



## Max M. Kampelman Papers

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April 17, 1985

MMK REMARKS FOR CDM DINNER

(Read by JWK)

I am sorry that I am not able to be with so many of my friends at this gathering of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority. While I realize that there is a special honor being presented to me, that is not the chief reason that I regret my absence.

More important, it would have been a great privilege to join all of you in honoring Sam Nunn and Les Aspin, the recipients of this year's Henry M. Jackson Friend of Freedom Award. Sam and Les, along with Dante Fascell, who received the award in 1984, represent the true and lasting spirit of the Democratic party, a spirit which the majority of Democratic voters continue to honor and to share.

Scoop Jackson was our steadfast symbol of that spirit. Scoop represented a way of thinking about America and its problems which permanently enshrined Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Adlai Stevenson, John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey in the annals of American liberalism.

The history of American liberal thought is rooted in an abiding faith in democratic values and a keen understanding that America cannot isolate itself from its international responsibilities. Chief among these responsibilities is a commitment to strengthen democracy against the totalitarians of the right and of the left. As Scoop and Hubert knew, that commitment is reaffirmed by improvements in democracy and freedom at home. Poverty and discrimination are enemies of democracy. But so too are hostile totalitarian ideologies. Support of democracy at home must be linked with efforts to advance that cause for the rest of the world. Unfortunately, for these efforts to succeed, it is essential that we possess military as well as diplomatic strength.

Sam Nunn and Les Aspin are Democrats who understand this. It is a privilege for me to salute their leadership.

My thanks and best wishes to you all. In addition to this honor, may I respectfully request your prayers.

Navy -

(F)

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April 3, 1985

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman  
Head of the United States Delegation  
to the Negotiations on Nuclear and  
Space Arms with the Soviet Union  
Botanic Building  
1-3 Avenue de la Paix  
Geneva, SWITZERLAND

Dear Max:

Thanks for your letter of March 26 to Ben. Of course we understand the need for you to resign from the CDM Board. You are identified as a board member in the invitation to our April 17 dinner (enclosed), but new stationery will shortly be printed because of the substantial number of new accessions to our Board and Advisory Board of Elected Officials. These include Senators Bentsen, Boren, Chiles, Exon, Heflin, Hollings, Inouye, Johnston and Nunn; Les Aspin, Norm Dicks, Wyche Fowler, Sam Stratton, and Chuck Robb as well as Hubert Humphrey, III.

Response to the invitation is qualitatively and financially well beyond anything we have previously experienced. Les Aspin has decided to use our platform as the occasion for his first comprehensive speech on Democratic defense policy. We do not yet know what Nunn's intentions are, but I suspect that we will get something of matching gravity and it looks as if there will be heavy electronic and print media coverage.

Please remember that CDM remains the locus of your best friends and greatest supporters among the Democrats. Your personal standing with us obviously requires no elaboration. I hope that you will find it possible to join us.

With warmest regards,

As ever,



Enclosure

# Coalition for a Democratic Majority

1001 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 707, Washington, D.C. 20036

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Sen. Henry M. Jackson  
(1912-1983)  
Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan  
Rep. Jim Wright  
Rep. Thomas S. Foley  
Rep. James R. Jones  
Rep. James H. Scheuer

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John P. Roche  
Nina Rosenwald  
Eugene V. Rostow  
Bayard Rustin  
Paul Seabury  
Albert Shanker  
Walter Shorenstein  
Mark A. Siegel  
Allen Weinstein  
Raymond E. Wolfinger  
R. James Woolsey  
Harriet Zimmerman

May 1, 1985

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman  
Head of the U.S. Delegation to the  
Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms  
U.S. Department of State  
Room 7208, S/DEL  
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Max:

I'm sorry that you were not able to join us at the CDM Dinner -- although we all surely understood why. You would have found it encouraging. We had our best turn-out ever. Les Aspin made a very fine speech on a subject close to your heart, and Jeff showed real platform presence. Dante Fascell praised you very warmly, -- you might want to send him a note.

I've enclosed some press clips, and a copy of all the speeches.

Sincerely,



Penn Kemble  
Chairman,  
Executive Committee

4/17

# Coalition for a Democratic Majority

1001 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 707, Washington, D.C. 20036

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(1912-1983)  
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Rep. Thomas S. Foley  
Rep. James R. Jones  
Rep. James H. Scheuer

February 19, 1985

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The Honorable Max M. Kampleman  
Fried, Frank, Harris & Shriver  
600 New Hampshire Avenue, NW  
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Washington, DC 20037

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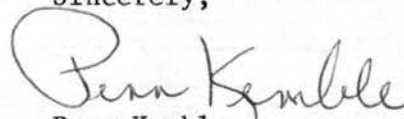
Dear Max:

We are most honored that you have agreed to accept a special commendation at our CDM dinner on April 17th. The award will be presented at a fundraising dinner at the Hyatt Regency Hotel on Capitol Hill (Reception: 6:30; Dinner: 7:30). We will send you a printed invitation and other pertinent materials as soon as they are available.

We will also be giving our Henry M. Jackson Award to Senator Sam Nunn and Congressmen Les Aspin.

Once again, thank you for your participation in our event, and please let me know if I can be of any further assistance.

Sincerely,



Penn Kemble  
Chairman,  
Executive Committee

Phone: (202) 466-4700



# Coalition for a Democratic Majority

1001 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 707, Washington, D.C. 20036

## Advisory Board of Elected Officials

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (1912-1983)  
Sen. Lloyd Bentsen  
Sen. David L. Boren  
Sen. Lawton Chiles  
Sen. James Exon  
Sen. Howell Heflin  
Sen. Ernest Hollings  
Sen. Daniel Inouye  
Sen. Bennett Johnston  
Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan  
Sen. Sam Nunn  
Gov. Charles S. Robb  
Rep. Les Aspin  
Rep. Norman Dicks  
Rep. Thomas S. Foley  
Rep. Wyche Fowler, Jr.  
Rep. James R. Jones  
Rep. Bill Richardson  
Rep. James H. Scheuer  
Rep. Larry Smith  
Rep. Samuel Stratton  
Rep. Jim Wright  
Hubert H. Humphrey III,  
Atty. General of Minnesota

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Eugene V. Rostow  
Bayard Rustin  
Paul Seabury  
Albert Shanker  
Walter Shorenstein  
Mark A. Siegel  
Steven Simmons  
Walter B. Slocumbe  
Maurice Sonnenberg  
Allen Weinstein  
Leon Weiseltier  
Raymond E. Wolfinger  
R. James Woolsey  
Harriet Zimmerman

May 7, 1985

Mr. Jeffrey Kampelman  
1880 Columbia Road, NW  
No. 402  
Washington, DC 20009

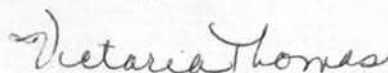
Dear Mr. Kampelman:

The CDM award dinner on April 17 was a great success due in part to your graciousness in accepting our award to your father.

I am enclosing a picture taken at the event which you might want to keep for your files and some news clips which you may not have seen.

Again, thank you for your participation.

Sincerely,



Victoria Thomas  
Dinner Coordinator

encl.

Phone: (202) 466-4702

# The Washington Post

## Aspin Urges Party to Alter Defense Stand

### Democrats Viewed As 'Naysayers'

By Michael Weisskopf  
Washington Post Staff Writer

House Armed Services Committee Chairman Les Aspin (D-Wis.) last night called on the Democratic Party to shed its image as the "Doctor No of the defense debate" and stand for such programs as reform of weapons procurement, strengthening U.S. conventional forces and streamlining the military chain of command.

In a speech prepared for delivery to the Henry M. Jackson dinner of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, Aspin said Democrats must erase the perception of their being "soft on defense" if they hope to regain national leadership.

"If Democrats want to spend the rest of their careers writing op-ed pieces and giving lectures at universities, then we continue to stroke our anti-defense image," he said. "But if we want to make defense policy in the White House and Pentagon, then we had better stand for something."

"The voters are not attracted to national security naysayers."

Aspin, an influential Democrat on defense issues, acknowledged the party's "painful soul-searching." The speech marks Aspin's first public effort to set out a Democratic defense agenda since taking over in January as chairman of the Armed Services Committee.

Democrats long have been at-

tacked by the political right as being weak on defense issues, he said. What is especially "harmful" today is that the same opinion is held by moderate voters, he said.

Aspin described this perception as a "bad rap" that emerged because the defense debate has focused on military rearmament, and "on specific weapons Democrats have stood for negatives. Democrats have been cast consistently in the role of chief anti- Anti-B1 [bomber]. Anti-neutron bomb. Anti-MX [missile]. Anti-Strategic Defense Initiative. And, thus, in the public mind: anti-defense."

"The point is that we don't seem to stand for anything anymore," Aspin said. "In the debate that goes on daily in the newspapers and on the television screens, Democrats are not shown being for anything in the defense area. We are always against. We are the Doctor No of the defense debate."

He urged the party to reshape its image, to "stand for defense without nonsense." To accomplish this, he said Democrats should propose practical alternatives to weapons they oppose.

On defense spending, he suggested that Democrats should not only look for cuts, but also should add "a few billions back" to programs ignored by the Reagan administration, such as weapons necessary to fight a conventional war.

Democrats also should take the lead on cleaning out "the Augean stable of Pentagon procurement," he said, an issue that the Reagan administration has allowed to "get away from it politically. Democrats, therefore, have an opportunity to confront a core defense issue in a creative and rational way. This is a real Democratic opportunity."

Another ripe area for reform cited by Aspin is interservice rivalry, which, he said, results in the Joint Chiefs of Staff "essentially bolting together the individual service policies."



# The Washington Post

## *For the Record*

*From an address by Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.) at a dinner of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority in Washington last night:*

Speaker O'Neill has been showing around a poll indicating that by a margin of more than three-to-one, America's voters believe the GOP will do a better job than the Democratic Party in keeping U.S. defenses as strong as needed. . . . The same poll shows overwhelming pluralities favoring lower defense budgets than President Reagan's and opposing any drive for superiority over the Russians. In other words, the voters are rational on defense—and their positions on spending and superiority are our [Democratic] positions. Yet, they see the Democratic party as incapable of giving us a strong defense. In fact, of 14 issues listed in this poll, the difference between Republicans and Democrats is starker on defense than any other issue. *Our weak point is our perceived weak stand on defense.*

To a large extent, this is, of course, a bad rap. Most Americans—even most Democrats—might be surprised to learn how much defense Democrats *do* support. Take spending. Last year, the Republican-controlled Senate voted for 95 percent of President Reagan's defense request. The Democratic-controlled House voted for 91 percent—a difference of four percentage points.

The Democratic defense glass is almost entirely full. But a huge proportion of the public magnifies this difference of four percentage points and perceives that there is nothing in the Democratic glass at all.

... Why are the perceptions about Democrats so negative? Mainly, I believe, because the public debate on defense has focused heavily on specific weapons. And on specific weapons, Democrats have stood for negatives. ...

# Aspin tells party: Say no to Dr. No

By Bill Kling  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Democrats must shed their "Dr. No image" by overhauling negative defense policies and a "too casual" approach to the Soviet threat if they are to regain public confidence on national-defense issues, Rep. Les Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, told his party yesterday.

"When we do that, we will win elections," Mr. Aspin, D-Wis., said in remarks prepared for the annual Henry M. Jackson dinner of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority. "And, more important, we'll be doing what's right for America."

Mr. Aspin said Democrats should offer alternatives to such major weapons systems as the B-1 bomber and the MX missile instead of only opposition; should support sound, justified additions to the defense budget as well as waste-cutting, and should "accentuate the positive" on those defense programs and policies they approve, such as spending and procurement reforms.

And, he urged, Democrats must publicly and forthrightly state their views in opposition to the Soviet Union as well as their fears of possible nuclear war.

"Our weak point is our perceived weak stand on defense," Mr. Aspin told dinner guests at the Hyatt Regency Hotel on Capitol Hill, contending that "the Democratic defense glass is almost entirely full, but a huge proportion of the public ... perceives that there is nothing in the Democratic glass at all."

Mr. Aspin, who became committee chairman in January when Rep. Melvin Price, D-Ill., was deposed, told the Democrats that a public-opinion survey indicates that voters — by a 3-to-1 margin — believe Republicans "will do a better job than the Democratic Party in keeping U.S. defense as strong as needed."

"The voters aren't wild reactionaries," Mr. Aspin told the coalition whose principal founder was the late Sen. Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson, D-Wash., a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee who worked for a strong national defense.

"The same poll shows overwhelming pluralities favoring lower defense budgets than President Reagan's and opposing any drive for superiority over the Russians. The voters are rational on defense — and their positions on spending and superiority are our positions — yet they see the Democratic Party as incapable of giving us a strong defense."

Mr. Aspin said Democrats "have commonly been attacked from the right for being soft on defense," but recently "have come under attack from the middle for being soft on defense."

"That is new — and harmful," he warned, asserting that the Democratic Party has "a problem of perceptions but, in politics, perceptions this stark can be devastating."

Democrats "don't seem to stand for anything anymore" in national defense, he said.

"We must offer defense without nonsense," Mr. Aspin said. "We must speak of weapons we are for, not just weapons we're against. We must respect the uniform, not debase the uniform. We must speak of the Soviet threat, not just the nuclear threat. We must offer a better defense, not just a leaner defense."

The chairman said the Democrats, as a positive alternative to scrapping the B-1 program, could have offered to renovate the B-52, or support a solution — instead of outright opposition — to the problem of MX missile vulnerability.

Mr. Aspin observed that "two contrasting views of the Soviet threat and the nuclear threat" are dominating the national defense debate in which "the right fears Moscow and is too casual about nuclear war [while] the left fears nuclear war and is too casual about Soviet goals."

"The correct approach for all Americans — and especially for the Democratic Party — would be to start with a healthy respect for the dangers of nuclear war and a healthy respect for the dangers posed by Soviet ambitions," he said. "We ought not to be paranoid about either, but we ought not to be casual about it either."

Mr. Aspin said liberal Democrats "do not excuse Soviet oppression or expansionism," but they say "it goes without saying" that they oppose "illiberal and anti-democratic practices of Moscow."

"It doesn't go without saying," he said. "Democrats express our deep feeling about nuclear war day in and day out. Doesn't that go without saying? But we say it. Let's start saying a few things about the Soviet system, too."

DEMOCRATS

## Taking the Offense on Defense

Since beating out five senior rivals last January to become chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Wisconsin's Les Aspin has walked a tightrope on defense issues. A knowledgeable critic of Pentagon spending, he nevertheless angered many fellow Democrats by supporting the MX missile. Last week Aspin challenged his party, saying that the time has come to stop playing "the Doctor No of the defense debate." Democrats, he said, ought to start coming up with alternatives to weapons they do not like, instead of merely voicing criticism.

In a speech that attracted considerable attention on Capitol Hill, Aspin told the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, "If

Democrats want to spend the rest of their careers writing op-ed pieces and giving lectures at universities, then we can continue to stroke our antidefense image. But if we want to make defense policy in the White House and the Pentagon, then we had better stand for something." The party should point to some areas that need increased military spending, Aspin said, and should construct a positive defense policy around issues such as Pentagon reform. "The voters are not attracted to national security naysayers," he concluded sternly.



Aspin: a stern warning

**The Washington Times**

**APRIL 18, 1985**

# **Nunn, GOP seek new Contras plan**

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By Thomas D. Brandt  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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APRIL 18, 1985 —

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# The New York Times

***Reagan Hinting  
At Concessions  
On Rebel Help***



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**The Washington Post**

FRIDAY, APRIL 26, 1985

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

# ... In the Hands of Ideologues

Just how deep are the roots of the...



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Austin American-Statesman

Thursday, April 18, 1985

# Compromise sought on Latin rebel aid





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