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JACK KEMP

THE BLEEDING-HEART CONSERVATIVE
WHO CHANGED AMERICA

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Jack Kemp The Bleeding Heart Conservative Who Changed America

Michael J. Graetz



Jack Kemp The Bleeding Heart Conservative Who Changed America:

Jack Kemp Morton Kondracke, Fred Barnes, 2015-09-29 THE PURPOSE OF POLITICS IS NOT TO DEFEAT YOUR OPPONENT AS MUCH AS IT IS TO PROVIDE SUPERIOR LEADERSHIP AND BETTER IDEAS THAN THE OPPOSITION JACK KEMP The late 1970s were miserable for America It was the post Vietnam post Watergate era a time of high unemployment ruinous inflation gasoline lines Communist advances and bottomed out U S morale In the 1980s it all turned around stagflation ended and nearly two decades of prosperity ensued The Soviet Union retreated then collapsed America again believed in itself And around the world democratic capitalism was deemed the end of history Ronald Reagan s policies sparked the American renaissance but the Gipper s leadership is only part of the story The economic theory that underpinned America s success was pioneered by a star professional quarterback turned self taught intellectual and bleeding heart conservative Jack Kemp Kemp s role in a pivotal period in American history is at last illuminated in this first ever biography which also has lessons for the politics of today Kemp was the congressional champion of supply side economics the idea that lowering taxes would foster growth Even today almost no one advocates a return to a top income tax rate of 70 percent Kemp didn t just challenge the Democratic establishment He also encouraged his fellow Republicans to be growth not austerity minded open their tent to minorities and blue collar workers battle poverty and discrimination and once again become the party of Lincoln Kemp approached politics the same way he played quarterback for the Buffalo Bills with a refusal to accept defeat Yet he also was incapable of personal attack arguing always on the level of ideas He regarded opponents as adversaries not enemies and often cooperated with them to get things done Despite many ups and downs including failed presidential and vice presidential bids he represented a positive idealistic compassionate Republicanism Drawing on never published papers and more than one hundred Kemp Oral History Project interviews noted journalists Morton Kondracke and Fred Barnes trace Kemp s life from his childhood through his pro football career to his influential years as a congressman and cabinet secretary As the American Dream seems to be waning and polarized politics stifles Washington Kemp is a model for what politics ought to be The Republican party and the nation are in desperate need of another Kemp **The Presidents and the Poor** Lawrence J. McAndrews, 2018-08-22 Declaring a War on Poverty in 1964 President Lyndon Baines Johnson proclaimed We shall not rest until that war is won Since then nine presidents have come and gone each taking up the campaign in his own way but the poor are still here While all of these presidents have helped produce meaningful changes in the lives of the nation s underclass their setbacks have been at least as notable as their successes The Presidents and the Poor asks why This book is the first thorough study of the policies and politics of the presidents from Johnson to Barack Obama what they did right and how they went wrong in over half a century of fighting poverty Many factors conspired to frustrate Democratic efforts to escalate Johnson s War on Poverty and Republican attempts to unravel it the rivalry of the two party system the frequency of congressional elections the fluctuations of the economy the demands of

foreign policy the inertia of the federal bureaucracy the tensions among cities states and Washington DC and the priorities of the presidents the press and the public Examining how each president tried to alleviate the suffering of the poor including what resources he marshaled for which programs policies legal strategies and political maneuvers Lawrence J McAndrews details how and why none of the presidents were able to surmount the enormous socioeconomic political and cultural barriers to eradicating poverty Comprehensive and engaging rich in primary research and sobering in its conclusions his book brings much needed attention and clarity to an enduring yet too often neglected problem **Counterrevolution**

Melinda Cooper, 2024-03-26 A thorough investigation of the current combination of austerity and extravagance that characterizes government spending and central bank monetary policy At the close of the 1970s government treasuries and central banks took a vow of perpetual self restraint To this day fiscal authorities fret over soaring public debt burdens while central bankers wring their hands at the slightest sign of rising wages As the brief reprieve of coronavirus spending made clear no departure from government austerity will be tolerated without a corresponding act of penance Yet we misunderstand the scope of neoliberal public finance if we assume austerity to be its sole setting Beyond the zero sum game of direct claims on state budgets lies a realm of indirect government spending that escapes the naked eye Capital gains are multiply subsidized by a tax system that reserves its greatest rewards for financial asset holders And for all its airs of haughty asceticism the Federal Reserve has become adept at facilitating the inflation of asset values while ruthlessly suppressing wages Neoliberalism is as extravagant as it is austere and this paradox needs to be grasped if we are to challenge its core modus operandi Melinda Cooper examines the major schools of thought that have shaped neoliberal common sense around public finance Focusing in particular on Virginia school public choice theory and supply side economics she shows how these currents produced distinct but ultimately complementary responses to the capitalist crisis of the 1970s With its intellectual roots in the conservative Southern Democratic tradition Virginia school public choice theory espoused an austere doctrine of budget balance The supply side movement by contrast advocated tax cuts without spending restraint and debt issuance without guilt in an apparent repudiation of austerity Yet for all their differences the two schools converged around the need to rein in the redistributive uses of public spending Together they drove a counterrevolution in public finance that deepened the divide between rich and poor and revived the fortunes of dynastic wealth Far reaching as the neoliberal counterrevolution has been Cooper still identifies a counterfactual history of unrealized possibilities in the capitalist crisis of the 1970s She concludes by inviting us to rethink the concept of revolution and raises the question Is another politics of extravagance possible *Pigskin Nation* Jesse Berrett, 2018-04-11 Cast as the ultimate hardhats football players of the 1960s seemed to personify a crewcut traditional manhood that channeled the Puritan work ethic Yet despite a social upheaval against such virtues the National Football League won over all of America and became a cultural force that recast politics in its own smashmouth image Jesse Berrett explores pro football's new place in the zeitgeist of the 1960s and

1970s The NFL's brilliant harnessing of the sports media complex combined with a nimble curation of its official line brought different visions of the same game to both Main Street and the ivory tower. Politicians meanwhile spouted gridiron jargon as their handlers co-opted the NFL's gift for spectacle and mythmaking to shape a potent new politics that in essence became pro football. Governing entertainment news elections celebrity all put aside old loyalties to pursue the mass audience captured by the NFL's alchemy of presentation television and high stepping style. An invigorating appraisal of a dynamic era Pigskin Nation reveals how pro football created the template for a future that became our present. *Do All the Good You Can* Gary Scott Smith, 2023-10-10

Methodism in the public and private lives of the politician After more than forty contentious years in the public eye Hillary Rodham Clinton is one of the best known political figures in the nation Yet the strong religious faith at the heart of her politics and personal life often remains confounding if not mysterious to longtime observers Even many of her admirers would be surprised to hear Clinton state that her Methodist outlook has been a huge part of who I am and how I have seen the world and what I believe in and what I have tried to do in my life Gary Scott Smith's biography of Clinton's journey in faith begins with her Methodist upbringing in Park Ridge Illinois where she faithfully attended worship services Sunday school and youth group meetings Like many mainline Protestants Clinton's spiritual commitment developed gradually throughout childhood while her combination of missionary zeal and impressive personal talents has informed her career from the time of her pro bono work at Yale on behalf of children to the present Her Methodist faith has been very important to many of Clinton's high profile endeavors and in helping her cope with the prominent travails brought on by two presidential campaigns never ending conservative rancor and her husband's infidelity Smith's account examines Clinton's faith in the context of work ranging from her 1990s pursuit of healthcare reform to a Hillary doctrine of foreign policy focused on her longtime goal of providing basic human rights for children and women a project she saw as essential to United States security The result is an enlightening reconsideration of an extraordinary political figure who has defied private doubts and public controversy to live by John Wesley's dictum Do all the good you can by all the means you can in all the ways you can in all the places you can at all the times you can to all the people you can as long as ever you can *The Power to Destroy* Michael J. Graetz, 2025-09-23

How the antitax fringe went mainstream and now threatens America's future The postwar United States enjoyed large widely distributed economic rewards and most Americans accepted that taxes were a reasonable price to pay for living in a society of shared prosperity Then in 1978 California enacted Proposition 13 a property tax cap that Ronald Reagan hailed as a second American Revolution setting off an antitax antigovernment wave that has transformed American politics and economic policy In *The Power to Destroy* Michael Graetz tells the story of the antitax movement and how it holds America hostage undermining the nation's ability to meet basic needs and fix critical problems In 1819 Chief Justice John Marshall declared that the power to tax entails the power to destroy But *The Power to Destroy* argues that tax opponents now wield this destructive power Attacking the IRS

protecting tax loopholes and pushing tax cuts from Reagan to Donald Trump the antitax movement is threatening the nation's social safety net increasing inequality ballooning the national debt and sapping America's financial strength The book chronicles how the movement originated as a fringe enterprise promoted by zealous outsiders using false economic claims and thinly veiled racist rhetoric and how abetted by conservative media and Grover Norquist's taxpayer protection pledge it evolved into a mainstream political force The important story of how the antitax movement came to dominate and distort politics and how it impedes rational budgeting equality and opportunities The Power to Destroy is essential reading for understanding American life today

The Curious History of the Heart Vincent M. Figueredo, 2023-04-04 Gold Award Winner 2024 Nonfiction Book Awards Runner up 2024 History category San Francisco Book Festival Runner up 2024 General Non Fiction New York Book Festival For much of recorded history people considered the heart to be the most important organ in the body In cultures around the world the heart not the brain was believed to be the location of intelligence memory emotion and the soul Over time views on the purpose of the heart have transformed as people sought to understand the life forces it contains Modern medicine and science dismissed what was once the king of the organs as a mere blood pump subservient to the brain yet the heart remains a potent symbol of love and health and an important part of our cultural iconography This book traces the evolution of our understanding of the heart from the dawn of civilization to the present Vincent M Figueredo an accomplished cardiologist and expert on the history of the human heart explores the role and significance of the heart in art culture religion philosophy and science across time and place He examines how the heart really works its many meanings in our emotional and daily lives and what cutting edge science is teaching us about this remarkable organ Figueredo considers the science of heart disease recent advancements in heart therapies and what the future may hold He highlights the emerging field of neurocardiology which has found evidence of a heart brain connection in mental and physical health suggesting that ancient views hold more truth than moderns suspect Ranging widely and deeply throughout human history this book sheds new light on why the heart remains so central to our sense of self

Dollars for Life Mary Ziegler, 2022-01-01 A new understanding of the slow drift to extremes in American politics that shows how the anti-abortion movement remade the Republican Party A timely and expert guide to one of today's most hot button political issues Publishers Weekly starred review A sober knowledgeable scholarly analysis of a timely issue Kirkus Reviews Ziegler's argument is that over the course of decades the anti-abortion movement laid the groundwork for an insurgent candidate like Trump Jennifer Szalai New York Times The modern Republican Party is the party of conservative Christianity and big business two things so closely identified with the contemporary GOP that we hardly notice the strangeness of the pairing Legal historian Mary Ziegler traces how the anti-abortion movement helped to forge and later upend this alliance Beginning with the Supreme Court's landmark decision in *Buckley v Valeo* right to lifers fought to gain power in the GOP by changing how campaign spending and the First Amendment work The anti-abortion movement helped to revolutionize the rules of

money in U S politics and persuaded conservative voters to fixate on the federal courts Ultimately the campaign finance landscape that abortion foes created fueled the GOP s embrace of populism and the rise of Donald Trump Ziegler offers a surprising new view of the slow drift to extremes in American politics and explains how it had everything to do with the strange intersection of right to life politics and campaign spending **I Know Best** Roger L. Simon,2016-06-14 In 1979 Christopher Lasch published the epochal *The Culture of Narcissism* warning of the normalizing of narcissism in our society Lasch may have understated it 35 years later in the Obama era with its parade of endless often inexplicable scandals we have a full blown epidemic of what has recently been called Moral Narcissism Forget Narcissus and his reflection Moral Narcissism the almost schizophrenic divide between intentions and results now pervading our culture is the new method for feeling good about yourself It no longer matters how anything turns out as long as your intentions were good that you were moral And just as importantly the only determinant of those intentions the only one who defines that morality is you **I Know Best** goes beyond Lasch to lay bare how this moral narcissism is behind all those scandals from Obamacare to the Veteran s Administration to the IRS Benghazi Bergdahl Syria and beyond Everything the Obama administration did and does was about making them feel good about themselves the results be damned And they have as their allies those supreme moral narcissists in the academy media and Hollywood ever willing to ratify those good intentions and ignore those same results But **I Know Best** is not just about the Left Moral Narcissism affects the right as well even when they don t realize it It is a true epidemic that must be cured in order to save our democratic republic and our futures **Democracy in Chains** Nancy MacLean,2017 In *Democracy in Chains* award winning historian Nancy MacLean reveals a troubling prospect Since its inception the Radical Right has worked to change not simply who rules but to fundamentally alter the rules of democratic governance themselves She names the Right s true founder the Nobel Prize winning political economist James McGill Buchanan and dissects the operation he and his colleagues designed to alter government at both the federal and state levels the judiciary and the law **One Nation Under Gold** James Ledbetter,2017-06-13 *One Nation Under Gold* examines the countervailing forces that have long since divided America whether gold should be a repository of hope or a damaging delusion that has long since derailed the rational investor Worshipped by Tea Party politicians but loathed by sane economists gold has historically influenced American monetary policy and has exerted an often outsized influence on the national psyche for centuries Now acclaimed business writer James Ledbetter explores the tumultuous history and larger than life personalities from George Washington to Richard Nixon behind America s volatile relationship to this hallowed metal and investigates what this enduring obsession reveals about the American identity Exhaustively researched and expertly woven *One Nation Under Gold* begins with the nation s founding in the 1770s when the new republic erupted with bitter debates over the implementation of paper currency in lieu of metal coins Concerned that the colonies thirteen separate currencies would only lead to confusion and chaos some Founding Fathers believed that a national currency would not only

unify the fledgling nation but provide a perfect solution for a country that was believed to be lacking in natural silver and gold resources Animating the Wild West economy of the nineteenth century with searing insights Ledbetter brings to vivid life the actions of Whig president Andrew Jackson one of gold's most passionate advocates whose vehement protest against a standardized national currency would precipitate the nation's first feverish gold rush Even after the establishment of a national paper currency the virulent political divisions continued reaching unprecedented heights at the Democratic National Convention in 1896 when presidential aspirant William Jennings Bryan delivered the legendary Cross of Gold speech that electrified an entire convention floor stoking the fears of his agrarian supporters While Bryan never amassed a wide enough constituency to propel his cause into the White House America's stubborn attachment to gold persisted wreaking so much havoc that FDR in order to help rescue the moribund Depression economy ordered a ban on private ownership of gold in 1933 In fact so entrenched was the belief that gold should uphold the almighty dollar it was not until 1973 that Richard Nixon ordered that the dollar be delinked from any relation to gold completely overhauling international economic policy and cementing the dollar's global significance More intriguing is the fact that America's exuberant fascination with gold has continued long after Nixon's historic decree as in the profusion of late night television ads that appeal to goldbug speculators that proliferate even into the present One Nation Under Gold reveals as much about American economic history as it does about the sectional divisions that continue to cleave our nation ultimately becoming a unique history about economic irrationality and its influence on the American psyche *Asymmetric Politics* Matt Grossmann, David A. Hopkins, 2016-08-10 The Republican Party is the vehicle of an ideological movement whereas the Democratic Party is a coalition of social groups with concrete policy concerns Democrats prefer a more moderate party leadership that makes compromises whereas Republicans favor a more conservative party leadership that sticks to principles Each party finds popular support for its approach because the American public simultaneously favors liberal positions on specific policy issues and conservative views on the broader role of government **Capitalism Contested** Romain Huret, Nelson Lichtenstein, Jean-Christian Vinel, 2020-12-11 In the historical narrative that prevails today the New Deal years are positioned between two equally despised Gilded Ages the first in the late nineteenth century and the second characterized by the world of Walmart globalization and right wing populism in which we currently live What defines these two ages is an increasing level of inequality legitimized by powerful ideologies namely Social Darwinism at the end of the nineteenth century and neoliberalism today In stark contrast the era of the New Deal was first and foremost an attempt to put an end to inequality in American society In the historical *longue durée* it appears today as a kind of golden age when policymakers and citizens sought to devise solutions to the two major questions labor on one side social on the other that were at the heart of the American political economy during the twentieth century Capitalism Contested argues that the New Deal order remains an effective framework to make sense of the transformation of American political economy over the last hundred years Contributors offer

an historicized analysis of the degree to which that political economic and ideological order persists and the ways in which it has been transcended or even overthrown The essays pay attention not only to those ideas and social forces hostile to the New Deal but to the contradictions and debilities that were present at the inauguration or became inherent within this liberal impulse during the last half of the twentieth century The unifying thematic among the essays consists not in their subject matter politics political economy social thought and legal scholarship are represented but in a historical quest to assess the transformation and fate of an economic and policy order nearly a century after its creation Contributors Kate Andrias Romain Huret William P Jones Nelson Lichtenstein Nancy MacLean Isaac William Martin Margaret O Mara K Sabeel Rahman Timothy Shenk Elizabeth Tandy Shermer Jason Scott Smith Samir Sonti Karen M Tani Jean Christian Vinel **Milton Friedman** Jennifer Burns, 2023-11-14 An Economist Best Book of 2023 One of The New York Times 33 Nonfiction Books to Read This Fall Named a most anticipated fall book by the Chicago Tribune and Bloomberg Finalist for the 2024 Hayek Book Prize Wherever you sit on the political spectrum there s a lot to learn from this book More than a biography of one controversial person it s an intellectual history of twentieth century economic thought Greg Rosalesky NPR s Planet Money The first full biography of America s most renowned economist Milton Friedman was alongside John Maynard Keynes the most influential economist of the twentieth century His work was instrumental in the turn toward free markets that defined the 1980s and his full throated defenses of capitalism and freedom resonated with audiences around the world It s no wonder the last decades of the twentieth century have been called the Age of Friedman or that analysts have sought to hold him responsible for both the rising prosperity and the social ills of recent times In Milton Friedman the first full biography to employ archival sources the historian Jennifer Burns tells Friedman s extraordinary story with the nuance it deserves She provides lucid and lively context for his groundbreaking work on everything from why dentists earn less than doctors to the vital importance of the money supply to inflation and the limits of government planning and stimulus She traces Friedman s long standing collaborations with women including the economist Anna Schwartz his complex relationships with powerful figures such as the Federal Reserve chairman Arthur Burns and the Treasury secretary George Shultz and his direct interventions in policymaking at the highest levels Most of all Burns explores Friedman s key role in creating a new economic vision and a modern American conservatism The result is a revelatory biography of America s first neoliberal and perhaps its last great conservative *Brutal Campaign* Robert L. Fleecker, 2023-03-15 At 8 00 p m eastern standard time on election night 1988 NBC news anchor Tom Brokaw informed the country that they would soon know more about the outcome of one of the longest bloodiest presidential campaigns that anyone can remember It was a landslide victory for George H W Bush over Michael Dukakis and yet Bush would serve only one term forever overshadowed in history by the man who made him vice president by the man who defeated him and even by his own son The 1988 presidential race quickly receded into history but it was marked by the beginning of the modern political sex scandals the first major African American presidential

candidacy the growing power of the religious right and other key trends that came to define the elections that followed Bush's campaign tactics clearly illustrated the strategies and issues that allowed Republicans to control the White House for most of the 1970s and 1980s and the election set the stage for the national political advent of both Joe Biden and Donald Trump

Robert L Fleegler's narrative history of the 1988 election draws from untapped archival sources and revealing oral history interviews to uncover just how consequential this moment was for American politics Identifying the seeds of political issues to come Fleegler delivers an engaging review of an election that set a template for the political dynamics that define our lives to this day

Republican Presidents and the Safety Net Matthew Gritter, 2018-12-21 Republican presidents have navigated between popular programs and conservative supporters since the Eisenhower administration and since the New Deal Republican presidents have looked for ways to accommodate rather than abolish the federal social safety net Yet moderation often led to a backlash from their conservative supporters leading Republican presidents to move from accommodation to opposition Richard Nixon went from proposing innovative policies to vetoing comprehensive child care legislation George W Bush's compassionate conservatism was jettisoned for an attempt at Social Security reform In *From Moderation to Backlash* each Republican president since the New Deal is explored with a particular focus on the third rail of American politics Social Security

The Man Who Ran Washington Peter Baker, Susan Glasser, 2021-09-07 BEST BOOK OF THE YEAR The New York Times The Washington Post Fortune Bloomberg From two of America's most revered political journalists comes the definitive biography of legendary White House chief of staff and secretary of state James A Baker III the man who ran Washington when Washington ran the world For a quarter century from the end of Watergate to the aftermath of the Cold War no Republican won the presidency or ran the White House without the advice of James Addison Baker III A scion of Texas aristocracy who became George H W Bush's tennis partner Baker had never worked in Washington until a devastating family tragedy struck when he was thirty nine Within a few years he was leading Gerald Ford's campaign and would go on to manage a total of five presidential races and win a sixth for George W Bush in a Florida recount He ran Ronald Reagan's White House and became the most consequential secretary of state since Henry Kissinger Ruthlessly partisan during campaign season Baker became an indispensable dealmaker after the election He negotiated with Democrats at home and Soviets abroad rewrote the tax code assembled the coalition that won the Gulf War brokered the reunification of Germany and helped bring a decades long nuclear superpower standoff to an end Brilliantly crafted by Peter Baker of The New York Times and Susan Glasser of The New Yorker *The Man Who Ran Washington* is a page turning study in the acquisition exercise and preservation of power in late twentieth century America and the story of Washington when Washington ran the world Their masterly biography is necessary reading and destined to become a classic

SNAFU Ed Helms, 2025-04-29 From actor comedian writer and host of the hit history podcast **SNAFU** Ed Helms brings you an absurdly entertaining look at history's biggest blunders complete with lively illustrations *History* contains a plethora of insane screwups otherwise known

as SNAFUs Coined during World War I SNAFU is an acronym that stands for Situation Normal All F cked Up In other words things are pretty screwed up but aren t they always Spanning from the 1950 s to the 2000 s Ed Helms steps in as unofficial history teacher for a deep dive into each decade s craziest SNAFUs From planting nukes on the moon to training felines as CIA spies to weaponizing the weather this book will unpack the incredibly ironic decision making and hilariously terrifying aftermath of America s biggest mishaps Filled with sharp humor SNAFU is a wild ride through time that not only entertains but offers fresh insights that just might prevent history from repeating itself again and again **Why the Right Went**

Wrong E.J. Dionne,2016-09-06 With a new postscript on the 2016 presidential primaries this is the story behind today s headlines In an absorbing narrative E J Dionne Jr illuminates the history of Republican politics from the Barry Goldwater era through the Reagan Revolution to the crisis of the 2016 presidential election With that perspective and contemporary reporting he explains the unrest and discontent on the Right and the Republican Party s bitter civil war while illustrating why a radicalized conservatism has made governing our country so difficult back cover *Taxes Have Consequences* Arthur B.

Laffer,Jeanne Cairns Sinquefield,Brian Domitrovic,2022-09-27 The definitive history of the effect of the income tax on the economy Ever since 1913 when the United States first imposed the income tax via constitutional amendment the top rate of that tax has determined the fate of the American economy When the top rate has been high as in the late 1910s the 1930s 1940s 1950s and 1970s the response of those with money and capital has been to curtail real economic activity in favor of protecting assets and income streams Huge declines have come to the economy in these circumstances The most brutal example was the Great Depression itself When the top tax rate has been cut and held at reduced levels as in the 1920s the 1960s in the long boom of the 1980s and 1990s and briefly in the late 2010s astonishing reversals have occurred The rich have brought their money out of hiding and put it to work in the economy The huge swings in the American economy since 1913 have had an inverse relationship to income tax rates

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