic but for now we need to run candidates as we have been, but make them more accountable to DSA like we're doing locally with our electoral commission, and ensure the work they do supports our organization's priorities and builds worker and poor people power.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

We should prioritize growing our organization because without people power we can't win. We should foster political education to sharpen our analysis so that our work is properly directed. We should focus on strategic sites of struggle including labor and tenancy. We should focus on work that shifts the balance of power from the capitalists towards the poor and working class. We should engage in intersectional work towards abolition of oppressive systems including the prison industrial complex, and combat racism, imperialism, colonialism, patriarchy, ableism, cisheteronormativity, and other forms of oppression. We should also engage in climate, health care, and electoral

work. This is of course broadly stated and will be further defined in the particular resolutions which have yet to be amended to their final form.

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

We should synchronize priorities to the extent that it is strategic and possible. We should take full advantage of the tools and resources National offers such as tenant organizing training. We should use our connections to National to coordinate work with other chapters at the state-wide level and beyond.

You can read more of my thoughts about DSA in my much longer Steering Committee nomination questionnaire. I kept this one relatively short.

Lex VK Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

Hello DSA SF!

My name is Lex Von Klark (He/Him/His) and I am a queer 20-year old socialist organizer born and raised in San Francisco. I have been active with DSA since 2019 when I helped found the UCLA YDSA chapter, and have remained involved in YDSA organizing at both a local and national level ever since, including recently becoming a member of YDSA's National Labor Committee. Since returning to the Bay Area at the start of the pandemic I have been a fellow in D5 Supervisor Dean Preston's Office, where I've had the opportunity to work on the incredible DSA SF campaigns for Prop I, Prop K, and even Dean's own reelection. I have also acted as our District 5 DSA Liaison, striving to ensure that our office is open and accessible to all chapter members who would like to get involved in city politics. At a statewide level, I have helped grow the California DSA network through my work in our DSA for Prop 15 and DSA for CA

Medicare for All campaigns. I am a member of Bread & Roses, a national caucus of Marxist organizers that believes in the centrality of multiracial class struggle in the fight against capitalism and all forms of oppression.

I am running for delegate because we are at a critical moment in the development of DSA and we need a national organization with the power and resources to lead us through it. Bernie Sander's last two presidential runs were the training wheels that helped get DSA moving again, providing a ready-made national campaign for chapters to plug into and use to recruit. Now, with Biden in office and no democratic socialist presidential campaign on the horizon, we have to keep moving forward on our own. This will require local chapters that are focused on doing rank & file labor, electoral, and political education work, alongside a national that has the authority to standardize and support DSA operations across the country. As DSA nears 100,000 members, it is more important than ever for DSA SF to step up nationally and raise the bar for our entire organization. From electoral successes with Propositions & Dean to labor victories at shops across the city, DSA SF has shown itself to already be running the kind of independent campaigns that should be implemented nationally, and as a delegate I want to bring SF's experiences and tactics to the front of the conversation.

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

Presently, DSA's priorities both nationally and locally are extremely fractured. Hundreds of small working groups toil away on isolated topics, often producing little more than social media graphics and scattered political education sessions that fail to really affect their chosen issues. If DSA is serious about building a critical mass of socialist working-class power in time to meet the ever-rising climate crisis, we must be efficient and strategic about how we invest our time and resources at every level. That means strategically orienting ourselves towards centers of power such as the growing multiracial labor movement and elected government, from which we as socialists can affect a huge range of important issues such as climate change and police & prison abolition. To be able to not only affect the issues we care most about but also to change all of society, we as socialists need to prioritize power.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

The NPC should keep extensive records of all members' union affiliations and current jobs for the express purposes of coordinating collective rank & file union organization and helping non-union members either move to a union job or organize their current workplace. This information should be provided to local chapters' labor committees so they can better map their membership, identify local centers of power (e.g. a unionized UPS center that delivers for most of the city), and develop group organizing strategies.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

DSA should continue to use the Democratic Party ballot line as a mechanism to get our preferred representatives elected and increase our profile at both the national and local levels. It needs to be constantly kept in mind that our use of the Dem ballot line is not an endorsement of the Democrats themselves, though, and is rather simply a strategic orientation towards the mainstream of US politics where most voters currently reside while we build up enough independent support to break and create our own democratic socialist party. Breaking off prematurely could marginalize us into irrelevance, like it has for a great multitude of third parties in the US, but losing sight of the goal of an independent party and getting lost in the muck of internal Democratic Party politics could also be equally as damaging to the mass character of our organization.

Just as important as building towards an independent party is working to merge DSA with a radical labor movement. History has shown us that workers do not inevitably become socialist, but we need them to be if we are to have the material leverage necessary to challenge the capitalists and change our society. The merger of the socialist and labor movements today can only be accomplished through the organization and radicalization of rank & file union members who can challenge the authority of both their capitalist bosses and corrupt union bureaucrats at the same time. By winning rank and file union members over to socialism, we can win not only their support but also eventually the support of the many millions of other workers who are waiting to be organized by those unions. Neither a socialist party or a labor movement alone are enough to overthrow capitalism - we are going to need both working in tandem to really make change.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

One of the convention's most important functions for DSA is to give us clarity of direction and strategy by collectively establishing our goals and priorities on a national level. To this end, the convention can best support DSA by being parsimonious and selective with which resolutions it chooses to pass and prioritize. While there are many resolutions that have proposed excellent potential campaigns, passing too many of them will ultimately muddy our focus and dilute our ability to fully commit to any one of them. Our convention must be very strategic when deciding what goals and priorities to vote for this year, not only to ensure that National can give each the adequate support they deserve, but also so that it is very clear to local chapters and members what our national organization is focusing on.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

I am strongly prioritizing Resolution #30: "Strengthening DSA From the Bottom Up Through National Matching Funds for Chapters to Hire Staff and Open Offices" and Resolution #32: "Strengthening YDSA" as I believe they are critical to ensuring the growth and longevity of DSA. Res 30 is an incredibly important first step in ensuring that every DSA chapter is physically rooted in its community with an office and can take on bigger and more long-term projects with the help of paid staff. Offices and staff move DSA from simply being a volunteer organization to actively becoming a lasting independent political force and eventually a working-class party. Similarly, Res #32 is crucial to expanding DSA's recruitment and longevity by correctly identifying YDSA as not simply another working group but rather the space in which young people are brought en masse into DSA. YDSA is quite literally the future of DSA, and if we want that future to be a bright one we need to give YDSA the power and resources it needs to become the best youth socialist wing possible.

As for how Resolutions #30 and #32 will affect DSA SF, matching funds for offices and staff will directly allow us to spend less of our local money on the rent for our new office, and may even allow us to hire our own paid staffer. The impact of Res #32 is a little less direct but no less important: by empowering YDSA to organize deeper and wider, Res #32 will help ensure that DSA SF's membership grows out of the working class youth of our city from every sort of school and university.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

Overall I am very proud of the resolutions put forward this year, which I believe broadly represent how politically mature DSA has become since its last convention. The number of resolutions produced by committees made up of a number of different caucuses is especially heartening to see, as it shows that we are starting to identify more with our political similarities than superficial differences in the organization. The only resolution I oppose so far this convention is Res #34: “No Spy Zone”, as I feel that it is an unserious attempt to keep intelligence operatives out of the organization. I seriously doubt the FBI will not try to infiltrate our organization simply because we passed a resolution asking them not to. That being said, I am certainly concerned about DSA’s potential vulnerability to infiltration and would like to see a more thought-out approach to countering that be put forward at some point.

Q7: What should be the national organization’s priorities for the next two years?

DSA National’s priorities for the next two years should be internal development and standardization in the organization. This isn’t to suggest that critical terrains like labor and electoral work should be ignored, but rather should be pursued primarily at the chapter level for the time being. DSA has grown immensely since 2016, but that growth has been unstructured and has led to a patchwork of chapters with wildly different rules, positions, and priorities. Some of this can be attributed to the inevitable diversity of needs and issues at different locales, but a comprehensive effort should be made to cohere DSA into more of a national organization with local chapters instead of the loose federation of highly varying locals it is now. This coherence can come about by empowering National to have more authority to encourage chapters to follow priorities decided on at convention and implement more standard and efficient chapter structures. National should also both streamline its own bloated working group system and work to gather more comprehensive information about every DSA chapter so that successful strategies and structures can be easily identified and replicated. National resources for chapters such as sample campaign materials, graphics, and political education materials should be centralized, standardized, and made more open for all members to access. By taking the time to carefully restructure DSA into a more centralized, standardized, and efficient organization, we will be better equipped to grow into the millions-strong mass organization we need to be.

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

DSA SF shouldn't be afraid to establish close ties with National, both to take input from National on priorities & structure and to share our own experiences and skills with the rest of our organization. We should share information and resources such as member lists, campaign materials, and reportbacks on different efforts so that it can be used by the NPC and distributed to other chapters where appropriate.

Mícheál M Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

DSA's most effective activity is its education and propaganda. We are in the midst of the training of a new generation of cadre and leadership from scratch. The left of the United States has faced an uphill battle from its inception, and its practical elimination from the public mind, from the trade unions and from ballot representation has created the obstacle for our generation, which is weakened from the right-wing's successful breakage of our traditions: the rich training, education and culturization which comes from continuity with the older generation. Consequently, we as a membership and as an organization are forced to relearn old lessons and make new social connections that may have once existed but were stamped out. The work we accomplish is going to make slow but qualitative changes in the next two decades among the thoughts of the common population whom we strive to be tribune for. The international events of the past thirty years, beginning with September 11th, leading into the Afghanistan and Iraq invasions, the 2008 financial meltdown and giveaway of massive tax payer and treasury funds in the form of banking and insurance bailouts, revolution in Egypt and its international echoes resulting in the Occupy Movement, the further destabilization of North Africa with the U.S.-led toppling of Libya, a hijacking of the Syrian mass movement to create an arms dumping market, awashing a huge area of the Middle East in blood under a permanent war economy, the capping of all human and possibly earthly biological existence and the futures of the young with approaching climate death, and now the second hijacking of the treasury under the crisis of Covid-19 in the highest upward transfer of wealth in human history, are conditions that are ripening the rejection of the legitimacy of the U.S. state within the minds of the current generation which has grown up through this. Not only ideas of common responsibility, but radicalism and revolutionary conclusions are going to be reached by many of

the masses in the coming decades. An organization that seeks to maintain relevancy, and beyond that, which seeks to be *effective*, has got to begin thinking about and planning for future developments in the class struggle, so that we may seize the great moments and opportunities we are bound to encounter given the steady destabilization of the old social order. You must be as organized as your enemy if you are going to defeat your enemy.

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

The coming catastrophe being brought by human activity upon the planet and society opens us up to a new crisis situation, one with terminal consequences. The pressure this is going to create, the great bottlenecking of society in the form of fleeing climate refugees, will scramble the populations of the world in unforeseen ways, though the outline of what human movement will happen can already be made out. This does not make any one particular area the question highlighted any less important or worth discarding, but rather, it heightens the importance and the sway that work in each of the aforementioned areas (and more) is going to hold. We can make more obvious predictions as to what the convulsions climate change will cause in society are going to result in: The destabilization of economic yield and a new volatility in marketplace conditions especially in the area of agribusiness, agricultural yield, and energy resource production and shrinking access to it with the danger of power grid failures. Our work must carry with it the idea that workers and the oppressed can and must seize the functions of society away from its elite and its misleadership, and not just rely on reforms from above. Mass mobilization is one of the great ways our work breaks through its individualized siloes and into the arena of thought among the people.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

I believe the Democratic Socialist Labor Commission, representatives of the NPC, and members from each of the chapter labor branches have a responsibility to meet as a coordinating body and establish some goals for the work of labor together. For example, I attended a meeting with Labor Against War and Racism in which trade unionists were telling us how they were able to bring pro-BDS resolutions before their unions and organizations and have them adopted. This kind of work can be centralized, coordinated and carried out at a simultaneous level amongst our trade union members if we know who they are. During such events as strikes or natural disasters, the NPC can provide or set up through the DSLC a distribution fund to be given to trade union networks leading relief work in areas suffering from fires or floods, and picket line support as well. Even if it is only symbolic, it is important for labor activists to

see the DSA come to their aid in our name and build a positive name amongst the rank and file. This will of course connect with membership mobilizations in person.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

The DSA absolutely needs a strengthening of centralization and a move towards professionalization of the org. In the medium to long term we need to be looking at instituting some sort of pay system in order to cultivate professional organizers whose working day is dedicated towards the building of DSA's influence. Caps on the salaries of all individuals no higher than a good standard union worker wage should eventually be instituted. This could be a long way off but it must be the direction in which we are pointed. The skeleton of this already exists with our currently very modest staff program. The efforts of our national organization need to strive toward supporting independent candidates and creating an independent ballot line and a party where possible. The energy and support to do this can only come about if DSA can further link itself with the most oppressed sectors of society. The middle class mentality and officespace culture of our membership can only be transformed in this way and in deepening our recruitment of and ties with workers.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

The question of regional bodies has been brought up by many of the current leadership in DSA's NPC and other areas. A tremendous obstacle in our way is the disjointedness of our chapters and their relation to the national body, which almost functions as an independent organization or even a chapter unto itself. There are many members in local chapters across the country who are mistrustful of centralized leadership, and it is not an uncommon position to find amongst leftwing activists. This can only be overcome by building a functioning and responsive relationship between the smaller branches and the national center, which will be turned into a true center in the process. This cannot be brought about overnight or by decree, but only by interface between our disparate elements, which will condition our organization toward this end and create better trust in process. The entire direction of our work is determined not by how much we undermine traditional ideas of authority, but by how much of a mass following we can build at each step. Petty regionalism, factionalization, cliques, and non-cooperation are the enemy.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

Given my work in the last year on the International Committee I am paying specific attention to the resolutions 13 through 18 on the IC (I am opposed or critical of some and supportive of others). In particular, resolution 14 committing to international solidarity I think is a positive step forward for generating exposure to the socialist movement around the world in its different forms. Resolution 3 on systematizing abolition work makes many positive suggestions that I think ought to be carried out on a national level because of its focus on building mass pressure behind chosen policy rather than individual identity. Broadly speaking, we need to replace reactive activity amongst our membership, always fighting a losing battle or losing some ground, to holding steadfast to policy and political goals, and always striving to achieve the maximum mass pressure behind those goals.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

I am going to have to oppose resolutions 15, Structure of the International Committee, and 18, International Committee and Mass Organizing. To explain: The very definition of a sub-committee means that it was set up by the IC as a working group, meaning it exists at the discretion of the IC, who are themselves appointed by the NPC. The NPC is an elected body, with the right to represent membership in its decisions between conventions. The powers given to accomplish this representation include the right to set up working committees to accomplish the creation of policy. The way to guarantee a democratic outcome for representation of the membership's interests is in allowing the elected NPC to make their own decisions regarding who is appointed and removed, rather than setting up a situation where opposition will be bred by practically programming into the logic of the voting representation structure. Further on this: The chairs are chosen from an application submission process based on knowledge, connections, prior experience and political opinion. This case is even worse for democracy amongst our membership because the situation then sets up the ability of one section of the organization to turn the IC into a base for opposition against the current NPC. This would merely create a jamming mechanism, leading to confusion and the creation of a dismissive attitude amongst our mass membership to what the IC leadership says. Educational events currently created and set up by sub-committees are all practically given the go-ahead from the IC leadership after they have undergone review. There isn't actually any real conflict in this regard or the way the resolution tries to characterize it. There is much trust placed in the sub-committee leadership by the IC, who had a hand in helping decide those appointments in the first place. Resolution 18 resembles 15 too closely in its restructuring calls and so I think should also be rejected by the membership.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

National should focus on the implementation of an education program for our membership, the likes of which has already been constructed by the National Political Education Committee. This program includes a broad amount of theory from socialist thinkers across the political spectrum, and ought to give a new rounding of understanding of socialists and our position in the U.S. relative to the world. We need to move towards some kind of nationally shared curriculum that can be referenced by all and that all members know are understood by others, in order to reference during debate. DSA, at the disadvantage of being only a semi-independent organization (ex. the parliamentary sphere), has the greatest strength in being an organization which furthers the education of its members, and it should be able to furnish a baseline of common understanding amongst the membership so as to raise up standards of member conduct and operation.

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

A greater emphasis on centralization is required in order to build an organization that can influence history. Some sort of intermediate body like a regional representative should be built on the basis of chapter voter selection to interact with the NPC leadership. I think I have given an impression in the previous answers of how I see certain work tying the organization slowly together with the national. The chapters across the country, including our own, are still too atomized, and function in a reactive nature. Beyond having local members in national leadership, the local branch has nearly no relationship to the national body. Regularizing things like local chapter reporting on national work, international statements, and chapter building reports to the national and vice versa will create a more beneficial environment for the operation of the whole organization.

Sam H-L Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

Hi I'm Sam HL - I'm a current member of Steering Committee and I am running for delegate! I think that the national convention is a great opportunity for DSA SF to push

for stronger organizing structures and better approaches to our national work across the country, and I'd like to be able to represent the chapter as we work to best do that.

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

Climate change is an accelerant to conditions of imperial pillage and resource scarcity, and the socialist movement must be ready to organize under these emerging conditions. Climate change raises the stakes and impacts our ability to remain safe, but the core goals for socialist transformation remain the same as they have always been: a disciplined, organized organ of the working class able to seize and wield power. We must build a movement capable of demanding and enacting an ecological civilization, and we must prepare to do so as the vice tightens around our necks.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

The basic condition of DSA is a national organization without the resources or buy-in needed to be able to actively drive development of local organizations at the scale we need. Recent developments like the NPC'S publishing a document providing possible scenarios in advance of the November 2020 election and campaigns like Pass The PRO Act are good steps in the right direction, and I support an NPC better able to proactively lead our work into a stronger direction.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

The frame of building power within "U.S. politics" is a dangerous one - the "political" is only one realm that a working-class organization should be fighting within. We must use U.S. politics to advance our agenda, but the agenda we push must be rooted in real class organization and concrete struggle. We cannot win the world we want just by winning enough power within the bourgeois state. Instead, we should focus on making DSA a significant force in the self-activity of the working class at large, through a stronger connection to struggle at the point of exploitation and using electoral work to build the muscles of democratic decision making and concerted activity above all.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

DSA should use the convention to build a stronger political commitment to the types of work listed above. Additionally, national work is incredibly important for advancing an anti-imperialist position for the organization, and a strong commitment to continuing the recent reform of DSA's International Committee can set DSA up as a positive partner in the global project of socialist transformation.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

I am a co-author of Resolution #14: "Committing to International Socialist Solidarity." This resolution would commit DSA to building better connections with the international left. This includes applying to join the São Paulo Forum, a conference of socialist parties across the Americas where we can struggle alongside different organizations fighting for socialist transformation.

Developing a better relationship with the national formations that are guiding socialist development across the world is vital, and will help us build stronger commitments to our partners at a local level.

I am also in favor of Resolution #6: "Tribunes of the People and Democratic Discipline" - I believe that establishing better discipline over our elected members is vital to a strong electoral apparatus, and is something that a national commitment will assist us with as we work to improve our own Electoral work.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

I oppose Resolution #17: "Internationalist Principles, Political Education and Solidarity." As authored, it puts DSA in unnecessary and ill-advised contradiction with socialist societies around the globe, putting forward an analysis that Washington's rivals are "enemies of the world's workers and oppressed peoples." It's a reversion to the Harringtonite "Neither Washington Nor Moscow" third-campism that was endemic to DSA's national organization until recent reforms, and must be pushed against in

order for us to build real principled solidarity with the global struggle for socialist transformation.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

The national organization should be pushing local reforms to ensure that chapters have the political and structural guidance needed to be successful. Using the national platform to make a frank analysis of local conditions and provide recommendations on good paths forward is important, and I want to see the NPC and other national bodies take a stronger stance on what is and isn't working for DSA.

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

The National organization remains the highest body of the membership; as a result, we should see our work as guided by the national membership wherever possible. A certain "shoulder shrugging" approach to national served us well as the national organization was advancing an opportunist line, but we have the ability to win a stronger political position in National leadership, and use that position to actually advance effective politics throughout the organization.

Tyler (C) B. Questionnaire

DSA SF National Convention Candidate Personal Statement:

I am the current Mobilizer for DSA SF's Ecosocialist Committee, and a former co-chair and co-founder of the Ecosocialist (née Climate and Environmental Justice Committee). I first joined DSA SF in 2017, after holding Marxist political beliefs for years without knowing how to engage in meaningful socialist politics - DSA seemed to be the answer, and (mostly) hasn't disappointed. I love developing internal structures to move

our work forward, and developing committee partnerships that intersect climate justice with housing, police and prison abolition, labor, internationalism and immigration, and other spheres. I'm grounded by the DSA Ecosocialist WG's [radical GND principles](#), and the DSA SF Ecosocialist Committee's [Points of Unity](#).

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

For better or worse (almost entirely worse), climate change is the defining material struggle of our time, and all battles should be analyzed and defined by their connection to this. I say in some ways for better because climate change's timeline makes clear that incremental reforms of capitalism will never be enough, and we must utilize this unfortunate opportunity to fight our many socialist struggles. I actually proposed this question for the survey, because I think ecosocialists need to work to connect their emphasis on climate change and environmental justice to questions of police abolition, militant labor organizing, and other terrains. This looks like labor organizers and ecosocialists working together on the PRO Act; like working with Justice and AfroSOC on Defunding the SFPD by shifting money from traffic enforcement and fare enforcement to a free, beautiful, functional, decarbonized and decarceral transportation system; bringing a decolonial and internationalist perspective regarding immigration, climate reparations and imperialist interjections into Latin American left politics; engaging with the DSA-endorsed Red Deal; and critiquing the new green nationalism of the Biden administration (and a lot more)! Not all chapter priorities need to be *foremost* climate/eco priorities, but as socialists, we need to consistently engage these priorities with their relationship to climate change, and be developing structures and coalitions that can be used to tackle the climate crisis directly. As Naomi Klein says, "climate change is class war," and we must engage the class war on this terrain.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

I will defer somewhat to our brilliant LOC comrades - they've done phenomenal work and would know best what they need. But I'll say the PRO Act work was an excellent example of a national campaign that supported local labor work - we developed a local Town Hall, rallied comrades to phone banks, and led a powerful May Day march

that (hopefully) strengthened local environmental justice, DSA and labor connections under a national campaign. Our chapter has been absolutely lights-out in its local organizing work with Tartine, Anchor, Dandelion and other projects. I would like national support to actually sharing-out the knowledge and skills to neighboring chapters in California or elsewhere, to support the development of new union organizing. National could also do more coordination of union membership across regions, and coordination at the state level would have been great to oppose Prop 22 and state-level labor battles.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

By continuing what we've been doing:

- Strategically using the Democratic or other ballot lines to elect powerful voices in DC and locally (Rashida Tlaib, Jamaal Bowman, Dean Preston!!, and more)
- Energizing and attracting more and more leftists who want to be serious players in U.S. politics as communists and socialists - moving beyond 100k membership, but building infrastructure to support, engage, and retain that membership while diversifying the membership
- Mass protest, direct action and disobedience, with a more defined and consistent practice, training, experience and program for these tactics
- Building national and local electoral and non-electoral campaigns such as the Pass the PRO Act!, Defund SFPD, Props I and K, tenant organizing, and labor organizing
- Continuing to establish international connections with left parties and bring a left internationalist politics to the U.S.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

DSA's meteoric growth over the last 4 years has been overall a great development, but it has left the organization with growing pains, such as having chapters with wildly different democratic characteristics, capacity, and priorities. The convention should help bring a national character to a national organization, aligning strategic national priorities while supporting the local needs of chapters with infrastructure and cohesive, consistent mobilizing approaches. [For example, consistent use of platforms like Spoke

across chapters for better ability to learn and develop consistent, powerful organizing techniques.]

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

Current priorities (subject to change):

- #3: Empowering DSA's Mass Abolition Work
- #5: Building Worker Power to Win Democratic Socialism: A Labor Strategy for DSA in 2021-2023
- #8: Toward a Mass Party in the United States (Electoral Priority)
- #12: 2021 Ecosocialist Green New Deal Priority
- #14: Committing to International Socialist Solidarity
- #27: Beyond 100K: Building a Mass Socialist Organization
- #28: Building Transformative Justice through a National Committee of Grievance Officers
- #31: Making DSA a Multiracial and Anti-Racist Organization
- #35: Spanish Translation & Bilingual Organizing

I believe these resolutions affirm the priorities and internal organizing our chapter has already aspired to (sometimes successfully, sometimes aspirationally), and national cohesion and structural support (or alternately spreading our own success to other chapters) will be a great development for our chapter.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

I will be learning more about the resolutions and listening to our chapter's opinions, but at the moment I have serious concerns with:

- #11: Campaign for a Democratic Socialist Party, as far as the cost and timing of this momentous project.
- #4: Mass Campaign for Voting Rights, regarding what DSA has to offer a campaign that the Democratic Party seems to be prioritizing already

But I'm ready to learn more!

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

- Internal organizing to keep up with the growing size of the membership by providing chapters with consistent tools and techniques for organizing
- Making sure DSA moves beyond the predominant whiteness of its membership by supporting our current comrades of color, by focusing on multi-racial and anti-racist organizing, and prioritizing needs such as Spanish translation and bilingual organizing
- Building off the current momentum of socialists and social movements by prioritizing labor organizing, police and prison abolition, and climate justice.

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

As a co-chair and mobilizer for a DSASF committee, I've found the most useful connection to national through engaging in coordinated work with national committees and working groups. DSASF should utilize resources to coordinate with these groups, such as Ecosocialist WG, Labor Organizing Committee, International Committee, AfroSOC, Democratic Socialist Labor Commission, National Electoral Commission, and more. Chapter priorities should be set at the scale of the problem - for example, green municipal housing at the city level, PG&E utility justice work at the regional/state level, and Medicare for All / PRO Act at the national level. It doesn't make sense for DSASF to contribute resources to a national problem if the national organization is not contributing resources to it.

Jennifer B Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

Hi friends and comrades: I'm Jenbo (she/her), and I'm hoping to be a delegate for DSA SF to the 2021 DSA National Convention. In the chapter, I was the first co-chair of the Socialist Feminist Working Group and was on the Steering Committee as treasurer from 2018-2019, and I currently am on DSA's National Political Committee. I love DSA, and I'm always hyping up the work of our chapter. I've participated in dozens of rallies and protests, worked on our ballot initiatives and Tony Kelly & Dean Preston's campaigns, I've helped in almost all of our mutual aid projects, and try and insert myself into the labor committee's work in any capacity they'll let me. I think I'm in a special position as a member of DSA national, so I can offer insight on the inner workings of the organization and how they'd affect our chapter. I want to uplift and support the work of DSA SF, and our comrades in other chapters, as we try and figure out the difficult--but not impossible!--task of overthrowing capitalism.

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

I am going to use DSA National's current Pass the PRO Act campaign as an example of how we can do coordinated work that touches on multiple issues. Although the PRO Act is a labor-focused bill, the Ecosocialism Working Group (EWG) is using the campaign to connect it to the *Democratic Green Stimulus*, and plan to engage in the evolving infrastructure fight to demand that the American Jobs Plan, also known as the "climate infrastructure" bill, which will include bold, public, and green investment in schools, transit, housing, and energy. This summer, we saw climate justice groups like Sunrise Movement and 350, support Defund the Police campaigns and offer material bail support to Black-led organizations during the George Floyd uprisings.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

The NPC approves campaigns that are submitted by the Democratic Socialist Labor Commission (the "DSLCL," the national organization's labor committee). I think that campaigns shouldn't only exist at a national level, as though "DSA National" acts the same as a chapter. The NPC should only approve work in the DSLCL that support labor work of locals, be it trainings, offer resources (i.e. lists of chapter members who are in unions according to national surveys), or giving more support to projects like the

Restaurant Organizing Project or Emergency Workplace Organizing Committee so we can help more shops organize in SF.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

One of the most significant things that DSA can do is education. When we help people materially through mutual aid projects, tenant solidarity, and workplace organizing, we can also talk to them about realizing their own power (class consciousness) and give them a way to articulate their own politics -- nobody likes paying their bosses or rent no matter what they say!

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

Over the past four years, DSA has grown from sub-5,000 members to nearly 100k and our infrastructure is slowly catching up. Because of the rapid growth, there are a lot of blind spots and the convention can help the national org see and fix these failures, especially ones that create barriers to organizing due to accessibility, race, and economic situations.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

- **R4** (Empowering DSA's Mass Abolition Work)
- **R5** (Building Worker Power to Win Democratic Socialism: A Labor Strategy for DSA in 2021-2023)
- **R12** 2021 Ecosocialist Green New Deal Priority
- **R14** (Committing to International Socialist Solidarity)
- **R21** (Prioritizing Tenant Organizing — Resolution by the Housing Justice Commission)
- **R27** (Beyond 100K: Building a Mass Socialist Organization)
- **R31** (Making DSA a Multiracial and Anti-Racist Organization)

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

Not really! I think that some resolutions have significant overlap without being contradictory, so I hope that they can be folded into combined resolutions.

The resolutions for size inclusivity, Spanish translation, and paying staff \$25/hour are going to be moot because the NPC & staff have been getting those done before these resolutions were announced.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

Outside of the resolutions for organizing priorities and campaign priorities, we should focus on member retention and fixing the grievance processes.

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

The National Office should act as a hub that allows our chapter to build local campaigns that connect to national work while giving them the various tools and resources they need to be successful (money, networking contacts, leadership advice). My hope is that DSA SF becomes more involved with national work.

Emily A Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

I am the outgoing two-term co-chair of DSA SF's Ecosocialist Committee, former co-chair of East Bay DSA's PG&E/Green New Deal Campaign, and 2019 delegate to the national convention (then representing East Bay DSA). I have been involved in DSA since 2017, and I built ties to DSA SF's Ecosocialist Committee long before I officially crossed the Bay. I am committed to building a future that centers climate justice and

strives toward ecosocialism. In the face of climate catastrophe, socialism to me seems the only answer that can build the world we need to survive and thrive. For more information on what guides my principles, please read DSA SF Ecosocialist Committee's [Points of Unity](#).

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

I believe strongly that the next nine years are crucial for combatting the worst effects of climate change. I believe most DSA members would agree, but the size and scope of the climate crisis is so overwhelming that it can be difficult to tackle. The currently running PRO Act campaign is a strong example of how our Green New Deal campaign brings people together toward a common goal - a direct win for labor that builds toward a worker-led Green New Deal. In our chapter, it has brought together members interested in labor and ecosocialism under a strong national campaign. Bridging the decades-old labor and eco divide is no small feat!

Resolution #3: Empowering DSA's Mass Abolition Work appealed to me on many levels, but what made it unique compared to any other resolution was its commitment to the Green New Deal campaign (I read all the other resolutions and couldn't find another that did that). In truth, there's a lot of space to combine Abolition work and Green New Deal work. My favorite idea for that combination is through divesting from the police or incarceration budget and investing in environmental and climate justice instead. In San Francisco, that could look like using former SFPD money to properly clean up toxic waste sites in the Bayview or Treasure Island, or to make Muni free, effectively removing racist and classist fare enforcement.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

That's a tough question - my relation to the NPC (if I am elected delegate) would be to elect NPC members for the next two years. The NPC in turn supports the DSLC (Democratic Socialist Labor Commission), which in turn sets the organization's labor work nationally. Chapters then can choose to engage with national campaigns (such as EWOC or the PRO Act) or do separate campaigns, which the DSLC may support as able. If, for example, we wanted the NPC to support a local chapter's organizing campaign (ex., the Dandelion union campaign), the strongest avenue for support

directly from the NPC would likely be to work with the DSLC, who can request support from the NPC. This of course could be sidestepped if an individual, friendly NPC member wants to support your cause on an individual level. They could use their elevated platform to assist you (much like how Bernie Sanders used his platform to support the Bamazon Union).

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

DSA is the largest it's ever been, but we're still small with big dreams. We're technically a nonprofit, but we rightfully spurn many traditional nonprofit tactics including courting major donors and massive grants to churn out funding for the work that needs doing. Our biggest strength is us - individual members who engage deeply with the DSA and give their precious spare time. In order to be a significant force, we need to be a space that's worth working in. For me, that boils down to enticing campaigns that draw members in. It means folding multiple campaigns into one interconnected campaign: for example, making racial justice and wins for labor central to the Green New Deal. It also means choosing winnable strategies that offer us victory - not just for the hardworking people who made it happen, but to show those outside DSA that we cannot be pushed aside. And finally, it means creating a space where we can all trust each other and work through our political differences without burnout, dissatisfaction, or strife.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

The convention focuses our energy by forcing us to prioritize our work within the confines of the organization's budget and capacity. This means we can put our full strength into the strongest campaigns.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

The Ecosocialist Committee is my political home, so it's no surprise that my highest priority this year is Resolution #12: 2021 Green New Deal Priority. I voted Yes on its predecessor in 2019 - a [unanimously passed](#) priority resolution that DSA SF's Ecosocialist Committee helped edit through proposed amendments, in partnership with EBDISA's Climate and Environmental Justice Caucus. Over the last two years, National's Green New Deal Coordinating Committee and Ecosocialist Working Group

turned the 2019 resolution from an idea on paper to a strategic and engaging campaign. This 2021 resolution is an update that cleans up the leadership structure and sets the campaign up for future success. I look forward to working with DSA SF's Ecosocialist Committee and other DSA SF members to strengthen this resolution before it heads to a final vote, and welcome those who wish to reach out to me about it or other Ecosocialist-related topics or plans ahead of the convention.

How will this affect the chapter?: The previous resolution brought together labor and eco socialists at the local level to pass the PRO Act. I believe that the future of this campaign will similarly meld previously competing campaigns. The 2020 GND summit discussed campaigning for a "people's budget" that takes money from harmful institutions such as the police and reallocates funds toward climate justice. If Resolution #3 is any indication, I am hopeful that the GND campaign may head into an abolitionist direction after the PRO Act.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

I was surprised to see so many different resolutions that attempted to improve a single section of our organizing work. As an example, three different resolutions covered the internal structure of the International Committee (and one covered its external work).

One of the biggest issues we ran into at the 2019 convention was that we had too much to deliberate over with too little time. The majority of resolutions were left unaddressed, which is a tragedy. I believe we will be stronger if resolutions with similar aims are merged through friendly amendments before the convention.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

I haven't really decided yet - that's the trouble with reading all the resolutions ahead of time. There were so many good ideas, and only a few of those good ideas will be chosen in August. Obviously I will be voting for (and campaigning for) the 2021 Green New Deal priority. I plan to discuss and rank the other resolutions in tandem with the Ecosocialist Committee.

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

This is a tough question. I have a good relationship with National's Green New Deal campaign, and I am also deeply committed to DSASF's Ecosocialist Committee. It's hard to want to engage with the local committee running super awesome local campaigns, while also wanting to engage with National's super awesome GND campaign. Sometimes our campaigns overlap, but often they don't and when that happens the two great organizing spaces are often in competition for my attention (the local committee almost always wins these days). I don't have an answer to this puzzle yet, but it's worth pursuing how to reconcile how national and local can work in tandem, without competing for our time.

Evan M Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

I've been involved in leftist and labor organizing since 2008, and I joined DSA SF in April 2017. The majority of my time with DSA has been focused on labor organizing work, building our ability to organize workers and our connection to radical organized workers. In 2019 I co-authored a resolution at the National Convention to dedicate resources to organizing unorganized workers.

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

Climate change cannot be meaningfully addressed under capitalism. It significantly increases the stakes and shortens the timeline of when we can build independent working class power. The only way to challenge capitalism is to create a working class organization willing to and capable of taking action on a mass scale.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

- Provide resources to perform analysis of local labor organizing conditions, so that chapters can develop organizing strategies.

- Provide training resources dedicated to building organizing skills among membership.
- Work with labor leaders in chapters to develop a plan to build labor circles and build an organized working class membership in DSA.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

DSA should involve itself directly in struggles at the point of exploitation in capitalism. These include labor struggles, struggles against state and police violence, tenant organizing and fights for housing. Our task is to build DSA as a viable organization for working class people to engage in struggle. Capitalism continues to produce crises. If we build a mass working class organization, we can step into these crises.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

We should aim to push DSA in a strongly anti-imperialist stance to build international solidarity. We should put as many resources as possible into involving DSA in struggle, and developing a mass democratic working class organization.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

The two resolutions I see as most important are "Building Worker Power to Win Democratic Socialism: A Labor Strategy for DSA in 2021-2023" and "Committing to International Socialist Solidarity." I believe that providing resources towards worker organizing and building international solidarity are crucial.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

I'm against "Internationalist Principles, Political Education and Solidarity." We should not be needlessly putting ourselves in a position to support the United States' foreign policy.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

I would like us to be a section of a disciplined, coherent, and democratic organization that can function like a working class party, and our work over the next two years

should push us closer to that. I believe this type of organization is crucial for us to have any chance of challenging capitalism.

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

As it stands now, DSA is not a centralized organization. Because of that, our current relationship is operating mostly independently with some input and resources from the National organization. I believe this is a mostly productive relationship for the time being.

Justin T Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

Hi, I'm Justin Tomlin. I have lived in San Francisco for the last 10 years, been a DSA member since 2018, and a member of Socialist Alternative since last spring. In March, I helped organize a successful Bay Area fundraiser and rally, involving local left figures and organizations including East Bay DSA, for socialist council member Kshama Sawant in Seattle who is facing a recall campaign for her involvement in Black Lives Matter and taking on Amazon. I also table regularly in the community, talking to workers about issues such as Amazon union busting in Bessemer, PRO Act, and the proposed Howard Terminal ballpark project in Oakland. I'll soon be starting the next round of EWOC training, and hope to be able to help out more with labor organizing in the coming months.

My politics in a nutshell: There is no legislative path to socialism - we will need a revolution to overthrow capitalism. However, we should use all tools at our disposal as the second largest socialist organization in U.S. history, including: running socialist candidates for public office that take a movement-building approach, waging militant

battles against the bosses in our workplaces and with our unions, and going all out to engage with mass mobilizations like the George Floyd rebellion. Our fight can't stop with reforms - we will need an independent workers' party that can help defend those gains and be used as a vehicle to push the struggle forward. As socialists, we will need to link the struggle to claw concessions from the ruling class to the need for a socialist world.

I look forward to discussing the platform and resolutions put forward for the national convention as a chapter in the coming weeks!

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

There is a rich history of unions being used not just to fight for improved conditions in individual workplaces, but also for political gains for the working class and groups facing special forms of oppression. Some examples that come to mind are the massive strike of textile workers in Petrograd to commemorate International Women's Day which started the 1917 Russian revolution, the general strikes in Myanmar against the military dictatorship, and the recent one-day general strike of Palestinian workers against Israeli occupation and apartheid. In the U.S. unions have often been used as a tool to fight racism, especially where the power of bureaucratic labor leaders who have often stood in the way of fights against oppression is challenged.

We should use our unions to fight for demands in line with our priorities including: defunding the police, Medicare for All, PRO act, immediate \$15/hr minimum wage, student debt forgiveness, and a Green New Deal, while demanding that we tax the rich to pay for them. To put on the pressure needed to win these demands, we need to mobilize with our unions in the streets and organize workplace and strike action to fight for them. We will need to be willing to challenge the positions of entrenched labor leaders in our unions that take a class compromise approach or are more interested in getting Democrats elected than waging militant class struggle.

Our elected socialists have a key role to play in representing working class mass movements in open battle against status quo politicians who oppose or water down our demands, even when we don't have the numbers to win votes. We should be going

all in to take part in and help build mass social movements that arise, while developing and bringing forward a socialist analysis of what it would take to win. We need to use every tool we've got to fight a capitalist ruling class that is destroying our planet, and link our demands to the need for a world that is democratically run by workers, with a socialist, planned economy that actually has a chance of saving our planet before it's too late.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

We should strive to turn DSA into a cohesive national organization. The NPC should work to generalize and share the lessons of comrades involved in labor work in local chapters, coordinate solidarity campaigns across locals, and mobilize comrades across chapters to support key battles and unionization efforts on the ground. The analysis that the NPC is positioned to develop, based on a national overview and the experiences of local chapters, can arm the organization for coming waves of labor struggles. The NPC can also help coordinate labor work across chapters to more effectively fight for national priorities through militant labor action.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

I believe that a key task ahead of us is to transform DSA into a mass organization of the working class. This will require talking to the widest possible cross section of working and oppressed people, not just existing activists, and formulating demands that address their day-to-day needs.

While meeting workers where they're at, our demands should also serve as a bridge, pushing consciousness forward toward the need for a socialist world to finally put an end to the many forms of oppression working people face - including on lines of class, race, gender, sexuality, nationality, disability, and age - which are all part and parcel of this rotten capitalist system that needs to be overthrown.

We also need a strategy, and plan of action, based on a socialist analysis of material conditions and consciousness and flexible enough to adapt to changing conditions. We need a program that can actually win demands like Medicare for All and the PRO Act through drawing wide sections of the working class into struggle, while further growing and activating our membership on a strong political basis. I'd advocate for:

- Strong DSA engagement with mass mobilizations like the George Floyd rebellion
- Representatives that take a movement-building approach and a workers' wage
- A strong program that links our demands today to further along transitional demands such as the need for a green, planned economy on the basis of taking the top 500 companies into democratic public ownership

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

DSA is considering adopting a national political platform for the first time in recent history at this convention, which would be a huge step! It is our chance to put forward a program that addresses the day-to-day demands of working people, links them to the need for a socialist reconstruction of society, and puts forward clear tactics on how to actually win those demands.

While acknowledging the immense amount of work comrades must have put into the first draft of it, I think our platform could use some work before we vote to adopt it at the convention. Right now, it is a 16 page long list of demands reflecting a range of existing positions of our members, classified as either “short term”, “medium term” and “long term”, but does not have much in the way of how to win those demands. In my view, our platform should be a tool in our fight for socialism, and its effectiveness should be measured by how well it can be used as a guide to action for advancing the socialist movement. It does not need to capture every specific demand we might raise, nor could it. It does, however, need to take into account objective conditions today, our best analysis on the direction they are moving, and how they could change in the next two years.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

I would like to prioritize supporting and helping strengthen resolutions I believe point towards working class political independence, a new party, and holding our DSA-endorsed elected officials accountable. These include resolutions #9 (Running 10 Candidates Independent of the Democrats in 2022), #10 (DSA Candidates' Political Message About the Democratic Party), and #38 (A Socialist Horizon). As a chapter, we're considering adopting the DSA SF Electoral Strategy resolution at our convention,

which I believe would be an important step in the direction of independent politics. Our success in getting more DSA members elected in San Francisco, pointing the way forward towards working class political independence locally, and showing in practice that socialism is something clearly different than status-quo politics, is closely linked to our ability to do so nationally - and vice versa!

I am also in favor of resolutions that would point the way forward for building a strong labor movement that can take on militant, rank-and-file labor struggles, and putting socialist internationalism into practice in DSA.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

As written, I would oppose #26 (Developing Independent Organizations & Training Organizers for Emerging Conditions). I think that instead of focusing on community land trusts and workers cooperatives, we should be focusing on winning social housing and building a fighting labor movement to take on the bosses. Our eyes should be set on removing the capitalist class from power, and winning a world where the working class runs society. The aims and outcomes of the training and study proposed in the resolution are also not completely clear to me. I would welcome any amendments further clarifying that aspect of the resolution.

More broadly, I think many of the resolutions could use some work to better outline what it would take to win the demands contained within and tie them in with our broader program, which can hopefully be achieved in the pre-convention meetings.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

We should prioritize running DSA members for office as independent open socialists who are directly accountable to our organization and platform, can mobilize people into the streets to fight for working-class demands (like GND, PRO Act, M4A, defunding the police!), and act as bullhorns for mass movements.

We should prioritize democratizing our unions, by helping our union members challenge and replace bureaucratic leaderships that block or temper militant class struggle and develop a socialist plan of action for winning battles against the bosses.

We should prioritize strong engagement with mass movements, while recruiting broad sections of working people into active participation in the democratic life of our organization on a strong political basis. Along with this, we should prioritize involving a much larger portion of our existing membership in the democratic life of our organization, through action, discussion and debate, and political education.

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

We need a cohesive national organization, rather than a collection of independent chapters, to take on the ruling class and become a significant force in U.S. politics. This doesn't mean DSASF should only carry out campaigns led by our national elected bodies, but that as a part of our national organization, we have a role in democratically discussing and agreeing on the analysis and political strategy that informs the work of all chapters.

Our work in San Francisco is important for winning victories for the working class here in San Francisco and pushing consciousness forward, and our analysis on the local situation can be used to help paint a more complete picture of conditions and opportunities for class struggle nationally. To support our national organization, we need to communicate the particulars of our local situation, help out with important campaigns outside of San Francisco where resources are needed, and do our share of the fundraising work.

Cara H Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

Hello! I've been involved in DSA SF since shortly after its inception, for the majority of that time as a rank-and-file member. I served as a delegate to the regional convention in LA for 2019, and have connections to DSA members in several chapters nationally, having briefly been a member of Portland DSA and East Bay DSA.

I'm running for delegate because I believe DSA has a real chance to fundamentally threaten capital, but in order to do that, we need to have effective organizing structures that can enable our organization to withstand the usual trouble large socialist groups face when organizing in the United States. Specifically, we need to be durable, able to move beyond our own innate liberalism as citizens of the imperial core, as well as an environment where most socialists orgs end up either co-opted by capital or destroyed by it.

After being a part of this organization since 2016, I've seen a lot of the places where we fall short of that durability, both nationally and within our chapters, and I'd like to do what I can to close that gap.

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

After last summer's uprisings, it's clear that abolition work is critically important in the struggle against capital. And winning that struggle is key to addressing climate change in a way that doesn't devolve into eco-fascism. The American left needs to understand that we're working against a class society where racial marginalization plays a key role, and working to upend that system means systemically dismantling the racist police and prison system that keeps it in place.

Labor organizing functions in much the same way: if we hope to be a rallying point for the working class, we have to participate in building power in people's workplaces, and winning material gains there. If the conditions for climate change worsen, and we can't exert organized power as a class through strikes, work stoppages, and the like, we've basically forfeited any ability we might have to dictate solutions to climate change that don't harm the working class.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

The NPC should support local chapter work by providing resources and structures for local chapters to adopt in ways that can directly align with their on-the-ground priorities. I don't think it's the NPC's to dictate to individual chapters how they should be organizing, but I think

it's important that the NPC provide structures to organize in a way that can ensure accountability, equity, and inclusion for local chapter members. NPC should provide things like model grievance processes, example bylaws, and suggested priorities, without intervening within those chapters unless exceptional circumstances require it.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

We have to be a present and credible alternative to the existing political system. If we solely participate in electoral politics and get subsumed by the Democratic party, we'll never be anything more than a left wing of the (capitalist) Democrats. Similarly, if we don't at least contest power in an electoral arena, it's likely that we'll just be invisible. To be present as a significant force in American politics means having a separate base of power from the existing parties that exists entirely within the working class and is accountable to it. That means holding power within labor unions, it means ensuring elected politicians running with DSA's endorsement are accountable to chapter membership, and it means being a visible force building socialism within our communities.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

We have to build structures that can enable growth in a period of neoliberalism and remain a credible alternative to the status quo of Biden and American centrism. That will happen through the organization as a whole making radical political demands democratically on behalf of membership, which can only occur at the convention, as well as creating structures, priorities, and models which focus on creating a healthy, sustainable organization within each chapter that can effectively work within their communities.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

Resolution #3, prioritizing DSA's abolition work and coordinating it nationally, is one of the highest priorities for me. Given the absolute critical importance of police and prison abolition in the heavily-racialized class society that exists in the United States, there's no doubt in my mind that this is going to be the flashpoint of conflict between the working and ruling classes in the near future. We need to be prepared for that, and a center for the movement to defund and dismantle police and prisons. Every chapter is located in a city that has police and prisons, so there's no shortage of local applicability, and as we saw from last summer, there's likely to be abolitionist sentiment in most major metro areas in the United States.

I think DSA SF's work on Prop H in 2018 is a good example of what can be done electorally in this area, but there's much more than that to accomplish. A national abolition working group could help provide direction and resources when collaborating with other abolitionist groups within the SF Bay Area, and I'd love to see our chapter prioritize this work with support from national.

Additionally, I think Resolution #21, prioritizing tenant organizing and housing justice, is something I'd extremely love to see us support. Given the absolute centrality of housing justice in San Francisco politics, this resolution feels like something that's especially applicable locally. As the last few years have shown, the housing issues in SF are becoming the nation's housing issues as well, following the same patterns of gentrification, evictions, homelessness, and housing stock owned by large capital firms as real-estate portfolios. I'd hope that DSA SF can provide our own experience to a national working group on this subject, and that we can build a deeper focus on tenant organizing locally.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

The only one that comes immediately to mind is Resolution #9, which sets a quota of running 10 candidates on DSA ballot lines independent from the Democrats. While I think the formation of a workers' party from the DSA org is a worthwhile and critical goal, I don't really think the use of the Democratic ballot line is the most important part of that question at the time being. Also, without the passage of other resolutions that enforce some form of discipline on those candidates (see Resolution #6), I can't see how this would be meaningfully different than running candidates on the Democratic ballot line. Finally, the idea that this is going to have a zero net cost seems idealistic at best; we'd want to provide candidates with resources if they run under a DSA line, and imagining that these resources will be entirely free seems far-fetched to me.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

Given that DSA is the largest socialist organization in the US, and given its rapid scale-up from a small org to that position, a lot of structures on the national level aren't really set up to provide support to 230+ chapters and nearly 100,000 members. I think the goal of DSA on the national level should be to build structures which support an organization of this size.

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

As one of the larger and more successful chapters, I think DSA SF can serve as a model for other chapters' organizing. I'd like to see us take the lead in providing our own experience to support other chapters, especially here in California. I think there's a real opportunity to coordinate action on the state level between the various chapters here, and DSA SF is in a position where we can take the first steps in making that happen. Of course, that requires support from the national organization, as regional, multi-chapter organizing isn't something DSA has done a lot of in the past. If the national organization could open opportunities to make that kind of thing happen, and facilitate organizing it, I think that would be ideal.

Matthew M Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

I am running for National Convention Delegate to help make DSA a strong, well-resourced organization that has the power to act decisively and concretely in our era of escalating crises. DSA National is in a unique position to advance the struggle for socialism on terrains of national and international import. Campaigns such as the Emergency Workplace Organizing Committee, Green New Deal, Medicare for All, and the PRO Act campaign show a variety of approaches that national has taken in the past few years, with varying degrees of success. Additionally, the relative inability of DSA National to act decisively in times of both opportunity and crisis shows a major weakness of DSA: it is organized from the outside in. I hope to take steps at convention to make National a more effective organ that provides clear analysis and direction for the whole org on matters of critical importance, and national working groups, committees, and priorities that push the chapters towards more effective and durable forms of organization. And finally, I will staunchly support any and all efforts to protect the recent reforms to the International committee, who have corrected some of DSA's most embarrassing historical errors and established relationships with working-class movements and parties in Latin America, relationships that I believe to show incredible

promise in fighting the international machinations of capital headquartered right here in the US.

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

Climate change is a historical development that will materially shape the future that we build. It will reform the very geography of the world we live in and we must account for these changes to the extent possible; we must consider the ways current systems of exploitation are propped up against this inevitability and the ways that organizing against them might give birth to new forms of organization. For example, in California, the use of carceral labor to fight fires demands both an abolition of the use of carceral labor and an alternative approach to environmental management and wildfire mitigation. Seeding labor formations within economic sectors such as agriculture, energy production and utilities, and logistics seems to me to be the only long-term strategy that might lead to a just transition.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

DSA Chapters have recorded some impressive labor victories over the past several years, not least among them San Francisco's new organizing alongside local 6. The NPC should charge the DSLC to help systematize the knowledge gained from chapter labor organizing projects, from new organizing, to union democracy projects and rank and file initiatives, all the way to strike support. Analysis of these campaigns, as well as action guides and leadership contacts, should be published regularly in appropriate communication channels.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

Organization is the fundamental principle we need to be focusing on. DSA has become the largest socialist organization in the United States in decades, but numbers alone won't bring us closer to socialism. There are promising formations and structures within DSA already, ones that should be systematized and expanded so our reach continues to grow. These formations exist both at national and local levels, from the successes and timely implementation of the Emergency Workplace Organizing Committee to the tenant organizing and labor organizing approaches being undertaken by chapters across the country. Almost more than a 50-state strategy, DSA needs a

plan to organize in every industrial sector and every type of community, and to do so in ways that put members in direct conflict with capitalism. And DSA national should commit to establishing a more rigid core platform for both elected officials and chapters to use when describing and debating the organization and its strategy.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

As the organization's highest body, the convention is DSA's opportunity to commit to strategies that local and national groups will implement over the coming years. It is crucial for DSA to make strong commitments to self-organization that can be supported both locally and nationally to help expand our reach and increase our ability to struggle collectively.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

I believe the Cardinal Slate of resolutions are all strong candidates.

In particular, I believe the Cardinal-written internationalism resolution is vital, as it concretely links the struggle for socialism in America to the struggle undertaken abroad, and concretely links our organization to other socialist parties through formations like the Sao Paulo forum. The global struggle for socialism is in direct conflict with the capitalist empire headquartered in the United States, and working in solidarity with vital left-wing movements in countries like Cuba, Venezuela, Chile, and Bolivia among others allows us to cooperate on international issues of critical importance to the global left.

I also strongly support the Cardinal-written Abolition resolution, as it provides a framework for chapters working on abolition work as well as a shared analysis for the organization to advance regarding police and prison abolition.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

I would like to see the housing resolutions from Cardinal and Communist Caucus reconciled - I believe that national has the capability to coordinate a strong housing platform among DSA chapters, but also agree with the analysis put forward by

Communist Caucus that ATUN/RISA is currently the organization doing the most impactful tenant organizing not just in America but across the whole continent.

Additionally, I strongly oppose resolution 17, "Internationalist Principles, Political Education and Solidarity" - it seeks to retreat from the strong advances made in DSA's internationalist work since the International Committee restructuring, and takes a third-campist line - one that abdicates our historical responsibility as socialists in the imperial core.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

National's priorities should be primarily focused on supporting the organization of the working class by chapters. I believe that strategically, a focus on labor organizing, tenant organizing, and abolition are the best thing to get us there. I believe that these priorities best position DSA as the political home against struggles against capital and the bourgeois state and developing these struggles will advance the organization's capability considerably.

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

As it currently stands, I do not as a member of DSA SF know which members of the chapter are serving on national bodies in any capacity - just a handful that I already know of. Similarly, directives from DSA national generally do not have much impact on the chapter. I think National should take a more active role in facilitating knowledge transfer and strategic direction among chapters, allowing us to learn and grow from one another, and more actively recruit participants from chapters to aid in this work. Additionally, the chapter should devote more energy into processing national updates and directives as a whole.

Julien B Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

The working class has the unique ability to shut down the capitalist economy and restart it in a way that prioritizes the planet and human need. That is ultimately the vision for socialism. But in order to have a planet left to live on by the time we get to the kind of socialist transformation we need, we have to both build movements against climate change where there are opportunities, and fight against whatever injustices present an opening to organize around. Socialism is impossible without uniting the working class, but unity is wishful thinking unless we tackle the oppression people of color face in this country head-on. That means battles against environmental racism, mass incarceration, police violence and redlining. Usually, the communities most impacted by all of these issues are one and the same. It also means bringing environmental demands into the labor movement while fighting for solutions that put working people first. Capitalism pits workers' jobs against the environment. We have to fight for solutions that protect jobs while transitioning to a green economy. That means agitating and organizing against the common enemy of both workers and the environmental movement--the capitalist class.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

Through EWOC, the PRO Act campaign and other initiatives, there has been some national coordination of organizing efforts, which is a positive first step for DSA. I would like to see the NPC (with the help of national organizers) be in more regular, consistent touch with labor committees and chapter leaderships to have a deeper understanding of the lay of the land in the organization. Knowing what organizing campaigns members are part of and what unions we have concentrations in can help us generalize experiences, help us figure out how to build on any organizing successes, and develop a strategy inside key unions, while providing a national lead on strike solidarity efforts. As a socialist organization, we should also be bringing the "bigger picture" issues into our labor organizing across our issue-based work. For example, ILWU Local 10 has a history of honoring community pickets around anti-racist and international issues and issued a strong Palestine solidarity statement. Our members in United Educators of San Francisco were recently part of passing a resolution

supporting the pro-Palestinian Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement. Understanding where our members are part of this exciting work can help us figure out how to spread it strategically to figure out how to make these sorts of moments into national campaigns and help DSA become a national force.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

First, I think we have to define what “making DSA a significant force” means. For some, it means winning elections and having “our” elected politicians enact changes for us. Elections are important for projecting a socialist message and rallying the public around independent left-wing and socialist politics. But for me, a “significant force” would mean an organization that various sectors of society--the multi-racial working class, the exploited and oppressed, as well as the new generation of radicals--look to in order to learn how to fight back in their communities and workplaces. That means a balance between initiating patient, long-term organizing work alongside co-workers and community members (such as the kind our chapter has begun to do in our labor organizing drives), and developing relationships through mass struggles like the social explosion that happened last summer in the wake of George Floyd’s murder. While there is no one formula for how to do this, we do know we are living in a volatile time that will throw up mass struggles of the oppressed. We need to be visible in the streets, learn from those struggles, develop relationships through them, and also figure out how to impact them. It is significant that DSA has grown the most through electoral campaigns. But we need to learn to be the kind of organization that grows and gains legitimacy through mass social struggles.

Part of this will also have to involve how we structure the national organization. How can an organization of 80,000 members impact national struggles? For example, would it have made a difference if as soon as the George Floyd revolt happened, 10,000 socialists had descended on Minneapolis? Or what would January 6 have looked like if tens of thousands of socialists had routed the fascists in the streets before they could approach the capitol building? I’m not arguing that these are the exact steps that should have been taken. But what I am saying is that an organization that acts as a force in social struggle needs to structure itself to leverage the weight of its membership nationally at key moments. That means a much clearer line of

communication between national and local leadership, and committees. It also means an activist leadership that thinks about these sorts of things.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

I would like to see the convention lay the basis for making DSA into an organization that orients itself on mass social struggles alongside patient organizing campaigns that can deliver victories along the way. I would like to see a clearer relationship between our national leadership and these struggles by turning our organization into one that can help generalize our local work into a national picture and can mobilize thousands of members in the streets.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

I'm admittedly still making my way through the resolutions. But I'm happy to see through the resolutions that members are grappling with how to be a more consistently and explicitly anti-racist organization through campaigns around reparations, abolition, voting rights and immigrants' rights. I'm also glad to see that many of the resolutions around our electoral work are geared towards moving us towards more class independence from the Democratic Party and figuring out how we get to a party of our own. From an initial read, it feels as though some of the bodies responsible for carrying out these various resolutions could be merged, and some of the resolutions themselves could be merged. If passed, some of the resolutions focused on anti racist work could help focus some of the efforts of the chapter, which also may adopt a resolution centering anti racist work. The labor resolution could complement the labor circles resolution by helping us generalize our local work beyond San Francisco.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

I disagree that a Socialist slate for the House (#7) is a goal we should be pursuing. The amount of resources needed if the goal is to win is significant, and the House is a fundamentally conservatising place. Especially combined with #8 (Towards a mass socialist party), I see this as a way for our movement to be co-opted by the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. While I support the stated goal of a mass socialist party, #8

conflates winning elections in Democratic primaries with creating a vehicle for mass, democratic working class mobilization--in the streets, workplaces and at the ballot box. Both resolutions together also conflate winning at the ballot box with “taking state power”, which I see as utopian without a revolutionary movement for change.

Q7: What should be the national organization’s priorities for the next two years?

The pandemic combined with the social explosion around BLM is a taste of what’s to come. At the same time, so were the fascistic counter-mobilizations that started as anti-mask protests and culminated in the January 6 capitol riots. The Biden administration’s domestic spending and surprisingly competent handling of the pandemic (at home, anyway) may have stabilized things in the short term. But Biden has no intention of cutting down on military spending (which would mean easing up on competition with China) or taxing the rich beyond the point where they will begin to feel pain. In the next two years, we will have to continue to lay the foundation we’ve begun to lay in workplaces to demand more. We will also have to learn to relate to mass anti-racist struggles that feed into local organizing campaigns against police brutality, mass incarceration, etc. We will have to build up anti-fascist forces to stop the far right from gaining more confidence and a larger foothold in society. And we will have to build solidarity with communities standing against the anti-immigrant attacks and imperialism of both the Republicans and the Democrats (the recent Palestinian justice protests are one example of this). In the meantime, we will have to stand with front-line communities at home and abroad who without rapid systemic changes will have a very short time until they bear the brunt of climate collapse. Electoral work we do should be an extension of this, not an end in and of itself. The goal, as much as or even more than winning seats, should be to amplify these struggles and build independence from the major capitalist parties.

Q8: What should DSASF’s relationship to the national organization be like?

DSA SF needs the local autonomy to adapt our work to local conditions. I believe we already have this, however. I would like to see our local chapter help national leadership generalize from our local experiences, and I would like to see the national organization help us understand conditions elsewhere. Ultimately, 80,000 organized people should be able to have a bigger impact on the world by organizing locally but also nationally as needed.

Alexander G Questionnaire

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

Climate change is the most important resource constraint of our time. And socialism is, among so many other things, the centering of the importance of resource constraints. Without considering climate change, the topics above have not been analyzed at all.

Q2: How should the NPC support chapter work?

We have seen from the history of the past four years that DSA's greatest strength is developing politics at the grassroots, local level.

The best ways for the NPC to continue to build upon this strength are:

DSA's second most important goal is to continue to increase national membership at a quick rate. In this upcoming period of 2021 through 2023, DSA needs to go beyond its initial strength in the cores of the largest urban areas. Simultaneously, DSA needs to continue its success in building even more strengths in the cores of the largest urban areas.

The next demographic for DSA to prove itself is increasing its strength and membership in the suburban areas of the nation's largest urban cores. While percentage uptake in the suburbs will be significantly lower than in the urban cores, the suburbs offer at least three advantages for DSA to pursue: the suburbs contain larger populations than the urban cores, suburbs are divided into small political communities which offer numerous elected political offices (usually much less contested than in the urban cores) and, most saliently, growing DSA support in the suburbs will solidify socialism's position in the US political landscape.

The NPC's role in this effort would be support the chapters most critical in this effort.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

DSA has been successful in making itself a significant force over the past four years by two main avenues. The first is by developing and backing the most significant and popular young politicians in America. The second is rapidly achieving significant member size far beyond any

predictions. These two avenues should be continued and built upon as the best routes to continuing to gain clout within the American political system.

DSA's close association with many of the most significant and popular politicians in America includes developing the political skills and careers of such figures as Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Rashida Tlaib, Jamaal Bowman, Dean Preston, Nithya Raman and many others. Collectively, these are the most talked-about and followed early-stage statespeople in the country, and even in the world. DSA chapters across the country build political knowledge and experience at the grassroots, leading to DSA attracting the best new politicians to socialism. DSA nationally should add resources and additional guidance to support this grassroots activity of our chapters, as well as building interconnections between all DSA politicians at all levels.

The other main route of gaining clout is continuing the rapid growth of DSA membership. DSA has now successfully answered the question of whether American socialism has broad appeal. The task now is establish that DSA can continue to gain members outside of its initial core appeal. The initial core appeal of DSA in 2016-2017 was largely to relatively young (under 35) people in the very largest cities of the country. The task between 2021 and 2023 is to continue to build upon that strength, but also to make significant inroads outside of that core. A membership level of 250,000 or even higher in 2023 would announce that American socialism has a broad, continuing appeal throughout many demographics and geographies. This, in turn, would go far in making DSA perceived as an institution of significant strength and clout within American politics.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

The convention needs to serve as the foundation of what DSA National continues to do in the periods between conventions. While the strength of DSA lies in the grassroots chapters, we remain aware that DSA very much continues to operate inside of a national political structure. Thus, DSA National is absolutely central to socialism continuing to gain a foothold within a national political system.

The weakness of DSA as a national conversation can be remedied by the national convention continuing to serve as an informal and loose governing advisory body in the two years between conventions. With the widespread advent of online meeting technologies, convention delegates can continue to meet virtually and build a national consciousness across the local chapters.

In addition, this structure can assist members of DSA who might happen to be in weak local

chapters, or in regions where DSA chapters are difficult or impossible. This would encourage these members to contribute strongly to DSA, even if their local conditions make local progress unlikely.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they will affect our chapter?

I support most of the major thrusts of the current resolutions. I will delve into the details below. The real question is how well formed each resolution is, and how the supporters of the several major thrusts of resolution can work together to build one unified program.

As I see it, here are the major areas of resolutions: various ways to grow DSA membership numbers, various ways to increase involvement in key demographics, various ways to continue to sharpen our electoral efforts and various ways to increase DSA's international foci. All of these seem reasonable proposals to me. Then there are a number of stand-alone proposals that do not require substantial funding.

What I am looking for is to see how each (group of) proponents present their proposals within DSA's constrained financial resources. In addition, what I will be looking for is to see how each (group of) proponents are able to politically negotiate in the following ways: 1. to incorporate other resolutions on the same general topic, and 2. build alliances and inter-connections with supporters of very different kinds of resolutions. I will be looking for those who are the most effective and creative at doing these two things.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

I have to confess I don't quite understand Resolution #26. It seems to me more efficacious for a volunteer working group to engage upon this than a paid staffer.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

To a large extent, my answer to questions 3 and 7 are the same, since the national organization's main priority is to make DSA a significant force in U.S. politics.

In addition to that, I would argue that education about politics should be a strong priority for DSA nationally, as an internal activity and focus for our members. I will be arguing at the convention that our education successes at DSA San Francisco should be the national model.

What is our Education Model at DSA SF?

As Co-Chair of the DSA SF Education Committee, I will argue to the national convention that they should adopt some of our principles:

- A. Focus on Life-long High-Quality Learning: Learning about politics and socialism should be thought of as a life-long, constant enterprise that all DSA members engage in. No matter what their level of knowledge is, members must engage in high-quality mutual learning collectively on the most important and fundamental subjects of politics and socialism continuously.
- B. Focus on High-Relevance Learning: Central to the DSA SF model is quickly applying the best of the long history of socialist thought to immediately relevant current events, such as our courses on Fascism, Policing and multiple other events. This critically emphasizes that socialism's history has long contained the best and deepest analysis of politics.

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

San Francisco is a unique city in America. Thus it presents DSA (as a national organization) with unique skills and experiences gained from DSASF's history. Since San Francisco is a small city (DSASF represents only the City and County of San Francisco, and not the much larger San Francisco suburbs), DSASF will always remain much smaller than other major city DSAs, who usually represent their entire metropolitan areas, with large suburbs and ex-urban areas included. This has tended to mean that DSASF looks smaller to un-discerning eyes than it is.

Nevertheless, San Francisco DSA has led the entire national DSA in multiple ways, far outweighing its comparatively smaller membership size. As discussed in my answer to question 7, San Francisco DSA's education efforts have far exceeded those of any other chapter. DSA SF has led multiple successful unionization drives in a city with comparatively little traditionally unionized heavy industries. DSA SF is far ahead of most chapters in our IT infrastructure and our sophistication in use of social media should also be models for many chapters.

DSA National would be well-advised to learn a great deal from DSA SF.

Melissa H Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

My name is Melissa H, she/her/they. I grew up in El Paso, Texas, which has historically been low-hanging fruit for companies looking for low-wage, non-unionized, immigrant labor. As a person who grew up poor and struggled to survive financially for the majority of their life, I have always been skeptical of capitalism. Truthfully, I was not committed to socialism until after law school, after meeting some amazing comrades/co-organizers in the No on H Committee and doing some self-education on abolition, socialism, and communism. I officially joined DSA SF in January 2019. Since then, I have tried to help us grow the socialist project via our chapter: by attending mobilizations/events, chairing the Writing Committee, participating in the Justice Committee/Defund campaign, and most recently, by serving as a member of our steering committee.

I believe strongly that any socialist organization has a duty to provide political education resources to its members/chapters even if it offers a wide variety of perspectives. I also believe that a commitment to socialism requires us to think beyond the world that right-wing propaganda has told us is possible, which is why I am a strong supporter of incorporating (and prioritizing) abolition, a Green or Red Deal, and anti-imperialism into our collective analysis as we keep growing our movement. Finally, I believe that labor organizing is central and important to DSA and any socialist organization; however, it should never be the outer limit of our work.

There is no denying that DSA, just like our individual chapter, has grown in size, recognition, and power over the past few years and that it will have to be strategic about the way it organizes its members if we want to keep growing as an organization. Over the past six months of serving on our steering committee, I have seen just how important it is for our national organization to represent our collective values and, although we are a big tent organization, lead the way when it comes to large-scale national campaigns and provide structural guidance/resources to its members while leaving space for its chapters to do other work that makes sense to them at the local level.

I would be honored to represent our chapter with the lessons I have learned over the past few years and, in particular, over the last six months, to ensure that our national organization can deliver on its commitment to building a mass, multicultural, working class movement and give its local chapters what they need to help build that movement from the ground up.

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

Climate change is an existential/global issue and DSA should be prioritizing work with other leftist organizations and the labor movement to push for legislative and cultural changes to stop or slow climate catastrophe, end fracking, and keep the Earth inhabitable for as many generations as

possible. This could include collaborating and pushing forth work that will help us further the Green New Deal, the Red Deal, or both, as well as pushing forth abolitionist and labor efforts that will free up the tools at our disposal to drive forth these changes, including ending the criminalization of mass protests and strikes. Abolition, which encompasses not only the dismantling of the prison industrial complex but also the building of community infrastructure that meets people's needs and empowers communities for self-determination, is a particularly useful framework for engaging in work that inevitably will require mass action before we see any meaningful change legislatively.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

I have spoken with various members of our Labor Organizing Committee about labor organizing generally over the past several months and my takeaways are as follows: our labor organizers are doing lots of work with very few resources. The NPC should continue supporting local labor work by providing training and workshops such as those provided through EWOC and provide accessible materials for organizers to use in their own work. In addition, the NPC can support local labor work by providing organizers with tools, training, and strategic guidance that will help our chapters collectively and strategically leverage their connections within the larger labor movement to push for changes that further our goals.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

I believe that we must remain a big tent organization but not shy away from setting an expectation that our members will help us carry out our priorities. Having big DSA-affiliated names on the national stage, for example, is a great recruitment tool. We should probably continue trying to cultivate strong DSA-affiliated leaders and get them elected. But our national organization must ensure that our chapters have a blueprint/tools for onboarding and political education that we can provide to members who join us because they are moved by our electoral work and wins. Without these tools, it will be impossible to move our members beyond electoralism, which must play a role but is ultimately only one tactic.

Similarly, DSA can make its presence and chapters stronger by providing us with infrastructure to collaborate more easily across chapters. We have seen amazing successes in some of our chapters-- we don't have to reinvent the wheel and we can leverage our collective power. This means not only mobilizing together toward common goals, but also sharing lessons learned, templates, and anything else we can with each other.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

Ideally the convention will help us figure out what our collective priorities are so we can make strategic decisions to further those priorities together with some semblance of unity. Although DSA chapters are not a monolith, we are ultimately all under one banner and that should mean that we work together when it makes sense. Hopefully the convention will be a good place to hear what our comrades are excited about and try to figure out how we can band together and make the most difference.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

I am particularly excited to discuss the following at convention:

- Empowering DSA's Mass Abolition Work
- Making DSA a Multiracial and Anti-Racist Organization
- Spanish Translation & Bilingual Organizing
- Building Worker Power to Win Democratic Socialism: A Labor Strategy for 2021-2023
- Building Transformative Justice through a National Committee of Grievance Officers
- National Communications & Technology Policy

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

I am still in the process of deliberating whether I would vote for or against most, if not all, of the resolutions. However, I have some thoughts about the Abolition Work resolution in particular given that I organize in abolitionist spaces inside and outside of DSA. The AFL-CIO recently released a report on the defund movement which was very decidedly non-abolitionist in nature and largely regurgitated propaganda being pushed by police unions. I believe that any abolition work must also include working with our labor comrades to find a way to ensure that abolition work is not impeded by unions; similarly, I would like to see a chance for analysis on how we can push forward abolitionist work that actually centers the most-impacted communities, BIPOC communities, and I don't see any meaningful analysis of how racialized this issue is within the resolution as written.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

The national organization's top priority should be to provide infrastructure for its growing chapters and membership to engage in political and grassroots work in a sustainable way. Trainings, tools, templates-- all of these should be the top priority. Next, the national organization should focus on implementing whatever priorities we choose, which will hopefully include more strategic action to help us build a truly multicultural mass movement and ensure that our chapter is pushing beyond run-of-the-mill Democratic priorities/bringing a socialist analysis to the mainstream.

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

I think our chapter should be able to function semi-independently but with support from National, especially given that the political conditions in San Francisco are materially different from those in many other cities/states.

Sam R Questionnaire

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

The threat of climate change to society at large, but particularly to its most-marginalized members, gives it a great deal of prominence and urgency even compared to other pressing issues of the day. For this reason, I believe it's important to look for opportunities to reduce our communities' carbon footprints in all of the organizing work that we do (e.g. pressuring our local governments to redirect funding from the carceral state/police into renewable energy and sustainable mass transit). I think there's a lot of great work we can do here if we focus on direct, actionable goals.

That being said, much of what would need to be done to put a significant dent in reducing carbon emissions in the US would require dramatic changes to our national electrical grid, public transportation infrastructure, and industrial production/transportation processes. Accomplishing these goals likely requires sweeping federal legislation (such as the Green New Deal or similar proposals), which would necessitate a level of influence over Congress that DSA simply does not have at this time. It's possible that the DSA can help accomplish this in coordination with like-minded activist groups (e.g. Sunrise Movement), but I don't want us to set unreasonable expectations about our capacity to effect federal policy change on our own and succumb to burnout when those efforts inevitably fail.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

There are many ways to approach this question, but the key themes I would like to highlight are enabling greater sharing of resources (e.g. training, informational resources, labor support groups) between DSA's various local chapters and building strategic alliances between the DSA and militant labor unions (e.g. AFL-CIO, SEIU/CtW, IWW, etc). Together, these ensure that both the DSA as a national body and its individual local chapters are able to support and assist DSA members in their attempts to organize their workplaces. Both of these fall under the purview of the

Democratic Socialist Labor Commission, which I would expect the NPC to work with and support in accomplishing these goals.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

I believe that the path for the DSA to become a significant player in US politics is for the org to focus on building local political power via tenant/neighborhood organizing, labor organizing, and strategic electoral campaigns. In order to enable the local chapters and branches of the DSA to build the capacity to do all of this work sustainably and consistently, the national organization needs to prioritize building the long-term socialist movement in the US, which means providing support and resources to the locals to ensure all of them can provide high-quality outreach, onboarding, community moderation, and political education. Particular attention will need to be paid to recruiting and retaining a diverse set of comrades, especially women and people of color.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

The DSA is currently in a state of crisis; there has been a lot of talk about the growing socialist movement and the opportunities it brings, but right now we are not in a position to take advantage of them. The org's national budget is overburdened, our onboarding and recruitment process is struggling, and our key volunteers and other organizers are overburdened, which results in a constant risk of burnout. Much of the discourse within national DSA politics is on ambitious and lofty projects, such as presidential campaigns and federal policy changes, but we are still struggling with a lot of basic stuff, including recruitment, onboarding, and political education. This disorganized approach is holding us back from building a powerful, mass socialist movement. Given this situation, I believe that our goal for this convention is to make a plan to address these gaps in the internal organizing of national DSA, so that in two years we *will* have the capacity to take on some big, ambitious campaigns - and succeed.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

- Resolution #20 (Class Struggle on the Housing Terrain: Building Power in the Tenants' Movement): This resolution adds stronger support for training tenant organizers and deepens DSA's ties with ATUN. This will help both DSA SF and other local chapters get the support and resources they need to pursue tenant organizing projects. I believe our Tenant Solidarity Working Group would greatly benefit from having access to this network.
- Resolution #24 (Towards Size Inclusivity): DSA should be inclusive of people of size, particularly in the DSA-branded clothing and other merchandise that we offer. This sets a precedent that I believe DSA SF should enthusiastically sign onto if we want to show that we support comrades of size.
- Resolution #25 (National Communications & Technology Policy): Voting, member management, and communication platform infrastructure is disorganized or lacking in many DSA chapters, including DSA SF. Providing a national list of technologies for this purpose and sharing that knowledge with the local chapters would massively benefit DSA SF as we work to make our local technology and communication platforms accessible and maintainable long-term.
- Resolution #28 (Building Transformative Justice through a National Committee of Grievance Officers): The grievance process, both at the national level and in local chapters, is severely lacking at present. When conflict, harassment, or other issues occur, it is often difficult for members to report and for grievance officers to address in a timely fashion, which does not inspire confidence in the process. This resolution adds the structural support needed if we want to commit the DSA to being a safe, inclusive space long-term. DSA SF in particular would benefit greatly from the support that a national grievance committee could provide as we improve our own grievance process.
- Resolution #31 (Making DSA a Multiracial and Anti-Racist Organization): There are some aspects of this resolution that are vague, but I believe it is an unequivocal good for the org to enshrine anti-racism with concrete, structural support. As DSA SF continues to struggle with white supremacy and recruiting comrades of color locally, having a national body to rely on for guidance and resources in this area would be huge.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

- Resolution #5 (Building Worker Power to Win Democratic Socialism: A Labor Strategy for DSA in 2021-2023): A redundant resolution, merely reaffirming things we are already doing instead of making substantive changes. Seems like a waste of time.
- Resolution #8 (Toward a Mass Party in the United States (Electoral Priority)): This resolution does not meaningfully address the concerns that have been raised about DSA's current electoral outlook, which makes me feel wary of adopting it uncritically. With more planning to keep electoral work strategic, local-focused, and appropriately scoped I could support this, but as it stands now it seems likely that this resolution would merely prolong the existing issues with the way ineffective electoral campaigns overshadow other important work in the DSA.
- Resolution #11 (Campaign for a Democratic Socialist Party): In the absence of DSA-aligned candidates winning elections at the local or state levels without running as Democrats, I don't believe pushing for the formation of a national political party associated with DSA is a wise move at this time. Something to consider in the future if and when we've built up power outside of the Democratic Party in local and state offices.
- Resolution #15 (Structure of the International Committee's Steering Committee): This creates a new structure for the International Committee's steering committee which is significantly different from how most other working groups and committees operate. The resolution says that its intent is to improve democracy in the international committee, but I don't think there's sufficient justification provided for how exactly this change will accomplish that. Considering the reports of factional sectarianism that have come out of the International Committee, I think we should be suspicious of these sorts of resolutions unless more detail is provided.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

- Recruitment, onboarding, and retention of DSA members (particularly of women, people of color, and other comrades from marginalized backgrounds)
- Improved moderation of DSA community spaces, code of conduct, and harassment and grievance processes
- Creating and distributing accessible political education on anti-racism, intersectional feminism, different socialist tendencies, and other topics relevant to national working groups and national priorities
- Sharing informational resources, training materials, and organizing support spaces across local chapters (particularly for internal organizing, tenant/neighborhood organizing, labor organizing, mutual aid, and strategic local electoral campaigns)

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

I view the SF chapter and the national org as ideally having a symbiotic relationship; DSA national provides support and resources for DSA SF to learn from the work comrades are doing in other chapters, and in turn DSA SF has local members who participate in national events, working groups, and other projects in order to share their knowledge with other local chapters. There are a variety of ways for the national org to accomplish this (providing more technical, administrative, and logistical support would be a great start), but on the DSA SF side I think the best way to start building this relationship would be for the local chapter to have unofficial representatives who attend national working groups and meetings on behalf of DSA SF and then report back on those national projects/share that information with their relevant local committee. For example, one or two members of DSA SF's Tenant Solidarity Working Group could attend the national Housing Justice Commission's meetings, or DSA SF's Education Committee could send a representative to the National Political Education Committee. In both cases, this allows the local chapter to open a line of communication between it and the national org for sharing information between the two and collaborating on projects.

Drew D Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

I've been in DSA SF for 3 years and previously helped out as co-chair for the former Tech Committee, vice chair on Steering Committee, and delegate at the 2019 convention. When I was a delegate, my promise to the chapter was to connect members to the items we'd be deliberating at convention. I collected feedback from the chapter on the resolutions and amendments and disseminated that across our delegation during the convention so members' voices would be heard by their delegates, who face the really difficult task of reviewing dozens of complex proposals on aspects of the organization they've never had to know before. I also gave [daily updates](#) to the chapter, to summarize the outcomes. If elected, I would commit to doing the same and, since we have access to the convention items earlier this time, create more opportunities for members and delegates to review the items together in advance.

I'd like to appeal for one specific resolution that's important to me. Half of my family are diaspora from Puerto Rico, an American colony that has been subjected to austerity for the past 5 years through La Junta, an oversight board established by PROMESA and appointed by Obama. At the 2019 convention, DSA affirmed its support for self-determination for Puerto Rico and other American colonies and occupied lands. (I voted in favor!) Because we advocate for self-determination, DSA doesn't have a chapter in Puerto Rico and instead builds relationships with local orgs through the International Committee and the Boricua Socialist Diaspora Caucus. This year, we can have DSA apply to the São Paulo Forum through Resolution #14: Committing to International Socialist Solidarity. This is a unique opportunity to build connections with left parties throughout Latin America, including pro-independence orgs in Puerto Rico. I want to advocate for this passage of this resolution and hope all of our elected delegates will do the same.

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

I see these examples pretty differently in how they relate to addressing climate change. To me, achieving abolition and stopping climate change are political goals to be achieved through tactics such as labor organizing. A valuable thing about labor organizing is that we create new, long-lasting organizations that are independent from us but can back our political goals. So for example earlier this month, Sunrise Movement turned out for the May Day march because they, like DSA, believe that the way for us to achieve the changes that the capitalist class will never afford us is through labor organizing (among other important tactics!). I support Resolution #5: Building Worker Power to Win Democratic Socialism, which specifically identifies climate justice and the Green New Deal as important goals in our labor organizing strategy.

As it pertains to our approach to abolition, I think climate change makes that organizing all the more urgent. As climate change begins to displace populations and spark conflicts over the control of natural resources, incarceration is a pillar for controlling the movement of people. Resolution #3: Empowering DSA's Mass Abolition Work, co-authored by Nicole V., recognizes this connection between abolitionists and ecosocialists and tasks the National Abolition Working Group and National Ecosocialist Working Group with supporting abolition through our Green New Deal platform and organizing to stop the expansion of carceral infrastructure. I support this resolution along with Resolution #12: 2021 Ecosocialist Green New Deal Priority.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

The Democratic Socialist Labor Commission, and not the National Political Committee, is the primary group that should be supporting local chapter labor work. In general, I think the NPC can disseminate information about current labor projects through national communication channels, as we do for all kinds of local projects, and follow the advice of the DSLC on labor strategy.

During the pandemic, the DSLC and NPC began the Emergency Workplace Organizing Committee with the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America. I participated in EWOC, getting more training in labor organizing and counseling workers who were learning to organize under absolutely awful conditions at their workplaces. The NPC can continue working with the DSLC to oversee DSA's relationship with EWOC, and I support Resolution #5: Building Worker Power to Win Democratic Socialism, which instructs them to do so.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

DSA has experienced rapid growth particularly because despite differing approaches on how to build a socialist movement, we have maintained a firm commitment to a socialist vision and the on-the-ground organizing needed to get there. I support Resolution #27: Beyond 100K to continue the Growth and Development Committee's mission of developing orientations, trainings, political education, and campaigns and working with members to help them do that on their own.

We need to collaborate more across locals to build structural supports that can allow us to organize at a larger scale, now that we are at a point where many locals are running into similar issues of scale. One example of this has been handling grievances, which is a difficult, but important, job that, when done badly, has left entire chapters in disarray. I support Resolution #28: Building Transformative Justice through a National Committee of Grievance Officers so we can build more effective local orgs and as a delegate would make a concerted effort to identify other resolutions that we could support or amend to help us do that.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

The convention is DSA's biggest chance to update our structure and priorities based on the organizing that has happened over the past two years and how it's changed. At the last convention, we were looking at organizing that was already happening locally at a smaller scale and voted to start national bodies supporting those priorities. Now, we have a BDS and Palestine Solidarity Working Group, Abolition Working Group, and a very newly created Antifascist Working Group.

Having created these bodies, this convention is an opportunity to expand upon them, like Resolution #3: Empowering DSA's Mass Abolition Work.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

At the 2019 convention, I voted in favor of the vast majority of the resolutions/constitutional amendments/bylaws changes ([full breakdown](#)). I expect I would again this year, but so far here are some proposals I would highlight for our delegation:

- **Resolution #3: Empowering DSA's Mass Abolition Work** to give the National Abolition Working Group a mandate to work toward abolition by organizing to defund police and stop the construction of jails and prisons, among other goals. Other national bodies would be tasked with incorporating abolitionist values into their organizing (as many already do), and our own organizing around the Black Liberation priority resolution would benefit from this being part of our national platform.
- **Resolution #5: Building Worker Power to Win Democratic Socialism** to develop our labor organizing over the next two years. It outlines a really broad strategy, but formalizing our relationship with the Emergency Workplace Organizing Committee is important to me.
- **Resolution #12: 2021 Ecosocialist Green New Deal Priority** to reauthorize the Green New Deal campaign as a national priority.
- **Resolution #14: Committing to International Socialist Solidarity** to further our anti-imperialist organizing by establishing direct relationships with left parties in Latin America and developing election observer programs in which members can participate.
- **Resolution #21: Prioritizing Tenant Organizing** to run a national priority campaign for housing justice.
- **Resolution #27: Beyond 100K: Building a Mass Socialist Organization** to continue the work of the DSA Growth and Development Committee.

- **Resolution #28: Building Transformative Justice through a National Committee of Grievance Officers** to establish a national grievance committee. In DSA SF, our grievance officers jump into a sensitive, important, and difficult role without much structural support. Creating channels where they can connect with other people in the same role and get to know the issues that others are facing is crucial for us to move toward an effective restorative justice process in DSA.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

I am strongly opposed to Resolution #13: Allow DSA Members Living Abroad to Form International Chapters. In the case of DSA abroad, this works contrary to our anti-imperialist goals in many regions by putting a large amount of autonomy and influence in the hands of a small, self-selecting group of American activists. As a member of the Puerto Rican diaspora, I think this would undermine our commitment to self-determination for Puerto Rico by exporting our own politics there instead of collaborating with existing pro-independence and socialist movements.

I am opposed to Resolution #11: Campaign for a Democratic Socialist Party. I think the strategy outlined in it does too little to build our power to the point that we could function as a third party and relies too heavily on a generic growth campaign to get us there.

I am opposed to Constitutional Amendment #4: Electing DSA's National Director in its current form. I'm not exactly aligned with the current National Director, but I think making the role elected to a short 2-year term instead of having the NPC be responsible for filling the position would be a bad idea.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

Now that the Abolition Working Group has been formed, I would like to see us commit to it through Resolution #3: Empowering DSA's Mass Abolition Work. I would like to see us continue to build power through labor and tenant organizing and support both

Resolution #5: Building Worker Power to Win Democratic Socialism and Resolution #21: Prioritizing Tenant Organizing to do that. I would also like to see us prioritize ecosocialism and internationalism through Resolution #12: 2021 Ecosocialist Green New Deal Priority and Resolution #14: Committing to International Socialist Solidarity.

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

I think that before the 2019 convention, DSA SF was wary of becoming too involved in the national organization but that that has softened based on changes to the NPC, changes to the national political platform, and new or modified national bodies that align with our political priorities in DSA SF. Now, we've had representation in national leadership through groups including the NPC, the Disability Working Group, and the International Committee. I hope the 2021 convention provides us a similar opportunity to revisit and develop the national groups that were formed through the last convention, advocate for the organizing that we're already doing locally, and build relationships with organizers from around the country who share our vision. After the 2019 convention, I remember discussing how unique an opportunity it is when so many socialists from different backgrounds are brought together; it allowed for the types of connections I'd never seen before through groups like BoriSoc Diaspora Caucus or the Queer Socialist Working Group, and it got me connected to organizing that I had never expected to find. I hope the delegation this year has the same experience.

Elizabeth M Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

Hi! I'm Lizzie or Elizabeth Morgan. I've been involved in DSA since early 2017, and I also served as a delegate in 2019. I'm an experienced organizer with knowledge and history with national DSA, and I'd like to be on our delegation again.

(I'm also running for our chapter's steering committee. I wrote a longer summary of my organizing history in the questionnaire for that role -- check it out if you're interested!)

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

So there are a lot of specifics to work out, and this strategy isn't up to me, it's up to us. But, as socialists we have a unique perspective on the way these issues intersect, something that single-issue NGOs and activist groups don't! We know that class struggle is the driving force of history; as a result, we know that the most effective way we can address climate change, the prison-industrial complex, COVID-19 inequities, and a whole host of other issues is by building class consciousness and solidarity.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

The first thing I want to say is this isn't really the NPC's job. Some things may end up on the NPC's plate either from the DSLC (Democratic Socialist Labor Commission) or from like, one-off conversations, but mainly support for local chapter labor work should come from the DSLC or some other national structure, not the NPC.

But here's how I think the national should support local chapter labor work...

One big way would be by building connections between the labor formations in different chapters. This is something we've been able to do locally to a small extent, linking our LOC (Labor Organizing Committee) with East Bay DSA's and from what I've seen it's been productive. Someday I'd love for DSA to do this on a larger scale, with simultaneous union campaigns in different chapters with communication facilitated by the national.

The other key thing that the national organization can do is instigate large nation-wide organizing projects in the veins of the Emergency Workers Organizing Committee and the PRO Act campaign. These projects haven't been perfect (what project has?) but organizing on such a broad level is necessary if we're ever going to challenge the biggest and most powerful threats to the working class.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

I see this as a two-pronged process: One prong: slow base-building in our locals, expanding our reach, explaining socialism, building class consciousness. Another prong: developing ourselves, our organization, and our process, methodically and scientifically, learning from our mistakes and always moving forward.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

I'd like to see the national convention build the unity we need as a large socialist organization and give it direction. One of the big lessons I took from the 2019 convention, and from our local work, is that the specific projects we choose to work on are less important than the process of seeing a project through as a group.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

I helped write two resolutions this time around.

The first resolution is #14, Committing to International Solidarity. I think it's really important to shift the conversation about internationalism in our organization from issue-of-the-week responses and demonstrations to building actual, living connections with mass organizations in the third world. The work of the International Committee since 2019 has been incredible to watch, and I'd love to get more DSA SF members to engage with it.

I also wrote an early draft for and helped edit resolution #28, Building Transformative Justice through a National Committee of Grievance Officers. The way grievances have been handled at the national level so far has frankly been a stain on our organization; we've had straightforward well-documented rulings get appealed to national and then just disappear behind the bureaucracy of the current national Harassment and Grievance Officer. Other chapters have had much worse happen. Developing a committee to provide recommendations on the grievance process will help us figure

out what works and what doesn't, and will get the ball rolling in a better direction. I'd love to see our Grievance Officers and other leaders participate in and lead this process and these training sessions, since I think we have a lot of experience dealing carefully with sensitive issues like harassment, abuse, and bigotry.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

Honestly not sure! There are some minor things I might end up opposing --like resolutions #15 and #16, which some people I know on the international committee have told me would wreak havoc on the delicate balance of forces there -- but there's nothing I'm up in arms about. I'm encouraged by how few and how similar the resolutions are this year, and hopeful that the reconciliation process can cut the number down even further. I'd like to think it means that we have a less fractured organization than we did in 2019, and that we can move forward from 2021 with some clear goals and broad organizational buy-in.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

Some quick thoughts, which need to be expanded:

We need to build strong relationships with our international siblings. The fact that we haven't so far is a huge oversight and one of the worst legacies of Harringtonian cold-warrior egotism.

There's a huge gap between the work that happens at the level of local DSA chapters and the national. We need to fix it -- and in order to do that we need to weed out the dysfunction on the national and local levels. Things like the flaws of the national grievance process and the way that locals handle (or don't handle) abuse and harassment keep us from working together.

Organizing against climate change absolutely needs to continue to be one of our national priorities, and I'd love to see it trickle down not only to our local Ecosocialist Committees but to entire locals. It's only going to get more urgent!

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

Our chapter has a lot of perspective on what works and what doesn't, and we need to bring that from the local level to the national level. We should lead it, where that makes sense, and be heavily involved in it where it doesn't.

Michael S Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

I've been organizing in DSA since February 2017 when I joined NYDSA. Since then I've moved to the bay and been a part of EBD SA as well as SFDSA. I've learned a lot from each chapter I've participated in. Many of you know me from helping run the Red Start reading group where I pushed to help the chapter have a better understanding of Marxism in order to inform its work. Others might know me from when we're in the streets together, where I'm usually handing out gas masks, water, sunscreen, etc. But in addition to these things I've been hard at work on the national level understanding the lay of the land and working with experienced organizers as part of national formations to best understand how DSASF can influence the National Convention to have the outcomes that will best support our organizing here in the heart of empire. I've been working with incumbent NPC candidates to shape the process going into convention, making it as productive and democratic as it can be. I want to create a strong DSA that will be a force for socialism in the near future, challenging capitalists in every arena of struggle, and think that the national convention is a great opportunity to set us up for success in this.

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

DSA should approach everything we do dialectically, which is to understand that no one issue is extricable from any other issue. We have to consider our movement holistically and measure all of our actions against all of the forces we're up against - be that the carceral system, bosses, landlords, racism, sexism, climate change, or any other myriad of issues entangled in each other. Climate change will put historically oppressed communities on the front-line, we have to be ready to help out when the going gets tough and provide real resources to these communities while hooking in with them so we can together create a revolutionary force.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

The NPC should be creating a DSA that can give members the tools to organize their own workplaces, as well as reaching out to unorganized workers not in DSA. The work that national has done with the Emergency Workers Organizing Committee (EWOC) has been a fantastic first move, we should entrench EWOC further and systematize it so that it can provide support to all chapters. We should also work to bring EWOC under democratic control of the Democratic Socialist Labor Commission, the national formation our org created in order to guide our national labor work.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

We need to decide on methods to hold electeds accountable and not just be an endorsement machine for random dem progressives. We are a socialist org, not a progressive NGO, and we need to start building power like a socialist org. DSA should also begin contesting power in arenas outside of electoral ones, like the workplace and the neighborhood. DSA should be the home of radical tenant and labor unions and we should be training the next generation of organizers to create and shape these unions.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

This convention can elect an NPC with experience that is capable of leading the DSA in a good and democratic direction. The current NPC has been dominated by Socialist Majority, a caucus representing the liberal-industrial complex side of DSA that wanted us to campaign for Biden, and Bread and Roses, the secretive Kautskyist caucus that wants all power for itself. At this convention we have a chance to elect a lot of people unaffiliated with either group (including our own Jenbo!) that have tons of experience (incumbents like Jen M, Austin G, Justin C, and Blanca E) who have a real positive

vision on how to create a democratically structured and radical DSA that works for everyone. A more radical NPC is key to breaking the stranglehold SMC and B&R have had over our org, creating something more unified more radical and more effective in every way.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

I really like “Building Worker Power to Win Democratic Socialism: A Labor Strategy for DSA in 2021-2023”, which is a big tent labor resolution cosigned by caucuses across ideological lines. This kind of working together to advance common goals even through theoretical disagreements is the type of stuff we need more of within DSA. We should also be strengthening our labor work, we'll never win anything by focusing 100% on electoral, it's just one piece of the puzzle.

I'll also be pretty strong in advocating for “Committing to International Socialist Solidarity”, which I wrote most of. This resolution will have us accept DSA's invitation to join the Sao Paulo Forum, putting us in contact with left parties across a broad spectrum of beliefs from all parts of South America. For example, there's four member-parties from Brazil alone that believe in many different paths that socialism can take. I think DSA needs more contact with other socialist groups to expand our horizons and help us understand what strategies might help us here at home. The Sao Paulo Forum has parties ranging from Evo Morales' MAS in Bolivia to the Cuban Communist Party, the experiences of these people engaging in real struggle are things we should learn from.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

I'm pretty opposed to “Running 10 Candidates Independent of the Democrats in 2022”, which takes a hardline stance on the ballot line question. I think the Democrats are built to subvert leftist movements but their ballot line is something we can strategically use when it builds the power of DSA. I want things that build our organization, and am open to whatever tactics make that happen.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

Democratic structure! We should be building the ability to take shared action, democratically deciding on the priorities of the org and acting upon them in an organized way. We should also be building up our ability to onboard, train, and keep fantastic organizers in all spheres of power. DSA loses too many people to burnout, and doesn't have fantastic onboarding processes, these are solvable problems that we can fix with a little effort at restructuring like what we've seen our Chapter Coordinating Committee do in the past year.

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

Stronger than it is. We've come up with some really interesting and useful solutions as a chapter, like our conflict mediation process, that we should be sharing as a template for the national org to suggest to other chapters. We should be building regional orgs (like a California DSA) so we can actually function in state-wide elections (ex: avoid failures like Prop 22) and actions (ex: blocking the Israeli Zim ship from reaching port) and coordination processes so we can grow from a municipal org to something that can really make the capitalists scared of our power.

Ryan Mc Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

Hello, my name is Ryan, I am a Bay Area local and I've been a member of DSA SF for a little over a year now, in addition I have had about a year of experience involved in YDSA prior to that. Within the chapter I have engaged primarily with the Labor Organizing Committee and lent my help with the Dean Preston campaign where I can. In addition to this, I have been tangentially involved with helping to lay the foundations for establishing the Neighborhood Solidarity Program in the hopefully not too distant future. I am also a member of the International Committee's Middle East and Africa subcommittee and outside of DSA I have had organizational experience in my University's chapter of Students for Justice in Palestine. In my relatively brief time of participation in the SF Chapter, I have been

very impressed in our ability to set the standard for the national organization as a whole, oftentimes serving as a leading example for labor organizing and solidarity both within DSA and beyond it. I hope to be able to represent our chapter well at the 2021 National Convention so that we can continue to maintain the initiative, building upon our successes to not only serve as a leading force in the national organization, but also develop DSA into an effective force within the US' politics and serve as a platform for the workers' movement.

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

I believe that DSA stands in a unique position to connect together the various tributaries of struggle which exist on these fronts across the U.S. and beyond. As the largest and fastest growing socialist organization in the country, DSA is positioned to be able to weld together in a coherent and encompassing program, these three issues, rooting our understanding of abolition, climate crises and labor struggles in a concrete understanding of history, our combined experiences and a systematic understanding of the nature of capitalist exploitation. I believe that ultimately these three issues cannot be properly pursued as single-issue questions, the organizational work entrusted to scattered and dispersed through countless different working groups and committees, themselves atomized between the different chapters. Broad scope problems such as these require broad scope mechanisms for dealing with them, and I believe that all work which DSA completes both nationally and at the chapter level should contain within their organizational efforts elements of labor, climate, and abolition work. This is to say that these issues ought not to be relegated to singular working groups, instead all work, be it international solidarity, indigenous justice, political education, electoral work, or any number of other issues, should center these three issues each as a core element of the way they develop and determine their organizing initiatives.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

I think the NPC has the potential to act as a coordinating body and line of communication between various chapters, and it also has an ability to work to allocate resources to chapters as they request them. As an educational body the NPC ought to direct training for all members to become full-spectrum organizers to

the best of their abilities, this first and foremost means training of members in labor organizing skills, secondarily in the skills needed to agitate and mobilize at the neighborhood or tenant level. This also would be best served to include 1:1 conversational training for a variety of commonly encountered organizing discussions so as to better shape the general body into capable advocates for socialist politics. Finally, the NPC also has an important role in bridging the divide between larger metropolitan DSA chapters and the more numerous rural and exurban chapters in order to address the gap in coverage and mobilization which the organization currently experiences.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

I believe that the DSA must seek to become a vehicle for the workers' movement and focus our efforts to engage with those who have otherwise been disengaged from the U.S. political process. This means first and foremost creating a robust infrastructure which goes beyond the traditional realm of activist politics, and it also means a decoupling from a dependency on the Democratic Party. I believe that DSA ought to strive to actively develop itself as a presence in civil society to this end, being a force which has a presence in the workplace as well as the neighborhood, and when advantageous, the ballot box as well. I believe that strengthening and developing programs like EWOC are essential to this sort of initiative, and pushing for active recruitment from workplaces, and labor campaigns is key to fostering a working class base within the organization. Furthermore, the organization should strive both at the national level and the chapter level to develop infrastructure within the organization which provides members both with a stake in the organization as well as a range of support which adds immense benefits to membership in a socialist organization. As it currently stands, much of the DSA membership is composed of self selected activists, and the nature of the organization is that it has little tangible benefits to membership currently offered to potential working class members. Programs like tenant organizing, childcare, and potentially even support networks like meal programs, all serve to increase the benefits of membership in participation among those who are most burdened by their working situations. Lastly, I believe that this will require a robust non-english language infrastructure in order to reach wide ranging communities in the country making entry into the organization far more accessible for them.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

I believe that this convention can allow us to develop a robust set of priorities for the next two years, ultimately to build up DSA as a coherent, nationwide formation rather than a loosely connected series of chapters sharing a common name. The national convention has the potential to develop key directives in laying the foundation for how we go about directing this collection of chapters under a cohesive program.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

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

This resolution will prioritize labor and the Democratic Socialist Labor Commission (DSLC) top priorities in the next two years. I believe that at this stage a massive effort to build and rebuild coalitions between labor and left political formations like the DSA are an absolute necessity as the Democratic party continues its rightward shift and becomes less and less influenceable by outside mobilization. I believe that the failure to engage with the workplace as one of the primary arenas of struggle has been perhaps one of the biggest hindrances to DSA's organizing up until now. Historical experience has shown us that it is the workplace which holds the greatest amount of leverage over the wealthy, and it is through organized action centered on the workplace that we stand the best chances of winning substantive gains. The ability to wield power in the workplace, and at the point of production, extends outwards into other facets of our organizing work as well, including abolition work, immigration and climate justice. I believe that DSA SF has shown an exceptionally strong ability to demonstrate the power of labor organizing, and a recommitment at the national level to the DSLC would place additional resources at our disposal to continue to expand this sort of work.

Resolution 14: Committing to International Socialist Solidarity

Just as individual socialists ought to to the best of their abilities join and engage with a socialist organization(s), a socialist organization should engage with an international

formation, and by extension other socialist organizations. I believe that the Sao Paulo Forum is one of the best examples of such an international formation in the present moment, also appropriate to the field and scope of DSA's current capacities. The diverse political terrain of the United States' territory requires an approach which might be considered inherently internationalist from its outset, and as such, it would behoove DSA to also participate in a continent-wide formation in order to learn and share experience on the successes and failures of similar initiatives elsewhere in the world. In the Sao Paulo forum the DSA has the opportunity to engage with both parties and movements in government and also in opposition, offering an indispensable educational and dialogue resource.

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

Similar to Resolution 14, a socialist approach to international solidarity necessitates a critical socialist approach towards immigration, as one of the primary domestic manifestations of internationalism. Amnesty for All works to establish an immigration policy for DSA which is not wedded to that of the Democrats. In being critical towards liberal discourses and positioning on the question of "citizenship". Amnesty for All would allow DSA to fight back against the threat of deportation of undocumented comrades, and offer an alternative conception on how the mistreatment of and extreme exploitation of undocumented workers is not only central to the internal division of the working class against itself, but also allows for hyper exploitation of workers across the board.

DSA SF in particular stands to benefit from a socialist position towards immigration as it will serve as a key way of distinguishing the organization from the Republicans and Democrats regarding how to fight for immigrants rights. With the assistance of the national Immigrant Rights Working Group, our own chapter would have resources at our disposal to build connections with immigrant communities, undocumented and contract workers, through labor and tenant organizing efforts.

Resolution 21: Prioritizing Tenant Organizing

Just as the workplace holds an immense deal of leverage over the commanding

heights of the economy, so does the home, and arguably it has become more and more the site of struggle within the recent years, with the pandemic, economic recession, rising unemployment, homelessness and gentrification have all exacerbated the conditions of renters. Just as the ability to organize workers serves as an offensive capability for the poor and most marginalized, tenant and neighborhood organizing serves as a prime defensive capability, and these two forms of collective action must be developed in tandem for them to prove effective. Tenant organizing and training must be a top priority of the national organization. DSA SF in particular has a high number of members who are renters themselves, and workers and unemployed alike both find common ground in the household, opening up avenues of struggle which may not be possible through worksite organizing alone. Developing tenant solidarity structures within our own chapter would be another example of a public good that the chapter could be capable of providing internally and externally, again providing a tangible benefit to members and potential members to allow them to participate in organizing work with a lower cost of entry.

Resolution 23: Childcare for All

- I believe that this resolution offers an positive vision for the sort of public goods which DSA can advocate for beyond the horizon of current left-flank Democrats, and furthermore, it allows us to engage in a critical and strategic issue which has been largely untouched by the Democrats at large, one which stands to engage an great cross section of the working population which has to handle often full time workloads in conjunction with raising children.

- In the SF chapter, this resolution would allow our org to engage with Early Childhood Educational (ECE) workers both in developing legislative campaigns, support programs internal to our own chapter, and also the ECE industry as a front of labor organizing.

Resolution 27: Beyond 100K: Building a Mass Socialist Organization

- This resolution would allow the Growth and Development committee to strengthen its mission and build upon its existing work through training and dues drives. In specific this will task the GDC to continue making inroads to address the concerns in developing a socialist approach to anti-racism and multiracial solidarity work which is not rooted in separatism nor in race

essentialism, but addresses tangible needs and conditions that hold true to the diverse backgrounds of the working class. This would help our own chapter in helping to engage broadly with the multiracial backgrounds of the Bay Area working class, and importantly, work to cultivate a diverse background of working class leaders and organizers within our ranks.

Resolution 35: Spanish Translation and Bilingual Organizing

- This is an especially important element to international organizing on the American continent, but also critical within the Bay Area in particular. It is a simple and intuitive way to increase accessibility and lower the bar to entry for native spanish speakers into the organization. It will also greatly support infrastructure for interpretation and coalition building down the line, and hopefully, open up the horizon for additional multilingual resources in other critical languages such as Tagalog and Chinese.

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

None at the moment, will wait for the final language of the resolutions before determining opposition.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

I believe that the fundamental challenge facing the national organization for the next two years is a matter of successfully emerging on an independent and self-sufficient basis away from the 2020 Sanders campaign. As it is generally understood that Bernie will not run again in 2024 and beyond, it is imperative that DSA begin to establish its own footing beyond Bernie and work to maintain and further develop it in the years ahead. As an organization, we cannot afford to hold out for future prospects of a 3rd Sanders campaign, nor should the organization scramble to develop support behind a runner-up left candidate within the Democratic machine. Failure to push beyond the horizon set by the Sanders campaigns in the coming decade could very well risk political irrelevance for the DSA, especially as the crises of capitalism continue to expand and the working class becomes ever more disenfranchised from the commonly thought arena of "left" politics. Therefore it is imperative that DSA prioritize the establishment of

infrastructure which is not-reliant on the Democratic machine- as mentioned previously, central pillars to such a program would include greater focus dedicated towards unionization efforts as well as tenant solidarity aimed at developing a presence within the workplace and the neighborhood. Additional programs which serve to alleviate burden from people's lives, such as childcare programs, are an important corollary to this effort in seeking to lower the total “cost” of membership and participation in the organization from the perspective of potential working class recruits.

Q8: What should DSASF’s relationship to the national organization be like?

I believe that the SF chapter should take advantage of the resources which are currently offered to chapters by the national org, and be aggressive in requesting additional resources from the national level, this includes material resources for establishing organizational infrastructure, as well as information and educational resources which will help us develop the chapter membership into full-spectrum organizers. In regards to SF posture towards the national org as a body, we ought to seek to maintain momentum as a leading example for other chapters in our labor work specifically, and we should seek to be able to lend our experience and resources to other chapters in the region and where they may be necessary.

Ryan V Questionnaire

Personal Statement:

Hello, I'm Ryan and I mostly work with CCC. I try to stay in my lane and do what I can. I thought running to be a delegate might be a good opportunity to familiarize myself with some of the broader issues facing the organization. I also think it's cool when elections are contested. 😎

Q1: How should DSA approach abolition work, labor organizing, and other priorities under the conditions of climate change?

I think abolition work, labor organizing, and priorities need to be approached deliberately and methodically. Climate change ensures that there will be more events that shock people into action. The question is, what to do next? I think it is important to have explicit, succinct tasks to give to people who are new, and to be able to quickly educate and orient them to the work the organization is doing.

I'd like to see DSA do a better job of distributing responsibilities and rotating roles so that campaigns aren't dependent on the will and stamina of core activists. I'd like to see DSA take burnout and mental health seriously. I'd like to see DSA be culturally and organizationally prepared to welcome the newly radicalized into ongoing work.

Q2: How should the NPC support local chapter labor work?

I know I'm a member of the latest socialist organization inside the imperial mainland since the Debs era, but practically speaking it feels like I'm a member of a local activist group. I hope the NPC can maintain the "diversity of tactics" aspect of the big tent while resisting the gravitational attraction of Democratic Party politics and nonprofit activism. I hesitate to say much more because I haven't seen a great two year plan for how to navigate organizing post-Bernie, post-Trump, and post-pandemic.

Q3: How do you advocate making DSA a significant force in U.S. politics?

Through local wins. I came up through the Bernie campaign and AOC's win, but that period feels like it is passed now. If DSA has taught me anything it is that there are no shortcuts and it's the hard work of local organizing that is key.

Q4: How can the convention serve to support DSA over the next two years?

By giving us a sense that we are part of something greater than the gaslit consensus of national politics. I don't think I've met anyone in the chapter who believes otherwise, but it would be cool to confirm it applies nationally and across the organization.

Q5: What current resolutions are you prioritizing? Why, and how do you think they'll affect our chapter?

I haven't reviewed the resolutions super closely, and there's a limit to how much I can learn individually. Part of the appeal of the running as a delegate is the prospect of learning with my fellow delegates!

With that said, I am more interested in labor and tenant organizing, international solidarity, and organization building resolutions. I am more skeptical of issue campaigns like the Green New Deal, Medicare for All, and \$25 Hour as National priorities. It feels like the moment for these kinds of campaigns have passed. I'm also skeptical of the constitutional amendments related to referendums and electing the National director. They sound fine but California ballot proposition politics have taught me that things aren't always what they seem!

Q6: Are there any resolutions that you oppose or want to see significant changes to? If so, why?

See above.

Q7: What should be the national organization's priorities for the next two years?

Local organizing and infrastructure. It's nice to have a bit of a breather after the pandemic, fire season, the uprisings, and an economic crash, but it will soon be midterm election season. There's a war with China brewing. 😞

Q8: What should DSASF's relationship to the national organization be like?

Share what we learn locally, try to apply what's been shared nationally. Look for ways to reduce what's unique to DSA SF as much as possible. Spend less time inventing strategies from scratch and more time building on what works.

National Political Committee

Candidates for National Political Committee (NPC), the leadership body of the national organization, require nomination by a chapter to stand for election at the national convention. We have one member running for this position:

Jennifer B

Biography [500 words maximum for this whole section]

Please describe your experience in DSA so far; how long you've been a member, what kind of organizing and campaigns you've worked on, any leadership positions you've held, and any highlights or challenges you've encountered. *

I've been a member of DSA for over four years. I was the first chair of my chapter's Socialist Feminist Working Group, until I stepped down to be on Steering Committee, where I was Treasurer. For nearly the last two years, I've been on the National Political Committee's Steering Committee, the National Communications Committee, 2021 National Convention Steering Committee and National Political Education Committee. I also served on the Personnel Committee from 2019-2020.

I was involved in our chapter's largest campaigns, including: Prop F (universal right to civil counsel), Prop C (taxing rich companies to serve the unhoused), Anchor Union (organizing the nation's first craft brewery), and the N-95 mask distribution during last year's fires. On the NPC, I've been involved in all national campaigns (DSA for Bernie, EWOC, Pro-Act, Covid Response, etc.)

What activist/political/organizing experience have you had outside DSA? Share any lessons or experiences that you feel are relevant. *

Before I was on the NPC, I would spend my Fridays supporting Mothers on the March -- the families and friends of our black and brown neighbors murdered by SFPD's killer cops. I'm proud to support radical groups like the Black & Brown Social Club and Frisco 5, who held a hunger strike until the former chief of police resigned. We must stand in solidarity with our

community, especially those whose lives have been ripped apart by murderous, racist state institutions.

I work as a criminal defense paralegal. My clients are people experiencing trauma from being materially disadvantaged, and are in a lot of psychological and/or physical pain. My job is to keep them from falling into the mass incarceration system. This requires a lot of listening, empathy, and solving problems that don't have easy answers. As a secretary, I'm organized, know the importance of transparent and constant communication, and bottom-lining complex projects. All these skills are necessary for being on NPC.

Have you ever held a position within or on behalf of law enforcement (such as a police union organizer)? *

No.

If you would like to share any links to articles you've written, a portfolio, or similar resources you feel will be useful for members to get to know you, do so here.

I don't do media.

Why are you running for NPC? *

I feel the current NPC has made strong changes to the organization and I want to make sure that vision continues. Like comrade Lenin said, "I assert that no revolutionary movement can endure without a stable organisation of leaders maintaining continuity."

Political Views [100 words maximum for each response]

What does 'democratic socialism' mean to you? *

Socialism is reclaiming our collective power.

Under capitalism, the pigs in charge tell us to otherize and devalue people by their race, class, gender, sexuality, and ability to make ourselves feel valued and included in society. So we socialists respond with demands.

We demand for a clean, habitable planet. We demand that housing, healthcare, bodily autonomy, and education are human rights. We demand the invincible emancipation of the workers and their work. We demand that we smash the parasitical upper classes into the dirt which paves the happy road to our future freedom.

Where would you like DSA and the broader socialist left to be five years from now? How about ten or twenty years? And, broadly, what does our organization need to do to get us there? *

We don't have time for incremental change. Global climate fascism is already upon us. If we don't cast our net wide in the next five years won't matter. Our organization has to put ecosocialism at the forefront of our work.

Looking forward: I want a workers' party. I want an organized working class that will directly confront the boss and landlord class. No ruling class has ever given up its power voluntarily! It's not going to happen this time around, no matter how many reforms we vote in. The left needs to engage with our fellow proletarians in our workplaces and homes, and build class struggle solidarity with them now.

In the short term, if elected to NPC, you will serve two years in national leadership from August 2021 to summer 2023. What is your diagnosis of the broader political scenario DSA will face during your term? What will be the most urgent challenges, and what will be the greatest opportunities for socialists? *

The current popularity of "socialism," broadly defined, presents two challenges. The first is the red-baiting we saw against Bernie Sanders in his presidential campaign; the second is the dilution of the word "socialism" as it's co-opted by a reformist, pseudo-left, or redefined by our elected politicians.

Our opportunity is to break through 70+ years of anti-socialist ultra-capitalism used to divide the working class and gain a truly unified front against the bosses and landlords.

What is the role and purpose of a socialist organization in the United States today? *

The workers of the world can never be emancipated until the Imperial Core is neutralized—or better yet, overturned. As people in the United States, we have been schooled since birth to be unconscious of the violence they have inflicted upon peoples both outside and within our borders, and the daily violence of capitalism that they inflict on our comrades, our bodies, and ourselves.

It is our duty as the U.S.'s largest socialist organization in generations to recognize and uplift past American socialist traditions that have been pushed aside by 40 years of neoliberal austerity politics, while transcending the failures of those movements.

We lose everything if we do not win the whole world.

Programmatic View [250 words maximum for each response]

Reflecting on the last two years, discuss what you see are the strengths and the weaknesses of DSA. *

Strengths: One of the main strengths I've seen from my two years on the NPC is that chapters have autonomy and support to do the work needed for their geography.

Weaknesses: In connection to the first part of my answer, a weakness is not tying that chapter work into larger, connected demands across the entire organization.

What policies and demands should DSA prioritize championing over the next two years? Why? *

DSA should continue to grow and expand its Emergency Working Organizing Committee and Restaurant Outreach Project.

What's your assessment of DSA's National Electoral Strategy and how do you think socialists should be engaging with elections in the short term? *

This is a fine document and strategy. Right now, I see elections as educational tools, particularly because we tend to focus on congressional races. I think we can do real damage on things like school board elections and transit boards and police commissions, and hope we build up the campaign knowledge from working on the federal races and apply those to more local races and ballot measures.

There is a general sense that in order to have a viable socialist movement we need our movement to be rooted in the multi-racial working class. How can we assure that DSA develops more connections and deeper roots within working class communities of color? What specific things do you propose? *

By doing actual deep organizing instead of mobilizing.

How do you think DSA should engage with the labor movement? *

Over the last few years, we've created strong relationships with UE (United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America) through the DLSC's Emergency Workplace Organizing Project and IUPAT (The International Union of Painters and Allied Trades) through our PRO Act campaign. We should continue to organize people who are not in unions into unions, especially those with whom we have relationships, and pull the trades unions left toward democratic worker power.

How should DSA engage in coalitions with other progressive and issue-based organizations? *

As leadership of the organization, we have a duty to our membership, not to coalition partners. As socialists, every move we make must be toward class independence from capitalist politicians (where most organizations align). That said, we should work with issue-based organizations that have common short-term goals while keeping our north star in sight.

What should the relationship between the national organization and local chapters look like--how should they engage each other and what role should NPC members take in shaping that relationship? *

National should serve the membership. It's pretty clear in the job description for the NPC: we're to implement the will of the membership's political and organizational goals, which are decided at the biennial National Convention (not make those decisions for them!). The NPC should make sure the national staff (bless them) are supported in a way that they can help chapters do the day-to-day work they need to do (and not just on national priorities). I'd like to foster better relationships with the local chapters and their regional organizers..

If elected to NPC, you'll be responsible for leading and carrying out committee work (such as on the electoral committee, international committee, Democratic Left committee, etc.) What particular strengths would you bring to the NPC and what committees might you focus on? *

I'd like to continue my work on the National Political Education Committee, and also devote time to the grievance process to make sure that DSA is a place where people feel safe joining.

Grievance Officer

We will elect two members to the position of Grievance Officer, in accordance with [Article XVI](#) of the bylaws. The candidates are as follows:

[Sam R](#)
[TJ H](#)

We asked GO candidates to give their thought processes on three hypothetical grievance scenarios, keeping these questions in mind:

- 1) Do you think this is a legitimate grievance? Why or why not?*
- 2) How would you go about investigating this grievance? What are your next steps? (Feel free to use the DSA SF Grievance Officer bylaw for aid here.)*
- 3) Do you have any recommended courses of action for the Steering Committee? If so, please give them.*

GO candidates were also asked to answer a few questions.

Sam R. Questionnaire

Scenario 1:

Background: Ernie R is a middle aged white man who has been involved with socialist organizing for the last few decades. Sarah S is a member who's been involved for the last 6 months.

Hi,

I'm writing to report a grievance against Ernie R. whose behavior in the Political Research Committee has been absolutely abhorrent, and in my opinion, against DSASF's values. Ernie is generally dismissive of the projects that I'm suggesting and is consistently jumping stack to state his opinion on whatever we're talking about.

This happened most recently when I suggested we host a panel with a few activists from the Mission, Castro, and Bayview to discuss different tactics groups have used across the times and neighborhoods to fight speculation, elect activists to office, and what they might have done differently. Ernie and several others had their hands raised for stack.

Sam, the meeting facilitator, called on Melissa to start stack and in the middle of her thought, Ernie just started going on a tangent about how the idea for a panel makes absolutely no sense.

This isn't the first time this sort of thing happened at our meetings, he is constantly speaking over others, shutting ideas down, and acting as if we're wrong if we don't follow his ideas.

I've asked several meeting facilitators and co-chairs to call out his behavior, but when he is called out, he keeps going.

I'm not sure what to do anymore. I want his behavior to stop.

In solidarity,

Sarah S.

Response:

1. Yes. It's pretty clear that Ernie is not respecting his fellow comrades or meeting etiquette, which is both a clear violation of the Code of Conduct and the sort of persistent toxic behavior that creates a hostile environment for other members of the org. The fact that Ernie persists even when he is called out and told to stop indicates that this issue goes beyond merely conflict resolution in a contentious meeting environment.
2. After contacting both complainant and accused to acknowledge receipt of and inquire as to the credibility of the grievance, respectively (as specified by the bylaws), I would want

to speak to Sarah S and other members of the Political Research Committee to get more detail on their experiences with Ernie R in meetings. I would also want to speak to Ernie, in the spirit of fairness, to hear his side of the story and make sure Sarah isn't misrepresenting him (although given the power dynamics at play in this situation I think that is unlikely). If Ernie does not send a written response denying the claim within 7 days, I think that would be sufficient evidence to say that the claim is credible.

3. Assuming Sarah's testimony is credible, Ernie clearly needs to be disciplined for this behavior. I think a temporary suspension from Political Research Committee meetings would probably be appropriate in this situation. Ordinarily I would be inclined to suggest a formal notice of expected changes in behavior (e.g. don't interrupt others in the meeting, no more demeaning language, etc.), but since Ernie appears to have repeatedly ignored attempts to call out his behavior and ask him to stop, I think it's likely that just issuing a formal reprimand would not cause him to change his behavior. If he improves his behavior in meetings after receiving notice of the grievance on his own, then a formal notice would probably be sufficient. If, on the other hand, his harassing behaviors continue or intensify after receiving notice, I think it would be appropriate for him to be temporarily suspended from committee meetings for the rest of the investigation and then issued a temporary or indefinite suspension from the committee, meetings, events and/or communication channels depending on the severity of his continued misbehavior.

Scenario 2:

Background: James is a member that's been organizing with DSASF for 1 year formerly as a rank and file member, now as a co-chair for the communications committee. Jon S has been a member of the chapter for 1 year and has held leadership positions in the chapter before.

I'm writing to file a formal grievance against Jon S for acting against the code of conduct and inciting bad faith debate in our communications committee meeting that occurred on March 17th, 2021. I set the agenda for the meeting as I always do, and this time around I decided it would be worthwhile to try and have a discussion about what steps we can take to make the communications we put out as a chapter resonate better with people of color. I was hoping for an honest, introspective discussion about how we can do better as a chapter when we talk about race. It's a problem that we face in the organization, but I think for the most part people want to fix it. Unfortunately, when we started discussing it Jon started getting visibly upset.

At one point a comrade suggested that anti-oppression trainings might be helpful for chapter leaders to go through. Jon immediately hopped on stack and started talking about how "anti oppression are incredibly liberal", it was a bit of a hostile point, but it wasn't anything we haven't heard.

He got on stack again and that's where I felt like things got really heated. He started making

statements like “he’s sick of white people telling him what is and isn’t racist” and “that the white members are essentially tokenizing people of color” and “don’t actually care about what happens to people of color, they’re only in it to absolve their white guilt.” He went on to say a lot of other things but he repeatedly told members to shut up and to quit if they wanted the organization to have more POC.

Overall, the tone was hostile and unproductive. I’m not sure how we’re supposed to make a more welcoming space when we talk about race this way.

Response:

1. Given only the information above, it’s not entirely clear to me yet whether this is a legitimate grievance or not. One of the key factors that would be helpful to elucidate whether it is likely to be legitimate or not is the respective parties’ racial identities. For example, if Jon S is the only person of color in the room, it seems likely that he was coming from a place of frustration with a white-dominated org that has a history of dismissing the perspectives of people of color, which is an understandable reason to be angry. Saying that Jon was being overly hostile in this context comes off sounding a bit like tone policing, which is often used in a racist way against PoC. That being said, Jon is himself repeating some racist talking points, so if he doesn’t have some demonstrated credibility when it comes to the topic of race (which being a PoC would definitely lend credence to), it would be reasonable to assume he was acting in bad faith with intent to disrupt an honest attempt to make the org a more inviting environment for PoC (which definitely constitutes harassment per the code of conduct). Absent any other information about James and Jon, I would have to lean in that direction in the interest of caution, but the results would really hinge on how the investigation goes.
2. After notifying James that the grievance was received and inquiring to Jon whether it is legitimate, I would want to speak to both parties as well as other members of the communications committee, particularly people of color, to get a sense of whether Jon seems to have a credible explanation for getting angry in the moment in this meeting or if it’s more likely that he was acting disruptive intentionally. Jon’s intent and the extent to which there was harm perceived/experienced by other members of the committee (again, particularly people of color, given the issue being discussed) is the key criterion in evaluating the credibility of this grievance, so any information that can help establish Jon’s reputation and/or motivations in this situation would be helpful. In particular, if Jon has a documented history of responding this way when the topic of race comes up discussions, that suggests there is precedent for him disrupting conversations around this issue intentionally.
3. If the grievance proves to be legitimate and credible, I believe a formal notice of expected behavior change (e.g. to not disrupt the meeting or be rude to other committee members, to not repeat racist talking points) would be appropriate. If his hostile behavior and/or racist rhetoric continues after receiving notice of the grievance, a temporary suspension from committee meetings might also be necessary. If the grievance is not legitimate, I think voluntary, informal conflict resolution would be the right course of action. Jon and James are clearly coming at this issue from different perspectives and

need to hash out their differences if they want to be able to work on this together in the future.

Scenario 3:

A member, Bianca, comes to you after a conversation with another member Dennis. She is queer, and is really upset by something another member said to her. In conversation, Dennis found out she had a girlfriend, and his response was: "But you'd look so good in a dress, any guy would want to date you." She says she doesn't want you to mention anything to Dennis – she just needed to share. She knows that the person did not mean to hurt her feelings (in fact, they may have been trying to give her a compliment), but that doesn't change the fact that she's really upset. To her, the comment was rude, inappropriate, and offensive. She didn't know how to respond in the moment, and because she knows the person was not being intentionally offensive and hurtful, she doesn't know how to bring it back up to them. She has not spoken to them about it, but has instead come to you to talk about what happened.

Response:

1. Technically no, but this is at best a sexist/queerphobic microaggression and at worst a form of sexual harassment. The only reason I would not consider this a legitimate grievance is that Bianca is choosing not to submit it as a formal grievance and is instead requesting moral support and guidance. This is something I would want to communicate to her in this situation (after offering some emotional support) to make sure she's aware of the potential severity of this type of behavior and can make an informed choice about whether to file a formal grievance or not.
2. If Bianca filed a formal grievance and Dennis did not respond to deny the claim within 7 days, I would want to hear from people present when the conversation between the two happened. If there was online communication between the two, I would want to request records of it as well in order to understand what exactly was said in that medium. In addition to speaking to Bianca (to get more detail about her testimony) and Dennis (to hear his side of the story, although I doubt he's been misrepresented by Bianca in this situation), I would want to speak with other women, trans men, and non-binary people in the chapter who've interacted with Dennis to hear if they've experienced anything similar.
3. Depending on how pervasive Dennis's behavior is, recommended action might range from having a private conversation with him to inform him of the way in which what he said made others uncomfortable and suggest some educational resources regarding misogyny to temporarily suspending him from DSA SF events, spaces, and communication platforms. If this is a one-off incident for Dennis, I think voluntary mediation would be appropriate so he has an opportunity to understand the harm he caused and make amends. This depends in large part on his response to the grievance, though; if he apologizes and affirms the claim, it's likely that no remedial action is necessary, but if he fights it or engages in more bad behavior (especially retaliating against Bianca) then a temporary suspension and formal notice of expected behavior changes is probably necessary.

Candidate questions:

- 1. Why are you running for grievance officer? What qualities or experiences do you have that you think would make you a good GO?** I would like to ensure that DSA SF is a safe space for comrades of all sorts to participate in without being harassed, abused, belittled, dismissed, or otherwise made to feel like they aren't welcome or don't belong. In particular, I want to ensure that our chapter is one that looks out for and protects marginalized people instead of leaving them open to the systems of oppression that pervade our culture and society. As a queer woman, I've seen many instances where interpersonal conflict and harassment in queer spaces (both online and offline) has resulted in a toxic, uncomfortable environment due to a lack of capacity to determine the facts, hear all relevant perspectives with empathy, and take steps to work towards transformative justice. As grievance officer, I believe I can provide this capacity in order to investigate and resolve both conflict and abuse in a sensitive and judicious manner. And as community team lead, I believe my experience working on moderation policy for our online social spaces will be a useful resource to draw on in this position.
- 2. How will you navigate the line between personal and political conflicts when addressing the legitimacy for grievances. When does a political debate cross the line to being a grievance?** My perspective on where to draw this line is premised on the belief that, united in our commitment to socialism and anti-capitalism, we are all comrades and should therefore treat each other with respect and assume positive intent by default, even when we disagree strongly on important issues. Considering the Paradox of Tolerance, though, there is a point where if someone is acting disrespectful, cruel, or otherwise uncomradely we can no longer tolerate their behavior and must show that it is in fact unacceptable. Examples of things that cross the line in this way include but are not limited to harassment, intimidation, abuse, demeaning speech, or any form of bigotry. Much of this delineation is spelled out quite clearly in our Code of Conduct, but I don't believe it's possible to produce a complete enumeration of all forms of bad behavior. Even if a given behavior is not explicitly stated in our Code of Conduct or Bylaws, if it seems to be harming a member of our org or making them feel unsafe, I believe that is sufficient cause to consider it a potential violation. As an intersectional feminist, my perspective is that if any member of DSA (regardless of how much I like and/or trust them) is suspected or alleged to have caused harm in this way, it is my duty to take those allegations seriously, evaluate the truth of the matter, and potentially recommend disciplinary action against the offending comrade. To do this only when it is politically convenient would make me a hypocrite and an ally to survivors and victims in name only.
- 3. Did you attend the recent national GO training? What were your main takeaways?** I did not attend the recent national training; I was unable to make it due to a scheduling conflict.

TJ H Questionnaire

Scenario 1:

Background: Ernie R is a middle aged white man who has been involved with socialist organizing for the last few decades. Sarah S is a member who's been involved for the last 6 months.

Hi,

I'm writing to report a grievance against Ernie R. whose behavior in the Political Research Committee has been absolutely abhorrent, and in my opinion, against DSASF's values. Ernie is generally dismissive of the projects that I'm suggesting and is consistently jumping stack to state his opinion on whatever we're talking about.

This happened most recently when I suggested we host a panel with a few activists from the Mission, Castro, and Bayview to discuss different tactics groups have used across the times and neighborhoods to fight speculation, elect activists to office, and what they might have done differently. Ernie and several others had their hands raised for stack.

Sam, the meeting facilitator, called on Melissa to start stack and in the middle of her thought, Ernie just started going on a tangent about how the idea for a panel makes absolutely no sense.

This isn't the first time this sort of thing happened at our meetings, he is constantly speaking over others, shutting ideas down, and acting as if we're wrong if we don't follow his ideas.

I've asked several meeting facilitators and co-chairs to call out his behavior, but when he is called out, he keeps going.

I'm not sure what to do anymore. I want his behavior to stop.

In solidarity,

Sarah S.

Scenario 2:

Background: James is a member that's been organizing with DSASF for 1 year formerly as a rank and file member, now as a co-chair for the communications committee. Jon S has been a member of the chapter for 1 year and has held leadership positions in the chapter before.

I'm writing to file a formal grievance against Jon S for acting against the code of conduct and inciting bad faith debate in our communications committee meeting that occurred on March 17th, 2021. I set the agenda for the meeting as I always do, and this time around I decided it would be worthwhile to try and have a discussion about what steps we can take to make the communications we put out as a chapter resonate better with people of color. I was hoping for an honest, introspective discussion about how we can do better as a chapter when we talk about race. It's a problem that we face in the organization, but I think for the most part people want to fix it. Unfortunately, when we started discussing it Jon started getting visibly upset.

At one point a comrade suggested that anti-oppression trainings might be helpful for chapter leaders to go through. Jon immediately hopped on stack and started talking about how "anti oppression are incredibly liberal", it was a bit of a hostile point, but it wasn't anything we haven't heard.

He got on stack again and that's where I felt like things got really heated. He started making statements like "he's sick of white people telling him what is and isn't racist" and "that the white members are essentially tokenizing people of color" and "don't actually care about what happens to people of color, they're only in it to absolve their white guilt." He went on to say a lot of other things but he repeatedly told members to shut up and to quit if they wanted the organization to have more POC.

Overall, the tone was hostile and unproductive. I'm not sure how we're supposed to make a more welcoming space when we talk about race this way.

Scenario 3:

A member, Bianca, comes to you after a conversation with another member Dennis. She is queer, and is really upset by something another member said to her. In conversation, Dennis found out she had a girlfriend, and his response was: "But you'd look so good in a dress, any guy would want to date you." She says she doesn't want you to mention anything to Dennis – she just needed to share. She knows that the person did not mean to hurt her feelings (in fact, they may have been trying to give her a compliment), but that doesn't change the fact that she's really upset. To her, the comment was rude, inappropriate, and offensive. She didn't know how to respond in the moment, and because she knows the person was not being intentionally offensive and hurtful, she doesn't know how to bring it back up to them. She has not spoken to them about it, but has instead come to you to talk about what happened.

Scenario 1 Response

I think this could have potentially been addressed by Conflict Resolution earlier, but at this point, I do think it is a legitimate grievance. Specifically I see a potential violation of the Expected Behavior "Exercise consideration and respect in your speech and actions" from the chapter's Code of Conduct. There is also possibly a gendered component, given the described recipients

of Ernie's behavior are not men, which could qualify as trolling under the definition of harassment in the Code of Conduct as well as prohibited behavior under National DSA's Harassment Policy (Resolution 33).

To investigate, I would discuss it with Sarah, Sam, Melissa, and I would ask for the names of additional people involved so I could speak with them, particularly the meeting facilitators and co-chairs that Sarah says she has enlisted for help previously. I would also discuss it with Ernie.

As for a recommended course of action, it would depend on the length of history of this issue and how many times Ernie has been "called out." Formal notice of expected changes in behavior seems most appropriate, with a possibility for some type of temporary suspension depending on the history.

Scenario 2 Response

Yes, definitely a legitimate grievance, both as a violation of Expected Behavior (same as Scenario 1), as well as likely a form of harassment, creating a hostile organizing environment, particularly if Jon "repeatedly told members to shut up and to quit if they wanted the organization to have more POC." Topically, some of the race comments quoted are important things to discuss (e.g., tokenization, absolution of white guilt as motive, etc.), but James's description makes the tone and context seem both inconsiderate and disrespectful.

Investigating would include talking to both of them as well as others present at the committee meeting. I would give deep consideration to each individual's experience, particularly those of BIPOC comrades. I'd ask to see any existing recording or screenshots of the meeting and/or chat.

Recommended course of action would, to an extent, depend on the impact Jon's comments had on any BIPOC present. Additionally, chapter bylaws list "*substantial disagreement with the principles or policies of the organization*" as grounds for suspension, and the comment I quoted above is antithetical to the mission of DSA and socialism generally. After talking with members present, I would land somewhere between temporary suspension and formal notice of changes in expected behavior.

Scenario 3 Response

There are grounds for a grievance (sexual harassment), but a grievance needs a written complaint. As a comrade, I would listen and empathize. As a GO, I would talk about conflict resolution vs grievance, and likely recommend Bianca speak with CR privately to get support and better understand her options, should she want to speak to Dennis or pursue a grievance. With Bianca's permission, I might also speak to Steering about it anonymously.

Candidate questions:

- 1. Why are you running for grievance officer? What qualities or experiences do you have that you think would make you a good GO?**

I joined DSA in July 2020 and have primarily been involved in the Homelessness Working Group (HWG), currently as Mobilizer co-chair and a core organizer of the Hotels not Hospitals project. I'm interested in both serving and getting more involved with the chapter at-large, outside the cozy home of HWG. The GO role is of particular interest because I believe it is critical to our fight against capitalism that we address racism, sexism, and other marginalization within DSA SF, and having a good grievance process with integrity is an important part of doing that work. To facilitate that, I'm also interested in taking learnings from grievances and integrating them into broad chapter education on anti-oppression, anti-harassment, and Code of Conduct expectations.

I am a queer and trans person who was socialized as a woman, and I have a lifetime of lived experience of various forms of marginalization, hostility, discrimination, and harassment. I trust and prioritize the lived experience of other marginalized and oppressed people, and I work to better understand the experiences I haven't lived. I appreciate the ideal of impartiality but acknowledge and keep in mind the human condition of subjectivity. I am curious, inquisitive, empathetic, and a good listener. People find me easy to talk to and tend to open up to me. I admit and own when I'm wrong.

2. How will you navigate the line between personal and political conflicts when addressing the legitimacy for grievances. When does a political debate cross the line to being a grievance?

I think the distinguishing factors are the type of behavior and the impact on those experiencing the behavior. The Code of Conduct gives some good guidance on the spirit of expected, comradely behavior. There is a difference between lively political debate and uncomradely behavior. There is an even bigger difference between lively political debate and a hostile organizing environment. Significant weight should be given to the person or people experiencing harm.

3. Did you attend the recent national GO training? What were your main takeaways?

Yes, I attended the first hour. I learned a lot about Resolution 33, the grievance process and the role of the GO within the process, and some guidance for how investigations are done. One takeaway that really stood out was learning that the standard by which an allegation is deemed credible is whether it is "more likely than not" to have occurred, which aligns the outcome of the process more toward the person(s) harmed.

Committee/WG Reportbacks

Justice Committee

Overview

Historically, the Justice Committee's work has been largely guided by our overarching purpose to engage in work to abolish the prison industrial complex. Projects were chosen based on committee member interest and capacity without necessarily being driven by discussions around longer term goals or power building. As a result, our work has often been reactionary.

Our two main projects from the past year were developed as a reaction to current events -- the pandemic wreaking havoc amongst incarcerated populations and the murder of George Floyd, which generated seemingly unprecedented energy and opportunity around defunding the police.

In response, we partnered with the Science Policy Group at UCSF to produce hand sanitizer and distribute it to incarcerated people and we collaborated with the Afrosocialists and Socialists of Color Caucus to create DefundSFPDNow.

A selection of accomplishments from the past year

May 2020

- We continued our partnership with the Science Policy at UCSF to produce and deliver hand sanitizer to incarcerated people. Over the course of the year, we produced and delivered 43,000 bottles to jails and prisons and 19,000 bottles to the Navajo Nation.

June 2020

- Successfully organized against the confirmation of Nancy Tung and Geoffrey Gordon-Creed to the Police Commission.
- DefundSFPDNow was founded and began engaging in community outreach and coalition building, budget analysis, targeted flyering, city hall voicemail/email campaigns, social media posts, [op-ed](#) writing, and more.
- DefundSFPDNow published the first version of its [budget analysis](#).

July 2020

- Defund began having supervisor meetings to present our policing budget analysis. Over the course of the year, we engaged in more than 30 meetings with supervisors and staff.
- Organized 16 hours of public comments calling for the abolition of SFPD and the elimination of the minimum SFPD staffing requirement in the city charter

- Successfully pressured Supervisor Yee to change the Prop E language to eliminate pro-policing language from the amendment
- Organized 205 hours of voicemails to supervisor offices demanding the defunding of SFPD

August 2020

- Organized a direct action targeting Supervisor Ronen who was refusing to advocate for reducing the number of SFPD officers. After the direct action, she began advocating for a reduction. In addition, we formed invaluable partnerships with grassroots organizers during this event.
- Organized a direct action targeting Supervisor Yee
- Organized two additional multi-hour public comments
- DSASF endorsed DefundSFPDNow

September 2020

- Organized a direct action in the Mission calling for a defund of SFPD with hundreds of attendees
- City budget is passed and SFPD receives the most significant defunding of any police department in California and one of the largest in the country
- Organized public comments and a direct action against a renegotiated POA contract
- Organized a rapid response direct action in response to the grand jury ruling in the murder of Breonna Taylor
- Established a PAC to support our Prop E campaign
- Organized a postcard writing campaign and engaged in phone/text banking in support of Prop E

October 2020

- Organized a direct action in response to the SFPD murder of Cesar Vargas
- Provided material support for the family of Cesar Vargas
- Organized community gathering in response to the SFPD Town Hall on the killing of Cesar Vargas
- Organized public comment, held supervisor meetings, and built coalition around reject the POA contract

November 2020

- Prop E passed with an overwhelming majority
- Organized a direct action and public comments demanding the Board of Supervisors reject the POA contract
- Organized a rapid response direct action in response to an SFPD shooting

December 2020

- Engaged in structured discussions about goal setting and power building for the upcoming year and beyond

- Collaborated with Hotels not Hospitals to advocate for #30RightNow and keeping SIP hotels open

January 2020

- Organized public comment at the inaugural BoS meeting calling for the abolition of SFPD
- Provided material support and engaged in a public pressure campaign in support of Jamaica Hampton, a victim of police violence.

February 2020

- Discussed and formalized principles, values, goals, and projects for the upcoming year.

March 2020

- Trained canvassers and canvassed the mission talking to people about public safety without policing.
- Created a zine explaining abolitionism

April 2020

- Organized a community event that showcased organizations that build and promote life affirming care
- Organized a direct action in response to the police killings of Daunte Wright and Roger Allen

Reflecting on our goals

The Hand Sanitizer Project

The original goal of the hand sanitizer project was to distribute hand sanitizer to San Francisco jails once. Instead, the project continues to this day and has served about 25% of the entire incarcerated population in California. This project went above and beyond anything we had anticipated.

DefundSFPDNow

Formal Goals

About two months into the campaign (August), we established four goals:

1. To identify and demand as many budget cuts as possible to the 2020-2021 SFPD and Sheriff's budget
2. To partner with community organizations and individuals on how these cuts should be reinvested into the SF community.

3. To eliminate the charter requirement for 1,971 police officers in San Francisco by passing Prop E in the November 2020 election
4. To organize alongside abolitionist organizations to advance the overarching goal of police and prison abolition.

We largely achieved these goals -- we completed an extensive line item budget analysis and advocated for it. We partnered and advocated alongside community organizations for reinvestments into life affirming care and to abolish the PIC. Prop E passed by a significant majority. However, it requires a deeper dive into our challenges, mistakes, and successes to ascertain a meaningful reflection of the past year.

Challenges and Mistakes

We made countless mistakes along the way. We harbored a naivete with regard to how deeply entrenched pro-police interests are amongst politicians, organized labor, and non-profit organizations. We spent disproportionate amounts of time trying to pressure and/or coalition build with these institutions, but they proved to be deeply invested in the status quo.

In addition, we found ourselves fighting a war on two fronts -- these existing institutions on one side and DSASF on the other. Our work was subject to relentless scrutiny from the chapter and already overextended organizers were subject to harassment and insults on forum and forced to attend tribunals to justify the strategies they had deep expertise in. Many members of the chapter directly harmed Justice Committee organizers and that harm was never meaningfully recognized or addressed. As a result, several Justice Committee members have declared their intention to not renew their DSA dues in the upcoming year. In hindsight, we should've created more of an air gap between Defund and DSASF until we were convinced that DSASF was prepared to support Black Liberation work.

Successes and Lessons Learned

Despite the challenges and mistakes we made, it's difficult to describe our engagement with Defund as anything but an overwhelming success.

Internally, it's hard to overstate how valuable the campaign has been at radicalizing and growing organizers as well as developing a clear and deeply held internal politic through shared struggle. We threw ourselves into the fire and suffered a few burns, but developed an incredible depth of expertise in coalition building, power mapping, policy research, direct action organizing, mutual aid, and so much more.

Externally, we built lasting partnerships with grassroots organizers, established a consistent presence in the press and in city hall, brought together our community via several direct actions and public comments, materially supported the victims of police violence, and engaged in political education efforts via social media and teach-ins.

Building on what we learned over the past year, we engaged in thoughtful, deliberate discussions in which we formalized our principles, values, goals through a dual power framework. We elucidated our theory of change and committed ourselves to engaging in significantly more alternate institution building.

In summary, we were able to take a time of chaotic energy following the murder of George Floyd and direct some of it towards an effective, thoughtful, and sustainable organization that builds power, advances socialism and abolitionism, and punches far above its weight.

Education Committee

At the beginning of this year, what was it that you set out to do?

The Education Committee both operates some relatively fixed offerings, but also focuses on remaining as open as possible to offering resources driven by current events, member interest and circumstances. Thus, in June 2020, there was an informal commitment to continuing our fixed offerings (at that moment, our two reading series in Classic and Contemporary Socialism.) Beyond those, we expected to continue to try to build offerings as determined by how quickly and well on-line events were adopted by the DSA SF student body.

To what extent did you achieve what you set out to accomplish?

The primary concern starting in June 2020 was whether the structures of our previous in-person events would translate at all into virtual formats, and further, what the attendance levels would be. As the year went on, on both measures we were successful – our formats did translate into virtual life and our attendance levels were higher than previously. In addition, we tended to have more potential DSA members than previously, indicating that our offerings were now functioning more as a lure to join DSA than the live events had previously. We also spread our audience geography, with attendees regularly appearing from throughout the country and even having international visitors.

We often think of our overall metric as follows: it is a qualitative mix of interesting or particularly successful presentation(s), attendance levels, uniqueness of offering (particularly in regard to speakers or advanced texts), and frequency of offerings, as well as formal and informal feedback.

Upon these metrics, we conclude that San Francisco DSA's education program is considerably superior to all the DSA chapters in the nation whose programs we have examined.

Lessons learned

The most pleasant surprise of the past year was the quick uptake of the DSA membership to virtual meetings and classes. Our committee was concerned that our attendance would fall from in-person levels and that discussion and participation would decline in a virtual environment. Instead, the reverse happened and our attendance levels and participation quality increased.

That reminds us all that changing circumstances can be opportunities in disguise, even when the times are hard!

Ecosocialists Year-End Reportback

May 2021

Author: Emily A., co-chair, Tyler C. B., mobilizer

Prompt questions:

1. At the beginning of this year, what was it that you set out to do? If your committee or working group had a plan, please include or summarize. If you were using your charter as a template for activity, please state explicitly. If you did not do either, please let us know if you had specific (or even non-specific) goals for the year and what those were.
2. To what extent did you achieve what you set out to accomplish? To the extent that you have both qualitative and quantitative metrics you may have used to guide your goals, please let us know how that went. Were there specific items that didn't go well, or that you had set out to accomplish, but were unable to? Please name them.
3. Lessons learned: in reflecting on the work you set out to do for the year, and the extent to which you were or were not able to achieve those goals, what are some take-aways from your work? If you had a "do-over" what would you do differently? Were there specific hindrances to completing what you set out to accomplish, & if so what are you doing/will you do to move things forward as we enter the next chapter?

At the beginning of this year, our committee was reeling from the onset of COVID-19 and shelter in place, and a lot of our goal at that time was simply to continue what work could be done. We had previously (in March of 2020) hosted our [Green New Deal campaign kickoff](#), but with the chaos that came with the pandemic, a lot of goals set at this event were neglected. As co-chair, I admit I was neglectful of this document as we forged ahead during uncertain times. Additionally, the kickoff goals could be interpreted as multi-year goals that don't need to be fulfilled in 365 days.

From these above two stated goals (simple survival OR sticking to the pre-pandemic plan) we have wildly different metrics for success. We either kicked it out of the park (not just surviving, but thriving, enacting many new projects and keeping momentum high throughout the year) or we stumbled (not achieving many of the goals laid out before the pandemic, such as Climate Strike support). Reflecting on the GND Kickoff document now, I can see a few plans that were simply unachievable.

Here is a simple audit of our [goals](#):

- **Art/Design/Media:**
 - Art builds: While many important protests and rallies occurred over the last year, the big year of climate strikes (and the office-based art builds) we were anticipating simply didn't happen. We did attend one art build in preparation for Bayview Hunters Point's "We Can't Breathe" protest, but unfortunately that event was also canceled (due to poor air quality during the fire season).
 - Social media and zine development: we were able to launch our wildly popular zine, "[What Is Ecosocialism?](#)", and develop a series of social media campaigns for public comment priorities, including green social housing ([here](#) and [here](#)), [air quality](#), and Free Muni
- **Narrative/Outreach/Writing:** We didn't publish any op eds that I am aware of, but thanks to our Local Action Tracker Project (launched this year) we have been able to sign on to a ton of letters in support (including calling on London Breed to correctly use

Prop I funds, support for YvA's protest calling on CALSTRS to divest from Line 3, and support for Environmental Justice for the Bayview Hunters Point and Treasure Island). Through our public comment work toward the end of the year, the Local Action team put together a formidable cache of language for our public comment scripts for Free Muni, Prop I, and Air Quality work.

- **Research and Policy:** No formal research that I recall was conducted. Lots of informal research occurred to plan potential projects (mask-making, script writing, resolution drafting, zine planning). We now also have a committee member on the SF Public Utility Commission's Citizens' Advisory Committee, keeping tabs on the city's power, water and sewer systems.
- **Electoral:** We fully lived in our electoral goals, bringing our EcoSoc framing and energy to chapter priorities, including the Jackie Fielder campaign, Props I and K for green social housing, and nationally for the PRO Act.
 - **Jackie Fielder For State Senate campaign:** We framed our support for Jackie Fielder as our support for a truly ecosocialist candidate, committing hard to help her win. She didn't win, but she won 40% of the vote against a popular candidate, and the organizing power we gained turning out our members for this event will make us stronger for future elections. Through our phone banks we were able to speak with non-DSA Jackie volunteers about ecosocialism and how our committee is related to Jackie's campaign.
 - **Prop I and K for Green Social Housing:** We also turned out members in support of text banks and GOTV for Yes on I and K - which both passed. We have stayed with Prop I after its passage, fighting to make sure it is used as intended. During the public comment periods in support of Prop I, we use our script not only to support Prop I, but to offer a political slant that shows everyone at the meeting who we are as a committee and what we're about.
 - **Pass the PRO Act!** As a national DSA and DSA Ecosocialists priority, our committee co-led with the LOC our chapter involvement, turning out members for phonebanks, coordinating a Town Hall with EBDSA and Silicon Valley DSA, and coordinating members and bringing out energy to the May Day rally.
 - We worked with local politicians, meetings with Dean's staff and other politicians relating to the BAAQMD, Free Muni, CCA's, etc
 - Support Alliance with Communities for Better Environment to protect public health across the bay,
 -
- **Direct Action/Mutual Aid:**
 - We were able to support Youth vs. Apocalypse's work to divest CALSTRS from Line 3 and other fossil fuels.
 - We also worked with the Homelessness Working Group and other DSA Chapters to distribute N95 masks where they were needed during the horrific August/September fires.
 - We joined and co-led a multi-chapter solidarity campaign for mutual aid for direct relief for Navajo Nation, raising important funds via phone banks and having

conversations with indigenous activists and leaders locally and in the Southwest as a development of our Red Deal commitments

- **“General”**: I don’t think we did anything to connect us to legal support this year. We collaborated a little with other chapters and with National in our PRO Act work and in supporting local chapters’ N95 mask needs. We did not collaborate with many other organizations, but the ones we did work with were our best: Youth vs. Apocalypse and the Bayview Hunters Point community. We didn’t do a lot to connect with the labor community locally, but we were able to engage in it nationally via our engagement in the PRO Act campaign.

Additionally, we are so lucky to have gone above and beyond our original goals. We were able to turn our members out to multiple opportunities for public comment, in support of Free Muni, Prop I fund allocation, and other events. We jumped on an opportunity to engage in the inter-chapter DSA phone bank to fundraise for direct relief for the Navajo Nation. Our political education game was also very strong this year. We hosted an event, “Introduction to the Red Deal” early on in the pandemic - an early win as we recovered from the initial calamitous effects of moving our meetings online and losing one of our largest projects, the Climate Strike. We also ran two book clubs with attendance from DSA members (locally and internationally!) and are set up well to continue that series into the future. Our work connecting with National in supporting the PRO Act was also great and was not anticipated in the GND Kickoff goals.

Loose Timeline of This Year’s Accomplishments:

- May 2020:
 - [Hosted a presentation covering the Red Deal](#) for current and prospective DSA members
- July 2020:
 - Launched Ecosocialist Phonebanking event for Jackie Fielder, ongoing through the November election
 - Launched the internal organizing special meetings, which eventually produced our Points of Unity and guidelines for committee structure and decision making.
- August 2020:
 - Launched the Local Action Tracker Project, which was later used to turn out public comment for various city and regional meetings covering topics that were important to us (including proper allocation of Prop I funds, Free Muni, air quality policy, and other things)
- September 2020:
 - Worked to distribute N95 masks to the city (in partnership with the Homelessness WG) and to other chapters in need (including Chico, East Bay, Santa Cruz, and Central Coast chapters). This effort also replenished the personal stash of N95s that DSA SF donated to local hospitals at the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic.
 - Intensified phonebanking efforts, doubling their scheduling.
- October 2020:
 - Released the popular zine “What is Ecosocialism?”, which was the [most-liked DSA SF Instagram post of 2020](#)

- November 2020:
 - Turned out member to GOTV events supporting Jackie Fielder and Yes on I & K
- December 2020:
 - Launched an Ecosocialist book club, first reading Ashley Dawson's *People's Power* (author attended one session, guests from Reclaim Our Power)
- January 2021:
 - Launched the inter-chapter project "Navajo Nation COVID Relief Phone-banking," raising funds for on-the-ground mutual aid, hosting conversations on the Red Deal, socialist solidarity with indigenous organizing (with EBDSA, and chapters in the Southwest including Santa Fe, Phoenix, and Albuquerque)
- March 2021:
 - Hosted a virtual zine-folding party and distributed the "What is Ecosocialism?" zine
 - Hosted the second book club series, reading Silvia Federici's *Re-enchanting the World*.
- April 2021:
 - Attended an Earth Day protest with Bayview Hunters Point residents demanding environmental justice for their heavily polluted community.
 - Co-organized and led [Pass the PRO Act Townhall](#), rallied chapter membership to PRO Act phonebanks
- May 2021
 - Co-organized May Day Rally with LOC

Labor Organizing Committee

Introduction

Over the last year, the Labor Organizing Committee (LOC) has worked on a number of projects and campaigns consistent with the scope of work outlined in our charter. We held a committee convention / strategy session in January, 2021 to plan and strategize for the coming calendar year. From that meeting, we developed and passed resolutions to set up a labor circles program, develop a training and leadership development program, and establish LOC liaisons to interface with other committees and working groups in the chapter.

Labor Census

As outlined in our charter, we set out to conduct a survey of chapter membership to determine where they work, whether they belong to a union, and their workplace organizing interests. We spent the Summer and Fall of 2020 designing the Labor Census and rolled it out in November of 2020. We currently have ~250 members in the census database and have used this data for a number of organizing tasks, including looking for members to take a job in support of a workplace campaign, expanding a labor circle, mobilizing members for labor-relevant actions, and strategizing around potential new labor circles. A major goal going forward is to expand the number of members in the Census database. To do this we will need to focus our efforts on phonebanking members to fill out their surveys or think of other ways to get members to fill out their labor census.

Labor Circles

We established a labor circles program at our strategy meeting in January, 2021. We currently have two labor circles, the scope and goals of which are described below:

ILWU members labor circle: This labor circle builds upon our relationship with ILWU members in the Bay Area. The primary focus of the circle is to build upon our organizing work, such as the work we've done with Anchor, Tartine, and Dandelion workers in order to push the working class movement forward in SF, and bring more workers into contact with DSA.

Education workers labor circle: This labor circle will forge connections between teachers and other workers in the field of education, from K-12 schools to local colleges and universities. Our main objective is to create networks that can exchange information and resources in struggles that might otherwise be confined to a particular district or campus. We recognize that the success of teachers' strikes in recent years has been made possible by support from the broader communities where they were situated. In striving to build the alliances and networks that are crucial for this kind of community support, we recognize that it is necessary to organize semi-autonomously from our unions. While most of us are active members of our local unions (CFA, AFT, UESF, etc.), we know union bureaucracies have also frequently been an impediment to class struggle. With this labor circle, we hope to create a space where socialist educators can organize, exchange information, and form networks that enable us to link our local struggles and agitate for more aggressive actions.

We have developed a plan to establish labor circles as a chapter-endorsed project and expand participation in them such that every member of the chapter can engage in organizing work in their workplace, sector or union. In addition to expanding labor circles, it will be critical in the coming year to identify the best practices for strategy and structure of labor circles. This will require some careful thought and reflection among those participating in circles and among the committee.

Dandelion & Tartine campaigns

Over the last year, LOC members worked with ILWU organizers to help workers at Tartine Bakery and Dandelion chocolate organize a union drive at their workplaces. After a period of underground organizing, Tartine workers took their campaign public in March of 2020, and shortly thereafter the NLRB administered a union election. After the COVID-19 pandemic began, Tartine laid off many of their workers and permanently closed a location in Berkeley. Tartine management then delayed union certification for a full year through a series of ballot challenges and appeals to the NLRB. In March of 2021, the NLRB finally closed the door on management's challenges, and Tartine workers won their union. Due to the COVID-related layoffs and the intervening delays, many worker-organizers had moved on to other work, and the present task for Tartine workers, now organized with ILWU local 6, is to re-organize for contract negotiations. LOC will continue to support these workers as they re-organize their hard-won union.

In March of 2020, workers at Dandelion Chocolate took their organizing drive public. An NLRB election in April saw a close tally, with Yes votes slightly outnumbering No, but there are enough challenged ballots to put the results in question. Dandelion workers are currently awaiting the resolution of these challenge ballots.

Throughout each of these campaigns, LOC was directly involved in helping workers organize and, once the campaigns went public, mobilized the broader DSA SF membership to come out in support of these workers for rallies, canvassing and solidarity campaigns. The committee is extremely proud of the relationship we have built with these workers and with the ILWU. A major goal for the future is to reproduce these successes in more workplaces and with more LOC organizers getting directly involved in workplace campaigns.

Trainings & leadership development

In the Spring and Summer of 2020, we supported the Emergency Workplace Organizing Campaign (EWOC) training program by encouraging chapter members to participate in the program and holding spaces for DSA SF members to discuss what they learned in EWOC. We also developed a series of Labor Organizing Zines to communicate the basics of workplace organizing campaigns as a training tool. As a part of our plan for training & leadership development, passed in January 2021, we are developing a series of regular labor organizing trainings that we hope to roll out this summer.

Conclusion

The COVID-19 pandemic threw some of our external organizing work into disarray, but on the whole this work has been some of the most exciting, successful and visible organizing our committee has done over the last year. We have taken this remote year to re-tool and re-orient some of our strategy, and we are hopeful that by focusing on ways to build out the organizing capacity of the committee, we can reproduce some of our successes in workplace organizing in the coming year and expand them to new sectors and unions. Doing this will require a deeper bench of experienced organizers and more structures to support organizing campaigns. We hope that we can achieve this through the labor circles and training & leadership development programs.

Writing Committee

At the beginning of this year, what was it that you set out to do? If your committee or working group had a plan, please include or summarize. If you were using your charter as a template for activity, please state explicitly. If you did not do either, please let us know if you had specific (or even non-specific) goals for the year and what those were.

To what extent did you achieve what you set out to accomplish? To the extent that you have both qualitative and quantitative metrics you may have used to guide your goals, please let us know how that went. Were there specific items that didn't go well, or that you had set out to accomplish, but were unable to? Please name them.

Lessons learned: in reflecting on the work you set out to do for the year, and the extent to which you were or were not able to achieve those goals, what are some take-aways from your work? If you had a "do-over" what would you do differently? Were there specific hindrances to completing what you set out to accomplish, & if so what are you doing/will you do to move things forward as we enter the next chapter?

The Writing Committee set some lofty, but informal goals for the year 2020-2021. The committee had a leadership change that invigorated some new life. The main goal for this year was to get our venture off the ground. We launched a new website, San Francisco Independent Journal, to promote leftist news in San Francisco.

For the San Francisco Independent Journal, we had high hopes of producing up to 3 articles a week. We did not meet this goal but have worked hard to keep the site regularly updated. The site has seen moderate growth in its first year -- we've had about 3,300 users so far on the site.

The chairs determined that the most important way to increase the regularity and quality of SFIJ content would be to join processes and structures with the Comms Team. We wrote a resolution for the June Convention that we hope will pass and allow the Communications Team to be an effective mouthpiece for DSA SF and our allies.

We changed the committee meetings to have a more effective approach to editing and housekeeping needs. Previously, we went with a more ad-hoc approach each week. In place, we established bi-weekly agenda meetings as well as monthly pitch meetings. We have found the change to the bi-weekly agenda effective. This allows us to have more focused agendas and workflows.

In the 2020-2021 year, the Writing Committee also ceded responsibilities of the website to the CCC and Comms team. This has led to more consistent updates to the page instead of the irregular approach previously taken by Writing.

We will be improving on some of our goals while we hope to transition into a new committee after the chapter convention. We have always been a committee that struggles with retention. We need to find a better way to retain writers and attract more members to our committee, and we are hopeful that work structured in bite-sized pieces (like CCC) will improve our retention rates.

The Writing Committee has prepared a resolution for June's Chapter Convention to transform the committee into a more outward-facing propaganda instrument. This type of proactive propaganda venture has been a long time coming. We hope that the committee will receive the chapter support that it needs in order to propel this venture forward.

Tenant Solidarity Annual Reportback

Date: April 2021

Authors: Harvey W., Marti D, Swetha P, Lizzie M.

Goals of this Reportback	1
Background on the Tenant Solidarity Committee	1
Timeline	1
Successes	3
Challenges	4
Lessons	5
Recommendations	5
Retrospective	6
At the beginning of this year, what was it that you set out to do?	6
To what extent did you achieve what you set out to accomplish?	6
Lessons learned: in reflecting on the work you set out to do for the year, and the extent to which you were or were not able to achieve those goals, what are some take-aways from your work? If you had a “do-over” what would you do differently? Were there specific hindrances to completing what you set out to accomplish, & if so what are you doing/will you do to move things forward as we enter the next chapter?	7

Goals of this Reportback

1. To inform DSA SF about the last year of the Tenant Solidarity Committee’s work.
2. To provide an opportunity for the Tenant Solidarity Committee to review its own work and learn from its successes and challenges.

Background on the Tenant Solidarity Committee

Timeline

April 2020 - DSA SF [adopted a resolution](#) containing a [set of COVID-19 demands](#). These demands included the following declaration:

"We must promote and support all tenants’ efforts to stay in their homes even after the state of emergency has ended. This means facilitating the formation of tenants

associations in buildings as well as among tenants of particular corporate landlords, and fighting for rent freezes, rent reductions, and rent suspensions. **DSA SF will establish a Tenant Solidarity provisional working group to coordinate and promote these efforts."**

May - June 2020 - Matt M, Shanti S, and Harvey W. met to discuss the establishment of this provisional working group and submitted a PWG application with Shanti S and Harvey W as co-chairs. The PWG held its first full meeting on July 30th after necessary outreach and administrative work was completed. Shivi S. replaced Shanti S. as co-chair and helped form the working group's core policies and procedures along with Harvey W.

July 30th and September 2020 - the provisional working group fulfilled its initial tasks as outlined in its [charter](#).

- Outreach to draw DSA SF organizers into this effort by advertising on the chapter forum, facebook, twitter, chapter meetings, etc.
- Identify and make connections to partner orgs (TANC, SFTU, Tenants Together, HRC, etc)
- Establish a line of communication with partner orgs
- Build up a tenant solidarity framework for the chapter, starting with a system to refer tenant council cases to TANC.

September 2020 - After 4 full meetings the Provisional Working Group submitted a resolution to become a [full committee](#) which passed at the November 2020 general meeting. Swetha P. and Marti D. were elected as co-chairs with Lizzie M. as Mobilizer. All continue to serve as of April 2020.

The new committee included the following priorities:

- Outreach to draw DSA SF organizers into this effort.
- Building a tenant solidarity framework for the chapter, including a system for outreach and intake of tenants, and referral of tenants based on their needs to partner orgs (TANC, SFTU, Tenants Together, HRC, ACCE) with an emphasis on forming tenant associations and councils.
- Supporting tenant actions including eviction defense, court blockades, and rallies in solidarity with tenants (rather than on behalf of tenants).
- Helping run tenants' rights workshops.

December 2020 - The Committee was approached by both Dean Preston's office and the Anti-Displacement Coalition about the potential for collaboration and coalition building. Unfortunately, due to low capacity across the committee neither ended up resulting in action or recurring contact. Dean's office reached out looking for some tenants' rights training and making connections with tenants in D5. The Anti-Displacement Coalition reached out about DSA SF

potentially joining the Anti-Displacement Coalition and to generally check in on our organizing work.

March - April 2021 - The Committee looked at the possibility of expanding its work to more fundamental tenant organizing and looking for chapter-wide opportunities for tenant organizing. It is currently exploring its role in a pilot version of a chapter-wide Neighborhood Solidarity Program as an opportunity to expand upon its successes below and address some of the challenges it faced including the limitations of its priorities and the limited capacity of the committee.

Retrospective

At the beginning of this year, what was it that you set out to do?

The Committee is chartered with the following priorities:

- Outreach to draw DSA SF organizers into this effort.
- Building a tenant solidarity framework for the chapter, including a system for outreach and intake of tenants, and referral of tenants based on their needs to partner orgs (TANC, SFTU, Tenants Together, HRC, ACCE) with an emphasis on forming tenant associations and councils.
- Supporting tenant actions including eviction defense, court blockades, and rallies in solidarity with tenants (rather than on behalf of tenants).
- Helping run tenants' rights workshops.

Furthermore, in January of 2021, Tenant Solidarity democratically created and voted to adopt a set of [6 month goals](#). These goals were based on current existing projects, our desire to grow committee capacity, and our own perceived limitations like lack of multi-lingual support.

To what extent did you achieve what you set out to accomplish?

To the extent that you have both qualitative and quantitative metrics you may have used to guide your goals, please let us know how that went. Were there specific items that didn't go well, or that you had set out to accomplish, but were unable to? Please name them.

Successes

- Between **July 2020 and April 2021** the committee achieved the following:

- Created a committee intake form and promoted it on the chapter forum, social media, and at general meetings. **Grew the email group to 95+ people and active membership to about 10-15 members.**
- Created **robust policies and procedures** including roster and attendance tracking, an OpSec policy, a leadership and election guide, a process for endorsing events, and a “How to be co chair and Mobilizer” guide for future leaders of the committee. All can be found in the [Admin](#) folder.
- **Developed a Tenant Referral Framework.** This framework included two parts: outreach and intake of tenants and referral to partner organizations.
 - Reached out to partner organizations to determine the best method to refer tenants to them and developed a flowchart to connect tenants to the best organization that fit their needs.
 - Created a tenant intake form and worked with tech to create a URL on the chapter website (<http://dsasf.org/tenants>). Designed flyers and graphics to promote the referral framework. Posted the URL and graphics on the chapter Twitter and Instagram and ~10 members helped print and post flyers and drop off referral advertisements around the city on telephone poles, laundromats, cafes, etc.
 - Created an intake script with trauma-informed language which included the referral flowchart and maintained a spreadsheet with tenant referral status and a schedule for the referral captain to regularly checking tenant intake submissions and make sure someone was assigned to the tenant.
 - Several tenants were referred to organizations for legal advice and other needs.
 - Developed an OpSec policy to protect tenant confidentiality and limit access to sensitive
- Promoted **eviction defense trainings** in the committee and the chapter which were held by TANC (Tenant and Neighborhood Councils) and by the Housing Rights Committee’s Emergency Response Network. Several Committee members attended these trainings and took notes to share with the committee membership.
- Developed a **“postcard project”** to identify buildings with high vacancy and send postcards to existing tenants encouraging them to lower their rent. This would allow the Committee to do direct outreach to tenants without in-person interaction during the pandemic. Organizers identified buildings and tenants and wrote several postcards but have yet to send them due to lack of capacity to develop a method for tenants to contact organizers for advice/support for rent negotiations.
- Developed a **sustainable leadership culture** with a good distribution of work to prevent burnout.
- **Fostered a culture** in which all committee leaders have been either women of color or LGBTQ.
- We were able to establish an **Outreach Motivator role** to support the referral framework as well as create a one page eviction defense plan to use when mobilizing for eviction defense.

- We had **partial success across a few of our 6-month goals**. We identified 3 buildings with >1/3 vacancy (out of our goal of 5) and made a modest amount of outreach contacts across several districts in San Francisco (against our goal of 50 in each district). About half of the active committee members are trained to participate in the San Francisco Eviction Response Network through the Westside Tenants Association.

Lessons learned: in reflecting on the work you set out to do for the year, and the extent to which you were or were not able to achieve those goals, what are some take-aways from your work? If you had a “do-over” what would you do differently? Were there specific hindrances to completing what you set out to accomplish, & if so what are you doing/will you do to move things forward as we enter the next chapter?

Challenges

- While the referral framework has been running for several months, only a few tenants have been processed through it. There are a few reasons for this:
 - Deferral of evictions through governmental policy. There simply haven't been many evictions happening in San Francisco. This will inevitably change as time passes and COVID-19 eviction protections expire.
 - Limited ability to do in-person outreach to tenants. COVID-19 has made it difficult to knock on doors or organize other more personal methods of reaching out to tenants.
 - Lack of committee capacity around outreach to tenants. More outreach would likely lead to a greater flow of intake into the referral framework.
- Lack of deep tenant organizing opportunities
 - While the Committee has developed a referral framework and begun to train its members on eviction defense, it has not done meaningful work around building tenant associations or doing fundamental tenant organizing. It was always the committee's intent to focus on keeping its goals modest at first and focus on referral to existing organizations, but organizers increasingly see the need for fundamental tenant organizing. While the Committee does refer tenants to TANC for that purpose, their San Francisco chapter is nascent and our Committee would like to see DSA SF do more direct tenant organizing in the future.
- The postcard project has stalled due to lack of capacity and difficulty finding a way for tenants to contact us for support in rent negotiations.
- Active committee membership has tapered over the last few months in 2021.

- We were not able to follow up on increasing our language capacity needs, despite receiving a few responses from Spanish and Tagalog speakers from some social media posts and newsletter ads. We also didn't find any opportunities for eviction defense mobilization

Lessons

- Organizing during a pandemic is hard. Once organizers can doorknock and talk to tenants in person the possibilities for tenant organizing will increase.
- Lack of accessible and actionable projects for new members could lead to higher rates of churn and kept capacity low even as the roster appeared to grow. Finding ways to engage new members and harness their energy and excitement around organizing in a productive way would help address some of our limitations.
- Capacity in a silo-ed committee is limited. Because the tenant association movement in San Francisco is not robust, it's difficult for a small group to make progress on that front. In order to meaningfully develop a robust tenant organizing campaign it may help to establish a chapter-wide commitment through a chapter priority, or to join an existing city coalition which as yet does not exist.
- In terms of "doing it all over again," a major miss was not taking advantage of the chance to find ways for committee and chapter members to have safe, positive interactions with their own neighbors during the pandemic without necessarily bringing up tenant action or legal aid. For example, handing out masks or other PPE like hand sanitizer to our neighbors or identifying elderly neighbors who might want help with groceries early in the pandemic. Smaller, localized, and solidarity building projects like this could have been a great ice breaker for folks in their buildings or neighborhoods while having a positive impact and building trust.
- In terms of the type and scope of our work, while tenant protections are great, winning them is ultimately a different model of organizing than collective tenant action.

Recommendations

- Continue the tenant referral framework in anticipation of the potential flood of evictions after COVID-19 relief is lifted.
- Look for opportunities to pivot the core of the work from silo-ed chapter projects to chapter-wide opportunities for tenant organizing to take advantage of the critical mass or capacity that chapter-wide work offers and silo-ed community work lacks. At the moment Tenant Solidarity is exploring potential collaborations with comrades organizing around a potential Neighborhood Solidarity Program pilot.
- Create projects and campaigns with clear winnable goals and benchmarks to celebrate. This helps engage members and ensure the work is directed towards real material progress.

- Look for opportunities to build coalition with other organizations doing tenant union work. There is not currently a lot of this work occurring but DSA SF should be prepared to foster and join it, keeping in mind that organizations DSA SF forms coalition with should share the chapter's socialist principles as closely as possible.
- Direct DSA SF's tenant organizing towards building solidarity with marginalized communities in San Francisco, particularly BIPOC communities.
 - Black communities in particular have faced systemic racism in housing throughout San Francisco's history, facing a disproportionate effect of gentrification¹. 37% of people experiencing homelessness are Black while they make up only 6% of the general population². Women of color suffer the highest eviction rates and housing-cost burden, and Black and Indigenous people experience the highest rates of homelessness³.
 - Tenant organizing offers an opportunity to a) build multi-racial working class/poor people's power around a critical point of class tension (tenancy among both housed and unhoused neighbors), and b) expand DSA SF's demographics to be less cis-het-white-male-tech oriented membership. Practically, this means taking a two pronged approach: a) educating internally about how to do anti-oppressive tenant organizing, and b) ensuring our external work is inclusive (e.g. adding language accessibility when possible) and that we explicitly focusing on buildings and neighborhoods with historically BIPOC communities, working in solidarity, learning, and adapting to community needs in a dialectical fashion rather than a one-directional, intrusive, or top-down fashion.

Homelessness Working Group

Given the immediate and unexpected challenges posed to our unhoused neighbors by the COVID-19 pandemic, Homelessness Working Group's actions over the past year have been more reactive than strategic. Early attempts at sequestering our unhoused neighbors in group shelter settings (such as MSC-South), directly cost lives and health, and set the tone for a City pandemic response that was almost wholly negligent of our unhoused neighbors - not necessarily a break from business as usual for the City, but disappointing nonetheless in the face of an inescapable public health crisis.

In the past year, showing Solidarity with our unhoused neighbors has meant confronting the City's negligent response and showing up to ensure the health and safety of those unvalued by the capitalist system. That basic goal grew into two mutual aid projects.

Hotels Not Hospitals

Planning for Hotels Not Hospitals began in late March/early April of last year, and intensified when Mayor London Breed refused to fully implement legislation that the San Francisco Board of Supervisors passed mandating that the City use upwards of 8,000 vacant hotel rooms to house people experiencing homelessness during the pandemic. Hotels Not Hospitals had two aims -

1. Implementation of a community-supported housing model to counter the capitalist and punitive homelessness solutions offered by the City and build power through communal self-sufficiency without state intervention.
2. Pressure campaign to confront the city's negligence and highlight capitalism's role in homelessness

The project has raised well over \$70,000 and now has a number of regular monthly donors. Hotels Not Hospitals not only housed seven of our unhoused neighbors safely in hotel rooms for seven months, but ultimately secured permanent, stable housing for six and put one on the pathway to permanent supportive housing.

Other highlights include:

- Developed a working relationship with our comrades from the Defund SFPD Now campaign to build strategic and collective power
- Led two direct actions against the City's shelter-in-place hotel program winddown plan and joined the broad Stop Shelter-in-Place Hotel Shutdown coalition of homelessness providers and advocates
- Integrated formerly unhoused partners into direct action work

It should be noted that while Hotels Not Hospitals started within the Chapter, it was ultimately established outside of DSA SF and later secured Chapter endorsement by democratic vote. As a result of harassment during and shortly after a Chapter special meeting to vote on adoption of the Hotels Not Hospitals project that was inadequately addressed by the Chapter, many Homelessness Working Group members left DSA SF altogether. While many of those comrades continue their work within Hotels Not Hospitals and other projects or organizations, the Homelessness Working Group's ability to organize has been hindered by the loss of some of our most experienced members.

Common Humanity Collective

The Common Humanity Collective originally grew out of East Bay DSA's Green New Deal Committee at the beginning of the pandemic. Its initial purpose was to fundraise for, manufacture, bottle, and distribute hand sanitizer, with an emphasis on providing mutual aid to our unhoused neighbors and, later, to lower-income folks in various levels of housing precarity. Shortly after its inception, its scope expanded to include the production and distribution of disinfectant wipes and no-sew masks, the design of which was subsequently improved to become N85-equivalent, making them more effective for our unhoused neighbors than single-use surgical masks, cloth masks, and bandanas or buffs.

Comrades within DSA SF's Homelessness Working Group began working with the Common Humanity Collective to distribute PPE to unhoused neighbors in SF early in the pandemic. Later, participation expanded to bottling hand sanitizer and producing masks in SF in order to more quickly distribute supplies. To date, between East Bay DSA members, DSA SF members, and other comrades, the Common Humanity Collective has distributed 6,400 gallons of hand sanitizer, 45,000 masks, and 500,000 disinfectant wipes in order to provide a measure of safety to our most vulnerable neighbors in the absence of adequate government response at all levels.

Our work has also enabled community-led support organizations to spend their limited funds on other needs, including food. Capitalism relies on the desperation of working class communities; making our communities more resilient, in even incremental amounts, makes all of us more able to engage in struggle against capitalism. It has also given us a mutual aid network of volunteers, DSA members, unhoused neighbors, and allied organizations that will persist beyond the pandemic, with an eye on using this network to continue to build resiliency and move our communities, in however small of steps, away from reliance on the capitalist system.

In addition to these mutual aid efforts, the Homelessness Working Group has worked to push forward the #30RightNow movement to guarantee that no City-run SRO tenant must pay more than 30% of their income in rent, ensuring housing stability for over 2,000 of our formerly unhoused neighbors. This past year has seen the near-culmination of a years-long effort by DSA SF comrades, and in particular Jordan D., who undertook multiple hunger strikes in the course of this campaign. Legislation was proposed by District 6 Supervisor Matt Haney late last

year, which was subsequently passed by the Board of Supervisors and signed by Mayor London Breed. Comrades are now continuing to pressure the mayor and the Board of Supervisors until we see that these rent reductions are fully funded - \$6 million - in the FY2021-22 budget cycle.

In a challenging year on a personal level for all comrades and for the Chapter as a whole, the Homelessness Working Group was able to accomplish reactive goals - protecting and strengthening the most vulnerable members of our communities in a time of greater crisis than normal - along with longer-term political goals in the form of #30RightNow. Given the unusual circumstances this year presented, it is difficult to identify lessons or areas of improvement that can be generalized to non-pandemic times.

Regretfully, it must be said that the Chapter itself proved to be the greatest hindrance to our work over the past year. While disagreements about the place mutual aid has in socialist movements, and how it is best used, are expected and welcomed, members of the Homelessness Working Group were subjected to harassment, including personal attacks, for their organizing work. Many of our comrades who suffered from this harassment left the Chapter, and many more left with them in solidarity or, frustrated and dispirited by the difficulty in getting Hotels Not Hospitals started, left the chapter or substantially drew down their involvement in the Homelessness Working Group. Our working group has suffered from the loss of terrific organizers, including many of color, and the institutional knowledge they held. We are now engaged in efforts to find a new strategic footing for the Homelessness Working Group as we move toward the post-pandemic era, and will face challenges in recruiting and retaining members, starting projects and campaigns of a manageable scope, and ensuring that our unhoused and formerly unhoused neighbors continue to have strong voices that help to guide the direction of our efforts.

