

March 31, 1980

To: Dorothy, Jenny, Harvey

From: Greg Stone

Re: An Early Anthology of Material By and About AKL

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1. Concept. Various kinds of books may be done about AKL in the near or distant future. Possibilities include personal reminiscence, biography, and a collection of articles, tributes or recollections by people who knew AKL. One of the most promising options, however, is an anthology which could be constructed relatively quickly from the best of the material by and about AKL to date. It would be composed primarily of articles, testimony and interviews by AKL and of published pieces about him.

2. Purpose. A number of purposes would be served by such a book: a.) It would provide an authentic and valuable portrait of AKL and of his public style and beliefs. b.) It would help promote AKL's commitments and political approach. c.) It could tie in effectively financially and in other ways with an ongoing Lowenstein memorial. d.) It would create a useful standard, if it came out early, for subsequent works, and an alternative to any which were not particularly good. e.) It would foster continued interest in AKL and develop potential demand for or interest in future works. As a document of permanent and not simply ephemeral weight, the book would help balance some of the partial or limited portraits which have emerged in recent weeks. For the most part, it would present AKL and his beliefs by letting him speak for himself.

3. Content. The basic content of the book would be the best existing material by and about AKL, arranged as coherently as possible to provide a fair overview of his career and convictions. Though high quality items exist and have been published (and even gotten awards) they have always in the past had a relatively limited audience. By using the present occasion to bring many of them together, a revealing, important and valuable document would be created, I believe. Part of what would emerge from such a collection would be the variety of AKL's involvements and the subtlety, shrewdness and insight of his thinking. His

style and philosophy should also emerge more clearly from a collection of specific pieces than from a separate reading of individual items. The variety of the materials should give the book flavor, with the interviews providing perhaps the closest and most accurate picture of AKL's personality and thinking.

4. Time. This is a major issue and one about which I have little clear sense. Most of the major editorial work could probably be completed in two months or less. (The book could thus be put together at least as quickly as any other alternative or rival.) Popular interest would obviously be greater the sooner the book appeared. How soon it would begin to wane is not clear, though my impulse is that time should be treated as one key priority.

5. Sales. I have little sense of this either, although I would guess that the book would at least break even and perhaps do very much better. Apart from AKL's friends and admirers, and their friends, it would also presumably be of interest to serious students of politics, people who follow politics casually, and those interested in assassinations, the sixties, interesting personalities, substantive public affairs issues, and quality writing and speaking. A well-produced effort would be likely to get good reviews and good word-of-mouth reports.

6. Memorial Tie-In. Assuming that a Lowenstein memorial is underway, the best way such an anthology could be pursued is with most of the above-cost profit going to the memorial. Not only is this approach much more appropriate than a commercial one but it would also increase the book's general appeal, assist the memorial in other ways, and facilitate the copyright and other aspects of production. Presumably the permissions necessary to re-publish items which have already appeared would be obtained much more easily under this kind of setup.

7. Production and Arrangement. Production of the book involves selecting a publisher, locating, identifying and arranging the items to be included, securing republication permissions, incidental aspects (such as index, bibliography, appendix or photographs) and drafting introductory or transitional material. Although these are serious and important tasks, the basic material, the building blocks, already exist and are mostly accessible. Most of the work could be done by one or two editors, working with the help of other people.

8. Basic Questions. The arrangement and form of such an anthology raises a number of questions which deserve careful consideration. Breadth of material and coverage is probably an important goal. Redundancy should probably be avoided, even at the cost of omitting good material. Simplicity of outline is probably important, even if this means excluding shorter or incidental items. Editorial and transitional material should probably be restrained, allowing the actual selections to speak most forcefully and directly. The mood of the presentation should probably be reserved and nonintrusive rather than either markedly eulogistic or markedly analytical. These are initial tentative judgements which ought to be examined more closely.

The selection, balancing, and arrangement of the material are the key production tasks, and a number of possible approaches exist. As these decisions take shape, other questions such as possible indexes, appendices, chronology, notes, bibliography, photographs, etc. also become important. Dignity and order are probably two central objectives and the content should not be encumbered with items which might seem obtrusive. The most useful approach for gaining a sense of these matters is probably to begin with an impression of the basic materials involved and their connections. Some of these are listed on the pages attached, but no final pattern of arrangement is suggested at this point. Three possible approaches are chronological order, arrangement by type of material, and arrangement by subject.

It is conceivable that material exclusively either by or about AKL might be capable of standing on its own as a book. My initial impression, however, is that a combination of both kinds of material could be done with basic coherence and would probably make the most sense.

9. Title. One possible title would be "Allard K. Lowenstein; Scrapbook From a Public Life." Other good possibilities no doubt exist.

10. Attachments. Some of the most obvious materials for inclusion are listed in the attached pages and most of these have been collected in one place. The items vary in length, subject matter and style but all share a high level of quality and effectively express AKL's personality, history and commitments. Additional possibilities should also be considered and most would come to mind with some reflection. The material is mostly available from AKL's personal papers, the Kennedy Library and elsewhere. The items collected and listed thus far, however, constitute at least a core of representative possibilities. Some of them would be essential in any complete selection.

By AKL:

### Articles

Spain Without Franco (Saturday Review, February 7, 1976)  
Reflections on a Third Force (ADA World, April, 1975)  
A Cynic's County Legislature (Newsday, 1975)  
Educational Tax Credits (unpublished)  
Anniversary of An Assassination (Washington Star, June 5, 1978)  
The Watershed of Watergate (ADA World, April, 1973)  
The Dump Nixon Campaign (Look, June 1, 1971)  
Why I Quit (New York Post, July 14, 1978)  
Who Voted for the Concorde? (Newsday, February, 1976)  
The Case for Opposing Johnson's Renomination (War/Peace Report, 1967)  
No Monopoly on Jewish Defense (Newsday, May 18, 1975)  
Tyranny in Wenceslas Square (Newsday, August, 1969)

### Book Segments

Excerpts from Brutal Mandate  
Excerpts from Reclaiming America  
Force; Its Thrust and Prognosis (from Southern Africa in Transition, 1966)  
For As Long As it Takes (from Tooting Stones, 1972)  
Congress and Congressional Reform (from Party and Opposition, 1973)

### Congressional Speeches

An American Flag on the Moon (Congressional Record, June 10, 1969)  
America in Trouble (CR, July 31, 1970)  
Let the People Decide (CR, February 18, 1970)  
Mr. Hoover and the FBI (CR, 1970)  
Nigeria and Biafra (CR, February 19, 1969)  
Stop Charging the American Taxpayer to Subsidize Oppression in Spain (CR, July 14, 1970)  
Seniority Must Go (CR, March 11, 1970)  
Direct Election of the President (CR, July 23, 1969)  
Rockefeller Trip to Brazil (CR, June 18, 1969)  
Appropriations for Education (CR, July 30, 1969)

Chief Hosea Kutako (CR, 1970)  
Administration Resolution on Vietnam (CR, December 2, 1969)  
Strict Constructionism and the War (CR, May, 1970)  
North Vietnam's Treatment of Prisoners of War (CR, September  
17, 1969)  
My Lai (CR, November 26, 1969)

### Speeches or Remarks

The Future of Human Rights in American Foreign Policy  
(Friedmann Conference, Columbia, 1978)  
The New York City Alternate Transportation Plan (Public  
Testimony, June, 1978)  
Oneness-Earth (Services at the United Nations, December  
14, 1977)  
Youth Can Win A Better America (Harvard, June 6, 1969)  
Introduction of Governor Jerry Brown (June 1, 1976)  
Statement at the Time-Life Exhibition Center (January, 1969)

### Interviews

Have We Learned Anything from Watergate? (Firing Line,  
December 7, 1973)  
Church Schools and the First Amendment (Firing Line,  
August 2, 1976)  
Dump Nixon? (Firing Line, May, 26, 1971)  
The Dump Johnson Campaign (Meet the Press, December 3, 1967)  
The Dump Nixon Campaign (Meet the Press, May 2, 1971)  
South Africa Must Change or Stand Alone (Published inter-  
view in Johannesburg, April 28, 1978)  
The Vietnam Moratorium (Evans-Novak, September, 1969)  
Congressional Policy and the War (Face the Nation, 1969)  
Vietnam and the Presidential Election (Face the Nation,  
September, 1968)  
Lyndon B. Johnson (David Susskind Show, 1976)  
Kennedy and Carter in 1980 (David Susskind Show, December,  
1979)

### Testimony

Human Rights and International Organizations (House Sub-  
committee on International Organizations, May, 1977)  
The Zimbabwe Transition and American Policy (House Sub-  
committee on Africa, May 16, 1979)  
The U.N. and Carter Foreign Policy (Confirmation Hearings,  
Senate Foreign Relations Committee, June, 1977)

Sludge Dumping and the Marine Environment (Merchant Marine  
and Fisheries Subcommittee, August, 1976)  
Anti-Delinquency Legislation (Senate Judiciary Committee,  
1973)  
Anti-Gerrymander Legislation (Senate Governmental Affairs  
Committee, June, 1979)

#### Campaign Documents

Letter to John W. Wydler (South Shore Record, October  
21, 1976)  
The Fifth Congressional District Campaign (Hofstra Law  
Record, June, 1976)  
Campaign Debate (Allard K. Lowenstein, Norman F. Lent, 1970)  
Campaign Debate (Allard K. Lowenstein, John J. Rooney,  
Irving Gross, 1972)  
Campaign Debate (Allard K. Lowenstein, John W. Wydler, 1974)

#### Assassinations

Statement on the Assassination of Robert F. Kennedy  
(With Paul Schrade, December 15, 1974)  
The Kennedy Killings (Argossy, 1975)  
Who Killed Bobby? (Firing Line, May, 1975)  
The Assassination of John F. Kennedy (David Susskind,  
August, 1975)  
Suppressed Evidence of More than One Assassin? (Saturday  
Review, February 19, 1977)  
Statement to the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors (May, 1977)

About AKL:

### General

The Man Who Ran Against Lyndon Johnson (David Halberstam, Harpers, December, 1968)  
Congressman on the Run (Erwinn Knoll, Progressive, August, 1969)  
The Untold Story of the Lowenstein Campaign (Bob Side, Brooklyn Heights Press, August, 1972)  
Lowenstein Without Glamor (Robert Mayer, Newsday, October, 29, 1970)  
Allard Lowenstein (Newsday, October 14, 1970)  
Lowenstein Ponders Challenge to Brooklyn's Rooney, Nassau's Wydler (Mary Breasted, New York Times, March, 1972)  
Dump Lowenstein? (Judith Coburn)  
Miracle Maker's Plight (Newsweek, August 23, 1971)  
Man to Watch (Newsweek, August 23, 1971)  
Lowenstein in Depth (Ann McCarry, The Observer, November 9, 1973)  
Evoking Awareness (Brown and White, 1973)  
Lowenstein Asks Inquiry into Political "Accidents" (Steve Roberts, New York Times)

### New Yorker

Candidate (March 12, 1966)  
The Kids Against the Grownups (Calvin Trillin, November 16, 1968)  
New Member (Flora Lewis, January, 1970)  
Lame Duck (November, 1970)  
Hurrah! (September 30, 1972)  
Notes and Comment (March 31, 1980)

### Tributes

Tribute by Rep. Jonathan Bingham (CR, 1970)  
Tribute by Rep. Ken Hechler (CR, 1970)  
Tribute by David Halberstam (1973)

### Eulogies

Memorial Service Statements (New York and Washington, March, 1980)  
Remembering a Man Who Mattered Through the Years (Richard Cohen, Washington Post, March 16, 1980)

Vintage Lowenstein (David Broder, Washington Post, March  
19, 1980)  
He Made a Difference (R. James Woolsey, Washington Post,  
March 16, 1980)  
Another Night, Another Room... and Death (Jimmy Breslin,  
New York Daily News, March 16, 1980)  
Remarks by Ronnie Dugger (CR, March 20, 1980)  
Hannah Komanoff article (New York Times, Long Island Section)