

# Dole proving more agile than Gramm

By John King  
AP Political Writer

WASHINGTON — If, as Democrats complain, the Senate has become the site of the first Republican presidential primary, then Bob Dole is the clear early leader. And Phil Gramm is a man having trouble finding his niche.

With deft maneuvering this week in the debates over tax cuts and President Clinton's choice for surgeon general, Dole reinforced his position as the more agile candidate, so far anyway, in the battle of the senators who would be president.

"Gramm has had a terrible few months," says Scott Reed, Dole's campaign manager. "There has been none of the disciplined, focused Gramm that everybody has heard about."

## Analysis

But he's hardly impartial. And Gramm says not to worry about him.

"Every time that there's a story of the death of my campaign it means somebody at some point is going to have to write a story of a resurrection," he said this week. "The truth is the campaign is not dying."

Indeed, with seven months to go before the first votes are cast, it's far too soon to say whether Dole's apparent tactical edge will hold up. And Gramm, for all his troubles, is still the fund-raising



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"Right now it would come down to Gramm and Dole," says Henry McMaster, the South Carolina GOP chairman. "Most people still think it will end up being a Dole-Gramm race," echoes Joyce Terhes, Maryland's Republican chairwoman.

Nonetheless, there is a sense of urgency these days at the Gramm campaign.

Charles Black, a veteran of the Reagan and Bush presidential campaigns who has been advising Gramm, has been asked by the senator to take a much more active day-to-day role, and there is talk of a broader shakeup.

If the campaign is struggling, it is in no small part because of Dole's maneuverings in the Senate and on the campaign trail.

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## Dole

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surgeon general with two swift votes Wednesday and Thursday, Dole stole from Gramm some of the thunder the Texan had hoped to get from staging a filibuster. And Dole did so in the face of a suggestion from a top Gramm aide that in bringing the nomination to the floor, Dole had cut some sort of deal with Clinton to "resuscitate" Foster.

"Dole had more to lose on this," said Gary Bauer of the Family Research Council, a conservative group that opposed Foster. "It was really up to him to deliver the votes and in the end he did. People will remember that."

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mitted to the old ways of Washington of tax and spend" and threatened to block his own party's budget. But by Friday Gramm had little choice but to give the deal his blessing.

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These episodes run contrary to predictions that Dole would be hamstrung by his responsibilities as majority leader.

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# Dole's deft maneuvering gives him a tactical edge

Scoring with taxes, Foster, Dole looks like early leader over Gramm in GOP race

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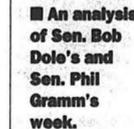
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An analysis of Sen. Bob Dole's and Sen. Phil Gramm's week.

# Goldwater backs Dole, but he prefers Powell

By WALTER R. MEARS  
The Associated Press

PHOENIX — From the vantage of his house above the city, and of his 86 years, Barry Goldwater looks over the valley and talks political heresy: given the right presidential candidate he might just turn into a Democrat.

And his right candidate isn't the one he's endorsed. It's Colin Powell, retired chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who hasn't said which party he'd run in, should he decide to enter the 1996 campaign. Goldwater guesses Republican, but he said that independent or Democrat, Powell would still be his first choice for the White House.

His old Republican establishment won't like that, but so what. "I just sit out here and say to hell with them," Goldwater said as he did. The man whose name long was a synonym for conservative Republican was cantankerous then, and he's more so now. It's been 31 years since he was trounced for the White House, nine since his final farewell to the Senate. The step is slowed, the mem-

ory not always reliable, but the voice and the profile are firm and unmistakable. He's talking politics, at his desk beside the glass wall that looks out over the Phoenix skyline, territory he remembers as open desert, now worth \$1 million for two acres. He knows, he said, because he just sold a lot down the hill.

## Analysis

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"If Powell decides to run, he'll get elected president," Goldwater said in a conversational interview, politics interspersed with reminiscences. "If he runs as a Democrat, I might turn into a Democrat."

His theory, though, and he was chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, is that Powell really is a Republican, because most military men tend that way although they won't say. "I was trying to get him to tell me," Goldwater said, but Powell wouldn't do it.

Absent Powell, Goldwater said, "then Dole will get it," at least the nomination. "We're not going to have an easy time beating Clinton," he said. "This guy makes a hell of a good speech. He's a good thinker."

So Goldwater ventures another option: Dole and Powell on the same ticket. "The next time around they could just switch places," he said.

Goldwater likes blunt talk, and obviously enjoys the fallout. He's caused stirs by backing abortion rights and gays in the military, by endorsing a liberal Democrat in an Arizona congressional race in 1992 — she won but lost two years later.

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# Goldwater's choice: Powell, then Dole

Conservative elder says he would also take them as running mates.

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## NEWS ANALYSIS

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IN HIS NEWLY published biography, "Goldwater: The Man Who Made a Revolution," author Lee Edwards notes that he never was a model of consistency. He is "sometimes a traditionalist and sometimes a libertarian," writes Edwards, communications director in his 1964 campaign.

"People say that I'm more of a libertarian than a Republican," Goldwater said. "I don't think there's a lot of difference."

Edwards calls Goldwater the most influential of presidential losers, the one who began a shift in power from East to West, liberal to conservative, and so, in landslide defeat, opened the way for Ronald Reagan and for the Republicans who now run Congress.

Goldwater's own appraisal: "If you hang around long enough, you know, everything changes."

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These episodes run contrary to predictions that Dole would be hamstrung by his responsibilities as majority leader and Gramm, because of his independence, would be free to pick the right fights as he did last year in leading opposition to the Clinton health-care plan.

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Given Dole's mastery of Senate rules and his past national campaign experience, "I'm not surprised greatly at the current situation," said Morton Blackwell, a veteran conservative activist backing Gramm. "But what counts is not what happens in June but what happens next February and March."

Dole's success has extended beyond the Senate chamber. Just as Gramm tried to repair frayed relations with social conservative leaders, Dole won raves by condemning Hollywood for promoting sex and violence in music and movies.

"You have to be impressed by what he has done," Maryland GOP leader Terhes said of Dole. "Everyone is waiting to see if Dole is going to make a mistake, and so far he hasn't."