

but to serve in this House with the Honorable ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN, of New York, and to know him personally beyond cold print—we know him to be a gentleman who has reminded us to remember the true meaning of the word.

A "gentleman" is a man who is gentle, not weak—among other things, ALLARD LOWENSTEIN is a wrestling champion.

Cold print will say brilliant things about the brilliance of ALLARD LOWENSTEIN.

But more than this, much more, we shall remember that he has applied his mammoth talents and energies for good and that he himself is a warm and kind human being rendering never violence in words or deeds for violence done.

To ALLARD LOWENSTEIN, as to few others, can be applied these words of Lincoln:

I shall do nothing through malice; what I deal with is too vast for malice.

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JACOBS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Indiana for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I am concerned that listening to the words of praise one might think that ALLARD LOWENSTEIN is no longer with us either in flesh or in spirit.

I wish to assure this House and, indeed, the country that ALLARD LOWENSTEIN is very much with us and will continue to be with us.

Even though we who are privileged to serve in the next Congress will not have the pleasure of his company as a Member of this body, I know that ALLARD LOWENSTEIN will be very much a part of the mainstream of the way this country is going not only for the next few years but for many, many decades to come.

Those of us who have had the pleasure of serving with him count ourselves fortunate, as the gentleman from Indiana has suggested. But those of us who will have the privilege of being with ALLARD LOWENSTEIN in the years ahead will have the pleasure of helping him to make this country find itself again.

I know, and I am sure that I express the attitude of many people who have known him, that every path that ALLARD LOWENSTEIN has crossed has been a better path because he has been there.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. I think the country will find out, and I expect that this House will find out, that the Honorable ALLARD LOWENSTEIN of New York and his influence will be very much felt throughout the country and in this House to make the adverse winds against human happiness a little more gentle over this earth.

I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, continuing along the line voiced by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. MIKVA), it is certain that AL LOWENSTEIN will be with us for a long, long time. It will take more than an "Allard-lander" by the New York Legislature to remove him from active participation in the major issues which affect the lives of every American, and peoples throughout the world. After he won a surprise election by a narrow margin in 1968, his

district was deliberately carved up to remove his greatest sources of strength. Yet he ran far ahead of the rest of the ticket in his close, losing race.

It has been said that there are no second prizes in politics. Our colleagues put a very high premium on winning, we pat each other on the back for what is termed "good politics," our party leadership always encourages defecting members who plead that the situation in their district will not permit them to support a party policy in the national interest, and the entire structure of Congress puts a premium on success at the biennial elections. Far be it from me to beat the drums for a "political death wish" or to infer that AL LOWENSTEIN operated this way, even though he suffered what was labeled a defeat in 1970. He worked too hard in the campaign, organized too well and campaigned too effectively to be accused of not trying to win. Yet we both worked in the 1950's for Adlai Stevenson, who used to warn politicians to remember that the next generation was more important than the next election.

AL LOWENSTEIN described this political dilemma as follows, in an interview printed in the January 10, 1970 issue of *The New Yorker Magazine*:

There is nothing inherently immoral about trying to succeed, and in politics this society's idea of success is to get yourself elected. But once that has become the goal, all the other goals and values can be forgotten. The test of virtue becomes success, and people measure success by whether you get more votes.

I recall vividly an incident which occurred during the 1970 campaign, a very rough, bitter, and dirty campaign in Representative LOWENSTEIN's district, when a particular issue came up for a rollcall vote. It was a very tough issue. Many Members with tough campaigns like AL's simply ducked and stayed away, and their constituents understood they were out campaigning. Others who were in Washington for the vote flocked to what appeared to be the popular side. I sensed without talking to AL how he was going to vote. Even though I come from what is now called a "safe" district, I voted on the popular side on a piece of legislation which passed overwhelmingly. I stopped AL in the corridor before the vote, and pleaded with him, for the sake of his reelection, for the sake of his return to perform more effective service in the House of Representatives, for the sake of the overwhelming opinion in his district, not to try to be a "statesman" but to try and be a true politician for once. He looked at me rather quizzically, and did not moralize the issue, did not try to lecture me about my position or attitude, but simply asked a few substantive questions about the pending bill. They were the type of questions which a professor and student would discuss in an advanced graduate seminar. The questions were not posed in order to enforce a preconceived point of view. They were simply asked for information. I became impatient, and told AL he had no business coming down to Washington, leaving his campaign, and then casting a vote which could lose him the election. He again looked at me as though to ask: "Do you really think so?" He waited

for the second rollcall. I watched him as he studied the bill, the committee report, and asked several fellow Members, not the usual "How are you voting on this?" type of question—but clear and probing attempts to find out the significance and implications of the bill.

Then at the last minute, he stepped to the well of the House, and voted, along with about half a dozen of his colleagues, on the distinctly unpopular side of the bill.

Cynics will contend that by hurting himself politically, AL LOWENSTEIN hurt his influence in the Nation. I take a different view. His influence and prestige will grow outside of the Congress, and the Congress itself must change to keep in step with the problems, challenges, and standards of this age.

Ever since he was a student at the University of North Carolina, working for Frank Graham, AL LOWENSTEIN has been a tremendous force in American politics and American life. I know he has not yet begun to reach his zenith. Wherever his service is rendered, his influence will be tremendous.

AL LOWENSTEIN is an apostle of reform within our great system of government. What he proposes is not "leftist," nor is it revolutionary. He is a powerful advocate of peaceful and nonviolent change. He wants this Nation to practice what it preaches in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and to put into practical effect the American ideals of freedom, opportunity, and justice in a world and a nation where peace prevails.

Sure, we will miss him here in the next Congress, but only as an ex-Member. The Nation and the world are his stage and his influence will be broader in the months and years to come. The following articles furnish some further clues to the philosophy of AL LOWENSTEIN:

#### CONGRESSMAN ON THE RUN

(By Erwin Knoll)

The afternoon sun beats down on the Capitol dome, on the gaggle of touring Girl Scouts surging through the East Front parking lot, on the Honorable Allard K. Lowenstein, Member of Congress, from the Fifth District of New York, who sits on the steps outside the House chamber in rumpled summer suit and wilted shirt, lurching on an orange Popsicle.

"We're in a race against time," says the Congressman.

At the moment he happens to be talking about ending the Vietnam war, but the comment is general, all-embracing. Racing against time is AL Lowenstein's way of life.

Since his election to the House last November, Lowenstein has raced twice to Africa to try to arrange additional relief flights for starving Biafrans. Each week he dashes back to his Long Island district, where his victory confounded Republicans and unsettled Democratic regulars, to shore up a shaky political base by making the rounds of service clubs, synagogues, and churches. Occasionally he drops in on his wife, Jennifer, and their infant son. Frequently he confers across the country with New Politics groups, Coalition Democrats—all those who are trying to build on the pieces of last year's Kennedy and McCarthy campaigns. Constantly he talks to students and recent ex-students—the young activists he attempted to "bring back into the system" in 1968, and whom he is trying to hold in the system still.