

JACK KEMP  
ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interview with  
JOANNE MAIN KEMP  
December 10, 2012

Interviewer  
Morton Kondracke

JACK KEMP FOUNDATION  
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Morton Kondracke: This is a Jack Kemp Oral History Project interview with Joanne Kemp, Jack Kemp's wife. Today is December 10, 2012. We're doing this at the Kemp home in Bethesda, Maryland, and I'm Morton Kondracke. What do you think that people ought to know about Jack Kemp that they may not know?

Joanne Kemp: Probably the things that aren't known about him are his personal side, which is very tender, believe it or not. He is from a family of four boys, strong mother, very gentle, kind father, and I think that he has the tendencies of both of them, and you never know how that mix is going to come out. But I think he is very tender. He and his brothers all tear up very easily. Only two brothers are still living. I think that's the personal side of him that probably people didn't see because he was such a competitor and achiever.

Kondracke: What did he tear up about?

Kemp: Mostly family. And if he would see somebody really in great distress and he could see how their life of poverty or whatever it was, that would, if he really got to know the person.

Kondracke: Tell me what you know about his family life, his growing up.

Kemp: His parents both came from out of state to California when they were young, and those were the Depression days. His father attended high school only; his mother was a college graduate, she went to the University of Montana and [University of California] Cal Berkeley. They met as young adults, from two different families—one

from Montana, his mother, and his father from, I think it was South Dakota. Father from a very big family, mother from a smaller family. She had no sisters and only two brothers. So she was very strong, competitive, she was on the basketball team, I think, at Cal. Girls basketball? [laughs] That was a long time ago. His father was a good athlete in high school baseball, and just a kindly man. He was one of 11 children I think it was. In fact, there are pictures downstairs, the whole lineup of them. His father had to work very hard delivering packages. You probably heard that story. And then having a small trucking agency, trucking business. So his father worked so hard that he didn't see his kids much, because he went to work really early to get things loaded on either his motorcycle delivery or then his truck delivery, and didn't get home until sometimes when the kids were in bed. So I think that they were very home-centered. Their mother, although she was strong and competent in other fields—she knew Spanish and she was a social worker—so she was—academically she liked history—she got them interested in all sorts of ideas and was very caring about the under-privileged. So, I think for her day she was sort of ahead of things. And then she had these four boys, and that was just, she knew boys, she didn't really ever have girls. No sisters.

Kondracke: What was your relationship with her like?

Kemp: It was wonderful. I think she was very pleased when Jack and I got married. I don't know, I think he was probably tough to raise. I think he was, I don't know for sure. They never told me, but I know my sister-in-law [Carolyn Kemp] just made me know that they were very happy that we got married. She was good. She knew how to

give good gifts to girls, and she started knitting. I mean here's this strong woman, but she started knitting, and I think she did that going to these games. She went to as many games as she could. She probably got to go to more of the boys' athletic contests than their dad did. But she wasn't totally caught up in it. She'd just knit and be there.

Kondracke: Just to follow up the first question, independent of what people don't know, what do you think Jack's signal contributions, his life and his career are, that people should remember him by?

Kemp: I think first of all when people started knowing about him, was his athletics, so he was tenacious, he was competitive, he was confident even though he was small and drafted way down. At least he was drafted for pro football, but he went to a small school. He was always competitive, so I think that his tenacity and his competitive nature were the first thing that people would have remembered him by. But then as he went on into his pro football career, he was that way for the first few years, and then he started studying other things, and he added something to his football, because he was maniacal about football for the first probably 23 years of his life. However, we had a good college education, and he was interested in music and arts and those kinds of things because his mother exposed them to that.

Kondracke: Actually that's something that people don't really know a lot about Jack Kemp, is his interest in, he played the piano, knew ballet—

Kemp: He loved classical ballet. We had similar interests in those arts, because I had a musical background in my family. And we both had an interest in government and politics and education, we were both education majors, and we had a lot of things in common like that, but the arts side of him was really amazing to me, because I didn't realize how interested he was in that until we got to talking in college, and I realized that he had some interest in those things.

Kondracke: And did that continue into his adulthood? I mean did you have tickets to the Kennedy Center and stuff?

Kemp: Oh, well, we went a lot to that, and in Vail [Colorado] one of the things we loved doing so much was the concerts in the summertime. They had the New York Philharmonic [Orchestra] for 10 days' residency, and the same with the Dallas Symphony, and the Philadelphia Orchestra, and for the first couple of years the Rochester Symphony. So that's three different orchestras resident there for a whole month plus. So we'd go to concerts like two or three times a week because they were such great concerts. Classical, almost always classical. We'd go to the pops also, because we liked musical theater. So yes, it was just a given that we would go to whatever musicals—

Kondracke: Just as long as we're in this strain, did he get popular music too?

Kemp: Oh, yes!

Kondracke: And did he stick with, did he know about rock and the Beatles and all that stuff?

Kemp: He wasn't as into that, you know. The [Francis A.] Frank Sinatra, he and my brother-in-law, the one that introduced us—my sister and he are no longer married—but they were both football players, fraternity brothers, and they viewed themselves as sort of a Frank Sinatra, they could sing those Frank Sinatra songs. In fact my brother-in-law just made a CD [compact disc] of him singing—

Kondracke: Whose name is?

Kemp: [J. Michael] Mike Quint. Yes, he kept up with popular music that we liked, and then Elvis [A. Presley] came in. My son-in-law is just an Elvis fan. That never hit us. The *Ed Sullivan Show* we watched, and so we always knew what was in, he always knew that, and he was such a quick study.

Kondracke: He wasn't into Bruce [F.J.] Springsteen and stuff like that.

Kemp: No, but our kids were. No, neither one of us, we liked the things we already liked and we didn't, by then we were off into politics and raising family, and I feel that I had kind of a gap there, so now the age that I am, I'm trying to think of the names groups. Springsteen, yes, and those other groups that [Jeffrey A.] Jeff [Kemp] liked. The Beatles, we did listen to the Beatles, I remember telling my kids, "I'm not sure that 'Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds' is just an innocent little song," back when they were in elementary school. So I would listen.

Kondracke: Talk about your courtship. When did you first lay eyes on Jack Kemp, and what—

Kemp: Well, probably it was when he was playing football in college, so I just knew of him by watching him play football.

Kondracke: And then?

Kemp: And then, Mike Quint was in a biology class with me, I think it was, and so one day he said, "Jack Kemp would like to go out with you. Can I introduce you?" So, that's how I first met him.

Kondracke: And then what did you do together?

Kemp: Well, we went to a fraternity party then, and then we probably went to, I don't know, maybe a date, and then I asked him to go to a sorority house party in the mountains, skiing. Believe it or not in California they had good skiing in the mountains when there was snow. And [James E.] Jim Mora, he said, "Well, yes. Can you get one of your girlfriends to invite Jim Mora?" So they got a free ski weekend. Then we were dating, off and on.

Kondracke: You were which year, and he was what year?

Kemp: I must have been a sophomore, that must have been the winter of my sophomore year. I don't think we started dating until, like the late fall.

Kondracke: He was a year ahead of you?

Kemp: Yes. So we went out off and on. I went out with other people too. I still have my old calendar somewhere, of who I was having coffee with, or going to a party with or whatever.

Kondracke: So what kind of things did you do together?

Kemp: Well, we'd go in his little MG [sports car] out to Malibu [California] and go to a little restaurant on the ocean, have probably hamburgers or something. One of the things he liked about me was I liked to eat. So he figured if I liked to eat I must have to cook. And I did. And every once in a while on a Sunday evening, by that time this was my junior year, his senior year. He and Mike Quint and Jim Mora and some of those guys lived together in an apartment, so I would go over there and probably make hot fudge sundaes—it was his mother's recipe that she had given me—and then I'd end up cleaning up the kitchen. [laughs] And it didn't bother me that I was doing it.

Kondracke: So what did you discover that you had in common?

Kemp: Just an interest in discussing ideas. I was taking [a] philosophy class that I loved a lot. We had history of civilization class that had art and literature and history and philosophy, everything in it, economics. And so, once in a while we'd talk about those things, but really, we weren't getting deep intellectual anything. It was just that he was interesting to talk to and to be around, and he was a strong personality, and they all had great senses of humor. And I appreciated that, because I know I'm from a Scottish, even-tempered sort of keep-it-in type of background, and he was a lot more outgoing.

Kondracke: Did you ever get pinned or officially go steady or anything like that?

Kemp: No, no, no. Then he graduated and went to play pro football, and was drafted, I don't know, seventeenth or something and went to the, was it Pittsburgh [Steelers]? Detroit, Detroit Lions first. So he was gone that year, and I was sorority president and a senior education major, and going to be doing my student teaching in the last semester of my senior year. So he was gone all that year, but we would talk. In those days there was no email. Long distance telephone you hardly ever did. But about once a week or once every other week he'd call, usually on Sunday nights, because by that time I had a lull, and it was probably good for him too because it was after the game of that weekend. And we would write letters too, probably once every other week, I don't know.

Kondracke: These were love letters?

Kemp: Well, I've got them still. They're, sort of, but we were not really, see, I was dating other people, and whereas I had dated mostly athletes in the first part of my college career, by that senior year I was dating SAEs [Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity] and they were not athletes, they were the intellectuals, and so the class president and some other pre-med guys and they were a whole different group. But my girlfriends, most of them were going out with those guys, where I'd been going out with the jock. And that was fun. I enjoyed that, but I wasn't serious about anybody. But I did have dates all that senior year.

Kondracke: So were you surprised when he proposed to you?

Kemp: Oh, yes. He was Jack. He did it just like he did a lot of other things. We didn't ever talk about it, because he did it, he bought a ring, I guess when he was in Pittsburgh, I mean in Detroit. No, what happened? He was in Detroit and then when [Raymond] Buddy Parker went to Pittsburgh to coach the Steelers he took Jack along. Jack and [Leonard R.] Lenny Dawson went with him. I think that's it. Have you looked in the football stuff?

Kondracke: Yes. I can't keep it straight, whether the [New York] Giants were in there someplace too.

Kemp: Oh, no, that's later.

Kondracke: Okay. You've got it better than I do.

Kemp: He went from Detroit, where he did training camp and rookie year, and I think it was during that season—I can't believe that they would do it in the middle of the season, but maybe they did—Buddy Parker took the job at Pittsburgh and took Jack and Lenny Dawson with him. But anyway, I can't remember that because I wasn't there. And I was paying a little bit of attention to the details of football, but I was also a senior and doing all my stuff, and I didn't have any thought that we were going to get married in any near future. But it was fun to be with him. So then he came home, the season was over, and he came home probably December 20 or something. So we went to movies. I remember we went to see *My Fair Lady* and we probably

went to his parents' house for dinner and whatever, and I would stay overnight there once in a while, because I lived an hour plus away from Los Angeles and his family lived maybe 20 minutes from campus. So I'd see him then. And then we went to a New Year's Eve party at a friend of ours home, and he had told his fraternity brothers and my sister [Judith M. Avery] and Mike, who had introduced us, to leave the room at midnight, because he had bought me an engagement ring and he was going to give it to me and surprise me. So that's what he did, and told everybody, so I was a little bit on the spot, and I felt that way, because I didn't feel like we had talked things through. And it was my winter break, but we went back soon after New Year's, and he was then, he had already signed up, he was going to do his basic training for the Army so that he could get it done right then, in those six months, and then go back to play football. I think it was a six months basic training for Army, so everything was really condensed.

Kondracke: So did you say yes?

Kemp: I didn't say no. [laughs]

Kondracke: What did you say?

Kemp: I told him I loved him, and he loved me. Yes, but it was not what you'd think.

Kondracke: This is very unusual.

Kemp: It's very unusual, but it wasn't unusual in his life.

Kondracke: Why?

Kemp: Just because he was impetuous in certain ways, and yet he kept things like that probably to himself too much, and I did too. I just figured, "Probably he'll go in the Army and then he'll be there for six months, and then I will be out of college and I will need to be teaching school next year, which most of my friends were going to be doing. So I had not thought about the future like that. But in my day people did get married after college, and my roommate was going to, my roommate the year before had already gotten married, and so it wasn't unusual.

Kondracke: On a scale of one to 10 how surprised were you when he proposed?

Kemp: Ten. Yes. I was absolutely stunned, because I had not envisioned having to think about that, for one thing.

Kondracke: And had you envisioned spending your life with him?

Kemp: Well, sort of, but on a scale of one to 10, maybe three. But I had lots of other guys that I had gone out with who really did like me. But I didn't have anybody else that I felt like I did about him. I don't know why that was. I think it was just the conglomeration of who he was.

Kondracke: And so, how long did it take you to get married?

Kemp: Well, we were engaged, and he went off to Fort Ord [California] to do his basic training, and we were going to get married. He said, "I want to get married before I go back to training camp." So that meant July. So I was doing my student teaching, sorority president, getting my last year of college in, I made the best grades I ever made that senior year, and planned a wedding. Had a couple of bridal showers, the whole deal, so it was like my life was totally, totally full, and I didn't even have time to think about it, and we did not have any marriage preparation, per se. I had been taking a class from the physics professor, I think it was, who also taught marriage. I don't know why they had that at Occidental College. And I had already signed up to do that, so I was glad I had done that. I'm really surprised now. I'm sure they don't have anything like that now.

Kondracke: So were you as religious then as you are now?

Kemp: I had very strong faith. I think he liked that about me. He knew I had sound morals. And I liked it about him, that he was interested in spiritual things, because yes, I can remember sitting in the Quad several times at school talking about philosophy and his, I found out more and more. I already knew about his background. But I didn't know what you need to know, really, because it's complicated, and it has metaphysics that's very different than lots of Christian religion.

Kondracke: What did you learn about Christian Science? Because he was raised as a Christian Scientist, right?

Kemp: And he was raised probably equally active as a family as my family. However, Christian Science is so different, that they really by the time he was out of college he had gone to what they call your association meetings, so they really prepare you to answer the questions that you're going to have from conventional orthodox Christians. And he was smart, and I'm average academically, whatever. And he would have probably been a good lawyer if he had that temperament, because he really was bright.

Kondracke: What were his grades like at Oxy [Occidental College]?

Kemp: They were pretty good. He broke his leg one year and it was hard for him to get up to the third floor for his German class, and I think that he probably flunked that. He didn't have great grades, and most of the things he had to take were kinesiology and all the science of being a physical education major. So he did fine academically. His grades were never a question.

Kondracke: After you got married, what were the early years of your marriage like? Were you a football follower, I mean, did you go to camp and go to all the games?

Kemp: Yes, to the extent that anybody could. So after we were married we flew to Pittsburgh, because there was not time to drive our car. He had turned in his little red MG and gotten a station wagon, which is "Wow, this is grownup life." [laughs] But we didn't have time to drive it back before training camp started, so we flew back, and he went to training camp and I got an apartment and sort of set up housekeeping, but he could only come like one day a week. But I got

to know the baseball players that lived within that apartment complex, because it was still baseball season, so the Pittsburgh Pirates, several of them lived there. I was immediately into homemaking and starting to cook, and his parents, I think it was, drove our car back there and stayed a day or two, and then they flew home. That was expensive. His parents were not well traveled. I had never been east when I came back to Pittsburgh for training camp. I had never been out of California, except to Arizona.

Kondracke: Tell me about your own background. Your parents—

Kemp: My grandfather was two years old when his parents came to Santa Barbara from Scotland. I don't know how they got to Santa Barbara as opposed to the East Coast.

Kondracke: This is your paternal or your maternal—

Kemp: My father's father was from the Edinburgh area of Scotland.

Kondracke: And what was his name?

Kemp: Alexander Main, that's my grandfather. And his father's name is Robert, I think. So they came to where University at Santa Barbara is now, Goleta [California], and so all of that area that is now University of California at Santa Barbara was ranches, and my grandfather's father worked on a ranch. They called them 'ranch,' and they were raising walnuts and I don't know whatever else they raised. I remember as a little girl going to my Scottish grandmother's home. She was a very dignified Scottish brogue grandma. Well, she was my

great-grandma. My father [Donovan W. Main]'s family ended up being in Lompoc, California, which is near Camp Cooke, which is now Vandenberg [Air Force Base]. Then the Depression came. That family were all Democrats, and they thought [Franklin D.] Roosevelt was great because of the WPA [Works Progress Administration], is that what it's called? So my grandfather, when the Depression came, they had to get out of the ranching and he worked building the runway at Vandenberg, in cement work. So they were really good at cement. And then my grandfather, by the time I knew him, he was the postmaster in Lompoc, California, which is the town near Vandenberg. It was called Camp Cooke then, and then it became Vandenberg. So my grandfather was a wonderful guy, very outdoorsy. They hunted and they did pit barbeques and all that kind of stuff. It's a rural area. Have you ever been up there near Santa Inez? Well, it's north of Santa Barbara. It's a great part of California. It's still beautiful and unspoiled. So my roots were north of where I grew up. I grew up an hour north of Los Angeles in Ventura County, which is near Santa Barbara. And Jack's family—we met at Occidental so he had grown up right in Los Angeles.

Kondracke: And your mother?

Kemp: My mother [Lois O. Matthews] was from the Los Angeles area near Pasadena. She was an only child. And both my parents went to Occidental College, so that's how they met. And my father was one of six kids, and I think two of them went to college. His brothers were in the [military] service. That family was a large family, and we saw them once in a while, but in those days it was a long drive by car, probably three hours, to get up to where my father's family lived, and

it was about an hour and a half to get to where my mother's family lived. We lived in a small town where my father ended up being superintendent of schools after starting out as a history teacher and coach. And he was a star athlete at Occidental.

Kondracke: What did he play?

Kemp: Well his sports were track and basketball. He was captain of the basketball team. But I think he coached football at this little high school where he was teaching history.

Kondracke: Did you grow up as a jock too?

Kemp: Well, my parents had four children, and the first two of us are girls, and so yes. And we were older, when I was eight years old my next brother was born and then when I was 16 years old my other brother was born, so my sister and I were sort of my father's boys, because he had one sister and all these other brothers so he was more a guys' guy. And my mother was an only child and sort of spoiled. Her family had come from Hagerstown, Maryland, her father had, and her mother had come from Indiana. You know these people who came to California. My mother was born in California as was my father, but their roots were not California.

Kondracke: You went to Occidental because your parents had?

Kemp: That's why I went there really, yes.

Kondracke: And why did Jack go to Occidental?

Kemp: I think he wanted to play football, and his brothers had gone to USC [University of Southern California], and his friend [Robert] Bob Bergdahl was a very good player with him in high school, I think, and he went to UCLA [University of California at Los Angeles]. Jack probably wanted to go to UCLA, I think. Maybe one of his brothers remembers this. But he was too small to play football there, and so Occidental wanted him, and he had the grades to get in. You had to have good grades to get into Occidental. I probably was a legacy. I had good grades but not all A's or anything.

Kondracke: So did you think from the get-go that he would actually make it as a professional football player?

Kemp: Well no, because at the beginning in college, he was just one of the guys who was a P.E. [Physical Education] major, like Jim Mora. And Jim Mora was really obviously smart, because he was on the—they called it honor court—for the school. You know who Jim Mora is?

Kondracke: Yes.

Kemp: And so Jim Mora was probably the one you looked up to as being both brainy and an athlete and moral and everything else. He was a good guy. And Jack was one of the P.E. majors with him, and [Ronald L.] Ron Botchan, who ended up being an N.F.L. [National Football League] official for years and years. You would have watched him as one of the main officials. They were all on the football team along with Mike Quint, who was my class, so there was a whole, since it's such a small school, I mean Occidental probably only had 1500

students. We knew almost everybody, so I would not have thought that he would play pro football. My father loved pro football and we went to both USC games, because my father went to USC grad school; we went to SC games and we'd go to the [then Los Angeles] Rams games or whatever, which was an hour's drive to go from our house, but that was something that we were interested in, so I knew a little bit about pro football.

Kondracke: And here's this guy you're dating who is determined to be a pro football player, and you thought?

Kemp: I didn't know he was determined to be a pro football player. Just like Jeff Kemp never said that he wanted to even play pro football at all. They kept it to themselves.

Kondracke: So what did Jack tell you that he wanted to do with his life?

Kemp: Well, I thought he was going to be a P.E. major and teach P.E. like all of his other friends, and maybe coach. Yes, his football, you didn't know that was open-ended. I mean to be from Occidental and get drafted into the N.F.L. was really—

Kondracke: So he didn't talk about his ambition?

Kemp: No, but we were dating, so I knew that he was, but I didn't talk to him all the time. When they finally did draft him then he said so, and I thought "Oh, that's nice," but we weren't steady or anything. So it was just sort of out there. I didn't think about it that much. I

just assumed he was going to be a coach. And then he did go to graduate school during the off-seasons to get his graduate degree in education, which would just put him in better shape after he kept trying to try to make it for pro football.

Kondracke: So his early football career is kind of dodgy, I mean he gets cut, he gets traded—

Kemp: But that didn't surprise me and it didn't surprise him either. He was not self-reflective. He didn't talk about, "Well, I wonder if I'm going to make this." He just, in his mind, I guess, was determined what he was going to do. The longer you looked at him, you know, yes, he did everything he could to lift weights and to eat right and to practice and to get John Forbotnick [phonetic], who was the weight guy. In those days they didn't do all the stuff they do today. So he and his buddies, I remember once they went skiing, those football players went up to Mammoth [Mountain Ski Area], which was the big ski area, but it took about four hours, five hours to get there. And they had weights in the trunk. And he had made them take all these cans of this beef-heavy soup, and so the car broke down because they had all of Jack's weights in the back. So those are the things—

Kondracke: This is in college?

Kemp: Yes. That was in college. And I just peripherally remember hearing about that.

Kondracke: So what's it like being a football wife?

Kemp: I liked it very much, because I got to know other peers very quickly, like the baseball wives and the football wives that did come there, and then he got traded. The year we were married and living in Pittsburgh he played some, so that was nice. That was only his second year, and he was a punter as well as a quarterback, so he was punting in an exhibition game that I flew out for, because it was in the [Los Angeles Memorial] Coliseum, and I can't remember why I did.

Anyway, I was there. The coach had told him, "Just do your long punts," because he was a good punter, "but don't kick it to Jon [D.] Arnett," and he did, and Jon Arnett set a record and ran from the end zone back for a touchdown. I remember things like that. In the military he would tell me about when he was doing his six months basic while we were engaged, he was on the football team at Fort Ord, and he got to meet some pro football players there. I remember the names of some of them. He knew them; I really didn't.

Kondracke: Did you go to away games as well as home games?

Kemp: No, because we didn't have money to do that. So I would watch the away games on TV and I would go to the home games, like if we were in Pittsburgh I probably did go to an exhibition game or two. Then he was no longer in Pittsburgh. Then he got cut right after that runback by John Arnett, because the football coach said, "Jack, you're going to make a great football player somewhere, but not here." That was his way of cutting him. So then we were married and we said, "Well, okay, we've got to go back and get our stuff," and we did. I think we flew back to Pittsburgh, got our car, and drove it across country, and then we came to his parents' house because we didn't have a place to live, and so there he was contacting different

teams to see if there was anywhere he could go, and the New York Giants picked him up, because they needed a backup to [Charles A.] Conerly [Jr.] and [Donald A.] Heinrich. You're too young to remember.

Kondracke: So then you went back to New York?

Kemp: So then we flew to New York, and that was our honeymoon year. So this was only September of the year, we'd been married the previous July. So a lot happened. Here we were, we'd been in Pittsburgh, went back to California, then flew to New York because we didn't need a car there, and lived at the Concourse Plaza Hotel and practiced at Yankee Stadium, and met all the New York Giants. That's how we ended up buying our first house, because that was the year of the sudden death playoff game with Baltimore and that's the one that [Francis N.] Frank Gifford lobbied for Jack, and other back-benchers or whatever you want to call them—

Kondracke: Taxi squad?

Kemp: Yes, taxi squad, to get a full share. He said these guys make less than we do, and they come to practice every day, and they should have a full share. And of course [Robert L.] Sam Huff didn't like that, so he was on the other side. But Jack always said, "Wow, Frank. You're the one that allowed us to have that \$1250 extra, that's what they got for losing that game. And we put a down payment on the house in California, in Orange County, as soon as we came back after the season. Now that's his second year, our first year of marriage. And I loved being in New York, because we'd just take the subway,

we'd go to shows every once in a while, and go down to Rockefeller Center and go to Toots Shor's [Restaurant], you remember that?

Kondracke: He was with the Giants how long?

Kemp: Just that year, because that year the Giants decided that they didn't need him the next year, so they farmed him out to the Canadian league, and it was Calgary Stampeders that he was to go to, the next football season training camp. So he did, but by that time I was pregnant, and I was due in July, and that's when he had to go. By that time we had bought our first house which was brand new, cost us \$15,500, in Orange County.

Kondracke: You'd saved up that money already?

Kemp: The down payment was \$1250.

Kondracke: I see.

Kemp: No, no, because you see he only made \$5000 a year.

Kondracke: What did he ever make, at the end of his career?

Kemp: I don't know, but he probably, I don't know if it was fifty. I can't remember what it was. But it was nothing compared to what they make now. Even when he was all-A.F.L. [American Football League], or whatever it was.

Kondracke: So he gets cut by the Calgary Stampeders—

Kemp: Because he was going to play, let me see—

Kondracke: There was some rule, wasn't there?

Kemp: Yes. No, no, he did get cut by Calgary because they had [Joseph R.] Joe Kapp, and so he was going to be their starter and they didn't need, you can only have so many Americans. Joe Kapp had gone to Cal, I think. Jeff was a baby, and Jack got cut, he had not seen Jeff yet, because Jeff was born while Jack was still in Calgary. Then he got cut and so he got to see Jeff sooner than he would have otherwise, because I wasn't going to come up there with a baby. I would have stayed with my parents, I can remember that. But he then got picked up by the San Francisco Forty-Niners. So then we drove with Baby Jeff up from L.A. to San Francisco, and then had an apartment there, and stayed the rest of that season in San Francisco. And he got activated at the end of the season because they had a quarterback, he was a famous one, he got hurt, so they activated Jack, and then [De Benneville] Burt Bell, who was the commissioner, said Jack couldn't play because he had played in Canada that year. By this time it was playoff games, I think. So at that point the A.F.L. was starting, and so [Francis W.] Frank Leahy from [the University of] Notre Dame was working for the League, I think, for the new A.F.L., so he talked to Jack about signing with the Chargers, who were going to be located in Los Angeles, and that made sense. We had a house there; it was great. Things fell into place like you just couldn't believe.

Kondracke: Kemp magic.

Kemp: Yes, I think it was. But I just took it for granted.

Kondracke: You're in the stands watching most of the time when he's playing at home.

Kemp: Whenever he's at home, I would watch, and otherwise I would watch on television.

Kondracke: Okay. He got injured so many times. Eleven concussions, torn ligaments, broken bones—

Kemp: No, in pro football he didn't have any broken bones. He had one in college, but I didn't even know him then. He had knee surgery at the end of the '68 or '67 [year seasons], ACL [anterior cruciate ligament], and two of your crucial ligaments. See, he knew kinesthesiology and all that, so he would tell me what it was. That was the worst injury. That's when [Roland O.] Ron McDole fell on him in practice. And after that he still played. He recovered from that.

Kondracke: Then there was the finger.

Kemp: Yes, and that was a minor injury, really, except that [Sidney] Sid Gilman didn't think he'd play again, I think, or at least he knew he wouldn't for a while.

Kondracke: So you're up in the stands and he gets knocked out.

Kemp: You know what? I was not a typical woman, I guess, because I just figured this was his choice of careers, and you could get in a car

accident, or you could whatever, and I just took it as part of the deal. And I did not get anxious. I think that was just sort of my training. I just had a view from the time I was young that God has a plan for everybody's life, and this must be what it is for this month.

Kondracke: So who were your best friends among the football wives?

Kemp: Well, it depends on what year. With the Los Angeles and San Diego Chargers, our relationship with [Flavy Charles] Charlie Flowers started, and he was a great guy. He went to Ole Miss [University of Mississippi], and he ended up going to law school after that. He was a really bright guy. And he was a Southerner, so he and Jack got into lots of really heated arguments, but they both had such great senses of humor and Paul [L.] McGuire was on that team in 1960, '61, '62; Lance [D.] Alworth, but we were couple friends of the [David A. and Mary Lee] Kocoureks for all those years, and the McGuires and the Flowers. [Donald F.] Don Norton of [the University of] Iowa. So there were couples like that that were young like we were, were having their babies, and their wives would have birthday parties for our kids, because we didn't have any families. Nobody had a family in the town except when we were Los Angeles, Jack and I did, so our families would come to some of the games, but basically we lived in Orange County, so our friends were the football couples. That was the San Diego years. Then he got traded from San Diego to Buffalo, and it was—

Kondracke: And how did you take that?

Kemp: Well, I loved it. Because here we had been living on Point Loma with a view, we'd bought a house. We sold our house in Orange County for a gain, which we did every time. That's how we made most of our money. It wasn't that much, but we made a gain, bought a house looking out at the Pacific Ocean on Point Loma. It was gorgeous. Bought a little waterskiing boat. And then he got traded to Buffalo because of that broken finger that he had dislocated, like 12 times. He had to go back in and play with it hurt, because John [W.] Hadl got hurt. After they put John Hadl in he got hurt, and he was hurt worse than Jack was, so they put Jack back in with his dislocated finger, and by the end of the game it was really bad, so they said, "Okay, this is going to have to be set. What shape do you want it?" And he wanted it the shape of a football. So he had the strength in it if it was on a football, but he didn't if it was doing anything else. So that was his way of operating, so then he was fine. The rest of his career he had that dislocated finger. Then we were in Buffalo, and it was a great place, because it was a—

Kondracke: You were perfectly happy to go from San Diego to Buffalo?

Kemp: Well, we kept the house in San Diego looking out over the ocean. It was just a great house. And I had Jennifer [Kemp Andrews] then. She was born during the first season of when I was in Buffalo. We lived in a hotel that season, and I was pregnant with Jennifer, and had Jeff as this little guy. Well, Jeff was three or so. I remember flying back to California. The season wasn't yet over and we were going to go back to our house in San Diego, and Jennifer was a baby. So I had to go through the Chicago airport and change planes, and I

was like eight months pregnant. I was going to go back to California to have the baby because I didn't want to be in Buffalo, so I went to my parents' home, and that was great, I loved it. I stayed for a month, and she was late, so she was not born until just maybe 10 days before Jack was to get home, and he didn't see either of them until, he didn't see Jeff until he was like six weeks old, and he saw Jennifer when she was like 10 days old. It was fine, because we'd been in Buffalo, now we came back home to San Diego. We'd already set up our little home, and we had our Charger friends. They were still Chargers, we weren't, but we were friends. So that's the kind of relationship you had. It's your family. I loved that football life.

Kondracke: His career is now in Buffalo, and you had a home near San Diego. Did you move to Buffalo when he was a [Buffalo] Bill [football player]?

Kemp: The first year, then when we went back that next year when Jennifer was a baby, we drove across country with our car. He was in training camp. We rented a house, a furnished house, and that was great. We then were sort of the seniors, in a way, because a lot of them just had young children, although there were others, like [William L.] Billy Shaw had been with the team already, and [Ernest] Ernie Warlick, I think was with them. So there were some, but we probably had the oldest child, and so we wives got together every week when the men had something at night. We would play bridge. So we really got to know them. It was nice to have that rental house. Then when that season was over, we drove back home. Stopped in Mississippi on the way to see the Flowers, because they lived in Jackson, Mississippi. And then had the off-season in San Diego, and

that might have been the year he worked for [Herbert G.] Herb Klein, I can't remember. So then when it came to be the next football season, closed up the house and went back and rented another house. And then that year they ended up beating the Chargers. It was exciting because they beat the Chargers two years in a row, which was his old team, and so they won the A.F.L. championship. They may have lost it in the division playoffs to Dallas [Texans], I can't remember.

Kondracke: Did you finally buy a house in Buffalo and sort of move there?

Kemp: Not yet. I was getting up to the fact. We still had our California house, but we said, you know, this is, and Jeff was going to be going to kindergarten, so we said you know what? It's about time to sell the California house and buy in Buffalo, which we did. So then that was the beginning of our being in Buffalo all the time.

Kondracke: Let me ask you about some football people, and tell me what you thought of them or what Jack's relationship [was]. Sid Gilman.

Kemp: Yes, he was probably the coach that gave Jack his start, because he went with him with the Los Angeles Chargers, and [Allen] Al Davis was the receivers' coach, so they had a really good coaching staff. They had Al Davis as the receivers' coach, and he, believe it or not, was a real football guy, and so they would talk offense and all that kind of stuff. And [Charles H.] Chuck Noll was the defensive coach. He ended up being the head coach of the Steelers, I think. There was at least one other really good coach. So they had a great staff, and

that was 1960 Chargers, '61 and '62, and it was '62 that Jack got traded.

Kondracke: There was some thought that when Jack broke his finger and all that, and was put on waivers, that somebody tipped off somebody else. Did Jack ever feel that he—

Kemp: Yes. You know everybody in San Diego, he was their big superstar. And all of a sudden they said, "Well, he must not be going to play anymore. It must be that that was so serious that"—or else it was a mistake. Sid probably said it was a mistake that he put him on injured waivers and not thinking anybody would pick him up, because he really was injured. But they did pick him up. I think Denver [Broncos] and Buffalo both wanted him. I think that was hard on him. It wasn't so hard on me because I kept saying, "Well, goodness, look at what's happened so far. But maybe Buffalo will be fine. He can't play here right now. He can't help it that they picked him up, I mean it was totally out of our hands, and I wasn't upset with Sid, although in the back of my mind I thought "I'm sorry that they didn't do whatever they had to do to keep him, because we loved being in San Diego." But so what. You don't play for the convenience of your personal life. His parents lived in Los Angeles too, so he was talking to them, and I think his mother said, "A door doesn't close but that another one opens." And my attitude was that too, so the two of us, "Well, okay, let's figure out where we should go."

Kondracke: Was that his attitude too?

Kemp: Yes. Now in the back of his mind he might have been really, really disappointed, thinking "Do they not have confidence in me?" That kind of thing. But he still had confidence in himself, so then he went back to Buffalo even before I did because Jeff was little, so I stayed home for a little while until I finally did go during the season.

Kondracke: I haven't heard a lot about the [Daryle] Lamonica controversy, but how did he take that? They were being played off against one another, and—

Kemp: Yes, that was the biggest challenge that he'd had, because before, he'd been the taxi squad guy, and now, he had established himself in the A.F.L., and done well in the playoff games and winning the division championship or whatever. So then we go to Buffalo, and they drafted Lamonica, who was a superstar at Notre Dame. So Jack was the older guy by several years. I mean to us it seemed like a lot of years, but it really wasn't. I don't know, Daryle might be four years younger than Jack, maybe five. I don't know. But Jack had seen a lot of experience, and Daryle was used to being a superstar in big-time football. And Buffalo, being a very Catholic town, loved Lamonica because they'd seen him play college ball, and so whenever Jack threw an interception or had a bad game or something there would be calls for Lamonica.

Kondracke: How did Jack take that rivalry?

Kemp: He didn't talk about it. He internalized it, he just made up his mind that he was going to do what he had to do. But I can remember every week knowing that there's pressure. I just thought, "Yes, I

don't know how he does it, so I just have to fix nice dinners and take care of the kids and do life, because I'm not in that." Some of the wives knew every aspect of football, like Paula McDole, oh my goodness. She knew football inside out, she knew the quarterback position and all the defenses and that stuff better than I. But I couldn't concentrate on everything, so I let that go. I figured I'm just here to encourage him to do the best he can.

Kondracke: Tell me about [Orenthal J.] O.J. Simpson. What was O.J. Simpson like back then, at the very end?

Kemp: He came in the last year, maybe the last two years, because I knew his wife Margarite [Whitley Simpson], and I didn't know him real well. We knew [Charlton C.] Cookie Gilchrist, who was there, I think he was there when Jack got there, I think he'd been with the Bills already. So there was already a dynamic on the team, and then Jack got plugged in after a lot of these guys had been there: [Linwood] Wray Carlton, Billy Shaw, a lot of the defense had been there, Ernie Warlick had been there. So. O.J. came, and was younger by a good bit, and he was a superstar right at the beginning. But I think that he came the year after Jack got hurt, so I think that by that time Jack was back, and Daryle might have been traded already by then to Oakland [Raiders]. I think so. I think maybe [George] Kay Stevenson was the backup for Jack. I remember even [Edward J. A.] Eddie Rutkowski had to come in as a backup once Jack got hurt, not badly, but I can't remember. O.J. was well-liked, and was a good guy, and married to Margarite then. Then he ended his career, Jack did, and came and ran for Congress, and O.J. obviously, was still there. And Jack kept up with him because they had talked politics, O.J. came to

his fundraisers, political and everything, and went to Super Bowls, so we got to know Nicole [Brown Simpson] and her father [Louis H. Brown]. So that was just part of our life. They would come to our Super Bowl party a couple times.

Kondracke: So you were utterly shocked when—

Kemp: Well, yes, except that, you know when you read about maybe drugs are involved there somehow, you know domestically things go on that you don't have any idea about. And we liked Margarite. I don't know, oh, I know, they lost their child, a child drowned, and you know, you think you don't know what goes on when that happens to you. So whatever happened, by that time we were here and not in the daily life up there.

Kondracke: Right. Before we leave football, what kind of life lessons do you think Jack took from football?

Kemp: I think that we both liked people and different groups of people. We met Southerners that we'd never met before, but a lot of those players were from the South. And then we also had the race relation thing, and were really good friends with [Charles E.] Charlie McNeill and Cookie and Ernie Warlick and [Thomas F.] Tom Day. There's just a whole lot of blacks that Jack first, because he played with them. I wouldn't have known them. I didn't have any blacks in the town that I grew up in. There was one black at Occidental when we were there. So that was a whole different world for me. It wasn't quite as different for Jack, because he played with them from 1957. He got to know, is it John Henry Johnson? He would give me these

names, and these were black guys, and so then when I first went to Buffalo we went over to Cookie's house for dinner, and his mother was there, and it was culture shock for me. And his mother, Ray Charles came on music or something, and she said, "Ray Charles, he can put his boots under my bed any day." Things like that that I never heard, just normal life. And his mother was an alcoholic, so Cookie was always trying to keep her from going to her cupboard to get her—so I just remember things that I'd never seen in my life, but it was just life, and so it was a real education for me, and the fact that Jack liked, you know he never said bad things about somebody else. He was not a gossip. Also, one lesson that I learned was that I didn't mind his being gone every other weekend during football season, because that was the time I could concentrate on the children. So in a way it was a good life lesson for me, that life is what it is right now, so politics didn't bother me at all, because I was used to liking space, when I didn't have to fix a big dinner. Because he liked meat and potatoes, he liked a solid meal. I think it also helped me and him with the media, because he was used to boos in sports, and he got paid for taking that, so politics was actually kinder. I remember Susan [G.] Baker used to say, "How do you handle this press stuff?" And I said, "You know, it's part of the deal."

Kondracke: Well, Susan Baker must have known how to handle the press. Her husband was always in the press.

Kemp: I know, but this was earlier. Before he got, you know, we became friends probably before that.

Kondracke: [James A.] Jim Baker was not as—

Kemp: He wasn't as big when I first met Susan.

Kondracke: I see.

Kemp: No, it may have been after he got bigger that we were talking about this. I'm not saying she asked me this before. But he had been involved before I knew her, he'd been involved in Texas politics, and he was close to George [H.W.] Bush, but he wasn't a national figure. Nobody said anything about him then. Okay, let's see, helpful. Teamwork, that's what I think. He saw that he was a leader of that team; it wasn't just him.

Kondracke: He had some theories about quarterbacking and leadership. What do you remember him telling you, or the kids, for that matter?

Kemp: He didn't talk about it, but I think in his mind every group needed to have a leader, and so as quarterback, he couldn't say, "I wonder if this would work." He had to know it would work, and he did that in the family too. His word was, yes, that's what we did. Fortunately, talked with me about family things, so he decided what the kids could and couldn't do, and he just told me "Do it."

Kondracke: What do you mean by that?

Kemp: The discipline, or if they stayed out too late, or whatever it was, he would say, "No, this isn't acceptable. But I'm not going to be here this weekend," so he gave me the authority.

Kondracke: Who was the rule-maker in the household?

Kemp: Well, I'd say we both talked about it. We agreed on raising our children a lot more maybe even than our children do on raising theirs. I think we were both pretty firm on there is right and wrong, and I was probably a little bit more flexible than he, because I in my head said "You raise your children to let them go, so you only have them for 18 years until they go to college. And then you've got to be ready to let them go". So I don't think he had thought that through, but I also think that his mother hadn't let him go in certain areas. So I don't know if he figured this all out. I just did say, "You know, we really have got to let them make some of their own minds up." And he didn't like it when the kids would go to church and have grubby, grubby clothes on or if the boys didn't have socks on. And I said, "You know what? That's not a major thing. It's great that they're going to church with us." I had thought about those things; he hadn't, because he was solving the problems of the world, so he listened, and that was no big deal for him. Input there he would take from me, but I knew he was in charge generally.

Kondracke: Your kids sort of think that you were the one who—

Kemp: But that's because I was in the little details; he was in the big picture. And he just knew that he didn't care about these details really, except if he, he'd say so if I wasn't there to say, "You know, that's not really a major battle we need to fight."

Kondracke: We'll get back to that. Tell me about his decision to run for Congress and what you thought about it.

Kemp: That was fine with me. He had been active then, going to Republican Party events in Buffalo, and when we moved from California to Buffalo it was a whole different culture. The political Republicans were very institutionalized, as opposed to what they were like in California.

Kondracke: What do you mean by that?

Kemp: California was sort of more free, and it was the younger people, at least that we got involved with out there, who were basically conservative, but they were young. So the conservatives in the East were more "This is the way it's always been done." They weren't quite as ideological. They were patronage, because they'd had it. In California they had, I don't know, maybe we were just in San Diego, where it was dynamic, you know people like [Peter B.] Pete Wilson were just getting into politics. So when we moved to Buffalo there were a few young, our town had a young mayor, [David C.] Dave Saunders, who's the same age that we were, and his kids were the same age as ours. So Jack met some of the political people because they would get him to come and speak for Lincoln Day dinners or whatever. Over those years we lived in Buffalo, bit by bit we got to know the few Republicans that there were, because it was a Democrat, for the most part, town, except that there were conservatives. John [R.] Pillion had been a Congressman, and he was an old-line conservative, but the younger people went with him because at least he was a Republican.

Kondracke: So Jack did a lot of Republican stuff while he was playing football.

Kemp: Yes. And he got criticized for campaigning for [Barry M.] Goldwater during that campaign. The sports writers—[Phil—JMK] Joe Rinaldo, I remember he said, “Kemp is just like Goldwater. He goes back, back, back, you know, when he’s dropping back to pass,” those kinds of things. And I do remember those, but it didn’t, I just thought, “Oh, that’s funny. I don’t blame Rannallo for saying that, because from where he’s coming from.” And that’s one thing that I told Susan Baker. I said, “You know, you’ve got to look at all of these people who are writing about this. They have a worldview. They went to college. They care about these issues more than the general public, but they also have a starting point. So you have to understand that.”

Kondracke: So Jack is a big integrationist who roomed in training camp with blacks and stuff like that, you went to dinner with blacks, and Barry Goldwater voted against the '64 Civil Rights Act. How did Jack feel about that?

Kemp: Okay, well then I think he had a grid to start with, because in California when he had just started football and was out of college, he would read a lot, and he basically read Goldwater’s things, *How Do You Stand, Sir?*

Kondracke: *Conscience of a Conservative?*

Kemp: Yes, those kinds of things. And he was also pretty firmly anti-Communist. There was an anti-Communist group, I think the guy's last name was [Frederick C.] Schwarz. And Jack didn't talk much about that because I think that that group ended up maybe being some of the John Birch Society people, which he was not, because that was just extreme on that side. So I think that he always wanted to hear everything, and he probably agreed with a lot of the anti-Communism and I don't know what else. In those days social issues weren't a big deal, except for integration. It was, but in California it wasn't a big deal like it was in the East. So that's why when we came here we saw things that, California was pretty like in L.A., they were pretty tolerant and integrated. They didn't have these riots then. The Watts riots came much later.

Kondracke: But did he ever say anything about Barry Goldwater's not voting for the '64 Civil Rights Act?

Kemp: Yes. Very soon he realized nobody's perfect, and Goldwater was of another generation. He didn't see that all clearly. So then Jack started writing a newspaper column sort of like Barry Goldwater's was, only he was the next generation.

Kondracke: Was that *San Diego Union* or—

Kemp: Yes.

Kondracke: That was off season.

Kemp: Yes. *Union* and *Tribune*. Those were both owned by the same people.

Kondracke: If Jack never got tempted by the John Birch Society or the real right-wingers—

Kemp: No, but he did take *Human Events*, and he read all sorts of things, and he went one off season to Foundation for Economic Education, which is in, I don't know, Irvington-on-Hudson in New York? Have you ever heard of them? And so he read their stuff. He was doing that and he wasn't talking to me about it, he just was gathering all of his stuff and keeping it in his little den, wherever it was we were living. He was always putting things into his mind, and I really respected that and I liked it, because it meant that whenever we went anywhere, he would get into really interesting conversations, and that's so much better than the fluff that some people do.

Kondracke: Did you get into that stuff too?

Kemp: Sort of, but peripherally. I didn't argue with him much, although I wanted to keep up enough so that if there was something I disagreed with him I could, and I did every once in a while.

Kondracke: Was there ever any thought that he would run for office in California instead of Buffalo?

Kemp: I don't think so, and I don't know why. It seems strange, because we had a lot more connections in California, but his career was made in Buffalo. When they asked him, when the Republicans

asked him to run for that seat, he had a no-cut contract with the Bills to play at least one more year, and so he didn't have to do that. He wasn't really ready to retire, but I think we both realized, "Wow. You didn't have to run for town council or board of supervisors or anything. You could run for Congress and maybe you'd win." But otherwise he'd have to retire, and I think he was ready to retire then. He was probably 35.

Kondracke: Did he work just one summer for Ronald [W.] Reagan, or more than that?

Kemp: That was one off season from the Bills, and we moved our family out there, and yes, just one year.

Kondracke: Do did you meet Reagan?

Kemp: Oh, yes. We lived in Sacramento, and kids went, two of them went to school in Sacramento, I think, and then Judith [Kemp Nolan] was a baby. And yes, we met the Reagans. They didn't live in the mansion in Sacramento. They lived in a private house. So we went there for a couple of family parties for staff, and met most of the Reagan staffers.

Kondracke: What was the first campaign like?

Kemp: In '70. Well, I was pregnant with [James P.] Jimmy [Kemp]. I don't think I knew that I was pregnant at that time, and we started probably in the off season, I think it was like February of the year of the election, that he had to say yes, he was going to retire, so that

means the Bills had to, they knew he might retire soon anyway. So then we campaigned for, I'm trying to think. I don't think there was a primary. I'm pretty sure there wasn't a primary. So that was another plus. I mean, yes, they said, "Wow, if we can get Jack to run, do." So he did. And that was a really tough race, because [Richard D. "Max"] McCarthy was the guy's last name, and he was a widower with five kids, and one of his ads said, you know, "I'm the dad."

Kondracke: McCarthy was the—

Kemp: No, no, it's not McCarthy. That's Max McCarthy. Max McCarthy was the seat, he had that seat, he was a Democrat, he ran for Senate.

Kondracke: Another Irish name.

Kemp: But the one Jack ran against was Fletcher, no, something like that. [Thomas P. Flaherty] I can't remember his name but I can picture him. He's a tall, good-looking guy and he had five or six kids and he said, "I'm the dad and the mommy too," and that was a really good ad. And he had been the writer of the charter of the county or something, so he was a lawyer, he was well respected, he was Catholic, and by sense he should win that, except that seat had been represented by Pillion, that old guy that I told you was the Republican before Max McCarthy.

Kondracke: But it was a swing district.

Kemp: Yes, and they'd change it sometimes, so that it was a blue collar district except for a couple of really small, conservative suburbs.

Kondracke: And what did you do during that campaign?

Kemp: Oh, I campaigned door to door, we went to coffees, I pushed Jennifer in a stroller, or no, Judith in a stroller, had Jeff and Jennifer, and I'd just go door to door. I'd go to these coffee groups and just speak. Not give major policy speeches, but just talk to people one-to-one, or just talk to a group about how important it was to be involved in politics. I had started with some people in our town, a Republican women's study group, soon after we went there. So I knew people through both playing bridge with them, and the football players. I introduced a lot of our townspeople to the football players' wives, because the football players didn't have enough people in our group to have two tables of bridge, probably. We all got to know each other, and the people who were interested in politics started a Republican women's study group, and we did our own programs. I can't even believe I did it, but I had been in one in San Diego that was sort of like the League of Women Voters, but it was conservative in San Diego, and the people in our town didn't have anything like that. We did have a League of Women Voters in Hamburg, New York, but they were more liberal. So we really got some ideological women, and most of their husbands were too, they were in business. It was like our hometown.

Kondracke: What did you do? What did your women's Republican study group do?

Kemp: We had different topics. The time I had to do the program it was on Why are the churches making so many moral statements about like open housing, and Angela [Y.] Davis, you remember Angela Davis? All those kinds of things. And they said, "What's going on? Why are most of the things the churches are saying so against Republican dogma?" And so we had discussion groups on that, and a friend and I were on— I think it was on education—what's the educational system? What are they teaching in the way of history, that type of thing. I was way over my head, because one of the gals was a Phi Beta Kappa and she'd gone to school in New York at a good school, and so I just sort of enlisted all these other people, and they did a lot of the work. So anyway, I got involved in that.

Kondracke: When did you move to Washington?

Kemp: Right after, he was elected in '70, in November, and then sworn in, and I started looking for houses down here. In those days, people did move here. [William E.] Bill Miller, I think his wife lived here, although I didn't ever get to know her very well. She was really nice, Stephanie Miller. And I didn't know Congressional people, but figured it was a no-brainer. I didn't want to stay in Buffalo and have him be down here all the time. So we came, found a house, I was pregnant with Jimmy. Jimmy was born in June, we moved here in February, and Jack always said he couldn't believe what I did. The kids went to school in Buffalo one day, because Jeff and Jennifer were in school. Judith was probably in kindergarten. And so they went to school in Buffalo, and then we flew down here and they went to school here the next day. But that was just a, you didn't miss school. They had to get started, so—we moved into a new house, so we had to sort

of get it furnished and everything. That worked, but we kept our house in Buffalo for a while, so we had to get new furniture here. It was a lot of work. I don't know how I ever did it.

Kondracke: And how often did you go back to Buffalo?

Kemp: I didn't go back very often, because I had four kids by June. Jimmy was born in June. So I didn't go back very often. He did. He went, I don't know, maybe two times a month. But it was easy. Less than an hour flight and he'd be in Buffalo.

Kondracke: Was it Buffalo's economic distress that got him involved in tax policy? Did he talk about how bad off Buffalo was?

Kemp: We saw Bethlehem Steel [Corporation] losing, losing, losing business and everything, but that, I think that was just starting when he went in '70, and he had labor unions, and he wanted to get as much support from labor unions as he could, and Republicans didn't, very often. But he made friends with a lot of these guys, the building trades union and the docker, you know, lots of those kinds of unions, and he was in the radio broadcasters' union, Jack was, and then he was chairman of the N.F.L. [sic] Players Association, so he was sort of a union leader. But his father had had to deal with the Teamsters, and was anti-union, so he had both sides, so I think he had to think things through, and I don't know, I peripherally heard all this, but we didn't sit down and talk about it.

Kondracke: As Jack is building his career in Washington, you've got four kids, but how did you connect up with Congressional activities?

Kemp: First of all I just got planted here. But I wanted to start them in piano, so I met Joyce Brown, and she was a Congressional wife from Ohio, and she taught piano, lived close to us, and he [Clarence J. "Bud" Brown, Jr.] was in Chowder and Marching, Jack was in Chowder and Marching, so I met the wives of Chowder and Marching, because they got together more often then they do now. [Gerald R.] Jerry Ford was in it, and I got to know, [Melvin R.] Mel Laird, I got to know those people real soon. And I was sort of different, because I was pregnant and had really young children. [William R.] Archer [Jr.] came the same year Jack did, and he had five kids, but theirs were a little bit older than ours. And my Congressional class, [Pierre S. "Pete"] du Pont [IV] was in it, you get to know your Congressional class, both parties, the 92<sup>nd</sup> Club, so you immediately, if you live here—they don't get to do that anymore. But if you live here and if you're personal—I prefer to be around people, so I just immediately got to know the people in the 92<sup>nd</sup> group, and then I went to the Congressional Wives' Prayer Group, which is both parties, sponsored by the Fellowship. I mean it's the National Prayer Breakfast Group now. At that point it was different. They met in the old Fellowship House that was down there near the Shoreham [Hotel], and they met once a month, so I got to know people in both parties who knew that prayer was not political. And so I got to know people there. I got to know [Mark O.] Hatfield's wife [Antoinette Kuzmanich], and [John R.] Dellenback's wife [Mary Jane Dellenback]. That's where I first got to know Grace [C.] Nelson, but that was later. I've always had a mix of friends, and you get to know, and Colleen [O'B.] Nunn was a really good friend, because they lived close to us and had children the same age. Well you know that. That's what you do, you get to know people, and if you have similar

careers that your husband has. And in those days not as many women worked. It's a whole different world now.

Kondracke: Did you ever think about working?

Kemp: Well, I did. I had my teaching credential, and in California I had a job in Glendale, and we were going to come back to California during the off season after we got married, so I would have probably done substitute teaching. But I did have a job offer before I knew for sure that he was getting traded. So then I went to Pittsburgh, I think it was Pittsburgh, and I got a job there, thinking we were going to stay there. But I didn't start, because he got cut. Then I went back to California. And then I had one child and another on the way, so no, that's the closest I ever got to actually having a paid job.

Kondracke: What did you like most and like least about being a Congressional wife?

Kemp: I would say everything I liked. The least I figured I couldn't help, and that was just that you didn't have a normal life. On weekends as a family we didn't do things with other families, because we weren't to be counted on, and when he was home he didn't want to get to know some new neighbors. We did get to know the parents of Jeff's football team, and then Jimmy came along 12 years later. We got to know some of his. But here in Churchill High School district it's not a little community, so we didn't really get to be good friends with other families. At church we had a few of their friends whose families we got to know, but mainly because if I was going away, I needed a place for Jeff to stay so that he could go to his practices, and so it was

sort of a convenience thing. I would say that the downside was that we weren't a normal family, and the people that weren't in politics, that were normal citizens, had their own lives and we weren't a part of that. So that's the downside. And I didn't have the time to get to know new people that I probably would have liked to have. Like, I see my kids now, they know the families of all their children's friends much more than I ever did.

Kondracke: Along the lines that you were mentioning Chowder and Marching, various people have told us that he took a lot of heat from the Old Bulls for stepping out of line, getting into tax policy when it wasn't his business

Kemp: I guess so—

Kondracke: Did he ever bring that home?

Kemp: Well, it took me a while to get to know all the inside workings, and the Ways and Means Committee would have been one that he would have liked to have been on, I guess, but I think he, knowing that he wasn't marching to anybody else's drummer, I don't think it bothered him that he was into that policy and that wasn't his field. I think he just figured, and I figured, I didn't think, "Oh, those guys are criticizing him because that's not his field." Nobody talked to me about that. And he didn't really, although I knew that some of the Old Bulls or whatever you call them—we were friendly with the [Robert H. "Bob"] Michels, and even Bill Archer, of course, he was Ways and Means. I'm sure he, and [Richard T.] Dick Schulze, who was Ways and Means, and here was Jack out there—

Kondracke: Supposedly somebody told us that he'd taken a lot of heat from Mel Laird in particular.

Kemp: He may have, but I don't even know about that. Mel Laird lived over here. I knew Mel and Barbara [Masters]. Now he was mostly military, right?

Kondracke: Yes, but he was senior, and I guess-

Kemp: Well Jack was on Defense Appropriations [subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations], so I don't know what positions he took there that went against Mel Laird. He never said anything about that.

Kondracke: How much did Jack bring home political questions and tactics and strategies?

Kemp: I would say he didn't do it all the time at all. He would come home after being there all day and he really didn't. And we had dinner together as a family, even if it was 8:30 when we ate, because the kids, I'd just give them cereal earlier. So we did have dinner together, but it was mostly on their terms, things that they could understand. If I had read something and had a question, then he'd really like to talk about it. But I would say that wasn't a major thing. I didn't hear a lot of those things. I think I was aware that he was, they might have thought that he had a huge ego because he did. [laughs]

Kondracke: Did he?

Kemp: Well, yes.

Kondracke: What does that mean?

Kemp: Well, in their meetings and everything, I don't think he probably ever took a back seat. He was president of the freshman class, and I don't know if that was just the Republicans or the whole 92<sup>nd</sup>. I don't know what that was, but he was president of the Republicans, so I think he assumed a leadership position, and he probably always made his—and he was new into politics. I think he was insecure, because he knew sports, but what did he know? He didn't have a law degree, he'd never had a political office, and most of the guys elected had, so he had to have a little inferiority there. But he made up for it with his assertiveness, I think. And I knew that they must have some jealousies.

Kondracke: About?

Kemp: About his taking the limelight on some of these issues. But then he got elected to be Conference chairman, and that, I think, was very gratifying to him and to me too.

Kondracke: Where does his persistence and his positive attitude toward life come from?

Kemp: I think it's basically the Christian Science, it's also not just Christian Science, it's the power of positive thinking.

Kondracke: Did he read that book [*The Power of Positive Thinking* by Norman Vincent Peale]?

Kemp: Probably. He did. I think we met him once, yes, I think so. And it fit right in with Christian Science.

Kondracke: How does that follow? What is there in Christian Science that is all about positive thinking?

Kemp: Well, because they deny that there's anything other than good in the world, because they say a good God could not allow evil, so it's in your thinking that evil is there. They're very spiritually minded. There is no life, truth or substance in matter. All is infinite mind and its infinite manifestation. So to overcome sickness or evil or whatever appears to be negative, think on the good things. Well, the Bible says, if you take all the things that say that in the Bible, it's true. But the Bible also says we live in a world that is not as God intended and evil is real. So it's two ways of looking at life, and if you concentrate on the positive it's a good thing, because just a little bit more concentration on the positive than the negative allows you, if you have faith in God and that God is working it out, even though it looks bad, that takes you through a lot.

Kondracke: So is that Christian Science or is that—

Kemp: It's a little bit of, Christianity has it too, but it's based on Jesus being God, so it's—

Kondracke: Well, real Christianity knows that there's evil in the world, and sin, and I take it that Christian Science doesn't.

Kemp: No, and you can't make a dogmatic statement about it, you do not get into arguments about it, because it's just different ways of seeing. They say that Jesus was the one who showed the way to right thinking, and they point to Jesus as the one who showed the way, not as being God and the one who came to give Himself, because Jesus and God are one, and God could not tolerate sin, and mankind chose to go the wrong way.

Kondracke: Did you and Jack have theological discussions?

Kemp: Yes, we did. But it ended up that you don't really argue about it. At least for me. I mean, I did for a while, but—if we really got into it, he'd argue circles around me. Not any more, because I had to think about it.

Kondracke: Did you two ever argue about anything?

Kemp: Yes, we did. I would get upset. I remember one time, because in tennis we could not play mixed doubles tennis together. I could play with the other guy. But I was probably as good or better for my age group and everything than he was for his, given that he's a great athlete. Tennis was, he never had lessons. But if I was his partner, he would blame me for every shot, and I remember one time I thought, "Well I'm just not going to enter into this, but I'm also not going to talk to him for a couple days about anything other than just life in general."

Kondracke: Because you got mad at him?

Kemp: Yes.

Kondracke: The way he acted on the court?

Kemp: Yes. Like you'd treat a child, in a way. You don't reprimand him. He's your husband and he has his way.

Kondracke: But he reprimanded you.

Kemp: Yes, in front of other people.

Kondracke: Did he do that often?

Kemp: Well, we didn't play mixed doubles often, but yes, I can remember a couple couples that we played with that I thought, "This is not acceptable."

Kondracke: Supposedly he would bark at people, and—

Kemp: I guess he did with his staff

Kondracke: And they never seemed to take offense at it permanently. He apparently didn't.

Kemp: He didn't either. He was less sensitive about that, probably than anybody, but yes, he barked at me. The older our children got,

the more it bothered them. Pretty soon I just figured that was him, and he'd be over it in a minute. I could just go to the other room and not do it.

Kondracke: What did he bark about?

Kemp: I don't know. He liked to be waited upon, and I can't remember. Whatever he was thinking about at the time, if somebody didn't agree or wasn't on the same wavelength, he would dismiss you unless you wanted to argue. He'd be happy if you wanted to argue because he knew he could win. [laughs]

Kondracke: He has this great focus on what he wants to get done, and he's got these very positive attitudes, and yet people say that there were a lot of ways in which he was not disciplined because of schedules. He was always late for things, he talked—

Kemp: Over-talked.

Kondracke: Yes, he over-talked. So how do you mesh the intense focus with the indiscipline?

Kemp: I just look at it as he—it was sort of the Kemp magic. He could have a sort of disorganized office and operation, but somehow things got done that were important. To me it was amazing how many different groups of people and individuals, people who talked ideas, the philosophers, the political, the media types that he had a rapport with that I think lots of politicians didn't, and it was just natural to him. He didn't try to do that, it was just part of who he was. I just

looked on those things as well that's who he is. He has an incredibly messy office, but somehow when he wants an article, he knows where to go to get it, and he has things up here in his brain that he's handling and he's pulling the strings of all of them and nobody but him knows what they are.

Kondracke: Somebody described his operation as he was a scrambling quarterback all the time.

Kemp: I think that's probably true. He knew the lay of the land, and I think he probably knew he didn't know it perfectly and he sort of put up with whatever it was he didn't get right and then just went on. He didn't focus on anything that was behind, he just moved ahead.

Kondracke: Did he keep a messy house? Did you have to pick up after him?

Kemp: Yes, and I tried, you know, just not doing it for a week or so, but that didn't work.

Kondracke: So what would he leave lying around?

Kemp: Whatever it was. He just didn't straighten things up. He didn't put his things away.

Kondracke: He was a legendary reader. When did he do all his reading?

Kemp: He read the same time he was watching television. He would always have several things going on. I can't do that, but he had an ability to multitask long ago, I guess. Like his plane trips. He'd constantly read, but he'd also be there to have conversations with people.

Kondracke: Did he ever do any recreational reading? Read novels, or just history?

Kemp: I'd say most of what he read that was light would be biographies of real people. No, I don't think he read many novels.

Kondracke: Did he have any insecurity about being a jock or not being taken seriously?

Kemp: Yes, especially after he came here. I think he took a back seat. Although he was elected chairman of that freshman class, I think he realized, "Wow, here I am with lawyers and legislators and idea people, and I'm a P.E. major, who played pro football." And so his strong point was yes, he had a public name already when he came here. But I think he was humble about that, and recognized that this is a new world, and so he was insecure, he was insecure about that. So I think that's what made him tenacious about reading and studying and getting up to speed on, he wasn't interested in the inner workings of Congress. Remember that guy from Maryland? He was in his class, I think, who was an expert in the way the House works, that little short guy? He was a Republican. [Robert E. Bauman] There was some little scandal in his life and I can't remember now what it was, but you'd know who it was because he was the inner workings of

Congress, and Jack didn't really think about that. Or the leadership things. [Newton L.] Newt [Gingrich] was always focused on that because he'd studied political science, hadn't he? And history. And Jack didn't, so he just learned government on the real path, he was there. But he didn't care about that.

Kondracke: How did he take being sort of lampooned as Bob Forehead? Do you remember that cartoon?

Kemp: Yes. Well, he was vain about his hair. When I first met him his head was shaved, because he was an athlete, and my mother thought, "Oh, my goodness. I wonder what he looks like with hair." But it was like this long. You could see his scalp. Then he let his hair grow, and he had very thick, great hair, but it was kind of unruly, and he had to blow dry it, and those were the days when you didn't even do that, but he had to do that. He couldn't just play tennis, wash his hair and then go out. So that was just sort of a given. I don't know that I ever thought about what men did with their hair, but my father was prematurely bald, and so were my brothers, so anyway, that's just what he did, and he didn't ever say anything about those caricatures. But then he made fun of himself like that joke that [Robert J.] Bob Dole said, about Jack's hair. Do you remember that? Somebody fell into it. It was like it was sprayed or whatever, and it was sprayed. But he didn't act terribly sensitive about it, and I could understand that because he really did have to spend time making his hair look the way it did.

Kondracke: So you said he was vain. In what way was he vain?

Kemp: He cared what he looked like. I think he made himself somehow look a little better than maybe he would have if he hadn't, you know, he had a rugged look about him, but—

Kondracke: Did he buy—he must have bought custom clothes, right?

Kemp: No.

Kondracke: Or did he buy them off the rack?

Kemp: Mostly he bought them off the rack. The couple trips he made overseas he had a suit or two or whatever made in Hong Kong. They didn't ever look great on him, so he ended up not wearing those. No, he bought at Joseph Bank and Brooks Brothers and whatever, Nordstrom. No, he did not have tailor-made. He had a few shirts for a while made, but they weren't any better. He just had a big neck, he had an athlete's neck, and he had a long back and long arms.

Kondracke: Did you like tie pins?

Kemp: [laughs] I don't know when he started wearing those, but he wore them longer than most people.

Kondracke: Everybody, I guess, knows that [Abraham] Lincoln and [Winston] Churchill were his heroes. Were there any other particular heroes that he had?

Kemp: Well, [William] Wilberforce. He liked that movie, "*Man for All Seasons*." Who was that? [Sir] Thomas More. He read about

Napoleon and all the big leaders. He read Russian history. History he really liked, and had enough of a background in college that he could put all of that into that grid. His brothers liked history, mainly the two older ones. So he just had a great love for the classics. He bought our kids the [William J.] Will and [Chaya K.] Ariel Durant—what's it called? *The History [Story] of Civilization?* Something like that. And he would read those things. He would get that out, he and Charlie Flowers, during the off seasons, would talk about the history that they were reading. He just had a love for real things, real events.

Kondracke: Tell me about Jude [T.] Wanniski.

Kemp: I don't know when he first met Jude, but it was when he was in Congress. It was probably in the late seventies.

Kondracke: It was 1976 that they met. And supposedly Jude came to his office and they talked all day, and then he came here and you cooked him dinner, and then they talked deep into the night.

Kemp: I did that a lot. I did that a lot. I didn't realize how complex Jude was, and probably I didn't realize how complex Jack was. They had a falling out eventually, and I don't know exactly what that was about. Jude drank a lot, and I think he sometimes would call late at night, not real late, but. If Jack didn't do what he thought he should do, and a lot of what he said, you know, *The Way the Word Works* had some good things to say. But I'm not an economics person. About the biggest thing I said was "I think they ought to call it incentive-oriented economics and not supply-side." Why is it 'supply'? Do you know?

Kondracke: It's supply because the Keynesians all think there's not enough demand, and you have to pump up demand, put money in people's hands.

Kemp: And Jack said, "Supply it first and people will want it."

Kondracke: Exactly. And there'll be enough.

Kemp: Okay. I just thought that that was one step beyond.

Kondracke: Who did you tell that it ought to be called incentive economics?

Kemp: Jack. Because a lot of the things that he did that he talked about, I said, "You know what? I have to make too many mental gymnastics to think about that. Say it as simply as you can, because otherwise people are going to turn you off." That's about the only thing I helped with, but I also went over some of his speeches. He liked me to do that. He said, "Do you have time to do this?" And I would just read over it and make little marks.

Kondracke: And he took your advice on speeches?

Kemp: I would say yes, so that I would do it the next time because I thought, "Yes, he really does pay attention to that if I take the time to do it." But he had all these people at the office too who were good, John [D.] Mueller, and you know, I didn't want to be usurping anything that they did. But a big picture thing like that, like incentive

economics, I don't know if he ever told them, "How can we figure out a way to say it easier?" And I think they decided they couldn't. But do you think the general public ever knew what supply-side economics was?

Kondracke: I don't, actually. I mean I still don't think they do.

Kemp: I don't either.

Kondracke: But I think incentive economics would have been a good title for it. Did you ever talk to Jude about that? Because Jude was the person who—

Kemp: Coined that?

Kondracke: Yes.

Kemp: No. I wouldn't. I listened to them and I would say something sometimes, and also with [Arthur B.] Art Laffer. But I mean that is out of my arena. I did a term paper on the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism, and so I had thought that through a little bit, but I mean I'm not an intellectual. I just get the great big picture.

Kondracke: In 1980, Jude and Irving Kristol thought that Jack ought to run for president. And I guess [Francis J.] Frank Shakespeare and a bunch of other people actually did polls and stuff like that. Did Jack ever—

Kemp: And what did Frank Shakespeare come up with? That he shouldn't?

Kondracke: No, no. I think as I understand it, they thought Jack ought to run. They actually took polls and stuff like that. I just wonder whether Jack ever thought about running against [Ronald W.] Reagan in 1980.

Kemp: No, I don't think so. And it wasn't, remember, he didn't run against [Jacob K.] Javits either.

Kondracke: Why didn't he run against Javits?

Kemp: I think that he respected his experience and his being senior, and knowing New York, all those things, better than Jack did. He felt more comfortable with the national race than he would have that, I think.

Kondracke: Now, supposedly if Javits had stepped down—Javits had Lou Gehrig's disease, and the question was—

Kemp: Or [Alfonse M. "Al"] D'Amato?

Kondracke: Yes, that's the year that D'Amato ran against Javits. If Javits—

Kemp: Yes, if Javits had stepped down, even though that state of New York wasn't really Jack's, I think he saw things in a bigger picture than having to do what New Yorkers wanted. That's just my view. I just

know that it wasn't top on his priority list to be Senator or governor of New York, but had it dropped in his lap like Congress did, he would have said yes. At least I would have said, "Well, that is here for you." You know, he wasn't waiting for what he could do next to further his career, I don't think. I think that he wanted to further the ideas he believed in and I think he really wasn't the perfect candidate. He was pretty realistic.

Kondracke: Were you there when Arthur Laffer, this was out in California, Arthur Laffer wanted Jack to go tell Reagan "Look, I'm going to run against you, but I'm really at the convention going to throw my delegates to you," but this was all Laffer's idea to get Jack to be vice president.

Kemp: Now I don't know about that, because I know that we went out there and we met with Reagan and lunch, just Jack and Reagan and me, and it could be that that was sort of at that time, but I didn't ever think that he was running. I remember knowing that maybe that was a remote possibility, but because of his respect for Reagan, and knowing that he was young, who would he think he would be to do that? I don't think he ever considered that. But I think he realized that there were people like Laffer and Wanniski, and you know, people who push the guy you think you've got some say with, to do things. I think he was wise enough to take his own counsel on that. But he didn't talk to me about it. But I remember that lunch, and that's the one I think where he talked to Reagan about tax rates needing to be lower. And Reagan understood the concept more than most politicians did.

Kondracke: That's what the lunch was about?

Kemp: Yes. I think that was what it was about. I remember the table where we were sitting. But I also remember that I got to events like that having lived my life, and so here I am trying to get up to speed and just listen, mostly.

Kondracke: What do you remember about the Detroit convention, 1980 convention, that was?

Kemp: I remember that there was talk about his being a possible vice presidential nominee, but it was sort of on the back burner, but I knew he was a national leader by that time. And I remember Jimmy Kemp going with us to Ralph [C.] Wilson [Jr.]'s house, where they were having a Republican fundraiser or something, I can't remember what it was. And we were late getting there, and so Jimmy greeted all the people who were getting off the bus to go to Ralph Wilson's estate. People still remember that.

Kondracke: This was in Buffalo?

Kemp: No, it was in Detroit. Wasn't the convention in Detroit?

Kondracke: Yes, yes it was. I didn't realize that Ralph Wilson had an estate in Detroit.

Kemp: Yes, that's where he's from. He's from Detroit. That's where he made his money. He was always an absentee owner of the Bills.

Kondracke: I see.

Kemp: We water skied there. We stayed there, we may have stayed overnight at his place there. And I don't remember where the other kids were. Jeff graduated from Dartmouth in '81, so he may not have been there for that convention, but Jimmy was, because he was still at home.

Kondracke: Do you remember anything about Jack's speech?

Kemp: I remember Frank Shakespeare helping him with it. Probably Jude. But I don't know if Jude was actually there. At that point I think I was thinking, "I don't know about Jude. He's kind of a"—so he wasn't front and center. With Jack he was. Jack would talk to him a lot. And [Robert D.S.] Bob Novak, and Art Laffer. And did Art Laffer and Jude get along?

Kondracke: They did until they didn't.

Kemp: Uh huh. Sort of like Jack. But Jack always got along with Art pretty well. Art was wild and crazy. I remember him sitting on the floor in our dining room, the kids were there, and he's loony. But I figure oh, well, a lot of economists are.

Kondracke: What other anecdotes do you remember about either Jude or Laffer or any of those people?

Kemp: Laffer we saw occasionally. We went to his house in California; he would come here periodically. He did that napkin thing.

Jack had a lot of people in his life like that that he saw at work, and then he carried it over, so I heard about the Laffer curve napkin thing and everything but I wasn't there for that.

Kondracke: Were you here when Jude Wanniski talked I guess it was Judith into changing her major in college?

Kemp: I think I was. Yes, I think so. She was a French feminist for a while. [laughter] I talked her out of that.

Kondracke: You talked her out of that.

Kemp: No, I listened. I listened. Let her do her whole thing, and I just gave a few little things and she realized that was way out there.

Kondracke: [David M.] Dave Smick told me a story about the Detroit convention, that Jack almost didn't get to make his speech because some previous speaker went on and on and on. And that [Michael K.] Mike Deaver said, "Cut Jack out; put [Henry A.] Kissinger on." And there was somebody named Dan Evans, a Congressman, Daniel Evans from Maryland or—

Kemp: Yes, from Maryland. It's not Dan Evans. Okay, it will come to me, but what about it?

Kondracke: He was in charge of the platform and put Jack on so Jack could make his speech. Did you know anything about that?

Kemp: No. I have a slight memory of that, but hardly any. But I don't think it's—

Kondracke: Tom Evans [Thomas B. Evans, Jr. R-Del].

Kemp: Yes, it might be Tom. I remember his wife. But I didn't know that he had that much power in the party, whatever it was, the convention, that must have been what it was. He was the convention leader.

Kondracke: Yes. There was a demonstration for Jack to be vice president—

Kemp: Yes.

Kondracke: after he gave his speech.

Kemp: Yes, I think I did know about that, but see that was all very hush-hush. Dave Smick would know about that, and probably [J. David] Dave Hoppe. Was Dave Hoppe there then? No, I guess he didn't work for him yet. Dave Hoppe was a great A.A. [Administrative Assistant aka Chief of Staff] for Jack. And Dave Smick was too, in their own different ways. Dave Smick was more political.

Kondracke: And why was Dave Hoppe a great A.A.?

Kemp: He was calm, and he wasn't having to be out there. He just did his work, he understood Jack. I think that he was good.

Kondracke: So why do all of your kids' first names start with J?

Kemp: Well, you started with Jack and me. And Jeff, I don't know, we hardly even thought about it but he was Jeffrey Allan, and Allan was named after one of the New York Giants who was a really good friend of ours, still is. Allan Barry. So we had Joanne, Jack and Jeff. And then we thought well, let's do a girl J, so Jennifer. And then Judith, my sister's name is Judith, so we named her after my sister, and then Jimmy was the tail end, and we thought, well, we're not going to name him something that doesn't start with J, so Jack's joke was, well, we figured we'd better name Jimmy "Jesus", so it ended up with James.

Kondracke: Why do your girls not have middle names?

Kemp: I didn't have a middle name, and so I didn't think that you need to have it, and I suppose the girls told you, especially Jennifer didn't like it that she didn't have a monogram. Did she tell you that? She made up her middle name to be Lee, so she could be JLK?

Kondracke: I didn't know. She didn't tell me that. But she did say that the boys had—

Kemp: Cars and middle names.

Kondracke: Yes. How come?

Kemp: Well, the girls didn't have middle names because I didn't, and my family said, "You know what? You'll have a middle name if you get

married.” And in those days you assumed you would. And my mother did not like her own middle name, so she didn’t care if I had a middle name. And some people might have thought I was Jo Ann Main. They knew they wanted to have two syllables for my first name because my last name was Main. And they spelled it J-o-a-n, and so on my birth certificate it’s J-o-a-n, but they pronounced it Joanne, and when they realized that nobody pronounced it that way, they changed it just in signing my name J-o-a-n-n-e. But Jack always joked and said, “Well, we’re not really married, because your birth certificate says Joan.”

Kondracke: Why didn’t the girls get cars?

Kemp: In high school the boys probably needed it more because they had football practice, and it saved me. And Jack’s family had given cars to their kids, even though his father could hardly afford it, but I mean they did, they all had cars. And in L.A. they probably needed it more. I didn’t ever have a car that was mine. The first car I ever had was when I was married to Jack. But I don’t know. I didn’t think about them needing a car, and I guess Jack didn’t either, until they were, I guess, in college. No, not in college. It was out of college, as soon as they got out of college they needed to have a car for whatever, so he did buy them a car then.

Kondracke: So were there different rules for girls and boys? Were boys preferred in this house?

Kemp: Well they think so, but I think it’s mostly a joke. But Jack didn’t go—you know, Jennifer’s tennis matches were like 3:30 in the afternoon. He wasn’t going to come from Capitol Hill out here; he

couldn't, because Congress was in session. And the games for the boys were on weekends, and he did make sacrifices.

Kondracke: Was that Friday nights?

Kemp: Mostly Friday nights for the boys. And they still are now in high school, boys. Judith had ballet recitals, and he went to a few of her ballet recitals and piano recitals. But they were not always convenient for him, so he didn't—basically I never wanted them to think that he didn't pay attention to them, because he did all that he could. So I saw otherwise always being critical, and the kids get that, and I instinctively knew that they needed to see all the good things about what he brought, and they did. Because I really didn't resent the times—

Kondracke: Did you make up for it? You went to all the recitals?

Kemp: Yes.

Kondracke: And you went to the football games too?

Kemp: Oh, yes. And baseball games and basketball games. Soccer games.

Kondracke: Your grandchildren.

Kemp: Oh, yes.

Kondracke: What was your division of labor as parents?

Kemp: He gave me the authority to take care of the home and whatever needed to be done here, and I'd give his office the schedule of games, and he really made a point. Well, Jerry Ford told him early when he came here, he said, "Jack, I regret that I didn't go to all of my sons' games." And he said, "Hardly any of them, really." Because by that time Gerry was a national figure and was going all over, but so was Jack. And so he just made that clear. And then [Robert C.] Bob Wilson and [Paul N.] Pete McCloskey [Jr.] told Jack and me both when he first came here, "Make sure that you pay attention to your family and your home and your marriage." Bob Wilson said, and he and his wife did get a divorce, but later, after he'd been here a long time, because he said "She never came to my committee meetings," and he wished that she'd known what was going on on the Hill. And Pete McCloskey just said, I think maybe he got a divorce too, I can't remember. Did you know him?

Kondracke: Vaguely.

Kemp: They both made an impression on both Jack and me, pay attention to the home base.

Kondracke: So did you go to committee meetings?

Kemp: No. If they would address a major something, just go once in a while.

Kondracke: If he was making a floor speech would you go?

Kemp: No, not when it was just a normal session. But I at least knew what committees he was on, and the issues that he was up against, so that's about all I could. I mean I went down a lot for wives' events, both the Federal Forum and the Republican Congressional Wives, and then the Congressional Club. I did my international, I did a lot of things that were just activities, but they were all things I liked.

Kondracke: Were your boys as sports crazy as Jack was when he was a kid?

Kemp: Jack was maniacal, first about baseball when he was little. He knew every statistic and all that. He lived in his own world, according to some of his family. He had his charts and all this stuff. He loved baseball and he went to a lot of the games because his uncle-in-law was a part owner of the Hollywood Stars baseball team, so he went to baseball games and did pro baseball and pro football. [Robert S.] Bob Waterfield was his big hero. The college football people were his heroes. So he was maniacal about that, and our kids really weren't, although reading the sports pages was what the boys did do sort of regularly. They weren't as maniacal about it as Jack was, but Jeff wanted to play pro more than we knew, but I think Jack having played, I think he felt pressure too. But he didn't feel so much pressure that he didn't want to go into it himself.

Kondracke: Did Jack put any pressure on him?

Kemp: No, he was very, very good. His family didn't put any pressure on him. In fact, they probably wished he wouldn't be as maniacal about sports. So he really was good with the boys. I don't think he

put pressure on them. I don't know what they say, if they felt it. Once they got into it he got more involved. Once he realized that Jeff really did want to play pro, he wanted to encourage it and he would talk to him sometimes about how he handled a loss and that kind of thing.

Kondracke: Do you remember what he said about how to handle a loss?

Kemp: Oh, I know he and Jeff had letters back and forth that only recently did Jeff tell me about. I think he probably wrote about that in some of those letters.

Kondracke: So Jack is very competitive, he loves to win and all that. Did he create any sense of competitiveness among the kids or anything like that, or were they—

Kemp: They were very competitive. I mean Jeff, I remember playing tennis with Jeff when he was in junior high, and he just got furious if I would beat him. And I remember at times saying, "Jeff, I can't play with you anymore because that's just not acceptable to act that way," so we didn't. And I remember that very clearly. And I also remember with Jimmy, when he had to decide whether to go back for a fifth year of football because he had his tuition, he was a redshirt, so his class would have graduated. He had to decide if he wanted to do another year of football in order to go on and have a possibility of playing pro. And so he didn't know what to do, and Jack didn't want to over-pressure him, and so Jack said, I think he said, "Do whatever you feel is right for you to do." So Jimmy and I went to lunch, which didn't

happen always. I'd say, "Let's go out to lunch." I had written down the plusses and minuses, pros and cons, and I asked him to do that too, and then we'd talk about it, and so I remember doing that. And I did it as a Christian, who believed there was a plan for his life and that he had to look at the whole picture. I think I thought he probably should go back and play another year, because he'd always wonder if he could have. So he did do that, and he did go on and play pro for seven years.

Kondracke: Jack used to say, "Be a leader" to the kids. What did that mean?

Kemp: I think it was just general. He wanted them to know that they had to decide what was right and what was being assertive on your own behalf, and do what's right. And you know his business cards that were big? He'd write little notes on them.

Kondracke: Did he ever talk about what leadership meant, or how to be a leader?

Kemp: He would talk about it in spiritual terms. He would say, "You are in your right place. Wherever you are is where God intends you to be." He would spiritualize the same things that agreed with what we heard when we went to church. He would always lift out the positives, and if it was emphasis on sin or that, he just kind of dismissed that.

Kondracke: If the sermon was about sin, he wouldn't take that in or—

Kemp: Well, at the church that we go to it was never just about that. It was always about sin plus.

Kondracke: Redemption.

Kemp: Yes. So there was enough that was wonderful, that he would focus on that.

Kondracke: Whatever happened if the kids did something wrong? How did that get handled?

Kemp: Well one time Jennifer really was defying us, and lied to us about staying at the beach at somebody's house. You know how the kids go to Rehoboth [Delaware]. And we found out that she told us a lie that she was staying at somebody's house, and actually they stayed on the beach that night. So we both said, "That's not acceptable," so we talked to her, and there was a thing that we had gone to called The Institute in Basic Youth Conflicts. I don't know why we had gone, but we knew we had teenagers, and the culture then was a little different than it had been when we grew up. Today I suppose parents are doing the same thing, only in a different arena. But Jack and I had gone to that. I don't know why we had, but it was down at, I think it was at Constitution Hall. Knew that that was a good thing, but you couldn't make your children do that. But we had seen what it was like, and so we made Jennifer go to Institute in Basic Youth Conflicts, which was a whole weekend seminar, and we didn't go with her. She just had to go, that was her consequence for lying to us. And then she did another thing, a broken car window, I can't remember what that was, and so we just said, "You need to tell the truth, you need to honor

your parents and our rules.” So she did that. Jack and I were very much in agreement on whatever we came up with, and they went to the Youth Group at our church, and that was a good thing for them. Jimmy had mentors, as did Jeff, of men, youth leaders. It was very good, and Jack liked that. I think that he agreed with me and they had pretty good guidance. Then when they went off to college they did their own thing, almost all of them, except for Jimmy.

Kondracke: What do you mean they did their own thing?

Kemp: They didn’t go to church or Christian groups or anything. They just did fraternity, sorority, once in a while they’d go to a church service but they didn’t really have a faith element to their lives.

Kondracke: So how did Jeff become as—

Kemp: Yes, after Dartmouth, where he was in the Animal House fraternity, were you in that one?

Kondracke: No.

Kemp: The Betas [Beta Theta Pi]?

Kondracke: That wasn’t the Animal House fraternity. That was AD [Alpha Delta], but Beta was a jock fraternity.

Kemp: Yes, it definitely was. Well, I called it the Animal House. Whenever we went there it was, so anyway, after Dartmouth, which the only Christian group he went to very often was the Catholic one,

and his friend, [Michael T.] Mike Lempres, he was at the dinner the other night. Did you meet him? Great guy. And he was in that Catholic group, and I didn't know about it until I talked to him the other night at the dinner. I said, "Jeff always said that the Catholic group at Dartmouth was the one that he sort of went to the most, and it was just that they had," then he told me about it. They had—

Kondracke: Newman [Center].

Kemp: Yes, and they went there to study, and it was a place where you didn't have to have the drinking, because you got that in your fraternity. So anyway, Mike explained to me, and Joe Nolan had applied to Dartmouth, did you know that? Judith and Chris's only son? And he got turned down. But he didn't get any recommendations. He didn't ask for Jeff, Mike Lempres, [Allan] Scott Andrews, who went there, did you know that? Yes, Scott went there for his first two years, Jennifer's husband. He didn't get any recommendations because his father, [Christopher T.] Chris Nolan, wants the kids to do it on their own. But anyway, he didn't get in. He just found out the day after the dinner. He was there at the dinner. Anyway, I told Mike that, and you said how did Jeff, so then when he went to play for the [Los Angeles] Rams, he had to make his choice of which group of players he wanted to spend time with, because there was the party guys and then there was the—

Kondracke: Christian Athletes.

Kemp: The Christian Athletes group, and he went there and he met Stacy through one of their outreach socials, and so then he decided

that he needed to return. He hadn't really totally left it, but he just hadn't been practicing it. So then he went, and you've seen what he is now.

Kondracke: Right. So dinners, tell me what your favorite memories are of dinners in the Kemp household.

Kemp: We would have dinner in the breakfast room on a nightly basis, like I told you. We probably had dinners together four or five nights a week, and he was sometimes home on the weekends, usually for Sunday night he'd be home to watch games and just collapse and be a normal guy. So we had company for dinner whenever he would want to be going to a reception or a dinner if it was somebody that he could say "Come home with me." So we had really interesting people. Johnnie [L.] Cochran [Jr.] was here for dinner, Jeane [J.] Kirkpatrick, [Benjamin] Bibi Netanyahu, all sorts of people over the years that the kids just got to know, and it was really, it's a huge plus. They didn't realize it at the time, but they were polite, and the girls helped with the dishes and the boys always shook hands and said their names, and listened to the conversations as long as they could and then they'd go do their homework.

Kondracke: Were there any sort of special guests whose conversation you remember?

Kemp: Jeane Kirkpatrick was great, because she really related with the kids. They liked that.

Kondracke: How so?

Kemp: She was obviously intellectual, but her husband [Evron M. "Kirk" Kirkpatrick] cared a lot about football so they'd talk about real things and then they'd talk about the Middle East and then they'd talk about Russia. So they just heard conversations that had depth, but at the same time were normal.

Kondracke: How often was Jeane here?

Kemp: I can't say.

Kondracke: I mean, were Jack and Jeane good friend?

Kemp: Yes, we'd go over to their house over here, they've had two houses out in this area, but we, not that often. Maybe once every three months, or less. You know how it is. You just don't have time to see people on a regular basis, because his weekends weren't normal. But Kirk liked to watch football, so sometimes we'd do that. I can remember doing it at their house, and then they had boys. We got to know some of their boys. Let's see, I suppose I put down names. What number is that?

Kondracke: Twenty-five.

Kemp: Art Laffer, Irving and [Gertrude H.] Bea Kristol, Cookie Gilchrist, Gary [W.] Demarest, who was our pastor in [Hamburg] New York, [Charles W.] Chuck Colson, they remember great dinners with Chuck Colson.

Kondracke: What was it like having dinner with Chuck Colson?

Kemp: He and Jack started out arguing some, because Chuck was an old line conservative, you know, the [Richard M.] Nixon guy, and then he became a Christian, and then he became sort of more of a pessimist, and Jack was always an optimist. And so they talked about politics and economics and philosophy and history because Chuck was somebody who was on a wavelength that Jack respected, because at least Chuck had thought everything through. And I think when I first went on the board of Prison Fellowship, it was after Chuck had become a Christian and started this ministry. But Jack is the one who had known him. I didn't even know him. I'd maybe said hello during his White House years, but Jack knew him. It was interesting. He knew him, and then Chuck got to know me as a Christian, and he asked me to be on the board and I know it was only because of Jack and my relationship and who we knew and, you know, I know how those things work. But then Chuck and I had a good rapport because I had studied [Judeo-Christian—JMK] worldview issues, and so had he, and Prison Fellowship was doing the real work in the world with prisoners, which is what he started. But at the same time, Chuck knew that we needed to think through justice and all these things from a Christian viewpoint and not the way he had before he was a Christian. So we then did things with Prison Fellowship. We went on a cruise where they had wonderful speakers every night, they had dinner table conversations, so we got to know—

Kondracke: Did Jack come along on those?

Kemp: Yes, oh, yes. He did all of that, and he loved those people. Those were the people that he respected because they had careers. The other board members were mostly businessmen. Some were black. And I got to know a lot of them and he did too, so then when Chuck and his wife [Patricia A. Hughes] would come here for dinner, you know, we didn't have parties per se, other than if it was Chowder and Marching or a political event, but mostly it was just small little groups. Conversations with Chuck and people like that, like the Kristols, those are in-depth, good, substantive. You know. You've been around that. So I just loved the fact that that's what Jack brought into my life that I don't think I would have had without him, I know I wouldn't.

Kondracke: A lot of Washington political dinner parties or dinners consist of who's going to run for what, who are you for for president and who's going to get the nomination, and stuff like that. Yours were more about ideas and—

Kemp: Jack didn't ever talk about that. We would go to [Albert R.] Al [Hunt, Jr.] and Judy [Woodruff]'s for events, we probably saw you there, and [Christopher J.] Chris and Kathleen Mathews, and had really good conversations, before Christ Mathews got, I don't know where he is now, but I still like him a lot. But those are the kinds of relationships I feel that were really wonderful, because these are people who thought about the same things we were all the time, and you.

Kondracke: Even though they disagreed.

Kemp: Yes. Jack liked to have that.

Kondracke: What did he get out of having spirited discussions with people he disagreed with?

Kemp: In the earlier stages of his life he was competitive, and he liked to win arguments. I'd say the older he got, the more he just appreciated having a dialogue about ideas, and he didn't have to win, because he realized that everybody comes from where their starting point is.

Kondracke: Were you there when [William E.] Bill Brock and Jack had a fight about AIDS [acquired immunodeficiency syndrome] on an airplane going to the Super Bowl?

Kemp: AIDS, the? No, but I remember Bill Brock and Jack and maybe Jesse [L.] Jackson [Sr.], it had something to do, Bill Brock was chairman of the RNC [Republican National Committee] at one point, wasn't he?

Kondracke: Yes.

Kemp: And Bill Brock is a forward-looking conservative, I think. And I think Jack thought so too. I think it was Bill Brock and Jack that were more open to civil rights things, is that right?

Kondracke: Yes. But Bill says that they almost came to blows, and that you broke it up.

Kemp: I don't remember that. It was an airplane trip?

Kondracke: Yes. And as long as we're—

Kemp: Oh, I think that might have been in a private plane.

Kondracke: It was on the way to the Super Bowl, or on the way back.

Kemp: It probably was, and I think it was a private plane, and I may not have been right there in the middle of it, I may have come and said, "You're not going to get anywhere on this." No, I don't remember that at all.

Kondracke: What was it that Jack said to [Cornelius H. M.] Connie Mack [III]'s wife, [Ludie] Priscilla [Hobbs], that [Daniel R.] Dan Coats wanted me to ask you about? Some sort of disagreement, or argument, or something like that.

Kemp: You know, I can't remember. But Priscilla is very opinionated, and is she a recovering alcoholic? I think she might be. It might have had something to do with something like that. Because they were, now those were couple friends, the Macks and the Coats, and us, and [William L. "Bill" and Ellen] Armstrongs, but we didn't all get together. That was probably a time when the Macks and the Coats and us were there. I can't remember. I can't remember if it was political or psychological or addiction or whatever, I don't remember.

Kondracke: Coats would not tell me and he just said to ask you or ask Connie Mack.

Kemp: I don't remember, but I think it might have been at dinner at Normandy Farm out here, but I can't, or maybe it was at Congressional [Country Club], I can't remember, but it would have been in the latter years. It would have been in the 2000s, I think. I don't think it would have been when they were in Congress.

Kondracke: What was Jack's relationship with Newt Gingrich like?

Kemp: It was professional, because Jack was a leader of the young Turks when Newt came, and Newt was one of them because he was obviously educated in history, so he was an idea guy. But he was also a practical politics guy, which Jack was not, but he appreciated what Newt knew about that. I don't know, I think that there was probably some, Newt, I don't know if he was jealous of Jack, I just think they were two strong, ideological guys who were on the same side of the Party, I mean they were both conservative. Personally his first wife Jack didn't know, and I did a little bit, and then his second wife, Marianne [Ginther], we were with on a couple of occasions, and Callista [B.] I did not know before he married her, so as couples we weren't close. So socially no, but when I told you he'd come here for dinner occasionally, and that was just Newt, it wasn't as a couple. You say what's their relationship. I think it was pretty friendly, but I think that Jack got upset with Newt, but almost all of the Republicans did at times, but I mean—

Kondracke: Because he was too aggressive, or—

Kemp: Well, he'd go here and then here and then here and he didn't stay, but I think it's because he had opinions on all these ideas, I don't know. I can't analyze that.

Kondracke: Tell me what all of your activities were. You did Bible study. When did that begin?

Kemp: Soon after I came here I was in the Congressional Wives' Prayer Group, and they had sort of a leader that led that, and that was both parties who were Christians, it was a prayer group. And then I also started Community Bible Study, which is the one that Millie [Millicent Kondracke] eventually came to, but it started back in the seventies, like '73 or '74, maybe. And I also at the same time started a class that met at my house every week, studying worldview, and it's still meeting.

Kondracke: What does worldview mean?

Kemp: It's a biblical worldview, but it includes the secular worldview too. Philosophy, history, looking at the arts, you know, looking at how faith affects the way you live and your views about politics and everything. And it was Dr. Francis [A.] Schaeffer's books that we started out reading, because we started meeting because Congressional Wives' Prayer Group was having him, having Dr. Schaeffer's wife [Edith S. Schaeffer] come and talk and they couldn't meet at Fellowship House that day, that's the one that used to be down there, I can't remember, but the car dealership guy [Mandell "Mandy" Ourisman] whose wife [Mary M. Ourisman] became an ambassador, they bought that house. Anyway, they had to meet at

my house because they couldn't meet at the other house, so Dr. Schaeffer's wife spoke to us about the feminist view of women, as opposed to the biblical view of women, and some of it was the same. And the Congressional wives that were there, most of it was my friends, and not all were Republicans, like Carolyn Bonker was in it. Remember [Don L.] Don Bonker from the state of Washington? Oh, yes, they live now where you do, on Bainbridge Island. Is that where your place is? They're on Bainbridge now. Anyway, it was a group of women who were interested in what the Bible has to say about everything—politics, marriage, feminism, same-sex marriage—anything that's an issue. Back then same-sex marriage wasn't even talked about. We started meeting in the seventies, and we studied all of her books and his books and C.S. Lewis, and we didn't do Bible study per se, but eventually we occasionally would do a Bible study. And that group is still meeting at my house every Friday. But it's changed, you know the age, my daughters come now, and it's still some Congressional wives, but it was media wives too. Verma Boyd, whose husband Forrest [J. Boyd] was the White House correspondent for UPI [United Press International], I think it was UPI, she was in it, and John Hart's wife [Marlene], remember John Hart?

Kondracke: Yes.

Kemp: So it was a conglomeration of people. Anyway, I did that, and that happened every week that we were in town, and it's continued, and we had homework. But then so did Community Bible Study. So basically I'm a study junkie, I guess you'd say, and there are too many groups now that I could be in, and that prayer group started by Susan

Baker and Holly Leachman for the president's wife, whoever it happened to be, that started in '92? Is that when—

Kondracke: Hillary Clinton

Kemp: Yes, and that's still going. We meet every month. So all of those things, that's what I did. And I also was in the International Club and so I was president of that, and that's ambassadors' wives, and Congressional and media wives, and that's been going for a long time. It was started by Marian Adair, a Congressional wife from Indiana, to get diplomats to know real Americans outside of this glitzy embassy-type thing, so we meet at people's homes. So I had them here for lunch when it was my turn. That type of thing. So the International Club, and now that Jack's no longer in office, I was in it for 22 years, because he was H.U.D. [U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development] secretary and in Congress, and then once your husband is no longer in office you're not in it, and you just go once a year, which is okay with me, but I like that group, because it got me outside my world. So that, and I was also in Republican Congressional Wives, and I was president of that, when Reagan was elected I was president of that. And then I'm in the Republican Women's Federal Forum. I don't know if you've ever spoken for that group.

Kondracke: How did you get involved in the issue of Soviet Jewry?

Kemp: That was because of Jack, and, it's [Avital] Sharansky, it was [Natan] Sharansky's wife who came and spoke here, and Helen Jackson, [Henry M. Jackson] Scoop's wife, and I, and Teresa Heinz and

[Howard M.] Metzenbaum's wife [Shirley Turoff] were the sort of cofounders.

Kondracke: So Avital Sharansky comes here, makes a speech—

Kemp: She came and talked about him, who was in prison.

Kondracke: Right.

Kemp: And so that brought a lot of people, both parties, who were interested in this, and not everybody was, but Jack was a logical one because he'd gone to a 98 percent Jewish high school. Brownie Reed invited him, oh, he went, you probably heard this story. He went on his, one of his first Congressional trips, and he was on the Education and Labor Committee, did you know that?

Kondracke: Yes. I knew that, but I don't know about the trip. Tell me.

Kemp: That was his first trip that I remember that he did, and we didn't do Congressional junkets. That's one reason I didn't get to know—I liked these other groups where I got to know Congressional wives because as couples, we didn't go on any of those trips. Once we were scheduled to go, and Jennifer got mono[nucleosis], so I cancelled and he went. That's how you get to know these Congressional couples. He went to Poland. I don't know why they went to Poland to study education, but when they were there, [Ogden R.] Brownie Reid, do you remember him? He was a Democrat from New England somewhere.

Kondracke: I think New York.

Kemp: Maybe New York. And he asked Jack if he'd ever been to Israel, and Jack said no, but he knew the history and everything, and he liked Israel, he thought. And Brownie Reid said, "Well while you're here, I'll get you to a trip," and so Ezer Weizman gave Jack his tour. Do you know who that is?

Kondracke: Yes.

Kemp: So he went down to Israel and he got the whole thing, and you know how they, it's wonderful, because you get a lifetime of education in a short period of time. I mean he just lapped it up. And then he met somebody whose husband was in the Soviet Union, and he got them out when he came back, and the Soviet ambassador's wife was in the International Club, and Jack had a meeting after that with just the ambassador. I happened to know her, socially, and he didn't know him, but he then talked about this prisoner that was in Russia and said, "What about this? How can you do this?" And this was the Jackson-Vanik [amendment to the Trade Act of 1974] all this time, when they were—

Kondracke: Do you remember what the prisoner's name was?

Kemp: It will come to me. I think that's the one whose wife killed him later, after they came over here. It will come to me. It's a story in itself. It will come to me, because it stayed there.

Kondracke: Good.

Kemp: So he mentioned that to the Soviet ambassador about this over breakfast, and Jack's the one that told me the story. And he said "Now so and so is in prison, his wife is in Israel, and this is how you're treating them?" And he spit his soup out over lunch.

Kondracke: The ambassador?

Kemp: The ambassador did, in answer to Jack. That's Jack's story, he's probably embellishing it. It wasn't long after that that he was released, and then they came over here, to settle in New York. It's written somewhere, because the National Conference for Soviet Jewry, remember that group? They're the ones that sort of got our Congressional, they organized us, they would help us. We didn't have a treasurer, we didn't have a group, we were just—

Kondracke: So what did you do?

Kemp: I was the cofounder, and we had trips. We went to Israel, we went to Russia, we met with the foreign minister of Russia during a time that it was really kind of scary, and—

Kondracke: When did it start? Seventies?

Kemp: Yes. I had teenagers and Jimmy was little, so all of this, I didn't make diaries on this, but it was very powerful. I went to Israel by myself. I also went to Spain for an international conference of the people involved in Soviet Jewry. Way, way over my head. Carol

Bellamy, was she a New York legislator? She and I happened to fly over to Spain together, I think. I think of those things, I hardly ever, I just did it and then I went on with my life. But it was very meaningful, because we then Helen Jackson and Dolores [M.] Beilenson, her husband [Anthony C. Beilenson] was a Congressman from California. Helen and I aren't Jewish; Dolores Beilenson and Metzenbaum were. But it was just good to have Jews and gentiles and Democrats and Republicans all caring about the issue of how the Soviets were treating their Jews. And they did the same to Christians, so the Armstrongs, Bill and his wife—Senator Bill Armstrong—and Jack and I made a trip to Russia where we visited Christians, who were imprisoned, and we met their wives, who were out, and we also on one of those trips met Vladimir [O.] Feltsman, remember the pianist? He was a famous pianist, and he could only play in Siberia and places because he requested to go to Israel and they didn't let him go, he was a dissident. He eventually came here and Jack sponsored him and we met him and kept up with him and his wife, and he's still—

Kondracke: How many trips would you say you and Jack took overseas together?

Kemp: I've been to Israel about 14 times, and all but maybe two or three of those were with him, and we went to Europe several times, and National Conference for Soviet Jews, I went to England with them. I don't know how many together.

Kondracke: Were there any other issues on which you passions meshed?

Kemp: Well, being aware of communism, and the economics of the world, I would say I was on the same page with him, but I was just along for the ride. [laughter]

Kondracke: Tell me about Sundays. So you go to church—

Kemp: And then he would prefer to come home and have lunch at home. I would have loved to have gone out to brunch, but that wasn't part of his day off. He wanted to come home and have lunch and watch games so that he could watch whichever one he wanted, and he got hooked up to as many stations as you could get.

Kondracke: So, what did you have for lunch?

Kemp: Barbequed kielbasa or tacos or hotdogs. He loved hotdogs. Hamburgers.

Kondracke: Diet Coke?

Kemp: No, no. He didn't Diet Coke. He drank regular Coke most of the time. Maybe he started drinking Diet Coke. I never did have Cokes too much myself. Maybe he did, did they say he drank Diet Coke?

Kondracke: I think people said he drank gallons of Diet Coke. No?

Kemp: Maybe he did. I thought it was just Coke. His brother [Thomas P. "Tom" Kemp] was president of Coca Cola of Los Angeles, and so he didn't drink Pepsi; he drank Coke.

Kondracke: So he'd watch football and read the papers simultaneously?

Kemp: And he'd watch the *History Channel*. You know he'd click around.

Kondracke: Did he used to critique the plays that he saw?

Kemp: Yes, but he often would read the reviews before he saw a play or a movie.

Kondracke: Oh, I was talking about the plays on TV, the football players.

Kemp: Oh, the football plays. No, not overly so. I just think he knew it in his head, and if one of the boys were here he'd talk about it to them; he certainly didn't to me.

Kondracke: So what did you do while he was—

Kemp: Well, I was in the kitchen usually, or I would save up my mail to do, so I would open the mail and do it while I was sitting in my chair and he was in his, but I was always getting up to get something for him or for me.

Kondracke: Triscuits.

Kemp: Yes.

Kondracke: So give us the recipe for Triscuits. You're famous.

Kemp: It's chopped up green onions and parmesan cheese and mayonnaise and Worcestershire sauce and just put on Triscuits and grilled, so they're just lightly browned.

Kondracke: And he liked them.

Kemp: Yes. That was always a go-to appetizer, and then hot fudge sundaes for dessert.

Kondracke: You have this place in Vail [Colorado]. Or had this place in Vail. How often did you go there and what great memories do you have of that place?

Kemp: We started out going to Aspen [Colorado]. When we lived in Buffalo we went to Aspen with a ski club, a group of people we knew in Buffalo. So we were introduced to Aspen at that point. So we bought a place there and we had that for maybe four or five years, and Ford was minority leader then. And one year we went over to Vail because they were there and said come over and ski for a day here, so we did. It was hard to make the payment. We rented the place out when we weren't there, but there got to be bad rental years, so we thought let's sell this. So we did sell it and so we didn't have a place anywhere. But the Fords had invited to stay there once with them overnight, and then we met some people. Then we stayed at some friends of theirs and ours house there in Vail, and then Jimmy got hurt. Jimmy got hurt in Aspen. We had gone over to go skiing there with him, staying

in Vail at a friend's house but going over to Aspen. He hit a tree and really got a bad knee. You would have thought he'd never play again, and he was in college at the time. I can't remember the progression, but we realized that we wanted to go to Dr. [J. Richard] Steadman. Warren Miller, the ski movie guy told us to go to Steadman if you're going to have his knee looked at. Be sure that Steadman at Vail does it. Don't let him do it in Aspen. So we went back to Vail to have him look at it, and he operated, and so then we had to go for rehab in the summer to Vail, and we'd never been to Vail in the summer before. And so we said, "Oh my goodness, this is a great place." And rather than going to California and staying, we didn't have a house there, we had relatives, but we thought, "Maybe we should buy at Vail." So that's when we first went half and half with Mike Shannon, because—long story. Anyway, we got a townhouse in Vail. After a few years we outgrew it because we had grandchildren by then, so we bought what we now have which is a duplex, and we have both sides, seven bedrooms and room for our family then.

Kondracke: Jack was out of Congress and—

Kemp: Yes, by that time he might have even been out of H.U.D. Yes, he might have started making money, yes, because we couldn't have afforded—we might have bought it with [Michael S.] Mike Shannon, because he bought half and we bought half and it was rented out sometimes, but Mike Shannon wanted it for the pool. He lived there, he was the president of Vail, a young wiz kid from Wisconsin. So that helped us buy that house. When we did sell that, we made some money and stepped up and were able to buy what we now bought, and he was making money by then, so we had this house, it looked like a

house. Vail became a place that we really liked in the summer because we got out there, because of Jimmy's injury, and saw the concerts and the summers, and the Fords were there so we would see them when we were out there, not all the time, but once in a while. We just made a lot of friends, who were locals, and also some people who came once in a while like we did, but mostly they were locals.

Kondracke: And you used to have a lot of guests out there, right? People from Washington would come out?

Kemp: Well, not a lot, but some did, yes.

Kondracke: Who?

Kemp: Well, we had Congressional people like Jerry and Holly used it one time for somebody who was dying of cancer. They used our rental unit. I remember Bo Derek came once, and that's her husband, who died then. We met her on the Reagan, I don't know, the Reagan campaign? But maybe it was the '88 campaign. She was a famous Republican person, so she came and stayed with us once. Well Chris and Kathleen Mathews came once, and stayed on the side next to us, [Alexander B.] Brit and Kim [S. Hume] came, because their friends of Jennifer and Scott's, so they came. Alistair Begg came with his wife [Susan Begg], he's the pastor in Cleveland that's so great. I don't know. What number are we now? Vail guests.

Kondracke: Twenty-nine.

Kemp: [Salvatore P.] Sony Bono and Mary [Bono Mack], Tommy [R.] Franks and his wife, all my prayer groups, you know that one that prays for the first ladies? They all came there, just the girls, not their husbands. And another prayer group that I'm in, that Marsha Coats is in came there. We loved the concerts and we had a number, still have a number of couple friends, so when I go out there it's still couples, and that's nice. And we biked and went snowmobiling and things like that, Jack and I did. By this time we're empty nesters completely. Everybody's married.

Kondracke: So Jack was a notoriously competitive skier?

Kemp: Well, yes he was, but it was just like tennis. Because he's a good athlete, he went fast. He's big, and you know he didn't have ski lessons. Just like in tennis. So you'd go wherever the popular thing of the time was, we learned the old-fashioned way. I can't even tell you what it is—Arlberg or something like that—and we both did races in our age groups sometimes, just because that's what charities do. So we would do that. I won for my age group one year.

Kondracke: Did you take lessons?

Kemp: I took a few lessons back when we lived in Buffalo. That was in the seventies, because you could do it really 20 minutes from the ski slope in Buffalo. That's where Jeff got to be such a great skier, because he was skiing on ice, basically.

Kondracke: What do you remember about Super Bowl trips?

Kemp: The first one was in Los Angeles, and we could have gone to the Super Bowl if we had not lost to the Green Bay Packers, or the Kansas City Chiefs.

Kondracke: Yes, the Green Bay Packers are N.F.L.

Kemp: I know, but by this time it was.

Kondracke: Oh, oh, the first Super Bowl.

Kemp: Yes. We could have gone.

Kondracke: But you didn't win the A.F.L. championship.

Kemp: No. We lost to the Kansas City Chiefs, who then played the Green Bay Packers in the Super Bowl, is that right?

Kondracke: I think so.

Kemp: I think that's what it was. So we went to that, and Charlie Flowers, our buddy went, and Herb Klein, and Leon [W.] Parma, who was Jerry Ford's friend, he was [Robert C.] Bob Wilson's A.A. here first. But anyway those are San Diego friends. So we had San Diego people go with us for the first few years, like Pete Wilson and Bob Wilson, the Congressman, and Herb Klein, [Thomas G.] Tom Pownall, who is president of Martin Marietta, who was always here. There were a whole group of people like that, and my really good friends the [Charles and Carol] Marcks, he was Dow Chemical's Washington representative, so they went. And often they'd pay for the party,

because that was a good deal for them because they got to meet all these. But it just kind of fell into place and it got bigger and bigger, and then when Jack was running for whatever, it was a good place to have people come, and it wasn't really a fundraiser. I don't think we ever used it for fundraising, but it was a good P.R. [public relations] place, because we knew mostly all the football owners through [Alvin R.] Pete Rozelle, because Pete was really, really a good friend of Jack's, and he had—

Kondracke: What was their friendship based on?

Kemp: Pete was an old Los Angeles guy, and he was with the old Los Angeles Rams as a P.R. guy I think at first, and so he was a little bit older than we but not all that much, and Carrie [C. Rozelle], his second wife, was younger than me by a little bit but not by a whole lot. And his daughter from his first marriage interned with Jack. They just got to know each other well, and Pete was a Republican, he was a business guy, but he was P.R. And he was just a good, solid guy. We liked him a lot and we got to know, I didn't know his first wife but I knew Carrie really well. She'd give me her hand-me-down clothes when she'd outgrow, you know she was gaining weight so she'd give me all these designer clothes because she said, "You need clothes for Washington," so she'd send me a whole box of clothes. I still have some of her designer things that I never bought. So we were just good friends, and we would see them every year at Super Bowls, so we had access to tickets to buy. We didn't ever get free things, but all of our friends were delighted to get tickets and they could buy them. Then Sharon Zelaska put together our parties. And it just fell into place. They weren't elaborate. We just barely had a room to have a

party in, but then all of our friends, both the celebrities and the non-celebrities could mix.

Kondracke: And then you started having speakers, right?

Kemp: Yes.

Kondracke: Michael Novak and—

Kemp: Yes.

Kondracke: Did Jack ever seriously consider trying to be N.F.L. commissioner?

Kemp: I remember, was that right after H.U.D.? I think it was, it was when he was no longer going to be at H.U.D., and he had decided not to run for Congress

Kondracke: Or president.

Kemp: Well, what was his choice?

Kondracke: Pete Rozelle died, right?

Kemp: Well, Pete Rozelle was having difficulties, and they had sort of retired out to California most of the time, I think. I don't think anybody—had Paul [J.] Tagliabue. He'd been on the scene, so Paul probably was ready to, I can't remember if Jack. There was a possibility of that, and I remember thinking about that.

Kondracke: Ed Rutkowski said that he was sort of depending on Jack to be N.F.L. commissioner

Kemp: Who was?

Kondracke: Ed was. And that he was going to join him and sort of be his chief of staff or something like that.

Kemp: Well, I never got that far. I knew that that was a possibility, but that's when Bush had just been elected.

Kondracke: Maybe he became H.U.D. secretary instead.

Kemp: He did.

Kondracke: Yes.

Kemp: It was about that time, and so the options were maybe N.F.L., who knows what else he could maybe do, because he didn't have any money saved up. We'd spent all of his Congressional retirement chunk sum on our two daughters' weddings that happened in '89, or we were about to spend, let's see. So that's when this would have happened, and we thought about that, but I didn't particularly, I liked the N.F.L. because we knew most of the owners and we knew the Players Association people, and he had, John Mackey and Jack were very good friends, so we got to know Sylvia [C. Mackey] and John, they went to all these Super Bowls with us after—for the last few years.

Kondracke: Let me just walk you through a little more politics. In 1981, Reagan's elected, he gets to be the number three leader of the House, and then David [A.] Stockman sort of turns against Kemp-Roth [Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981]. Do you remember how Jack responded to that?

Kemp: I just remember Stockman coming over here for dinner fairly regularly. One time I remember he brought Judith Miller, did you know that he dated her?

Kondracke: I think Judith—never mind.

Kemp: Did you interview Judith?

Kondracke: No.

Kemp: Oh. That's the same Judith Miller. I like her better now than I did then. I don't know why, because I didn't know that much about her, and then he was dating Jennifer, so they both were here for dinner, and I just looked at Dave as the Dave Stockman that I knew, and I liked him. He was gentle, and I just liked him, and I knew that he was really smart on economics and things, and he, I think he also had a theology degree.

Kondracke: Yes, he went to Harvard Divinity School.

Kemp: So I just like being around him. I didn't know all the stuff that he was doing. Was he O.M.B. [Office of Management and Budget] then?

Kondracke: Yes.

Kemp: I didn't know all the stuff that was going on. I just knew that he changed from what he had been before.

Kondracke: How did Jack respond to that?

Kemp: He didn't get angry. He really didn't. I guess he just wrote people off as, "Okay, well that's where he is," as far as I know. He didn't waste any emotional energy.

Kondracke: He never got mad at anybody?

Kemp: He may have, inside, and I know that he didn't respect him. I remember that I didn't go to Dave's wedding, but I think that was before this happened. I'm not sure. I had one of the few fevers that I've had, and it was a terribly snowy night, and I didn't go to the wedding and Jack did. After that, we didn't see them. Well no, I think that happened before Dave went, I think by the time that he was at OMB he was probably married to Jennifer [B. Stockman]. Anyway, we have seen them since. I remember being with them at Aspen once socially, and we've always been friendly with Jennifer and Dave, but then once that happened and he left Washington and went into business, and I know that while that was happening, Jack was not happy about it, but he didn't get angry. I didn't lose any sleep over it and I don't think he did either. I think he was sad, but I don't think he was terribly surprised, maybe. Who else? [Richard D. "Dick"] Darman. Darman. Was Darman around?

Kondracke: Yes, Darman is later. Darman really was trouble for Jack during the H.U.D. days.

Kemp: But didn't he come around a little bit later? I don't know what he did then. Jack personally befriended him because he had a son who was ill. So personally I think Jack just looked at him as a person. I don't know. I mean those are the things I'm sorry you couldn't interview Jack about, because it would be interesting to see what he would say about all this.

Kondracke: Yes. Darman was pretty nasty to Jack during, and especially into what he was trying to do at H.U.D., because he was OMB director and didn't want to spend any money, and Jack wanted money for H.U.D.

Kemp: Yes, see those things I would hear just a little bit about, and I knew that Darman and he had some differences, but I also knew that he had this personal connection with him, and Darman was close to Jim Baker, I assume,

Kondracke: Very.

Kemp: I just know all that, but only up here. It wasn't any big deal.

Kondracke: So you're friends with Susan Baker, and Jack had some run-ins with Jim Baker—

Kemp: And some of it was over Israel and some of it was Jimmy Baker saying, "Jews don't vote for us anyway," and all that kind of stuff, and I knew that that was happening, but also there was always the divide, the Bush people versus the Reagan people, and Jack was a Reagan person, and they were the Bush people, and you just knew that. And then Jennifer, our daughter, got to be very friendly with [Dorothy W.] Doro Bush during the '88 campaign, so the personal, and Scott Andrews [III] was Marvin [P.] Bush's best friend, and when Marvin has had all of his, what disease? Anyway, Scott Andrews went to the hospital with him. They've always been good friends and business partners. So the personal connections, in my view, were just as strong as the other. But I also knew the political, that there was that divide, and I understand it because I'm more from the Reagan side, just emotionally. But practically and personally closer to the Bush people.

Kondracke: So if the Bush people, or Baker leaked some story in the papers that was nasty to Jack—and they did—when he, for example, would oppose Reagan's tax increases, how did he take it?

Kemp: He didn't get angry. He didn't like it.

Kondracke: Did he bring you the paper and say, "Look at this?"

Kemp: No. I would say he would tell me about it. I did know about it. Or I would ask him a question, "I just heard such and such on TV", or "I just read this newspaper article." I read editorials. I may not have read all the news, but I always read as many editorials that I liked, I wanted to know about what the headline said. So I knew

those things. Sometimes I knew things like that ahead of him, but mostly not. Mostly he knew it first. But I'd just ask him and then we'd talk about it.

Kondracke: Novak would have it all.

Kemp: Yes. I guess I would read that, and I thought he was too biased, really, for a newsman. Well, he wasn't newsman. I guess he was a columnist.

Kondracke: He was a columnist, yes.

Kondracke: So the 1988 presidential campaign, why did Jack run for president?

Kemp: I think it was his supporters pushing him, and it didn't take much to push him. He must have thought about it, absent talking about it for a while, because by the time they started, I didn't hear about all of these things, you know, you consider a staff, staff want to know that the guy you work for is going to keep going, so I think that's probably what it was.

Kondracke: But he must have consulted you about it.

Kemp: Yes, I would hear and read anything that was, so yes, I was not in the dark. But I don't think I really thought—he was pretty young, wasn't he?

Kondracke: Well, 1988, he was born in what? 1935, so you do the math. [laughs]

Kemp: He was a newcomer. He was not the establishment, I know enough to know that.

Kondracke: George Bush was vice president.

Kemp: After he was not named as vice president in '80, to me that said you know he's going to continue to be a leader in the House, maybe, maybe run for Senate, but I didn't think about president.

Kondracke: But he obviously did.

Kemp: He obviously did, and his people obviously did, and that's not surprising.

Kondracke: Insofar as a presidential run involves a lot of family work and exposure, did he ask you what your opinion of it was?

Kemp: Not really. I think he got pretty far down the road before he actually started talking to us about it, and Jeff at that point was playing pro football. What year was that?

Kondracke: Eighty-eight.

Kemp: Oh, yes. He was in the middle of his—he was still with the Rams, I think.

Kondracke: So you were out campaigning a lot, right? In '88, he's running for president and primaries in Michigan and Iowa—

Kemp: Oh, by then yes, by the time he had decided. He must have decided in '86 that this was something he would sort of work quietly with. I think that I didn't really get it that he was actually going to run and say, "Yes, I'm going to run in the primaries against Dole and Bush and"—who else was running? [Pierre S. "Pete" du Pont [IV], [Marion G.] Pat Robertson, whatever.

Kondracke: Did he and you think it was a long shot against Bush? Reagan [unclear] for Bush and—

Kemp: Yes, but once you started thinking about it you saw that the Reagan Democrats, the emotional intensity of the conservative movement, was a real thing, as was the establishment. So they'd had eight years, right?

Kondracke: Right.

Kemp: Or almost eight years, by the time we got in.

Kondracke: Did the Pat Robertson candidacy take you by surprise? In other words all of a sudden the Evangelicals come roaring in and they're against Jack.

Kemp: Yes. Because I am an evangelical. Did you know that Pat Robertson's daughter-in-law was at the dinner the other night? [Jack Kemp Foundation Leadership Award Dinner, December 4, 2012]

Kondracke: No.

Kemp: She has met my daughter Jennifer, and they were at the dinner the other night, she and her husband. I had never met her.

Kondracke: How did Jack take losing?

Kemp: There were so many things going on. You know you have a lot of money you've had to raise, and you had to decide whether to keep going after losing in Iowa, and then New Hampshire, and then they decided to go on to South Carolina, was that the next one?

Kondracke: Last one.

Kemp: And I wasn't in on any of those. I was still raising a family and I wasn't an inner-circle, I didn't sit in on campaign meetings. Now his brother Tom was. It's too bad you couldn't have interviewed Tom, because Tom, really great guy. And he was very aware of just a lot of things, and he was a businessman, and he was just a wonderful guy.

Kondracke: Did Jack, the great optimist, positive guy, all this kind of stuff, he puts it out there to run for president and he gets shellacked.

Kemp: He didn't get depressed, he went on to doing whatever he could do. He was playing tennis, he would play more tennis then. He had that big fall where he messed up his ankle and his back and everything.

Kondracke: What happened there?

Kemp: Do you remember the president of the Chamber of Commerce, Agnes and [Richard L.] Dick Lesher, they live right around the corner, and he played tennis with Dick Lesher. He had a court at his house. Now what year are we talking about?

Kondracke: Eighty-eight is when he ran for president.

Kemp: Yes, and that's when Bush-[James Danforth "Dan"] Quayle came in, right?

Kondracke: Right.

Kemp: So after that convention I remember we came back here, and here it is summer, and he wasn't going to be in the Congress and he wasn't going to be in the Cabinet. That's what we're talking about, right? And he was playing tennis with Dick and he didn't get his car in park right, and so he had one leg in and one leg out of his car, and the driveway was on a hill, and the car started rolling and dragged him down, so his ankle was all back to the bone and his back was and he was bleeding and everything and had to go to the emergency room. So that ended his tennis for a little while.

Kondracke: Break bones? Did he break bones?

Kemp: No. He was very fortunate. It could have been a horrible thing. The driveway turned and so the car stopped because it didn't

go around the turn. Then, that fall is when Bush asked him to be in the Cabinet, right?

Kondracke: Right. Well, after the election, and the election's obviously in November, and he—

Kemp: That other that I was talking to you about was the period where he didn't really know what he was going to do, but he was still in Congress. And he still probably had his staff saying, "What are you doing to do next?" I don't know what they said, but when Bush asked him to be in the Cabinet he thought about it and talked about it. It was fine with me.

Kondracke: Somebody told me that you are the one who convinced him to do it.

Kemp: Well I thought that that made sense. I mean it wasn't a field that he knew a lot about, but he knew about everything. I didn't know what else he would do that would be challenging to him, and he needs a challenge, so that made sense to me. So I probably did.

Kondracke: He identified himself as a bleeding heart conservative, and what does that mean to you?

Kemp: I think he just called it that because he cared and he wasn't a liberal. Didn't they say "bleeding heart liberals?"

Kondracke: Yes.

Kemp: Well he called himself a bleeding heart conservative. I don't know, that's all I could think of. What do you think?

Kondracke: Something like that, yes. I just thought maybe he—

Kemp: No, that just, those are the kind of things that he said that I just thought second nature. "Oh, yes, that makes sense." We didn't talk about it.

Kondracke: The 1996 campaign, were you surprised that Dole asked him?

Kemp: Yes. I really was, because I don't think in terms of what they must have been knowing about Dole's race, because we weren't on the inside, because obviously he and Dole weren't on the same page. Dole was not a supply-sider. I thought of him just as a conservative, but I never thought that deeply about how their differences were.

Kondracke: Did he ever talk about Dole and what he thought about Dole?

Kemp: He didn't say bad things. He thought he was a patriot, and just conventional old line conservative who didn't see the Opportunity Society, you know the Conservative Opportunity Society or whatever the other side was, Dole wasn't there.

Kondracke: Incentive-based economics. [laughs]

Kemp: Yes.

Kondracke: How did you find out about the offer?

Kemp: I don't know if he'd been having any talks. Maybe he'd had talks with Scott [W.] Reed, because Scott Reed had worked for Jack at H.U.D., I think.

Kondracke: Yes.

Kemp: And so Scott, was he campaign manager or something? He was a consultant, at least, for Dole.

Kondracke: He was his campaign manager.

Kemp: I had not been thinking about that campaign. We were not even going to go to the convention for sure. We thought we'd go. He'd not be asked to speak at the convention, which seemed kind of strange in a way, because he was sort of a popular speaker. He had a speaking tour and he was making money with the Washington Speakers Bureau, so that was sort of what he was doing. He was into making money. There was just a short little window there, but he was. So he had a speaking schedule, and we thought we would go to California and stay at his brother Tom's house at Laguna, and if we wanted to go down to the convention we could. It was in San Diego, right? So I had not been thinking past whatever, and whose birthday was it? It might have been his birthday, or maybe it was Scott Andrews' birthday. We were going out to Orange, Virginia, to [T.] Coleman Andrews' farm, where we were going to be celebrating, it might have been Jack's birthday which is the middle of July, but it

might have been Scott's. I don't know when the convention was, but Scott's birthday is August 6. That's Jennifer's husband. So we were driving out there, and he got a call from Scott Reed, I guess, saying, "Dole would like to talk to you, and he'd really like to talk to you today." And Jack said, "I'm just on my way out to Orange." So we got out there and we had dinner, but Jack had said, "Well, I'll come back." So Jack came back. Now that's a long drive. Do you know where that is, Orange, Virginia? It's not a long drive but it took us a couple hours to get out there. So he came back and met at the Watergate [Apartments], I think, with Dole. And I came home with one of the other family members. So when I got home he said, "Well, they want me to think about accepting for vice president." And so that's a whole new switch, because it was coming up really soon. The convention was only, I don't know, a week away? I don't know how long it was, but it wasn't very long. So it's kind of vague in my mind what went on back and forth after that. I think he sort of turned it down.

Kondracke: He did?

Kemp: I think he did. Or he didn't accept it. And so Scott Reed called, and I think he thought it was me that was saying, "You know, I'm not sure about this." And I don't know how he said it. It was overwhelming, really, to me, but as you can see—

Kondracke: Scott Reed called you?

Kemp: Yes.

Kondracke: To say what?

Kemp: To just say, "Are you aware that Jack is really not wanting to go any further with this?" And I said, "Well, no, not really." He said, "Are you opposed to it?" And I said, "No, I'm not locked in stone anywhere. But unless he really wants to do it, and I don't know, there's a lot to think about." So I can't remember what happened there, but I think I said, "You know, Jack, it could be that this is where you're to be. It might be that this is God's plan for our life. So I wouldn't say no absolutely. Just think about it some more." However it happened, we both became more comfortable with it. How often—

Kondracke: Why would he not want to do it?

Kemp: I don't know, because in his own mind he either has, you know, he probably had some demons in his life that he hadn't come to grips with. So I don't know what it was. He did not specifically—he knew that he was not the establishment; Dole was. That his ideas wouldn't necessarily go whatever, and I don't know what he thought about. But for whatever reason there was a point where he said, "Well, who else is going to be Dole's vice president?" I think Connie Mack was one of the possibilities, and that would have been good. But I think Jack was a better choice for Dole. I mean Jack was a—he had an engaging persona and he had ideas and he was able to communicate to normal people if he cut down his dialogue, just make it shorter. So I don't know. I just figured, "Well, we've been amazingly taken care of down through the years of his career, so it was a no-brainer then to both of us and we said, "Okay, go for it."

Kondracke: After Scott Reed called you, you must have talked to Jack.

Kemp: Yes, and just said, "Are you prepared to do this?" And we both said yes.

Kondracke: And so did Jack get back then that night, or—

Kemp: I don't know, but it was within, I remember I was probably on the porch talking on the phone. I just remember being around here, and then pretty soon there was media outside watching everywhere we went, and I thought, "Wow, this is really interesting."

Kondracke: This is before you got snuck into Russell, Kansas.

Kemp: Oh, yes. It was before. We were getting ready to go to Florida and Texas, where he had speeches, so we were saying okay, we're going to spend a couple weeks in California. We'll stay at Tom Kemp's house, and this will be our vacation, and we may go down and go to the convention for a day or so, if we want to, but he had no invitation, so we were sort of at a different spot, just like you'd been involved in every election for years and gone to conventions every four years for years, so it was a different place, but it wasn't surprising. He was making money, and we'd already bought our house at Vail, I think.

Kondracke: Tell me about the unveiling, the Russell, Kansas trip.

Kemp: Well then, that was interesting, because we were going to Florida, so I had to pack, you know women think about how are you

going to go to events and have the right clothes to wear to the things that you're now going to have to go to, so I had all I had to do to think about that. And the kids, okay, they had to know about this, they had to get themselves ready. I remember going to the convention in New Orleans when we didn't know—

Kondracke: He might have been vice president then.

Kemp: Yes, it was the same way. And I remember Marilyn [T.] Quayle talking about getting their kids' clothes ready, because she and I were in the same little Friday group.

Kondracke: Just to go back to that, did you and Marilyn Quayle talk about the vice presidency?

Kemp: Not specifically, but I remember playing tennis out at Pat Burch's house, I guess it was, and we were just talking about going to the convention, and I can't remember why it was, but I think she was thinking about it more than I was, because Jack was definitely not one of Bush's favorites. So I didn't even think about it really. I knew that that was a vague possibility, and by this time Jennifer was dating Scott, whose previous girlfriend had been Barbara Bush's social secretary. We had all these little things going, and so—

Kondracke: Just to go back to the '88 convention and this vice presidential talk, you had all these lines into the Bush campaign and family—

Kemp: Yes, we did, with the Bakers—

Kondracke: What messages were you getting out about the possibility of Jack's being vice president?

Kemp: Not any for sure. I knew that it was a vague possibility, and [Patricia] Pat Burch and I were best of friends, that was Dean Burch's wife. And Susan Baker. So Susan, Pat Burch and Sally Chapoton and I went to play tennis every year out in Arizona, so we were close. And Marilyn Quayle, once in a long while, would play tennis with us, but she was of a younger generation and more of a loner. She didn't have the close relationships that I did with Susan Baker and Pat Burch and Sally Chapoton, whose husband [John "Buck" Chapoton] was at Treasury at that point.

Kondracke: Okay, so you get to the convention, and there supposedly—

Kemp: And Jack was speaking, doing that major speech that you said almost didn't go—

Kondracke: No, no, no, that was a different one. That was 1980.

Kemp: Oh, that was 1980.

Kondracke: Eighty-eight he makes another speech.

Kemp: You're right. Eight years later. By this time, Reagan-Bush had been in, yes.

Kondracke: So Bush is being nominated—

Kemp: And we were basically on the outside because we were the Reagan people.

Kondracke: Okay, but there was a lot of talk about—

Kemp: Well Quayle was a Reagan person too, so Quayle was one of these Young Turks, so to speak, with Jack, sort of.

Kondracke: Do you remember Jack getting the call from Bush that he wasn't going to be the nominee? No. It was in your suite, I think.

Kemp: In New Orleans?

Kondracke: In New Orleans.

Kemp: Well I remember knowing that it was going to be Dan before it really was known by other people.

Kondracke: How did you find that out?

Kemp: I don't know. Maybe that's right. Did they say he got a call in our suite in New Orleans?

Kondracke: Yes.

Kemp: Probably. That makes sense.

Kondracke: Let's jump back to '96 now. So how did you get secreted out to Russell, Kansas?

Kemp: We were packed for two weeks out West, but knowing now that we were going to go to Kansas, but we didn't know how. So we went to Florida, where he gave his speech, and the media was all around, and during that time we were also talking to our kids on the phone, because Jimmy was playing pro football, and I don't know, Jeff was playing football, I guess. I can't remember now. But at any rate—no maybe he'd retired—we were talking to our kids, and then going to Texas, where he was supposed to have a speech, but I think he canceled that one, and so they took us, Sheila [P.] Burke, who was Dole's top gal, and Wayne [Berman—JMK] something, not Wayne Berman, another guy, met us at the small airport in Dallas, not the big one, but the one more in the city. We met them there and we were going to fly from there to Kansas, which is what we did. So I just remember, okay now we're in a whole new mold. We're going to be plugged into this campaign and I'd never even thought what that was like. So we did go at night, and got there pretty late at night and stayed at a little motel and I washed my hair every day then, and I didn't have a hairdryer with me because most hotels had hairdryers; this one didn't. So in the middle of the night I didn't have shampoo and I had to do my hair for the next day. So I remember that, and I remember thinking, "Wow, what did we get into?" I don't think I slept a whole lot that night, but Jack was fine, he did. But I had to wash my hair and get myself ready to go the next morning to the Doles' home, where we were going to meet with them first, just privately, and then at the end of that time they were going to announce that he was the pick. I just remember doing a lot of praying. I knew that I had my

prayer group at home. I think they probably, no they didn't know. I didn't have time to talk to anybody. We didn't do emails then, at least I didn't.

Kondracke: I don't think anybody did.

Kemp: No.

Kondracke: Let me just jump to the debate. What happened at the [Albert A. "Al"] Gore [Jr.] debate.

Kemp: I do know that they wanted him to take on [William J. "Bill"] Clinton, and you know, Jack was just not mean-spirited, and I don't know what all they wanted him to say, and I think it was the Senator from New Hampshire

Kondracke: Judd [A.] Gregg.

Kemp: Yes, Judd Gregg who did the, and I went to a couple of those things. I just remember being sort of overwhelmed, because I thought, "These guys are lawyers. Jack is not a lawyer, he has not done those kinds of debates." He really sort of wrote his own script. Anything he did he did it the way he wanted to do, and he didn't do what they told him. He didn't follow people's—like in his own campaign he didn't really do all the things that the professionals wanted him to do. He rarely had a script that he spoke from. They got him a little bit more disciplined, but then here he was plugged into the Dole campaign, and he had to do it. I think he was pretty good. I think he did mostly what they told him to do, but this was bigger,

probably, than I thought it was. Maybe he knew. And I don't know what he did. He didn't make any big mistakes, but he did not take on Clinton. I think he just wanted to get across growth ideas, opportunities for all Americans, and reaching out and being inclusive and whatever. I don't know.

Kondracke: So was he just incapable of attacking anybody except their ideas? I mean he just couldn't be negative?

Kemp: I think so. I think that was just against his DNA. So whatever it was they told him, and I don't know what they told him, I don't know if they gave him talking points on you've got to attack him on this, this and this, I don't know. But I'll bet some people know that. Who were his advisers then? Dave Smick wasn't still around.

Kondracke: No, but you know, we've got people who have talked about that. I just wonder whether from your perspective

Kemp: No, they would know more than I. I really didn't.

Kondracke: After the debate was over how did he think he'd done?

Kemp: He didn't think he'd done well. But then there were other times that he'd done major speeches that he probably didn't think went real well, either because he didn't get a chance to say everything he wanted to, or he didn't discipline himself, so he didn't think he'd done real well, but I don't think, I mean I didn't think he lost. I thought that he did okay, but I wasn't as on the scene as all of his staff were. I'm sure that they were really disappointed.

Kondracke: During this period when he was making money and on boards and stuff like that, did he just jump to this new role in life? Being on Oracle [Corporation] board and—

Kemp: I don't think it challenged him, because it wasn't ideological on the type of things he wanted to think about. He didn't have a platform, he didn't have a base. His base was him, and he was scattered. And he had some business—

Kondracke: Was he the kind of guy who needed an audience, I mean a crowd?

Kemp: He might have, it might be that he, yes, because he'd always had one, from the time he started playing football, through Congress, through H.U.D., and he then was a national figure, although it wasn't a huge national figure, but you know, he certainly was recognized and listened to whenever he said things, so yes, I think it must have been. But he poured himself into, you know he had this Venezuelan business thing that sort of was going, and there was somebody in London connected to it, and it wasn't really great people. All those kinds of things that he'd kept himself busy with that I didn't even have to pay attention to. Jimmy did, because by that time Jimmy was working with him.

Kondracke: I don't know how deep in this you want to get, but when he got sick—we're down to the end here—how did he take the prospect of dying? He knew he had a terminal illness, right? Or did he fight it?

Kemp: No, he didn't fight it like a lot of people do. Let's see. I'm glad you gave me this [refers to list of questions submitted to her in advance] .

Kondracke: Forty-three.

Kemp: I said that he wasn't self-analytical, so he did not reflect or talk about death. Christian Scientists don't have funerals. He had always said he didn't want a funeral, and I said well, memorial service is something. Before he got sick I remember having a discussion with him, and he was adamant, "I don't want to have a funeral service." And I said, "Memorial service?" And then we were talking about making wills and things. He didn't like to talk about that, at least in speaking or writing he didn't want to get that down. He just didn't want to think about it. So he was not—I don't know if he was discouraged. I don't think he was. I think he just took it and whatever went through his mind, we did. Jeff would come and visit and we'd pray and read the Bible, and say whatever Jeff wanted to say. Sometimes he was by himself with Jack, and Jack had other people, Colson came and talked to him, JB, you know who JB is? James [N.] Brown.

Kondracke: James Brown, the football player.

Kemp: Yes. People that really wanted to talk to him personally about life did come and visit with him, and he liked that. Colson was one of them, and JB, and Jeff, our pastor, Alistair Begg, who gave the prayer at Jack's memorial service. So there were a few people that he talked

to personally about that, and me, he really liked Psalm XVI, and he liked the book of Galatians, and he would have me—I'd say, "Do you want me to read you anything?" And he'd say, "Yes, that." But he was—his brain was affected a little bit at the end, so he wasn't his total self, because the cancer had gone to his brain. And he had had some radiation on that, so it maybe arrested that, I don't know. But then he quit having treatments. It was harder on him to have the treatment than not to have the treatment, and I just think that he, you know, the doctors don't tell you you're going to have a certain amount of time. The doctors did tell us that they didn't think he'd last more than four months, even having chemo, I don't think.

Kondracke: Because he was pretty riddled, right, with cancer?

Kemp: Yes. He could have fought it. There are things that you can do. You know we went to New York. He did the things that were not going to Texas. He didn't want to go to Texas and live at the hospital, the [MD] Anderson [Center].

Kondracke: What do you think were your greatest contributions to his career and his life?

Kemp: I think just knowing that we were raising a family, were married, and committed to our family and being together, and our ideas were the same, and I didn't make big issues out of things that were not huge, huge life-changing issues. And he appreciated that and appreciated that I was just sort of there to listen, but I had my own life, I had my own friends. He appreciated my being different

than him. I had better close friends, but I think women do, more so than men, anyway, especially men like him.

Kondracke: Because?

Kemp: Well, because he was sort of a loner in a way, in that he was, he had to measure up to his brothers, and make his own way, and be tenacious about whatever it was. I don't know what went to make him up. I couldn't be self-analytical. I read a book early on in our marriage that was called *The Art of Understanding your Mate*, and basically it was a Christian book, but it was a psychologist. If a change is needed, all I can change is me. I cannot change somebody else. So I just figured, okay, he needed encouragement and to be listened to by me.

Kondracke: Everybody says that you were his ground, that you grounded him. What does that mean?

Kemp: He did appreciate me, I know he did. I think that he appreciated me more than even he realized it, and I kind of felt that, so I was not anything other than wanting to understand him, but I didn't. There are just lots of things about him that I didn't understand, but then I realized that's the way we all are. Nobody understands another person perfectly. We all come from different backgrounds. So I think he appreciated that I didn't have to be in his face about things.

Kondracke: Okay. What haven't I asked you about that you think I should have?

Kemp: I think it's pretty complete. I really feel that I'm glad that I had him in my life, because I think that he made me think things through more than I probably than I would have before. I'm pretty simple, from a small town, and I just think that the life that he exposed me to, and himself too, I think that having me there made him better than not having me there.

Kondracke: How do you think history should remember him?

Kemp: He'll probably be remembered in political history as somebody who was a conservative Republican, but who was inclusive and not divisive and not mean-spirited, got along with both parties, and it didn't have to be a political party, he was not a party person. He was an ideological, practical, competitive. The battleground is either on the sports field or in the business community, or labor capital, or what you believe, ideology. That was his lodestar, and he enjoyed that, and I think he was good at it. He was smarter than I think people realized he was.

Kondracke: Thank you.

Kemp: Thank you.

[end of interview]