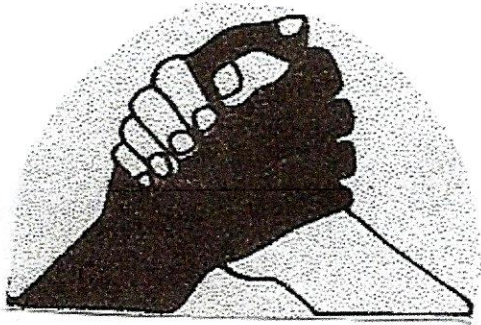


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Vol. 1 Number 3 —Fall, 2019



# MAC **A r r o w**

Unitarian Universalist  
Multiracial Unity Action Council  
(UUMUAC)

“For the Unity of the  
light and dark skinned  
people of the world.”

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### **The Mission Statement**

It is the mission of the Unitarian Universalist Multiracial Unity Action Caucus to carry out and foster anti-racist and multiracial unity activities both within and outside the Unitarian Universalist Association through education, bearing witness and other actions, and expansion of our membership both within and outside the walls of our congregations.

### **The Vision Statement**

We envision our congregations, denomination, and society as not being color blind but color appreciative; as judging and treating members of the world’s rank and file by the content of their character, not the color of their skin or their cultural heritage; and as treasuring diversity in the context of the “Beloved Community.” We call this vision Multiracial Unitarian Universalism.

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## Organizational Matters

*By Allan Lindrup, UUMUAC Treasurer*

In the spring of this year UUMUAC received Sec. 501(c)(3) status from the IRS, so contributions to UUMUAC may be deducted as charitable contributions on federal tax returns.

UUMUAC has changed its mailing address, which you may have noticed on the cover page of this MAC Arrow. We had started out with a US Postal Service P.O. Box, but found that the service was lousy, with many properly addressed envelopes misdelivered or returned as undeliverable, so we have shifted to a private mail box. UUMUAC's address is now 1448 E. 52<sup>nd</sup> St., Box 267, Chicago, IL 60615.

The UUMUAC web site – [www.uumuac.org](http://www.uumuac.org) – has been progressing and it now also has a Donate button that allows for on-line donations.

UUMUAC membership has, overall, remained fairly stable over the past year, with some members not renewing their membership, but others joining up. UUMUAC membership currently stands at 45. Note that, per a vote taken in connection with the adoption of the UUMUAC By-Laws, the UUMUAC membership rate increases to \$30 per year as of the next fiscal year, which begins January 2, 2020. Contributions beyond the basic membership rate are, of course, much appreciated and very helpful in allowing UUMUAC to carry out its efforts.

The UUMUAC Board has recently updated our organizational brochure. Perhaps most notable, in updating the Action Plan, we have added "Oppose the use of the unscientific ideology of White Supremacy Culture (WSC)" and "Oppose the specific or implicit claim that most white Unitarian Universalists are white supremacists."

Lastly, the UUMUAC Nominating Committee is proposing the following slate for UUMUAC officers for 2020, which will be elected at UUMUAC's annual meeting in early December, which UUMUAC members may participate in via conference call.

Chair – Finley C. Campbell

Vice-Chair – Dick Burkhart

Treasurer – Allan Lindrup

Co-Recording Secretaries – Ken Christiansen and Allan Lindrup

Correspondence Secretary – Marie Cobbs

Notice regarding the date, time, physical location, and call-in information for the annual meeting will be distributed by email.



## **The UUA Jumps Off the Cliff of Identity Politics**

a review by Dick Burkhardt of

### **A Self-Confessed White Supremacy Culture: The Emergence of an Illiberal Left in Unitarian Universalism**

By Anne Schneider (2019)

In this brave and scholarly book, steadfast Unitarian Universalist (UU) Anne Schneider not only provides a solid analysis of the extraordinary censorship of Rev. Todd Eklof by UU authorities but also shows us the relevant documents as well. It's a must read to understand what happened at the UUA General Assembly in Spokane in June, 2019, and how a very un-UU ideological takeover of the UUA is escalating a schism that both reflects and feeds into the increasing polarization, centered around identity, on campuses and in religion and politics. At a time when scientists, youth, and responsible people everywhere are calling for all-out efforts, like the Green New Deal, to combat climate catastrophes and extreme inequality, the identity wars are being exploited to block actions, not just for the common good, but for survival itself.

Eklof distributed his controversial book, "The Gadfly Papers", at the General Assembly in Spokane, where he is the senior UU minister. A long-time activist for social justice, he was disturbed by anti-democratic trends spreading from academia into the UUA: top-down programs and actions based on ideologies that, although well-meaning, were likely to have very counterproductive results. He called for open and honest dialogue. But what he inadvertently ignited was a firestorm of disinformation and accusation of the kind Lukianoff and Haidt call a "which hunt" in their book "The Coddling of the American Mind", the subject of Eklof's first chapter.

The ideology in question is called "white supremacy culture" (WSC – a new acronym for me). I can testify that the phrase "white supremacy" was indeed thrown around with abandon at this and the last two General Assemblies, despite its highly insulting connotation when applied to justice-oriented UUs, not to mention the white working class, which has experienced such devastating losses over the last 40 years despite their "whiteness". While the "Right Relations Team" warned stridently against "micro-aggressions", they promoted this blazing macro-aggression (WSC), trying to pretend that it was OK to use an obscure academic meaning of the term. But I and others felt it was being used to silence dialogue about how it was already hurting the very cause - racial justice – of its proponents, due to its ideological foundations.

Schneider does exemplary research to show us where this ideology came from and the absence of scholarly foundations, which is why I refer to it as an "ideology". She also cites a 2012 Harvard Business Review article "Why Diversity Training Doesn't Work" by Peter Bregman. He cites a 2007 study in Context by Dobbin, Kalev, and Kelly of 829 corporate programs over 31 years, which concluded that "diversity training had no positive effects in the average workplace". Two key factors predicting failure are (1) making a program mandatory and (2) labeling people by racial or other categories. The current best practice is to engage people as individuals with unique life experiences, not as members of groups. Yet a core feature of the WSC ideology is labeling, with strong "bad vs good" connotations for the labels "white" vs "people of color" (POC – another new acronym for me). For example, Robin DiAngelo in her book on 'White Fragility' says that white people must always be vigilant in analyzing how their whiteness harms POC, learning to internalize her claim that a white person cannot have a "positive white identity" (p. 149). The fact that in practice this breeds resistance and resentment, leading to program failure, is what she calls 'white fragility', as if this pseudo medical diagnosis will somehow lead to a cure. Bregman, Dobbin, Kalev and others are saying to diversity trainers like DiAngelo : You need to revisit your ideological prescriptions. They just don't work.



Schneider not only reinforces Eklof's call for a rededication to democratic values, but "training for social justice work should focus on oppression, not just race, wherever it is found...It should have a new message... of hope instead of guilt or discouragement;... inspiration instead of despair; ...inclusion instead of segregation; a message that breaks down barriers of race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality to find commonalities, even as we cherish our differences."

The author most frequently cited as defining WSC is Tema Okun, who lists 15 characteristics: of WSC: perfectionism; sense of urgency; defensiveness; quantity over quality; worship of the written word; paternalism; either / or thinking; power hoarding; fear of open conflict; individualism; I'm the only one; progress is bigger, more; objectivity; right to comfort; only one right way. But what, exactly, do these traits have to do with "whiteness"? That is, are they really universal in white cultures but not present in other cultures? Are they always bad?

Schneider could only find good research on one trait: Individualism is more prevalent in western civilization than in traditional cultures. But most social scientists would attribute this to our unprecedented prosperity, which gives us more freedom in some aspects of our lives (more free time for entertainment, hobbies, adventures, etc.), even as it enforces stronger conformity in others (rule of law, employment, etc.). And this prosperity is, of course, energized by fossil fuels, which have nothing to do with whiteness.

In addition, most people, of all backgrounds, would regard all 15 traits as having both down-sides and upsides in different situations, with many traits being the subject of considerable controversy. For example, I'd want the engineers who design our commercial airplanes, and the workers who build them, to be "perfectionists", but according to Okun theory this is a quality of white culture, so it might be too risky to permit people of color in such jobs. And why would, or should, POC have any less of "sense of urgency" about heading off escalating climate disasters than some white people, especially considering recent devastating hurricanes in Puerto Rico and the Bahamas and what sea level rise will do to some islands in the South Pacific? In fact, what Okun is doing is creating a set of hurtful stereotypes, based on highly questionable values, which could even have racist effects, as Schneider also points out.

But what makes both the language and theory of WSC so offensive to many UUs is its overt rejection of several of our key values. Consider the fact the Okun thinks that "objectivity" is not a good trait. But when is it actually better to relax into bias and narrow mindedness rather than seeking objectivity, that is, attempting to understand and evaluate diverse points of view and to act accordingly? To me this is the essence of the fourth UU principle: "A free and responsible search for truth and meaning". As Schneider points out, this is also what Todd Eklof wrote about – that the fourth UU principle is now being threatened from the Left, not just the Right, and even by some in the UU leadership. And it is not just Okun who rejects objectivity and scholarship in both theory and in herself, it is also more recent writers like Robin DiAngelo, whose 'white fragility' writings were critiqued for their illogic in chapter 3 of Eklof's book, with even more severe critiques by Johnathan Church.

Another key UU value is the fifth principle: "The right of conscience and the use of the democratic process...". It is here that I must express my great admiration for Rev. Todd Eklof and Anne Schneider (both white), also Rev. Finley Campbell and Rev. Thandeka (both black), for listening to their consciences and speaking their truth to power, despite possible actions against them, as has happened to both Eklof and Campbell. In fact the entire UUA process has been top-down, not democratic, with no authorized forums for discussion or debate, let alone votes for the current UUA policy embracing WSC. Many white ministers feel that they might be accused of racism, and even many POC are uncomfortable with this ideology and the censorship but feel overpowered by the vocal few who claim to represent them. To her credit, Schneider quotes many messages of support for Eklof, in addition to those attacking him. I found it very interesting that the reason given for the censure was it would be hurtful to some, without specifying who or how, but suggesting that the

UUA has a deep problem with 'POC fragility'. But is that true? Are many UU POC less able to engage in open and honest dialogue about difficult issues than others? And if



so, what should be done about it? – Another topic for open and honest dialogue.

The most basic UU principle of all is the first one – “The inherent dignity and worth of every person”. This principle is as much a refutation of the doctrine of “original sin” as it is an affirmation of justice for people of diverse classes, cultures, or disabilities. Yet theorists like Robin DiAngelo take a very un-UU religious approach. She regards whiteness as a kind of original sin, always engaged in racial oppression: “white people are inherently racist; they do not exist outside the system of white supremacy...To be less white is to be less racially oppressive (‘White Fragility’, pp. 149 – 150). It’s just like Catholics are told to confess their sins and to follow certain practices to become less sinful. However such efforts at control by guilt-tripping and confession has a long history of failure to change hearts and minds in positive ways, often having superficial success but leading to even more dysfunctional attitudes and behaviors when the underlying issues have been suppressed rather engaged in understanding and informative ways. From this UU point of view, Schneider finds it astounding that the UUA leadership would confess their racism, which they did, as this bowing to such an un-UU ideology would likely make them less able to provide effective leadership, which has been the case.

...One theme that Schneider does not develop is how the identity politics that is at the core of WSC contributes to the polarization that contributed to the election of Donald Trump and which sustains his popularity in the polls at around 40% regardless of his performance. Of course, “follow the money”, is always sound advice when trying to understand broad societal changes, such as the escalating inequality of the last 40 years. And when you do, you discover that the group that was hit hardest was the white working class, simply because they had the most to lose and neoliberal capitalism will scam anyone they can, regardless of identity. So this is the fundamental reason so many Republican voters abandoned the establishment Republicans, who’d sold out to big business, to vote for Trump. Lots of rust belt Democrats abandoned Hillary for the same reason. But just like a cultural construct – racism – was used to cement an unjust economic institution – slavery, today a cultural polarization is being used to reinforce the political polarization in DC, while big business “laughs all the way to the bank”, so to speak.

This cultural polarization is not coming just from evangelicals on the right, a great many of whom are the working class whites plagued by deteriorating communities and “deaths of despair” (opioid & suicides). It’s also coming from an identity politics on the left that ignores the oppression of the white working class because they supposedly benefit from “white privilege” or “white supremacy”. One of our most revered UU black scholars, Rev. Thandeka, thoroughly refutes this point of view in her recent 10 part series on “White N...”, where I’ve omitted the N word, which she uses to show how under class whites have always been treated as badly as blacks, and often working class whites too. But her wisdom is being ignored by the impetuous younger generation, which is setting itself up for failure just like the black power movement did when they abandoned the religious depth and maturity of MLK. The Rev. Finley Campbell, like Thandeka, is also trying to carry forward the legacy of MLK, now sacrificed to the WSC crusade, though, ironically, Schneider observes that this has involved more whites than blacks. And Amy Chua in her recent book on “Political Tribalism” agrees about the left’s role in cultural polarization: “white identity politics [on the Right] has gotten a tremendous recent boost from the Left, whose relentless berating, shaming, and bullying might have done (more) damage than good” (p. 189), helping to create the white backlash that Trump has exploited.

I hope Anne Schneider’s well-documented and courageous book will cause the UUA to reconsider its commitment to the WSC ideology. To instead renew its commitment to the seven principles and to the common good, especially extending its umbrella of inclusion to the white working class. Remember, this group was once the bedrock of the Democratic Party and the Progressive movement long before that. Also polling shows that racism has, in fact, been declining over the last 40 years, despite some backlashes like mass incarceration and Trump rallies. It’s neoliberal capitalism that has divided us far more than racism, so let’s join Schneider is saying “NO” to failed ideologies and work together toward the common good.



## **A Report on General Assembly 2019 – by Marie Cobbs**

The Power of We, this was the theme of the UUA General Assembly held in Spokane, WA from June 19-23, 2019. According to UUA Co-Moderator Elandria Williams, "We are here to grapple with the depth of the spirit and the scope of the great mystery and to figure out together how to find the strength and clarity to live a life of purpose, intention, liberation every day."

The goal of this report is three things: Informational, the importance of GA in general, and its importance to our (or each) congregation.

### **INFORMATIONAL:**

Attendees at the GA: Adults 2,407, Youth 107, Off-site 227, Delegates 1,418, Congregations 507.

#### **Commission on Institutional Change General Assembly Report**

The Unitarian Universalist Association (UUA) Commission on Institutional Change was charged with addressing the long-term festering issues of race, racism and "white supremacy culture" within Unitarian Universalism, appointed by the UUA Board of Trustees in 2017 for a period of two years with an extension granted in 2018.

Their first report was given in 2018 around the turmoil created by the hiring of a white minister for a regional lead of its southern region instead of a Latina, who held a religious educator position. "Accusations that this was (another) example of White Supremacy Culture within the UUA were swift".

President Morales attempted to counter the accusations with data on progress being made in hiring People of Color. He also cited other empirical data, but this did not make any difference. Nonetheless, the UUA Board of Trustees continued discussing White Supremacy Culture within the UUA and UU congregations.

Commission on Institutional Change 2019 GA Report: Purpose and Goal; Ground its work in theological reflection; Oversee an audit of racism within the Unitarian Universalist Association; Collect stories of those who have been the target of harm or aggression because of racism; Examine and document critical events and practices at all levels of the Association: Findings; call for a common vocabulary or a common understanding about race and oppression among us, we need communities based on covenant and commitment rather than comfort and conformity with shared learning and exploration as a foundation.

The Commission on Institutional Change will continue to focus on completing data collection activities and auditing systemic racism.

UUA announced the completion of its fundraising campaign to meet the \$5.3 million commitment it made in 2016 to Black Lives of Unitarian Universalism.

Tim Brennan said that the UUA raised \$4.6 million for BLUU and is transferring the rest from the UUA's unrestricted endowment.



The importance of GA is found in the activities of the plenaries, lectures and workshops, mini-assemblies and the social gatherings, all designed to educate us with respect to Unitarian Universalism and our widely held concerns.

The importance to our (or each) congregation. In general, I would say the activities mentioned above have value for our congregation, but personally I enjoyed the one on one discussions I had with members from other congregations. For example, the discussion I had at the workshop on Dismantling White Supremacy as to whether this strategy is useful for fighting racism.

I agree with the position taken by Anne L Schneider a retired political science professor and former Dean of the College of Public Programs, Arizona State University. She concludes with the dangers of progressive/liberal people and groups adopting illiberal strategies, including the use of words like "white supremacy" to describe liberal and progressive organizations that do not hold such beliefs or practices that portray the white race as superior to others races.

## **Honest and Open Debate Vs Identity Politics and Microaggressions**

a review by Dick Burkhart of

### **The Coddling of the American Mind:**

#### **How Good Intentions and Bad Ideas are Setting Up a Generation for Failure**

By Greg Lukianoff and Jonathan Haidt (2018)

This is a much needed and thoughtful book which tackles head-on the counter-productive aspects of the politics of identity and microaggression, especially as it has arisen in academia over the last 6 years. It is very good at analyzing the roles of social media, parenting, and societal pressures in producing this developing crisis.

Yet the book does not delve into the underlying economics, such as the forces escalating economic inequality in the US over the last 40 years. And in the end Lukianoff and Haidt adopt a Steven Pinker type view for sunny prospects versus the skepticism of Jared Diamond and Peter Turchin, based on the rise and fall of past civilizations. That is, there is a lot more going on than ignorance of "Cognitive Behavioral Therapy" (Lukianoff's field).

The authors conclude that today's teenagers are simply too immature for college, in addition to being overly anxious and depressed and lacking in coping skills. Both over-protective parenting and social media are too blame, with girls being hit much harder due to how social media magnifies their competition for "relationships, reputations, and social status" (p. 155). Good recommendations include limits to 2 hours a day of screen time, a "gap year" of work or service after high school, and intentional increases in time for unstructured "free play", including normal childhood risks, as in the "Free-Range Kids" movement.

Once in college, especially in places like Berkley, many of these "iGen" kids want protection from "free speech" that might include "microaggressions". But this can make them even more anxious and depressed. And when certain subjects cannot be openly and honestly debated, the truth gets buried by a tribal politics of winners and losers. In this sense what's happening on campuses reflects the polarization of national politics. It also constitutes a retreat among many advocates for justice of MLK's highly successful focus on our "common humanity". One thing that Lukianoff and Haidt do not pursue is how all this is already spreading to other arenas, such as some churches and media.



The whole point of "Cognitive Behavioral Therapy" is to counter the "cognitive distortions" which produce anxiety and depression by carefully constructed microaggressions to enable patients to think and discuss more constructively and rationally about things which cause them discomfort or despair. That is, guided engagement works, while avoidance often maintains fragility and unhappy episodes.

One of the most visible and destructive forms of tribalism that we are seeing today is the "witch hunt", which seeks to severely censure, or even excommunicate, anyone who appears to question the party line. Typically, only minor transgressions are involved, such as unfortunate choices of wording. Lukianoff and Haidt document several such instances from recent years. I have been personal witness to such an incident, in a liberal church setting of all places. In fact this book itself played an important role in that incident.

And here's where Lukianoff and Haidt could have gone much deeper. Because it is not just US society that is under enormous stress – it is happening globally due to rapid and highly visible but unsustainable economic growth that has left behind vast numbers of people. Though the ruling classes have been successful at suppressing or diverting this stress for decades, the frustrations of those left behind, or even just fearful of being left behind, have come to a head and are boiling over. Tribal politics has reared its ugly head where ordinary politics has failed. This book is a welcome wakeup call, and I hope for many more to follow.

Note: This book was the subject of Todd Eklof's first chapter in his book "The Gadfly Papers"

**Following the Rainbow of Steel, the Symbol of Multiraciality:  
A Short Journey through the Desegregated Culture of USAmerica –  
A Response to the False Doctrines of US American White Supremacy Culture  
by Rev. Dr. Finley C. Campbell, spokesperson, UUMUAC**

Back in August, 2019, I received a very distressing letter from my daughter, Paulette L. Campbell about whether or not the sacrifices we had made during the Civil Rights struggles were all in vain. She was responding to various news reports about the white nationalist/ white supremacist resurgence in the USA. I then suggested that she come visit me and to see for herself that in fact we had a desegregated culture by meeting and experiencing hundreds of people of all colors who were maintaining that culture, directly or indirectly.

By desegregated culture I mean the form of a multiracial culture which emerged in 1968 with the defeat of Jim Crow or legal segregation. However, because of the alliance between the Black Power Movement and the Nixon southern strategy, a new Atlanta compromise was achieved. As a result full racial integration, which had to be based on economic equity, was never achieved. Nevertheless, the triumph of the desegregational culture was seen in the celebration of Senator Barack Obama's election victory in Grant Park in Chicago in 2008 and, most of all, in his inauguration as president of the United States in 2009, which literally millions of US Americans of all colors either attended or tried to attend.

This then is the background to this essay.

The purpose of this essay is to present a descriptive analysis of our journey into that culture. My thesis is that in following the arc of what I have called the Rainbow of Steel, i.e., various exemplifications of multiracial unity, we gave the lie to those who falsely assert that the US of America today is a manifestation of a white supremacy culture.



To do this I will answer three key questions: What was the chrono-geographical nature of the journey? How was the desegregated culture manifested in that journey? And, most of all, why was the journey an important refutation of the White Supremacy Cultural assertions for my daughter's sake, but for all of us who are committed to multiracial unitarian universalism?

Let us answers these questions in descriptive detail.

What was the chrono-geographical nature of the journey, that is when and where did our journey take place? The first phase began on Saturday, September 14 and lasted to Monday, September 16 here in Chicago, beginning officially when Paulette and her friend Pipo aka Philip, arrived at the O'Hare Airport, flying in from Geneva, Switzerland. Then on Monday, September 16, we headed through the flatlands surrounding a Cracker Barrel Restaurant in Indiana and later that day arrived, by God's own curving will, at the gently rolling hills of Wabash College in Crawfordsville, Indiana—for a short stop. Leaving there, still on the 16<sup>th</sup>, we arrive for an overnight rest at a lovely Econolodge in Louisville, Kentucky in the valley of the Ohio River. We get our keys and go to our separate rooms.

Tuesday, September 17: the long jump – from Louisville to Knoxville, Tennessee; from Knoxville through the North Carolina Smokies, down through the Green River Gorge, in a rain-storm, heading into South Carolina, ending at Uncle Major Campbell's house in Columbia, South Carlina. And then to sleep at a Days Inn.

Wednesday morning, September 18, our next big jump —Columbia to Atlanta, Georgia, arriving there late at night at the black owned Clarion Hotel franchise, ending the day with a tasty meal in downtown Atlanta at a ,Japanese restaurant, Paulette and Pipo being a bit tired of southern cuisine. And then to our different beds.

Thursday, September 19. Lunch at the famous, now desegregated Paschal restaurant, which was the headquarters for a lot of civil struggles in the 60's. That afternoon we leave Atlanta on our first of several Southwest Airline flights, returning to return to Chicago for a four-day adventure, beginning on Friday, September 19 to Monday, September 23. And then on September 23, we take Southwest Air to Detroit Michigan to visit relatives in the city and by accident we end up on Tuesday September 24 supporting some GM strikers as they picket the gleaming, monumental GM headquarters in downtown Detroit.

That afternoon (September 24) we Southwest it to the Washington/Maryland/Virginia/West Virginia area to meet relatives, go to restaurants, and visit national monuments, remaining there from Wednesday the 24<sup>th</sup> through Friday the 27<sup>th</sup>, Now we take our separate airlines: Paulette heading directly back to Geneve, Pipo to Geneva via O'Hare, and me, having to remain in the Baltimore-Washington InterNational Airport (BWI) area overnight because of weather conditions, but finally flying out, Saturday September 28, exhausted but exhilarated by the beauty of the Rainbow of Steel, arcing from Chicago to Columbia to BWI and back to Chicago.

How was the desegregated culture manifested in the journey? The root of the term manifest is "to display by actions," and "to be at or on hand," and that was the reality of the journey. At the O'Hare airport I am waiting for Paulette and Pipo watching all kinds of people coming out of the customs area, most monoracial, some multiracial, all occupying the same space without fear of hindrance because of their race –the arrival gate at O'Hare airport, the first place manifesting what I mean by a desegregated culture. We go to Chicago and pick up



my white wife Bobbi, have our first meal at a restaurant called the Porkchop, a black owned facility, where we are all welcomed: me, black; Paulette, bi-racial black, Pipo Swiss-Italian white, and Bobbi, Swedish American white. And that first night, I take Pipo and Paulette to their first rest stop, a simple B and B, staffed by a white couple, Allan Lindrup and Anne Holcomb, who warmly invites them to come in, their building peacefully co-existing in the predominantly black community of South Shore, a Chicago neighborhood.

Indeed all along our journey, all our housing reflects the hospitality generated by a desegregated culture: the Econolodge in Louisville, the Days Inn in South Carolina, the new Hilton hotel in Chicago, the Riverside Motel in Detroit, and staying at the home of my niece, Nina Harris, in her lovely multi-room home in a Maryland suburb: all without any signs indicating black or whites only; all without the fear of police banging on the door demanding us to leave or be arrested. Green power and family relationship power at work, trumping racial segregation.

One of the themes of whitesupremacyolgy is that because of the inherent racism of whites, blacks on average view them with suspicion. On the first Sunday of our journey, Paulette and Pipo go out on their own and find a black restaurant for breakfast near their B and B. I admit that I was nervous about how they would be treated since anti-white racism is a major aspect of US American neo-racism: not to worry. Not only were they welcomed (a major aspect of a desegregated culture), but this was re-emphasized when later we went to the famous Liberty Baptist Church, an all black church on the South side, where Paulette rediscovers with enthusiasm her Baptist roots, we are cordially embraced by the ministers and the members.

This was also a characteristic with all our black friends and relatives: whether it was being with my brother, Paulette's uncle Major Campbell, and his wife Aunty Debbie, who prepared for us a wonderful southern style, home cooked meal in celebration of this desegregated culture, or her cousins Bonnie Walls with her dark skin, who picked us up at the airport in Detroit and took us to Paulette's cousin Candy Clinkscale in Detroit, who could have passed for white but refused to do so, Candy--regaling us with stories of her bi-racial (white/black) ancestry. Or with the east coast Campbell's in Washington at a makeshift family gathering: Paulette's Uncle Russell Campbell (a fighter for a desegregated US America -- a veteran of the 1963 march on Washington and the fight to desegregate Atlanta Georgia, helping in the victorious struggle to end Jim Crow racism); my sister-in-law, Leila Campbell, a former student, now retired from the American Red Cross; Nina Harris, a veteran teacher in the desegregated Washington School system and her son Jordan, a high school student; my nephew Rusty Campbell Junior, a member of the EPA, and my niece, Diana Campbell, a highly respected member of corporate US America: a mixture of light- and dark - skinned black folks, beneficiaries for good or evil of the desegregated culture. The Rainbow of Steel within one family, the desegregated culture in action.

Another manifestation of this culture was our eating experiences, beginning with supper at Pork Chop on Saturday and breakfast at the restaurant in the South Shore area on Sunday, every restaurant is welcoming, both by staff and by customers: no micro-aggression, no hate stares, no implicit bias, whether it is the Cracker Barrel on I-65 in Indiana, the Waffle Houses in London, Kentucky, the Lickety Split in Columbia, South Carolina, the sushi restaurant in Atlanta, the Mexican restaurant in Chicago, a white owned Applebee's and a black owned Red Lobster in Maryland -- and of course the Starbucks through-out our journey.

There is also the beauty of the desegregated landscape: downtown Chicago with its architectural splendors and the drive down Lake Shore Drive along the immense, shimmering vistas of Lake Michigan; the complex images of Hyde Park with its downtown and its parks; Indiana flatlands morphing into rolling hills as we head south, wind turbines alternating with silos and farms and the main streets of small cities like Crawfordsville and the quiet beauty of the Wabash College campus where Paulette spent her last years in the USA so many years ago, and winding roads in Tennessee while we search for a Love Gas Station to get fuel for our rented car and nicotine medications for Paulette and Pipo. Or searching for a Starbucks in the



up and down roads of Kentucky, driving through the mountains of the Smokies surrounding us in desegregated splendor. The semi-rural landscape of the suburban areas of Columbia and the awe inspiring sight of downtown Atlanta at night; and Oh the incredible beauty of an afternoon, sunlit, mounding hills of Virginia on our way back from Harper's Ferry.

Harpers Ferry where the fight to defeat the first period of White Supremacy was born, where John Brown and his men lit the fuse for the destruction of slave labor capitalism: two great rivers coming together, the mountains surrounding us as we stood on the old railroad bridge, and the firehouse where John Brown and his men fought. It is here in this history-haunted landscape that Paulette discovers the amazing truth that John Brown was a white man and her powerful insight: there must have been hundreds more like him. And I answer, by 1863 there was hundreds of thousands like him.

A central part of our journey to Washington was the bureaucratic architecture of Washington itself as we desperately look for a sign of the White House. Or more importantly the sight of the new African-American Museum. But for us it was at the Lincoln Memorial that the true meaning of the desegregated culture was manifested – the Second Inaugural Address in 1864, the Marian Anderson concert in 1939, and the 1963 March for Jobs and Justice. Paulette had so wanted to visit this place.

Light and dark-skinned people from different countries wandering up the steps, taking pictures in the great hall, where sits in a throne like chair Abraham Lincoln the Liberator, forced into glory by God or History, with the powerful words of the Second Inaugural Address behind him where he publically admitted that slavery was indeed the cause of the Civil War. Quite moved, we head back out in to the lovely September air. But getting down the steps was a bit difficult for me. A heavy set, southern-drawling white sister, seeing my difficulty, takes Paulette and me to an elevator, explaining that it would also take us down to an exhibit hall and also to the bathrooms (no more black only bathrooms). The desegregated culture in action. We go into the exhibit room below and there we see remnants of the Jim Crow days of white supremacy and the continuing attacks against it: A picture of Marian Anderson singing at the Memorial before a racially integrated crowd of thousands after being refused permission to sing at a facility owned by the Daughters of the American Revolution, a picture of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade gathered in front of Memorial, heroes of the battle against racist fascism in Spain. The Lincoln Memorial—a central part of our desegregated landscape.

But wait, there's more: Even waiting for planes and Enterprise Car rentals at airports in Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Baltimore-Washington, are a part of this landscape: light- and dark-skinned people, designated by the bourgeoisie as Asian, Latin, Black, Native Americans, Whites, Immigrants, Citizens – united in waiting for their Boeing 747's or their cars to take them to a hundred locales, peacefully coexisting, unconsciously occupying these desegregated spaces, waiting their turn in lines (e.g., white folks waiting behind black folks waiting behind white folks), or in airport restaurant filled with light- and dark-skinned customers eating and drinking in this landscape, with light- and dark-skinned wait staff serving this food and that drink in this landscape shaped by the power of desegregation as a social, cultural, political economic, and yes emotional - spiritual reality. O ye neo-racists! Show me your White Supremacy Culture in the manifestations of such a reality. The future/present reality of the Rainbow of Steel.

Finally, there was the multiraciality of the gathering of friends, relatives, and new contacts forming this Rainbow: Wabash College where I once was the first full time black professor and where now we meet black and white students at the Malcolm X Institute of Black Studies (which I helped to set up) or just walking on the campus or waiting on us at bookstore; the night and day we spent with Uncle Major and Aunt Debbie and their friends and Chrissy Campbell with her son; the blended gathering at Paschal's with my old Morehouse College friends Marcia



and Danny Klenbort and Linda Zaitlin( white) Toby Johnson and his wife Duchess (black), my niece Cheryl Walls McFadden (black) and several others from my past and a young seminarian who overhearing our discussion decided to join the conversation. Then there was the birthday party on my back porch with my friends and acquaintances from First U or from my past: my former student and play-grand-daughter Liz Thomas and her husband Stan a white/black couple; my co-son Mark Lammers, white; Jasna and her husband Ivan Lappin, she from Yugoslavia and he from US America.

All this symbolic of the importance of the desegregated culture in the creation of the living, breathing reality of the multiraciality of family, friends, and contacts.

People mingling together without the fear of police inspired mob violence seeking to destroy that mingling.

Why was the journey important as a refutation of the White Supremacy Cultural thesis? ...my daughter's concern that there had been no progress and thus my sacrifice of our family back in 1969 was all in vain. Now she had experienced existentially the falsity of that assertion. Our trip and the pictures taken by Pipo demonstrated in a concrete way that the thesis that the essential form of racism in the US today is white supremacy or is characterized by a Spectrum of White Supremacy or a White Supremacy Culture is false. Following what I have called the Rainbow of Steel shows how dangerous a false identification of an evil is an essential way to obfuscate the nature of that evil and therefore prevents the elimination of that evil. In other words, the form which institutionalized racism takes in a desegregated culture is neo-racism, not white supremacism. Most of all Paulette's journey showed that the raw materials for multiracial unitarian universalism exists among large number of people, especially those classified as white, who are now being depicted by neo-racist media as the main enemy of human progress. This was the supreme importance of following the arc of the Rainbow of Steel.

Let me now summarize and conclude this essay. First, I gave a geochronological description of the when's and where's of our journey; then I described the various manifestations we found of our desegregated culture ranging from restaurants to family gatherings, and finally I briefly described how the events of this journey were clear refutations of the white supremacy-logical vision of contemporary US American culture. Thus my thesis is now clear: Paulette, Pipo, and I gave the lie to those who falsely assert that US America today is a manifestation of a white supremacy culture.

To conclude: does this mean that there is no white supremacist dimensions to US capitalism today? Of course not: in expressive media, in both open and underground white nationalist organizations, among segments of the One Per Cent who control US America, various forms of white supremacism exist. But the main form remains institutionalized racism manifested in what some of us in UUMUAC call neo-racism, that post-Jim Crow form of anti-black racism which hurts all members of the rank and file. The last words on this reality is our experience at the Waffle House in London, Kentucky where we met a white sister named Crystal, a waitress there. Instead of calling the police when we entered or giving us the "hate stare," she smiled and with a voice brimming with curiosity asked: "Where y'all from?" Paulette answered, "Geneva, Switzerland." There was a pause and then she asked, "Where's that." No implicit bias, no micro-aggression, just curiosity. And then Paulette tried to explain where Switzerland was. Then Crystal said, "Oh, I would like to go there." As we ordered our food, they exchanged phone numbers.