

OPINION

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Standing on the Shoulders of Shirley Chisholm

A historic path in the race for president

BY MARC H. MORIAL

The nation has marked the historic occasion of the first woman in American history to win the presidential nomination for a major political party.

While Hillary Clinton has come further than any woman presidential candidate, she is not the first. Victoria Woodhull ran as the candidate for the Equal Rights Party in 1872. Margaret Chase Smith challenged Barry Goldwater for the Republican nomination in 1964. More recently, Pat Schroeder in 1988 and Carol Moseley Braun in 2004 vied for the Democratic nomination.

But the most historically sig-

nificant forerunner to Hillary Clinton was Shirley Chisholm, the Brooklyn-born trailblazer who was also the nation's first African-American Congresswoman.



The daughter of working-class immigrants from the Caribbean, Chisholm became interested in politics while serving as the director of a child day care center and an educational consultant for the New York City Division of Day Care. She served three years as a New York State Assemblywoman before running for Congress in 1968 with the slogan "Unbought and unbossed".

"My greatest political asset," Chisholm said, "which professional politicians fear, is my mouth, out of which come all kinds of things one shouldn't always discuss for reasons of political expediency."

Chisholm hired only women

for her staff, half of whom were African Americans. "Of my two handicaps, being female put many more obstacles in my path than being black," she said.

She announced her candidacy for president at a Baptist church in Brooklyn. In an article about her candidacy, the Associated Press wrote, "Ironically, her major headache seems to come from black politicians."

"They think that I am trying to take power away from them," she said. "The black man must step forward. But that doesn't mean the black woman must step back.

"While they're rapping and snapping, I'm mapping," she said.

She competed in 14 states, winning 28 delegates to the convention. As a symbolic gesture, candidate Hubert Humphrey released his 83 Black delegates to cast their votes for Chisholm. With the votes of several other

delegates at that contentious convention, Chisholm finished fourth in a field of 13, with 152 delegates.

It is hard to imagine, in this era of sharp division in politics, the remarkable moment during that campaign when she visited her segregationist rival, Alabama Gov. George Wallace, in his hospital room after he was shot and wounded. "What are your people going to say?" he asked her. "I know what they are going to say," she said. "But I wouldn't want what happened to you to happen to anyone." She recalled that her words moved him to tears.

Chisholm retired from Congress in 1982 and remained an outspoken activist for civil rights until her death in 2005.

It would be difficult to overestimate the impact and influence of Chisholm's congressional service and presidential candidacy. While Congress remains

disproportionately white and male, one-in-five members of the current House and Senate are a racial or ethnic minority, making the 114th Congress the most diverse in history. The nation's first African-American president is winding up his second term, and a woman — a former senator and secretary of state — has just won the Democratic nomination for president.

In her acclaimed speech on the Equal Rights Amendment in 1970, Chisholm said, "The Constitution they wrote was designed to protect the rights of white, male citizens. As there were no black founding fathers, there were no founding mothers -- a great pity, on both counts. It is not too late to complete the work they left undone. Today, here, we should start to do so."

Marc H. Morial is president and chief executive officer of the National Urban League.

Russian Connection a Window on How Trump Deals

A narrow and dangerous view of world affairs

BY MEL GURTOV

The revelation from a New York Times investigation that Donald Trump's chief campaign adviser, Paul Manafort (who resigned



Friday), was on the take with the former pro-Russian Ukraine president should come as no surprise. Even before the Times report, we knew that Manafort was a well-paid economic adviser to President Viktor Yanukovich on election strategy and foreign investments. What we now know is that he was among a substantial number of individuals who may have received millions of dollars in illegal, under-the-table payments

or gifts from a Ukraine administration that was up to its neck in corrupt practices. Whether or not Manafort actually received the \$12.7 million designated for him by Yanukovich's party, the fact is he profited from a close association with a pro-Russian government—an association that surely helps account for the pro-Russian views of Trump himself.

But the real story here is the insight it provides into how a Trump administration would conduct foreign policy. In a nutshell, it's "the art of the deal." Regardless of who might be on the other side of the table—Vladimir Putin, Xi Jinping, Angela Merkel, or Enrique Peña Nieto, the president of Mexico—Trump's guideline would be that business interests are central to the national interest. Anyone unfriendly to the U.S. dollar would be an enemy, subject to sanctions. After all, the art of the deal is to win, and for Trump "winning is everything. I can only say: my whole life has been about winning."

Neither U.S. strategic priorities nor "idealist" concerns such as human rights and civil society would be allowed to interfere with cutting a deal. As another of Trump's foreign policy advisers, Carter Page, said, "ironically, Washington and other Western capitals have impeded potential progress [with Moscow] through their often hypocritical focus on ideas

such as democratization, inequality, corruption and regime change."

Thus, if Mexico balked at paying for the Trump Wall, Trump would have no qualms about punishing Mexico economically. If China pushed back at the U.S. navy in the South China Sea, Trump might erect barriers to Chinese imports. As for Russia, where Trump, Page, Manafort, and other advisers already have business ties, investments are perceived as the key to moderating U.S.-Russia relations and thus "solving" disputes over Crimea and Ukraine.

In Trump's world, everyone has a price. He has often told the story of how his view of China is mainly shaped by the sale of a Trump Tower apartment to a Chinese banker. Despite that profitable venture, Trump's larger picture of China is that the Chinese are fleecing the U.S., they are "our enemies," and only by threatening to disrupt trade with them can the U.S. earn Beijing's respect. If the U.S. wants to reverse China's policy on exchange rates, the trade deficit, and even the South China Sea, all Washington has to do is hurt their economy. Trump has no doubt—he is immune to doubt—that China will cave under such pressure.

Donald Trump and his inner circle have no interest in seeing the world through the eyes of others. The world is reduced to mar-

kets and diplomacy to The Deal. The other forces that motivate nations—nationalism, insecurity, underdevelopment, historical grievances—don't seem to be worth understanding or acknowledging. That's a major reason Trump and Manafort are most comfortable dealing with—and admiring—dictators. Dictators run a tight ship; their word is law; no one else need be consulted or persuaded. Cutting a deal with them is so much easier than contending with democratic leaders, messy legislative processes and outside influences such as unions and NGOs.

Fortunately, such a dangerously narrow view of world affairs is not going to win in November. But it won't go away, if for no other reason than that as U.S. influence in the world declines, as U.S. ability to end terrorism, climate disruptions, and other large-scale threats become ever more problematic, and as social and economic inequality persists at home, politicians preaching simplistic solutions and promising to put "America first" will reemerge. Trump may go on vacation after the election, as he has promised; but Trumpism will survive.

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