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JUNE 13, 2022
6:30 PM CST

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>> GRACE AHERON: Excellent. We're good. [Music] hi, everyone. Welcome. We love an early bird. We love all 154 of you that are getting here 1 minute early. Welcome, welcome. Please enjoy Whitney as we all settle in. Welcome, everyone. Oh, we got close to 500 early birds. That's what I'm talking about. I can't see any of y'all, but I trust that you're all singing and dancing along with me right now. As you come in, please tell us where you are coming from and something you look forward to on this webinar. We have Canada in the house. What's up? So glad you can be here. What up, Philly? Yep. All these folks here in community cross the literal world here tonight. Thank you so much for being here, everyone. We're so glad. We'll get started in just a few minutes. We do love our Kentucky folks. Good evening, family. We're so glad you're here. Welcome, welcome, welcome. I don't know if you're live on Facebook yet, but if you're there, we welcome you, Facebook world. Adriana all right, folks. You have 15 more seconds to dance your heart out with Whitney. Thanks, Adriana. Oh, welcome, friends. We're so glad you're here. If you're with us on

Facebook, I hope you're dropping into the chat where you are calling in from, where you are watching live from and something you're excited about for tonight. I'm going to start us off with some logistics and a bit of grounding and then we'll get into the reason why we're all here to listen to and be in conversation with comrades at SURJ. Yeah. And again we're recording because we know y'all will want this recording later. We're so glad you're here. I always say you could be doing a million other things tonight, but you chose to stare at your computer in community with us and for that, I'm deeply grateful. You might be alone in your room like me, but know that there are presently pretty much a thousand people here with us in community. So we are here together tonight and I'm so glad you joined us.

My name is Grace. My pronouns are she and her. And I'm the communications director here at Showing Up for Racial Justice or SURJ as we call it in the family. We like to do descriptions when we're on Zoom to make the space more accessible to blind and low sight folks. So I am a racially ambiguous gueer with shoulder length dark hair and a blonde strike, a popping pink lip and a teal sheer tee. I'm an Asian American woman who believes in organizing white people, which is why I'm here at SURJ. We live here now, many of us live in Zoom, but still bears repeating. Here at SURJ, we have a commitment to disability justice and access in our work. So you can already see my dear friend Jennifer next to me who is a part of our sign language team and she and normal be doing live ASL interpretation throughout the call and they'll be spotlighted which means their video will be nice and big for you to see their incredible interpretations. We're also joined tonight by Monica, who is offering live captions. If you're on Zoom, you can view the live captions or a transcript by clicking the CC icon in the bottom bar of your Zoom window and selecting show subtitle or view full transcript. If you're on Facebook, you can see the live transcript by clicking the Streamtext link that is going to be shared in the comments. Also everybody wants the recording. This is going to be amazing. You will want to watch it again with your mom. So anybody that registered will be getting a recording of this, plus any links in the speakers mentioned on the call. If you have tech issues throughout the call, please feel free to chat the panelists and the host and our tech leads can help you out. Speaking of the chat, the chat is popping. It's still going fast. You guys are doing amazing; however, we are going to turn the chat off during the conversation because it can be distracting and just sort of spread like wildfire. So that will be off, but then we'll turn it back on at the end so you can love on our speakers and say how amazing they are and how inspired you are.

Okay. Second to last part, I want to talk about Showing Up for Racial Justice, SURJ, who is hosting the call tonight and is a place where I have made my movement home.

At SURJ, because some of you are SURJ members, please shout out if you're a SURJ member, but for some of you this is the first time hanging out in a SURJ space. By introduction, we organize white people and do this work because it is strategic. We know that those who benefit from the status quo, politicians, the far right, elites work really freakin' hard to make sure white people blame people of color if there are problems rather than those at the top because they know in the words of my dear comrade Beth Howard, if we all stick together when working speak of all races, those at the top would be screwed. We work to give people a better option than white

supremacy and bring white communities into multi racial fights for justice. That's the strategic part. We organize white people because it is strategic. But also per the topic of this webinar, in my words, we organize white people because white people have a sacred and vocational contribution to the movement. We are here tonight, y'all, because the right is really good at talking to white people using their bullshit lies and organizing other white people means breaking the rights power at very source they're relying on and bringing those folks into a political home of care and belonging and solidarity. So that's SURJ. That's the work we do. If you're been looking for a political home in these times, in these wild times, welcome. We want on you our team and you're right on time.

Okay. So those are logistics for the night and I will close this by inviting you to join me in one of the super powers which is singing together, which we can do in Zoom across time and space. So this song is by eye movement folk singer who also happens to be my best friend Clare Hitchens. Say hi in the chat, Clare. The lyrics are simple. We are whole, we are holy and we are holding one another and I believe this it be true. I will invite you to join me in your corner to drop into the body and sacred vocation a hold as a part of this movement and know you might be singing alone in your apartment, but you're one small voice is contributing to this great choir of now 1,149 people plus whoever is on Facebook. Probably a lot. Your voice is contributing to this great choir that is holding us all in this moment. So it goes like this. We are whole. We are holy. We are holding one another. We are whole. We are holy. We are holding one another. Tonight we are whole. We are holy and we are holding one another in this space. We're so glad you're here. And now I'm going to pass it over to my sister friend, my Nazi fighting dreamsicle, comrade, Hilary Moore.

>> HILARY MOORE: Thank you, Grace. I feel like Grace just set the table. You know? We're going to be eat something delicious food here.

We're in really good company. We're going to talk about some important things together. So thank you, Grace and really thank you to the whole crew behind the screens making this possible. I will talk a little bit about why we're here, why the content and y'all can also fill in the chat I guess you can't, but you can imagine. The spark for the webinar came out of recent public stirrings about cancel culture. It raised a lot of questions and concerns about the culture of less social movements and for sure, we're going to talk about cancel culture and for sure, we're going to talk about what else is possible. We're going to talk about specific kinds of things we can practice that build a culture we need to win. Right? The culture we need to keep our folks safe. The culture we need to build powerful social justice movements. We will talk about that tonight. And before that, we gotta get real about the context that we're living in and put cancel culture within context. Social content, political content and it's hard to think of anybody else in my humble opinion who can do that better than our move mend ancestor Grace Lee Boggs. If you don't know who Grace Lee Boggs is, open up another tab. Sign, read, devour, change. Grace Lee Boggs was revolutionary, an organizer, an author and Adrienne's moment mentor and she often asked what time is it on the clock of the world. What is happening right now and how aught we be

using our life force with our limited time here. So it's really big thinking and that's what we're up to tonight. One time I was in a training and she Skyped and this was Skype time. She Skyped into that training to talk about her answer to that question, what time is it on the clock of the world. And her answer is we need to grow our souls. So I want to pause here, take a moment. One, send some gratitude to movement ancestor Grace Lee Boggs. Thank you. And either take a note for yourself or text a friend, but what is your answer to that question? Right? How do you relate to that question? What does it mean at this moment on the clock of the world? Think about it, reflect. I also want to say they heard Dr. Robin DG Kelly say it's 11:59 and 59 seconds. Right? And I think now more than ever, more people in the global north and in the states are starting to understand what Dr. Kelly is pointing to and it's like that visceral knowledge that we're at a precipice and people put different words to it. Some call it collapse. Some call it mounting authoritarianism. Some call it the fascist creek. And there's many examples about this. I'll point to just a few. Right? The role back on abortion rights in criminalizing those who make that access more possible. Or the white man who mass acres 10 black folks at the grocery store and an entire community in Buffalo. Also systemic attacks on voting rights that hack away at what organized black communities have won. Militarized border policies that kill people here in the states, in Europe, in Palestine. Or the fact that almost 70% of the world's people now live under an autocracy or regime where oppression is normal. So these are just a few examples. And why rime raising this is that all of this points to one hand on that clock. Right? And ultimately, what I'm offering is I think that hand indicates that those who are committed to the politics and practice of domination, Susan Farrs interpretation of politics, those (inaudible) are doubling down. They're doubling down on tactics to secure their power whether real or perceived, at every level and through the use of violence and repression. If you're like what? I need to know more about these threats that we face. Awesome. Go to the SURJ webinar. There's a webinar we did. PS, we can do another webinar on that. So I invite you to take a breath because we're human and we need oxygen. And I want to point us to the very real and yes, worsening conditions we're in because we cannot hide, ignore or get small are in the face of them and we're going to talk about the Jedi move here tonight. It's a Jedi move to get really present with what is and see clearly and grow our analysis and at the same time, dare to imagine something else. And then put that shit into practice. And spoiler alert, it means coming together in some pretty important ways. That's tonight. That's what we're up to. We'll talk about what's really going on, the context for call out culture, cancel culture, where we go from here and because this is a question that SURJ is taking on, what is the particular role of white folks at this moment. I get the honor of introducing some people, myself included.

# [Laughter]

Okay. So my name is Hilary Moore. I use she and they pronouns. I'm a white working class lady with orange hair, pink lips sitting in front of a turquoise wall. I live on unseated (inaudible) and Cherokee territory known as Louisville, Kentucky and I'm the director at SURJ. Now I get to introduce my friends. I want to introduce you to Adrienne Maree Brown. Operatic single singer, this is clearly my bio for my friends, best breakfast bagel ever made baker and champion of love and all of its teachings. If

you don't know, Adrienne Maree Brown, other working writings and others welcome and Google her. And let's bring on Erin who is also a dear friend and a comrade, also my boss. Executive director at SURJ, descendent of Irish revolutionaries, ride or die from Buffalo, New York, the king of cozy sweat shirts, top 3 most passionate karaoke singers that I've ever seen and though are the week we're rolling in with tonight. Let's get in. Let's get in the discussion. I am having this conversation among all of us as well as a conversation between people that organized their lines and gifts around the organization. To kick off, I want to ask my two comrades which is what is a super power? You have that's equipping you to face this moment right now and let's go to you, Adrienne.

>> ADRIENNE MAREE BROWN: First of all, I love you so much, Hilary. I love doing panels with friends. You get the best bios that way. I am a black mixed race woman in a tank top dress, turquoise and pink glasses against a wall that the color is called splashy, but it's like teal with Octavia Butler shrine over my shoulder. And I am speaking to you from the land of the people. And my super power that is helping me right now I think is channeling the truth. I really think that it's like it's just like oh, this is what is. So I feel I don't spend a lot of time. I'm just like this is what is and it cuts fly a lot to be well, since this is what it is now, what do we do? And it helps me a lot. How about you, Erin?

>> ERIN HEANEY: So glad to be here with the thousands of y'all. Tonight I'm with you, Adrienne and Hilary. That was the most amazing bio ever. I am Erin Heany. I'm a white woman with shoulder length brown hair and a gray tank top. I'm in a bay rental property that's not my home. And I feel like a super power that I am bringing in this moment is like the capacity to stay in motion and stay in action while being in contradiction. Right? One of the things we'll talk about tonight is like organizing white people for racial justice and that is a contradiction and I think I got the capacity to stay in commotion in action which is a lot of what we need to be doing right now while holding that I have like deep love for my people. And also know that my people are causing great harm. I can hold that my people are a huge part of the problem and also part of the solution. And so yeah. I feel like I can stay in a motion through that and I've been told that's a super power. So I'm going with it.

>> HILARY MOORE: Heck yeah. I feel like my super power I can always find or refined the part of me that knows that life is precious and worthy of fighting for whether my owner my folks and the people we're committed to and that's not nothing in these times, I think. Ooh, this is delicious. Let's dig in, y'all. We all know about call out culture. No surprises here. It's kind of a buzz word now. But let's get deeper around T. there's surface level discussion about it. Adrienne, you wrote a book. Sorry. I curse a lot. What is it really? So first question. What is it really? What is it attempting to take care of and what are the costs? Let's start with you Adrienne.

>> ADRIENNE MAREE BROWN: Yeah. I always want to say I think when it starts, the roots of it are black and brown and Indigenous roots and they're really direct action

roots. There's a root of saying there's something really egregious and harmful happening and it needs to stop. And there was a strategy that was developed for communicating across a distance that was immensely far, but there was a power imbalance. This massive corporation is trying to do something to destroy our community. We've calling you out. This massive corporation is withholding the drugs that our community needs for aids work. We're calling it out. It's an incredible and very effective strategy in that context. And I love it still as like my favorite thing to do to institutions which is I'm calling you out. We don't have a relationship and there's no way for me to get a relationship with you. This is how I will do this work. But I think what has happened inside a particularly movement culture and I want to delineate that because I'm like I think people are like yeah. In Hollywood, this and that, I can't speak about everybody in Hollywood. You know? Because those people have not committed themselves to being on a path of liberation and justice. I want to speak to be in a space where we're saying we're committed to building the new world. We've committed to figuring out a way to coexist. We're committed to modeling something for our people that is different than what exists right now in that space, call out culture has become really dangerous. Yeah. I can turn up my volume. Let me also check on what my microphone is because I can go off. All right. Is that better?

- >> HILARY MOORE: Yeah.
- >> ADRIENNE MAREE BROWN: Is it too much better or
- >> Hilary podcast voice.

>> ADRIENNE MAREE BROWN: Yeah. This is my podcast mic. All right, all. This is how the magic hoops. Was it bad that I should repeat? Okay. We're good. People are committed to liberation and justice and building something else is that we started using it as this lateral strategy where we could call. Every time I hear people say call out or call in, did you actually reach out? Did you have the difficult conversation? Was it organizational that an organizational conflict that was needed to happen? Is there a contradiction in place that actually maybe you just were in that contradiction two years ago and now you're outgrown that contradiction and you're calling out someone else in it. It is being used to create this massive divisions and I think the problem working, I could be so into it. Yeah. Shame them. Let's get this together. But it's not working. People kind of disappear. They reappear somewhere else. The behavior that we need to be shining a light on and being like, hey, these are the mistakes we want to change. This is what we want to evolve. Instead people are trying to hide them. And it really serves our opposition because we're dividing divide, dividing, dividing. So we make our numbers smaller and smaller and smaller. At the employment we most need them to be bigger and bigger. So we end up divided. We end up ashamed and contentious. We end up insecure. People don't feel they can make a mistake and that's the worse place for humans to be because we're a mess. We're making mistakes all the time. I made mistakes today. I just feel it's really shattering our capacity to belong and I think what we'll get into this for whiteness, but whiteness as a project is somehow about belonging. And it's about both who gets to belong and who doesn't get to belong. And we're all in response to that, where do we belong, how do we belong and we have this strategy that makes it, like, you can only belong here unless you never make a mistake. Right? That's not going to work. Everyone is just ashamed

and alone and we're losing. That's what I think. [Laughter]

>> HILARY MOORE: Erin, what you got?

>> ERIN: I'll just keep going on that. As a human who also makes mistakes constantly, I think in particular and maybe I'll speak to like as someone who is a white person organizing other white people and particular dynamics that come up in antiracist space are not unique to you and can be quite intense. I think what I see that behavior serving in addition to what Adrienne named is also like serving trying to take care of our own dignity. We are trying what I see happening is there's really intense blend of things going to when white folks are calling other white folks out on racism. We are afraid and full of shame. We are full of rage because we feel we have been lied to our we'll lives especially when it comes into consciousness about race. So I think there's a desire to want to release the guilt and the shame these are horrible things. We want to distance ourselves from it. That is not me. And I think we think if we can point the finger at someone else, it makes us less complicit and it makes us good and then bad. We're the gaze white people and they're the bad white people and that plays into the division that Adrienne was talking about at the very moment we need to get big, the movement getting more of us in motion and movement is the only thing that is going to be able to prevent us from going to some of the scarier places that Hilary said we're going towards. It's the only move we have sometimes. It's the only move we're practicing. It's the only move we have seen modeled. It's the thing we do because we don't have a lot of other great models and we don't have a lot of practice. Yeah. And I think for some of us, the more generous interpretation might be for some of us are the first white. The first move I'm not participating in this anymore. You know? It's like our first move and that's not a bad thing. It's not the thing that will get us where we need to go in this movement. That's the thing I want to say. It can show up on those of us who have been movement for a real long time.

>> HILARY MOORE: Preach. Also that wear down. You have been down for a long time and it's been hat. I want to point out our need to get really big. Right? And like how this move doesn't take care of that and I also want to situate it within 2020 uprisings when we were huge. We were global. People recognizing and resounding off of each other and feeling and having impact that maybe some of us have never experienced before. And then to have that met with such repression, such intense repression and I feel like the gap in between is our grief that we haven't really dealt with. And maybe that's where our grief lives and what's so sad about grief especially if you're alone, we have been pointing fingers and that turns into despair. That is something I want to bring in here. Adrienne talks about it often too and works with grief and politicizes grief and illustrates grief. It will take a lot more of us. Okay.

So we're kind of talking about what it is we're pointing to, what about this for white people and social justice movements is necessary. I also want to see if there is anything else in there. Anything else that feels really important around call out culture relation to white folks in this political moment.

>> ADRIENNE MAREE BROWN: Erin, I really appreciate what you were saying about how there's a way we want to point away from our own behavior. Oh, you're doing that. And sometimes even the reason we're paying attention to it is because we're doing it ourselves or we're still actively doing that. But there is something about that I don't want to know complicit in whatever you're doing. But I think the harder move and when Grace and other elders, and ancestors are pointing us to, we have to take responsibility. What does it look like to take responsibility for what's happening and that I think is it's like I want to cancel my racist family. I want to cages the people over here and this racist executive director. I want to cancel whoever it is. It doesn't address the fact that this is systemic. White supremacy is a system and it's not something that can be taken down at an individual level. Right? So any time we find ourselves in that scenario where it's like, um, are folks still having trouble? How do I get louder? How about that?

#### >> HILARY MOORE: Get in there.

>> ADRIENNE MAREE BROWN: Just eat this microphone. Okay. I want to be heard. You know, there's a massive thunderstorm happening that's out of no where right above me is also the feds. Okay. So the thing that, um yeah. I see this behavior. I want to push myself away from and often when that instinct comes up to push away from, that's when we need to push closer. Oh, that's a piece of me. I am close enough to recognize it. How do we not push it away but pull it in close. I want to say something about whiteness. I am picked race. I grew up in black and white culture spaces. I feel how white sentence about exclusion, about division, California often with violence, this and not that, this and not that, this and not that. I think there's a special need to be really careful with this practice because this is a practice of saying us and not you. Right? We and us might get smaller and smaller and smaller, but this is these are the people who have their shit together. We're the innocent good white people and I'm like how is that any different from what whiteness has been up to as an experiment that's caused so much harm. And then the people who get pushed out of that are like I still have this white skin, but I have pushed out of belonging which then becomes a whole dangerous category. We see what white people push out of belonging which is shoot up everything. It's really a tender box. This really powerful, painful place. And I think it's growth for white folks and for those of us who have white adjacent shaping. A wider thing to be like were you told you have the right to create these divisions and categorize other people as bad? You can relinquish that idea of you being good and these other people bad and instead be like we're living in the systems of this time, the systems of this time are all about dominance and hierarchy. And how do we put that practice down? What does it look like to put that practice down? I also want to say one thing about infiltration because whenever movements are massively successful, there's counter moves to infiltrate those spaces and take then down from within and they always work. They always work. Right? We never we're always like I don't know what could be happening with these people causing all this trouble. We know what's happening. If someone shows up and all they're doing is

focusing on destroying whatever is happening there, not contributing to, how do we learn together, how to change this together, what does it look like to work with each other to co-create something that actually allows us to make the mistakes and unlearn this behavior. If the only move is I can (inaudible) cocktail into the middle of the meeting and structure, if I was not doing that, was having massive impact. We so to be discerning and much more cautious and not suspicious, but we have to organize those who want to do that call out divisive shit, we have to get better at organizing. Can I radicalize your ass because you're here in the room.

#### >> HILARY MOORE: Totally.

>> ERIN: When those of us white turn away, when we turn away from folks and do that separation, and I would love folks I know the chat is not open, but check with yourself. When someone said a thing, have you more often than not, do you move in or move away? I know there have been times where I was like this is my move instead of this. I'm leaning in for folks. Are we moving towards or away from and I just think when we think about the bigger systems that we have to transform and destroy and recreate, what happens when we see that territory? And just continue to build on that. Adrienne said the right is doing that and the right has a very intentional and well-resourced strategy for organizing white folks. They cannot maintain power without our people for those of us who are white. They can't maintain power and they know. I think Beth was quoted earlier they can't stay in power and they're a door knocking. They have media empires dedicating and help make sense of what's happening. So when we aren't doing that with our own folks, you know, we give up on our own people, but it fuels this larger political project that screws all of us in the end. We have to have places with people can make mistakes and people can find deep belonging and be transformed. I want to be really clear. I'm not talking about make white people comfortable. There's a difference between creating belonging and spaces where people can transform and that doesn't mean people are comfortable all the time. Right? That's what the political project is. It's about creating places where people can, you know, one of our elders and ancestors Ann Braden, who is a white anti racist woman talks about how white folks are constant lay in a state of flux and could go one way or the other and that our responsibility is help people think in new ways and experience new things. And that we have to have an abiding faith that people are capable of transformation because if we don't, what are we doing? If we don't, it's really so I think part of our work is to cultivate and continue to pay attention to our belief. Cultivate that people can transform. I did. If you're on this call, you weren't born with the consciousness that you have that got you on this call tonight. I think it's really important for those of us that are white to tap into our humility. Yeah. We're tapped into our humility. None of us are perfect. Perfection is not the goal anyways.

>> HILARY MOORE: Absolutely. All right, y'all. We're moving. We're shaking. Everybody take a deep breath. Everybody feel their ass in their chair. Let this flow through you in a way that feels generative, that feels like I want to chew on that. I want to talk to my folks about that. And just feel in your heart or your gut or

something much bigger than you. What is this conversation pointing us to? What's the gem that we need in this political movement to take seriously, to shine, to integrate. So keep breathing. Erin, I want to go to you first. What does this look like at organizational level? We're talking about a different way of being and can you speak to how SURJ is trying to practice that? How specifically are we trying to create a different kind of culture? And I then I will turn it over to you, Adrienne. You can talk about movement or what ifs.

>> ERIN: Well, um, I think one thing that's really at the core of what we believe at SURJ, um, is an orientation to anti racism that is mutual interest and more white people get really clear about what our stake is in fighting and ending white supremacy. And to focus as much on that as we do on our privilege. Yes. There are privileges, but they're awarded differently even within whiteness and that's a whole other webinar. There are also real costs. Not saying there are two communities of color, but there are costs to white people. In both material and spiritual ways, I would say. And that we do this work not from a place of helping communities of color, but really because we have deep liberation that requires that. We're not doing this to help anybody else. This is about our own liberation. You know, we have tried to get really crisp over the years about the ways in which white supremacy harms white communities in very material ways. So we know there's we can have nice things because of white supremacy and racism. We see the ways in which whiteness rearranges our alliance for those of us that are poor and working class as opposed to aligning with mass communities of color and POC led and black live movements for a world that would we have health care and strong public schools. We would have so many nice thing fist we could build a deep and enduring solidarity across lines of difference. It harms us in really material ways and there's also deep spiritual class to those of us who are white. We have to give up a lot to be white. I think of my own family. We had to give up our name, our foods. We had to give up our resiliency practices. There are things that harm us in other ways that much more about our spirits. So at SURJ, we create a culture that people will stay in which shit gets hard because we really understand what's in it for us.

[Laughter]

And we really believe that our own liberation is Thai tied to the leadership and success led by communities of color. That's at the core of what we're trying to do at SURJ. Yeah. Imperfectly, but yeah. That's at the core.

>> ADRIENNE MAREE BROWN: I feel there's for a long time, you know, I remember pre SURJ. I remember for such a long time being like God, I wish there was a space where white folks were talking to themselves and organizing themselves in a different way. I remember when catalysts came along. I remember being so excited when SURJ was born and being like oh, shit. This is what it need toss look like and there's a nature to it and it excites me and there's this aspect of both political education and really getting nuanced. And I think I would add to that, you know, Hilary sorry. I promised I wasn't going to say that.

[Laughter]

Hilary Moore, um, one of the reasons I adore our friendship is because I feel I'm constantly learning from you around what does it look like to broaden people's analysis inside of their identity. So the book you did no fascist USA, broaden our analysis to this moment. It's not just about white supremacy. It's not acting in a vacuum. It's acting towards this larger vision of a fascist state. We're barreling towards it. So if we can understand this moment was systemic and planned and it's about whiteness, but also about hierarchy, right? And the hierarchy actually Trumps the whole thing. Right? Inside of whiteness, there's constant hierarchies being built. Broadening that in whatever organizational space you're in, you say creating that space for people to make mistakes and recover, right? What does it look like to understand that the mistake is the portal when we mess up, was that's the portal. That's when the most change is possible. If we're held with compassion and that often we'll deny the mistake first. When we see people called out, there's a protocol almost they follow. It's like the grief protocol. Denial. This is not happening. I did not do it. It's not true ask that's not what I intended. There's a pathway. If we know that, then okay. That's all part of your recovery from the mistake you made. We don't need to get stuck on the steps you made. We need to discern and we will not cancel. This I made a list of discerning questions about whether we have enough information to actually make a call at all. Do we know if the survivor of arm is being supported? Do we know if there's a community that can support the person that caused the harm? Do we have the capacity to hold this? We need to stop being caught off guard by any of this. This is the wave of movement we're in. Let's create the grievance policies. So we're like oh, when this happens, we pull out fumbling towards repair from Miriam and we walk ourselves through the transformative justice process. I think also being willing to go to the root. So from some of our organizations, we're scared to look internally because what happens it's like a piece of dynamite is in our heart. So instead, if we create the space I know when I was at Rutgers, okay. Hold on. Let's make the space. Stop blowing each other up and let's make the space to turn in and inquire what happened here. What are the roots of this organization? What are we willing to actually shift towards that end, what are we willing to practice? If we can't slow down and look, then people are going to start throwing stuff and be like something has to change. This last piece is the least popular, but willing to sense if something can't transform. Let it go. Not every organization that exists right now is necessary. Not every chapter of every organization is necessary. If all it is doing is exploding and causing harm, let it go. Find other places to plug into. Maybe instead of being a leader, you need to be a follower and go volunteer in organizations of people of color and leadership and learn in that way. There are many ways to serve movement and, you know, the consistent process of blowing each of the up is not useful to movement right now. Those are some of my thoughts. Yeah.

>> HILARY MOORE: These are all skills that we need. These are skills of transition. This is skills of collapse. This is skills of how we lead together in a allergy scale way that we haven't been taught and we have to learn and relearn with each. We're going to need to figure that out. So cancel culture (inaudible) of building that whole new world to put it broadly.

I want to turn our attention to what are the moves that we need in this movement. We have been pointing to it. Feel free to reiterate, you know, hearing things over and over is really important. We want to practice new things, but what are the skills that we to build a political home when we are organizing in white communities specifically, but also guess what, the left. We need to get better at it. [Laughter]

>> ADRIENNE MAREE BROWN: I have four that I will throw into the mix. I have four. So the first one I referenced earlier, but it is actually cooling, actually reaching out and getting in contact with people. It's amazing to me how often because I often will sit down with people who have gone through a call out process and what happened and did you understand what was happening? Were you in denial? And so often they're like I didn't know until something was public. Right? And then I found out that people had had all these thoughts and assessments about me. We talk about the sematic lineage. Is what you say showing up in how you are? And people are like ooh, she's messed up. She said she's a white anti race I was, blah, blah. Okay. You need to tell people directly and call them and say what you're doing is not actually aligned with who you say you want to be. And I'm willing in be in a conversation about what that could look like. Right? That's the call. So that one. Be willing to be in a relationship with people that you want to see change. The second one is actually setting boundaries. So Prentis Hemphill teaches the Hemphill method. And what I find is we sometimes are using the public call out, call in cancel thing because we're trying to set a boundary. I need a boundary here. Something is happening that is harming me or impacting me. You deserve a boundary. You absolutely deserve a boundary. You don't have to destroy someone else to get that boundary. You need to set that boundary and I wish like in my dream world, our movement would pause, go to an alternate universe, spend five years learning about boundaries and then come back.

### [Laughter]

But we can't do that. So just pretend that happened. The third thing is Grace Lee Boggs again transform ourselves to transform the world and I literally everyone on this call, I'm like sit down and make a list of everything you have ever done that would have gotten you called on out or cancelled. Just sit down and make that list. Put down is how old you were when it happened. How would it impact you if people came to you this way. This was not around. I know. I had made this list myself and I thank the Lord every day that social media wasn't what it was when I was 18 and making my first mistakes. I couldn't have handled it. Psychologically, I don't know if I would have been a successful and impactful part of the movement. I'm so glad that people fought for me to transform myself to transform the world. Get back in touch with your own humility and recognize you still have work to do. If you think you don't have work to, do that's the work you need to most attend to. Right? And then the fourth thing is be willing to heal. She has this question. Are you ready to be well? And I think for white people sometimes there's like I'm ready to be ashamed. I'm ready to be apologetic for the rest of my life. I'm ready to crawl on my knees. That's not what we need from y'all. What we need from you is to be willing to heal all the way back into your dignity beyond contortion and beyond shame to stand whole and say yes. I'm a whole human being. I have made mistakes and I will make them, but I did not create this system. I am responsible for dismantling along everyone else. That's the partnership that will heal us and if you're willing to heal, we can work with that. Right? So those are my things.

>> ERIN: Thanks, Adrienne. I also had four, but I will go out of order here. What you just said about we need you to heal. I would say and then we need you to turn back to your folks and bring more of them along.

## >> ADRIENNE MAREE BROWN: That's great.

>> ERIN: We have to do our individual work. The two things are interconnected and I think for too long, those of us who aren't white have defined anti racism as the shame and the blame and the self hate rid. It stays at such an individual level and we need to be thinking collectively. Our responsibility is bring more folks with us when we're we need to bring more folks along. So that can look like a lot of things. We will recruit to you, but it can look like door knocking and talking away to folks in Georgia of who is targeting every day. It can have really hard conversations with people around you to shift them over time. I think it's fundamentally we have to be thinking collectively and about collective action that are targeting systems and structures as we are also doing our individual work, the two things have to go hand in hand.

>> ADRIENNE MAREE BROWN: Erin, one thing I want to throw in is sometimes there's something about supporting people who are going to do that work. I have extremely racist white family and I don't feel safe in the interaction of going in to deal with them, but my mom goes and she's doing that work and I have her back. I'm supporting her. My job is being in a political relationship with her to fortify how she's able to move into that space and what she's able to do there. That's also a massive solidarity and it changes our relationship all the time. My mom doesn't think of herself as an organizer, but she absolutely is. I want to offer that too. There's so many ways to support people in the work.

>> ERIN: There's letting of care people that are having the conversations. Hilary and I have had conversations both ways around that. We have each been engaged in all kinds of work. And then I think there's a piece about growing. This is named in other ways, but it is actually helping people transform. There are skills, concrete skills associated with that. We talk about having the skills to call people out, but we need skills to help people sit through saying really ugly things and to be able to self regulate. We need to be know curious and sit in our own discomfort. We need to, you know, yeah. There's a whole range of skills we need to help people transform. It's not just something we wake up and know how to do. Some of us are socialized on how to do it. And I think the third thing I want to look up is just that we need to continue to remember that white Adrienne, you might have said this. It's the systems of white

supremacy and we need to be rigorous in engaging in the conversations we need to when harm does have at the individual level or an organization and we need to be very clear about the ways in which whiteness is being used as part of a political project to maintain a very ingest (inaudible) to all of us. So continuing to turn our attention up at those who benefit most from white supremacy and from keeping us divided. So I think being really rigorous around that is really, really important around these times.

>> HILARY MOORE: Y'all, something striking me right now the moment within movement Legacy, movement history. Right? Some of our I'll say for white anti racist movements, we have gone through the we have been through some things in terms of how we relate to white people. And ultimately, being very small and expecting large impact hasn't really worked out before. We're actually trying to bring in millions, millions more white folks into the strategy, into what we actually need. And I want all of us who are a part of groups, formations, organizations, just underlining what everybody is talking about. Can we be a commitment to something much larger than ourselves? Can it be a commitment and right sizing ourselves in a relationship with that. Just a few things I want to throw in. I have known that I belonged when I'm (inaudible) really well not in an exploitive way or whatever. But when I'm like I have a place and I'm doing the thing that I will have purpose around and being used well. Do our organizations, do our campaigns do that for folks? That's an important question. Do who celebrate and rejoice and like actually integrate our wins, whatever they might be. We need more satisfaction if we bring people along. Also, we put out how can we create a culture whether it's in our teams, in our organization or in our movements where we feel this is the right place and right time. If you only look externally, shit's on fire and what the hell is going on? What if we know how to position ourselves in this moment. We know this is our fight and we need each other, the very different relationship. So let's also build right place, right times and purpose within that. I wanted to open up it. Adrienne, what you got. Erin, any

>> ADRIENNE MAREE BROWN: As you were saying that, there's also I feel like there's wisdom on this, right? And one is looking 7 generations back, looking 7 generations forward and really thinking not just this moment as what the whole world is or this whiteness of this moment is the way whiteness has always been and operated. And one of the things I have always deeply respected Hilary about you is that you're like my lineage is in Germany. I will go back and I will go understand and get in and explore that. Right? And you actually contributed to like how do we think beyond policing in Europe? For me, I'm like oh, right because that's a lineage that you have and we actually share that. I grew up half my life in Germany without knowing I had German lineage. No wait. There's German, Nigerian, all this stuff. There's something about how do we reclaim our cultural aspect of ourselves outside of this current tiny box construct way of looking at ourselves and how do we project forward into a future in which whiteness doesn't even exist but we're many, many cultures and many, many ways of being and we're responsible for being in the right relationships with the earth with all of that and all of this will be a part of that and moving forward. So I often ask people that when folks are talking about whiteness, I'm like where do

you come from? What are the songs and practices of your people? If you can't if you weren't told them, or if you can only remember the most traumatic horrific stuff that happened in the past few centuries, reach back further. There is something that pre dates that for you just like there's some of the pre dates the trauma for me as a black person. There is something beautiful back there and something beautiful up ahead and we're passing through the portal to get there and in this moment, we just have to be so accountable to each other about that and we can't afford to lose anyone. We can't afford to lose anyone. So if you can't hold on to them, figure out who can.

[Laughter]

You know? But we have to hold on to each other. Because when white supremacy thing is falling apart. When capitalism falls apart, it will be awesome and so scary. We will get lost in the (inaudible). We will be the light that everyone has to turn towards and be like they're figuring it out. I want to fit in. I want to belong to something. And I'm like great because we're scholars of belonging. That's what we have been practicing. We don't throw people away here. That's the movement and future I want us to build.

- >> HILARY MOORE: I got chills.
- >> ADRIENNE MAREE BROWN: Chills.
- >> ERIN: Yeah. I want to keep threading the belonging piece. Not only do we belong to lineages and places many of us don't know. You know, we also don't often learn the lineages of white anti racism that are there.

[Laughter]

And Carla Wallace, who I single on the call says that we have always been there. Always too few of us and always in perfectly, but we have always been there and that history has erased. We have to be deliberate about seeking that out. If you're in a SURJ chapter or one of the SURJ members, that is something we can lean back on and it's a lineage we can be proud of and that we know we come from. So I think the thing that really excites me is that we're positioned there's more of us than there ever has been and SURJ wants to continue to be a place where millions of white folks can kind belonging and choose another way of being and choose solidarity and liberation. So yeah. We do come from many lineages and there are some of them that we can be proud of. We want to make more of those anti racist.

- >> HILARY MOORE: Of the fuel for the white. It's abundant even. It's as renewable resources. Our histories, culture and our ability to Connect. We just have to use it. And also prioritize it. So Adrienne, will you close this out and wrap us up in terms of
- >> ADRIENNE MAREE BROWN: Totally. My obsession is practice. So it's like it's great to think all these big thoughts. It's great to get inspired, but one of the things that's the most harmful behavior that white folks do is we get mad and we yell at the television and we talk about it and somebody should do something and we don't get in

our own practice. So the thing is let's get in our own practice. Let's all get in our own practice here. We have given you a lot of things you can practice. But I want to invite Grace back on. I think that SURJ has like real resources on practices you can take out of this call to move forward. I also want to say one of those practices is to actually donate to and support organizations that are explicitly working on this. So Grace might be mentioning it, but donate to SURJ, donate to black organizing for leadership and dignity. Donate to organizations that are going head on at this problem at this moment so we can belong to each other in an abundant way.

>> GRACE: Thank you, Adrienne and Erin. Excuse me while I put on my scholarly hat on. What's next? We are all together on this webinar and now we will do something about it. As she said to be in practice together. So the first thing is a fun thing and it's to remind us that we are in practice literally together. And Adrienne said just a few minutes ago come on in and that's what we say at SURJ. If you have been looking for us, we have been looking for you. You're all on social media. A lot of you were sharing this on Instagram. Take out your phones and take a selfie of yourself and we're going to hashtag come on in and share your commitment to wire in the spite for the long haul and who you're going to bring with you. You can tag SURJ and Adrienne Maree Brown. We'll reshare it on the profile. You'll be Instagram famous. Who knows. So you're taking a photo of yourself and tagging #comeonin. Whether that's Instagram or Facebook and then click on the hashtag and see who is hire and what they're committing to. Because y'all like not to be that guy, but what's at stake is our collective futures. We are fascist and authoritarianism and the right is winning in a lot of ways. We will keep laying it on you that in the midst of crisis, there is an opportunity. And we talked on this webinar about opportunity at the small scale, which is ways that we can be in practice calling in together and in relationship and also on the large scale how we'll bring in literally millions of white people into this movement with belonging and their own shared stake to break the power of the right over white people because it is strategic and sacred.

So now it is time to get information. I will throw in some Beyonce. This is in the cycle of theory, action and reflection. So it's important to know the movement theory. We take action and then we think about it and do assessments and think about when we were learning and integrating and how we do it differently next time. So we'll invite you into that process tonight. Maybe it happened. In just a second, we are dropping the link into the chat where you can find eye road map of this theory action and reflection. So tonight, it was a theory. It was like the juiciest most delicious theory you ever want to experience. And then in this document for your action bit, there will be ape whole menu of ways you can take action with SURJ. We want to you find three friends who will commit to watching this webinar with you and then taking action with you. And then part 3, we want y'all to commit to reflecting on the process together. What was coming up for you? Calling people in Georgia made me feel nervous because whatever it is. So this is the cycle. And one of the actions as Adrienne shared is for you to donate to bold, the organization she mentioned which is resourcing black organizing to do this informative work. Here at SURJ we're trying to support organizations leading the works and agendas. Okay. That's my bit. The stakes are

high. Are you guys with us? Let's turn the chat back on. Let's turn the chat back on and give some lot to our speakers and share your commitment about how you are gonna invite people to come on in and make a bigger we here. Bring in more and more white people into this work. Because it's the only way. It's the only we forward. Also the most beautiful way, I think. Speaking of beautiful, I will choose one of the many quotes on my phone to share with y'all to close. I will find the tab. One second. I should have it memorized, but, of course I can't pull it up on the webinar. Here's Grace Lee Boggs. In the middle of catastrophe, in the midst of disaster, people particular people who have already suffered see an opportunity to evolve to another stage of humanity. So in crisis and catastrophe, we have opportunity to evolve and one part of this evolution is building this bigger we in a beautiful more we of belonging. So find the links. Take action with us. This is your home now. Come on in. #comeonin. We're so great of the for you. Bye, everyone.

- >> HILARY MOORE: Bye y'all.
- >> Thanks interpreters.

>> GRACE: Thank you to our interpreters. Thank you to our tech people. Thank you to our live streamers and thanks to everyone who joined us tonight. So beautiful to be here with you. Bye y'all. Be well.