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# Poems speak to Dole while on election trail

WASHINGTON — Now that he wants to be president, Sen. Bob Dole is turning literary. He began and ended his speech last week before a National Press Club audience by quoting lines from Robert Frost's "The Road Not Taken."



Ken Peterson  
Washington-Kansas line

Alluding to the choices that nations, as well as individuals, must make he opened with:  
*"Two roads diverged in a yellow wood,  
And sorry I could not travel both  
And be one traveler, long I stood  
And looked down one as far as I could  
To where it bent in the undergrowth,"*  
Dole said nations must assume responsibilities to match their talents, but the United States today is groping for answers to satisfy an unhappy people. Fellow countrymen are aware of their potential but seem uncertain of their purpose, Dole said.  
He ended his prepared remarks with these lines from the same poem.  
*"Two roads diverged in a wood, and I—  
I took the one less traveled by,  
And that has made all the difference."*

The political comparisons here are obvious. The road taken in 1980 will carry the nation into the next century and beyond. It must be chosen carefully, Dole said, viewing himself as the lead traveler down the path of those who "urge us onward, to the day when free enterprise serves all without distinction, and the

crisis of the 1970s are remembered for what they were — spurs to national greatness.

It's nice that the Kansas Republican is using the beautiful words of a beloved poet to make political and philosophical points.

Researching further, Dole could find other lines in other Frost poems that would apply to him.

Money is a recurring problem in the Dole presidential campaign. Perhaps he could send out a fundraising letter to increase the coffers for his underdog bid with these lines from "Provide, Provide."

*"Better to go down dignified  
With brought friendship by your side  
Than none at all. Provide, provide!"*

The Kansas senator has devoted virtually all of the August congressional recess to presidential campaign appearances. Wouldn't these familiar lines from "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening" fit well with Dole, the spurrier of vacations and play?

*"The woods are lovely, dark and deep,  
But I have promises to keep,  
And miles to go before I sleep,  
And miles to go before I sleep."*

More hardened political types give Dole's quest little chance for success. They could rally around these words from "The Death of the Hired Man" to illustrate their belief that Dole will wind up seeking re-election to the Senate in 1980.

*"Home is the place where, when you have to go there,  
They have to take you in."*

Or the truly skeptical — those who believe Dole blew it for the Republicans in 1976 when he was the vice presidential candidate and who think his whole effort

this time is foolhardy — can take heart with these lines, also from "The Death of the Hired Man."

*"And nothing to look backward to with pride,  
And nothing to look forward to with hope."*

But Dole IS looking forward with hope. In his press club appearance, he said he could foresee no circumstances where he would withdraw before the primaries next year. In an unusual tactic, he immediately wrote off President Carter as a one-term president, predicted Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., would be the 1980 presidential candidate and then proceeded to blast the senator's big government programs.

Dole is enthralled with the idea of taking on Kennedy. He wants to persuade Republicans that he is the best hope for heading off Kennedy because of his experience in the Senate and his familiarity with Kennedy's "burnt-out version of the federal government as it is today."

Smitten by a presidential fever in 1976 that convinced him he would like to be a good senator of 50 states, Dole felt the calling to run because he evidently felt he had something to offer the nation. He would fall, but Frost's poem "Away" seems appropriate for the Russell native.

*"Unless I'm wrong  
I but obey  
The urge of a song:  
I'm bound—away!  
And I must return  
If dissatisfied  
With what I learn  
From having died."*

## Seeking White House, Bob Dole Tries to Bury Hatchet-Man Image

16 THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
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### Sen. Bob Dole Tries To Bury an Image As a Hatchet Man

Label Gained as VP Candidate Dogs Kansas Republican As He Seeks White House

By JAMES M. PERRY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

CEDAR RAPIDS, Iowa—After the 1976 presidential election was over and Gerald Ford and Robert Dole had lost narrowly to Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale, Mr. Dole's wife rented tapes of the nightly television news broadcasts on all three networks.

Thereafter, night after night, Elizabeth Dole, and sometimes her husband, would settle back in their Watergate apartment in Washington and watch replays of the nine-week campaign as it was brought to the voters by CBS, NBC and ABC.

And Mrs. Dole, who had married the Republican Senator from Kansas only eight months before he was picked to run for Vice President, came to a not wholly unexpected conclusion. "Bob Dole doesn't come across in those tapes as a hatchet man," she says now. "That was a tag stuck to him when he was chosen as President Ford's running mate at the convention in Kansas City. My husband is a man of deep compassion. He likes people—truly he does."

She, Dole, 56, has taken a step up this time. He is running for President—as a man of deep compassion. His wife, until recently a politically independent member of the Federal Trade Commission, is working just as hard. It is almost as if both husband and wife were running for President. And their joint message here in Iowa and elsewhere is that Bob Dole doesn't deserve the reputation he got in 1976.

The "New" Dole

But it isn't going smoothly. Reputations, once they are locked in, are hard to budge. So everywhere Bob and Elizabeth Dole go, they are asked about the "new" Bob Dole by people who seem to have no trouble remembering the old one. And raising campaign funds is proving to be as difficult as raising Mr. Dole's standing in the polls.

Sen. Dole's friends, in both parties, insist he deserves better. For it is an almost universally accepted notion that Mr. Dole is hard-working and competent. Republican Nancy Kassebaum, the junior Senator from Kansas, says her colleague "is truly an unselfish person." And liberal Democratic Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota says, "I don't know any Senator in the last five or six years who has grown more, intellectually and personally, than Bob Dole. He has flowered into a warm, witty and generally engaging man."

What sets Bob Dole apart from most other politicians is a sense of delicious whimsy—an ability to stand apart from himself and appreciate how ludicrous the business of running for office sometimes is.

Mrs. Dole says her husband sees things in perspective because he has been through so much, starting with that day in Italy in 1945 when he was all but blown apart by mortar and machine-gun fire. It took 39 months in Army hospitals to put him back together. He couldn't walk for a year, and, in one of a dozen or more operations, he lost a kidney. He is unable now to use his right arm, sometimes, he says, he loses feeling in his left arm.

"I am a survivor," Sen. Dole says. "When I was in those hospitals, they had to wind me up every morning. Now, I try to use my head instead of my hands."

Mrs. Dole, 43, is her husband's best advocate. She was born in Salisbury, N.C., and graduated from Duke University, where she was president of student government, Phi Beta Kappa and May Queen. She has law and education degrees from Harvard. She has practiced law, worked for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, served in the White House as special assistant for consumer affairs and been an FTC commissioner.

Both she and Sen. Dole like to talk about the politics of compassion. "I'm sure," Mr. Dole says, "you could make up a list of five things Republicans are against. It's harder to make up a list of five things Republicans are for. There is a perception in the country that Republicans are anti-people—anti black people, anti poor people, anti elderly people, anti Hispanic-American people."

Mr. Dole says he is for welfare reform, and he has cosponsored legislation with

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Democratic Sen. Russell Long of Louisiana to provide grants to the states to do something about it. He is for a limited national health program that would provide catastrophic-illness coverage to all families through existing federal programs and the private insurance industry. And he supports the idea of "indexing" everybody's taxes to prevent the government from reaping a windfall every time inflation moves taxpayers into higher brackets.

Originally, he says—whimsy once again getting the best of him—"indexing was Jim Buckley's idea. Then it was picked up by Bob Taft. He was replaced by Ed Brooke and Bob Griffin. Now it's all mine." His point, of course, is that all the other "indexers" were Senators who were defeated.

Sen. Dole has supported full voting representation for the District of Columbia, the Equal Rights Amendment and an expanded food-stamp program (his ally is Sen. McGovern). And he shows every sign of getting ready to vote for the SALT II treaty with the Soviet Union.

He is probably more of a "moderate" than Ronald Reagan, John Connally or George Bush, and maybe even than Howard Baker. "He might be the Republicans' left-wing candidate this year," one wag on his own staff quips.

The Mondale Debate

But burying the Senator's hatchet-man image isn't easy. What people seem to remember most is that 1976 TV debate between Mr. Dole and Mr. Mondale. It was then Mr. Dole said Watergate shouldn't be an issue against the Republicans, any more than the fact that all this century's wars occurred under Democratic Presidents should be an issue against the Democrats. He said he had sided it up, and all the killed and wounded "in Democrat wars in this century" would just be enough to populate the city of Detroit.

Mr. Dole, in his defense, explains—again and again—that he was trapped by the Republican campaign strategy in 1976. "The idea," he said recently here in Iowa, which is his first testing ground, "was to have Mr. Ford in the (White House) Rose Garden, looking presidential—and me out there in the hot sun, raising a fist. What people seem to forget is that if I almost worked. We were 33 points behind when we started, and we almost won the election." Mr. Dole insists he picked up two or three points for the ticket everywhere he campaigned, especially in rural areas.

Robert Teeter, polltaker for the Ford-Dole ticket, says Mr. Dole was some help in

rural areas; but he also says any appearances by a running mate would have helped in those parts of the country. On balance, Mr. Teeter says, "Sen. Dole ended up not having any effect on the Ford vote."

Patrick Caddell, who polled for the Democrats, says Mr. Dole's negative rating ballooned after the Mondale debate—to the point that 47% of one sample thought Mr. Dole wasn't qualified to be President. "This helped us particularly," Mr. Caddell says, "with some groups we thought we should be doing better with—younger voters, independents."

Fund-Raising Problems

It is, of course, history, but it is the context in which the Dole campaign is being run. Mr. Dole has better "name recognition" than some of the other Republican contenders. Yet he continues to lag far behind in these national polls, even though such polls normally do little more than rank candidates by how well they are known by voters who haven't begun to focus on the 1980 election. In a recent Gallup Poll, Mr. Dole was the choice of 2% of the Republican voters for the party's nomination; he was a point behind Gen. Alexander Haig (who currently isn't even running for President), three points behind John Connally, eight points behind Sen. Baker and 36 points behind Ronald Reagan.

To get his ideas across and to moderate his image, Sen. Dole must raise at least \$900,000 this year. He needs that much to campaign in the Iowa caucuses in January and the New Hampshire primary in February. Iowa is vital because it is next door to Kansas and because Mr. Dole thinks his familiarity with agriculture (he has been on Agriculture committees in the House and Senate for 18 years) should do him some good.

But so far the fund-raising goals haven't been met. "John Connally comes through town with a vacuum cleaner, sweeping up all the big money," says Mr. Dole. "I come along later with a broom. Without more money, there will be no campaign."

Both Bob and Elizabeth Dole appreciate that the presidential bid is a long shot. But they both seem to believe, too, that they have something to prove. "I want people to know the real Bob Dole," Mrs. Dole says.

If it doesn't work out, Mr. Dole, whose term is up at the end of next year, can file in June to run again for the Senate. "Kansas," Mrs. Dole says, "is a lovely place."

10—Topeka Daily Capital, Thursday, October 4, 1979

## Dole selects Crutcher to direct presidential campaign

By KEN PETERSON

Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Sen. Bob Dole has replaced a political professional with a native Kansan to direct his presidential campaign, just as Dole did in 1974 when his Senate campaign was stymied.

The Kansas Republican has handed to former lieutenant governor John Crutcher the task of overall coordination for the presidential campaign.

Crutcher, 62, a self-styled "political hand," assumes the duties of Response Marketing Group, a consulting firm Dole relieved last month after differences arose over strategy, fund raising and expenses.

The conditions are reminiscent of 1974 when Dole allowed a professional political operative, Herb Williams of St. Louis, to resign when it became obvious that Williams was spending too much money taking the campaign nowhere.

In a telephone interview from Dole's new campaign office in a picturesque section of Alexandria, Va., Crutcher said his hiring and the staff shakeup in 1974 are similar. Williams went through \$200,000 in 1974 with few results, and the consulting firm spent considerable sums for the presidential campaign with "precious few results to show for it," Crutcher said.

Dole needed help in his presidential campaign so Crutcher joined the staff as a fulltime volunteer, Crutcher said. Dole has 20 to 25 staff members working on the campaign.

September was the best month yet for campaign contributions, although money is still scarce, Crutcher said. Dole singled out last month as the time to concentrate on fund raising appearances nationwide, but Crutcher could provide no specific figures or its success. Totals are still being added, he said.

"Believe me, money is tight for everybody but perhaps a John Connally or Ronald Reagan," Crutcher said.

Dole's presidential campaign has experienced significant staff turnover in recent weeks, including a press aide who went to Connally's campaign and his chief advance person who resigned for personal reasons. Most of the turnover was the result of Dole's termination of the consulting firm contract. Many of those who left were working for Response Marketing, Crutcher said.

Crutcher predicted that Dole will stay in the presidential race at least through the new Hampshire primary, the first major test for the field of can-

didates. He did not forecast what might happen after that February primary, but said Dole would have to make a strong showing to continue.

"I'd think he'd have to come in number one or number two to really stay in the race all the way," Crutcher said.

Asked how Dole could possibly finish at or near the top when he is widely perceived as making little progress, Crutcher said, "I don't think anybody is moving very much. I don't think people who are going to cast their ballots in 1980 are all that revved up about making their decision six months in advance. A lot of minds are going to change in January and February."

Dole is concentrating on New Hampshire and Iowa, site of presidential caucuses in late January. Dole's New Hampshire apparatus is generally regarded as excellent. Dole's plan is not unlike those of the other candidates, Crutcher said.

"You do what you can in this game. Man proposes and God disposes," Crutcher said.

He has detected no weakness in the Dole campaign, although he said he wants to insure that all aspects of the operation, from field work to finances, are pulling in the same direction. Some aides privately say that Dole's campaign is disorganized and that the sena-

tor has taken too much of the detail work himself. To a degree, Crutcher concedes that fact.

"He determines the overall strategy himself. He doesn't have political wisdom who are looking over his shoulder. Most of the other candidates are doing the same thing. Can you imagine somebody telling John Connally what to do?" Crutcher said.

Crutcher is a retired Navy officer who likens his Washington oversight responsibility for the Dole campaign to those of shore facilities in the service.

"The only purpose of a shore establishment in the Navy is to support the fleet and they damn well better. We in

Washington are here to support the field people where the votes are counted," he said.

Dole's chief staffer in New Hampshire is state Sen. Ray Conley Jr. His chief of Iowa operations is a Republican operative in that state, Kim Schmetz.

Crutcher served as Dole's Washington administration assistant in 1974-75, leaving the Senate job to become director of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation in the Interior Department.

He was lieutenant governor of Kansas from 1965 to 1968 and ran unsuccessfully for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in 1968.

President Carter fired Crutcher from the Interior job shortly after taking office. Crutcher earlier this year worked on a federal commission dealing with transportation. When he quit that job in May after the work was completed, he took several weeks off for travel with his wife, Edith. She also is a volunteer in Dole's presidential campaign.

Topeka Daily Capital, Wednesday, September 19, 1979 — 3

## Dole campaign undergoes changes

By Our Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Sen. Bob Dole's presidential campaign will be going through some changes in the next few days as the Kansas Republican tries to get better organized for increased fall activity.

The realignments include hiring finance director Jack Slater, a professional fund raiser who most recently worked at Wayne State University in Detroit as the endowment director.

Jim McAvoy, Dole's campaign press secretary, quit effective this week to work in a similar capacity for John Connally. There are no immediate plans to replace McAvoy.

Dole's entire campaign apparatus here will move from the far-flung reaches of suburban Virginia to a place closer to Washington. The office relocation will not only mean somewhat cheaper rent, but also will give Dole's Senate and presidential staff a better chance to coordinate activities.

The hiring of Slater is designed to

give Dole a fulltime aide who will handle the quest for campaign donations, an activity that Dole has shouldered for the most part since he ended his contract with a professional consulting firm Sept. 1 because of the cost and differences over campaign strategy.

Dole reportedly is having difficulty raising money and has gone back to original contributors in an effort to keep the cash flowing.

The departure of McAvoy follows the resignation of Greg Newell, Dole's chief of advance. Both left Dole's campaign for "personal reasons."

New finance director Slater has worked for the Republican state committee in Michigan, raising \$1.6 million for Richard Nixon in 1972. He also has worked for former Michigan Gov. George Romney.

Dole's campaign evidently has established no definite financial goal, although aides are preparing a new budget. Dole's political director, Bill Russo, remains on the job and is developing financial guidelines. Russo was

a deputy political director for the Ford-Dole ticket in 1976.

Ever mindful of polls, Dole's Senate staff handed out a recent Boston Globe survey of New Hampshire Republicans that shows Connally has slipped significantly while Dole has gained some favorable reaction. The percentage spread between Dole, George Bush and Sen. Howard Baker is considered small by Dole staffers.

In a poll of Republicans who said they plan to vote in the New Hampshire primary, Dole and Bush tied with 8 percent while Baker had 12 percent. The poll, based on the absence of Gerald Ford from consideration, showed Ronald Reagan leading with 50 percent. Connally had 7 percent.

With Ford in the race, Dole received 3 percent, Bush and Connally tied with 4 percent, and Baker had 6 percent. Ford led Reagan 38 to 34 percent.

The Boston Globe poll, based on 651 registered Republicans, said that "Dole, the GOP's 1976 vice presidential

nominee, made some strides. His favorability went from 35 to 42, while his unfavorability remained approximately the same at 32 percent."

In a similar poll in May, Connally had a third place showing in New Hampshire, the spot shared now by Bush and Dole. Connally is in fifth place, according to the latest poll, which was released Sunday by the Boston Globe.

Dole's campaign operation in New Hampshire, the first of the presidential primaries, is considered well organized, and from the poll results, it appears Dole is making some progress.