

# FIRST DRAFTS OF INTRODUCTORY INSERTS

## About

1. New Yorker, 3-12-66.

Early in 1966, Allard K. Lowenstein participated in a Democratic Reform Caucus procedure in Manhattan, designed to select the reform candidate in the upcoming congressional primary. In the straw vote on March 10, he lost in the semi-final round and supported the winning designee in the primary.

2. Harpers, 12-68.

From his efforts in organizing anti-war teach-ins in 1965, Lowenstein had worked actively against the Vietnam war. Increasingly opposed to Johnson administration policy, he cast about in 1966 and 1967 for a means of more effective opposition.

3. New Yorker, 11-16-68.

Approached to run for Congress by the Dissenting Democrats on Long Island, Lowenstein won the Democratic Party nomination in the Fifth Congressional District in 1968. On November 3, he was elected to the 91st Congress by a margin of 2,800 votes.

4. New Yorker, 1-16-70.

As a freshman member of Congress, Lowenstein continued to break traditional rules of method and style. His approach was constrained, however, by a measured sense of priorities and of the means of constructing political coalition.

5. Newsday, 10-29-70.

A substantial proportion of Lowenstein's congressional effort was devoted to developing new approaches of community initiative and fostering grass-roots activity. This record was surveyed in a Newsday column during the 1970 campaign.

6. New Yorker, 11-21-70.

Badly damaged in the New York congressional redistricting in January, 1970, Lowenstein discarded the option of a Senate race and announced for re-election to his reconstructed House seat. On November 3, he was defeated by 9,100 votes.

7. Newsweek, 8-23-71.

Throughout 1971, Lowenstein was active around the country, organizing anti-Nixon youth voter-registration events in 20 states. In consequence of this effort, he was listed, during this summer, as number seven on the secret White House Enemies List.

8. New York Post, 6-15-72.

Early in 1972, Lowenstein was invited by the Reform Democratic Caucus in Brooklyn's 14th district to enter the Democratic primary against incumbent congressman John J. Rooney. In March, he formally announced his candidacy.

9. New York Post, 7-7-72.

According to the Board of Elections count, Lowenstein lost the Brooklyn primary by 890 votes out of 29,600 cast. The balloting-day had been marked, however, by massive irregularities, casting doubt on the nature of the election.

10. New York Post, 8-31-72.

In last June, 1972, lawsuits to overturn the disputed congressional primary were filed in both state and federal courts. A staff of 20 volunteers worked full-time throughout the summer to unearth the legal documentation of the facts of the election.

11. New York Post, 10-\_\_\_-72.

A new congressional primary was ordered by the New York Appellate Court on September 7. It took place on September 19, but was characterized by many of the same peculiarities as the June 20 primary.

12. New York Post, 3-\_\_\_-73.

Following the 1972 elections, Lowenstein set up a community office in Brooklyn. John Rooney retained his seat, although the 14th district was dismembered the following year on grounds of having been gerrymandered against minorities.

13. New York Times, 7-16-73.

In July, 1973, news of the Nixon "Enemies List" was released by the Senate Watergate Committee. This and similar information helped spark the beginnings of a Lowenstein reappraisal of the hidden realities of political power in America.

14. New York Post, 1-9-75.

First made aware of the unanswered questions of the Robert F. Kennedy assassination in 1973, Lowenstein attempted privately for over a year to obtain answers through official channels. At a press conference with Paul Schrade in December, 1974, he finally raised the existing doubts publicly.

15. New York Post, 5-21-76.

Lowenstein served as an advisor to California Governor Jerry Brown in the summer of 1975. Beginning with the Maryland primary in May, he was a key organizer and strategist of the 1976 Brown Presidential race.

16. Newsday, 8-15-78.

Lowenstein's final congressional race was waged in Manhattan in the summer of 1978. Because of the New York newspaper strike, the following column and other daily coverage never appeared in the New York daily press.

By

1. Brutal Mandate, 1962.

The territory of Namibia (than South West Africa) has been administered for the past six decades by the government of South Africa, based on an international mandate inherited from the League of Nations. Its population was overwhelmingly black, and little or no information on conditions was allowed out by South African authorities. In 1959, at the request of native representatives, Lowenstein and two companions traveled throughout the region, collecting clandestine recordings, gathering detailed information, and smuggling out a black student in the trunk of their car. Avoiding police apprehension, they returned to New York and, in 1960, presented their information about racial exploitation and oppression before the Fourth Committee of the United Nations. The story of this trip and of the conditions it exposed is told in Lowenstein's book, Brutal Mandate.

2. Meet the Press, 12-3-67.

Lowenstein began in early 1967 the efforts which led to the anti-war "Dump Johnson Movement." (See #2.) At the beginning of December, 1967, a national meeting of the Conference of Concerned Democrats took place in Chicago to map plans for primaries and other state insurgencies around the country. On the final day of the conference, Lowenstein was invited to appear on Meet the Press.

3. Buckley Show, 9-17-68.

In June, 1968, Lowenstein won the Democratic nomination for an uphill race for Congress in Long Island, New York. (See # 3.) Following the quashing of the peace plank and of the McCarthy and McGovern candidacies at the Chicago Democratic Convention, he appeared on William F. Buckley's "Firing Line."

4. Moon Speech, 6-10-69.

Elected to the 91st Congress in 1968 (see #3), Lowenstein engaged in an early House colloquy regarding a floor amendment on the planting of an American flag on the moon. His comments notwithstanding, the amendmert passed the House on a voice vote and was enacted into law.

5. Harvard Speech, 6-\_\_\_-69.

One center of turmoil and student upheaval in 1969 was Harvard, where Lowenstein was invited by the graduating class to give the Class Day address.

6. Frank Graham Speech, 7-24-69.

One of Lowenstein's earliest mentors was Senator Frank Graham, former president of the University of North Carolina. In 1969, Graham returned to Chapel Hill after a career at the U.N. and a special order was taken out in his honor in the House.

7. Education Speech, 7-30-69.

An early confrontation in 1969 on issues of "national priorities" involved administration efforts to restrict federal funding for public education. In a key August vote, House critics attempted but failed to overturn these limits.

8. Prague Article, 8-\_\_\_-69.

During the congressional recess in August, 1969, Lowenstein and an aide embarked on a self-financed fact-finding trip to Europe and Asia. They were in Prague, Czechoslovakia on August 21, the first anniversary of the 1968 Soviet invasion.

9. Vietnam speech, 9-30-69.

During his first nine months in office, Lowenstein had spoken numerous (8) times about Vietnam in the House, apart from intense organizing activities around the country. As hopes steadily faded for a reversal of Nixon war policies, he made his final break with the administration.

10. Challenge to Nixon and Nassau Republican Party, 2-16-70.

Following Lowenstein's protests on the war in 1969, the Republican County Chairman, Joseph Margiotta, publically called for his resignation on grounds of disloyalty to congressional district opinion. Simultaneously, however, the district itself was being dismembered and redesigned as part of a special state reapportionment. Responding to these developments - and to Nixon's claims of a "Silent Majority" - Lowenstein offered a challenge to his opponents.

11. Tuscaloosa Speech, 5-\_\_\_-70.

Following the U.S. invasion of Cambodia in April, 1970, incidents of protest and violence erupted around the country. On \_\_\_\_\_, dozens of students were beaten and arrested following protests at the main campus of the University of Alabama. Having been to Jackson and Kent following the killings there, Lowenstein was contacted by student and administration leaders in Tuscaloosa. He traveled to the scene and held hearings on the incidents and their implications.

12. Hoover Speech, 12-31-69.

In an interview in November, FBI Director J. Edgar made a variety of scathing attacks on former Attorney Generals Ramsey Clark and Robert Kennedy. Lowenstein and some other members registered some comments on the floor of the House.

13. ADA Memo, 5-\_\_\_-71.

In April of 1971, Lowenstein was elected National Chairman of Americans for Democratic Action. His diagnosis of present opportunities for action was featured in the first post-convention issue of ADA World.

14. For As Long As It Takes, Spring, 1972

Throughout 1971, Lowenstein's Dump Nixon drive organized newly enfranchised voters across the country (see # 7), culminating with a national youth conference in Chicago in December. Some appraisals of the public scene were included in his introduction to a book on political participation published early in 1972.

15. Loughlin Interview, 3-73.

In 1972 Lowenstein ran for Congress in Brooklyn against the organization-backed incumbent, John Rooney (see #9,10,11,12). Following that campaign and its various electoral peculiarities, he was questioned about the preceding election and the national outlook.

16. Watergate Article, \_\_\_\_\_

Lowenstein had been re-elected as ADA Chairman in 1972, and to the Democratic National Committee from New York. As Watergate began to unfold, he touched on some of its implications in the following commentary.

17. Reflections on a Third Force, \_\_\_\_\_-75.

One political rumination of the post-Watergate period was a groping for some form of non-party "third force" for producing reform and change. Lowenstein voiced some doubts about the concept's usefulness and definition.

18. No Monopoly on Jewish Defense, 5/18/75.

Following the abolishment and redesign of the 14th district in Brooklyn, Lowenstein ran for Congress unsuccessfully from the (also redesigned) district of his Nassu home. In the Long Island daily Newsday he responded to a local article entitled "Who Conspired to Make the JDL's Meir Kahane A Political Prisoner?"

19. Who Voted for the Concorde?, 3-\_\_\_\_-76.

In the 91st Congress, Lowenstein helped organize and lead a bipartisan congressional coalition on the neighborhood issue of jet noise and on the SST. Pressing these issues in future years, he continued to assess regulation in this field as representation of the regulated at the expense of citizen interests.

20. Spain Without Franco, 2-7-76.

Lowenstein's involvement with Spain began as a seven-year-old child when he collected donations for the Republican cause on New York street corners. With Franco's impending death in 1975, he returned to the country to assess the prospects of the coming transition.

21. Brown Introduction, 6-1-76.

In 1976, Lowenstein helped spearhead the Brown presidential primary campaigns in Maryland and several other states. (See #15.) In June, a Brown fundraiser was held at the home of Lowenstein's brother in Manhattan.

22. Suppressed Evidence of More Than One Assassin, 2-19-77.

Raising basic questions about the official theory of the Robert Kennedy assassination, Lowenstein sparked a drive which led to the partial re-testing of some of the evidence in 1975. (See #14.) Following the account below of that case and its problems, the Kranz report was released and extensively discredited. The official version of the case has been further weakened since, but no formal inquiry has yet been ordered.

23. Human Rights Testimony, 5-19-77.

In January, 1977, Lowenstein was appointed by the Carter Administration as U.S. Representative to the United Nations Human Rights Commission. Although uncertain of the evolution of Carter foreign policy, he was encouraged by its human rights references and by the hopes sparked by the Andrew Young appointment. Following the Geneva meeting of the Human Rights Commission, he was asked to testify in Congress. Though subsequently appointed as a U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., Lowenstein became progressively disappointed with the implementation of human rights priorities.

24. Anniversary of an Assassination, 6-5-78.

The following article appeared on June 5, 1978, the tenth anniversary of the shooting of Robert Kennedy.

25. South Africa Interview, 4-20-78.

One of Lowenstein's chief preoccupations at the United Nations was the issue of Southern Africa, where developments were moving rapidly in both Namibia and Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. In April, 1978, he travelled to South Africa, where he met and spoke extensively on the imperatives of human rights change. In an interview excerpted in the Mercury, he was interrogated by a questioner from the South African Broadcasting Company.

26. Why I Quit, 7-14-78.

Lowenstein resigned as U.N. Ambassador in June, 1978. While convinced of the human rights concern of many administration officials, he had become increasingly restive over problems of policy application and coherence. These concerns were touched on publically after his departure.

27. Environmental Testimony, 8-\_\_\_-78.

Shortly after his U.N. resignation, Lowenstein announced his candidacy for Congress in Manhattan's East Side District. In August, he participated in state hearings concerning efforts to relax New York's obligations under the Clean Air Act. The comments reflected his insistence on the urgency and interconnection of environmental questions in public decision.

28. Educational Tax Credits, 9/78.

Following a "Firing Line" debate on private and public education, Lowenstein wrote the following article, which was released in 1978. Complicated by a newspaper strike and a wide funding disparity, Lowenstein's candidacy failed by 4% in the Manhattan primary in September.

29. Eleanor Roosevelt, 12-1-78.

A friend of Eleanor Roosevelt's for the 15 years before her death, Lowenstein was asked to participate in a tribute to her at Dag Hammarskjold Auditorium in early December, 1979.

30. Zimbabwe Testimony, 5-14-79.

An 1979, events in Zimbabwe were rapidly coming to a climax, with the white minority government pressured by foreign economic sanctions and indigenous black leaders and Patriotic Front guerillas. On January 30, white voters approved a new constitution, preserving substantial past privileges and calling for bi-racial elections in April. These elections and the issues of continuing sanctions and diplomatic pressure on the Zimbabwe government were matters of bitter dispute. A critic of specifics



of Carter policy, but opposed to the growing move to accept the Ian Smith-sponsored constitution, Lowenstein was deeply involved on questions of an effective U.S. diplomacy. Following several trips to Southern Africa, he testified, in May, 1979, on the recent Zimbabwe elections and their implications. (As a result of negotiations in London later that year, and of British pressure along the lines suggested below, elections were held under a new constitution in February, 1980. Sanctions were lifted, the civil war lapsed, and Patriotic Front leader Robert Mugabe was elected Prime Minister.)

31. Anti-Gerrymander Testimony, 6-21-79.

In three successive election years, Lowenstein's congressional lines were redistricted from under him, each time to his disadvantage. A year prior to the 1980 census, legislation was introduced by Senators John Danforth (R-Mo.) and Gary Hart (D-Colo.) to entrust redistricting decisions to bipartisan state panels, applying impartial criteria. As an involuntary expert on the gerrymander process, Lowenstein was asked to testify on the legislation.

32. Freedom Summer Speech, 10-30-79.

In 1963 and 1964, Lowenstein had been active in the civil rights movement in Mississippi, working with local leaders such as Bob Moses, Charles Evers, and Aaron Henry. In the fall of 1979, a "Freedom Summer Revisited" conference was held at two colleges in Jackson, marked by significant acrimony about the background, strategies and achievements of the Mississippi movement. Lowenstein was the fourth speaker on an early panel.

33. Robert F. Kennedy and Power in America.

The following account was completed in 1977, a section of the introduction to a book on the assassination of Robert Kennedy. It did not appear during Lowenstein's lifetime.