

THE LAST CRUSADER
ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN AND HIS TIMES

by
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and
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THE LAST CRUSADER

The Last Crusader is a collection of writings by and about Allard K. Lowenstein. It is at once a profile of a fascinating, influential man, and an inquiry into the 1960's and 70's.

The people who wrote about Al Lowenstein, the former congressman best remembered for organizing the "Dump Johnson" movement, are as distinguished as they are politically divergent: David Halberstam, William F. Buckley, Flora Lewis, Calvin Trillin. The topics which Al himself wrote and spoke about reflected a similar diversity: Vietnam, student activism, human rights, the Soviet invasion into Czechoslovakia. The Last Crusader is designed to capture that extraordinary range.

When Al Lowenstein was killed by a former protegee in March 1980, the grief that death evoked extended far beyond the New York Congressional district he represented or the liberal community he epitomized. Al Lowenstein was, very simply, a national leader. And The Last Crusader is designed to remember and convey that extraordinary spirit.

About Allard K. Lowenstein

"He was one of the few men I have ever met who had no price. He couldn't be bought-- not by flattery, not by charm, not by adulation, not by money, not by seduction-- when he was in pursuit of an ideal he considered to be right."

-Bill Moyers

"Al Lowenstein running for Congress is like the Pope running for Parish priest."

-Robert F. Kennedy

"Al Lowenstein's unswerving devotion to his fellow men will insure him an impregnable niche in the annals of contemporary American history. He has been a devoted friend of all causes dedicated to the furtherance of brotherhood and the struggle for liberty."

-Martin Luther King, Jr.

"Al Lowenstein belongs in Congress as demonstrably as Rudolf Nureyev belongs on the stage."

-William F. Buckley, Jr.

The Editors

Douglas Lowenstein

Doug Lowenstein is a reporter for the Cox Newspaper chain's Washington Bureau. His writing encompasses a range of urban and political issues: energy, housing, the auto industry, and federal aid programs to name but a few. He is a contributing author to the Washington Journalism Review, and was the recipient of the "Rookie-of-the-Year" award in 1974 by the Buffalo Newspaper Guild soon after his graduation from Washington University. As Al's nephew, he has complete access to the extraordinary collection of Al Lowenstein's personal papers.

Greg Stone

Greg Stone was Al Lowenstein's research assistant for more than 8 years. In that capacity he provided Al with much of the material used in Al's writings and testimony. Moreover, Greg is the single individual most familiar with the Lowenstein collection of papers. A graduate of Oberlin College, Greg is currently finishing his Ph.D in political science at the University of Wisconsin.

Why A Book About Al Lowenstein?

A unique and exceptional figure in American life, Allard K. Lowenstein was both author and subject of substantial material of high quality and interest. The book envisaged here collects the best items by and about Lowenstein, including retrospective pieces from the period following his murder in March, 1980. The items will be selected for their interest, range and merit and arranged for coherence and simplicity.

Lowenstein is known primarily as a central mover in most of the major reform movements of our time. He was the founder of the "Dump Johnson" movement, number seven on Nixon's "Enemies List," a leader of the U.S. civil rights movement, a McCarthy, Brown and Kennedy advisor and an international human rights activist in both public and private capacities. One of the finest extemporaneous speakers and debators in the country, he was also a penetrating analyst of the deeper issues in modern public life. His personal following was extensive and his personality is reflected both in his own writings and remarks and in pieces written about him.

In essence, this book is by Lowenstein himself. His articles, interviews, speeches and testimony comprise most of its contents, and the best of the material about

him often draws heavily on his commentary or quotes. The value of the book is both its focus on a seminal public figure and its presentation of a public philosophy and approach which set a standard for anyone concerned about contemporary political involvement.

Contents

The contents of the volume both reflect Lowenstein's activities and perceptions and touch upon the leading social and political issues of recent times. While several of these items received significant attention when they first appeared, no such collection of them has ever been made. Its interest is not only in the individual pieces themselves but in the composite picture they present of a man and an era.

Because Lowenstein generally operated at the cutting edge of change, the controversies in which he was involved were often the critical ones of their period. They are seen here through the prism of a magnetic personality, a probing and incisive mind, and a galvanizing practical focus. From relations of items to one another, some sense of a distinctive political perception and commitment emerges.

Among the areas touched on are the civil rights movement, the "Dump Johnson" movement, political assassinations, congressional reform, Vietnam, political campaigning, youth politics, Nixon and Watergate, human rights, political tactics and reform, domestic abuse of power, major political personalities, foreign policy innovation, personal philosophy and outlook, and the deeper evolving issues of public affairs and American life. The variety of topics is matched by the diversity in the manner in which they are addressed.

Material written about Lowenstein takes the form of journalistic articles published during his life and of eulogies or published appraisals after his death. The material by him is of several kinds.

Articles consist mostly of published items appearing from the early sixties to the last few years. Lowenstein was a painstaking writer, and his work includes magazine and newspaper articles and two cover stories for the Saturday Review, one being a piece which won an Overseas Press Club award for "foreign reporting." Speeches include some campus or other addresses and remarks delivered on the floor of Congress. Testimony includes opening remarks or statements but consists primarily of give-and-take exchanges before committees or hearings. Interviews include appearances on programs such as "Meet the Press" or "Firing Line." Some miscellaneous statements or campaign exchanges might also appear.

While the articles and speeches are focused and carefully sculpted, the interviews and testimony may provide the most evocative specimens of Lowenstein's personality and thinking. The 1967 "Meet the Press" interview, for example, is a detailed dissection of the basic political realities of the war, developed against the questioning of newsmen who have trouble believing it. The 1978 testimony on the U.N. Human Rights Commission is a prescient early overview of the possibilities of human rights diplomacy, possibilities Lowenstein later came to conclude were being largely lost by the Carter administration. The 1979 testimony on Zimbabwe, by contrast, is a subtle specific study of the translation of theory to practical implementation in a crisis situation.

Lowenstein's intense work on this issue helped shift U.S. policy and his thinking defined the basic strategy used by the British in their successful negotiations.

The interview on the stolen Brooklyn congressional election in 1972 and the court-ordered rerun provide an intimate depiction of the underside of New York machine politics. The material on the Robert Kennedy assassination gives a measured and unblinking account of falsehood and cover-up in Los Angeles and of the continuing monumental problems in the official version of that case. In these examples, as in others, a specific issue sheds

light on basic aspects of a distinctive political attitude and approach. They also outline lucidly or prophetically the central realities of confused situations.

One common denominator of all the material is personal conviction and virtuosity of thought and expression.

While Lowenstein's thinking cannot be capsulized or pigeonholed, however, some recurrent themes may be suggested. One is the importance of motivation, momentum and psychology in politics and the fact that individuals can make a difference. Another is an anchoring in bed-rock values and the insistence that political action and advocacy not cut corners with them. A third is a commitment to fundamental social change, coupled with a close sensitivity to both the failures and the potentials of existing institutions and to the practical means of transforming them. Also basic is respect for independent thinking and debate, for iconoclastic viewpoints, and for the internal logic of democratic process.

Lowenstein had limited regard for many pat slogans and conventional orthodoxies, whether of the status quo or "revolutionary" variety, and his appraisals tended to go beyond them. His statements combine both a concern for the controlling contest of issues and an acute practical attention to detail and nuance in strategies for pursuing concrete goals.

Organization

The book will be divided into three separate sections. The first section, "About," is comprised of material written about Lowenstein during his life, including the Halberstam classic and some major pieces from the New Yorker and elsewhere. The second section, "By," contains the articles, interviews, speeches and testimony referred to above. Items in both these sections are presented chronologically (with a few exceptions) giving continuity and biographical order to the material. Section three, "Retrospective," would include the best of the articles and statements which appeared following Lowenstein's death.

Many of these entries would need a brief introduction or explanation, possibly footnoted to the title at the beginning of each. A general preface or introduction by a well-known figure would also provide some general perspective to the selections which would follow. In addition to these aspects the book will also contain an index, photographs, chronology and some listing of Lowenstein items not included.

OUTLINE

ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN AND HIS TIMES

Introduction-- By a Lowenstein friend-- e.g. William F. Buckley, Jr., Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., John Kenneth Galbraith.

I. About

"Candidate." New Yorker, 1966.

"The Man Who Ran Against Lyndon Johnson." David Halberstam, Harpers, 1968.

"Congressman on the Run." Erwin Knoll, Progressive, 1969.

"New Member." Flora Lewis, New Yorker, 1970.

"Lowenstein Without Glamour." Robert Mayer, Newsday, 1970.

"Lame Duck." New Yorker, 1970.

"Lowenstein Ponders Challenge to Brooklyn's Rooney or Nassau's Wydler." Mary Breasted, New York Times, 1972.

"Hurrah." New Yorker, 1972.

"Enemy Number Seven." Judith Coburn, 1973.

"A Liberal Indulgence." William F. Buckley, N.Y. Post, 1978.

II. By

Excerpt from Brutal Mandate. 1962

"Death in Mississippi: James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner." Speech, Queens College, 1964.

"Conference of Concerned Democrats." Interview, Meet the Press, 1967.

"Vietnam and the Presidential Election." Interview, Face the Nation, 1968.

"Time-Life Statement." 1969.

"An American Flag on the Moon?" Congressional Speech, 1969.

"Student Activism in America." Class Day Address, Harvard University, 1969.

"Direct Election of the President." Congressional Speech, 1969.

"Tyranny in Wenceslaus Square." Newsday, 1969.

"The Vietnam Moratorium." Interview, Evans-Novak Report, 1969.

"Challenge to Nixon Administration and Offer to Resign Congressional Seat." Speech, 1970.

"Subsidizing Oppression in Spain." Congressional Speech, 1970.

"Mr. Hoover and the FBI." Congressional Speech, 1970.

"Strict Constructionism and the War." Congressional Speech, 1970.

"Politics, the War, and the Presidential Election." Interview, Meet the Press, 1971.

"Memo to the ADA." ADA World, 1971.

"Letter to the American Right." 1971.

"For As Long As it Takes." Toothing Stones, 1972.

"Running Against the Brooklyn Machine." Interview, 1973.

"Congressional Reform and Academic Scholarship." Party and Opposition, 1973.

"Watergate." ADA World, 1973.

"Reflections on a Third Force." ADA World, 1973.

"Statement With Paul Schrade on the Assassination of Robert F. Kennedy." 1974.

"No Monopoly on Jewish Defense." Newsday, 1975.

"Who Killed Bobby?" Interview, Firing Line, 1975.

"A Cynic's County Legislature." Newsday, 1975.

- "Who Voted for the Concorde?" Newsday, 1975.
- "Spain Without Franco." Saturday Review, 1976.
- "Introduction of Governor Jerry Brown." Interview Magazine, 1976.
- "Politics and the Marine Environment." Testimony, House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, 1976.
- "Fifth Congressional District Campaign." Interview, Hofstra Law Journal, 1976.
- "Suppressed Evidence of More Than Assassin?" Saturday Review, 1977.
- "Review of the United Nations 33rd Commission of Human Rights." Testimony, House Subcommittee on International Organizations. 1977.
- "Eleanor Roosevelt." 1977.
- "One-ness Earth." Speech, U.N. Holiday Service, 1977.
- "The Future of Human Rights in American Foreign Policy." Speech, Friedmann Conference, Columbia University, 1978.
- "South Africa Must Change or Stand Alone." Interview, Johannesburg, 1978.
- "Anniversary of An Assassination." Washington Star, 1978.
- "Why I Quit." New York Post, 1978.
- "The Environment and New York City Transportation." Testimony, State Environmental Protection Hearings, 1978.
- "Congressional Anti-Gerrymandering Legislation." Testimony, House International Affairs Committee, 1979.
- "Carter and Kennedy in 1980." Interview, David Suskind Show, 1979.

"Robert F. Kennedy and the Nature of Power in America." 1980.

III. Retrospective

"Another Night, Another Room...and Death." Jimmy Breslin,
New York Daily News, 1980.

"An Old Friend Mourns a Special Loss." James Weschler, New York Post, 1980.

"Remembering a Man Who Mattered Through the Years." Richard Cohen, Washington Post, 1980.

"Address to the New York State Federation of Teachers."
Senator Edward Kennedy, 1980.

Eulogy - New York Memorial Service, William F. Buckley, Jr.

Eulogy - New York Memorial Service, Rep. Paul N. McCloskey.

"A Chance Encounter." Thomas Powers, Commonweal, 1980.

"Notes and Comment." New Yorker, 1980.

Photographs and Drawings (middle of book)

Chronology

Selected references

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Market Potential

Al Lowenstein's personal following was far larger than that suggested by the constituency of Long Island's Fifth Congressional District. This personal following is but the first market segment for the book.

How large was this constituency?

1. David Halberstam cited Al's reputation by the late '50's as, "someone who knows everyone in America." A decade later, Calvin Trillin characterized his friends and acquaintances as "a group that, according to some calculations, is large enough to be expressed as a percentage of the American population." David Broder wrote in 1980 that "it is beyond dispute that he brought more young people into American politics than any other individual of our times." Apart from those who knew Lowenstein directly, thousands more were influenced by hearing him speak, worked in organizations he founded or headed, followed his career in the press or enlisted in one of his political campaigns.

In addition to the larger constituency, there are several identifiable market segments which can be targeted for the book's sale:

2. Lists. Access is potentially available to lists of Lowenstein supporters, contributors, correspondents, attendees, etc. with Mr. Lowenstein's papers. These lists number approximately 10,000 names.

3. Organizations. A number of obvious organizations have memberships which are interested in the subject matter of this book and the organizations themselves are potential vehicles for reaching them. Lowenstein was personally involved in many of these. Examples include ADA, SANE, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Encampment for Citizenship, American Jewish Congress, the national Democratic Party and Former Members of Congress.

4. '60s and Early '70s Generation. The book is directly relevant to the interests and background of anyone who came to political consciousness and activity during the civil rights-anti-war-Watergate period. Lowenstein was a seminal figure to most of the major movements which shaped the public awareness and personal identity of a generation of American youth. The book not only captures his role directly and authentically but provides a basis for reappraisal and deeper reflection on a chapter of our lives as a country and as individuals.

5. Publications. The logic of organizational constituencies applies as well to a number of publications, particularly those with an insurgent or liberal-activist bent. Obvious examples include The Nation, New Republic, Mother Jones, Harpers, Working Papers and New York Review of Books. These readerships can be reached through reviews as well as ads. The New Yorker routinely prints notices of

the publication of books of which parts appeared originally in that magazine, and its subscribers have seen six separate articles on Lowenstein since 1966. While these audiences, like others above, may know Lowenstein as a kind of folk hero or figure of political legend, many of the specifics of his career are matters of uncertainty and curiosity - more so than with more conventional, better reported individuals such as McGovern and Bella Abzug. This book not only satisfies such interest but gathers important items never before collected together.

6. Public and University Libraries. As a definitive and quality portrait of one of the major actors in recent American politics, the book would be an important library acquisition.

7. Public Affairs and Political Science. Both for formal academic and scholarly purposes and for reflective examination of politics and social change the book is a substantial resource. "A distinct philosophic quality," wrote Theodore H. White, "set off Lowenstein from a later generation of students" and this quality is evident in a depth and care of advocacy which move it beyond common labels and slogans. It is also evident in Lowenstein's ability to range from principle and theory to strategic, policy and tactical questions and the imperatives of mood and implementation. Like Martin Luther King, he is at once

a front-lines practitioner, a subtle intellect and a unique personality. The book is relevant to political science and other courses and should appeal to those interested in the cutting edge of recent change and the nexus and interplay between concept and practical reality.

8. Specific Interest Constituencies. Lowenstein's name was associated with a large variety of issues, most of which are touched on in this volume. Interest in any one of these might bring readers to the book. Examples include the rise and demise of Carter human rights policy, the Kennedys and political assassinations, Congress and electoral campaigning, Southern Africa, youth politics, factionalism on the Left and Watergate and government abuses. An Introduction by a prominent name would add both readers and visibility.

9. Derivative Audiences. At present a documentary film about Lowenstein is being produced for public television and other uses. A docu-drama based on Lowenstein's book Brutal Mandate is in the works for network television. A fund and outreach effort have been set up by Lowenstein's family and others have been established by various individual groups. All of these projects, if successful, will stimulate interest which will add to the book's potential reach.

10. Area Constituencies. In several specific locations, including New Haven, North Carolina and California, the book will have some advantage due to past Lowenstein connections and local celebrity. The most important of these areas are Washington, D.C. and the New York-Long Island locale to which much of the material involved is related. As a long-time resident, Democratic reform leader, congressman and candidate, spokesman on Jewish issues, political organizer and U.N. ambassador, Lowenstein had numerous ties to the New York area. These should add a local element to the book's appeal there.

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