

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

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

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

PRIORITY RESOLUTION

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

PRIORITY RESOLUTION

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.

PRIORITY RESOLUTION

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

PRIORITY RESOLUTION

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,

PRIORITY RESOLUTION

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

PRIORITY RESOLUTION

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.

PRIORITY RESOLUTION

- 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.

PRIORITY RESOLUTION

- 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

PRIORITY RESOLUTION

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

PRIORITY RESOLUTION

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):**

PRIORITY RESOLUTION

- 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

PRIORITY RESOLUTION

- 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 prescence 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,

PRIORITY RESOLUTION

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,

PRIORITY RESOLUTION

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*

PRIORITY RESOLUTION

- 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.

PRIORITY RESOLUTION

- 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-infracton.” -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,

PRIORITY RESOLUTION

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, Miacah 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.”

PRIORITY RESOLUTION

(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](#).