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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13656
Folder ID Number: 13656-009

Folder Title:
Jack Kemp Swearing-In Ceremony 2/13/89 [OA 6853]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	18	6	4

SWEARING-IN OF SECRETARY KEMP
DEPT. OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1989

THANK YOU VERY MUCH. AS A FORMER CONGRESSMAN MYSELF,
I THOUGHT I'D COME BY TO WELCOME JACK KEMP TO THE
EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND TELL HIM THAT THE WATER IS FINE.
BUT, REALLY, IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE HERE FOR THE
SWEARING-IN OF JACK KEMP AS SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN
DEVELOPMENT. I'VE KNOWN JACK ^{a long} ~~FOR SOME~~ TIME, I'VE SEEN HIM
IN ACTION, AND I THINK HE'LL BE A GREAT H.U.D. SECRETARY.

2

I ALSO WANT TO RECOGNIZE JOANNE, ^{she's} ~~WHO IS~~ SUCH AN IMPORTANT
PART OF EVERYTHING JACK DOES.

JACK SERVED 9 TERMS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.
AND HE WAS AN ALL-PRO CONGRESSMAN, VOTED BY HIS COLLEAGUES
TO 3 TERMS AS CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE.

AND JACK'S RECORD IS AN IMPRESSIVE ONE -- MORE
COMPLETED PASSES THAN ANY OTHER MEMBER OF CONGRESS.
I COUNT THE TAX RATE REDUCTIONS OF 1981 AND 1986 AS BEING
TOUCHDOWN PASSES, JUST A COUPLE OF JACK'S IDEAS THAT HE
GOT ACROSS THE GOAL LINE.

TINA

AND THE TAX CUTS DID MORE THAN PUT POINTS ON THE BOARD, THEY HELPED PRODUCE THE LONGEST PEACETIME EXPANSION EVER RECORDED.

BOTH JACK AND I ARE DEDICATED TO MAKING AMERICA, TO THE FULLEST EXTENT, AN OPPORTUNITY SOCIETY. THAT MEANS AN ECONOMY THAT'S THRIVING AND CREATING JOBS; CITIES THAT ARE FILLED WITH ENTERPRISE AND OFFER RESIDENTS A GOOD LIFE AND A GOOD LIVING; NEIGHBORHOODS THAT ARE VIBRANT AND SAFE, WITH AFFORDABLE HOUSES GOING UP AND OLD ONES BEING RESTORED.

IT MEANS GIVING PEOPLE, WORKING PEOPLE, POOR PEOPLE, ALL OUR CITIZENS, CONTROL OVER THEIR OWN LIVES. AND IT MEANS A COMMITMENT TO CIVIL RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY FOR EVERY AMERICAN. THE CHANCE FOR A GREATER AMERICA LIES BEFORE US, AND WE ARE GOING TO SEIZE THAT CHANCE.

TO ALL THE FINE PEOPLE ^{here at} OF H.U.D. I WANT TO SAY THAT I GREATLY RESPECT YOU AND THE WORK YOU DO. YOU FACE TOUGH PROBLEMS EVERY DAY, AND YOU DO IT WITH A TREMENDOUS SENSE OF COMMITMENT. I THINK YOU ARE A GREAT TEAM, AND I THINK THAT IN JACK KEMP YOU WILL HAVE A GREAT QUARTERBACK.

San Francisco

JACK IS A MAN OF IDEAS, AND I'VE MADE CLEAR THAT I WANT HIM TO APPLY HIS CREATIVITY AND ENERGY TO THE AREA OF HOUSING AND URBAN POLICY, WHICH ARE AMONG THE MOST IMPORTANT AND CHALLENGING ISSUES IN AMERICA TODAY. THESE PROBLEMS REQUIRE A COMPASSIONATE STRATEGY, AND THAT'S THE REASON I ^{thought of} ASKED JACK TO TAKE THIS JOB.

WHILE STILL IN CONGRESS, JACK DEVELOPED SOME INNOVATIVE IDEAS, MANY OF WHICH WON SUPPORT FROM MEMBERS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE AISLE.

OUR PLAN IS TO USE ENTERPRISE ZONES TO BRING JOBS, INVESTMENT, AND OPPORTUNITY TO DEPRESSED AREAS. I BELIEVE THAT GIVEN A CHANCE, ECONOMIC FREEDOM CAN BRING A REVIVAL TO THE INNER CITY, AND IT CAN CREATE JOBS AND HOUSING AND DIGNITY FOR EVERY CITIZEN.

I WANT TO USE URBAN HOMESTEADING TO ENABLE PUBLIC HOUSING RESIDENTS TO GAIN A STAKE IN THEIR OWN COMMUNITIES AND IN THEIR OWN FUTURES. I WANT TO WORK TOWARD GIVING TENANTS IN FEDERAL HOUSING THE RIGHT TO MANAGE AND BUY THEIR OWN HOMES AND APARTMENTS.

WHERE WHOLE NEIGHBORHOODS HAVE BEEN BLIGHTED AND
BOARDED UP BY MISGUIDED POLICIES, I WANT TO CHANGE THOSE
POLICIES AND EMPOWER RESIDENTS TO REBUILD THEIR
NEIGHBORHOODS, WITH THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS WORKING
TOGETHER.

AND I THINK YOU KNOW HOW STRONGLY I FEEL, BUT LET ME
SAY IT AGAIN: I AM COMMITTED TO EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITY
FOR ALL OUR CITIZENS AND TO THE STRONG ENFORCEMENT OF THE
LAWS AGAINST DISCRIMINATION. /

AND I WANT US TO END THE TRAGEDY OF HOMELESSNESS. I
FAVOR FULL FUNDING FOR THE MCKINNEY ACT. WE MUST CARE FOR
THOSE WHO FOR VARIOUS REASONS ARE UNABLE TO CARE FOR
THEMSELVES, AND WE MUST IDENTIFY AND REMOVE THE OBSTACLES
THAT PREVENT PEOPLE FROM BEING ABLE TO ACQUIRE HOUSING.

WE NEED TO MAKE ALL NEIGHBORHOODS AND ALL HOUSING
PROJECTS LIVEABLE. AN IMPORTANT PART OF THAT IS FIGHTING
DRUGS AND CRIME AND PROVIDING LAW AND ORDER SO THAT HONEST
CITIZENS ARE NO LONGER TERRORIZED OR VICTIMIZED.

THROUGHOUT HIS POLITICAL CAREER, JACK REACHED OUT TO WORK WITH TALENTED PEOPLE OF EVERY RACE AND BACKGROUND. HE HAS MADE HIS COMMITMENT TO INCLUSION SOMETHING VISIBLE AND IMPORTANT IN EVERYTHING HE HAS DONE. AND I WANT HIM TO CONTINUE WORKING TO OPEN DOORS WIDER, WITH MORE OPPORTUNITY FOR EVERYONE.

SO, BEFORE WE DO THESE THINGS, JACK, WE HAVE TO GET YOU SWORN IN. [WITNESS SWEARING-IN OF SEC. KEMP.]

#

Previous editions usable

TO:

☐ YOU WERE CALLED BY— ☐ YOU WERE VISITED BY—

OF (Organization)

☐ PLEASE PHONE ☒ ~~RTS~~ ☐ AUTOVON

☐ WILL CALL AGAIN *date* ☐ IS WAITING TO SEE YOU *12.5*

☐ RETURNED YOUR CALL ☒ WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

RECEIVED BY	DATE	TIME
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63-110 NSN 7540-00-634-4018 STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-81)

★ U.S. GPO: 1988 — 201-759

STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-81)
Prescribed by GSA
FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

Previous editions usable

TO:

YOU WERE CALLED BY— 1 1 YOU WERE VISITED BY—

OF (Organization)

☐ PLEASE PHONE ☒ FTS ☒ AUTOVON

☐ WILL CALL AGAIN ☒ IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

☐ RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐ WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

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63-110 NSN 7540-00-634-4018 STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-81)

☆ U.S. GPO: 1986-181-246/40015

STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-81)
Prescribed by GSA
FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

☐ YOU WERE CALLED BY— ☐ YOU WERE VISITED BY—

OF (Organization)

☐ PLEASE PHONE ► ☐ FTS ☐ AUTOVON

☐ WILL CALL AGAIN ☐ IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

☐ RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐ WISHES AN APPOINTMENT
MESSAGE

*When it comes to housing
he's a liberal*

RECEIVED BY	DATE	TIME

63-110 NSN 7540-00-634-4018 STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-81)
Prescribed by GSA
* U.S. GPO: 1988 — 201-759 FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

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OF CALL

Previous editions usable

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☐ PLEASE PHONE ► ☐ FTS ☐ AUTOVON

☐ WILL CALL AGAIN ☐ IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

☐ RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐ WISHES AN APPOINTMENT
MESSAGE

*Thank you very much.
Thank them told we going
to SW for this ceremony
and I thought finally
some good for Baltimore*

RECEIVED BY	DATE	TIME

63-110 NSN 7540-00-634-4018 STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-81)
Prescribed by GSA
* U.S. GPO: 1988 — 201-759 FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

Thank you very much. It's a
delight to be here. I know you're
head of Jack Kemp.

Thank you very much. ~~Thank you~~
probably

I know why I'm here. — To answer
the new HUD addresscode. I realize
all need at least
No helmet, no cleat + go to oval outside
the locker room.

~~Thank you~~
I was walking in
the door
~~Thank you~~
~~Thank you~~
~~Thank you~~
I was
I was

(Klugmann)
February 8, 1989
7:40 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SWEARING-IN OF SECRETARY KEMP
DEPT. OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1989

Thank you very much. As a former Congressman myself, I thought I'd come by to welcome Jack Kemp to the Executive Branch and tell him that the water is fine. But, really, it is a pleasure to be here for the swearing-in of Jack Kemp as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. I've known Jack for some time, I've seen him in action, and I think he will be a great H.U.D. Secretary. I also want to recognize Joanne, who is such an important part of everything Jack does.

Jack served 9 terms in the House of Representatives. And he was an all-pro Congressman, voted by his colleagues to 3 terms as Chairman of the House Republican Conference.

And Jack's record is an impressive one -- more completed passes than any other member of Congress. I count the tax rate reductions of 1981 and 1986 as being touchdown passes, just a couple of Jack's ideas that he got across the goal line. And the tax cuts did more than put points on the board, they helped produce the longest peacetime expansion ever recorded.

Both Jack and I are dedicated to making America, to the fullest extent, an opportunity society. That means an economy that's thriving and creating jobs; cities that are filled with enterprise and offer residents a good life and a good living; neighborhoods that are vibrant and safe, with affordable houses going up and old ones being restored. It means giving people, working people, poor people, all our citizens, control

over their own lives. And it means a commitment to civil rights and economic opportunity for every American. The chance for a greater America lies before us, and we are going to seize that chance.

To all the fine people of H.U.D. I want to say that I greatly respect you and the work you do. You face tough problems every day, and you do it with a tremendous sense of commitment. I think you are a great team, and I think that in Jack Kemp you will have a great quarterback.

Jack is a man of ideas, and I've made clear that I want him to apply his creativity and energy to the area of housing and urban policy, which are among the most important and challenging issues in America today. These problems require a compassionate strategy, and that's the reason I asked Jack to take this job.

While still in Congress, Jack developed some innovative ideas, many of which won support from Members on both sides of the aisle. Our plan is to use enterprise zones to bring jobs, investment, and opportunity to depressed areas. I believe that given a chance, economic freedom can bring a revival to the inner city, and it can create jobs and housing and dignity for every citizen.

I want to use urban homesteading to enable public housing residents to gain a stake in their own communities and in their own futures. I want to work toward giving tenants in Federal housing the right to manage and buy their own homes and apartments.

Where whole neighborhoods have been blighted and boarded up by misguided policies, I want to change those policies and empower residents to rebuild their neighborhoods, with the public and private sectors working together.

And I think you know how strongly I feel, but let me say it again: I am committed to equal housing opportunity for all our citizens and to the strong enforcement of the laws against discrimination.

And I want us to end the tragedy of homelessness. I favor full funding for the McKinney Act. We must care for those who for various reasons are unable to care for themselves, and we must identify and remove the obstacles that prevent people from being able to acquire housing.

We need to make all neighborhoods and all housing projects liveable. An important part of that is fighting drugs and crime and providing law and order so that honest citizens are no longer terrorized or victimized.

Throughout his political career, Jack reached out to work with talented people of every race and background. He has made his commitment to inclusion something visible and important in everything he has done. And I want him to continue working to open doors wider, with more opportunity for everyone.

So, before we do these things, Jack, we have to get you sworn in. [Witness swearing-in of Sec. Kemp.]

(Klugmann)
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So, before we do these things, Jack, we have to get you sworn in. [Witness swearing-in of Sec. Kemp.]

(Klugmann)
February 7, 1989
7:40 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SWEARING-IN OF SECRETARY KEMP
DEPT. OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1989

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P.16 Trans
rpt (Radio
TV Reporter Inc)
America Profile
C-Span 12-25-88

HUD Bio P.1

P.2 Transcript

P.2 Transcript

P.1 Transcript

1970-89

81, 83, 85
89 but resigned

over their own lives. And it means a commitment to civil rights and economic opportunity for every American. The chance for a greater America lies before us, and we are going to seize that chance.

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P.2 Transcript

Nancy Burnette
155-6461
Sec. Kemp RA office

General Ideas
in Announcement
Transcript

Transcript P.2

Bob Garcia 218 supporters
Urban Homestead

Where whole neighborhoods have been blighted and boarded up by misguided policies, I want to change those policies and empower residents to rebuild their neighborhoods, with the public and private sectors working together.

And I think you know how strongly I feel, but let me say it again: I am committed to equal housing opportunity for all our citizens and to the strong enforcement of the laws against discrimination.

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Mary Burnett
Kemp's PA office
755-6961 Throughout his political career, Jack reached out to work with talented people of every race and background. He has made his commitment to inclusion something visible and important in everything he has done. And I want him to continue working to open doors wider, with more opportunity for everyone.

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FOR

HUD

PROGRAM

Road to the White House

STATION

C-SPAN

DATE

December 25, 1988

10:00 P.M. CITY

Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT

Appointment of Rep. Kemp as HUD Secretary

ANNOUNCER: This week President-elect George Bush announced he has selected Congressman Jack Kemp to become Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development in his incoming Administration. That nomination is, however, subject to the confirmation by the Senate.

Coming up next, in a special installment of "Road to the White House," we'll air the news briefing held this week by President-elect Bush and Congressman Kemp.

REP. JACK KEMP: A closely guarded secret.

VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH: Well, as I said throughout my campaign for the Presidency, perhaps more than anything else, the campaign was about how to create opportunity for America. And I believe that the philosophy that we articulated, a philosophy of lower taxes, of economic growth, and of giving Americans the power to make their own choices about their own lives, offers the most hope to the greatest number of people.

And that's why this morning I'm very proud to announce my intention to nominate as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development a man who has played a singularly important role in developing the vision of hope and growth for which we stand. Jack Kemp is one of the premier architects of the opportunity society that we are trying to create. And I'm convinced that he'll prove to be an enormously valuable addition to the Cabinet.

You all know his resume. He's now completing his eighteenth year as a member of the United States Congress, six of those years as Chairman of the House Republican Conference. And

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before that, of course, he was one of the top quarterbacks in professional football.

But it's Jack Kemp ideas that impressed me the most. And he was the driving force in Congress between cutting the tax rates in 1981 and to cut them again, cutting them again, while making the Tax Code more fair, in 1986. And the result, of course, has been the longest economic peacetime expansion in our history.

And now I'm asking Jack to bring his innovative solutions to the question of housing and to the pressing problems facing American cities.

As a Congressman, Jack has already offered some promising plans: enterprise zones to create jobs and encourage investment in depressed areas, urban homesteading to allow public housing residents to gain a stake in their own communities and in their own futures. And I believe these approaches will work, and they constitute a new ray of hope for those left frustrated by decades of failed urban and housing policies, policies offered throughout the '60s and '70s, that created nothing more than dependency and, sadly, resulted in urban decay.

Jack Kemp is an idea man. And I'm now asking him to apply his vision of opportunity to America's housing and urban development needs. I'm confident he will succeed. I look forward to working with him in creating hope for all Americans.

And now I'd like to ask Jack to say a few words. And then, as we've been doing, I'll take some questions, and then leave the floor to him to answer questions.

All yours. Welcome.

REP. KEMP: Thank you, Mr. Vice President. I'm honored to be here.

Well, Mr. Vice President, thank you very much for appointing me as your Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and particularly for the confidence you've shown in me. It's an honor to stand with you, to serve in your Administration and your Cabinet. And I look forward to helping you fulfill the mandate that you have to lead this country into the decade ahead.

You talked during your campaign about home ownership and jobs, you talked about opportunity for all people as the key ingredients of the American Dream.

When thinking about the challenge ahead, I'm reminded of the beautiful words of Martin Luther King, who 25 years ago, in accepting the Nobel Peace Prize, said that he accepted that prize

with an abiding faith in America and an audacious faith in the future of mankind.

Well, Mr. Vice President, you too have an abiding faith in America. And I want you to know I have an audacious faith that, together, we can help recapture the American Dream for our distressed inner cities and those who live in poverty and despair.

I'm excited about working in an Administration that has pledged itself not only to some basic reforms, but to some fundamental principles in the area of housing and urban economic development.

George Bush has reaffirmed the goals of the 1949 Housing Act: to help create the conditions in America for every family to have decent and affordable housing. He recognizes the appalling tragedy of homelessness and joblessness. He's asked for full funding of the McKinney Act and a private enterprise job-creating strategy for our nation's inner cities and urban areas.

George Bush said during his campaign that the basic challenge of our housing programs is affordability for the poor, the elderly, particularly young families just starting out. I'm looking forward to helping George Bush fulfill these pledges.

I believe that we have a unique opportunity to forge new alliances that transcend color, ideology, and even economic status. It isn't necessary to agree on everything, but it is absolutely necessary, and possible, I believe, to gain consensus on a public/private enterprise partnership to wage war on poverty.

And if there's on philosophy that will drive the Department of Housing and Urban Development under George Bush's Presidency and under my stewardship, it will be this: that we want to give people the ability to seize new job[s] and opportunities for themselves, to make decisions about their own lives, to secure a better life for their children. And without any illusion about the challenge facing us, and with the recognition that government can't solve all problems, we will do everything in our power to uphold our American heritage as a nation, under God, that respects the rights of others, shows compassion for those in need, and advances equality of opportunity to all.

Mr. Vice President, I'm honored to serve with you, and look forward to fulfilling these pledges.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Thank you, Jack.

Before I answer any questions, I see Joanne Kemp is over here, and their daughter Judith. We're delighted that she's here.

One of the pleasant things out of the campaign, having run against each other, was the genuine friendship and affection that developed between not only the senior Bushes and Kems, but amongst our kids.

So, Judith, I'm so pleased to see you.

Yeah.

REPORTER: Mr. Vice President, Mr. Kemp spoke of the tragedy of homelessness. To what extent do you accept the premise that Reagan Administration policies contributed to the problem of homelessness? And in any case, given the budget constraints, what will your Administration be able to do about homelessness?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, we're wrestling with the budget constraints right now, and they are real. They are very, very real.

I am absolutely convinced that homelessness is not going to be solved by the Federal Government alone. And that's one of the reasons I'm glad to have Jack Kemp, who has this whole innovative approach to not just homelessness, but to everything doing with us -- everything to do with urban development, at my side.

What was the first part of it?

REPORTER: Do you accept the premise that Reagan Administration policies exacerbated homelessness?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: No, I don't accept that.

ANDREA MITCHELL: To follow up, Mr. Vice President. The increase in homelessness has been dramatic over the last few years. And Samuel Pierce came with the mandate of ending many of the programs that Housing and Urban Development had been -- programs you just criticized in your opening remarks.

Why shouldn't the Reagan Administration bear responsibility?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Listen, I think there's plenty of responsibility to be shared by a lot of people. But when we change -- some parts of the homelessness have been adversely affected by changes in how the mentally ill are approached. There are some understandable restraints on just totals that the

Federal Government can spend. But there's an enormous awakening out there to be accomplished in terms of what I sometimes refer to as "the thousand points of light." It is not going to be solved by the Federal Government alone.

And so I guess -- let me change my answer here and say everybody should bear responsibility. Everybody. Everybody, individual, everyone. Because it is a national shame. And I want our Administration to do our level best to help solve it.

MITCHELL: Just to understand your view. Given the fact that there are going to be budget cuts and budget constraints, is it up to the private sector, to the charitable organizations to take the brunt of this?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: They are doing most of it now, Andrea. The private sector and the city governments and state governments are doing most of it. And that is a way that is going to have to continue. The Federal Government simply doesn't have the resources to solve this problem.

But if the question is caring and finding innovative solutions, I've come up with a Secretary of HUD who's going to do a good job on that.

REPORTER: Mr. Vice President, some of these initiatives you've talked about to give people choices involve tax -- changes in the tax law: enterprise zones, rural development, child care. All these involve changes. Do you plan to seek these changes in the Tax Code in your first year in office?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I think we're going to seek a lot of them. Yes.

REPORTER: According to the records of officials of HUD, there are any number of different programs for housing in the Federal Government today in different departments, in different agencies. Why couldn't you bring all of these programs together?

And also, these programs involve the private sector, because they get federal aid now and then, too.

Why couldn't you put all these programs under one house and one package, and coordinate and save money and get the job done?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, Jack Kemp will be taking an innovative look at everything. I don't think you every want to put private sector programs under the Federal Government, however. If you do that -- if you do that, you deprive them of the genius of diversity.

Excuse me, Walt. I recognized you there first.

REPORTER: Mr. Vice President, Jack Kemp could be said to be the only one of your appointees so far who might have his own political agenda for the future. And I wonder if that concerns you at all. And I wonder if he has thought whether he'd renounce any plans to seek the Presidency in '92 or '96.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: No, it doesn't concern me at all. And Jack has shifted gears here to be a part of our team. And so it never was discussed and it doesn't concern me. I mean I know him to be a man of total honor and integrity, and I don't think he'd approach this with a -- I know he wouldn't -- with a separate agenda. And so it really doesn't.

Yes, in the back.

REPORTER: What sort of assurance did you get from him that he has shed his critic's role?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I hope he hasn't shed it. Who's beyond getting a little criticism from time to time? Certainly not the President-elect. And I hope that he hasn't shed that. I want the objectivity of his judgment. And knowing Jack, I'll get it. And that is one of the reasons that I asked him to take on this job, too.

Right here. Yeah.

REPORTER: Mr. Vice President, during the Reagan-Bush Administration the Federal Government just stopped building houses the way it used to. And a lot of people feel that contributed to the homeless situation.

Do you anticipate, given the problems with the deficit and your pledge on taxes, that the Federal Government will end up building more homes for the poor?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I think we're trying to find the most innovative answers. I don't know the answer, whether they'll build any homes at all. But I wouldn't say that I would look for a massive federal home building program.

I think Jack can explain that we have other ideas, that I talked about in the campaign, that I think would stretch the dollars further and that would provide more basic home ownership.

REPORTER: Mr. Vice President, a blue-ribbon commission has recommended a 50 percent pay increase for Cabinet members, Congressmen, and other federal officials. Do you support those recommendations?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I will be supportive of the President's decision. I am Vice President of the United States until the 20th of January. And I am not going to begin either getting at where that decision is or criticizing it once the decision is made.

And then, after I become President, maybe I'll have an unfettered view to do what was just asked about critiquing the decision. But I expect I'll be comfortable with what the President decides.

Yeah, Owen.

REPORTER: NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks said that on race relations and certain urban policies, he considers Congressman Kemp to be a liberal with a capital "L." Given your recent campaign and your well-known attitudes about the L-word, what is your own characterization of Mr. Kemp's policies? And do you consider it good or bad that he would be considered a liberal on civil rights?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I enthusiastically accept the view that Jack Kemp is a very caring individual. And Mr. Hooks can label him any way he wants. I don't want him to have a lot of Jack's built-in constituency too nervous about this.

But, look, we've got to do better in terms of Urban America. We've got to do better in terms of the other half of that mandate, housing. Jack Kemp has long been known to be a fair-play human being on civil rights. And that's the kind of person I'm proud to have at my side.

Yeah. We'll go across this, and then here.

REPORTER: ...a new study, Mr. Vice President, that suggests the Baker Plan for dealing with Third World debt needs to be revised. Do you agree?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I think we should take a whole new look at it, because parts of it are fine -- you know, revitalization of the private sector in some of these countries. There is concern that the federal lending -- I mean the private institutions haven't loaned as much as they might. And so I do think that that should be subject to a major review, which will include not just the Treasury, but our national security people. Because we've got enormous problems, particularly in our own hemisphere, on Third World debt.

REPORTER: Just to follow up. Do you think some forgiveness of debt might be included in a revised plan?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I think you have to be very careful of forgiveness of debt if you want future loans. So I think we've got to find a more versatile answer than simply compelling private institutions to write off the debt. I think that would dry up that third part of the Baker Plan, which is more loaning from private institutions.

Yes, Cathy.

REPORTER: Mr. Vice President, one of the posts still outstanding is Secretary of Energy. Without talking personalities, can you tell us what you're looking for in an Energy Secretary? For example, do the current nuclear problems cause you to look a little more in that direction now, rather than -- for example, would you pick someone who does not have expertise in the oil industry?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I think it's important that at very top levels of that Department you have, in either the Secretary or the Deputy, expertise in both the hydrocarbon field and nuclear.

But right now I'm leaning more towards the latter for the Secretary because of some of the problems we've been reading about and some of the needs to diversify our own energy base in this country. I have long been in favor of the safe use of nuclear power, and I still feel that way. And we've seen that it is almost impossible to do anything in that area. And so a new Secretary, to the degree they have knowledge in that field, would be -- I think that would be extraordinarily helpful.

You also have a military component, that some do not focus on when you think of the Department of Energy, that is very, very important.

And then you have a third thing. You have a research component in the Energy Department that is -- I think there are more researchers and scientists that come under the Energy Department than any other.

So, I want to find the top two that could be able to cope, clearly, with the nuclear side, and also recognize that this country still has a tremendous dependency on the hydrocarbon side, on oil and gas.

Tom.

REPORTER: Mr. Vice President, one thrust of a number of past Reagan budgets has been privatization. We've seen this particularly in the housing area. We haven't heard much about you on this subject. What do you feel about privatization of

housing programs? And do you think that federal housing projects should be sold to the tenants at low cost?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: One of the things that appeals to me about Jack Kemp as Secretary of HUD is that we share each other's convictions in terms of tenant ownership and privatization and private ownership. And there are some great examples worldwide of how effective it is when a person owns his or her own house. I happen to think it would help in terms of strengthening family in this country.

So, I do -- would like to think that our new Secretary will push in that direction. And I'm confident he will.

REPORTER: Is there some dissatisfaction in your mind with the job that Secretary Pierce has done for eight years? Was that a decision -- was that a party to you not to hold him over, as you've held other Reagan...

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: No. The only Cabinet officers that were held over were three, the three most recent appointees. And there is no dissatisfaction. But one of the things that I said in the campaign was we wanted change and new faces.

Here's a brand-new face. He's never been in the Executive Branch before, but he brings in a tremendous -- you'll have to understand, they've been needling me about new faces, claiming Yeutter, of all people, did not have a new face.

[Laughter]

And so what we've got to do is, at the end of an eight-year -- and I think Sam was in the Cabinet the whole time. And we have great respect for him. But revitalization, thinking anew, new time. And that's what that change was about. And it was more in keeping with my general desire to make wholesale change in the Cabinet.

This is the last one, Jerry. And then I really do have to run.

REPORTER: Mr. Vice President, you seem to be dancing around just how much your Administration will spend on housing.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes.

[Laughter]

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I wouldn't have phrased it that way, but that's exactly what I was doing.

REPORTER: Could you just give us some bottom-line

sense? Is it your plan to spend more on housing than the Reagan Administration has been spending, or spend less?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: We're getting into that right now. And some -- you know, let me make a philosophical comment. Jack can expand on it, because I expect he -- you don't show your determination to solve a problem by simply increasing federal spending. There are other ways to skin a cat. And I was asked that here about the volunteer efforts and what others are doing.

So, we really haven't gotten into the budgetary aspects of what we need to do in housing. But I don't -- and so I can't tell you whether it'll be totals of more money.

There were certain commitments that I made that I will try to fulfill. And Jack referred to one of them, appropriately, in his statement. And that was the McKinney Act, which directly impacts on federal services to certain aspects of homelessness.

But in terms of overall, Jerry, we just don't know that yet. And what we'll do is take a look at the Reagan budget, put the Bush priorities on it, and then sit down in serious negotiation with the United States Congress.

And now I will turn it over to our new Secretary. And I would ask you this. He has to go, like all these other Secretaries, up for confirmation. So if he is not as direct as the Kemp of old, it is simply because he must be confirmed. So if he appears to be what Jerry uncharitably called dancing around the issue, please understand that he does have certain respon -- no, I've already talked to him about that. We've already discussed it. But there are certain things that the nominee really can't go into. But he'll do well.

REP. KEMP: Could I just clear up one element of the questioning that came to President-elect Bush? And that was the question that was posed to him about the statement by Ben Hooks. And just so that everybody gets it straight right from the start, he said, as I read him in The Sun, he said, "Kemp is a conservative. And I," Ben Hooks, "am a liberal." So he said that we don't agree on everything. But he said, "When it comes to relations between black folks and white folks, between the races in America, Kemp is a 'big L' Liberal." And he said -- I think I'm quoting him correctly -- that he would trust Jack Kemp in any position in the Cabinet.

I want to say that I consider that a high honor, a badge of honor. And I'm proud to be called a "big L" Liberal by Ben Hooks. And I want the Department of Housing and Urban Development to undertake those pledges I alluded to earlier. And if that's liberal or conservative, or whatever, I'm going to be

pragmatic and progressive, as well as conservative, at this point in our history.

REPORTER: Congressman, we spoke to you a few weeks ago in New York. At that time, you were looking forward to taking some time off, relaxing a little bit. What changed your mind?

REP. KEMP: Well, the Vice President asked me. He has given me a portfolio that I think is exciting at this point in history. Urban development is an area that I've had a longtime interest in. And some of the issues of expanding entrepreneurship, privatization, and equality of opportunity into our nation's inner cities is something that I just couldn't turn down, particularly with his interest in it.

So, I said that I would do it. And I'm really thrilled to get the opportunity to serve in his Cabinet.

Andrea?

MITCHELL: Under the flexible freeze, something's got to go. And from listening to the President-elect today, it sounds as though housing is going to go.

Now, do you think it can all be done through these thousand points of light in the private sector?

REP. KEMP: No, I don't. I agree with George Bush that the idea of enlisting the voluntary sector of our economy and our country, the private sector of our country and economy, and of course the public sector -- I told my friends on Capitol Hill, both Democrat and Republican alike, I want to wage war on poverty. I don't want to wage war on Congress. I don't want to wage war on programs that can work. And I don't believe we're going to balance the budget by cutting housing. I don't think we're going to balance the budget by letting unemployment go up. I don't believe that we're going to solve the budget problem unless we have healthy cities.

So, he has given me the opportunity to make my case in his Cabinet. I plan to make it in the Cabinet, not out on the street. But I want it known that you cannot balance the budget off the backs of the poor.

MITCHELL: Now, if you are told by him, if you lose that fight in the Cabinet and he ends up cutting your budget, if that's the decision, can you live with that? Can you do your job that way?

REP. KEMP: Well, he has given me an opportunity to make my voice well known in those meetings. I have not met with Dick

Darman. I would imagine they would not want Jack Kemp to have this portfolio, in terms of what he has said both in his campaign, as well as what he's said here today in front of you all, and then turn out and -- or go out and have the budget for housing emasculated. I don't believe he will. And I don't think they're going to try to balance the budget off the housing budget.

Jerry.

REPORTER: To what extent -- how does this appointment fit into the context of your presidential ambitions? Do you hope to use this position to [unintelligible] run for President? Have you ruled out running for President again at this point, or what?

REP. KEMP: Well, I haven't ruled out seeking office someday, nor have I ruled it in. I decided to go to the Heritage Foundation and to the Institute for Free Enterprise Development and to give some speeches. And this is far more attractive, with all due respect.

Having said that, I hope to help George Bush be a great American President. I think he can be and will be. And as far as I'm concerned, he's going to be there for eight years. And what happens in the eve of the next century, I'm going to leave that to the future.

I think the most important thing I can do right now is to help him, be a good Cabinet member, be a good Secretary of HUD, and to unleash some of the incentive-oriented ideas that several of us on both sides of the political aisle, and among some black, white, and Hispanic groups, want to try in those cities to make our inner cities -- to restore hope, not despair, but hope in our inner cities.

I'll go here and then come right over.

REPORTER: Can you tell us a little bit about the evolution of this job offer? You'd already made up your mind to go to Heritage. And all of a sudden, the Vice President called you and said, "I've just had a great idea, Congressman. You're going to be at HUD."

REP. KEMP: It wasn't quite that way. But that's, frankly, pretty close to it.

I talked to a number of people in the Administration, told them where I wanted to go. And I think I told some friends in the press that I'd like to go to the National Economic Commission. And who better to talk a tax increase to death than Jack Kemp? That was my goal.

And several people called and said, "Would you be interested in HUD?"

I said, "No, unless" -- I put a comma behind my "no." And I said, "Unless the Vice President wants to really go all out on some of these inner city ideas: urban development, economic development, housing, homelessness. I would be interested in that type of a portfolio."

And he got the word back from the people I had talked to. And then he called me and said, "Would you talk to me in the office?"

And I said, "Yes."

We had a long talk. And frankly, I'm thrilled at the opportunity.

REPORTER: And the whole idea is that it came from them, this particular appointment came from them,...

REP. KEMP: Most assuredly.

REPORTER: ...not from you.

REP. KEMP: Most assuredly. Despite reports to the contrary, I was not seeking a position in the Cabinet. I'm not trying to put it in the sense of my own -- I wasn't begged to do the job. There certainly was competition with some awfully good people. It's no secret that I told a couple of talk shows that I thought Bobby Woodson or Governor Kean of New Jersey would make outstanding HUD Secretaries, and I wanted to go to the NEC. But this has worked out. And I'm thrilled, not only with the opportunity to serve in his Administration, but particularly with the mandate that he has given to me to get to work on these issues.

REPORTER: Congressman, both you and the President-elect have talked a lot today about the limitations of the Federal Government, given what can and could be done. To what extent do you really think that the problem of homelessness is going to be diminished, changed in Jack Kemp's Department of Housing and Urban Development?

REP. KEMP: Well, my only comment about government was that I don't think government can solve all problems. And I think that fits the Bush philosophy. He recognizes, as do I, that we need a public/private partnership. And I think that is a good way of phrasing it.

Secondly, it wouldn't be Jack Kemp if I didn't tell you that I don't think there's a problem out there that can't be

solved. I don't believe in Utopia. I don't believe that we can cure all the problems. But I think it is a tragedy, and an appalling tragedy, that there is the extent of hopelessness -- homelessness in America today, or joblessness, as I alluded to in my remarks.

So, do I think there are solutions and answers? Yes. Do I think I have all the answers? No. And very frankly, I really want to spend some time, including the next two or three months, really getting to know more about not only my own job, but some of the problems of our cities, the homeless, some of the stories of poverty.

And frankly, I don't want to just spent my time studying poverty. I want to study some of the success stories, like Erma Sternbrouck (?), over here in this area, who is working with the homeless and has provided a shelter. I want to get into the McKinney Act. I want to find out what we can do. And I want to listen to folks who are trapped. And I also want to listen to some folks who can help teach us what type of paradigm we can use to resolve this problem.

REPORTER: Mr. Kemp, you're as well known as anything for your strong support for early deployment of the Strategic Defense Initiative and for opposing the INF treaty, and so on. In your discussions with Mr. Bush, did he indicate to you that he expects you to speak out on these things in Cabinet meetings or publicly? Would you have his blessing if you did?

REP. KEMP: Well, to the President-elect's credit, and typical of his approach to this job, and to his comfort with Jack Kemp in his Cabinet, he didn't say a word about defense policy or foreign policy.

It's pretty obvious, a priori, that I can't go into his Cabinet and accept a position in his Cabinet and be an outspoken on-the-street advocate, as I was when I was an independent contractor for 18 years in the United States Congress. And I don't plan to do it. I'm not going to speak on foreign policy.

I've got my views. If I have the chance to be with him privately, I'll exercise that opportunity. But I'm not going to go in there with a portfolio that includes defense or someone else's Cabinet position. I think I'm going to have enough to do just being a good Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

REPORTER: Congressman, in New Hampshire you pictured George Bush as a member of the Old Guard, too wedded to government and to raising taxes.

I have two questions. When you now read his lips, do

you believe him? And if he should agree to raise taxes, will you remain in the Cabinet?

REP. KEMP: Well, the answer to the last part of that question is: Of course.

But I did read his lips. And I think picking Jack Kemp for HUD was, with all due respect, a rather bold decision by him. I'm thrilled with it. I plan to be audacious in my approach to these inner city problems of poverty and homelessness and joblessness.

And so the fact that I lost the race, it's pretty clear from my statements since then that I think he is the right man at the right time for the job. And I think it is an exciting, exciting task to do what I'm doing. So...

REPORTER: I didn't quite understand the second question, the answer to the second question. If...

REP. KEMP: The answer is: I read his lips. I believe him. I think he has made that pledge very clear. And I believe that George Bush -- not only does he not need to raise taxes, I don't believe he will.

REPORTER: But if down the line there's a deficit-reduction compromise with Congress that involves raising taxes, would you remain in the Cabinet?

REP. KEMP: Look, I'm going to remain in the Cabinet, as an answer to your question. My voice will be heard in that Cabinet. He has assured me that. And on domestic economic policy, as well as housing and urban development. So I'm going to be a good team player, not only in the Cabinet, but in my new position.

But I want it very clear that I believe George Bush is absolutely committed to bringing budget equilibrium in America through economic growth and restraint on public spending, without raising taxes. So I am confident that that question, hypothetically, will never come up.

Dave. Yeah.

REPORTER: If I can return to the Tax Code again. How likely after the Tax Reform Act, and so forth, is Congress going to reopen the Tax Code for some of these enterprise, child care initiatives?

REP. KEMP: I didn't know what the answer was going to be by President-elect Bush. But it seemed to me that I heard him

say that he was willing to push these initiatives, even if it took the risk of opening up the Tax Code.

There is a risk, to be sure. But I think on the issue of concern for the poor, concern for the jobless, concern for those who need more growth in our economy, that there's going to have to be some tax changes. And I think his answer was pretty clear that not only will he consider them, he will push for them.

That has to be the last question.

REPORTER: A lot of blacks are looking for a reason to vote Republican [unintelligible] for the Republican Party. But Mr. Bush made it difficult, with the Willie Horton issue and all that.

Now, in your new leadership role, what do you anticipate doing to make blacks feel more welcomed in the Republican Party?

REP. KEMP: Well, I think the first thing that George Bush did after his election was just a magnificent step in the right direction. He met with Ben Hooks. He met with Vernon Jordan. He met -- or he's talked to John Jacobs. He's talked to Coretta Scott. In fact, she was here. Jesse Jackson. He's talked to Bob Woodson. He's talked to a number of activist black and Hispanic leaders in our country.

I think appointing me, if I may be so bold as to suggest that this is something I am interested in and have a longtime interest in expanding the party, making it truly a Lincoln party. And I think, I hope that this is a manifestation of his concern about the future of our party.

But I am not going to be just a Republican in a Republican Administration. I've got a lot of friends on the other side of the aisle. And I've called Bill Gray, I've called Charlie Rangel, I've called Bobby Garcia, I've called many, many people in the Congress on both sides of the aisle -- Don Riegle, Alan Cranston. and I look forward to working with them and making this HUD situation work. And I plan to do that.

And the best thing I can do for reaching out to people is to actually make HUD work on behalf of this war on poverty that I plan to conduct through free enterprise.

Thank you very much.

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See p. 13-18
for bio
material

FOR DEPARTMENT OF HUD

PROGRAM American Profile STATION C-SPAN

DATE December 25, 1988 1:00 P.M. CITY Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT Congressman Jack Kemp Interviewed

ANNOUNCER: Coming up next here on C-SPAN, our scheduled continues with an American Profile of Congressman Jack Kemp, a Republican from New York. Congressman Kemp gave up his seat in the House of Representative in order to run for the Presidency this year. He joined us on November 22nd to look back on his years in Congress and at the personal side of his political career. The interview was recorded before President-elect Bush nominated Congressman Kemp to become the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in his Administration.

CARL RUTAN: Representative Jack Kemp, Republican from New York, this country is in a transition at this point, only a few days remaining in President Reagan's reign. And now we're moving into a new Administration: George Bush, the next President of the United States.

What accounts for his victory?

REP. JACK KEMP: Well, there were many elements, in my view, of the Bush victory. I think, first of all, it's important to state, Carl, that there were issues discussed, notwithstanding the attack on the campaign by some on the left and some, frankly, on the right. I think Bush won on the issues: trade, taxes, defense, law and order, what kind of men and women we want on the courts, what kind of values we want expressed in our country.

Values are reflected by symbols. And in that sense, symbols were very important. They are in politics. They are important to people, whether they're of ethnic or religious or cultural or demographic differences in our society.

So, I would say that, clearly, he won on the issues.

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Some were implicit, some were explicit.

I think he won, in large part, because of the ability to go to the American people and say that under Ronald Reagan and under our Administration, a Reagan-Bush Administration, there was general peace. Certainly not of the kind that we could beat our swords into plowshares, but there is a relatively peaceful world. The Soviets, to a certain extent, are at least modifying their behavior, or at least their rhetoric. We're all hopeful that there is going to be, particularly at this season of the year, a chance for a more genuine peace. But nonetheless, I think, the ability to say peace and prosperity.

Plus, the American people repudiated what they perceived to be as, I'm going to say, a left-leaning Democratic Party. I say left not to turn it to far left, but just to suggest that it is to the left of where, say, John F. Kennedy was in the 1960 campaign, or Harry Truman was in 1948, or even Hubert Humphrey was in 1968.

So, I think the combination of a repudiation of a rather left-leaning Democratic candidate, coupled with a darned good campaign by George Bush himself, personally, a terrific speech that he gave at the Republican convention, where he answered who he was and where he came from and what he wanted to do. And then, specifically, at times implicitly, at other times discussing issues that were of importance to the American people.

RUTAN: What about this idea of one of the dirtiest campaigns of all time? A lot of Democrats said that.

REP. KEMP: I know they did. I think it really insults the intelligence of the American electorate.

Look, politics is tough business. Barry Goldwater found out when they had little girls picking daisies and being pictures blown up atomic weaponry in the 1964 campaign, strontium 90 forming in that cloud, coming down into their ice cream cones.

Richard Nixon, I think, one time said that Adlai Stevenson was a card-carrying commie-coddling State Department -- I don't know what the final word was in the phrase.

But Harry Truman in '48, I understand, said that the Republican Party stuck a pitchfork into the neck of the American farmer.

Abraham Lincoln was called an ape and a gorilla. A newspaper editorial in Wisconsin editorialized that some patriot should take a dagger and stick it into the heart of Abraham Lincoln. And that was before he was elected. That was before the Emancipation Proclamation.

Politics is tough.

We just came through the Canadian campaign, where Brian Mulroney was called a traitor to the cause of Canada.

The Likud-Labor campaign in Israel.

So, as Churchill said, democracy is a terrible form of government, except for the alternative.

And I would just say that the definition to Democrats of a dirty campaign is when Republicans hit back. And I'm not going to say who started it first. But if you remember the Democratic nominating convention in Atlanta, they made fun of George Bush, they ridiculed him. Every speaker, including Ted Kennedy, asked where he was. In times, they implied, Jesse Jackson implied that Bush was in bed with Noriega, doing drugs, you know, into cahoots with drug-runners, the Ayatollah Khomeini.

It was a tough campaign, but I don't think it was dirty. And I think the American people can make a distinction between tough and dirty. And they didn't repudiate George Bush. He got a big mandate. And as John F. Kennedy said, a one-vote victory is a mandate.

RUTAN: George Bush won. Representative Jack Kemp lost. What accounted for the defeat of your campaign this time around?

REP. KEMP: Well, I don't think I lost. I think -- a typical Jack Kemp approach to life. I don't think there are any losers, except people who give up. Many of the ideas that I have been expressing for many years are embodied in the Bush campaign, the Bush platform, the Republican Party, the Reagan Administration, and in our Republican platform drafted in Dallas, Detroit, and the last one in New Orleans.

I only ran for President once. George Bush ran three times, or at least ran nationally three times. He was Vice President of the most popular Republican President of our lifetime. I was a member of the House of Representatives, trying to break into that electorate.

I think I have helped move the Republican Party from a negative -- from a negative platform to a much more positive and much more activist platform. I'm not saying I did it all myself. I helped do it.

So, I feel like, in a sense, after 18 years in the Congress, I'm retiring not only as a victorious Congressman for 18 years, but somebody who's had an impact on ideas in this town. And frankly, I think I've had an impact, at the margin, to the

ideas that are being discussed all over the world. I'm very proud of the record that we made, so I don't see myself as a loser. I see myself, perhaps -- I'm not President. I certainly lost the presidential campaign. But I think I'm a winner, in the sense of moving ideas. And that's why I got into politics, because I believe that ideas matter, that they count, that you can move history with the power of a right idea.

RUTAN: In the early days of that presidential campaign, in those small houses and coffee shops in Iowa and New Hampshire, you set yourself out as the conservative choice, as the conservative candidate running for President. Did the Reverend Pat Robertson steal that from you? And also, did the rest of the Republicans become more conservative, seeing that perhaps that was the more successful way to go, therefore stealing your uniqueness?

REP. KEMP: Well, I guess that's one way to look at it, on the surface.

I didn't run as a, quote-unquote, "Big C" conservative. I ran what I call a progressive conservative campaign. And that is not oxymoronic. I believe in conservative values, traditional values, Judeo-Christian, Western Civilization's values. Not that I'm the sole keeper of the flame, but I certainly tried to run on those ideas and values.

Progress comes from freedom, from liberating people, from removing fetters, from lifting barriers to growth and social progress. So that's progress, and I ran as a progressive conservative.

Now, I wasn't the only one in the race. George Bush ran on Reaganomics and peace-through-strength and pro-family values. Pat Robertson did. Pete du Pont did. Bob Dole, to the extent that he talked about some of those things. Haig. So, you know, we had six or seven people all at once, and the cacophony of voices. And, you know, if you look back from, say, Dole and Robertson to Bush and Kemp and du Pont, you pretty much saw the Republican Party moving away from its old Hoover image towards a much more positive image. And I feel, to a certain extent, I'm going to take a little bit of credit from taking the Republican Party away from its austerity and pain and sacrifice and certified-public-accountant mentality, and turning it into a people party, a populist -- a more populist party.

It's not there yet, but it's certainly moved a long way.

RUTAN: This may not be an exact quote, and correct me. But I think in your -- when you left the race you made some comment that there are no liberals left in the Republican Party now.

REP. KEMP: I don't know if I said that. I don't -- well, you have to use words, and so words are important because they convey ideas. And so in that sense -- I don't think it would be typical of Jack Kemp to say that there's no room for a liberal Republican. A Jack Javits, for instance, would have been a liberal Republican, very decent, thoughtful, able. He and I would have disagreed here and there, and probably in many places. But we also would have agreed on some things.

I think the Republican Party should be a civil rights party, a human rights party, a legal rights, voting rights, equal opportunity party. So, in that sense, is that liberal or conservative? I think it should be an activist party. Liberals get associated with activism. Conservatives are more associated with a defensive.

So, I don't like the word conservative when it comes to mean status quo, because I think of myself as more of a Lincoln Republican, who was willing to use the government to protect civil, human, Jeffersonian rights, at the same time looking for words that convey meaning. I think if a Republican stands up and says, "I think our platform stinks," I'd say, "Well, why be in the party?" You know.

So, I would rather keep it in that realm, rather than on liberal.

Now, the word liberal has come -- the word liberal in Latin means -- is to be free, to be generous, to be open. So, in that sense, "small l," I want to be known as liberal.

I want to be known as conservative because I think conservative has a very positive meaning when it comes to be associated with certain values and preserving that which is good. But if by conservative you meant defending the status quo, and by liberal you meant liberation, or liberating people, I would call myself liberal.

I'm not trying to be picky with you, but I don't think Jack Kemp would have said, "There's no room for a liberal Republican," because I want the party to be broad enough to include men and women who care about progress, change, reform, opportunity, traditional good values, that would defend Western Civilization, that would defend the family, that would defend our country, but yet would see the universality, if you will, of that Jefferson, Lincoln, Reagan message.

RUTAN: You made the comment that this was your first run for the presidency. Senator Dole made several. Vice President Bush made several. The popular wisdom is that you indeed have to try-fail, try-fail many times, and then hopefully

you're elected President, and rarely would you be elected the first time around.

Did you know that going into it, that you really weren't going to win, but you had to make that first effort? Is that what you were thinking?

REP. KEMP: Let me tell you something. I played 13 years of pro football and four years of college football at Occidental College in Los Angeles and three years of high school football at Fairfax High School in West L.A. And I don't think there was ever a high school, college, or professional football game, win or lose as the final result, that I ever went into it not thinking that I was going to win. Now, you lose, but you don't think you're going to lose.

No, I went into it thinking I was going to win. I went into it believing that this was my -- you know, my window of opportunity.

And again, the fact that I lost should not detract from the success that we believe we had in moving the party, moving the candidates, moving George Bush. George Bush is a better candidate -- was a better candidate in '88 than he was in 1980. And that isn't to be disrespectful to George Bush, because I think Ronald Reagan was a better candidate in 1980 than he was in 1976. Certain things happen. And I plan to be a better candidate in 1990-whatever.

In other words, I may try again someday. But right now, George Bush won. I'm a "small d" democrat. I take the message of the electorate. I believe that markets are correct. I think that people vote their best interests and they elected a good man. And I'm going to wait for a future day.

RUTAN: Is that a tough pill to swallow, though?

REP. KEMP: No. No.

After New Hampshire, where I finished third, I saw it coming. But I wanted to stay in and fight as long as I humanly and possibly could, and as long as there were so many people out there at the grass-roots level that were, while not in the majority, you know, were motivated by ideas, ideology, policy, and who believed that I was someone who was speaking to their interests.

And I'm not saying that I am the keeper of the flame, as I alluded to earlier. But I think it was important that I exercised in our democracy that pressure on the system to make it responsive to these ideas. And that's why I got into politics in

the first place, because I thought one man, one woman with a good idea can make a difference in our society. And when I'm gone, I hope that that is kind of my -- you know, I hope that's what I'm known for: someone who made a little bit of a difference in the history of our country.

RUTAN: Let me ask you one more question about the past campaign, and then we'll move on to the future. But the whole process -- there's a lot of thought going on now and discussion as to whether or not this is a very good way of electing a President, with the Iowa caucuses first, so much attention, then the New Hampshire, and then something like a large regional primary.

What do you think of the system? Do you think it's put together -- is this the best way to elect a President?

REP. KEMP: Well, I'll go back to my Churchill quote, as my favorite historian. He said it's a lousy form of government, except for the alternative.

I think our democracy is strong. I think probably if you and I were sitting up on some mountaintop, we could perhaps think of a better way. But it works.

When there -- you know, I think New Hampshire and Iowa as early -- I don't like caucuses. I would say that no caucus -- no state should be a caucus or a convention. Every state that wants into the primary process should have a primary. That'd be the most democratic thing to do, a small "d." That's one change.

But I wouldn't change New Hampshire for the world. I think -- people are going to think I'm catering now to New Hampshire. But we kind of sit back and trust New Hampshire to have the primary, to taste the wine, so to speak, to use a metaphor, to touch and feel and shake hands and listen to and test all of the candidates, from Bruce Babbitt to Richard Gephardt to Dukakis, and from Robertson and Dole to Kemp and du Pont, etcetera, and Haig and Bush. And then they made a decision, and it goes on to the next step. I think that's better than a national primary.

I think we ought to do away with PAC money, do away with caucuses and all PAC money. No union PAC money, no business PAC money. Just let individual men and women contribute to campaigns, put their names on the front paper -- front page of every paper in the country. Let the American people see who's supporting who. And then let the people choose. And in a democracy, you give people information, make everyone appear on Ted Koppel two or three times a month and subject themselves to Ted Koppel's questioning, and put all their contributors on the front pages of

the paper and put it on C-SPAN; and, frankly, let the American people choose. I think they'll do a pretty good job of it.

I don't favor a national primary and I don't favor the Federal Government taking over every nook and cranny of our election process.

RUTAN: When President was first elected, in 1980, a Republican President comes into town. The so-called New Right, the conservative movement appears to be in its heyday. Republicans regain a majority in the United States Senate. A lot of talk about that.

Now, in 1988 they elect a Republican President, but once again elect a Democratic Senate, a Democratic House.

Why does the American people do that?

REP. KEMP: I have two responses to your question.

Number one, the conservative movement redefined itself under Ronald Reagan. Historically, the conservative movement was a negative -- it wasn't negative in the sense of being negative per se, but it was kind of -- it was more of an opposition movement. Under Reagan, conservatism became positive, progressive, if you will, activist.

Now, what's happened to the liberals is that they haven't redefined themselves. Hubert Humphrey would never have let himself be apologetic, or perceived to be apologetic, for the word liberal. Nor would John F. Kennedy. Nor would Henry "Scoop" Jackson. Nor would Roosevelt. So I think Dukakis made a big mistake on that.

They need to redefine themselves. They need to get back into the center. You can't run a Democratic Party -- [unintelligible] gratuitous advice for the Democratic Party. But I think my friend Richard Gephardt, for instance, would have been more centrist. Humphrey -- John F. Kennedy in 1960 ran on cutting capital gains tax, cutting taxes, get America moving again. John F. Kennedy ran on a liberal, open world trading system. He was not a protectionist. Kennedy ran in '60 on the Monroe Doctrine for Central America. He ran on modernizing our strategic nuclear deterrent. He ran on space and the missile gap. So he was in the center of the political spectrum, notwithstanding being the fact that he was a liberal. Scoop Jackson the same way.

So, I think they made a big mistake letting their party drift off to the left, like kind of the British Labor Party, where the debate in Britain in the Labor Party is whether to disarm tomorrow or next week. I mean unilateral disarmament is not popular with the American people, or the British people.

Now, having said that, the Congress is elected Democrat, in my view, and the country goes Republican at the White House level because the country, when the national election, has a chance to elect a leader who is worried -- or, I should say, interested in and concerned about and positive about our chances for world economic growth, our relations with the Soviet Union, defending the country, free enterprise, leading the economy to higher levels of growth, if you will. I think Bush won on macro issues.

Men and women at the state level, at the local level, Democrats have won because they are better perceived, at the margin. At the margin, where decisions are made, Democrats are perceived as being the party of the safety net, protection of the poor or the homeless or the downtrodden.

Now, a lot of Republicans identify with some of those issues, and they do well. But the Republican Party, at this point, at the local level is still perceived, in my view, as more laissez-faire, less concerned about those issues.

So, I think, in one sense, you get the people electing a Republican President to lead the country in foreign policy and domestic economic policy, and a Republican -- and a Democratic Congress, perhaps, to protect Social Security.

I'd like to see the Republican Party change its image somewhat and champion the cause of the poor, champion the cause of senior citizens, champion the cause of racial minorities, and do it in a unique fashion, not by aping Democrats, but by coming up with better answers; or, in my view, we'll never capture the House or the Senate. We've got to show people that we really have concern and compassion and love and understanding and answers to the problems of the poor and the disadvantaged and the handicapped and the downtrodden and the black and Hispanic and minority people.

RUTAN: So, up till now, though, that's been a shortcoming of the Republican Party, reaching out to blacks and Hispanics.

REP. KEMP: At the congressional level.

Trent Lott, got -- as I understand, in Mississippi, had a tremendous outreach program in his campaign. He got 14 percent of the black vote. That's not enough, but it's a tremendous start. And I'll bet you next time he does even better.

Republicans can take over the House and the Senate if they would give the impression to black Americans that -- and I'm not making value judgments now, or moral judgments. I'm judging -- Tom Kean of New Jersey, the Governor of New Jersey, captured

60 percent of the black vote in New Jersey -- Camden, New Jersey; Newark, New Jersey; Trenton, New Jersey; -- by showing concern and compassion and interest, and spending time and talking about free enterprise zones and jobs and opportunity and good education, but defending civil rights.

You see, the people who have never been Republican, at least in the recent generations -- because blacks originally were all Republican, right? From Lincoln until Hoover, blacks were Republican. We were the party of freedom and opportunity and Mr. Lincoln. And around the time of Hoover, we began to lose the black vote and some of the ethnic vote, and it went to Mr. Roosevelt's party, and then they became the party of civil rights.

Now, we need to assure people that we understand that civil rights laws in America open doors, broke down barriers legally; but the barriers that were broken down legally to full minority participation in the American Dream were -- other barriers were raised in their place. The economy began to contract and economic opportunity went down.

And so now the next civil rights revolution, in my view, is to open up doors to economic opportunity: jobs, education, housing. And there could be a new civil rights arena for the Republican Party to come in and say, "We now accept the civil rights revolution" -- I'm talking about the legitimate aspirations of people, to provide an open society in which any man, any woman, any child can reach their potential -- "And now we want to lead it into the economic arena, where every man and woman who wants a job can have a job. We're going to put free enterprise zones in every area of the United States where there's minority unemployment. Where housing is -- housing opportunities have been contracting, we're going to expand it, primarily through privatization and private enterprise. Education: magnet schools. Abolish income tax on the poor. No man or woman or family in poverty in the United States of America should pay any income tax."

Now you say, "Well, Kemp, that's radical." It isn't radical. America never even had an income tax for people, except at the very highest strata of our society. The income tax is an onerous burden on the poor. Because just as they come out of welfare and take a job, the government takes away welfare and taxes their income, taxes their earnings. And it's a disincentive and it's a terrible burden on poor folks.

And I think the combination of some ingenious, dramatic -- even, some would say, radical -- Lincolnian "Homesteading" ideas for the Republican Party, I think, could begin to recapture some of the high moral and political ground from the Democratic

Party, who think that compassion is measured by how many people need government assistance.

In a Judeo-Christian society, compassion is not measured by how many people need food stamps. In a true sense, the highest form of charity is measured by how few people need government assistance.

RUTAN: The real battle, then, in the future will be over those minority votes. Hispanic votes, the largest -- the fastest-growing minority group.

REP. KEMP: The Republican Party did pretty good in the Hispanic community. It can do better. The love of family among Hispanic Americans and black Americans, that's a powerful movement, the pro-family movement. Dr. James Dobson, "A Focus on the Family," has proven, I think, demonstrably, that the pro-family movement -- nonpartisan, of course -- is a powerful -- even though a lot of folks have never formed a family, or even though some have had a breakup in a family, the overall pro-family movement is a powerful institution, politically, in our country. And I think people are just beginning to recognize that.

RUTAN: So to look, then, into the future, and sort of rephrase the original question I asked you about why the American people would elect a Republican President and Democratic House, then you don't see it as something as simplistic as "Well, they like a two-party system. So they like Democrats in control of the Congress and they'll put a Republican in the White House. Because then we have a nice diversity of opinions and we have a good debate up there."

REP. KEMP: Well, that is shallow on one side, but it is profound on the other. It's shallow if that's all you think of it. Not you, but if that's the only thought given to the process. But it is profound when you stop and think a little bit beyond just that surface explanation, that underneath that surface runs a commitment by a lot of people in this country to using the government to protect certain inalienable rights, and that people want an activist government on the environment, on health, safety, education, Social Security.

Look, I am a democrat. If I were designing Social Security, I could have sat down in 1936 or '38 and figured out a system that would be better than the one we have today. I think I could. But -- but there's a big but. I wasn't around. The American people, every two years since 1938, have identified the fact that they want some form of a Social Security safety net for senior Americans. Maybe there are some changes that could be made. Maybe there are some things that we have to do. But nonetheless, in our free society, that is part of the process by

which we take into interest the concerns of senior Americans, both by young people about our parents, or by our parents about their senior years.

And I think we should do a lot of other things. I would abolish the income tax on IRA accounts for young couples to save for a home, or to save, maybe, for their own pension. I think that's a good idea. I'd eliminate, or at least cut, the capital gains tax rate. I think we should eliminate the inheritance tax on family-owned businesses and farms. I think there's a lot of things we can do to give people the incentive to build pensions and estates and opportunities for their future and their senior years.

But I do believe there is a rough consensus in America that we do want a healthy, strong safeguard in the Social Security system. And a libertarian approach to Social Security, in my view, I would say to my political party, is not going to be a winning issue.

RUTAN: The next big political date is 1990. With 1990 comes a new census, reapportionment. Some congressional districts will be taken away from some states. Many in the Rust Belt, they call it, area will be moved to the South and the West and those states that are growing. The state legislatures will decide how those districts are drawn up.

Tell us about that. And what part or what role might you play, or other Republicans play, in setting it up to make sure Republicans get a fair shake on all of that?

REP. KEMP: I should really leave this up to my friend Newt Gingrich, who's an expert on this issue, or Vin Weber of Minnesota, or even Pete du Pont.

But roughly speaking, I think there has been gerrymandering in the '70s and '80s that led to some outrageous districts for the Democratic majority. And I don't know if I subscribe to this idea or not, but an interesting thought might be to have our courts do the redistricting, so that you'd get more homogeneity, more continuity, more representation.

Because what's happened, 98.5 percent of all members of the House get reelected just by putting their name on the ballot and collecting a little PAC money and sending newsletters back home. And I'm not making light of it, 'cause I -- you know, I've done it myself. And we all want to get reelected when we're members of Congress.

But I think the Congress is not -- the House of Representatives, which is, quote-unquote, the people's house, never

changes. It's been in control of one party. There is an arrogance. Power corrupts. And I don't mean corruption in a money sense. I just mean it becomes elitist, it becomes arrogant, it becomes less thoughtful of the needs or problems of the minority. And my view is that we need to make the House of Representatives more competitive.

And I don't know the answer. You might talk to some others about this. It might be the subject of a future show. But on the surface, something has to be done.

PAC money should be repealed. The incumbents' privileges should be diminished somewhat. And gerrymandering should be put aside, and the courts ought to redistrict after the 1990 census.

Short of that, I'd like to suggest that people think about electing more Republican men and women at the state level, so that the Republican party would be more competitive in redistricting.

But I'll be honest. As a Republican, I'm embarrassed to go to people and say, "Please vote for us." You know, "We want you to vote for a two-party system." I mean if that's the only case I can make for voting for me or for the Republican Party, we are going to go the way of the Whigs went, or the Federalists.

RUTAN: Since this is Christmas Day, a family day, let's talk a little bit about you and where you're from, and maybe how some of these ideas you've been talking about today, where they come from.

Where were you born?

REP. KEMP: I was born in Los Angeles. Grew up in a very middle-class area, lower-middle-class area of Los Angeles, right around between Wilshire Boulevard and Van Ness Boulevard, near Western Boulevard. Which means nothing to you, but maybe to somebody out there that knows that part of L.A.

Went to Fairfax High School. Went to Occidental College, a little tiny college. Met my wife there.

RUTAN: What'd your father do for a living?

REP. KEMP: My dad was a small businessman. It's a great story. If you don't mind...

RUTAN: Sure. Go ahead.

REP. KEMP: In the Depression, wasn't able to provide

adequately for four boys in the Kemp family. I have three brothers. He had a motorcycle distributorship, a Harley-Davidson distributorship. And one day, literally, somebody asked him to deliver some packages in his sidecar. And my father was a tremendous free-enterpriser, small business person. He did such a good job and provided such a good service, the guy called him up the next day and wanted, you know, to do it again, and do it again, and do it again.

Pretty soon there were too many packages in his sidecar, and the motorcycle business sales were declining, but his delivery service was rising. So he went home and discussed with my mother mortgaging the house and taking out savings and getting my uncle and he together. And they took all of their savings and everything that they could scrape and borrow, and so forth, and they sold the motorcycle and traded it in for a truck.

And as I love telling the story, I learned my first economic lesson from that trade. You can deliver more packages in a truck than you can in a motorcycle. The truck represents a capital investment. Capital investment is necessary in a society to make people more productive. He became more productive, made a profit. He didn't plow the profit into consumption. He plowed it into another truck, bought a second truck, hired a truck driver.

So, I learned my second lesson in economics. Truck drivers' wages are higher when they've got trucks to drive. Capitalists and truck drivers, capitalists and labor are not enemies. They're allies. The truck drivers need capitalists, entrepreneurs.

The third-biggest lesson is that you can't create employees without first creating employers.

So, very early in life, while my dad made me work on the docks and load trucks and unload trucks and spend a lot of time with the truck drivers, I learned that not only is capital and labor important factors of production, I learned a very important element of free-enterprise economics, which is, simply, that you can't create employees without creating employers. You've got to have more entrepreneurs if you want to create a high-growth economy.

And having gone through college and gone into pro football in the '60s, '50s, and the running for Congress, coming from Buffalo, I took my free-enterprise ideas and took it out of the realm of just abstract balancing-the-budget Republican economics, and I talked about jobs, growth, entrepreneurship, small business, opportunities for working folks, what I call the pro-("small l)-labor, pro-("small c)-capital, pro-free-enterprise economics. And that's kind of been my style.

RUTAN: Back, then, to those early days.

Was your father strict with you? Easy?

REP. KEMP: My dad and my mother -- my mother was kind of a disciplinarian. My father worked very hard, like a lot of fathers. My mother was matriarchal, a great lady. The disciplinarian, or the coach, the quarterback. We were all athletes, my brothers. We loved athletics, morning, day, night; ate, slept, dreamt football. Grew up in L.A. Idolized UCLA and USC, and wanted to play pro football.

I was probably one of the few people in L.A. that even knew about pro football, because they didn't have a team. The L.A. Dons. The Cleveland Rams moved to L.A., in 1940-gosh-6 or 7 or 8. And I became a Ram fan. And I decided, believe it or not, when I was six, seven, eight years old, I wanted to play pro football. Some want to be firemen and policemen. Some want to play college football. Very few people of that age want to play pro football. That's what I wanted to do.

RUTAN: Your father supported you in all that?

REP. KEMP: Oh, yeah. Oh, yeah. They -- maybe they humored me. But my Christmas -- my Christmas presents were footballs, baseballs, basketballs, dumbbells, barbells. We -- and all my brothers. We just played sports all the time.

My dad was a good athlete, good baseball player, and...

RUTAN: Why'd you go to Occidental?

REP. KEMP: Well, in the '50s, I wanted a good education. It was a very fine school. I didn't quite qualify for UC-Berkeley, University of California at Berkeley. I really didn't start to study until I got into college, in my junior and senior year. Occidental was a good school. It was in the Redlands and Whittier and Pomona, Cal -- it wasn't in Cal Tech, but we played Cal Tech. And I didn't know it at the time, but a lot of my buddies that I'd met in high school football went there. They had a good coach.

It was fortuitous, providential. I met my wife.

RUTAN: How'd you get to be quarterback there?

REP. KEMP: I was a quarterback ever since I was five years old. I idolized Bob Waterfield. I wanted to play quarterback. Bobby Layne and -- you know, I wanted to play quarterback. So I was always a quarterback. I mean all the time.

Now I've got a son who plays quarterback for the Seattle Seahawks. He's on the team, anyway, and a great guy, and a little -- not so little, six-foot senior high school football player, is a quarterback, and two beautiful daughters. But they think like quarterbacks.

RUTAN: Tell us a little more about how you met your wife.

REP. KEMP: My wife was one of the, quote-unquote, popular women at Occidental College, president of sorority, a good student, good lady, came from a great family, a quality person; dated some buddies of mine, and I admired her from afar. And a buddy of mine fixed me up with her for a fraternity -- I think it was a fraternity. I was in ATO and I invited her to a party.

And I got drafted by the Detroit Lions in 1957. Bobby Layne was the quarterback. I got traded to the Pittsburgh Steelers. I lived in Pittsburgh for a couple of years. I was very lonely for Joanne, Joanne Main. And I called her up one day and said, "I'm coming home for Christmas. Let's go to a New Year's Eve party." And that New Year's Eve, 1958, asked her to marry me.

RUTAN: And of course she said yes. It was easy.

REP. KEMP: She thought about it. No, it wasn't.

RUTAN: [Laughter]

REP. KEMP: Lucky for me.

RUTAN: Lucky for you.

REP. KEMP: Yeah.

RUTAN: You jumped around. You jumped around a lot. You didn't just...

REP. KEMP: I didn't jump, man. I was pushed, shoved, thrown out the window.

RUTAN: You were cut several -- many times before finally...

REP. KEMP: Well, not many times. I was traded from Detroit to Pittsburgh. I spent two years with Pittsburgh. I was cut by Pittsburgh in '58. That's in the days when the NFL was only 12 teams. Pete Rozelle was not the Commissioner. Bert Bell was Commissioner. There were only 12 teams, 35 men on a squad.

salaries, \$6000, \$7000, \$8000. I thought that was a lot of money.

So, I was cut by Pittsburgh, picked up by the New York Giants. A year with the Giants, still hadn't played. American League is just a dream of people like Ralph Wilson and Lamar Hunt and Bud Adams and Harry Wismer, a couple others. And to make a long story short, I went from a short stint in Canada to '49ers to the -- finally, the Chargers gave me my chance to play. I played just about three years with the Chargers, and then was hurt and sold to the Buffalo Bills, and seven or eight years with the Buffalo Bills. And then I retired and ran for Congress.

RUTAN: You had surgery on your hand at one point. Is that correct?

REP. KEMP: Well, I broke my finger quite severely.

RUTAN: How did that happen? And tell us...

REP. KEMP: I hit a guy's helmet. I was playing for the Chargers, went back and threw a pass to Lance Alworth. Remember Lance Alworth? Great, great, great receiver. And hit a helmet. And the pass was complete, which I thought was nice, but I didn't know the extent of my injury, and it dislocated every play therefrom. From that moment on, it dislocated. And pretty soon it was just flopping around. And they put my hand on a football, put a cast over it, and that's how...

RUTAN: They put the hand on a football and then put the cast on.

REP. KEMP: Of course. I had to be able to -- you know, I wasn't playing piano or the violin.

RUTAN: They formed the hand to throw a football.

REP. KEMP: Yeah. Perfect. Perfect. Can't hit a golf club -- I can't hit a golf ball, but I can throw a football.

RUTAN: Any other bad injuries while you were playing?

REP. KEMP: I broke my ankles, my knee, my shoulders, my finger. I dislocated both my cromial (?) clavicular joints. But I didn't miss many games. I played -- I was a tough guy. I played every game hurt.

RUTAN: The stories written about you, some of the stories, that once you finally got that starting position, there was perhaps a little fear on your own part that if you didn't get out there and keep starting and playing, you might lose that position. So you went out and played with all kinds of injuries.

REP. KEMP: And that's true of every pro football player. Nobody -- you know, you just learn. It's very competitive, it's very Darwinian competition. And if you get a spot on a football team, you're going to play unless you're very seriously injured and just can't.

I think it's a mistake for players to risk their careers. But that sense of macho, of course -- not macho, but just sense of wanting never to give up that spot, 'cause it is so Darwinian.

RUTAN: Why did you get involved in the labor side, the union side of...

REP. KEMP: I was an activist. I was an activist. I'd be a clubhouse -- if I were a baseball player, I'd have been a clubhouse lawyer. I'm not a lawyer, but I would have been a clubhouse lawyer. You know, it's a metaphor for guys who are always shooting off their mouth. I loved to talk and I loved to organize. I was captain of every team I played for, and quarterback.

You know, I'm not saying that I was, quote-unquote, the born leader. But I was always talking, organizing. And a couple of players from the Boston Patriots, the old Boston Patriots, Tommy Addison and Nick Buoniconti, who's now a lawyer, and I and a few other players in the old AFL decided to form an association. And it was a voluntary association. I was elected president by the players and was six years president. Then we merged with the NFL.

But I thought the players should be representative -- represented. I believed that pro football owners should control those aspects of the business that were important to getting people in the stands and keeping it competitive and selling tickets and making profits and paying salaries. But I thought the players should be represented in their collective concerns with the owners: safety, pension.

I was the author of the idea of what we called -- oh, I forget. Excuse me. I forget what it was actually called in the 1960s. But it was a payment upon retirement, predicated upon the length of years, to give you some capital to maybe start a small business. So, based upon the length of years, you'd get the adjustment incentive clause in the collective bargaining agreement that would let guys who had played five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten years some formation of profits -- a half profit-sharing idea -- that would then give them a chance to go out and maybe, with a lump sum, start a small business or send their children to college. That was my idea in the '60s.

RUTAN: You worked with this association. Was that your first, or the beginning of your interest in politics?

REP. KEMP: Well, it was my first activism in politics. I was a Southern California Nixon-Goldwater-Reagan Republican, pretty conventionally conservative; not radical, like I am today.

RUTAN: Before we leave the football years, I have to ask you, since it's one of yours. You spent time with the Buffalo Bills. What do you think of the Buffalo Bills?

REP. KEMP: Oh, it's exciting. Very exciting.

RUTAN: Why is it so exciting?

REP. KEMP: Well, why? Because they're on their way. They're very competitive and they won their division faster than anybody.

RUTAN: What does that mean for a city like Buffalo?

REP. KEMP: It means a lot to any city, Green Bay or Pittsburgh, or in this case it's Buffalo. It's great to see. Buffalo is a great sports town. Ethnic. You know, everybody makes fun of the weather. It's a great city, great people, brilliant in terms of who they send to Congress, most of the times. And it's a good sports town. Hated to lose NBA basketball. That was -- I think once they lost that, they just became very covetous of hockey. Great hockey town, great football town. Great baseball town. That's exciting, what Bob Rich has been able to do in bringing -- they're the number one minor league baseball franchise in the country, in terms of attendance. So we hope they'll have major league baseball someday.

RUTAN: Have you played any role in trying to get a major league team for Buffalo?

REP. KEMP: Well, not overtly. I've been a strong supporter of Bob Rich's efforts and the City's efforts, but I'm not -- not overtly. I have no influence over major league baseball.

RUTAN: Have you made a transition away from that city? Are you going to be staying here in Washington now?

REP. KEMP: When I was first elected to Congress, I had three children and one on the way: Jimmy, our little guy. So we -- I think it is important that members of Congress have their families with them here. That's my view. So my wife and family came down. We bought a home. So we've lived in the suburbs of D.C., Bethesda, Maryland, for 18 years. And I'd go back on the

weekends or a couple times a month, and have always been very open about it. It always becomes an issue in a campaign, but I was always very open about it. I never tried to say that my home -- home-home -- is here. But we're living here.

Now, having said that, I don't want to lose my ties to Buffalo. I'm going to start a scholarship fund. I'm leaving all my papers to the State University of New York at Buffalo, Amherst Campus. Our friends are up there. We'll -- you know, we're doing a lot of things to stay active politically.

But I will continue to live in the Washington area, as I go on to the Heritage Foundation and Washington Speakers Bureau and lecture here and around the Free World.

RUTAN: Which brings us up -- you've been a Congressman, lost in your bid to get the Republican nomination for President. You're now moving in to work as a senior fellow at Heritage.

Could you tell us a little bit more about that? What does that mean? What will you be doing?

REP. KEMP: Well, Heritage Foundation, as you may know, is what I call a neoconservative or progressive conservative, a conservative think tank. It has been very active in the Reagan years in putting forth the ideas, many of which have been either adopted or modified by the Reagan Administration. Some were rejected, unfortunately. But it's a very pro-defense, pro-trade, pro-SDI, pro-free-enterprise, pro-urban-economic-development foundation run by Ed Feulner and -- I have a lot of friends over there.

And AEI is good, and the Georgetown Institute for Strategic Studies is good, and the Hudson Institute and the Hoover Institute. They're all -- Brookings is a kind of -- does for the liberal Democrats what Heritage does for us.

But it's just a place for me to have a suite of offices, to be active, to testify, to speak, to write, and to keep my public policy area.

It's not the only one I'm going to be associated with. I'll be also active in the Institute for Free Enterprise Development, which is involved in international trade and international Third World economic development, which is a special interest of mine.

RUTAN: Were you courted by some of the other conservative think tanks, besides the Heritage? Some of the ones you mentioned, Hoover and the others?

REP. KEMP: Well, not courted. I made a decision very early on that I would associate with Heritage and IFED, the Institute for Free Enterprise Development. But I'm going to -- I hope to participate in some of the AEI things, American Enterprise Institute. I'm close to some of the people at Hoover and Hudson. And I would -- I've even in the past given speeches at Brookings.

So, I'm not going to tie myself down, but I'm going to spend a majority of my time at Heritage because I like the way they've organized their operation and I like many of those ideas, and I want to help express ideas and stay active in public policy.

And then I'm going to the Washington Speakers Bureau -- excuse the plug -- and lecture here and around the world on some of these ideas that are critical, particularly as we go into the decade of the '90s.

RUTAN: Tell us more about this Institute for Free Enterprise.

REP. KEMP: The Institute for Free Enterprise Development is a foundation devoted to the expansion of economic growth in the Third World, particularly with free enterprise ideas. I, for a long time, have believed that good ideas are good ideas, irrespective of culture or geography or size of a country.

When Adam Smith, a professor of moral philosophy at the Glasgow University in Scotland, in 1776 published "An Inquiry into the Nature and Cause of the Wealth of Nations," he unleashed an idea that, and ideas that had applicability, not just to Great Britain or to the British Empire or to Anglo-Saxon world, but to black countries, Latino countries, Asian countries, big, small, hot climate, cold climate. In other words, sound public policy, good economic ideas: low tax rates, incentives for private property, open trade, inasmuch as that is humanly and politically possible, limited government. Those ideas -- sound money, sound, honest -- I'm going to use the word moral, in a historical sense -- moral money, honest money, money with integrity. Those ideas would lead to economic development, whether they were used in El Salvador or Mexico or America or the South Bronx or Botswana. They'll even work behind the Iron Curtain.

You know, Gorbachev, sooner or later, is going to have to find out that freedom is ultimately the ultimate aim of human being, and their ultimate right, and it's an inalienable right. And Thomas Jefferson didn't just write it for white people, but all people; and not for one time, but all time, and not for our nation, but all nations. And I think that idea has relevance and practicality and utilitarian value.

And so, IFED is a way of expressing those ideas, transcending the otherwise minutiae of differences between us, as human beings.

RUTAN: Obviously, you're trying to bring about change or have an impact.

REP. KEMP: Absolutely.

RUTAN: Did you give up your strongest source of that by leaving the House or -- leaving the House, where you lost a vote. By giving up that vote, did you really give up your strongest tool of change?

REP. KEMP: Well, with all due respect to the House of Representatives -- and I loved it. I loved serving in the House. I really did, 18 years. But the people of Buffalo and Western New York need an ombudsman. They need somebody day-to-day to spend all his time on issues of consequence to them at that congressional level. And they elected a young fellow by the name of Bill Paxson, who's a good friend of mine. And he's going to do that for them. He's going to be on top of every local, parochial, district, community congressional issue.

I did that for 18 years. Did a pretty good job of it, I think. And I began to speak around the country and decided to run for President. And I told the people of Buffalo that I was going to run for President. That if they elected me in 1986, I was going to run for President in '88.

Now, if I went back and ran again, I would have had to go back and say, "Look, I will never run for President again." I wasn't ready to say that. Or, "I'll never give a speech in Illinois or Mississippi or New Jersey again."

And I know what they needed, and they needed an on-hand -- hands-on, I should say -- excuse me -- Congressman. And I think I'll be better able to be a representative-at-large.

RUTAN: In summary, looking ahead to the next four years, or beyond, what do you see are the biggest problems facing this Bush Administration?

REP. KEMP: Well, unlike all of the doomsayers, I don't see the deficit as the most critical problem. It's only a problem.

I'd say a couple of areas. The Third World debt problem is a very serious problem, Mexico and their problem. We need to work with Mexico. We need, in my view, to take the Canadian and U.S. free trade zone and expand it down to Mexico and into Latin

America, because we've got a very serious poverty problem in the Third World and in Latin America, and it exacerbates the challenge of Marxism. So, being an anti-communist who believes in aid to the freedom fighters, from Afghanistan to Angola to Nicaragua, the ultimate answer, though, is to offset the appeal of the Marxists by showing countries how to develop their economies.

So, I think that's a big issue, our hemisphere.

Another issue is what to do about poverty that seems intractable in the inner cities, the loss and despair. There's something that has to be turned around.

Trade concerns me. I think the greatest threat to the recovery, going into its 73rd month, is protectionism. And I'm glad Brian Mulroney won in Canada. And I think the U.S. and Canada need to keep protectionism from raising its ugly head, not only in our hemisphere, but in the United States of Europe that comes in 1992; and, of course, the emerging democratic capitalist countries of Asia.

What to do about the Soviet Union. I'm a strong proponent of strategic defense. So I think what we do to offset the threat of nuclear war: put up a shield. Not perfect. Doesn't have to be a perfect shield to be a perfect deterrent.

Those are some of the problems of the future. But that's what's exciting about being involved in public policy, whether you're in office or out of office. I think we're entering the decade that is the most exciting decade of this century, the 1990s.

RUTAN: If somebody gave you 30 seconds to give your comments to America on Christmas Day, what would it be?

REP. KEMP: Ohh. Gratitude. Gratitude.

This is a holy season, not only for Christians, but for Jews. Hanukkah and Christmas come at roughly the same period of time. We are part of a country that has that tradition, Judeo-Christian, Old Testament, New Testament.

Thomas Jefferson said, "We hold these truths to be self-evident," a priori, self-evident truths, "that all men are created equal," all men, all women, all color. Everybody should have equal opportunity, be grateful they live in a country where that is their divine inalienable right.

RUTAN: With that, our time is up. I'd like to thank Representative Jack Kemp, Republican from New York, for joining us.

REP. KEMP: It's an honor to be here. Thank you.

Thanks to C-SPAN.

IS JACK KEMP MR. RIGHT?

By Maureen Dowd

"PEANUT BUTTER?" JACK Kemp asked accusingly, holding up his half-eaten chocolate chip cookie.

His wife met his eye. Yes, Joanne Kemp confessed, she had mixed some peanut butter into the cookie batter. Kemp shook his head and went off to take a call from an aide to discuss Bretton Woods and other fine points of monetary policy.

On matters such as cookies, the nine-term Congressman from the Buffalo suburbs can get tough. "There's a real impulsiveness to him on the little things," says his 27-year-old son, Jeff, a quarterback for the Seattle Seahawks. "He wants his cheeseburger cooked the right way, and served when he wants it, and he gets upset if there's a traffic tie-up on the freeway. But on the big issues in life, he's willing to wait 25 years to prove a point."

"It happened with football; he was sitting on the bench for years telling the skeptics he'd make it. And it happened with supply-side economics."

Now it is happening with his bid to be President. Once again, Jack French Kemp is predicting that, given time, he will surprise those who compare his campaign to a damp match. "The thing you've got to understand," he

The conservative Congressman believes he is Reagan's natural heir, but his campaign has yet to convince others.

says, leaning in and looking you in the eye, "is that I really believe this stuff."

The former quarterback for the championship Buffalo Bills has long been heralded as the glamour boy of the conservative set, the "Son of Gipper" and Ronald Reagan's natural heir. Neocon-

servatives such as Irving Kristol support him, and so do Representatives Newt Gingrich of Georgia and Vin Weber of Minnesota, among others. Yet Kemp has found the mantle strangely elusive. The absence of fire in his campaign, and his inability to dominate the field and keep out other conservatives such as Pat Robertson and Paul Laxalt has mystified Washington. Lately, it has also severely hampered his ability to raise money.

But because of George Bush's connection to an Administration under Congressional investigation and Robert Dole's difficulties getting his campaign organized, Kemp's supporters believe his time will come. Despite pressure from the right to rattle more sabers, the 51-year-old candidate thinks the public will respond to his sunny dream of an economic daisy chain of growth and equality and peace.

"Kemp is going to do a lot better than a lot of people think," says William Schneider, a political analyst at the conservative American Enterprise Institute. "This is the same sort of thing they said about Gary Hart in 1983, misconstruing a lack of name recognition as no support."

If he does not seem discouraged, it may be because Kemp knows something that those who would write him

Maureen Dowd is a reporter in The Times's Washington bureau.



Kemp, left, riding an escalator in the Capitol and, above, seated at left aboard a chartered plane with aides for his Presidential campaign.

MICKEY OSTERREICHER/BLACK STAR



Jack and Joanne Kemp at home in Bethesda, Md., with their son Jimmy. Right: As a quarterback, Kemp led Buffalo to two A.F.L. championships.

KAY CHERNUSH

off do not: he is not programmed for failure. In a season in which some candidates have shown a flair for self-destruction, Kemp is engaged in a continuing and obsessive process of self-improvement.

"I know, I know," he moans to a reporter visiting his suburban Maryland home, as his wife serves his favorite Sunday lunch of grilled kielbasa, French's mustard, Cherry Coke and cookies. "I'm not supposed to talk so much about taxes."

'Saying "There's only one person on earth who should be President and that's me" shows such arrogance,' says Kemp.

IT SEEMS — REMEMBERING the waves of "Reagan-Kemp" signs at the Republican convention in 1980 and "Kemp in '88" signs in 1984 — that he has been running forever. Those aging teen-idol looks and brown helmet of hair, the gold collar pin and JFK-embroidered American Football League championship diamond ring and the Florsheim loafers he kicks off at every chance — all became familiar as Kemp crisscrossed the country on behalf of supply-side economics and other Republican candidates.

The hottest young property in his party, he was wryly dubbed "Boy WunderKemp" by The Buffalo News political cartoonist, and helped inspire the seriously coiffed cartoon character of Bob Forehead, the Congressman who once wanted to be a game-show host in "Washington."

Kemp got credit for helping to shape the Reagan agenda and serving as its architect in Congress with the Kemp-Roth tax-cutting legislation. He has found other issues on which to crusade, but his House colleagues still call him "Jackie One Note" — joking that if you ask him how to solve the problem of teen-age pregnancy, he'll tell you to cut taxes.

When the Iran scandal broke, Kemp felt constrained about criticizing Mr. Reagan and it was Dole, the Senate minority leader, who deftly used the limelight to co-opt his spot as the future Presidential alternative to George Bush.

It was galling, but Kemp recast himself as the underdog. Instead of the soaring expectations of years past, the plan for the 1988 primaries is to aim lower — coming in a strong third in Iowa and first or second in New Hampshire. If no other candidate has developed front-runner momentum, Kemp hopes to emerge as the alternative going into the Minnesota caucus — where he has a chance of winning a plurality of the state's delegates — and Super Tuesday in early March in the South, where he appears to be running second to Bush but has pockets of support in Georgia and a handful of other states.

Dole, who privately regards Kemp as a pretty boy who devalues ideas, jokes that he should aim for football commissioner. But while Dole has been struggling to get his campaign organized in New Hampshire, Kemp has an impressive grass-roots operation with a chairman in every town. He has gathered endorsements from five of the 10 Republican County chairmen, 43 of the 282 Republicans in the State Legislature, and leaders in key antitax, antigun control and antiabortion movements.

The campaign collected more than \$2 million in small donations, but edged into the red

this spring and resorted to a risky strategy of borrowing against Federal matching funds it anticipates receiving next year. Kemp is now spending more time on major fund-raising events, with the help of some big businessmen — including Paul Orefice, chairman of the board of Dow Chemical; Saul Steinberg, chairman of Wall Street's Reliance Group Holdings, and Roger Enrico, the president of Pepsi-Cola.

Kemp knows he is running from a very narrow base. He does not have close ties to the Republican establishment in New York, and nine of his 13 Republican colleagues in the state delegation have endorsed Bush. His national following is eclectic — his steering committee boasts fellow-quarterback Joe Namath and the scientist Edward Teller, the father of the hydrogen bomb. He draws support from the supply-side movement, and economists such as George Gilder and Robert Mundell; from neoconservatives such as Kristol; members of the old right like Congressman Henry Hyde, and the Conservative Opportunity Society in the House, including Gingrich, Weber and Mississippian Trent Lott.

"I don't think people understand how serious Jack is and how knowledgeable," says Jeanne Kirkpatrick, a Kemp admirer. "He doesn't live his life to try to please some imaginary other or to build some public image, but to express himself. He goes beyond ideological stereotypes."

IF DOLE IS SELLING competence and Bush is selling location, as they say in real estate, then Kemp is selling vision.

"What Kemp has that others don't is an overarching philosophy; he believes in something, a quality he shares with Ronald Reagan and Jack Kennedy," said Burton Y. Pines, a vice president of the conservative Heritage Foundation. "He has a good conservative philosophy about the individual's place in society, and government's role in relation to the individual and America's place in the world. And he knows where they all fit."

Kemp's speech is sprinkled with bright, childlike words — "wow," "super" and "neat" — and he often seems, as one friend puts it, "like an overgrown kid." His philosophy may seem tired to some Republicans, but Kemp always acts as though it is a shiny red toy he wants to shake in front of your face until you

SOME OF WASHINGTON'S SAVVIEST political operatives — Edward Rollins, Charles Black, Jeffrey Bell, Roger Stone and John Buckley — are providing Kemp with the sort of training that Jack Burden gave to Willie Stark in "All the King's Men."

"You tell 'em too much," the fictional reporter told Stark, the longshot candidate for governor. "Hell, make 'em cry, make 'em laugh, make 'em mad at you, stir them up and they'll love it and come back for more. But, for heaven's sake, don't try and improve their minds."

His advisers have made the hyperkinetic and long-winded Kemp sit still for a speech coach. He and Joanne have studied tapes of his old speeches and he is working to hone his message from 15 or 20 points to three or four. His staff even gave him a digital stopwatch to remind him to keep it short. When he lost it, they gave him another.

Kemp has also been struggling to get some fresher issues and exorcise "Professor Kemp," as his staffers jokingly call the side of him that likes to give esoteric economic lectures on such topics as "illiquidity."

"It bugs everyone who loves and admires Jack," says Richard Viguerie, the conservative activist and Kemp supporter. "We'd like to perform a frontal lobotomy so that he never talks about monetary reform again."

Kemp tries, but once he has an audience in hand, he often succumbs to temptation. It is like watching a sky diver, with a heady feeling of exhilaration at first, as Kemp's energy and optimism shoot through the room. Then, midair, the parachute doesn't open and the audience gets lost in the thicket of "Kempisms."

"The real problem is deflation," he told a group in Iowa. "That is the opposite of inflation but equally serious to the borrower."

The reaction is often like that of the Iowa farmer who told his friend: "He was real good, but I don't know about all that economic bull."

realize how "really neat" it is.

"I unabashedly, unashamedly, unequivocally support the explosion of entrepreneurs in the capitalist system," he says. "There's no limit to what free men and free women in a free market with free enterprise can accomplish when people are free to follow their dream."

Kemp began reading voraciously while he was playing pro football — economics, philosophy, history, biography — and has never stopped. "Some people have theorized that I lurched to prove myself intellectually," he says. "But it was not any lurch. It was more a kind of awakening."

While his zest for ideas is appealing, it often creates the impression that he is trying too hard. "With his body language and the weighty issues he chooses, he always seems to be grabbing your elbow and saying, 'I am an intellectual, damn it!'" said Norman Ornstein, a political analyst at the American Enterprise Institute. "For all that he is an extremely smart and very deep man, he doesn't think so. And that lack of inner security can ultimately be a serious problem, because Ronald Reagan has an inner serenity that people like in a President."

Kemp relished his role as the Savonarola of supply side because it helped people see him as a thinker rather than a thrower. And even though many experts still regard supply side as economic hocus-pocus, and cite the soaring deficit as proof of its failure, Kemp remains a true believer. To the dismay of some Republicans, he has no plan for the deficit except to try to grow out of it.

After so long as a monetary missionary, he has had a hard time switching to selling himself. "Politics is so much I, I, I, me, me, me," he says. "It's always more fun, if you will, or easier, if you will, to push a platform or a policy."

Considered brash and egotistical when he got to Washington in 1971, Kemp now reflects a curious shyness. He bristles with confidence when discussing his ideas, but grows reticent when the subject is Kemp the man or Kemp the leader.

Friends say that he is still a little awe-struck at his own trajectory. "Here's a guy who came out of nowhere and in 1977 was thought of as crazy because he was babbling about supply side," said Newt Gingrich. "And now supply side is written up as a benchmark in economics books."

When asked what he has to offer that his opponents don't,

'His curiosity about people and emotional things is nonexistent,' says a Republican consultant about Kemp. 'He doesn't make you feel comfortable. It's like the Peggy Lee song, "Is that all there is?"'

Kemp does not jump at the chance. "I didn't become a quarterback to stop Daryle Lamonia from being a quarterback," he told a New Hampshire editorial board, referring to a Buffalo Bills teammate. "Alexander the Great didn't become a leader to stop other people from being leaders."

KEMP'S UNORTHODOX blend of Buffalo blue-collar populism, California conservatism and 18th-century British laissez-faire economics leaves many audiences bemused. In Portsmouth, N.H., people traded confused glances as he spoke about moving America toward "liberal democracy — small 'l,' small 'd.'" And in Wilkesboro, N.C., a group of Republican businessmen seemed equally befuddled when Kemp called for "democratic capitalism, small 'd,'" and praised Franklin Roosevelt and labor, small 'l'.

Nevertheless, the Wilkesboro audience came away keen on Kemp. "I sort of wondered what he meant by some things," said Herman Province, an executive with a building materials firm. "But he was pure and total American. We need some more of that."

The leaders of the right, besides being suspicious of Kemp on issues such as labor and his early support of South African sanctions, want someone to speak the language of resentment. After four years of Reaganism, they are feeling betrayed, arguing that true conservatism has not been tried.

Kemp has tried to court this base by sharpening his opposition to abortion, pushing for immediate "off the shelf" deployment of Strategic Defense Initiative technology and criticizing Secretary of State George P. Shultz for being too moderate.

He is even distancing himself from the President. Last December, Kemp wrote an article for the Op-Ed page of the *The New York Times* entitled "Trust the President's

Foreign Policy." Now he is lambasting the Administration for being naive and misguided in its approach to arms control.

But while there is nothing he likes better than arguing people under the table on issues — "I'm a provocateur," he says. "Some people find me pugnacious and tenacious and obnoxious" — his politics are rooted in a gentle "Good Shepherd" model.

"I have a theory, and I want to test it in the marketplace," he says earnestly. "I believe with all my heart that the purpose of leadership in a political party is not to defeat as much as it is to provide leadership."

KEMP HAS THE BEST record among the Republican contenders for giving women high-paying staff jobs and correcting people who refer to women as "girls." A longtime civil rights supporter, he cringes at racial slurs. Riding in the car one afternoon with his wife, he mentioned a politician he had met who had used epithets about blacks and Jews.

"Gosh," Kemp said, with his small disbelieving gasp. "If he talked that way in private, can you imagine...?"

He is also uncomfortable with bashing foreign trading partners. When an Iowa farmer banged the table and demanded that "the little Japanese devils not be allowed to bring their tractors in here," Kemp argued to deaf ears that it is the responsibility of the United States to improve quality and increase exports.

The candidate is not a man of nuance — politically or socially.

His friend and adviser Jude Wanniski recalled visiting Kemp at 10 in the morning at his Kansas City hotel during the 1976 Republican convention.

As the two chatted, Kemp ate a breakfast of bacon, eggs, toast and coffee. When he finished, he pushed the plates aside, pulled another warming dish toward him

and proceeded to eat a cheeseburger, french fries and a Coca-Cola. Since he planned to practice a speech during the noon hour, he thought he had better have both meals at once.

When he is asked why everyone in his family — Jack, Joanne, Jeff, Jennifer, 25, Judith, 23, and Jimmy, 15 — has a "J" name, Kemp explains: "Well, I named Jennifer after Jennifer Jones, because she was my favorite actress. And once we started with J's the last two kids would have felt like oddballs if we'd named them Margaret and Pete."

He can be gruffly friendly, but does not have an easy charm. His casual conversation consists of remarks such as, "How did the Celtics do last night?"

"There's no common touch — his curiosity about people and emotional things is nonexistent," said one Republican consultant who has known Kemp for years. "He doesn't make you comfortable. It's like the Peggy Lee song, 'Is that all there is?' You don't get the sense that there's anything coming back at you."

IT IS UNDERSTANDABLE when Kemp says he believes with all his heart — "with every toenail on his foot and all the enamel on his teeth," his daughter Jennifer teases — in the power of blue-sky optimism. His life has been spent reaching for the moon and the stars and — with an enormous amount of hard work — getting them.

From the time he was small, the third of four boys in a tightly knit, middle-class family in the Wilshire district of Los Angeles, Kemp saw himself as a successful gladiator.

When he went out to the basketball court his father had built for his four sons, Kemp would play every member of the U.C.L.A. Bruins, every member of the opposing team, and the sports announcer.

"He was an intense competitor with a great ability to visualize things," said his older brother, Tom. "Any little game he played became a larger-than-life activity."

Their father, when he wasn't working long hours building a motorcycle delivery service into a small trucking firm, lived for his sons' sporting events, giving uncritical and emotional approval.

Their mother, a well-educated social worker who spoke fluent Spanish, tried to engage Kemp's attention with visits to the Hollywood Bowl and piano lessons. But for the first two decades of his life he "slept, ate and dreamed sports," even choosing the forward pass for a school essay on a famous invention.

A 17th-round draft choice from Occidental College in Los Angeles in 1957, Jack Kemp refused to lose heart even after he was cut by three National Football League teams. He was a member of the legendary 1958 New York Giants, with Charlie Conerly and Frank Gifford, but never got in

for a single play. "We all encouraged him to get on with his life, but he kept knocking around the N.F.L.," said Tom Kemp. "And each time, the team would bring in a new, high-priced quarterback and Jack would be dropped before he got his chance."

His parents drove from California to Alberta to see Jack try out for the Canadian League's Calgary Stampeders, and ended up driving him home when he didn't make the team. Unfazed, he began writing letters to dozens of coaches begging for a chance.

In 1960, he was signed by the Los Angeles — soon to become San Diego — Chargers and was an overnight star in the new American Football League. In 1962, he moved his wife and two small children to Buffalo, where he led the Bills to two A.F.L. championships.

Asked how the sudden celebrity changed his brother, Tom Kemp laughed. "It didn't change him at all," he said. "It was exactly what he expected all along."

Kemp swept Joanne, his college sweetheart, and his own children along on his Persian carpet of positivism.

"Any time I'd say 'I can't do that,' if I was falling off my skateboard or something, he'd say 'Don't say can't,'" recalls Jeff. "I'd have scabs on my elbows and he'd be grilling it into me, making sure I didn't quit. He made me keep at it until I got a spiral on my football. It was the same with anything my sisters tried — riding a bike, piano lessons, homework."

"He never crossed the line into pushing us. But once we asked for his help, he didn't let us get discouraged."

The kids often found "JK grams" stuck on their mirrors or pillows in the morning — notes of pride on some effort in school or sports or career or notes of persistence after a setback.

Jennifer, a teacher working in Spain, found one waiting when she returned from traveling with her father on his announcement swing.

"Dear Jen," read the handwriting. "It was great to have you and your strong presence for these two weeks of hectic campaigning. You mean so much to me and what we're doing. I'm proud of you and hope you like the enclosed articles on teaching. Love you, Dad."

"The Kemps," Jennifer says, ripping the cellophane. Bob Forehead image, "are very emotional and very sensitive."

It has long been Kemp's habit, when his children left for the evening, to send them off with a kiss and a single exhortation.

"Even now, when I visit home, Dad's last words are, 'Jennifer, be a leader,'" his daughter said. "That's an understood statement in our family. It means don't follow along with the crowd. Be who you were meant to be."

Gingrich observed that Kemp "has a silly, small-town, old-fashioned caring for his children, for his friends, for life if you will. He reminds me of Theodore Roosevelt, the sort of guy who jumps up as soon as it's daylight so he can go charging down the road

to see the sky and the leaves. In a different era, you could hear Jack saying, 'Bully!'"

His natural high spirits are enhanced by his religion. "Dad leans toward the optimistic parts of Christianity," said Jeff Kemp, "the ability to rise above the circumstances of life and the general view of our life as being in God's hands, so you're in your right place whether it seems bad or not."

Raised a Christian Scientist, Kemp now attends Presbyterian church every Sunday. He says he has renewed his faith in recent years and considers himself a "born-again Christian." The family reads the Bible together and discusses the application of various passages to their lives. Joanne Kemp also conducts a Bible study group for Congressional wives every Friday.

THOSE CLOSE TO HIM SAY Kemp has grown more mature and serene. "He's much more at peace with things," says Tom Kemp. "He doesn't even have outbursts on the tennis court any more."

And although some conservatives have questioned whether Kemp is really sure he wants the top job — citing his hesitancy in the past about running for statewide office and his reluctance to be more critical of opponents — his friends say he has come to terms with the idea.

Gingrich said that, after several years in which Kemp was "very, very scared" at the thought of running, "he went off and sat and talked to Joanne for a long time and he crossed his own personal Rubicon."

"I have to be totally honest," Kemp says, "I think that the aspect of looking in the mirror and saying 'There's only one person on earth who should be President and that's me' shows such arrogance. I could never make that statement."

Part of what Kemp had to face was the knowledge that, in a year in which personal revelation is being stressed, reporters would be quizzing him again about rumors of homosexuality that have dogged him for two decades.

The whispering began in 1967, after Kemp had worked during the off-season in Sacramento as an assistant to a chief aide to newly elected Gov. Ronald Reagan. That aide and another top official abruptly resigned to return to private life. Drew Pearson alleged in a syndicated column that two homosexuals had been fired from the Reagan staff and that Lyn Nofziger, the Governor's press secretary, had told this to reporters. Pearson also referred to reports that the homosexual ring was more widespread and involved an "athlete."

Kemp considered suing, but friends talked him out of it. He told The New York Times reporter Martin Tolchin, in a 1978 article for Esquire magazine, that he and his boss had been close friends and invested together in the Lake Tahoe cabin where homosexual parties were alleged to have occurred. Kemp said he never stayed there and put money into it only as an

investment and a way of pleasing his superior. He said he traveled with the man on business but did not think he was a homosexual. Kemp says he was tarnished by association and got "swept in with a lot of people who got hurt."

Earlier this month, Arthur Van Court, the United States Marshal in Sacramento who handled Governor Reagan's security and who thoroughly investigated the allegations of homosexual activity within the statehouse, spoke out for the first time — calling the rumor about Kemp "hogwash."

While he declined to discuss the results or subjects of his probe, Van Court told a United Press International reporter: "Just take my word for it, Jack's not involved."

Kemp says now, "I'm not going to keep addressing it. I say, put up or shut up."

AFTER TWO CAREERS IN the public eye, Kemp has developed an effective mechanism for tuning out others and retreating into himself. He seems truly relaxed only in his Cape Cod Colonial house in Bethesda, Md.

"I love this home, I love my little oasis and I love your cooking," he sings, drowning out his wife's complaints that he does not eat enough at political dinners and then comes home at midnight and wants cheeseburgers.

He sits in his black leather swivel chair in a rumpled den filled with signed footballs, gold football plaques, football posters, tennis trophies, family pictures, piles of newspapers and books, and an 18-inch-high metal statue of Don Quixote. Just as, in his car, he talks on his cellular phone or checks a newspaper as he drives, around the house he can usually be found doing several things at once — reading, watching a news show or sports event on television and talking tennis with his son Jimmy, a quarterback at Churchill High School.

He has re-created the same sort of intensely middle-class life he had growing up. Sports, family, music, barbecues, lively dinner-table debates. Milk and Coke, not alcohol, are the beverages of choice.

High-powered guests at Kemp dinner parties over the years were sometimes surprised to find the children present. "It was never an adult world and a kid world, it was a Kemp family world," said Jeff Kemp.

Married 28 years, the Kemps have a close, intricate relationship. Kemp is deeply influenced by Joanne, 51, and she is involved in the smallest details of the campaign — everything from vetting the prose style in his speeches to discussing the way he should answer reporters' questions to keeping the tone high-minded.

Newt Gingrich says Kemp fits snugly into his middle-class skin. "Jack would think it was very silly to want to be an aristocrat," he said. "Why give up all those fun things you can do on Sunday afternoon with the kids in order to go play polo?"

One beautiful Sunday afternoon recently, Kemp seemed very reluctant to give up those things to drive downtown for a debate at the Chamber of Commerce. He prowled restlessly through the house and walked through a wooded area to the neighborhood tennis court beyond. Finally, back home, he slipped his jacket on and collected Joanne. He kissed Jimmy on the cheek and told him to do some homework.

"Good luck, Dad," the teen-ager called after him, with a fey grin. "Be a leader." ■

June 28, 1987

David O. Maxwell

An Agenda For Jack Kemp

With the designation of Jack Kemp as the new HUD secretary, there is good reason to hope that the Bush administration will take an active role in increasing the supply of affordable housing.

By the mere act of appointing Kemp, George Bush raises the priority of housing on the national agenda. The secretary-designate can hardly be expected to take on a job with the challenges HUD offers without bringing to bear all of his energy, intelligence and, yes, fame. Moreover, Kemp has made it clear he regards the problems of the inner cities as America's problems—as conditions that should not be allowed to persist in a country as prosperous as ours.

Jack Kemp will find ample, indeed daunting, challenges at HUD. For several years, three distressing trends have been emerging for many Americans in search of a decent, affordable place to live: 1) young families, in increasing numbers, cannot buy their first home, which has led to the first decline in 40 years in the overall home ownership rate; 2) the number of affordable housing units for poor families who rent grows scarcer each day, and 3) our most visible housing shame, homelessness, afflicts even poor working families.

Now, absent the possibility of greatly increased federal funds to spur construction and rehabilitation of affordable housing, the new secretary must use his office to inspire others to make and keep decent housing available to low-income Americans. And he has a lot of stored-up advice to consider as he gets started.

Earlier this year a broadly based National Housing Task Force, formed at the request of Sens. Alan Cranston and Alfonse D'Amato and chaired by James Rouse, issued a report calling for a renewed federal commitment to housing the poor and reviving flagging opportunities for first-time home buyers. The task force recognized the imperatives of the federal deficit, but called on the nation to make a modest reallocation of priorities to help state and local governments and the private and nonprofit sectors to increase the availability of decent housing for a growing number of Americans who cannot afford it in today's market.

Based on the recommendations of the task force, Jack Kemp might turn his attention first to the following issues:

1. *The loss of housing stock affordable to poor families.* The homeless are the most visible manifestation of a far deeper housing problem. Since 1975, 4.5 million units of low-income housing have disappeared from our nation's inventory. Pending expiration of federal subsidies for housing threatens hundreds of thousands more units in the years immediately ahead.

2. *Conditions in the public housing projects.* We must solve the problem of what the task force called "domestic terrorism"—the scourge of drugs and violent crime that makes life in some projects a daily hell for all residents. Tenant management is a promising method of giving residents the responsibility for and tools to improve the conditions in which they live. Moreover, the nation's public housing stock desperately requires modernization; our spending to upgrade these units will be far more cost-effective than attempting to build new units.

3. *The poor need federal housing help.* The private sector can't do the job alone. We will need small (in budgetary terms) grants of federal seed money for states and cities to use in providing housing for the poor. The administration should join with Sens. Cranston and D'Amato in shaping a mutually acceptable housing bill to get federal dollars flowing where they're needed. The new HUD secretary must be a leader in this effort.

4. *Existing federal programs can be made to work harder.* The FHA is an effective provider of funds for housing, and it is a money-maker for the government. Sen. James Sasser has proposed a bill to strengthen FHA's ability to provide home ownership opportunities to more American families. This initiative merits support.

5. *HUD can and should be a housing catalyst.* A "new wave" of housing initiatives, spurred by nonprofits and private developers, has filled some of the gap created by the federal government's cutbacks in housing spending. Kemp should make HUD the nerve center for public support of the "new wave." HUD should be an advocate for housing and a clearinghouse for innovative techniques for meeting housing needs.

These issues alone are more than enough to fill the agenda of the secretary-designate. Jack Kemp can rest assured as he tackles his new job that he'll have many allies who view his appointment as a signal that housing will count in the Bush administration.

The writer is chairman and chief executive officer of the Federal National Mortgage Association, and served as vice chairman of the National Housing Task Force.

Remarks by Bush and Kemp at News Conference in the Capital

Following are excerpts from a transcript of remarks by President-elect Bush and Representative Jack F. Kemp at a news conference yesterday in Washington, as recorded by The New York Times through the facilities of Cable News Network and ABC News:

OPENING STATEMENTS

MR. BUSH: — the Presidency, perhaps more than anything else, the campaign was how to — about how to create opportunity for America. And I believe that the philosophy that we articulated, a philosophy of lower taxes, of economic growth and of giving Americans the power to make their own choices about their own lives offers the most hope to the greatest number of people. And that's why, this morning, I am very proud to announce my intention to nominate as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development a man who has played a singularly important role in developing the vision of hope and growth for which we stand.

Jack Kemp is one of the premier architects of the opportunities society that we are trying to create and I'm convinced that he'll prove to be an enormously valuable addition to the Cabinet.

You all know his résumé. He's now completing his 18th year as a member of the United States Congress, six of those years as chairman of the House Republican Conference, and before that, of course, he was one of the top quarterbacks in professional football.

But it's Jack Kemp's ideas that impress me the most and he was a driving force in Congress between cutting the tax rates in 1981 and to cut them again — cutting them again while making the tax code more fair in 1986. And the result, of course, has been the longest economic peacetime expansion in our history.

And now I'm asking Jack to bring these, his innovative solutions to the question of housing and to the pressing problems facing American cities. As a Congressman, Jack has already offered some promising plans — enterprise zones to create jobs and encourage investment in depressed areas, urban homesteading to allow public housing residents to gain a stake in their own communities and in their own futures. And I believe these approaches will work. And they constitute a new ray of hope for those left frustrated by decades of failed urban and housing policies — policies offered throughout the 60's and 70's — that created nothing more than dependency and sadly resulted in urban decay.

Jack Kemp is an idea man and I'm now asking him to apply his vision of opportunity to America's housing and urban development needs. I'm confident he will succeed. I look

All yours. Welcome.

MR. KEMP: I'm honored to be here.

Mr. Vice President, thank you very much for appointing me as your Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. And particularly for the confidence you've showed in me.

It's an honor to stand with you, to serve in your administration and your Cabinet. And I look forward to helping you fulfill the mandate that you have to lead this country into the decade ahead.

You talked during your campaign about home ownership and jobs; you talked about opportunity for all people as the key ingredients of the American dream.

When thinking about the challenge ahead, I'm reminded of the beautiful words of Martin Luther King who 25 years ago in accepting the Nobel Peace Prize said that he accepted that prize with an abiding faith in America and an audacious faith in the future of mankind.

Well, Mr. Vice President, you, too, have an abiding faith in America, and I want you to know I have an audacious faith that together we can help recapture the American dream for our distressed inner cities and those who live in poverty and despair.

I'm excited about working in an administration that has pledged itself not only to some basic reforms but to some fundamental principles in the area of housing and urban economic development.

George Bush has reaffirmed the goals of the 1949 Housing Act to help create the conditions in America for every family to have decent and affordable housing. He recognizes the appalling tragedy of homelessness and joblessness.

He's asked for full funding of the McKinney Act and a private enterprise job-creation strategy for our nation's inner cities and urban areas.

George Bush said during his campaign that the basic challenge of our housing programs is affordability — for the poor, the elderly, particularly young families just starting out. I'm looking forward to helping George Bush fulfill these pledges.

I believe that we have a unique opportunity to forge new alliances that transcend color, ideology and even economic status. It isn't necessary to agree on everything, but it's absolutely necessary and possible, I believe, to gain consensus on a public-private enterprise partnership to wage war on poverty.

And if there's one philosophy that will drive the Department of Housing and Urban Development under George Bush's Presidency and under my stewardship it will be this: that we want to give people the ability to seize new job and opportunities for themselves, to make decisions about their own lives, to secure a better life for their children; and without any illusion about the challenge facing us, and with the recognition that government can't solve all problems, we will do everything in our power to uphold our American heritage as a nation, under God, that respects the rights of others, shows compassion for those in need and advances equality of opportunity to all.

Mr. Vice President, I'm honored to serve with you and look forward to fulfilling these pledges.

QUESTIONS FOR BUSH AND HIS ANSWERS

Problem of Homelessness

Q. Mr. Vice President, Mr. Kemp spoke of the tragedy of homelessness. To what extent do you accept the premise that Reagan Administration policies contributed to the problem of homelessness and in any case, given the budget constraints, what will your administration be able to do about homelessness?

A. Well, we're wrestling with the budget constraints right now. And they are real. They are very, very real. I am absolutely convinced that homelessness is not going to be solved by the Federal Government alone. And that's one of the reasons I'm glad to have Jack Kemp, who has this whole innovative approach to, not just homelessness, but everything dealing with — everything to do with urban development, at my side. What was the first part of it?

Q. Do you accept the premise that Reagan Administration policies exacerbated them?

A. No. I don't accept that. Yeah.

Q. [inaudible] if you could follow it up, Mr. Vice President, the increase in homelessness has been dramatic over the last eight years. And Samuel Pierce came with the mandate of ending many of the programs that [unintelligible] Why shouldn't the Reagan Administration bear responsibility for —

A. Listen, I think there's plenty of responsibility to be shared by a lot of people. Like when we changed, some parts of the homelessness have been adversely affected by changes in — in how the mentally ill are — are approached. There are some understandable restraints on just totals that the Federal Government can spend. But there's an enormous awakening out there to be accomplished in terms of what I sometimes refer to as the thousand points of light. It is not going to be solved by the Federal Government alone. And so I guess I — let me change my answer here and say everybody should bear responsibility — everybody, everybody, individual, everyone. Because it is a national shame and I want our Administration to do our level best to help solve it.

Resources for Problem

Q. [unintelligible] given the fact that there are going to be budget cuts [inaudible]

A. They are doing most of it now, Andrea. The private sector and the city governments and state governments are doing most of it. And that is a way that is going to have to continue. The Federal Government simply doesn't have the resources to solve this problem. But if their question is caring and finding innovative solutions, I've come up with a Secretary of H.U.D. who's going to do a good job on that.

Q. Mr. Vice President, some of the measures you talk about to give people choices involve tax — [inaudible] enterprise zones, rural development, child care. All these involve [unclear] changes in the tax table your first year in office?

A. I think they're going to affect us. Seek a lot of them, yes.

Q. According to the records of officials of A.T.B. [unclear] there are any number of different programs for housing in the Federal Government today in different departments, in different agencies. Why couldn't you bring all of these programs together? And also these programs involve the private sector because they get Federal aid now and then too. Why couldn't you put all of these programs under one house and one package and coordinate and save money and get the job done?

A. Well, Jack Kemp will be taking an innovative look at everything. I don't think you ever want to put private sector programs under the Federal Government, however. If you do that you — if you do that, you deprive them of the genius of diversity. Excuse me while I recognize you there first.

Kemp Political Agenda

Q. Mr. Vice President, Jack Kemp could be said to be the only one of your appointees so far who might have his own political agenda for the future. And I wonder if — if that concerns you at all. And I wonder if he has — has thought whether he'd renounce any plans to seek the Presidency in '94 or '96?

A. No. It doesn't concern me at all and Jack has shifted gears here to be a part of our team and so it never was discussed and it doesn't concern me. I mean I — I know him to be a man of total honor and integrity and I don't think he'd approach this with a — I know he wouldn't — with a separate agenda. So it really doesn't — yes, in the back.

ON MANDATE TO KEMP

"I'm asking Jack to bring... his innovative solutions to the question of housing and to the pressing problems facing American cities."

GEORGE BUSH

forward to working with him in creating hope for all Americans and now I'd like to ask Jack to say a few words and then — as we've been doing, I'll take some questions and then leave the floor to him to answer questions.

Kemp's Role as a Critic

Q. What sort of assurance did you get from him that he has shed his critic's role?

A. I hope he hasn't shed it. Who's — who's beyond getting a little criticism from time to time — certainly not the President-elect. And I hope that he hasn't shed that. I want his — the objectivity of his judgment. And I — knowing Jack, I'll get it. And that is one of the reasons that I asked him to take on this job, too. Right here, yeah.

Building Homes for Homeless

Q. Mr. — Mr. Vice President, during the Reagan-Bush Administration, the Federal Government has stopped building houses the way it used to. And a lot of people feel that contributes to the homeless situation. Do you anticipate getting Congress [unintelligible] that the Federal Government will end up building more homes for the poor?

A. I think we're trying to find the most innovative answers. I don't know the answer — whether to build any homes at all — but I wouldn't say that I would be up for a massive Federal home-building program. I think Jack can explain that we have other ideas that I talked about in the campaign that I think would stretch the dollars further and that would provide more basic home ownership.

Pay Rise for U.S. Officials

Q. Mr. Vice President, a blue-ribbon commission has recommended a 50 percent pay increase for Cabinet members, Congressmen and other Federal officials. Do you support it?

A. I will be supportive of the President's decision. I am Vice President of the United States until the 20th of January. And I am not going to begin either getting out at where that decision is or criticizing it once the decision is made. And then, after I become President, maybe I'll have an unfettered view to do what was just asked about critiquing the decision. But I, I expect I'll be comfortable with what the President decides.

Baker Plan on Third World Debt

Q. The new study, Mr. Vice President, that suggests the Baker plan for dealing with third world debt needs to be revised, do you agree?

A. I think we should take a whole new look at it. Because parts of it are fine. The — you know, revitalization of the private sector in these — some of these countries. There is concern that the Federal lending — I mean the private institutions haven't loaned as much as they might. And so I do think that that should be — be subject to a major review which will include not just the Treasury, but our national security people because they've got enormous problems — particularly in — in our own hemisphere on third world debt.

Q. — follow up — Do you think some forgiveness of debt might be included in the revised plan?

A. You've got to be very careful of forgiveness of debt if you want future loans. So I think they've got to find a more versatile answer than simply compelling private institutions to write off their — write off the — the debt. I think that would dry up that third part of the Baker plan which is more loaned — loaning from private institutions.

Yeah, Kathy.

Outlook on Energy Secretary

Q. Mr. Vice President, one of the few posts still outstanding, Secretary of Energy — without talking personalities, can you tell us what you're looking for in an Energy Secretary and, for example, do the current nuclear problems cause you to look a little more in that direction now rather than — and for example, would you pick someone who does not have expertise in the oil industry?

A. Well, I think it's important that very top levels of that department you have, in either

ON INNER CITIES

"I have an audacious faith that together we can help recapture the American dream for our distressed inner cities."

JACK F. KEMP

the Secretary or the Deputy, expertise in both the hydrocarbon field and nuclear. But right now, I'm leaning more towards the latter for the Secretary because of the — some of the problems we've been reading about and some of the needs to diversify our own energy base in this country.

I have long been in favor of the safe use of nuclear power. And I still feel that way. And we've seen that it is almost impossible to do anything in that area. And so a new Secretary that really had knowledge in that field would be — I think that would be extraordinarily helpful. You also have a military component that some do not focus on when you think of the Department of Energy. It is very, very important — and then you have a third thing — you have a research component in the Energy Department that is — I think there are more researchers and scientists — scientists — under — that come under the Energy Department than any other. So I want to find the top two that could be able to cope clearly with the nuclear side and also recognize that this country still has a tremendous dependency on the hydrocarbon side — on oil and gas. Tom.

Privatization of Housing

Q. Mr. Vice President, one cost of a number of past Reagan budgets has been privatization. You see this particularly in the housing area. We haven't heard much about you on — on this subject. What do you feel about privatization of housing programs and do you think that Federal housing projects should be — should be sold to the tenants at low cost?

A. One of the things that appeals to me about Jack Kemp as Secretary of H.U.D. is that we share each other's convictions in terms of tenant ownership and privatization and private ownership. And there are some great examples worldwide of how — how effective it is when a person owns his or her own home — own house. I happen to think it'd help in terms of strengthening family in this country. So I do — would like to think that our new Secretary will push in that direction and I'm confident he will.

ON JACK F. KEMP

"Jack Kemp is one of the premier architects of the opportunities society that we are trying to create."

GEORGE BUSH

P.L.O. Talks and Terrorism

Q. In terms of the beginning dialogue between Arafat and the United States, do you — would you hold Mr. Arafat responsible for every act of terrorism or military engagement of the P.L.O. or are you — feel that we have a good enough reading on those factions of the P.L.O. over which he has no control or that there may be certain circumstances under which a military action by his organization could be justified.

A. We would not start off by showing any tolerance of P.L.O. terror. And I don't care whether it comes from a faction of the left or from the center or right or wherever. I don't think that we should indicate any willingness to be tolerant of terrorism from the P.L.O. And I — I — I am concerned about it. I have been and will continue to be concerned about it. Yeah.

Pierce Record on Housing

Q. Is there some dissatisfaction in your mind with the job that Secretary Pierce has done for eight years? Is that a decision — is that a punish decision not to hold him over as you've held other Reagan Cabinet members?

A. No. The only Cabinet officers that were held over were three — the three most recent appointees. And there is no dissatisfaction. But one of the things that I said in the campaign was we wanted change and new faces. Here is a brand-new face. He'd never been in the Executive Branch before. But he brings in a tremendous — you'll have to understand they've been needing me about new faces.

ON H.U.D. PHILOSOPHY

"We want to give people the ability . . . to make decisions about their own lives."

JACK F. KEMP

claiming Yeutter, of all people, did not have a new face. And — and so — so what we're — what we've got to do is at the end of a eight year — and I think Sam was in the Cabinet the whole time and we have great respect for him. But revitalization — thinking anew, new time. And that's what — that's what that change was about. And it was more in keeping with my general desire to make wholesale change in the Cabinet. This is the last one, Gerry, and then I really do have to run. Let Jack have it.

Spending Plans for Housing

Q. Mr. Vice President, you seem to be dancing around just how much your administration would — will spend on housing.

A. Yes.

Q. Would you talk about that?

A. I wouldn't have phrased it that way but that's exactly what I was doing.

Q. Would you just give us some bottom-line sense — is your plan to spend more on housing than the Reagan Administration has been spending? Or spend less?

A. We're getting into that right now. And some — you know, let me make a philosophical comment. I — Jack can expand on it because I expect he agrees — you don't show your determination to solve a problem by simply increasing Federal spending. There are other ways to skin a cat and I was asked that here about the — about the volunteer efforts and what others are doing. So we really haven't — I — gotten into the — the budgetary aspects of what we need to do in housing. But I don't — so I can't tell you whether it'll be totals of more money. There were certain commitments that I made that I will try to fulfill. And Jack referred to one of them appropriately in his statement and that was the McKinney Act and which directly impacts on Federal services to certain aspects of homelessness. But in terms of overall, Gerry, we just don't know that yet. And what we'll do is take a look at the Reagan budget, put the Bush priorities on it and then sit down in serious negotiation with the United States Congress.

QUESTIONS FOR KEMP AND HIS ANSWERS

Private Sector and Housing

Q. . . . From listening to the President-elect today, it sounds as though housing is going to go. Do you think it can all be done through these thousand points of light in the private sector?

A. No. I don't. I agree with George Bush that the idea of enlisting the voluntary sector of our economy and our country, the private sector of our country and economy and, of course, the public sector. I told my friends on Capitol Hill, both Democrat and Republican alike, I want to wage war on poverty, I don't want to wage war on Congress. I don't want to wage war on programs that can work.

And I don't believe we're going to balance the budget by cutting housing. I don't think we're going to balance the budget by letting unemployment go up. I don't believe that we're going to solve the budget problem unless we have healthy cities.

So, he has given me the opportunity to make my case in his Cabinet. I plan to make it in the Cabinet, not out on the street. But I want it known that you cannot balance the budget off the backs of the poor.

Cutbacks in Housing Budget

Q. Now if you are told by him, if you lose that fight in the Cabinet and he ends up cutting your budget, if that's the decision, can you live with that? Can you do your job that way?

A. Well, he has given me an opportunity to make my voice well known in those meetings. I have not met with Dick Darman. I would imagine they would not want Jack Kemp to have this portfolio in terms of what he has said both in his campaign as well as what he said here today in front of you all and then turn out and — or go out and have the budget for housing emasculated. I don't believe he will. And I don't think they're going to try to balance the budget off the housing budget.

Jerry. Then I'll —

Aspirations for Presidency

Q. Mr. Kemp, to what extent how does this appointment fit into the context of your Presidential attempt. That is, do you hope to use this position to be able to run for President? Have you ruled out running for President again at this point, or what?

A. Well, I haven't ruled out seeking office some day. Nor have I ruled it in. I decided to go to the Heritage Foundation and to the Institute for Free Enterprise Development and to give some speeches, and this is far more attractive, with all due respect.

Having said that, I hope — I hope to help George Bush be a great American President. I think he can be and will be. And as far as I'm concerned, he's going to be there for

eight years. And what happens in the eve of the next century, I'm going to leave that to the future.

I think the most important thing I can do right now is to help him, be a good Cabinet member, be a good Secretary of H.U.D. and to unleash some of the incentive-oriented ideas that several of us on both sides of the political aisle and among some black, white and Hispanic groups want to try in those cities to make our inner cities — to restore hope, not despair but hope in our inner cities.

I'll go here and then come right over.

Acceptance of Housing Post

Q. Mr. Kemp, tell us a little bit about the evolution of this job offer. I mean, were you just — you'd already made up your mind to go to the Heritage and all of a sudden the Vice President called you and said, I just had a great idea, Congressman.

A. Well, no.

Q. Do you want to be at H.U.D.?

A. It wasn't quite that way. But that's, frankly, pretty close to it. I talked to a number of people in the Administration; told them that I wanted to go. And I think I told some friends in the press that I'd like to go to the National Economic Commission. And who better to talk a tax increase to death than Jack Kemp. That was my goal.

And several people called and said would you be interested in H.U.D. I said, no, unless — I put a comma behind my no. And I said, unless the Vice President wants to really go all out on some of these inner city ideas — urban development, economic development, housing, homelessness — I would be interested in having that type of a portfolio.

And he got the word back from the people I had talked to, and then he called me and said would you talk to me in the office. And I said yes. We had a long talk. And, frankly, I'm thrilled at the opportunity.

Dealing With the Homeless

Q. Congressman, both you and the President-elect have talked a lot today about the limitations of the Federal Government, given what can and should be done. To what extent do you really think that the problem of homelessness is going to be ... changed in Jack Kemp's Department of Housing and Urban Development?

A. Well, my only comment about government was that I don't think government can solve all problems. And I think that fits the Bush philosophy. He recognizes, as do I, that we need a public-private partnership. And I think that is a good way of phrasing it.

Secondly, it wouldn't be Jack Kemp if I didn't tell you that I don't think there's a problem out there that can't be solved. I don't believe in utopia; I don't believe that we can cure all the problems, but I think it is a tragedy and an appalling tragedy that there is the extent of homelessness in America today — or joblessness, as I alluded to in my remarks.

So do I think there are solutions and answers? Yes. Do I think I have all the answers? No.

ON THE HOMELESS

"I am absolutely convinced that homelessness is not going to be solved by the Federal Government alone."

GEORGE BUSH

Kemp: ideas, energy for HUD ^{22T}/₁₁₀

JACK KEMP at the US Department of Housing and Urban Development is a heartening prospect for American cities. Local leaders might disagree with the conservative Mr. Kemp on some issues, but they know he's on their side when it comes to putting urban problems back on the nation's agenda.

Doubtless, Kemp's fervent espousal of supply-side economics puts him under a shadow at a time when doctrinaire supply-siders are a vanishing breed in Washington. Many may wonder what he means when he talks about a "progressive conservative war on poverty."

But through multiple terms representing the urban environs of Buffalo, N.Y., in Congress, he has shown himself to be a supporter of initiatives to help the cities. Within the Republican Party, he has been a champion of the little guy.

Through eight years when HUD seemed an executive-branch backwater, mayors and other local officials have longed for some hint that Washington still cares about their problems. Some may differ on the details of Kemp ideas like "urban enterprise zones." Few would argue about the need to draw investment into cities and stimulate employment. The call for public-private partnerships, a theme of Kemp's, is echoed by mayors across the United States.

Or another Kemp favorite: tenant ownership of public housing units. Skeptics point out, correctly, that this does little to overcome the growing shortage of rental units for the poor. But in the places where it has been tried, such as Jersey City, N.J., and Washington, D.C., tenant ownership has helped turn violence-ridden housing projects into livable urban neighborhoods. Pride of ownership works, and as housing secretary, Kemp is committed to help spread it around.

In fact, Kemp comes in just as a number of

issues come banging at his door. The Housing and Community Development Act is scheduled to expire next fall. It will take an activist housing secretary to inject some energy into efforts to renew and strengthen the legislation. Mayors are eager to see more federal dollars come their way in the form of block grants that allow for local choice. Kemp will be an ally in nudging lawmakers in that direction.

He will face a major task in heading off disaster as the contracts between the federal government and developers of low-cost housing run out over the next few years. As a result, hundreds of thousands of moderate- and low-rent apartments could be raised to market rents, exacerbating the problems of homelessness and substandard housing.

Tax policy, as it affects future investment in low-cost shelter, is a related issue that Kemp will have to tackle.

And how about crumbling infrastructure, inadequate city schools, and drug-infested neighborhoods? All will demand the secretary's attention and his skills in working with other departments and branches of government.

The bright side of all this is that Kemp is fit for the challenge. He knows Congress and the Washington bureaucracy; he knows the intricacies of tax law; he knows how crucial healthy cities are to the well-being of the nation. And he has ideas.

At a time of budgetary stringency, the premium will be on conserving and directing what resources HUD has and on coordinating and marshaling ideas that promise ways of breaking through problems without major federal funding.

George Bush, who might have been inclined to shy away from the ambitious conservative from New York, is to be commended for appointing someone who should prove equal to the task.

110/220 Jack Kemp at HUD

Jack Kemp once described himself as a member of the "progressive conservative radical revolutionary Lincoln-emancipation" wing of the Republican Party. Which may explain why Rep. Trent Lott, a Mississippi Republican, calls him the "spiritual leader" of the supply-side tax-cut purists of the New Right. Or why Rep. Julian C. Dixon, a California Democrat, praises his sensitivity "to the concerns of the black members of Congress." Or why traditional GOP conservatives and Boll Weevil Democrats like him not at all.

This is the man George Bush has tapped to be secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and it may be the most *interesting* appointment he will make. President Reagan used the HUD perch for a quiet token black. Mr. Kemp, a white congressman from upstate New York, can be counted upon to be visible and voluble.

At yesterday's announcement ceremony, the president-elect described his one-time rival for the Republican nomination as "an idea man" whose task it will be to find "caring" and "innovative" solutions to the nation's housing problems without spending a lot more federal money. It is a fascinating assignment, not only because Mr. Kemp has a genuine commitment to the inner-cities but because he was a prime author of the 1981 tax cuts that deny the federal government considerable revenues for the inner cities.

As HUD secretary, Mr. Kemp can be counted

upon to push "free enterprise zones," a concept he co-authored with a South Bronx Democrat to lure businesses into depressed neighborhoods with tax breaks. Also on his plate are programs to help public housing renters self-manage projects, or become owners of their own homes, or give them vouchers to pick their dwellings.

The Kemp housing agenda is typical of his "populist conservative" approach to public issues. He favors economic growth above all things, and damn the deficits; he deplores the austerity imposed on Third World countries by international bankers and wants a return to the gold standard; he is a hard-liner on foreign policy and defense who voted for sanctions against South Africa.

All this is a mix that makes Jack Kemp hard to categorize and also, in the opinion of critics, hard to take seriously. He got nowhere running for president, was openly disappointed when Mr. Bush did not pick him as his running mate and campaigned for a number of Bush administration posts ranging from State Department to Pentagon to Treasury to foreign aid director. At HUD, the former Buffalo Bills quarterback could fumble or recharge his quest for the White House. It is a choice Mr. Bush is delighted to offer. Having mollified the Old Right by sending former Texas Sen. John Tower to Defense and the New Right with the Kemp pick, the president-elect can now settle in with his inner coterie of Establishment moderates.

Conservatives and liberals praise appointment of Kemp

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES 10/22/88

The appointment of Jack Kemp as Housing and Urban Development secretary has drawn support from both conservatives and liberals, thus emphasizing the retiring congressman's chief accomplishment as a political coalition-builder.

"As Nixon was uniquely suited to open the door to Communist China, in that sense Jack Kemp can probably propose [conservative] solutions to urban problems that will receive much greater receptivity on [Capitol] Hill than otherwise might be the case," said Rep. Henry J. Hyde, Illinois Republican.

The conservative nine-term Republican House member from Buffalo, N.Y., "has been so successful in building bridges between disparate ideological camps on foreign policy, arms control issues, and especially the economy," Mr. Hyde said.

"You probably couldn't have made a better choice if you really want to get to the heart of problems in the inner city," said Oscar Moran, former president of the 120,000-member League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).

The 53-year-old former professional football all-star quarterback built a congressional coalition for

those policies that transcended normal political divisions.

Mr. Kemp, as a proponent years before the Reagan presidency of a 25 percent across-the-board federal income tax cut and tax simplification to recharge the inflation-wracked American economy, is credited as a major architect of the Reagan administration's supply-side economic policies.

He won key Democratic support for his "enterprise zone" proposal of federal tax breaks to induce companies to relocate in decaying inner cities from such liberal stalwarts as House Budget Committee Chairman

William Gray of Pennsylvania and Rep. Robert Garcia of New York, Mr. Hyde said.

While the tax program has never become federal policy, 35 states have so far created such zones. With help from pro-business conservative groups and liberal organizations representing the poor, Mr. Kemp will urge the remaining states to follow suit, longtime aides said.

Similarly, Mr. Kemp's "urban homesteading bill" allowing public housing tenants to take over management and ultimately ownership of their apartment projects won support from both conservative Republicans and liberal Democrats in Congress.

The homeowner initiative was enacted into law this year as part of a new federal housing act.

"He's viewed as a conservative, but on the issue of race relations he's a liberal with a big 'L,'" NAACP executive director Benjamin L. Hooks said recently.

Blacks were so pleased with Mr. Kemp's longtime support of federal self-help programs for inner city minorities and a federal holiday commemorating Martin Luther King's birthday that Mr. Hooks was pushing him for any major post he could fill in the incoming Bush administration.

"The bottom line is that Jack Kemp has been talking about the politics of inclusion for over a decade, which means that all Americans no matter what race or creed should be part of the American mainstream," said Mr. Moran.

That same basic message will now be carried to HUD's inner city constituency and the \$22 billion agency's 13,000 employees, said David Hoppe, the congressman's former legislative director.

"Jack Kemp represents the coalition-building, realignment kind of person who has shown he appeals to a different type of constituent than the usual Republican," said Heritage Foundation Executive Vice President Phillip Truluck.

"His appointment is important because it gives the conservative movement a stake in the Bush administration," said Paul Weyrich, president of Coalitions for America and the Free Congress Foundation.



JACK KEMP

President-elect Bush yesterday named Rep. Jack Kemp, New York Republican, as secretary of housing and urban development.

Born: July 13, 1935, in Los Angeles

Education: Received a B.A. from Occidental College in 1957.

Background: Professional football player for 13 years for San Diego Chargers and Buffalo Bills. Co-founder and president of the American Football League Players Association. Special assistant to the Republican National Committee, 1969. Member of the House of Representatives, 1971-present. Unsuccessfully sought the Republican presidential nomination in 1988.

The Washington Times

Kemp Chosen for HUD; 'Innovative Ideas' Urged

But Bush Cautions About Spending Limits

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Staff Writer

22T

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President-elect George Bush turned to a former rival yesterday and named Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) to be secretary of housing and urban development, urging Kemp to use "innovative ideas" to solve urban problems but cautioning that federal spending will be limited for housing programs and the homeless.

"The federal government simply doesn't have the resources to solve this problem," Bush said of the nation's growing homeless population, adding that it could be addressed by the "enormous awakening" of volunteers and "what I sometimes refer to as the 'thousand points of light.'"

Bush said he rejected the charge that Reagan administration policies exacerbated the problem of homelessness and declared that private organizations and local government would continue to be primarily responsible for dealing with it. Dodging questions about whether he would spend more for housing programs, Bush said, "There are other ways to skin a cat."

Kemp, 53, an architect of the supply-side economic policies that were a centerpiece of the Reagan era, is a prominent conservative who also has forged ties to the black community. Accepting the Bush appointment, he promised to "wage war on poverty" using the Republican policy ideas of tax incentives, vouchers and privatization, which he has advocated in Congress and as a contender for the Republican presidential nomination. He borrowed from the late civil rights leader, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., in saying he had an "audacious faith" that the new adminis-

tration could help "those who live in poverty and despair."

Kemp, known for a wide range of outspoken views on domestic and foreign policy, some of which conflict with Bush's positions, promised to be a "team player" in the Cabinet. "It's pretty obvious . . . that I can't go into his Cabinet and accept a position . . . and be an outspoken, on-the-street advocate as I was when I was an independent contractor for 18 years in the United States Congress," he said. "I don't plan to do it."

Bush said he hopes Kemp will not cease criticism. "Who's beyond getting a little criticism from time to time?" he said. "Certainly not the president-elect. And I hope that he hasn't shed that. I want his—the objectivity of his judgment, and knowing Jack, I'll get it."

The vice president, who defeated Kemp in the primaries, said he did not ask Kemp if he had future political aspirations. "I haven't ruled out seeking office, someday, nor have I ruled it in," Kemp said. He added that Bush recruited him for the post, which he said was "far more attractive" than his earlier plans to give speeches and be affiliated with the Heritage Foundation.

According to sources close to Bush, Kemp's selection was motivated in part by a desire to convince conservative activists that they would have a voice in the Cabinet. Bush agreed to make the Kemp announcement separately to guarantee maximum news media attention to it, the sources said. At the same time, they added, Kemp was attractive to Bush because the former professional football quarterback has preached that the Republican

Party should reach out to traditionally Democratic constituencies such as blacks and blue-collar voters.

In their statements yesterday, Bush and Kemp put differing emphases on the budget outlook for housing programs, which President Reagan sought to curtail sharply. Bush said that pressures for deficit reduction are "very, very real" and that "there are understandable restraints" on spending. He said he will rely on "innovative" programs, and not a "massive federal home-building program." Bush made one exception, saying he supports full funding of about \$600 million under the McKinney Act to aid the homeless.

Kemp, however, suggested that

budget pressures would not lead to sharp curtailment of housing programs. "I don't believe we're going to balance the budget by cutting housing," he said. Kemp said he believes Bush would not give him the new assignment and then "go out and have the budget for housing emasculated."

Meanwhile, transition sources expressed concern about comments by another prospective Bush nominee, Dr. Louis Sullivan, president of Morehouse School of Medicine in Atlanta, who is described as the leading candidate to head the Department of Health and Human Services. Three executives of the National Right to Life Committee last week urged Bush in a letter not to appoint Sullivan, saying he had been "unresponsive" to their concerns. According to a report Sunday in the Atlanta Journal and Constitution, they said a nominee "who does not have solid pro-life credentials would produce severe and long-lasting disappointment among hundreds of thousands of pro-life activists" who worked for Bush.

Sullivan was quoted by the newspaper as saying he supported a woman's right to have an abortion but opposed federal funding. In a remark that caused consternation among Bush aides, Sullivan was quoted as saying, "My concern would be that the department not become impaled on this issue because there are so many other concerns that are important."

Also yesterday, Bush said he wanted an expert on nuclear matters as energy secretary. While Bush did not mention a name, transition sources said the leading candidate is John M. Deutch, a former energy official in the Carter administration.

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Jack Kemp To HUD

SOME PEOPLE are saying that Ronald Reagan's most successful Cabinet secretary was his longest-serving and least visible, Samuel Pierce at Housing and Urban Development. Mr. Pierce undertook a leveling-off of the housing subsidies for the poor that had begun to alarm even some supporters by multiplying 10 times in cost to become the government's third-largest welfare program in the 1970s. The secretary's defenders say his very quietness helped him to succeed.

Maybe so, but the reading period at HUD seems about over. President-elect George Bush has chosen the endlessly energetic former Republican congressman and presidential candidate Jack Kemp to be Mr. Pierce's successor. Mr. Kemp is a tireless and voluble preacher of the gospels in which he believes. These are conservative in some major aspects, idiosyncratic in others and—no less an authority than the NAACP's Benjamin Hooks has said—liberal in relation to race. As the new administration's emissary to the nation's mayors and cities, Mr. Kemp promises to be much more of an activist than the man he will replace, with a vision and perhaps a brief that goes well beyond housing and urban development.

Mr. Kemp has long been of the view that the Republican Party has something important to offer and say to blacks and the poor and should seriously compete with the Democrats for their votes. He has a different social conscience from many of his party

colleagues; he will speak at length of waging a Republican war on poverty, of extending to blacks and the poor the handholds of a low-tax, high-growth "opportunity society" he extols more broadly. Mr. Bush has already indicated in several ways that he expects his administration to be more responsive to minorities and the poor than was its predecessor. We would expect Mr. Kemp to make sure the problems of minorities and the poor are not lost sight of, to keep the administration at the task. That is an enormously important role.

The question is whether he will be broad-gauged enough in carrying it out. Mr. Kemp believes in what he calls empowerment, which is to say, in helping communities and individuals make it on their own. At the policy level, that translates into such things as low-tax enterprise zones to stimulate urban redevelopment, and "urban homesteading," which means the selling-off of public and other subsidized housing to its tenants. These are all interesting and laudable ideas, and they deserve a place in the work of the new administration. But it will not solve the housing problems of the poor to sell off the subsidized housing they have. They need more units, not fewer—and more help in renting them, not less. These things all cost more money than the Bush administration will have, but it must make a start. Urban homesteading is a nice grace note, but it should not be confused with a national housing policy for the poor.

JACK KEMP 110/22T/P

Tenacious Advocate of Public-Private Initiatives

By Gwen Ifill
Washington Post Staff Writer

Even some of his best friends have described Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) as something of a bully when it comes to politics and policy. Kemp, 53, a retired professional football player, prefers to use words like "prodger," "catalyst" and "lightning rod."

It is this tenacity that housing advocates cited yesterday as the best quality that Kemp, a nine-term congressman from Buffalo, is expected to bring to the Department of Housing and Urban Development as its new secretary.

Even Reagan administration sympathizers said that the department, under Samuel R. Pierce Jr., languished in the shadows during the past eight years. By choosing Kemp, known on Capitol Hill for his championship of housing and development initiatives that emphasize private-sector involvement, President-elect George Bush has guaranteed that urban problems will return to the Republican agenda for discussion, if not action.

Kemp, speaking to reporters after the formal announcement yesterday, credited Bush with making a "bold decision" by choosing him for the housing slot. But the bold decisions may be yet to come, as Kemp is presented almost immediately with the challenge of redirecting federal housing policy while operating under what are expected to be severe budget constraints.

"You don't show your determination to solve a problem by simply increasing federal spending," Bush said yesterday. "There are other ways to skin a cat."

Kemp, a California native who represents a blue-collar suburban Buffalo district, has used cities as the laboratories for economic ideas that have sometimes rubbed his conservative colleagues the wrong way.

During his unsuccessful presidential campaign, Kemp said he would

veto any attempt to raise taxes. He reiterated that idea yesterday, but also warned that "you cannot balance the budget on the backs of the poor."

In the past, Kemp has stressed supply-side economic theory and public-private partnership as the best way to address fiscal problems. One of his favorite but heretofore unsuccessful tools has been the use of urban enterprise zones—a program that encourages inner-city development by providing tax incentives for businesses to locate in depressed areas. Such zones have been created in some states, but the federal government has balked at implementing necessary tax code changes.

Another program he supported in Congress was turning public housing units over to tenant ownership, an approach that Bush strongly supports. The first such undertaking, at the Kenilworth-Parkside housing project in northeast Washington, was announced in October.

D.C. Del. Walter Fauntroy (D) cosponsored the tenant ownership bill with Kemp, but later criticized the Reagan administration for treating it as the sole solution to the low-income housing crisis. Kemp's selection, he said yesterday, is "encouraging," but he said that without new funding for public housing, the plan will effectively deplete the housing stock, leaving thousands on waiting lists for housing.

But Kemp has already gone a long way toward aligning himself with traditional housing constituency groups that felt frozen out in the Reagan years by arguing that the Republican Party court minorities and by actively crossing party lines on Capitol Hill in pursuit of his objectives.

To the extent that budget limitations could reduce the secretary's role to that of chief cheerleader for housing policy, several of those who have worked with Kemp in recent years said yesterday that he may well be the best man for the job. He enjoys an enduring reputation as a

tireless talker who often neglects to listen to others.

"Who better to talk a tax increase to death than Jack Kemp?" he joked yesterday.

"People will know that HUD is around," said Alan Beals, the executive director of the National League of Cities.

Associates said that Kemp is not as convinced as Bush that the federal deficit is the nation's most pressing problem. Instead, he has frequently supported a return to the gold standard as a way of strengthening the dollar and decreasing capital gains tax breaks as a way of raising revenue.

"One of the things that Kemp will do in that position that the Reagan administration didn't do is to sort of change the political dynamics in housing and urban policy," said Stuart Butler, who worked with Kemp on housing issues at the conservative Heritage Foundation.

Kemp indicated yesterday, however, that he will stick to his own turf in Bush's Cabinet. Robert Reischauer, a domestic policy analyst at the Brookings Institution, warned that Kemp's creativity could be "severely hampered" by budget constraints, but described Kemp as "a fellow who is interested in action, who has a mind that is continually thinking of new approaches, and that's good."

Even without new funding, Reischauer and others said, Kemp might force urban policy onto the national agenda in the manner that former secretary William J. Bennett did with education. And Kemp has not yet closed the door on future presidential ambitions.

"It's very clear that this appointment is going to revitalize the department," said Isabel Sawhill, a senior fellow at the Urban Institute. "It's not clear to me yet . . . whether Mr. Kemp will take a deep interest in the department's programs or whether he will simply use the position as a launching pad for some of his ideas . . . that are more philosophical and broader in import."

By CLIFFORD D. MAY

Although Jack F. Kemp came to national political prominence by preaching lower taxes and wariness toward the Soviet Union, his speeches have occasionally sounded more like those of a liberal Democrat than a staunchly conservative Republican.

Man
in the
News

Thus, he told a Republican gathering in Wisconsin early in 1986 that the party had to do more to appeal to labor. "Economic growth doesn't mean anything if it leaves people out," he said. "If we trust our ideas, we have to take them into the ghetto, into the barrio and into the trade union hiring hall."

Thus, about two years ago he suggested a plan under which public housing tenants would be allowed to buy their houses from government at reduced prices.

It was not surprising yesterday when a number of Democrats and liberals endorsed Mr. Kemp's nomination by President-elect Bush to be Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

"I have not always agreed with Jack Kemp, but I have always respected him," said Governor Cuomo.

Wanted Spot on Ticket

Mr. Kemp had decided not to run for re-election to Congress from the Buffalo area as a fallback should his Presidential candidacy collapse. He campaigned for Vice President Bush energetically, hoping to be tapped for the No. 2 spot on the ticket. Since the election, he had been passed over for other administration jobs.

Mr. Kemp had planned to take a post at the conservative Heritage Foundation and to speak to audiences willing to pay \$15,000 to hear his raspy voice and unabashed optimism. But few of his friends believed he would have been happy doing that for long. Nor has Mr. Kemp ruled out running for office again.

Theorist With a Heart

2270
Jack French Kemp

Jack French Kemp's career and life have never been direct or conventional. He was born July 13, 1935, in Los Angeles, the son, appropriately enough, of an entrepreneur (the owner of a small trucking company built up from a motorcycle messenger service) and a social worker.

He attended Occidental College (by his own admission, he did not really study there), where he played football and met Joanne

The post offers a test of his ideas for aiding the poor.

Main, whom he married in 1958. They have four children: Jeffrey who followed in his father's footsteps as a quarterback; Jennifer; Judith, and James.

Success on the Field

When the American Football League was established in 1960, Mr. Kemp signed with the Los Angeles Chargers, who moved to San Diego the next year. In 1962, he was traded to the Buffalo Bills, where he played for eight seasons, two on league championship teams.

Mr. Kemp would say years later that he had taken showers with the kind of men many Republicans never felt comfortable around — or even met. It was also in that period that he began to cultivate a serious interest in politics, economics, history and philosophy.

In 1970, Mr. Kemp won election to Congress from a suburban Buffalo district after the Democratic incumbent had given up his seat in an unsuccessful run for the Senate. He was easily re-elected eight times.

"His background and persona were really still very Southern Californian," said Claude E. Welch, a professor of political science of the State University of New York at Buffalo. "When he first ran, the area was in the doldrums, economically and psychologically, and here was this neat, J.F.K.-type figure with a blow-dry haircut and a lovely family with the kind of values people in Buffalo admire: sports, patriotism and defense."

Looked to Far Horizons

Mr. Kemp's horizons clearly lay beyond Buffalo. He became a proponent of the supply-side doctrine, based on the theory that high taxes stifle initiative and lead to lower Federal revenues while low taxes stimulate development and lead to increased revenues.

But Mr. Kemp is not a relentless foe of government in the Ronald Reagan mold. Mr. Kemp described himself yesterday as "pragmatic and progressive as well as conservative." He even said he would not mind being labeled a liberal, of all things, by Benjamin Hooks, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

When Mr. Kemp pointed out that he had "a lot of friends on the other side of the aisle," the first ones he mentioned were Representatives William H. Gray 3d, Charles B. Rangel and Robert Garcia — two blacks and an Hispanic.

But when Mr. Kemp said he wanted to "wage war on poverty," he had in mind a crusade different from the one Lyndon B. Johnson organized in the 1960's.

Government as Leader

Mr. Kemp would replace government-organized social programs with "incentive-oriented ideas," as he put it, that tap and encourage private enterprise.

In his view, government should set the priorities and provide the subsidies that make private initiatives possible. The model for this approach is his plan for "enterprise zones," a program he backed with Mr. Garcia under which businesses would be given tax breaks for investing in the inner city.

Mr. Kemp is a strong proponent of a concept under which government and families form a partnership to develop housing in deteriorating neighborhoods. The government provides land and advice, the families provide the labor.

Mr. Kemp indicated yesterday that he would try to expand the basic idea of his enterprise zone scheme to encourage socially useful, profitmaking efforts.

No Shortage of Ideas

Liberal critics argue that such notions are naïve and ignore the reality that if services for the needy could be provided at a profit business would be doing it.

As Mr. Bush said, the Congressman has always been an "idea man." In Mr. Reagan's first year, Congress passed the Kemp-Roth tax reduction bill, a pillar of what became known as "Reaganomics."

Nevertheless, many opponents of supply-side theories are charitable in their appraisal of Mr. Kemp.

"There were a great many people for whom the attraction to supply side, coupled with increased military spending, was precisely that it would create a huge deficit and a financial crisis," said Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Democrat of New York. "That was never Jack's agenda. He is incapable of that kind of mean-spiritedness."

New York - 31st District

31 Jack F. Kemp (R)

Of Hamburg — Elected 1970

Born: July 13, 1935, Los Angeles, Calif.
Education: Occidental College, B.A. 1957.
Military Career: Army Reserve, 1958-62.
Occupation: Professional football player.
Family: Wife, Joanne Main; four children.
Religion: Presbyterian.
Political Career: No previous office.
Capitol Office: 2252 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-5265.



In Washington, Jack Kemp lives and works at a level of intensity that ordinary legislative life does not seem to satisfy. In recent days, as he has directed that intensity to a presidential campaign, he has moved largely outside the orbit of congressional politics.

But that is not so different from the way Kemp has conducted much of his career in the House of Representatives. His strength has been in galvanizing support outside Congress for his economic theories and his brand of populist conservatism. He has always been better at incubating and selling ideas than at the nuts and bolts of the legislative process.

Kemp's personality is not particularly well suited to the folkways of the House. He tends to deliver long-winded monologues to colleagues accustomed to operating under a five-minute limit. He still likes to call all the signals himself in an institution that prefers team players. Asked once by columnist George Will why he did not like baseball, Kemp replied crisply: "No quarterback."

Kemp did make some moves in the early Reagan years to play by traditional rules of House influence. In 1981 he was elected Republican conference chairman, the No. 3 leadership job, and became ranking minority member of the foreign aid Appropriations subcommittee. But he left those trappings of institutional leadership behind for the 1988 presidential campaign.

Remarkably, considering his lack of interest in legislative work, Kemp can point to legislative achievements of a scope that few of his more diligent colleagues could match even in a lifetime of trying. He was the driving force behind the massive 1981 tax cut, and he was an early proponent of the tax code revision that Congress enacted with great fanfare in 1986.

Kemp promotes his economic ideas with an enthusiasm that suggests he never quite left professional sports. He exudes an energy and

can-do optimism about the free enterprise system that sometimes seems to verge on self-parody. "There are no limits," he actually said in one speech, "to what free men and free women, free enterprise, free markets in a free society can accomplish when people are free to strive...."

Kemp has been a conservative his entire adult life, and he voted as one during his first few years in the House. But he did not become a true believer in the idea of a massive cut in personal income taxes until one day in 1975, when *Wall Street Journal* columnist Jude Wanniski dropped by his office for a morning interview that finally ended in Kemp's dining room at midnight.

Kemp failed to persuade Ronald Reagan to endorse the tax-cut proposal at the 1976 Republican national convention, but a few months later, the idea began showing up in Reagan's syndicated newspaper column. Kemp spent much of the following year taking his idea on the road, and by 1978 the national press was full of stories about the former quarterback brimming with conservative zeal.

The Kemp tax cut, sponsored by him and Delaware GOP Sen. William V. Roth Jr., also became the centerpiece of the 1978 campaign. It was not a very effective one. Numerous Republican candidates found it difficult to defend in debate, and Democrats insisted it would increase the federal deficit.

In 1980, however, Reagan endorsed the full-scale tax cut — 30 percent over three years — and placed Kemp's name on a list of potential running mates. When Reagan won the presidency, several Kemp protégés were given top-level jobs in the Treasury Department.

The first year of Ronald Reagan's presidency was an extraordinary triumph for Kemp

New York 31

Kemp has made his political career in working-class suburban territory, where he has had remarkable success among registered Democrats as well as Republicans. West Seneca and Hamburg, Kemp's home town, have large concentrations of steel and auto workers.

The district lines were changed considerably for the 1980s. Previously concentrated in the close-in Erie County suburbs of Buffalo, it has expanded into more conventional Republican territory. Blue-collar Democratic towns such as Cheektowaga and Lancaster are gone; more affluent towns such as Amherst and Clarence now symbolize Kemp's electorate.

The effect of the changes was to bolster the GOP. Ronald Reagan's margin over Jimmy Carter in 1980 was about twice as large in the new district as in the old one. Republican Lew Lehrman ran up a hefty 62 percent of the vote here in his losing campaign for the governorship in 1982.

Without a senior position on any committee that handled the budget or tax-cut legislation, he was clearly the single most important congressional force in their passage. New York Republican Barber B. Conable Jr. was the principal GOP sponsor of the 1981 tax-cut bill, but he simply offered what had been drafted at the White House. Kemp was in on the drafting.

At the end of July, when Congress cleared the bill cutting taxes 25 percent over three years, he could claim a unique personal triumph. "Name any bill that ever went through like that," he exulted shortly afterward. "No one has ever done it who wasn't on the Ways and Means Committee."

Kemp did not play as clear-cut a role when Congress passed the tax overhaul law in 1986. But he was instrumental in drumming up Republican support, and he was the House sponsor of one of the most prominent early tax revision efforts. He initially distanced himself from elements of President Reagan's proposal — saying, for example, that the 35 percent top tax rate proposed by the administration was too high — but he helped get the bill through the House at a critical moment.

In late 1985, Kemp and most House Republicans initially opposed the Democratic tax revision bill reported from the

Jack F. Kemp, R-N.Y.

West — Suburbs; Canandaigua

Nuclear safety is an issue of concern to voters of the 31st, which includes a strip of northern Cattaraugus County that is home to the West Valley nuclear fuel reprocessing plant, with 600,000 gallons of lethal radioactive waste. West Valley, a commercial project that closed in 1974, now is managed by the federal government. The people who work at the plant and live nearby tend to be conservative Democrats.

East of Erie, the 31st takes in all of Wyoming County, all but the northern tier of Livingston County and a sizable chunk of Ontario County. All lean toward the GOP. While the Erie County portion of the district is predominantly Catholic and Eastern European, these counties are WASP-dominated. They are largely rural, with not much industry.

Population: 516,271. White 501,526 (97%), Black 6,545 (1%), Other 6,386 (1%). Spanish origin 3,543 (1%). 18 and over 369,104 (72%), 65 and over 56,281 (11%). Median age: 31.

Ways and Means Committee, and they succeeded in blocking the first effort to bring it to the floor. Responding to President Reagan's plea that the House GOP support the bill, Kemp dropped his opposition and parted ways with most Republican leaders after extracting a promise from Reagan that he would veto the final product if the biggest GOP complaints were not eventually addressed. In the end, after a conference committee produced a version that modified some of the House provisions, and yielded a top individual rate of 28 percent — Kemp voted for it.

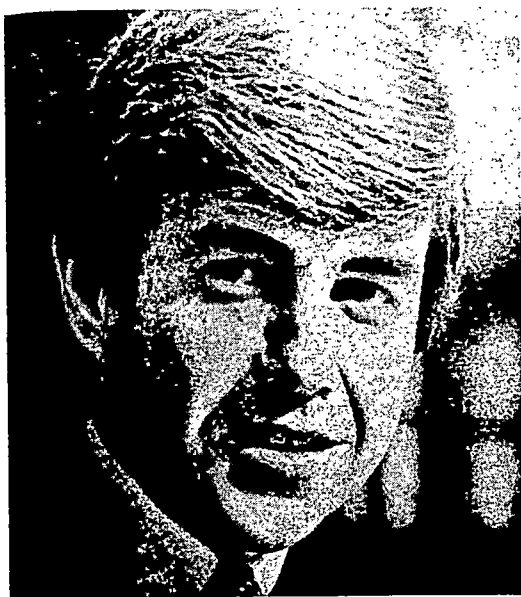
Kemp's crusades have put him at variance with President Reagan on several occasions — most notably in 1982. Reagan swallowed hard and agreed to support \$98 billion worth of tax increases over three years to lower the deficit. Kemp wasted no time making himself the leader of the opposition.

"The country simply cannot stand up to such a dramatic tax increase in its depressed condition," he said. He launched a national campaign of speeches and articles against the tax bill. He insisted Reagan would not be crippled politically by a defeat on one issue.

Despite criticism from other Republicans, Kemp stood his ground, arguing that it would have been "cowardly to believe so strongly and

on April 27, 1939, he did most of the landscaping of his four-acre property and later made it a bird sanctuary, "Little Wings." Solange Karsh died in 1981. On August 28, 1982 the photographer married Estrellita Nachbar, a writer from Chicago who specializes in medical subjects. They have no photographs on the walls of their home, but enjoy instead a collection of fine arts, some of it acquired from painters and sculptors in exchange for portraits.

References: Christian Science Monitor p9 My 16 '68; Sat R 44:57+ D 9 '61 por, 50:54+ Ap 29 '67 por; Toronto Globe and Mail mag p4+ O 21 '78, p17 O 26 '78; Washington Post B p1+ N 10 '78 por; International Who's Who, 1978-79; Karsh, Yousuf. In Search of Greatness (1962); Who's Who in the World, 1974-75



Kemp, Jack (French)

July 13, 1935-United States Representative from New York. Address: b. 2235 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515; h. 3542 S. Creed St., Hamburg, N. Y. 14075

In 1978 Congressman Jack Kemp, a former star quarterback for the San Diego Chargers and the Buffalo Bills, submitted to Congress a comprehensive federal tax-cut package that he has called "the number one offensive play in the country." The so-called Kemp-Roth bill proposed slashing personal income tax rates by one-third and trimming corporate taxes by

more modest percentages. The ambitious, self-described "neoconservative," who claims to practice "consensus politics" rather than "coalition politics," is seen by many veteran political journalists as the likely heir to Ronald Reagan as standard bearer of Republican conservatism. "I do not believe there is any future for the Republican party in trying to defeat Democrats," Kemp has said. "You don't run to fight opponents. You run to promote ideas. Ideas are what rule the world. We, the Republicans, haven't been offering an alternative. We need more positive ideas."

Jack French Kemp was born on July 13, 1935 in Los Angeles, California, the third of the four sons of Paul R. and Frances (Pope) Kemp. As a youth, he worked part-time for his father's small trucking firm, saving his earnings to help pay for his college education. He attended Fairfax High School in Los Angeles, where he "got an education by osmosis," as he puts it, while spending most of his time playing football. Then he enrolled at Occidental College, a small local institution, partly because its football team used many professional formations and plays. "I wasn't big enough to go to USC or UCLA," he told Martin Tolchin in an interview for an *Esquire* magazine (October 24, 1978) profile. "But I was going to play football. I was going to play pro football."

At Occidental College, Kemp was, in his words, "totally tunnel-visioned in terms of the goals I had for myself, which was to play football." He was only an average student, with a major in physical education and a minor in history, but he excelled on the football field. In spite of his relatively small size, Kemp threw with such accuracy that he led all other small-college quarterbacks in passing in 1956. His performance so impressed the Detroit Lions that they selected him as their seventeenth choice in the National Football League's draft of graduating seniors in 1957.

Shortly after receiving his B. A. degree in June 1957, Kemp joined the Detroit Lions at their training camp as the third-string quarterback. Cut from the team before the season opener, he was picked up by the Pittsburgh Steelers and played five games in relief of Earl Morrall, the team's starting quarterback, only to be cut by the team at the end of the year. He took time out from football to serve a year in the United States Army, in 1958, and remained in the reserves until 1962. After spending most of the 1958 campaign on the New York Giants' "taxi" squad, Kemp decided to try his luck in Canada with the Calgary Stampeders. His brief stint in the Canadian Football League made him ineligible for the active roster of the San Francisco 49ers, who signed him near the end of the 1959 season.

Kemp finally found his niche in 1960 as the regular signal caller for the Los Angeles Chargers in the newly established American Football League. In his first year with the Chargers, he led the league in passing, completing 211 of 406 attempts for 3,018 yards and

Kemp has no illusions about the likelihood of seeing his controversial bill enacted into law. His "game plan," as he explained to reporters, is to "get the first downs, and the touchdowns will come up and hit you in the face." Late in 1978 he set up the Coalition for Economic Growth, a grass-roots organization dedicated to lowering the personal income tax rate to 25 percent by the end of the 1980's. He has since revised his bill, adding provisions to limit federal spending to a declining percentage of the gross national product and to tie the tax schedules to the inflation rate. As he explained in his optimistic book *An American Renaissance; A Strategy for the 1980's* (Harper, 1979), his tax revision scheme is crucial to the restoration of the American Dream, which he defines as "the freedom and encouragement to climb as high up the ladder of opportunity as possible, and obtain a just reward based upon our efforts and abilities."

Kemp has candidly admitted to reporters that he would "like to step up the political ladder." To that end, he has gathered an experienced team of conservative political advisers, including Irving Kristol, the editor of *The Public Interest*, and Jude Wanniski, a former editorial writer for the *Wall Street Journal*. In 1980 Kemp furthered his aim by playing a conspicuous role in national politics as policy development chairman of Ronald Reagan's campaign for the Republican Presidential nomination. During the convention in Detroit, Kemp served as chairman of the foreign policy and defense platform subcommittee and shaped

the domestic economic planks of the final platform. One third of the delegates supported him for the Vice-Presidential nomination. Political observers compared Kemp's favorable exposure to that received by John F. Kennedy at the 1958 Democratic convention, four years before his successful bids for Presidential nomination and election.

Standing six feet tall and weighing about 200 pounds, Jack Kemp has kept the build and grace of the natural athlete. He has a boyishly handsome, square-jawed face and thick reddish-brown hair, worn in the style of John F. Kennedy. To maintain his physical fitness, he watches his diet, often consuming only liquid protein for lunch, plays tennis, and skis. An enthusiastic speaker, especially when the topic is tax revision, he talks "as though somebody had pulled the trigger of a machine gun," according to one journalist. Kemp and his wife, the former Joanne Main, whom he married on July 19, 1958, have four children: Jeffrey, Jennifer, Judith, and James. The Kemps divide their time between their home in Hamburg, New York and a rambling colonial house in Bethesda, Maryland.

References: *Atlan* 242:14+ D '78; *Esquire* 90:59+ O 24 '78; *N Y Daily News mag* p14+ Ap 29 '79 por; *N Y Times B* p1 My 23 '78 por; *Sports Illus* 33:83+ D 7 '70 pors; *Who's Who in America*, 1978-79; *Who's Who in American Politics*, 1979-80; *Who's Who in Government*, 1972-73

Kilpatrick, James J(ackson)

Nov. 1, 1920- Journalist; author. Address: White Walnut Hill, Woodville, Va. 22749

James J. Kilpatrick, who has described himself as "ten miles to the right of Ivan the Terrible" in the eyes of some liberals, but "only a little to the south of John C. Calhoun" to those who love him, is one of the most widely read writers of political commentary in the United States, and also one of the most controversial. His column, "A Conservative View," written for the *Universal Press Syndicate*, appeared in some 400 newspapers as of early 1980. He also serves as contributing editor of the *National Review*, and he is noted as a television news commentator and author. Once described as "one of the most gifted and eloquent spokesmen for the Old South," Kilpatrick was a staunch defender of white supremacy while serving as editor of the *Richmond News Leader* in the 1950's and early 1960's. Although he eventually gave up that struggle, he remains a "fiercely individualistic" and candidly outspoken purveyor of a uniquely American brand of conservative thought.



Born on November 1, 1920 in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, James Jackson Kilpatrick is the son

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Fairport, Hilton, Honeoye Falls, Pittsford and Scottsville. ONTARIO COUNTY: Towns of East Bloomfield, Farmington, Hopewell, Manchester, Victor, and West Bloomfield, and villages of Clifton Springs (part), East Bloomfield, Holcomb, Manchester, Shortsville, and Victor. Population (1980), 516,440.

ZIP Codes.—14001, 14003-05, 14011, 14013, 14020, 14036, 14040, 14054, 14056, 14058, 14105, 14125, 14143, 14414, 14416, 14420, 14422-24, 14428, 14430-32, 14443, 14445, 14450, 14453, 14464, 14467-68, 14472, 14474-76, 14482, 14485-86, 14502, 14504, 14506, 14511, 14513-15, 14525-26, 14530, 14534, 14539, 14543, 14546, 14548, 14557, 14559, 14561, 14564, 14585-87, 14591-92, 14603-04, 14606, 14609, 14612-13, 14615-17, 14619, 14623-24, 14626-27, 14642, 14692

LOUISE M. SLAUGHTER, Democrat, Fairport, NY; born in Harlan County KY, August 14, 1929; graduated from University of Kentucky with a B.S. in Bacteriology; masters' degree in Public Health; elected to Monroe County legislature, two terms, 1976-79; elected to New York State Assembly, two terms, 1982-86; Woman of the Year, 1987, Rochester Women's Political Caucus; married to Robert Slaughter; three daughters; two grandchildren; elected 100th Congress, November 4, 1986; Majority Whip at Large; member: Committee on Public Works and Transportation, Subcommittee on Water Resources, Subcommittee on Surface Transportation, Subcommittee on Investigations and Oversight; Committee on Government Operations, Subcommittee on Justice, Information and Agriculture, Subcommittee on Employment and Housing; Select Committee on Aging, Subcommittee on Human Services.

THIRTY-FIRST DISTRICT.—CATTARAUGUS COUNTY: Towns of Ashford, Freedom, Otto, Persia, and Yorkshire, and that portion of the Cattaraugus Indian Reservation situated herein. ERIE COUNTY: Towns of Alden, Amherst, Aurora, Boston, Brant, Clarence, Colden, Collins, Concord, Eden, Elma, Evans, Hamburg, Holland, Marilla, Newstead, North Collins, Orchard Park, Sardinia, Wales, and West Seneca, and that portion of the Cattaraugus Indian Reservation situated herein, and that portion of the Tonawanda Indian Reservation situated herein. LIVINGSTON COUNTY: Towns of Conesus, Geneseo, Groveland, Leicester, Livonia, Mount Morris, North Dansville, Nunda, Ossian, Portage, Sparta, Springwater, and West Sparta. ONTARIO COUNTY: Towns of Bristol, Canadice, Canandaigua, Geneva, Gotham, Naples, Phelps, Richmond, Seneca, South Bristol; city of Canandaigua, and that portion of the city of Geneva situated herein. WYOMING COUNTY: Towns of Arcade, Attica, Bennington, Castile, Covington, Eagle, Gainesville, Genesee Falls, Java, Middlebury, Orangeville, Perry, Pike, Sheldon, Warsaw, and Wethersfield. Population (1980), 515,021.

ZIP Codes.—14001, 14004, 14006, 14009-11, 14024-25, 14027, 14030-37, 14039-40, 14042, 14047, 14051-52, 14055, 14057, 14059, 14061, 14065-66, 14069-70, 14075, 14079-83, 14085-86, 14091, 14101-02, 14110-13, 14120, 14127, 14130, 14133-34, 14139-41, 14145, 14150, 14165-67, 14169-71, 14173, 14207, 14210, 14219, 14221, 14224, 14226, 14424, 14427, 14432, 14435, 14437, 14454, 14456, 14461-63, 14466, 14469, 14471, 14480-81, 14487-89, 14510, 14512-13, 14517-18, 14525, 14530, 14532-33, 14536-37, 14540, 14544-45, 14547, 14549-50, 14556, 14558, 14560-62, 14565, 14569, 14572, 14584, 14591, 14616, 14719, 14729, 14766

JACK KEMP, Republican (endorsed by Conservative Party), of Hamburg, NY; born in Los Angeles, CA, July 13, 1935; educated in the public schools of California; Occidental College, B.A., 1957; graduate study at Long Beach State University and California Western University in education and political science; special assistant to Governor of California, 1967; special assistant to chairman, Republican National Committee, 1969; 13 years in professional football; A.F.L. Player of the Year, 1965; all-A.F.L. quarterback twice; cofounder and president, American Football League Players Association, 1965-70; member, N.F.L. Players Association Executive Committee and Player Pension Board; television and radio commentator; public relations officer, Marine Midland Bank of Buffalo; served in U.S. Army Reserve, 1958-62; active duty, 1958; Outstanding Young Man of the Year Award, Buffalo Junior Chamber of Commerce; Distinguished Service Award, New York State Jaycees; Outstanding Citizens Award, Buffalo Evening News 1965, 1974; nominated for the Justice Byron "Whizzer" White Award; Protestant; chairman, House Republican Conference; member, Appropriations Committee, Chowder and Marching Society, member of the National Association of Broadcasters, Engineers, and Technicians (AFL-CIO), Buffalo Area Chamber of Commerce, Sierra Club, and member; congressional delegation to SALT negotiations; married Joanne Main; four children: Jeffrey, Jennifer, Judith, and James; elected to the 92d Congress, November 3, 1970; re-elected to each succeeding Congress.

THIRTY-SECOND DISTRICT (northwest New York State bordered, in part, by the Niagara River and Lake Ontario).—COUNTIES: Niagara and Orleans. ERIE COUNTY: City and town of Tonawanda and city of Buffalo (northern central portion consisting of approximately 20,000 constituents). MONROE COUNTY: Towns of Gates, Ogden, and Sweden; Rochester (west and southwest portion consisting of approximately 60,000 constituents). Population (1980), 516,535.

ZIP Codes.—14001, 14008, 14012, 14028, 14067, 14092, 14094, 14098, 14103, 14105, 14107-09, 14120, 14126, 14131-32, 14144, 14150, 14172, 14174, 14207, 14214, 14216-17, 14223, 14301-06, 14410-11, 14420, 14428-29, 14442, 14452, 14470, 14473, 14476-77, 14479, 14508, 14514, 14559, 14571, 14606, 14608, 14611, 14613-14, 14619, 14624

**Jack Kemp
Secretary
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development**

Jack Kemp was nominated by President Bush to be Secretary of Housing and Urban Development on Monday December 19, 1988. He was confirmed by the Senate on February X, and sworn into office on February X.

As HUD Secretary, Mr. Kemp serves as the nation's top community development and housing official, with responsibility for a wide variety of federally-assisted housing, economic development, and fair housing enforcement activities across the nation.

His major responsibilities--carried out through a Headquarters office in Washington, D.C., 10 regional offices, and 81 field offices--include helping local communities provide housing assistance for low-income families; helping first-time and inner-city homebuyers obtain private financing to buy their own home; and assisting towns, cities and counties meet extraordinary development needs through public/private partnerships and federally-assisted economic development.

Prior to his appointment to President Bush's Cabinet, Mr. Kemp served in the United States House of Representatives for nine terms, from 1970 to 1988. He served for seven years in a leadership position as the Chairman of the House Republican Conference. Mr. Kemp was a member of the House Appropriations Committee and a ranking member of the Foreign Operations subcommittee; was a member of the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families; and also had served on the Budget, Education and Labor, and Select Small Business Committees.

Jack Kemp came to Congress in 1970 after 13 years as a professional football quarterback, where he helped lead the Buffalo Bills to the American Football League Championships in 1964 and 1965. He was named Most Valuable Player in the League in 1965, and twice was all A.F.L. quarterback--in 1960 with the San Diego Chargers and 1965 with the Buffalo Bills. He co-founded the AFL Players Association, and was elected President, a position he held for five terms. In 1983, Jack Kemp received the National Football Foundation and Hall of Fame's Gold Medal for excellence in leadership both on the football field and in Congress.

Born in Los Angeles, in 1935, Mr. Kemp attended California public schools, and graduated from Occidental College with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1957. He pursued graduate studies at Long Beach State University and California Western University. He was first elected to the 92nd Congress on November 3, 1970, representing New York State's 31st Congressional District. He is the author of An American Renaissance: Strategy for the 1980's, and The American Idea: Ending the Limits to Growth.

He is married to the former Joanne Main. The couple have four children: Jeffrey, Jennifer, Judith and James, and two grandchildren. They reside in Bethesda, Md.

Kemp Chosen for HUD; 'Innovative Ideas' Urged

But Bush Cautions About Spending Limits

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Staff Writer

President-elect George Bush turned to a former rival yesterday and nominated Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) to be secretary of housing and urban development, urging Kemp to use "innovative ideas" to solve urban problems but cautioning that federal spending will be limited for housing programs and the homeless.

"The federal government simply doesn't have the resources to solve this problem," Bush said of the nation's growing homeless population, adding that it could be addressed by the "enormous awakening" of volunteers and "what I sometimes refer to as the 'thousand points of light.'"

Bush said he rejected the charge that Reagan administration policies exacerbated the problem of homelessness and declared that private organizations and local government would continue to be primarily responsible for dealing with it. Dodging questions about whether he would spend more for housing programs, Bush said, "there are other ways to skin a cat."

Kemp, 53, an architect of the supply-side economic policies that were a centerpiece of the Reagan era, is a prominent conservative who also has forged ties to the black community. Accepting the Bush appointment, he promised to "wage war on poverty" using the Republican policy ideas of tax incentives, vouchers and privatization, which he has advocated in Congress and as a contender for the Republican presidential nomination. He borrowed from the late civil rights leader, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., in saying he had an "audacious faith" that the new administration could help "those who live in poverty and despair."

Kemp, known for a wide range of outspoken views on domestic and foreign policy, some of which con-

flict with Bush's positions, promised to be a "team player" in the Cabinet. "It's pretty obvious . . . that I can't go into his Cabinet and accept a position . . . and be an outspoken, on-the-street advocate as I was when I was an independent contractor for 18 years in the United States Congress," he said. "I don't plan to do it."

Bush said he hoped Kemp would not cease criticism. "Who's beyond getting a little criticism from time to time?" he said. "Certainly not the president-elect. And I hope that he hasn't shed that. I want his—the objectivity of his judgment, and knowing Jack, I'll get it."

The vice president, who defeated Kemp in the primaries, said he did not ask Kemp if he had future political aspirations. "I haven't ruled out seeking office someday, nor have I ruled it in," Kemp said. He added that Bush recruited him for the post, which he said was "far more attractive" than his earlier plans to give speeches and be affiliated with the Heritage Foundation.

According to sources close to Bush, Kemp's selection was motivated in part by a desire to convince conservative activists that they would have a voice in the Cabinet. Bush agreed to make the Kemp announcement separately to guarantee maximum media attention to it, the sources said. At the same time, they added, Kemp was attractive to Bush because he has preached that the Republican Party should reach out to traditionally Democratic constituencies such as blacks and blue-collar voters.

In their statements yesterday, Bush and Kemp put differing emphases on the budget outlook for housing programs, which President Reagan sought to curtail sharply. Bush said that pressures for deficit reduction are "very, very real" and that "there are understandable restraints" on spending. He said he would rely on "innovative" pro-

grams, and not a "massive federal home-building program." Bush made one exception, saying he supports full funding of about \$600 million under the McKinney Act to aid the homeless.

Kemp, however, suggested that budget pressures would not lead to sharp curtailment of housing programs. "I don't believe we're going to balance the budget by cutting housing," he said. Kemp said he believed Bush would not give him the new assignment and then "go out and have the budget for housing emasculated."

Meanwhile, transition sources expressed concern about comments by another prospective Bush nominee, Dr. Louis Sullivan, president of Morehouse College Medical School, who is described as the leading candidate to head the Department of Health and Human Services. Three executives of the National Right to Life Committee last week urged Bush in a letter not to appoint Sullivan, saying he had been "unresponsive" to their concerns. According to a report Sunday in the Atlanta Journal and Constitution, they said a nominee "who does not have solid pro-life credentials would produce severe and long-lasting disappointment among hundreds of thousands of pro-life activists" who worked for Bush.

Sullivan was quoted by the newspaper as saying he supported a woman's right to have an abortion but opposed federal funding. In a remark that caused consternation among Bush aides, Sullivan was quoted as saying, "My concern would be that the department not become impaled on this issue because there are so many other concerns that are important."

Also yesterday, Bush said he wanted an expert on nuclear matters as energy secretary. While Bush did not mention a name, transition sources said the leading candidate is John M. Deutch, a former energy official in the Carter administration.

By CLIFFORD D. MAY

Although Jack F. Kemp came to national political prominence by preaching lower taxes and wariness toward the Soviet Union, his speeches have occasionally sounded more like those of a liberal Democrat than a staunchly conservative Republican.

Man
in the
News

Thus, he told a Republican gathering in Wisconsin early in 1986 that the party had to do more to appeal to labor. "Economic growth doesn't mean anything if it leaves people out," he said. "If we trust our ideas, we have to take them into the ghetto, into the barrio and into the trade union hiring hall."

Thus, about two years ago he suggested a plan under which public housing tenants would be allowed to buy their houses from government at reduced prices.

It was not surprising yesterday when a number of Democrats and liberals endorsed Mr. Kemp's nomination by President-elect Bush to be Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

"I have not always agreed with Jack Kemp, but I have always respected him," said Governor Cuomo.

Wanted Spot on Ticket

Mr. Kemp had decided not to run for re-election to Congress from the Buffalo area as a fallback should his Presidential candidacy collapse. He campaigned for Vice President Bush energetically, hoping to be tapped for the No. 2 spot on the ticket. Since the election, he had been passed over for other administration jobs.

Mr. Kemp had planned to take a post at the conservative Heritage Foundation and to speak to audiences willing to pay \$15,000 to hear his raspy voice and unabashed optimism. But few of his friends believed he would have been happy doing that for long. Nor has Mr. Kemp ruled out running for office again.

Theorist With a Heart

Jack French Kemp

Jack French Kemp's career and life have never been direct or conventional. He was born July 13, 1935, in Los Angeles, the son, appropriately enough, of an entrepreneur (the owner of a small trucking company built up from a motorcycle messenger service) and a social worker.

He attended Occidental College (by his own admission, he did not really study there), where he played football and met Joanne

The post offers a test of his ideas for aiding the poor.

Main, whom he married in 1958. They have four children: Jeffrey who followed in his father's footsteps as a quarterback; Jennifer; Judith, and James.

Success on the Field

When the American Football League was established in 1960, Mr. Kemp signed with the Los Angeles Chargers, who moved to San Diego the next year. In 1962, he was traded to the Buffalo Bills, where he played for eight seasons, two on league championship teams.

Mr. Kemp would say years later that he had taken showers with the kind of men many Republicans never felt comfortable around — or even met. It was also in that period that he began to cultivate a serious interest in politics, economics, history and philosophy.

In 1970, Mr. Kemp won election to Congress from a suburban Buffalo district after the Democratic incumbent had given up his seat in an unsuccessful run for the Senate. He was easily re-elected eight times.

"His background and persona were really still very Southern Californian," said Claude E. Welch, a professor of political science of the State University of New York at Buffalo. "When he first ran, the area was in the doldrums, economically and psychologically, and here was this neat, J.F.K.-type figure with a blow-dry haircut and a lovely family with the kind of values people in Buffalo admire: sports, patriotism and defense."

Looked to Far Horizons

Mr. Kemp's horizons clearly lay beyond Buffalo. He became a proponent of the supply-side doctrine, based on the theory that high taxes stifle initiative and lead to lower Federal revenues while low taxes stimulate development and lead to increased revenues.

But Mr. Kemp is not a relentless foe of government in the Ronald Reagan mold. Mr. Kemp described himself yesterday as "pragmatic and progressive as well as conservative." He even said he would not mind being labeled a liberal, of all things, by Benjamin Hooks, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

When Mr. Kemp pointed out that he had "a lot of friends on the other side of the aisle," the first ones he mentioned were Representatives William H. Gray 3d, Charles B. Rangel and Robert Garcia — two blacks and an Hispanic.

But when Mr. Kemp said he

wanted to "wage war on poverty," he had in mind a crusade different from the one Lyndon B. Johnson organized in the 1960's.

Government as Leader

Mr. Kemp would replace government-organized social programs with "incentive-oriented ideas," as he put it, that tap and encourage private enterprise.

In his view, government should set the priorities and provide the subsidies that make private initiatives possible. The model for this approach is his plan for "enterprise zones," a program he backed with Mr. Garcia under which businesses would be given tax breaks for investing in the inner city.

Mr. Kemp is a strong proponent of a concept under which government and families form a partnership to develop housing in deteriorating neighborhoods. The government provides land and advice, the families provide the labor.

Mr. Kemp indicated yesterday that he would try to expand the basic idea of his enterprise zone scheme to encourage socially useful, profitmaking efforts.

No Shortage of Ideas

Liberal critics argue that such notions are naïve and ignore the reality that if services for the needy could be provided at a profit business would be doing it.

As Mr. Bush said, the Congressman has always been an "idea man." In Mr. Reagan's first year, Congress passed the Kemp-Roth tax reduction bill, a pillar of what became known as "Reaganomics."

Nevertheless, many opponents of supply-side theories are charitable in their appraisal of Mr. Kemp.

"There were a great many people for whom the attraction to supply side, coupled with increased military spending, was precisely that it would create a huge deficit and a financial crisis," said Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Democrat of New York. "That was never Jack's agenda. He is incapable of that kind of mean-spiritedness."

Jack Kemp talks about religion, ambition and supply-side economics

'I love ideas, but I'm not an intellectual'

In this week's installment, the fourth of his 13-part television series on "The Next President," presented by U.S. News, David Frost speaks with Representative Jack Kemp about his presidential ambition, his religious views, abortion and his often controversial economic policies. Some excerpts from the interview, which was conducted at Kemp's suburban Washington home:



Q When did the thought first strike you that you could be President—sometime in the '70s?

Oh no, no. I never really wanted to run for President. I had a good football career. I think I've had a good congressional career. I've made an impact on public policy—some people would say too much. So in that regard, it was only recently—I mean, people have thought about it, people have debated it, but as far as I am concerned, I really began to think about it after Reagan was re-elected: What would happen to the things that I had fought for for 17 years in the absence of President Reagan? So at that point... I decided to run for the nomination... I've got a long way to go before I think of myself as President.

Q As a Christian, was there actually a moment when you were born again?

Well, to a Christian, the born-again experience is something that every Christian has. So there is a moment in one's life when one accepts Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior. I don't think it should be a part of a political campaign. I'm in Caesar's world, and I don't plan to make that a part of my campaign... My family are Christians, but we don't wear it on our sleeves.

Q While your football career was developing, so was your interest in books and in ideas—

Ever since I was 6, I had wanted to play pro football... That dream was kept alive through high school and college: I got into pro football, got married, started having children. And then I realized there was far more to life than pro football. All of a sudden I started to study, read, debate, discuss—I will use the word *intellectual*. I'm not an intellectual.

Q You don't think of yourself as an intellectual?

Not really. I love books, I love ideas, I love to debate, to talk—as I'm sure you've heard from your research. But I'm not an intellectual. I have read a lot, I love history.

Q You've spoken on occasion of the miscarriage that your wife experienced. It was a very critical moment in your life; it formed your views on the subject of abortion as well—

It's not something that I prefer to talk about; I don't think it's a part of the presidential campaign. My wife had a miscarriage. We have rarely talked about it. It did make me

more aware of the sanctity of human life, how precious every child is... I believe, as Jefferson believed, that the whole American idea is predicated upon the idea that our rights come to us from our Creator—not from Washington, D.C.

Q Would you support a constitutional amendment that forbids abortion for any reason?

I would support the constitutional protection of life... My premise is that both the mother—the woman—and the child—the unborn—should have constitutional protections for life and freedom.

Q On the economy, two areas stand out: The huge deficits are worrisome; the second thing is the sense now that the rich are richer and the poor are poorer. The "trickle down" never actually got to where it was supposed to end up, did it?

That was never what Kemp was all about; that's certainly not what supply side is all about... And I would say that with 13½ million new jobs in the private-enterprise system and a growing economy—albeit not fast enough for Jack Kemp—that America is a modern-day miracle. So this isn't trickle down; this is a rising tide that will lift all boats... Then we need to take care of the poor. There's plenty of room in my model... for subsidies to the poor, the left out, the unfortunate.



The Kemps at home: "My family are Christians"

Q Has Mikhail Gorbachev changed the relationship between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.?

Yes and no... The word *mir* means "peace" in Russian; it also means "world." So when they say, "We love peace"—yeah, they love *mir*, they love the world: "We want the world." And we have to be very, very strong, notwithstanding their holding out a hand of friendship.

Q One of the issues in this campaign is that AIDS is in some way a judgment of God on the morals of society—

As a Christian, I would not—definitely would not—get into making judgments like that. So I think, as in any good public leader, you've got to show concern for privacy, concern for the victim, concern for the doctor and certainly concern for the public. And if those are done, I think the judgment should be left to God—and conscience.

Q You've said, "I believe in civil liberties for homosexuals... but I guess I'd have to say I draw the line at letting them teach."

Clearly, I was trying to suggest that we should not legitimize the lifestyle... but I would suggest that we want all Americans to enjoy civil liberties and the right to privacy and also recognize there have to be public standards... So I think a school board should have the right to choose what type of example we have for our children in our public schools.

Kemp: Tax Law Stunted Affordable Housing

By Gwen Ifill
Washington Post Staff Writer

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Jack Kemp, President-elect George Bush's choice for secretary of Housing and Urban Development, told city officials yesterday that Congress may have gone "too far" with tax revision and stunted the production of low- and moderate-income housing.

Speaking at a session of the U.S. Conference of Mayors winter meeting here, Kemp stressed that he is a great believer in private sector involvement in urban matters, but considers himself a liberal on key social issues.

"It's true that I want to privatize, that I believe in home ownership, that I believe in entrepreneurial capitalism," he said. "I believe in getting interest rates down. I've long been associated with tax reform."

But, he added, "they went too far with it in terms of affordable low- and moderate-income housing," Kemp said. "I'm speaking for Kemp now. I'm not speaking for the administration—[Treasury Secretary Nicholas F.] Brady or [Office of Management and Budget Director-designate Richard G.] Darman...."

Part of the 1986 tax revision

measure eliminated extensive tax breaks for private developers for building housing, a change that many urban officials said further depleted the stock of affordable housing in the wake of a federal withdrawal of funds from such projects.

In an informal roundtable-type exchange with the city leaders, the mayors offered Kemp a laundry list of steps the Bush administration could take such as the restoration of federal housing grants.

"There is an inverse relationship between the degree of deprivation that a group of people have and the degree to which they need a champion," said Mayor Joseph P. Riley Jr. of Charleston, S.C. "The poorer neighborhoods in our cities desperately need a champion."

Kemp responded by pledging to "wage war on poverty."

"Given the fact that we've had a macro recovery for the last eight years, there are micro problems that exist in our cities," Kemp said. "I have a mandate from the president-elect to pursue many of the things you've mentioned."

The mayors said they are optimistic about Kemp, even though several acknowledged in interviews that he faces severe budget constraints.

FRED BARNES 110

Not the signal he hoped to hear

The day after a \$1,000-a-plate dinner held in Washington on Dec. 1 to honor Jack Kemp, President-elect George Bush told an aide, "Let's have Jack in. I want to talk to him."

They talked for 45 minutes about housing and neighborhoods. Mr. Kemp mostly listened. Three weeks later Mr. Bush announced that Mr. Kemp was his choice as secretary of housing and urban development.

Mr. Kemp's game is capitalism. He has argued for years that free market economics can reduce inner-city poverty. Mr. Kemp passes the two tests of credibility on the issue: civil rights and a history of concern.

He says Republicans "blundered and strayed" on civil rights. Mr. Kemp didn't. "He's viewed as a conservative, but on the issue of race relations he's a liberal with a big 'L,'" says Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mr. Kemp has implored Republicans to take up the poverty fight. When Mr. Bush presented him as his man at HUD, Mr. Kemp said flatly he intends to "wage war on poverty."

Mr. Kemp's anti-poverty ideas aren't new: enterprise zones, urban homesteading, magnet schools, etc. A small knot of conservatives has touted them relentlessly. Compared with Lyndon B. Johnson's grandiose scheme, the conservative program is underwhelming. It has to be. Conservatives think government, even conservative government, can produce only so much.

Given the deficit, though, Mr. Kemp's proposals have one big advantage: They don't cost much. He wants to give the inner-city poor opportunities (a nearby job, choice of schools) and incentives (lower taxes, a chance to own a home). The aim is to make them employees, capitalists and consumers like the rest of us.

Fred Barnes is a senior editor of The New Republic, in which this article first appeared.

Of course only a portion of the poor will respond. But that's OK. The tacit principle running through conservative anti-poverty thinking is that all boats can't be lifted.

Mr. Kemp's pet proposal, enterprise zones, has all the conservative elements. It would bring unfettered capitalism — the legal variety, that is — to the ghetto.

Inner-city land would be set aside in which taxes and regulations, except those protecting health, would be slashed. Mr. Kemp figures that would attract small entrepreneurs. They'd have to hire their workers from the community. A new bureaucracy wouldn't be needed to run the program, and the cost in lost tax revenues would go to entrepreneurs.

The trouble with enterprise zones is that they've been tried by states with only modest success. The good news for Mr. Kemp, though, is that enterprise zones have a real chance of passing Congress this year. House Speaker Jim Wright has endorsed the bill sponsored by Democratic Reps. Charles Rangel and Robert Garcia of New York, a carbon copy of Mr. Kemp's old bill.

One major impediment remains: Chairman Dan Rostenkowski of the House Ways and Means Committee, who fears the loss of tax revenues will swell the deficit.

Next to enterprise zones, the favorite conservative idea is management of public housing by tenants, followed eventually by ownership. Mr. Kemp has written to Mr. Bush about allowing "poor people to participate in the American dream of home ownership."

Urban homesteading has been tried in a dozen cities. The results have been uniformly good — less crime, better upkeep, higher property values. Mr. Kemp and other conservatives envision homesteading as turning owners into new Republicans.

One problem is the HUD bureaucracy, which hasn't cottoned to turning over projects to tenants. At best, says Stuart Butler of The Heritage Foundation, "After five years at least half of the projects under tenant managership could move toward tenant ownership."

Housing vouchers would have a greater impact on the poor. A voucher would cover the prevailing cost of renting a modest apartment. It would allow the poor to act as consumers, shopping around for housing instead of being segregated in ghettos.

However, a voucher program would be enormously expensive — and controversial. Mr. Kemp listed

six anti-poverty proposals in his letter, but not vouchers.

After these, conservatives begin to run out of ready-to-implement ideas.

Mr. Butler says it's up to the states to come up with new approaches. Mr. Bush has agreed to maintain the special White House office for speeding approval of state-run experiments. "It's like a reverse of the Office of Economic Opportunity," says Mr. Butler. "OEO cleared the way to get the money out. It clears the way to get regulations removed."

But it can't get the American Civil Liberties Union from blocking states and cities from treating the mentally disturbed homeless. Nor can it remove zoning restrictions that prevent mobile homes from being used in inner cities, a favorite idea of Irving Kristol. And it can't remove rent control, which makes housing vouchers prohibitively expensive in cities like New York.

Mr. Kemp is also supposed to be a kind of anti-poverty czar for Mr. Bush, coordinating the activities of HUD with the Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education departments. How much authority this gives Mr. Kemp is unclear.

In the war on poverty, there's a threshold decision Mr. Bush must make. How high a priority should it have? Mr. Kemp thinks it should be a major component of Mr. Bush's legislative package for the first 100 days, and maybe the centerpiece. If fighting poverty isn't a top concern, Mr. Bush and Mr. Kemp won't have any credibility in creating a "kinder, gentler America."

Cooler heads in Mr. Kemp's orbit are preaching caution. On Jan. 10, he conferred with a dozen advisers at his temporary quarters at The Heritage Foundation. Several warned Mr. Kemp against laying a trap for himself by promising too much too soon. Take the time to work up a serious program with attainable goals, they said. For now, think small. Settle for Mr. Bush's promise of full White House support for enterprise zones.

This was sage advice. But not what Mr. Kemp wanted to hear.

Kemp's quest: to revitalize US inner cities

Bush's choice as HUD chief
seems sure to be easily confirmed

By Robert P. Hey

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

110/60

Washington

The man who formerly quarterbacked pro football's Buffalo Bills is now trying to make winners out of troubled government programs to aid America's distressed cities. But first he is likely to change the game plan.

Jack Kemp is expected to have no difficulty gaining Senate confirmation to the Cabinet position of secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). President-elect George Bush officially nominated him Monday. Mr. Kemp, an economic conservative, gave up his seat in the US House of Representatives this year to run unsuccessfully for president.

Conservatives expect Kemp to move HUD away from government subsidies for low-income housing for inner-city residents. Instead, says Stuart Butler, "over the long haul" Kemp's greatest effort will probably be "to breathe new life in the depressed inner cities." Mr. Butler directs the Heritage Foundation's Roe Institute for Economic Policy Studies.

During his presidential campaign, Kemp stumped the inner cities, backed programs to allow public-housing residents to purchase the apartments in which they lived, and repeated his longstanding support for public-private programs to revitalize central cities.

"The most serious problem" that Kemp will face, says Douglas Besharov, "is engaging blacks and other minorities in the process of government, and in our economy as a whole. . . . He's going to try to bring them into the mainstream of our country."

Mr. Besharov, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, says that providing federal funds is only part of the process. "A much more important part is atmospherics. People have to feel that someone is listening to them, and that there are alternatives to simple subsidies" for housing. Kemp, Besharov says, can be expected to try alternatives. He "is an activist."

Kemp himself said when his nomination was announced that he considered it "absolutely necessary, and possible, I believe, to gain consensus on a public-private enterprise partnership to wage war on poverty."

In announcing the nomination, Mr. Bush called Kemp "an idea man." Mr. Butler expects Kemp's ideas to include seeking to expand HUD programs to permit public-housing tenants to own their apartments. Further, he says, Kemp will seek to work with community-based organizations that too often in the past have felt stifled by bureaucratic government

requirements.

Butler also says Kemp will be working with other government departments to try to deal with major problems besieging many large cities that are not strictly within HUD's purview. Drug abuse and educational deficiencies are two of the most serious.

Yet by wide agreement the most immediate problem is housing for the poor, especially for the homeless.

Estimates on how many Americans are homeless vary widely. Yet their visibility "is creating a lot of pressure on local officials and governments," says Margery Turner, a housing specialist at the Urban Institute. "And that pressure is working its way up" to federal authorities, which she says will require Kemp, as head of HUD, to take action.

The primary legislation that Congress this year passed into law to deal with homelessness, says Martha Burt, provides most of its money for emergency housing. It is the McKinney Act, named for the late

Connecticut Rep. Stewart McKinney (R), who championed aid to the homeless.

Ms. Burt, director of social services research at the Urban Institute, says what the federal government has not yet done in a major way is to look at preventing homelessness.

Several serious problems exist with the housing that the federal government now subsidizes. For one thing, thousands of public housing units are dilapidated. Their repair is expected to cost \$20 billion, according to a year-old HUD study. In some large cities the number of poor in need of housing far outstrips available subsidized housing.

During the 1960s and '70s some 1.9 million apartments were built by private owners with federal subsidies, on condition that for a period of years they be rented to low-income tenants. Over the next 15 years, according to the Government Accounting Office, more than half of these apartments will become eligible to be used in other ways, such as rented for higher incomes or converted to condominiums. The result could be significantly fewer low-income apartments.

Risks Seen in Choice

Kemp: Man in Motion Is Full of Ideas

By DAVID LAUTER
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—If you look through the photographs of nearly 20 years in public life, it will become clear that some things about Jack Kemp have changed.

The face of the former San Diego Chargers and Buffalo Bills quarterback has taken on a few lines and a little weight. The gold-rimmed glasses are more often in sight. The hair now has a frosty tinge. But across two decades, the photographs reveal one constant: the camera seldom catches Jack Kemp's mouth shut.

Jack Kemp, the New York congressman and George Bush's choice to head the Department of Housing and Urban Development, is the closest thing to perpetual motion in American politics today. A decade ago, he helped spark a movement that propelled Ronald Reagan from the rightward edge of

American politics to the center of national power. Today, when many veterans of that movement fear that conservatism has run low on energy and short of fresh ideas, Kemp seems to be an inexhaustible font of both.

And yet, says Kemp's friend and adviser Ed Rollins, the former White House political director, Bush's choice of Kemp is "a risk . . . a roll of the dice on both of their parts."

For Bush, the risk is that Kemp, the former quarterback, will prove unable to subordinate his own political ambitions and play a supporting role on someone else's team.

For Kemp, the risk is even more stark. Taking over a near-moribund department that faces seemingly intractable problems with no assurance of increased money, he is being called upon to do something he never has had to do before—try to make his ideas work in the real world. The man who loves theories is about to be tested in practice.

Football Ambition

Born 53 years ago as the third son to the owner of a small trucking company, Kemp set his heart on football early and studied physical education at Occidental College. In 1959, he became the Chargers' starting quarterback.

Eleven years, a dozen concussions, two broken ankles, a crushed finger and a stint with the Buffalo Bills later, Kemp, by then married and the father of four, took his game to Congress, there to begin his political education and his theorizing.

The ideas are many and varied. At home, he touted "supply-side" economics long before it started to be called "Reaganomics." He has pushed for the United States to return to a gold standard and campaigned for "a tax code someday so simple you'll be able to fill out your taxes on a post card."

Suspicious of Soviets

On foreign policy issues, Kemp has been deeply and consistently suspicious of the Soviet Union, a fervent backer of President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative and an ardent believer in free trade. During the presidential race, he campaigned against the intermediate nuclear forces treaty, which Bush and Reagan proclaimed as one of the great accomplishments of the postwar era, and he accused Bush of waffling in support of SDI.

All of these are mere parts of what Kemp unabashedly calls his "vision of America," a place where the free enterprise system, unleashed from the bonds of government control, can cure any ill, from the threat of ballistic missile attack to burned-out slums.

He believes that the policies of conservative, free-enterprise opportunity can prevail in the "war on poverty" that the policy-makers of liberal democracy—from Lyndon B. Johnson to former House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr.—waged but did not win.

'Grand New Party'

And in the process, he insists, the Republican Party can transform itself from the Grand Old Party of mostly white, mostly Protestant, mostly affluent Anglo-Saxon middle America into a "Grand New Party . . . a great engine of emancipation, liberation, freedom, hope and equal opportunity and upward mobility; a party first of people, not of power."

Until now, however, Kemp has only had to propose such things; others have been left to try to make them work. He has been able to advocate huge tax cuts—arguing that they would generate enough economic growth to pay for themselves—without having to find solutions for the huge budget deficits that resulted when the growth fell short. He has been able to support such ideas as urban "enterprise zones" and sales of public housing to tenants without worrying about the possible practical side effects.

Shows No Doubts

"It's a new thing for Jack, to be an executive . . . to have to sell the ideas, to see what will work," said his former campaign manager, Charles Black.

But if Kemp has any doubts about his abilities for the job, he was characteristically not showing them Monday.

"It wouldn't be Jack Kemp," he said, "if I didn't tell you that I don't think there's a problem out there that can't be solved."

Bush Picks Kemp for Housing Department

Congressman Vows Bold Programs at Agency Slashed Under Reagan; Homeless Aid Pledged

By CATHLEEN DECKER, Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—As the Electoral College met to formally vote his ascension to the presidency, Vice President George Bush on Monday tapped a former competitor, Rep. Jack Kemp, as his secretary of housing and urban development.

The outspoken New York congressman promptly vowed to assert his own agenda of aggressive programs in a department that was slashed during the Reagan Administration, when incumbent Secretary Samuel R. Pierce Jr. acceded to cuts in federal housing subsidies.

Bush and Kemp—without placing price tags on their proposals—specifically cited their commitments to tax-break assistance for urban “enterprise zones,” help for the homeless and affordable housing for the needy.

Failed Policies Cited

“They constitute a new ray of hope for those left frustrated by decades of failed urban and housing policies,” Bush declared as he introduced a beaming Kemp.

Bush’s announcement opened a week of furious effort by his transition team members to wrap up the selection of the remaining six Cabinet vacancies before a self-imposed Friday deadline. Aides said that, although Bush hopes to choose his Cabinet members before Christmas, not all of the selections are likely to be announced before then.

Two other appointments, however, are expected to be made this week. Samuel K. Skinner, a Chicago-area transit official and the guru of Bush’s Illinois campaign, is described as certain to be named transportation secretary. Aides said his appointment, delayed until his required FBI background check is completed, could be made as early as today.

And Dr. Louis W. Sullivan, president of Atlanta’s Morehouse School of Medicine, remains the strong front-runner for health and human services secretary, though a final decision was not expected until midweek.

Four other positions—the secretaries of energy, the Interior, veterans’ affairs and labor—remain less certain.

In his first suggestion of the

direction he will take in filling the remaining positions, Bush told reporters Monday that he is “leaning more toward” an energy secretary with expertise in nuclear energy because of the flurry of recent problems involving the nation’s nuclear reactors.

“I have long been in favor of the safe use of nuclear power,” he said, adding that a secretary with knowledge of the nuclear industry “would be extraordinarily helpful.”

In contrast to the energy post, Bush has yet to give even hints about what he is looking for in the other remaining Cabinet spots. Republican Senate conservatives have been pressing for the appointment at Interior of former House GOP leader John J. Rhodes of Arizona or former Wyoming House Speaker Warren A. Morton. Bush aides, however, have begun gathering information on other potential candidates, including Louisiana’s former Republican Gov. David Treen.

The President-elect said last week that he expected to name a black to his Cabinet, which now includes one woman—Trade Representative Carla Anderson Hills—and one Latino—Education Secretary Lauro F. Cavazos. Besides Sullivan, the prospective black appointees include Julius W. Becton Jr., head of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, who is considered a front-runner for secretary of veterans’ affairs.

As Bush worked on his Administration on Monday, Electoral College members met around the country to cast the ballots that—popular vote notwithstanding—formally elect the President. The ballots will not be counted until Jan. 6.

When asked Monday if he believed that he would win, Bush replied: “Yes.”

Although the Bush transition team has steadily added personnel to its top-ranking roster, little progress has been made in attacking the incoming Administration’s budget priorities, Bush made clear Monday.

While laying out thematic approaches to the HUD post, for example, Bush refused to be pinned down on the level of funding he would recommend. When asked specifically if he was “dancing around” the level of spending, he bluntly said, “yes,” then laughed and added: “I wouldn’t have phrased it that way, but that’s exactly what I was doing.”

“You don’t show your determination to solve a problem by simply increasing federal spending,” Bush said. “There are other ways to skin a cat.”

Kemp, however, adopted a more optimistic tone and said he does not expect the department he agreed to head to be “emasculated.”

“I want to wage war on poverty,” he said. “I don’t want to wage war on Congress. I don’t want to wage war on programs that can work. And I don’t believe we’re going to balance the budget by cutting housing.”

In one of his few specific pledges, Bush on Monday renewed his call for full funding of the McKinney Act to aid the homeless, whose plight he called “a national shame.”

Under a program approved by Congress in October, \$1.3 billion was to have been spent over two years for job training, food and shelter programs for the homeless. But of the \$634 million approved for fiscal 1989, only \$378 million was appropriated. It was unclear whether Bush’s full-funding vow would mean retroactive funding for 1989 or referred to full funding for the \$656 million authorized in 1990.

But Bush emphasized that private concerns, cities and state governments will continue to bear the brunt of fiscal responsibility for the homeless. “The private sector and the city governments and state governments are doing most of it,” Bush said. “And that is the way that is going to have to continue.”

The vice president’s selection of Kemp, whose own presidential ambitions collapsed in March after a series of mediocre finishes in the early primaries, added only the second conservative voice to a Bush Cabinet and inner circle dominated by Republican moderates.

For Kemp, who said Monday that he has not ruled out another run for the presidency, the appointment guarantees a potentially substantial national forum after 18 years spent battling for notice in the crowded House of Representatives. And for Bush, aides said, it places an activist “idea man” as the President-elect described Kemp on Monday—on his Cabinet and effectively silences for the time being a potentially combative spokesman for the party’s right wing, which has long been skittish about Bush.

Kemp insisted that he will be a “team player,” pressing his opinions on Bush in private but “not out on the street.”

During the campaign, Kemp accused Bush of not fully supporting the Strategic Defense Initiative, the space-based missile system, and said the vice president would raise taxes. Kemp is a strong SDI proponent and was the architect of President Reagan’s early tax cuts.

But on Monday, Kemp vowed that he would not speak on foreign policy and said he believed that Bush will stick to his much-publicized vow not to raise taxes.

“The answer is, I read his lips,” Kemp said.

Staff writer David Lauter contributed to this story.

Kemp, Picked as Chief of H.U.D., Pledges to Combat Homelessness

Public and Private Initiatives Would Be Blended

By GERALD M. BOYD

Special to The New York Times

105P/110

WASHINGTON, Dec. 19 — Representative Jack F. Kemp was named today by President-elect Bush to be Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and Mr. Kemp said he would aggressively pursue joint public and private initiatives to combat "the appalling tragedy of homelessness and joblessness."

In announcing the selection of Mr. Kemp, Mr. Bush called him an "idea man" who would bring creative approaches, like enterprise zones and urban homesteading, to bear on urban problems.

Both Mr. Bush and Mr. Kemp were vague about the financing and details of their urban policy ideas. But Mr. Kemp in particular used language reminiscent of President Lyndon B. Johnson's "Great Society" promises in

pledging to fulfill Mr. Bush's campaign promise of a "kinder, gentler nation."

"I told my friends on Capitol Hill, both Democrat and Republican alike, I want to wage war on poverty," Mr. Kemp said in accepting the selection.

"I don't want to wage war on programs that can work," he said. "And I don't believe we're going to balance the budget by cutting housing. I don't think we're going to balance the budget by letting unemployment go up. I don't believe that we're going to solve the budget problem unless we have healthy cities."

Mr. Kemp continued: "I want it known that you cannot balance the budget off the backs of the poor."

But in an acknowledgement of a less charitable Federal Government, Mr. Bush questioned the ability and the wisdom of using Federal resources to address such concerns.

"You don't show your determination to solve a problem by simply increasing spending," the President-elect said. "There are other ways to skin a cat."

The selection of Mr. Kemp, a former rival for the Republican Presidential nomination, placed a leading voice of the Republican right in a prospective Cabinet that consists mainly of Republican centrists and pragmatists. Despite a reputation for independence and outspokenness, Mr. Kemp pledged to be a team player, assurances that he provided Mr. Bush in private, transition aides said. [Man in the News, page B9.]

Mr. Kemp, 53, is a former professional football quarterback, who represented a district in the Buffalo area for 18 years. He decided not to seek reelection earlier this year following an unsuccessful try for the Presidential nomination.

Mr. Kemp's selection left Mr. Bush with six Cabinet slots to fill. Aides have said the President-elect hopes to complete that task by Christmas.

Mr. Bush said he was leaning toward the selection of a Secretary of Energy who was an expert in nuclear energy. Transition officials said that the three leading choices were retiring Senator Daniel J. Evans of Washington, John M. Deutch, provost of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Henson Moore, a former Representative from Louisiana.

In addition, aides said that following mounting opposition from anti-abortion groups, Mr. Bush was now taking another look at Dr. Louis Sullivan, president of Morehouse School of Medicine in Atlanta and the leading candidate to become Secretary of Health and Human Services.

Mr. Sullivan, who met with Mr. Bush last week, was quoted in Sunday's Atlanta Journal and Constitution as saying he supported a woman's right to have an abortion, although he opposed Federal funding for abortion.

"Anti-abortion groups, already concerned over Sullivan's previous vague statements that he opposes abortion, are nevertheless surprised by his blatant pro-abortion declaration," said the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of Life, based in Washington, in a statement today.

Aides to Mr. Bush had said on Thursday that the President-elect had questioned Mr. Sullivan on his views on abortion and had been satisfied with what the candidate had said. But they said today that a thorough review had begun of his position on abortion and other issues.

Mr. Bush's announcement of Mr. Kemp as one of his top domestic advisers appeared to foreshadow an attempt by the President-elect to put Mr. Kemp's ideas into practice in preference to plans that would require large outlays of Federal funds.

Describing Mr. Kemp as "one of the premier architects of the opportunity society that we are trying to create," Mr. Bush said:

"As a Congressman, Jack has already offered some promising plans, enterprise zones to create jobs and encourage investment in depressed areas, urban homesteading to allow public housing residents to gain a stake in their own communities and in their own futures.

"And I believe these approaches will work and they constitute a new ray of hope for those left frustrated by decades of failed urban and housing policies, policies offered throughout the Sixties and Seventies, that created nothing more than dependency and sadly resulted in urban decay."

Enterprise zones are areas in which tax incentives and other forms of public assistance are used to promote private development.

'Innovative Approach' Praised

The President-elect said that his Administration faced budget constraints that prohibited the Government from acting alone to solve problems like homelessness.

"And that's one of the reasons I'm glad to have Jack Kemp, who has this whole innovative approach to not just homelessness, but everything to do with urban development, at my side," he said.

Saying he would not adopt a reporter's terms of "dancing around" the issue of how much his Administration planned to spend on housing, Mr. Bush conceded that he was being intentionally vague. "I wouldn't have phrased it that way, but that's exactly what I was doing." He said he planned to examine

the budget proposal that President Reagan will soon submit to Congress, put his own priorities on it and begin what he called "serious" negotiations with Congress.

Federal spending on housing programs has dropped from about \$28.7 billion to \$9.5 billion in the eight years of the Reagan Administration. Mr.

Bush, contradicting a view of Marlin Fitzwater, the chief White House spokesman, said that "everybody should bear responsibility" for the increase in homelessness, including the Reagan Administration.

Mr. Fitzwater had said earlier in the day that the Reagan Administration was not responsible for the rise in the number of homeless.

Associates of Mr. Kemp said that he was approached about the job several weeks ago by Gov. John H. Sununu of New Hampshire. Mr. Bush's choice for White House chief of staff, Mr. Kemp did not talk to Mr. Bush until last Wednesday.

JACK KEMP 110/22T/9

Tenacious Advocate of Public-Private Initiatives

By Gwen Ifill
Washington Post Staff Writer

Even some of his best friends have described Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) as something of a bully when it comes to politics and policy. Kemp, 53, a retired professional football player, prefers to use words like "prodger," "catalyst" and "lightning rod."

It is this tenacity that housing advocates cited yesterday as the best quality that Kemp, a nine-term congressman from Buffalo, is expected to bring to the Department of Housing and Urban Development as its new secretary.

Even Reagan administration sympathizers said that the department, under Samuel R. Pierce Jr., languished in the shadows during the past eight years. By choosing Kemp, known on Capitol Hill for his championship of housing and development initiatives that emphasize private-sector involvement, President-elect George Bush has guaranteed that urban problems will return to the Republican agenda for discussion, if not action.

Kemp, speaking to reporters after the formal announcement yesterday, credited Bush with making a "bold decision" by choosing him for the housing slot. But the bold decisions may be yet to come, as Kemp is presented almost immediately with the challenge of redirecting federal housing policy while operating under what are expected to be severe budget constraints.

"You don't show your determination to solve a problem by simply increasing federal spending," Bush said yesterday. "There are other ways to skin a cat."

Kemp, a California native who represents a blue-collar suburban Buffalo district, has used cities as the laboratories for economic ideas that have sometimes rubbed his conservative colleagues the wrong way.

During his unsuccessful presidential campaign, Kemp said he would

veto any attempt to raise taxes. He reiterated that idea yesterday, but also warned that "you cannot balance the budget on the backs of the poor."

In the past, Kemp has stressed supply-side economic theory and public-private partnership as the best way to address fiscal problems. One of his favorite but heretofore unsuccessful tools has been the use of urban enterprise zones—a program that encourages inner-city development by providing tax incentives for businesses to locate in depressed areas. Such zones have been created in some states, but the federal government has balked at implementing necessary tax code changes.

Another program he supported in Congress was turning public housing units over to tenant ownership, an approach that Bush strongly supports. The first such undertaking, at the Kenilworth-Parkside housing project in northeast Washington, was announced in October.

D.C. Del. Walter Fauntroy (D) cosponsored the tenant ownership bill with Kemp, but later criticized the Reagan administration for treating it as the sole solution to the low-income housing crisis. Kemp's selection, he said yesterday, is "encouraging," but he said that without new funding for public housing, the plan will effectively deplete the housing stock, leaving thousands on waiting lists for housing.

But Kemp has already gone a long way toward aligning himself with traditional housing constituency groups that felt frozen out in the Reagan years by arguing that the Republican Party court minorities and by actively crossing party lines on Capitol Hill in pursuit of his objectives.

To the extent that budget limitations could reduce the secretary's role to that of chief cheerleader for housing policy, several of those who have worked with Kemp in recent years said yesterday that he may well be the best man for the job. He enjoys an enduring reputation as a

tireless talker who often neglects to listen to others.

"Who better to talk a tax increase to death than Jack Kemp?" he joked yesterday.

"People will know that HUD is around," said Alan Beals, the executive director of the National League of Cities.

Associates said that Kemp is not as convinced as Bush that the federal deficit is the nation's most pressing problem. Instead, he has frequently supported a return to the gold standard as a way of strengthening the dollar and decreasing capital gains tax breaks as a way of raising revenue.

"One of the things that Kemp will do in that position that the Reagan administration didn't do is to sort of change the political dynamics in housing and urban policy," said Stuart Butler, who worked with Kemp on housing issues at the conservative Heritage Foundation.

Kemp indicated yesterday, however, that he will stick to his own turf in Bush's Cabinet. Robert Reischauer, a domestic policy analyst at the Brookings Institution, warned that Kemp's creativity could be "severely hampered" by budget constraints, but described Kemp as "a fellow who is interested in action, who has a mind that is continually thinking of new approaches, and that's good."

Even without new funding, Reischauer and others said, Kemp might force urban policy onto the national agenda in the manner that former secretary William J. Bennett did with education. And Kemp has not yet closed the door on future presidential ambitions.

"It's very clear that this appointment is going to revitalize the department," said Isabel Sawhill, a senior fellow at the Urban Institute. "It's not clear to me yet . . . whether Mr. Kemp will take a deep interest in the department's programs or whether he will simply use the position as a launching pad for some of his ideas . . . that are more philosophical and broader in import."

Kemp lauds shelter as 'success story'

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

10/10/87

The Luther Place shelter is the kind of program Rep. Jack Kemp, named yesterday to be the next secretary of housing and urban development, sees as a model to help solve the nation's homeless problem.

Mr. Kemp cited the shelter yesterday at the press conference announcing his appointment, saying he would study the homeless problem and failed attempts to solve it, "and some of the success stories like Erna Steinbruck ... who's working with the homeless and providing shelter."

Mrs. Steinbruck and her husband, the Rev. John Steinbruck, pastor of Luther Place Lutheran Church, founded the Luther Place "village" near Thomas Circle in Northwest Washington. They serve 50,000 people a year and house 100 a night, Mr. Steinbruck said.

"Luther Place programs stress a continuum" of services from emergency shelter to social services and eventual placement in permanent homes, said Mr. Steinbruck yesterday in an interview.

"Having him [Mr. Kemp] come to Luther Place, he's going to understand that it should be in combination, in concert — private sector initiatives with the local government, with the federal government. There's no quick fix," said Mrs. Steinbruck.

The shelter apparently came to

Mr. Kemp's attention when Mrs. Steinbruck appeared last week in a seminar on the homeless sponsored by the Heritage Foundation.

Luther Place, a village of homes begun with a shelter 20 years ago, now comprises 36,000 square feet of living space and has some 40 full-time volunteers who receive only subsistence for their work.

"We deal with religion in terms of salvation in this world. I don't worry about the next world. That is in God's hands," said Mr. Steinbruck, 58. He said they are guided by a biblical

verse, Matthew 25:35, that says, "I was a stranger and you took me in."

"Homelessness is a disaster of the proportions of Armenia, but this earthquake happened over a 10-to-15-year period," said Mr. Steinbruck. "If it happened in 30 seconds, we'd marshal a national force of massive proportions."

Mrs. Steinbruck, 54, is also temporarily helping to run the larger Carpenter Shelter in Alexandria, a cooperative project with the city. Some 60 percent of its residents work and

save 75 cents of each dollar to establish a home for themselves, Mrs. Steinbruck said.

"If Mr. Kemp only was with me over there last night," Mr. Steinbruck said ruefully. "We were trying to scratch \$1.90 for a young man. He had a job at Tysons Corner, and he had no bus fare. These are the working poor."

Admitting to some bitterness because the White House had refused to donate leftover food after state dinners, Mr. Steinbruck said: "When it comes to an emergency, we should not get into an ideological spitting contest. We've got human beings going down for the third time."

"I said I came hopeful that someone would come up with suggestions that would relieve the pain of some of the poor," Mrs. Steinbruck recalled yesterday. "Maybe by the grace of God this administration is going to get serious about homelessness."

Mr. Kemp has urged a combination of private and public sector solutions to the problems facing the urban poor.

He was the co-sponsor of the 1987 Housing and Community Development Act that authorized the conversion of some public housing projects to tenant ownership. In October, the residents of the Kenilworth-Parkside housing project in Northeast Washington became the first public housing residents in the nation to begin owning their units.

Risks Seen in Choice

Kemp: Man in Motion Is Full of Ideas

By DAVID LAUTER,
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—If you look through the photographs of nearly 20 years in public life, it will become clear that some things about Jack Kemp have changed.

The face of the former San Diego Chargers and Buffalo Bills quarterback has taken on a few lines and a little weight. The gold-rimmed glasses are more often in sight. The hair now has a frosty tinge. But across two decades, the photographs reveal one constant: the camera seldom catches Jack Kemp's mouth shut.

Jack Kemp, the New York congressman and George Bush's choice to head the Department of Housing and Urban Development, is the closest thing to perpetual motion in American politics today. A decade ago, he helped spark a movement that propelled Ronald Reagan from the rightward edge of

American politics to the center of national power. Today, when many veterans of that movement fear that conservatism has run low on energy and short of fresh ideas, Kemp seems to be an inexhaustible font of both.

And yet, says Kemp's friend and adviser Ed Rollins, the former White House political director, Bush's choice of Kemp is "a risk . . . a roll of the dice on both of their parts."

For Bush, the risk is that Kemp, the former quarterback, will prove unable to subordinate his own political ambitions and play a supporting role on someone else's team.

For Kemp, the risk is even more stark. Taking over a near-moribund department that faces seemingly intractable problems with no assurance of increased money, he is being called upon to do something he never has had to do before—try to make his ideas work in the real world. The man who loves theories is about to be tested in practice.

Football Ambition

Born 53 years ago as the third son to the owner of a small trucking company, Kemp set his heart on football early and studied physical education at Occidental College. In 1959, he became the Chargers' starting quarterback.

Eleven years, a dozen concussions, two broken ankles, a crushed finger and a stint with the Buffalo Bills later, Kemp, by then married and the father of four, took his game to Congress, there to begin his political education and his theorizing.

The ideas are many and varied. At home, he touted "supply-side" economics long before it started to be called "Reaganomics." He has pushed for the United States to return to a gold standard and campaigned for "a tax code someday so simple you'll be able to fill out your taxes on a post card."

Suspicious of Soviets

On foreign policy issues, Kemp has been deeply and consistently suspicious of the Soviet Union, a fervent backer of President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative and an ardent believer in free trade. During the presidential race, he campaigned against the intermediate nuclear forces treaty, which Bush—and Reagan—proclaim as one of the great accomplishments of the postwar era, and he accused Bush of waffling in support of SDI.

All of these are mere parts of what Kemp unabashedly calls his "vision of America," a place where the free enterprise system, unleashed from the bonds of government control, can cure any ill, from the threat of ballistic missile attack to burned-out slums.

He believes that the policies of conservative, free-enterprise opportunity can prevail in the "war on poverty" that the policy-makers of liberal democracy—from Lyndon B. Johnson to former House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr.—waged but did not win.

'Grand New Party'

And in the process, he insists, the Republican Party can transform itself from the Grand Old Party of mostly white, mostly Protestant, mostly affluent Anglo-Saxon middle America into a "Grand New Party . . . a great engine of emancipation, liberation, freedom, hope and equal opportunity and upward mobility; a party first of people, not of power."

Until now, however, Kemp has only had to propose such things; others have been left to try to make them work. He has been able to advocate huge tax cuts—arguing that they would generate enough economic growth to pay for themselves—without having to find solutions for the huge budget deficits that resulted when the growth fell short. He has been able to support such ideas as urban "enterprise zones" and sales of public housing to tenants without worrying about the possible practical side effects.

Shows No Doubts

"It's a new thing for Jack, to be an executive . . . to have to sell the ideas, to see what will work," said his former campaign manager, Charles Black.

But if Kemp has any doubts about his abilities for the job, he was characteristically not showing them Monday.

"It wouldn't be Jack Kemp," he said, "if I didn't tell you that I don't think there's a problem out there that can't be solved."

Bush Picks Kemp for Housing Department

Congressman Vows Bold Programs at Agency Slashed Under Reagan; Homeless Aid Pledged

By CATHLEEN DECKER, Times Staff Writer 2270/110

WASHINGTON—As the Electoral College met to formally vote his ascension to the presidency, Vice President George Bush on Monday tapped a former competitor, Rep. Jack Kemp, as his secretary of housing and urban development.

The outspoken New York congressman promptly vowed to assert his own agenda of aggressive programs in a department that was slashed during the Reagan Administration, when incumbent Secretary Samuel R. Pierce Jr. acceded to cuts in federal housing subsidies.

Bush and Kemp—without placing price tags on their proposals—specifically cited their commitments to tax-break assistance for urban “enterprise zones,” help for the homeless and affordable housing for the needy.

Failed Policies Cited

“They constitute a new ray of hope for those left frustrated by decades of failed urban and housing policies,” Bush declared as he introduced a beaming Kemp.

Bush’s announcement opened a week of furious effort by his transition team members to wrap up the selection of the remaining six Cabinet vacancies before a self-imposed Friday deadline. Aides said that, although Bush hopes to choose his Cabinet members before Christmas, not all of the selections are likely to be announced before then.

Two other appointments, however, are expected to be made this week. Samuel K. Skinner, a Chicago-area transit official and the guru of Bush’s Illinois campaign, is described as certain to be named transportation secretary. Aides said his appointment, delayed until his required FBI background check is completed, could be made as early as today.

And Dr. Louis W. Sullivan, president of Atlanta’s Morehouse School of Medicine, remains the strong front-runner for health and human services secretary, though a final decision was not expected until midweek.

Four other positions—the secretaries of energy, the Interior, veterans’ affairs and labor—remain less certain.

In his first suggestion of the

direction he will take in filling the remaining positions, Bush told reporters Monday that he is “leaning more toward” an energy secretary with expertise in nuclear energy because of the flurry of recent problems involving the nation’s nuclear reactors.

“I have long been in favor of the safe use of nuclear power,” he said, adding that a secretary with knowledge of the nuclear industry “would be extraordinarily helpful.”

In contrast to the energy post, Bush has yet to give even hints about what he is looking for in the other remaining Cabinet spots. Republican Senate conservatives have been pressing for the appointment at Interior of former House GOP leader John J. Rhodes of Arizona or former Wyoming House Speaker Warren A. Morton. Bush aides, however, have begun gathering information on other potential candidates, including Louisiana’s former Republican Gov. David Treen.

The President-elect said last week that he expected to name a black to his Cabinet, which now includes one woman—Trade Representative Carla Anderson Hills—and one Latino—Education Secretary Lauro F. Cavazos. Besides Sullivan, the prospective black appointees include Julius W. Becton Jr., head of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, who is considered a front-runner for secretary of veterans’ affairs.

As Bush worked on his Administration on Monday, Electoral College members met around the country to cast the ballots that—popular vote notwithstanding—formally elect the President. The ballots will not be counted until Jan. 6.

When asked Monday if he believed that he would win, Bush replied: “Yes.”

Although the Bush transition team has steadily added personnel to its top-ranking roster, little progress has been made in attacking the incoming Administration’s budget priorities. Bush made clear Monday.

While laying out thematic approaches to the HUD post, for example, Bush refused to be pinned down on the level of funding he would recommend. When asked specifically if he was “dancing around” the level of spending, he bluntly said, “yes,” then laughed and added: “I wouldn’t have phrased it that way, but that’s exactly what I was doing.”

“You don’t show your determination to solve a problem by simply increasing federal spending,” Bush said. “There are other ways to skin a cat.”

Kemp, however, adopted a more optimistic tone and said he does not expect the department he agreed to head to be “emasculated.”

“I want to wage war on poverty,” he said. “I don’t want to wage war on Congress. I don’t want to wage war on programs that can work. And I don’t believe we’re going to balance the budget by cutting housing.”

In one of his few specific pledges, Bush on Monday renewed his call for full funding of the McKinney Act to aid the homeless, whose plight he called “a national shame.”

Under a program approved by Congress in October, \$1.3 billion was to have been spent over two years for job training, food and shelter programs for the homeless. But of the \$634 million approved for fiscal 1989, only \$378 million was appropriated. It was unclear whether Bush’s full-funding vow would mean retroactive funding for 1989 or referred to full funding for the \$656 million authorized in 1990.

But Bush emphasized that private concerns, cities and state governments will continue to bear the brunt of fiscal responsibility for the homeless. “The private sector and the city governments and state governments are doing most of it,” Bush said. “And that is the way that is going to have to continue.”

The vice president’s selection of Kemp, whose own presidential ambitions collapsed in March after a series of mediocre finishes in the early primaries, added only the second conservative voice to a Bush Cabinet and inner circle dominated by Republican moderates.

For Kemp, who said Monday that he has not ruled out another run for the presidency, the appointment guarantees a potentially substantial national forum after 18 years spent battling for notice in the crowded House of Representatives.

And for Bush, aides said, it places an activist “idea man”—as the President-elect described Kemp on Monday—on his Cabinet and effectively silences for the time being a potentially combative spokesman for the party’s right wing, which has long been skittish about Bush.

Kemp insisted that he will be a “team player,” pressing his opinions on Bush in private but “not out on the street.”

During the campaign, Kemp accused Bush of not fully supporting the Strategic Defense Initiative, the space-based missile system, and said the vice president would raise taxes. Kemp is a strong SDI proponent and was the architect of President Reagan’s early tax cuts.

But on Monday, Kemp vowed that he would not speak on foreign policy and said he believes that Bush will stick to his much-publicized vow not to raise taxes.

“The answer is, I read his lips,” Kemp said.

Staff writer David Lauter contributed to this story.