

“And don’t call *me* a racist!”

**A treasury of quotes
on the past, present, and future
of the color line in America**

SELECTED AND ARRANGED BY Ella Mazel

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THE RACIAL DIVIDE

The "American Dilemma"
... is the ever-raging conflict between,
on the one hand,
the valuations preserved on the general plane
which we shall call the "American Creed,"
where the American thinks, talks, and acts
under the influence
of high national and Christian precepts,
and, on the other hand,
the valuations on specific planes
of individual and group living,
where personal and local interests
... and all sorts of miscellaneous wants,
impulses, and habits dominate his outlook.

GUNNAR MYRDAL, 1942

Race is the least reliable information you can have
about someone. It's real information,
but it tells you next to nothing.

TONI MORRISON, 1998

My son came to me one day and asked how I'd feel
if he married a white woman. I told him that
love doesn't have a color.

NORMA STEVENSON, 1992

Isn't love more important than color?

JAMES BALDWIN, 1963

There is no color line in death.

LANGSTON HUGHES, 1945

Past / Present / Future

America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, 1852

Prejudice is a burden which confuses the past, threatens the future, and renders the present inaccessible.

MAYA ANGELOU, 1986

There is never time in the future in which we will work out our salvation. The challenge is in the moment, the time is always now.

JAMES BALDWIN, 1961

To those Arkansans who ask how long the state will have to deal with the legacy of Little Rock: Until justice is the same for every human being, whether he or she is black or white, we will deal with it. Until the same rules apply to get a bank loan for every person regardless of who he or she is, we will deal with it. As long as there are whites who turn around and see a black person coming and it brings fear to their hearts, we'll deal with it. And as long as there are blacks who have resentment toward a white person, we'll deal with it.

GOVERNOR MIKE HUCKABEE, 1997

The specter of color is apparent even when it goes unmentioned, and it is all too often the unseen force that influences public policy as well as private relationships. There is nothing more remarkable than the ingenuity that the various demarcations of the color line reflect. If only the same creative energy could be used to eradicate the color line; then its days would indeed be numbered.

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, 1993

At this time when there is more cause for hope than fear, when we are not driven by some emergency or some imminent cataclysm in our society, we really have not only an opportunity but an obligation to address and to better resolve the vexing, perplexing, often painful issues surrounding our racial history and future.

PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON, (July 17) 1997

The age-old racial divide is no less yawning than before.

RANDALL ROBINSON, 1998

Well-funded pressure groups and opinion-makers insist that "racism is over" and that even in its heyday, it wasn't so bad. They are rewriting history to reflect their views.

PROJECT HIP-HOP, 1997

We must delve into the depths where neither liberals nor conservatives dare to tread, namely, into the murky waters of despair and dread that now flood the streets of black America.

CORNEL WEST, 1993

Americans couldn't answer the basic questions about race in 1839 and it led to war. We can't answer them fully today, but it's still too soon and too important to stop trying.

JONATHAN ALTER, 1997

At least at the level of surveys, real progress has taken place in the degree to which white Americans have accepted ideals of racial justice and integration that, before the Civil Rights Act of 1964, were considered . . . in some parts of the country, dangerous and subversive. If words were all that mattered, America would be far along toward full repudiation of its racist past.

ALAN WOLFE, 1998

Now we hear voices in America arguing that Dr. King's struggle is over — that we've reached the promised land. Maybe they're just carried away by the arrival of the Millennium, and are deluding themselves that when the calendar turns to the year 2000, human beings will have been perfected.

VICE PRESIDENT AL GORE, 1998

I almost weep when I see what has happened to the civil rights movement, the bloody struggles for racial justice So much that was won over the bites of police dogs, the truncheons of bigoted cops, has been diluted — or lost.

CARL T. ROWAN, 1991

I feel such heavy sadness that my children . . . will continue to be caught in the vise of this venomous, perverse attitudinal phenomenon that too many in our society intentionally and unintentionally perpetuate.

JEAN TUCKER MANN, 1997

A suffering people has the capacity to develop long patience and endurance, and to look on the fact of blackness as a cross to bear. And we bear it quite well. But my fear is that in this generation we have been unable to transmit to our young people the need to bear crosses.

CHARLES H. KING, JR., 1983

Discrimination is not just an ugly stain from this nation's past, it's still the reality of the present.

ANDREW CUOMO, 1998

For better / For worse

The ideals that bind us together are as old as our nation, but so are the forces that pull us apart.

PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON
(June 14) 1997

Most white people seem to think we've come further than most black people think we have. The twin goals of achieving racial equality and the elimination of racial prejudice continue to recede before all the advances that we have made.

WILLIAM F. WINTER, 1997

To suggest that the problem of the twenty-first century will be the problem of the color line is not to ignore the changes that have occurred in this as well as in other centuries. It is merely to take notice of the obvious fact that the changes have not been sufficient to eliminate the color line as a problem, arguably the most tragic and persistent social problem of the nation's history.

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, 1993

Though Americans prefer to dwell on parables of white virtue and black advancement — culminating in the flowering of good will all around — events periodically force us to widen our gaze and to focus on terrain we would rather not see.

ELLIS COSE, 1997

Thanks to the sixties, we have a new climate of race relations in the country. Black mayors in our largest cities. Corporate executives. On the other hand, we have Depression levels of unemployment, the collapse of the public school system, and the epidemic of hard drugs. Everything appears to have changed, yet nothing has changed. Black people are still at the bottom.

LERONE BENNETT, JR., 1992

There are so many things better for black Americans than ever before, with the promise of more, but these signs are counterbalanced by the signs of no progress in some quarters and even backward motion in others.

ANTHONY WALTON, 1993

Things are getting better. Things have gotten better. Things are getting worse at the same time.

DAVID SHIPLER, 1997

Most blacks seem to agree that the quality of our lives is worse now than ten years ago. It is almost certainly worse than in the 1960s. ARTHUR ASHE, 1993

The more settled race relations seem to be, the more likely they are raging beneath the surface.

A two-tiered universe of perception rotates around an axis defined by race. While good fortune lights one side, despair darkens the other. It is rarely sunny at the same time in white and black America.

MICHAEL ERIC DYSON, 1996

African-Americans, perhaps still placated by the fool's gold of integration as an endgame achievement, seem not to have noticed our worsening condition with any alarm. At some point beyond the peak of the civil rights movement, we lost our bearings, as if sleepwalking. . . . Our longitude had changed but our latitude was virtually the same.

In many ways, the black community's current crisis is more vexing, if less painful, than that presented by segregation forty years ago. We were united then, if only in what we were against. Now, with legal segregation abolished, we are without benefit of even that loathsome but unifying condition. RANDALL ROBINSON, 1998

The masses of our people recognize that most of the defining issues of the Civil Rights Movement *no longer exist*. We face an unprecedented crisis of poverty, violence, joblessness, and social despair, and the old approaches are no longer sufficient or viable.

MANNING MARABLE, 1997

The story about race in America over the past two or three decades is a complicated one. Some black Americans are doing better than ever; others worse than ever. Integration and segregation seem to be increasing at the same time. Compared with where we were, there is progress. Compared with where we should be, that progress is insufficient. ALAN WOLFE, 1998

At one time I thought things were getting better. I really did. I look back, the past years seems like we're backsliding, all the way backwards. It seems like everybody hates everybody. JULIAN JEFFERSON, 1992

We have everything we fought for, yet we still don't have what we need.

JESSE JACKSON, 1998

It is a good time to be an American. Unrivalled prosperity dominates the land, and many of the ghosts of our past are being confronted with new passion. Yet poverty and despair . . . are also growing with biblical certainty.

KELVIN SHAWN SEALEY, 1997

Racism is alive and well in America, shaping our suburban geography and weaving through our private conversations. . . . While residential segregation decreases for most racial and ethnic groups with additional education, income, and occupational status, this does not hold true for African Americans.

CHARLES R. LAWRENCE III / MARI J. MATSUDA, 1997

The racism that made slavery feasible is far from dead in the last decade of twentieth-century America; and the civil rights gains, so hard won, are being steadily eroded. . . . Even the most successful of us are haunted by the plight of our less fortunate brethren who . . . live beyond the pale of the American Dream. DERRICK BELL, 1992

Young people these days . . . want to keep it real. And keeping it real means, in fact, understanding that the white supremacy you thought you could push back permeates every nook and cranny of this nation so deeply that you ought to wake up and recognize how deep it is.

HARRY BELAFONTE, 1997



Racist behavior has declined, but racist attitudes have not.
CLYDE W. FORD, 1994

Prejudice is . . .

Prejudice, n. A vagrant opinion without visible means of support.

AMBROSE BIERCE, 1906

Men, in general, seem to employ their reason to justify prejudices . . . rather than to root them out.

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT, 1792

Prejudgments become prejudices only if they are not reversible when exposed to new knowledge.

GORDON ALLPORT, 1954

One reason why prejudice, though earning its bad name, so often fails even to be arrested is its genuinely being so evasive of definition.

CHRISTOPHER RICKS, 1988

Moss-covered opinions assume the disproportioned form of prejudices when they are indolently adopted only because age has given them a venerable aspect, though the reason on which they were built ceases to be a reason, or cannot be traced.

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT, 1792

A deeply held prejudice will actually cause our senses to accommodate to the prejudice rather than to the reality of what they are seeing or hearing.

JOHN HOWARD GRIFFIN, 1977

Even prejudice cannot be stereotyped, because no single theory can encompass the complex, deeply interrelated, and often subtle influences that combine to make all human personalities.

SARA BULLARD, 1996

We may lay it down as a general law applying to all social phenomena that *multiple causation* is invariably at work and nowhere is the law more clearly applicable than to prejudice.

GORDON ALLPORT, 1954

Prejudice is not automatically and immediately eliminated by changes in social institutions. . . . People cling to ideas and behavior that are clearly not only in conflict with reality and developing knowledge, but are also destructive to themselves.

ALEXANDER THOMAS, M.D., 1972

People who are aware of, and ashamed of, their prejudices are well on the road to eliminating them.

GORDON ALLPORT, 1954

Prejudice is a shape shifter.
It's very agile in taking
forms that seem acceptable
on the surface.

DAVID SHIPLER, 1997

Every person who quietly
goes along with or benefits
from prejudice is responsible
for that prejudice.

Prejudice comes from being
in the dark; sunlight disinfects it.

It would be nice if we could
simply vacuum the prejudice
from people's minds,
but life isn't that simple.

Being on the receiving end
of prejudice spawns more
prejudice.

MUHAMMAD ALI, 1996

When a particular kind of prejudice runs very deep, sometimes it can seem as though the prejudice has always existed and will always exist, as though it were as much a fact of life as people's need to eat or to shelter themselves.

RACHEL KRANZ, 1992

We can at least *try* to understand our own motives, passions, and prejudices, so as to be conscious of what we are doing when we appeal to those of others. This is very difficult, because our own prejudice and emotional bias always seem to us so rational.

T. S. ELIOT, 1950

A society struggles to fulfill its best instincts, even as an individual does, and generally makes just as hard going of it. The fight against prejudice is an inevitable process. Man has been warring against his own lower nature ever since he found out he had one, and the battle against intolerance is part of the same old struggle between good and evil that has preoccupied us ever since we gave up swinging from trees.

MARGARET HALSEY, 1946

Is there less prejudice today? It is certainly less obvious, and what remains of it is mostly denied. . . . the phrase "I'm not prejudiced" . . . is inevitably followed by a qualifier — "I'm not prejudiced, but . . ."

CLARENCE PAGE, 1996

I don't think the problem is insoluble. I'm not an optimist, but I have a lot of hope. People change. . . . That's why we shouldn't live forever. . . . A new generation may not have the experiences and prejudices of the older.

BILL HOHRI, 1992

We cannot choose the color of our skin, but we can choose the nature of our beliefs.

CLYDE W. FORD, 1994

Prejudice is learned. It's not
a self-winding watch.

MUHAMMAD ALI, 1996

Many people give the
appearance of progress by
shedding the prejudices and
irrational postulates of one
generation only to acquire
those of the next.

T. S. ELIOT, 1937

Most of us are no more
guilty of acquiring our
prejudices than we are
guilty of acquiring a dis-
figuring pockmark from
some childhood illness.

JOHN HOWARD GRIFFIN, 1977

No child is born prejudiced. His prejudices are
always acquired . . . chiefly in fulfillment of his own
needs. Yet the context of his learning is always the social
structure in which his personality develops.

GORDON ALLPORT, 1954

Social scientists are now convinced that children
learn social, racial, and religious prejudices in the course
of observing, and being influenced by, the existence of
patterns in the culture in which they live.

KENNETH B. CLARK, 1963

One doesn't decide on bigotry or altruism the way
one chooses a college major. The twig is bent early and
keeps its shape throughout. There are of course exceptions,
but I suspect, without benefit of survey data, that they are
few.

RANDALL ROBINSON, 1998

Working with children is the easiest part of educat-
ing for democracy, because children are still undefeated
and have no stake in being prejudiced.

MARGARET HALSEY, 1946



Adults should bite their tongues before passing on old prejudices.

HILLARY CLINTON, 1997

Racism is . . .

Racism is . . . a negation of the deepest identity of the human being, who is a person created in the image and likeness of God.

POPE JOHN PAUL, 1997

Competing definitions of the R-word illuminate the boundaries of America's racial divide as brightly as landing lights on the landscape at night.

Many demand that we "get past race." But denials of a cancer, no matter how vigorous they may be, will not make the malignancy go away.

CLARENCE PAGE, 1996

Racism is a reflection of personal and collective anxieties lodged deep in the hearts and minds of white Americans.

LERONE BENNETT, JR., 1965

Racism . . . is not simply about the attitudes, dislikes and motivation of individuals or individual acts of bigotry and discrimination. Instead, racism refers to the way society as a whole is arranged, and how the economic, educational, cultural and social rewards of that society are distributed. It is about collective injustice.

PROJECT HIP-HOP, 1997

Something called racism obviously exists. . . . an incubus that has haunted this country since Europeans first set foot on the continent. It goes beyond prejudice and discrimination, and even transcends bigotry, largely because it arises from outlooks and assumptions of which we are largely unaware.

ANDREW HACKER, 1992

Race is for me a more onerous burden than AIDS. My disease is the result of biological factors over which we . . . have had no control. Racism . . . is entirely made by people, and therefore it hurts . . . infinitely more.

ARTHUR ASHE, 1993

Racism is a sensitive word. Americans often avoid mentioning it, even when it is relevant. . . . It is a sensitive word because it exposes so much, institutionally and personally. It is a Rorschach word, a linguistic inkblot test. How you define it reveals something important about you, how you see the world and your place in it.

CLARENCE PAGE, 1996

Racial prejudices are indications of a disturbed and potentially unstable society.

KENNETH B. CLARK, 1963

Americans who would never embrace racism in the specifics of persons and places will express bigotry ruthlessly in generalities.

CARL T. ROWAN, 1991

In our society, racist acts and attitudes are so institutionalized that they can be indulged in as a matter of course by persons who are not pathological.

ALEXANDER THOMAS, M.D.
1972

Most of us remain trapped in the narrow framework of the dominant liberal and conservative views of race in America, which with its worn-out vocabulary leaves us intellectually debilitated, morally disempowered, and personally depressed.

CORNEL WEST, 1993

Blacks have a condition, not a problem. Whites have the problem, racism, that creates our condition. All we can do is react.

C. T. VIVIAN, 1992

I am not antiwhite, because I understand that white people, like black ones, are victims of a racist society. They are products of their time and place.

SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, 1970

Daddy taught me that racism was a sickness and to have compassion for racist whites as I would have compassion for a polio victim. Racism wasn't a problem with me, he told me, it was a problem they had.

ANDREW YOUNG, 1996

Racism, unfortunately, is not the monopoly of a single type of personality structure. All kinds of people can be and are racists: normal and abnormal, paranoid and non-paranoid, aggressive and passive, domineering and submissive.

ALEXANDER THOMAS, M.D., 1972

A candid examination of *race* matters takes us to the core of the crisis of American democracy. And the degree to which *race matters* in the plight and predicament of fellow citizens is a crucial measure of whether we can keep alive the best of this democratic experiment we call America.

CORNEL WEST, 1994

To gloss over race in a racist society may in itself be a capitulation to racism.

ALEXANDER THOMAS, M.D., 1972

. . . prejudice + power

Power concedes nothing without demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what any people will quietly submit to and you have found out the exact measure of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, 1857

Regardless of form, prejudice backed by power deprives another person of his or her rights.

MUHAMMAD ALI, 1996

Black people have always known, often too well for our own good, in our collectively delimiting racial subconscious, who owns the country and just how closely those owners listen to us.

RANDALL ROBINSON, 1998

Practically all the economic, social, and political power is held by whites. The Negroes do not by far have anything approaching a tenth of the things worth having in America. It is thus the white majority group that naturally determines the Negro's "place." All our attempts to reach scientific explanations of why the Negroes are what they are and why they live as they do have regularly led to determinants on the white side of the race line.

GUNNAR MYRDAL, 1942

Until black people as a whole gain power, it's not a question of where you are geographically if you're black; it's a question of where you are psychologically. No matter where you place black people under present conditions, they'll still be powerless, still subject to the whims and decisions of the white political and economic apparatus.

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, 1969

Most talk by whites about equal opportunity seems to me now to be about equal opportunity to try to get into a position of dominance while denying that *systems* of dominance exist.

PEGGY MCINTOSH, 1988

My innermost stirrings inevitably have to do with trying to overcome racism and other forms of social injustice, with the search for dignity and power for blacks in a world so often hostile to us.

ARTHUR ASHE, 1993

The only thing white people have that black people need, or should want, is power.

JAMES BALDWIN, 1963

The answer to the problems of black people is in the hands of white society because white institutions hold the power. Blacks are powerless. Period.

CHARLES H. KING, JR., 1983

Until you talk about power and privilege, you can't talk about change. It's hard for white Americans to deal with their own racism.

JOHN TUCKER, 1997

I hate it when people throw around the terms reverse racism. I can be prejudiced but not racist. To be a racist, you have to be able to oppress another race. To do that, you have to have economic and political power. Blacks don't have that; whites do.

DAWN KELLY, 1992

Individuals who do not have power may hold racist views, but they seldom cause much harm. . . . The significance of racism lies in the way it consigns certain human beings to the margins of society, if not painful lives and early deaths. . . . No white person can claim to have suffered in such ways because of ideas that may be held about them by some black citizens.

ANDREW HACKER, 1992

The one thing that various racial classifications adopted by different countries do share is that they evolved over time to serve the interests of those with power. In colonial America . . . white and Black were soon driven far apart, as slaves became property and were written out of the human race.

PROJECT HIP-HOP, 1997

The white man is dead. Men with pale skins still live. But the *idea* of a man with a certain color skin and a mandate from God to order and regulate the lives of men with darker skins: that idea is dead. . . . We no longer live in a world controlled by that idea, though some people, Negroes and whites, have not read the obituary notices.

LERONE BENNETT, JR., 1964

In my version of the Promised Land, I would not eliminate race, but I would eliminate the pecking order to which it is so closely tied. I have no idea what meaning, if any, race would acquire once it was detached from issues of privilege and power. . . . But for now at least, I would be happy to just let it evolve.

HARLON L. DALTON, 1995

Racism is nothing more or less than white privilege, white power, and white violence.

MANNING MARABLE, 1997

. . . prejudice + money

Poverty and Jim Crow are sisters under the skin. To make a decent, happy America, both must go. The sooner the better.

LANGSTON HUGHES, 1948

We now feel more like brothers and sisters than co-workers. We all learned something about color. It comes down to green.

GLORIA HARRIS, 1997
United Parcel striker

To those who believe the battle against discrimination has been won, I say, look at the realities of paychecks and power.

LINDA CHAVEZ-THOMPSON
1997

Many black folk now reside in a jungle ruled by a cut-throat market morality devoid of any faith in deliverance or hope for freedom.

CORNEL WEST, 1993

Both white and black farmers are fleeced by this financial system. But white and black farmers won't combine against a common foe on account of race prejudice. Race antagonism, then, is profitable to those who own the farms, the mills, the railroads and the banks.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH / CHANDLER OWEN, 1919

Most white people are ignorant of what they have done to the Negro in the economic field. . . . We frankly do not believe that the Negro's economic status would have been nearly so bad if white people realized how all specific economic discriminations add up, and how effectively they bar the way for the Negro when he attempts to better himself.

ARNOLD ROSE, 1948

Racism is not merely exclusion on the basis of race but exclusion for the purpose of subjugating or maintaining subjugation. The goal of the racists is to keep black people on the bottom, arbitrarily and dictatorially, as they have done in this country for over three hundred years.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL / CHARLES V. HAMILTON, 1967

To solve the race problem you're going to have to deal with the poverty problem. And when most whites are dealing with banks and private financial institutions, and a large percentage of blacks are dealing with public assistance, you're going to have different points of view.

D. J. BEATTY, 1997

When morality comes up against profit, it is seldom that profit loses.

SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, 1970

VOICES from *RACE: How Blacks and Whites*
Think and Feel About the American Obsession [TERKEL, 1992]

You hear people say Pull yourself up by your bootstraps, and you don't even have shoes. You're barefooted. What are you going to pull yourself up by? Our country owes every citizen . . . a means of livelihood. Not a handout, but a way to make it.

MAMIE MOBLEY

If there was enough work for everybody, there wouldn't be so much animosity. We wouldn't have this fear of a black person getting a job, who may not be qualified. I think most black people before they get a job have to be doubly qualified. It's changed a lot, but not much.

PEGGY TERRY

I think the bottom's going to have to fall out and then there won't be any such thing as color. I think that in the 1990s and maybe all the way into the year 2000, the United States is going to go through a tremendous change. I think it has to. The wealth is too imbalanced. . . . We have to clear up a lot of things.

CAROL FREEMAN

The funny thing is I think the gap between white and black is lessening because we are all beginning to see the bigger monster. It's out there trying to devour all people. I left the colored thing and went into class separation. Now it ain't hardly a class separation

no more. It used to be the poor, the middle class, the upper-middle class and the rich. Now it's down to the poor and the rich. The middle class is nothing but putty. To be used.

LITTLE DOVIE THURMAN

I don't think the company is racist. That's too simple. It's the bottom line, the dollar. They don't care about you, no matter what your color is. . . . If you're black or Latin or white, if they can set you up against the other workers, they're going to use you. They don't give a damn what color you are. It's the profit.

JOE GUTIERREZ

The wealth of this country has to be divided differently. They play off one race against the other. That white kid on the picket line got the same problems as that black kid who don't have a job. . . . All the while, the corporate heads take the money and invest it in foreign countries.

JOSEPH ROBINSON

Racism is not an automatic thing. It's an organized prejudice against people. Racism, you just don't come out and be this way. It's got to be some motivation behind it, by telling people they're gonna lose the value of their house or this or that. I'm saying racism is unnatural.

FRANK LUMPKIN

Invisible racism

Racism is so universal in this country, so widespread and deep-seated, that it is invisible because it is so normal.

SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, 1970

As racism has become less visibly obvious since the 1960s, it has become easier for those not directly victimized by it to ignore it.

CLARENCE PAGE, 1996

The very absence of visible signs of discrimination creates an atmosphere of racial neutrality and encourages whites to believe that racism is a thing of the past.

DERRICK BELL, 1992

Today, racism is far more camouflaged than it was earlier in the century. It is buried in institutional practices. It is hidden in coded language and subtle messages some people get when they shop, or look for a place to live or for a taxi, or have dealings with the police.

PROJECT HIP-HOP, 1997

Students, research workers and professionals in the behavioral sciences — like members of the clergy and educators — are no more immune by virtue of their values and training to the diseases and superstitions of American racism than is the average man.

KENNETH B. CLARK, 1972

I'm beginning to feel that the greatest changes come from people who may hold an extreme position to begin with. . . . Where it's invisible is where the real trouble is. In the corporate board room, in the suburban setting, on the management level, where pretense is everything. It's not as visible as people throwing rocks, but may be potentially more damaging because it has a nice face on it.

JIM CAPRARO, 1992

The difference between de jure and de facto segregation is the difference between open, forthright bigotry and the shamefaced kind that works through unwritten agreements between real estate dealers, school officials, and local politicians.

SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, 1970

The code words differ. The message is the same.

DERRICK BELL, 1992

The very fact that no black leader could utter publicly that a black appointee for the Supreme Court was *unqualified* shows how captive they are to white racist stereotypes about black intellectual talent.

CORNEL WEST, 1993

If we tell ourselves that the only problem is hate, we avoid facing the reality that it is mostly nice, nonhating people who perpetuate racial inequality.

ELLIS COSE, 1997

Simply removing formal impediments to equality is not enough; the pecking order thrives on hidden power and invisible rules.

HARLON L. DALTON, 1995

The prejudices of centuries die hard, and even when they wane, the institutional frameworks that sustained them are bound to linger.

ORLANDO PATTERSON, 1997

Black people know that sometimes their greatest enemy is . . . white people of power who would never utter a racist sentence in public, yet who quietly and privately will do everything they can to keep black people as the slave class in this society.

CARL T. ROWAN, 1991

We [professionals] have moved on, but we cannot honestly say . . . that racism has moved into the past. It is harder to point to it now, people are more careful in what they say and maybe in what they think, too. And yet one senses it there, in the shadows, lurking perhaps around the next brightly lighted corner as one walks the corridor of one's office.

STEPHEN L. CARTER, 1993

Knowing that I would not be admitted to certain tournaments protected me from direct rebuffs. . . . No player ever refused to appear on court with me. No official ever called me a name. But the indirect rebuffs and innuendoes left their scars.

ARTHUR ASHE, 1981

Institutional racism is racism without a face.

CLYDE W. FORD, 1994