

Recovery from White Conditioning Group: Guidelines for Meeting

1.) *Let's start the meeting by saying together the Call to Recovery. It's in the chat. Please unmute and join us.*

“We are here to be fully human to ourselves, fully accountable to each other.”

2.) Read the “Suggested Welcome” found below:

We welcome you to our program centered on Recovery from White Conditioning. We are grateful for your presence here today, and we wish you well on this lifelong journey of recovery.

When we learned about white privilege and systemic racism, we, too, felt overwhelmed and alone. In recovery, we find that we can love ourselves and others while confronting the dehumanizing ideology of white supremacy, as it lives in us and around us.

We encourage you to apply the 12 steps of Recovery in your efforts to recover and reclaim your full humanity. Without this type of support, it can be too painful to face—and fight against—the ways in which we participate in—and benefit from—systems of racial oppression.

Our meeting lasts for approximately one hour. During this time we come together for mutual help. Each person has an uninterrupted turn to speak; you may choose to speak or “pass.” If you need more individual time, members are available to talk with you after the meeting.

We request that all present refrain from gossip and dominance. Please remember that we keep the focus on ourselves and our personal responsibility for growing. We thank you for your cooperation in our group effort to stick to Recovery from White Conditioning principles.

3.) Partnership:

Who is willing to discuss partnership?

(For example: Drawing from the AA work of sponsorship, we use the idea of partnership. We are all on this journey together...and at times need support and

accountability. Sometimes this is a one-time phone call or recurring. Our email is: RWC.TwinCities@gmail.com. The link to the phone list will be added to the chat.)

4.) Introductions:

In your small groups there will be time for more personalized introductions. At this point we have a tradition of everyone unmuting themselves for 10-15 second introductions: If you're sensitive to loud noises, feel free to turn down your sound now. If you're willing to join, please unmute yourself, say your name, where you're from, say hi to someone. It will be beautiful chaos!

5.) Business or announcements:

Any business or announcements? Sign up for facilitation in calendar – link in chat.

6.) *We'll now host a **minute of silence**...so that we may center our hearts and minds on the lived experiences of our brothers, sisters, and siblings of color and Indigenous people...who have endured centuries of terror in this country.*

Wait one minute.....

7.) *In a spirit of accountability, we acknowledge that each of us lives on stolen Indigenous lands. In the chat, you will find a link to learn about your local Indigenous territories and languages. May our hearts be open to this lifelong learning as we strive to be in right relationship with Indigenous Peoples, Nations, and lands. (<https://native-land.ca/>)*

8.) *People of Color and Indigenous people have done our work, for us, for far too long. As we embrace our responsibility for personal and communal transformation, we read about white anti-racists who have gone before us...as motivation to have courage, take real risks, and fight for social change in tangible ways. (Ask someone to read the marked page in the packet entitled: *White Anti-Racists through History*. Admin will SCREENSHARE.)*

9.) *Now let's read the 12 Steps. You can find it on page 8 in the book or on the PDF from the website www.recoveryfromwhiteconditioning.com. We will take turns reading each step. The order is in the chat. I'll also call on each person by name to read. You may choose to read or say pass.*

10.) *Today, we are focusing on Step _____, which is found on Page ____ of *Recovery from White Conditioning*. Our format is one person reads a paragraph just as we did with the 12 steps. (Facilitator calls names in order from chat.)*

11.) *We will now go into breakout groups where we will proceed with **uninterrupted turns for each member to share or pass.** Feel free to share when you feel moved, or say pass. For new group members: “uninterrupted turn” means each person reflects on the Step of the Day, sharing what resonates with you, what you’re striving for, struggling with, etc. Back and forth dialogue may happen after the formal meeting ends.*

*Remember to do a round of introductions and say where you’re from.
(Wave goodbye as we move to breakout rooms.)*

END OF FACILITATION

For small group closing:

Tech person will paste closing (below) and ask for a volunteer to read it after each group member has an uninterrupted turn to share, close the meeting using the suggested closing found below:

As we close our time together, we remember that our journey to understand and heal ourselves happens within this meeting...and must continue far beyond it. In this space, we’ve each described personal efforts that are part of our growth and recovery. Take what seems helpful and leave the rest. The stories you heard were shared in confidence and should be treated as confidential. As it has been said: “What’s said here stays here. What’s learned here leaves here.”

*If you’re new to learning how white supremacy has affected you and the world around you...we remind you that we, too, have felt overwhelmed with new racial consciousness. Whatever your struggles, there are those among us who’ve experienced them too. If you keep an open mind, you’ll find help. You’ll develop strategies to keep loving yourself and others while growing courage and commitment to take action for racial justice. Will everyone join me in reading the Call to Recovery: **We are here to be fully human to ourselves, fully accountable to each other.***



White Anti-Racists throughout History



In 1966, Vernon Ferdinand Dahmer offered to pay poll taxes for those who couldn't afford the fee to vote.

The night after the radio broadcast his offer, Vernon's home was firebombed.

He died from the severe burns. Rest in power, Vernon.

Source: Southern Poverty Law Center



Viola Liuzzo, a housewife and mother of five, was horrified at the violence she saw black protesters enduring. So when she heard of the march from Selma to Montgomery to support voting rights, she packed a bag and told her husband: "It's everybody's fight."

In 1965, Liuzzo arrived in Montgomery along with the other marchers. She listened to Dr. King speak on the Capitol steps...

Source: Southern Poverty Law Center



Rev. James Reeb, a Unitarian minister from Boston, was among many white clergymen who joined the Selma marchers after the attack by state troopers at the Edmund Pettus Bridge.

In 1965, Rev. Reeb died from the head injuries he received from an attack by white men while he walked down a Selma street. Rest in power, James.

Source: Southern Poverty Law Center

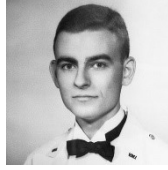


Fay Knopp was a groundbreaking pioneer of restorative justice for incarcerated people and their families.

She started her career in the Civil Rights Movement, where she knew the most important work she could do was to listen.

“What could a white middle-class woman do in Jackson, Mississippi in 1964? The way opened: listen.”

Source: Southern Poverty Law Center



Jonathan Myrick Daniels came to Alabama to help register black voters. In 1965, he was arrested at a civil rights demonstration, jailed — and then suddenly released.

He was shot to death moments later by a deputy sheriff.

Source: Southern Poverty Law Center



In 1903, civil rights activist Virginia Foster Durr was born in Birmingham, Alabama. Durr was a strong advocate for women's, voter and civil rights.

When Rosa Parks was jailed after refusing to give up her bus seat in Montgomery, Durr and her husband helped bail her out.

After Durr's death in 1999, Parks wrote to her family in a letter: "I will miss you, old soldier, but the rich legacy you have passed to your children, grandchildren and great-grands lives on. We still have a long ways to go, but you, my friend, have made it easier for all of us."

Source: Southern Poverty Law Center



Joan Mulholland served two months on death row in a jail 30 miles from where Emmett Till died. Her crime? Participating in the Freedom Rides to integrate buses across the Deep South. She was 19 years old. Mulholland went on to participate in sit-ins, attend an all-black college, and help plan the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

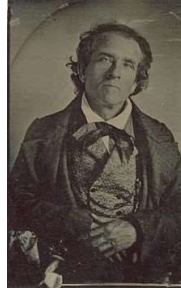
“Segregation was wrong. As a Southerner—a white Southerner—I felt that we should do what we could to make the South better and to rid ourselves of this evil.”

Source: Southern Poverty Law Center



Sarah Moore Grimké (1792–1873) and Angelina Emily Grimké (1805–1879), known as the Grimké sisters, were female advocates of [abolition](#) and [women's rights](#). They were writers, orators, and educators. They grew up in a slave-holding family in the [Southern United States](#) but moved to the [North](#) in the 1820s, settling for a time in [Philadelphia](#) and becoming part of [its substantial Quaker community](#). They became more deeply involved with the abolitionist movement, traveling on its lecture circuit and recounting their firsthand experiences with slavery on their family's plantation. Among the first American women to act publicly in [social reform movements](#), they were ridiculed for their abolitionist activity. They became early activists in the women's rights movement. They eventually developed a private school.

Source: Wikipedia



Theodore Dwight Weld (1803-1895) was one of the architects of the American [abolitionist](#) movement during its formative years, playing a role as writer, editor, speaker, and organizer. As a student at [Lane Theological Seminary](#) in [Cincinnati](#), he became the leader of the "Lane Rebels," a group of students who, determined to engage in free discussion, held a series of slavery debates over 18 days in 1834, resulting in a decision to support abolitionism. The group also pledged to help the 1500 free blacks in Cincinnati. When the school's board of directors, including president [Lyman Beecher](#) prohibited them from discussing slavery, about 80% of the students left, most of them enrolling at the new Oberlin Collegiate Institute. Weld however, left his studies to become an agent for the [American Anti-Slavery Society](#), recruiting and training people to work for the cause, making converts of [James G. Birney](#), [Harriet Beecher Stowe](#), and [Henry Ward Beecher](#).

Source: Wikipedia



Helen Maria Hunt Jackson (1830-1885) was an American poet and writer who became an [activist](#) on behalf of improved treatment of [Native Americans](#) by the United States government. She described the adverse effects of government actions in her history [A Century of Dishonor](#) (1881).

Her novel [Ramona](#) (1884) dramatized the federal government's mistreatment of [Native Americans](#) in [Southern California](#) after the [Mexican-American War](#) and attracted considerable attention to her cause.

A fiery and prolific writer, Jackson engaged in heated exchanges with federal officials over the injustices committed against the Ponca and other American Indian tribes. Among her special targets was U.S. Secretary of Interior [Carl Schurz](#), whom she once called "the most adroit liar I ever knew." She exposed the government's violation of treaties with American Indian tribes and documented the corruption of US [Indian agents](#), military officers, and settlers who encroached on and stole Indian lands.

Source: Wikipedia



Mab (Mabelle Massey) Segrest (born in 1949) is an American feminist writer and activist. Segrest is best known for her 1994 autobiographical work *Memoir of a Race Traitor*. In the 1970s, Segrest moved to North Carolina to attend [Duke University](#), where she earned her PhD in [English literature](#) in 1979. Segrest has founded, served on the boards of, and consulted with a wide range of [social justice](#) organizations throughout her life. Segrest is recognized for speaking and writing about [sexism](#), racism, [homophobia](#), [classism](#), and other forms of oppression. After Feminary disbanded, she worked for six years (1983–1990) with North Carolinians Against Racist and Religious Violence (NCARRV).

Source: Wikipedia



Thomas Garrett (August 21, 1789 – January 25, 1871) was an American [abolitionist](#) and leader in the [Underground Railroad](#) movement before the [American Civil War](#). Garrett openly worked as a stationmaster on the last stop of the Underground Railroad in Delaware. Because he openly defied slave hunters as well as the slave system, Garrett had no need of secret rooms in his house at 227 Shipley Street. The authorities were aware of his activities, but he was never arrested. In 1848, however, he and fellow Quaker [John Hunn](#) were sued in federal court. U.S. [Supreme Court](#) Chief Justice [Roger B. Taney](#) presided at the trial in the [New Castle Court House](#), and [James A. Bayard, Jr.](#) prosecuted the Quakers. Garrett and Hunn were found guilty of violating the [Fugitive Slave Act](#) by helping a family of slaves escape. As the "architect" of the escape, Garrett received a \$4,500 fine. A lien was put on his house until the fine was paid, with the aid of friends. Garrett thus continued in his iron and hardware business and helping runaway slaves to freedom.

Source: Wikipedia



Lucretia Mott (1793-1880) was a [U.S. Quaker](#), [abolitionist](#), a [women's rights](#) activist, and a [social reformer](#). She had formed the idea of reforming the position of women in society when she was amongst the women excluded from the [World Anti-Slavery Convention](#) in 1840. In 1848 she was invited by [Jane Hunt](#) to a meeting that led to the first meeting about women's rights. Her speaking abilities made her an important abolitionist, feminist, and reformer. When slavery was outlawed in 1865, she advocated giving former slaves who had been bound to slavery laws within the boundaries of the United States, whether male or female, the right to vote. She remained a central figure in the abolition and suffrage movement until her death in 1880.

Source: Wikipedia



Sabina Virgo has been an activist and a leader in the movement for justice and peace since the mid 1960's. During that time she was deeply involved the civil rights movement, the student movement, and the resistance to the war in Viet Nam. During the 70's Ms. Virgo was co-chair of the Committee of the Arts to Free Angela Davis, and worked with various groups dealing with the prison-industrial complex. Sabina has traveled with peace and labor delegations to Panama (three weeks prior to the U.S. invasion), El Salvador, Cuba, and the West Bank and Gaza. Ms. Virgo was a facilitator of the Los Angeles Progressive Unity Council – a group which was part of a national effort to bring representatives of organizations of struggle together for the purpose of 'dialogue' and collective thinking.



Myles Falls Horton (1905 – 1990) was an American [educator](#), [socialist](#) and cofounder of the [Highlander Folk School](#), famous for its role in the [Civil Rights Movement](#). Horton taught and heavily influenced most of the era's leaders. They included [Martin Luther King Jr](#), [Rosa Parks](#) (who studied with Horton shortly before her decision to keep her seat on the [Montgomery, Alabama](#) bus in 1955), [John Lewis](#), [James Bevel](#), [Bernard Lafayette](#), [Ralph Abernathy](#), John B. Thompson, and many others.

A poor white man from [Savannah](#) in West Tennessee, Horton's social and political views were strongly influenced by theologian [Reinhold Niebuhr](#), under whom he studied at the [Union Theological Seminary](#) in New York City. Along with educator [Don West](#) and Methodist minister [James A. Dombrowski](#) of New Orleans, Horton founded the Highlander Folk School in [Monteagle](#) in his native Tennessee in 1932. He remained its director until 1973, traveling with it to reorganize in [Knoxville](#) after the state shut it down in 1961.



From a family line of KKK members, Bob Zellner became one of the first white southerners to engage in the early civil rights movement. He organized sit-ins, rallies, investigations and speeches from Missouri to Massachusetts. Along his journey, Zellner was insulted, violently attacked, beaten unconscious, and arrested over 18 times. Yet even now in his 70's, Bob stands fast for democracy, equality and justice.

In his lifetime, Rosa Parks said to him: "Bob, when you see something wrong, you're going to have to do something about it. You can't study it forever." Julian Bond said of him: "It took a special brand of commitment and courage to do this work, and Bob never lack for either." And Bob said, to all of us: "Brotherhood and sisterhood is not so wild a dream as those who profit by postponing it pretend."



Anne McCarty Braden (1924–2006) was an American civil rights activist, journalist, and educator dedicated to the cause of racial equality.

Born in [Louisville, Kentucky](#), and raised in rigidly segregated [Anniston, Alabama](#), Braden grew up in a white, middle-class family that accepted southern racial mores wholeheartedly. A devout [Episcopalian](#), Braden was bothered by [racial segregation](#), but never questioned it until her college years at [Randolph-Macon Woman's College](#) in [Virginia](#). After working on newspapers in Alabama, she returned to Kentucky as a young adult to write for [The Louisville Times](#). She became a supporter of the [Civil Rights Movement](#) at a time when it was unpopular among southern whites.

Over her nearly six decades of activism, her life touched almost every modern U.S. social movement, and her message to them all was the centrality of racism and the responsibility of whites to combat it.



Robin DiAngelo has been a consultant and trainer for over 20 years on issues of racial and social justice. She received her PhD in Multicultural Education from the University of Washington in Seattle in 2004. Her area of research is in Whiteness Studies and Critical Discourse Analysis, explicating how Whiteness is reproduced in everyday narratives. She has worked with a wide-range of organizations including private, non-profit, and governmental, and her work on White Fragility has been featured in various publications.

Robin explains: "I grew up poor and white. While my class oppression has been relatively visible to me, my race privilege has not. In my efforts to uncover how race has shaped my life, I have gained deeper insight by placing race in the center of my analysis and asking how each of my other group locations have socialized me to collude with racism...I now make the distinction that I grew up poor and white, for my experience of poverty would have been different had I not been white."



Chris Crass is a longtime organizer, educator, and writer working to build powerful working class-based, feminist, multiracial movements for collective liberation. He is one of the leading voices in the country calling for and supporting white people to work for racial justice. Chris leads workshops on campuses and with communities and congregations around the world, to help support justice efforts.

Chris is the author of two books. His latest, *Towards the "Other America: Anti-Racist Resources for White People Taking Action for Black Lives Matter*, a call to action to end white silence and a manual on how to do it. His other book, *Towards Collective Liberation: Anti-Racist Organizing, Feminist Praxis, and Movement Building Strategy*, draws from his nearly 30 years as an organizer and educator and offers a firsthand look at the challenges and opportunities of anti-racist work in white communities, feminist work with men, and bringing women of color feminism into the heart of social justice.



John Brown (1800–1859) was an American [abolitionist](#) who advocated that armed insurrection was the only way to overthrow the institution of [slavery in the United States](#). Dissatisfied with the pacifism of the organized abolitionist movement, he said, "These men are all talk. What we need is action – action!" During the Kansas campaign, Brown commanded forces at the [Battle of Black Jack](#) and the [Battle of Osawatomie](#). In 1859, Brown [led a raid](#) on the [federal armory](#) at [Harpers Ferry](#) to start a liberation movement among the slaves there. During the raid, he seized the armory; seven people were killed, and ten or more were injured. He intended to arm slaves with weapons from the arsenal, but the attack failed. He was tried for treason against the Commonwealth of Virginia, the murder of five men, and inciting a slave insurrection. He was found guilty on all counts and was hanged. Brown's raid captured the nation's attention. [Richard Owen Boyer](#) emphasizes that Brown was "an American who gave his life that millions of other Americans might be free."



Jane Elliott (born in 1933) is an American former third-grade schoolteacher, [anti-racism](#) activist, and educator, as well as a [feminist](#) and an [LGBT activist](#). She is known for her "Blue eyes–Brown eyes" exercise. She first conducted her famous exercise for her class the day after [Martin Luther King, Jr.](#) was assassinated. When her local newspaper published compositions that the children had written about the experience, the reactions (both positive and negative) formed the basis for her career as a public speaker against [discrimination](#). After leaving her school, Elliott became a [diversity educator](#) full-time. She still holds the exercise and gives lectures about its effects all over the U.S. and in several locations overseas.



Hugh Thompson tried to defend Vietnamese villagers during Mỹ Lai Massacre.

On March 16, 1968, between 347 and 504 unarmed Vietnamese adults and children were killed (some of the women and children were gang raped first) by U.S. Army soldiers in what became known as the Mỹ Lai Massacre.

Before the last few survivors were about to be killed by U.S. soldiers, Chief Warrant Officer Hugh Thompson Jr. and his helicopter crews arrived on the scene and took a stand, preventing the last few people from being murdered.

Thompson blocked fellow U.S. troops with his helicopter, had his crew train machine guns on them, and rescued a group of civilian Vietnamese villagers hiding in a bunker.

In 1970, Thompson testified in a closed hearing in Congress about what he saw. Congressman Mendel Rivers (D-S.C.) stated that Thompson was the only soldier at My Lai who should be punished and attempted to have him court-martialed for turning his weapons on fellow troops. As the U.S. government tried to cover up the massacre, Thompson was vilified and he received death threats.

Source - zinnedproject.org



Jim Peck was a pacifist and civil rights activist. A participant in the 1961 Freedom Rides (May 4, 1961), he was savagely beaten by racists in Anniston, Alabama on May 14, 1961. It was later revealed that the FBI knew in advance of the plan to attack the Freedom Riders but did nothing to prevent the attack. Peck sued and, on this day, the FBI was ordered to pay him \$25,000 in damages.

Jim Peck had been a conscientious objector during World War II and was sentenced to prison for refusing to cooperate with the draft. While in Danbury prison, he and other COs staged a hunger strike in protest of racial segregation in the prison (August 11, 1943; December 23, 1943). In 1947 he was a participant in the first freedom ride to desegregate bus transportation in the Deep South, the Journey of Reconciliation (April 9, 1947). He holds the distinction of being the only person to participate in both the 1947 and 1961 freedom rides.

Source - <http://todayinclh.com>

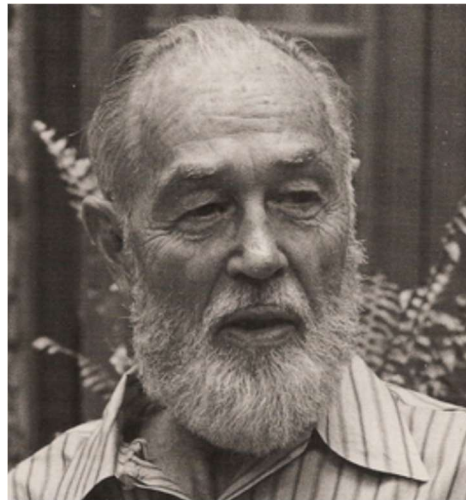
Bernardine Dohrn



As a radical law student in the late 1960s, [Bernardine Dohrn](#) helped the National Lawyers Guild organize young lawyers to defend antiwar and racial justice activists. She was swept deeper into the movement at a time when the Black freedom struggle was radicalizing, as it confronted the limitations of the civil rights movement to tackle systemic racism, and as it made stronger connections between imperial wars abroad, globalized economic inequality, and White supremacy. During this time both SNCC and the BPP called for White racial justice organizers to go into the belly of the beast – into White communities across the U.S. – and organize there. When Dohrn became a leader within the most radical wing of the Students For A Democratic Society – a wing that morphed into the Weathermen – she played a key role in translating those ideas to the White student movement. A turning point for Dohrn and the Weathermen came in the winter of 1969, when photos of the Mỹ Lai massacre were released to the public during the same month that Fred Hampton was assassinated by police while he slept in his bed. It was clear that state violence would continue to escalate, and that COINTELPRO's surveillance and infiltration of antiwar and racial justice groups would intensify even further. Dohrn and the Weathermen went underground in an effort to keep part of the movement outside of state violence and surveillance, and for the remainder of the Vietnam War they conducted bombings of the institutions responsible for that violence. Dohrn stayed underground with her husband Bill Ayers until 1980, after which she served seven months in prison for refusing to testify before a grand jury against other Weathermen. By the early 90s she had transformed herself into a leading figure for juvenile justice reform. Dohrn remains an important figure in racial justice movements.

<https://crossculturalsolidarity.com/short-portraits-of-white-antiracists-in-u-s-history/>

James Dombrowski



James Dombrowski was one of Anne Braden's most important mentors. The man she regarded as a "saintly theologian" had cofounded the Highlander Folk School in 1932, which became one of the few Southern multiracial training grounds for labor and racial justice organizing. Starting in the early 40s, Dombrowski directed the Southern Conference Education Fund, which sought to organize White southerners who supported integration and to fuse the struggles for racial and economic justice. Dombrowski's life is an opportunity to learn how a primarily White Southern organization built deep relations of trust with Black civil rights workers: Under Dombrowski's leadership, radical Black civil rights leaders like Fred Shuttlesworth (of Birmingham fame) gravitated towards the SCEF and worked in close connection with it.

<https://crossculturalsolidarity.com/short-portraits-of-white-antiracists-in-u-s-history/>

Joseph Ellwanger



On the day before Selma's infamous Bloody Sunday, the White pastor [Joseph Ellwanger](#) led a march of seventy-two White civil rights supporters calling themselves the "Concerned White Citizens of Alabama." (Ellwanger had previously been involved in the Birmingham campaign and had spoken at the memorial for the four little girls killed in the infamous church bombing.) During Selma many of the White religious figures who came into town stayed at his home. In the wake of Selma, Ellwanger was the only White person to be invited by the Black leadership to speak with President Johnson, and then with George Wallace. Ellwanger is so humble that in his autobiography – which is primarily a how-to manual for social justice ministry – he barely explores these events, instead focusing on how congregations can strengthen their communities by having shared experiences being on the front lines of social justice. Today, at 86 years of age, he is primarily committed to ending mass incarceration and police brutality.

<https://crossculturalsolidarity.com/short-portraits-of-white-antiracists-in-u-s-history/>



Stanley Levison was a Jewish businessman from New York... and the former manager of the Communist Party's finances, who had left the Party to use his business acumen to channel money into the Black freedom struggle. Together with his comrades Ella Baker and Bayard Rustin, Levison had been involved in an effort to fund movements in the South that were trying to get off the ground in the period leading up to the civil rights movement. When the Montgomery bus boycott erupted, these three master-strategists channeled resources to the local movement, hoping that it would become the spark that lit the fire of a regional movement.

From that moment on, Levison had been King's invisible confidant. King valued Levison partly because unlike so many others, Levison had no interest in pushing King's ideas or strategies in a certain direction. For years Levison did King's taxes; secured his book contracts... and when King offered payment, Levison refused. In one letter explaining his refusal of payment Levison wrote: "My skills . . . were acquired not only in a cloistered academic environment, but also in the commercial jungle...I looked forward to the time when I could use these skills not for myself but for socially constructive ends. The liberation struggle is the most positive and rewarding area of work anyone could experience."

After King's death, Levison joined his friend Belafonte in ensuring that King's wife and children would have no economic difficulties. Levison continued to fund a variety of movement causes until the day he died.

<https://crossculturalsolidarity.com/short-portraits-of-white-antiracists-in-u-s-history/>

Juliette Morgan



[Juliette Morgan](#) was one of the only White people in Montgomery to vocally support the famous boycott. For this, she was abandoned by her friends, church, and community, and was ruthlessly demonized, harassed, and threatened. After a couple years of fear and isolation she took her own life. Morgan's suicide became a symbol for other White Southern antiracists of the necessity for building networks of community and emotional support systems in order to successfully engage in White Southern antiracist work. Anne Braden herself commented that if she had not had community support she could easily imagine suffering Morgan's fate, and felt that Morgan's death highlighted even further the need for White southern antiracists to connect with one another. Morgan's story is a grim one, but it's also an opportunity for White antiracists today to wrestle with how White antiracist voices have been marginalized, mocked, and isolated, and to reflect on how we can build antiracist cultures of connection and resilience today. Although Morgan is most well known for the circumstances leading to her suicide, the story of her years of activism before the boycott remains almost totally invisible.

<https://crossculturalsolidarity.com/short-portraits-of-white-antiracists-in-u-s-history/>

A.J. Muste



In the words of Martin Luther King, “The current emphasis on nonviolent direct action in the race relations field is due more to A.J. than to anyone else in the country.” By the late 1930s, [A.J. Muste](https://crossculturalsolidarity.com/) was at the forefront of building a mass, nonviolent direct action movement for economic and racial justice. Muste’s was a vision that Bayard Rustin, Martin Luther King’s future mentor, was deeply compelled by. Rustin went on to work closely with Muste and was mentored by him.

The story of the two men’s deep and sometimes heartbreaking connection not only weaves together the narratives of a profound White antiracist and radical peace activist with one of our greatest Black freedom fighters, it explores the important subject of antiracist mentorship in all of its real-world messiness. The story of Muste and

Rustin is also an opportunity to wrestle with the history of homophobia... both in terms of the homophobic arm of state repression, and how homophobia within movement culture fragmented and weakened it.

<https://crossculturalsolidarity.com/>

Mab Segrest



[Mab Segrest](#) is a queer White southerner who came into racial justice by fighting the new formations of White supremacist extremism arising in the 1980s and 90s, and by drawing links between homophobic violence, sexism, and White supremacy at the height of the AIDS epidemic. Her life is full of lessons about the intersections of feminism, LGBT freedom struggles, and racial justice – much of it learned from brilliant Black feminists including from the legendary Combahee River Collective – that every White antiracist today should spend some time marinating in.

Like fellow White antiracist sisters/elders/ancestors Lillian Smith and Anne Braden, Segrest is also a brilliant and self-reflective psychologist of White supremacy. Her journey of wrestling with Whiteness can serve as a platform for White antiracists today to deepen their understandings of their own journey, in ways that can help them take that journey to the next level.

<https://crossculturalsolidarity.com/>

Glenn Smiley



Glenn Smiley was a White southerner who, through his work as a minister, became deeply interested in the teachings of Gandhi as a means to solve racial inequity and other forms of oppression. This led him, in 1942, to join the Congress of Racial Equality and the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), an interfaith, antiwar, and social justice organization dedicated to nonviolence. Bayard Rustin was also a member of FOR, and the two men were both sent to Montgomery to mentor King in the early days of the bus boycott. Smiley was sent specifically after the bombing of Martin Luther King's home, when there was a real fear that the commitment to nonviolence would break down. As a White man, Smiley was also in a position to gather intelligence for the movement regarding the plans of the local Klan and White Citizens Council. When the Montgomery buses were desegregated, King and Smiley sat on the same seat together during the first desegregated bus ride in the city. After Montgomery, Smiley became one of the civil rights movement's major organizers of nonviolent resistance trainings, working alongside luminaries such as James Lawson and Bayard Rustin. King sent him on speaking tours throughout the South, with the goal being for Smiley to organize other White ministers. King later wrote of Smiley that "his contribution in our overall struggle has been of inestimable value." After the civil rights movement, Smiley worked throughout Latin America conducting trainings in nonviolent resistance.

<https://crossculturalsolidarity.com/short-portraits-of-white-antiracists-in-u-s-history/>

Lillian Smith



Born in 1897, pioneering White antiracist [Lillian Smith](https://crossculturalsolidarity.com/short-portraits-of-white-antiracists-in-u-s-history/) served as one of the great psychologists and critics of the White racist South. Her writings explore how Jim Crow shaped her as a child in ways that not only enforced White supremacy but severely limited her own life; how Jim Crow rituals sunk in on a deeply somatic level that made it hard to question the racial order; and how a broader authoritarian culture that enforced unquestioned and strict rules around religion, gender, and sexuality was necessary to create the conditions for also not questioning White supremacy. Smith's insights about how dehumanization takes place are still relevant today, and served as an important wake-up call for her generation of White antiracists. Her writings also laid foundations for the White antiracists of the civil rights era to build off. Lillian Smith is also an early example of how queer Southern women were often at the forefront of asking the deepest questions and developing the deepest analysis of power at the intersections of race, class, gender, and sexuality.

<https://crossculturalsolidarity.com/short-portraits-of-white-antiracists-in-u-s-history/>