CBS News

FACE THE NATION

Sunday, June 6, 2004

GUESTS:  JAMES BAKER
Former Secretary of The Treasury

Former Senator PAUL LAXALT, (R-NV)

Former Representative NEWT GINGRICH, (R-GA)

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"Dutch: A Memoir of Ronald Reagan"

MIKE WALLACE
CBS News

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FACE THE NATION - CBS NEWS
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BOB SCHIEFFER, host:

Today on FACE THE NATION, the life and death of the 40th president of the United States, Ronald Reagan.

President Reagan died yesterday at the age of 93. He'll be remembered for transforming the Republican Party and creating conditions that helped to bring about the fall of the Soviet Union. He was also the first president since Eisenhower to serve two full terms, and will be remembered for a good-humored optimism that reflected the spirit of America.

In this hourlong special edition of FACE THE NATION, we'll look at the Reagan presidency and his long-lasting influence on politics. Our guests will include Secretary of State Colin Powell, former Secretary of State James Baker, former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, former Senator Paul Laxalt, Republican political consultant Ed Rollins and historian Edmund Morris. I'll also have a final word on the 40th president.

Ronald Reagan, his life and his legacy, on FACE THE NATION.


SCHIEFFER: And good morning again. We'll devote the entire broadcast this morning to reflections on Ronald Reagan. And we're going to begin in Los Angeles with Jerry Bowen, who covered Reagan during his campaigns and has the overnight developments.

Jerry.

JERRY BOWEN reporting:

Good morning, Bob.

We're outside the funeral home in Santa Monica where the president's body was brought yesterday afternoon after his death. And overnight there's been a-a growing makeshift memorial: flags and flowers and messages. I don't know if you can see them over my shoulder, but there's one that says, `God bless the Gipper.' A similar scene at the Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, where the president be interred at the end of this week following the official ceremonies in Washington.

And the mood, I have to say, after listening and talking to people, it's mixed. It's--it's one of sadness at the passing of a beloved president, and also one of relief that his suffering is over and the suffering of his family is over. I--I don't know if you recall in that eloquent 1994 letter the President Reagan gave to the American people when he acknowledged that he had Alzheimer's, and he said, `The burden is really on the family,' and he said, 'I wish there was some way I could spare Nancy.' But, of course, he couldn't. And just last month, Bob, Nancy Reagan acknowledged that Mr. Reagan had gone into a place that was beyond her reach and--and there was no more sharing of the--the memories of their long life. Bob?

SCHIEFFER: All right. Thank you very much, Jerry Bowen.

And as for what's ahead on Monday, the president's body will be moved to the Reagan Library in the Simi Valley in California, then on Wednesday it will be flown to Washington, where on Thursday it will lie in state in the US Capitol Rotunda. The funeral will be held at the National Cathedral here on Friday. Then the body will be flown to the Reagan Library in California, where the burial will take place at sunset on Friday.
To talk about Ronald Reagan and his legacy, we begin this morning with James Baker, who was his first chief of staff and later secretary of the Treasury. He's in Houston this morning. Well also talk to former House Republican Speaker Newt Gingrich and one of Ronald Reagan's oldest and closest friends, former governor and senator from Nevada, Paul Laxalt.

Gentlemen, thanks, all of you--thanks to all of you for coming here.

Secretary Baker, what do you think 100 years from now historians will say about Ronald Reagan?

Mr. JAMES BAKER (Former Reagan Chief of Staff and Secretary of the Treasury): Well, Bob, I think they're going to say that he was a strong leader with an uncommon gift of unbounded optimism, as well as belief in a few very important core principles, to which he stuck and was thereby able to change the world. And I think that's what historians are going to say about this president.

SCHIEFFER: You know, the other day, The Washington Post pointed out that Oveta Culp Hobby once said that every figure gets one line in the history books. What do you think Ronald Reagan's line will be, 'Mr. Gorbachev, tear down that wall'?

Mr. BAKER: Well, that a--that's a ve--that was a very important line, of course. That may well be it. But I--I think it may be gre--it may be bigger than that, Bob. I think that when they write the history of the Reagan presidency, they're going to point out that--that our country was in extraordinarily bad shape when President Reagan came into office. He turned it around economically. We were in the midst of--of a very difficult struggle in the Cold War, and he laid the foundation and the basis for winning that Cold War. So he brought the American people peace and prosperity. And you can't do much more than that.

SCHIEFFER: Paul Laxalt, you were senator for many years from Nevada. Before that you were the governor. You were one of Ronald Reagan's closest friends. Where--when did you first come to know him?

Former Senator PAUL LAXALT (Republican, Nevada): I first met him in Las Vegas. What--he was doing a brief stint as a stand-up actor.

SCHIEFFER: Really?

Mr. LAXALT: Yeah. He didn't last very long. I think he had a better career in politics.

SCHIEFFER: Uh-huh.

Mr. LAXALT: But thereafter, we were two of the first to join up with a fellow by the name of Barry Goldwater. And we campaigned together in California and throughout the West. So that's where we formed a bond. And during the course of that, we decided that '66 could be a--a vintage year, and that perhaps we should consider running for governors of our respective states. We did, and miraculously we were both elected. So that's when we became real buddies, because there were a lot of transborder type of problems between Nevada and California, particularly involving Lake Tahoe. So from that beginning, our relationship matured.

SCHIEFFER: You know, people wondered sometimes why he was so popular and he was asked why he thought people liked him, and--and he said from time to time he thought it was because people saw in him they saw themselves. Do you think that's right? Why--why do
you think--what was the secret of his popularity, because people who disliked his policies often liked Ronald Reagan.

Mr. LAXALT: They liked him because he was a hell of a nice guy and he never sought popularity. He--wherever the setting and whenever we were in difficult situations, it was the same Ron Reagan, portraying himself. So as a result of that, regardless, as--as has been said so often these last couple of days, even though there might be differences in policy or his position, he always continued to be a very nice person in the treatment of those issues.

SCHIEFFER: How did you influence you, Mr. Gingrich?

Former Representative NEWT GINGRICH (Republican; Former Speaker of the House): Well, as a college student back in '64 watching "Time for Choosing," the 30-minute television broadcast he made for Goldwater, it was electrifying because he was so attractive. He made--made so much sense. And then in '66 watching his governor's race, watching him win the primary and then--and then upset Pat Brown for governor, you began to have a sense this guy was bigger than people expected. And in '67, I saw him I think on CBS debate Bobby Kennedy on US foreign policy with a panel of eight international students--clearly stacked to be tough on--on a conservative--and Reagan just wiped him out. Kennedy, after the debate, turned to Pierre Salinger and said, 'Never again put me on television with him. It's impossible.'

And at that moment I--I felt as a young American who was conservative, here was somebody who could explain what we believed in to a very broad audience in commonsense, non-political language. And I think from that point in '67 on, I was a Reaganite.

SCHIEFFER: Jim Baker just talked about his legacy in foreign policy. What do you think his impact--did he have a lasting impact on the Republican Party?

Mr. GINGRICH: Oh, absolutely. I think that we had been a negative, anti-New Deal party. Reagan was an FDR Democrat and he brought from FDR that sense of optimism, that sense of inclusiveness. I think he taught us to be a majority. I think both the Contract With America and the current Bush presidency stands on Ronald Reagan's shoulders. We're a bigger, stronger party because of Reagan.

SCHIEFFER: Secretary Baker, some people--some of his strongest supporters say that because he pushed the Soviet Union, because of the big defense buildup, that he brought down the Soviet Union. Others would say it didn't go quite that far, but there is no question it seems to me that he helped to create the conditions that caused the Soviet Union to come apart.

Mr. BAKER: Absolutely, Bob. There's no doubt about that and I never will forget in the first few weeks of his presidency where he went acr--we walked across West Executive Avenue to the old EOB where he gave a--one of his first press conferences and--and he really just castigated the Soviet Union. A lot of people in the foreign policy and national security community in Washington and New York and elsewhere started t--touting about this cowboy gunslinger actor who came into the presidency from California and how undiplomatic that was and how unstatesmanlike those comments were. Well, history proved that he was right. Events proved that he was right and there's no doubt but what his--his strong position supporting peace through strength and--and standing up to the threat of the Soviet Union was the--the main factor in our winning the Cold War.

SCHIEFFER: Well, what do you--what do you think, in fact, will be the lasting impact of what he did, Mr. Secretary?
Mr. BAKER: Well, I think the fact that we no longer have a world that was like the world that most of us faced during our--all of our adult years, that is, the world of the Cold War. That war is gone. That is a tremendous legacy. It was--it--the basis for the end of the Cold War was laid during the two terms of the Reagan presidency, and--and the diplomacy that was necessary to--to see that Cold War end with a whimper and not a bang, of course, was accomplished by his successor George H.W. Bush. And--and you put it altogether and we won the pro--the most profound and central struggle in--on--in national security policy and foreign policy of the last 50 years.

SCHIEFFER: Well, let me ask Newt Gingrich this. You know, while he did do these things and while he did cut taxes, he did run up some enormous deficits, and that, too, I suppose is part of his legacy.

Mr. GINGRICH: Well, I think his legacy was to say he preferred lower taxes, a faster-growing economy and a strong defense structure, and he was very clear with those of us in the Congress that if his choice was stronger defense or a balanced budget he would pick stronger defense. He also felt, I think, that if we restrained domestic spending and we had massive economic growth we would get to a balanced budget. And in 1997 with the Republican Congress, we got President Clinton to sign a balanced budget. We balanced the budget for four consecutive years, and while cutting taxes and strengthening defense, and I thought we were the legacy of Reagan. I don't--I don't think Reagan was surprised any more than he was surprised that the Berlin Wall came down. I think he thought over time you could get to a balanced budget while getting these things done, but it was the combination that made it possible.

SCHIEFFER: We're going to take a quick break. We'll come back and talk some more about this in just a minute.

(Announcements)

SCHIEFFER: And we're back now with our panel.

Senator Laxalt, we were just talking during the break here about what kind of person Ronald Reagan was and what kind of politician he was. Share some of that with us.

Mr. LAXALT: I--I must say that when he was first elected, among several of us--we were so-called insiders--we had our doubts about whether or not behind that wonderful speaking ability and able communicating and all the rest of it, whether there was anything substantive behind that. We quickly learned that there was, and early on there was discussion, principally among his staffers, that the--they weren't going to stop with the governorship. Their sights were on Washington, DC. And a lot of us felt, you know, it's one thing to be governor and preside over Sacramento. It's quite another to be president and preside over Washington, DC. I went back to the Senate in '73, and I--the more that I surveyed the scene here where all the geniuses were supposed to be, the better Ron Reagan looked. So when he finally decided to run against Gerald Ford, who was a terrific guy, in a Republican primary, he was, we thought, quite qualified to run as a candidate and eventually to preside over the office.

SCHIEFFER: You talked--you talked just a minute ago about how you sometimes became concerned he was making the same speech over and over.

Mr. LAXALT: Well, when you're with him all the time, particularly in a campaign, you hear the same stump speech time after time after time, you'd have to sort of gently remind him and say, 'Ron, aren't you just overdoing it a bit?' And--and I--I would say--or, 'Well, I think there
are signs in that audience that maybe they've heard it before and they don't want to hear it again.' And he'd always gently remind me, 'It's always worked. As long as it's working, I'm gonna keep repeating it.'

SCHIEFFER: That's kind of a show business lesson, wasn't it?

Mr. GINGRICH: You know, I-I--I learned an awful lot watching him, and I think he understood Vaudeville. He understood the principle that this evening's event is the one you paid for, so it's got to be good. But in addition, he understood from his generation people like Fred Astaire. People paid to go to the movies to see Fred Astaire be Fred Astaire. When he was Fred Astaire they felt really good because he'd been Fred Astaire. I think Reagan is the most centered person that I've personally seen in politics. He--he understood who he was. He understood what he believed. I think if he'd never become president, he would have been happy being Ronald Reagan. I think if he'd become president and done OK, he'd been happy being Ronald Reagan. And I think having been a historic figure, he was happy being Ronald Reagan. But it was the centeredness that then allowed him to accomplish all these things.

SCHIEFFER: Jim Baker, people always accused him of being distracted, of leaving the details to others. Was he sometimes as distracted as some would believed that he was?

Mr. BAKER: Not in--not in my experience, Bob. What people don't know is that Ronald Reagan wrote many of his own speeches, he wrote letters in long hand to people all the time. I have a--a copy of a letter, a draft--an early draft of a letter that he wrote early in his presidency in his own hand to Leo--Leonid Brezhnev abolishing the grain embargo that the Carter administration had put on. People said, you know, this whole business about let Reagan be Reagan was, in my opinion, a tremendous insult to the man, almost as if he was controlled by his staff. Nothing could be further from the truth. He made the decisions in--in that White House. He didn't make the little micro decisions, but he made all of the macro decisions, and he set the tone and he set the policy and he set the principles.

SCHIEFFER: And we all remember, of course, that letter that he wrote in long hand. I remember that Saturday afternoon back in the days when I was doing the Saturday news when he announced to the world that he had Alzheimer's disease, he wrote out the press release in his own hand, and they sent it to us at CBS News on our fax machine, and it was a--a remarkable document.

Mr. BAKER: That's right.

SCHIEFFER: Well, we'll be back.

Mr. BAKER: But you know, Bob...

SCHIEFFER: Thanks to all of you. We're gonna be back in just a minute with Mike Wallace to talk about Ronnie and Nancy and that long romance in a minute.

(Excerpt from videotape)

Governor RONALD REAGAN: Faithfully execute the office of president of the United States...

Unidentified Man: And will to the best of my ability...

(End of excerpt)
SCHIEFFER: And with us now in New York, "60 Minutes" correspondent Mike Wallace. Mike covered President Reagan for many years, is a longtime friend really of the family.

I know you spoke to Nancy Reagan shortly before President Reagan died. How is she doing, Mike?

MIKE WALLACE (CBS News): Well, I haven't talked to her since--since--the strange thing, Bob, was I called her because I had been hearing rumors that perhaps he was not as well as we'd been led to believe. And so I called her yesterday in the morning; answered and sh-- suggested that, 'Well, maybe'--in any case, I called a half-hour later and said, 'Nancy, tell me, is it conceivable that it'll be this weekend?' She said, 'Yes I think--I think that it is going to be this weekend.'

SCHIEFFER: And...

WALLACE: And she's--this--I've known Nancy longer than she knew Ronnie, which was my claim to fame with Ronnie. If I was her friend, I was OK. She is--I'd known her mother, who was an actress in Chicago, and--and kn--knew Nancy when she was going to Girls Latin School out there in Chicago. And over the years she used to tell me all kinds of stories, but never anything that was usable on television.

SCHIEFFER: She--this was a real love affair, was it not, between these two people?

WALLACE: Oh! They simply adored each other. Yeah. But...

SCHIEFFER: And you--well go ahead.

WALLACE: And that--that's--that was the two of them. I mean, this is so well-known now across America, across the world, I'm sure. They simply adored each other. And I--I think that's one of the things that endeared everybody to--to Ronald Reagan or endeared Ronald Reagan to everybody. He was a--he was a gentleman, polite. Of course, it was a little bit difficult when you're trying to ask the--the fellow questions which--in the presence of Na--of Nancy. I know on one occasion we were out in their house in Palisades--Pacific Palisades out there, and I was asking him some questions which had to be asked. And she said, 'Mike, what are you doing to Ronnie? You're not supposed to talk that way.' And it ma--it did make it a little bit difficult, as you know, Bob, sometimes, to talk to your friends and ask serious questions of them, and they don't--it never bothered him at all.

SCHIEFFER: You know, one of the things--she has kind of come to symbolize people who deal with relatives, husbands, wives, who have come down with this very terrible disease. And I was very struck with an interview you did with her, I guess not so long ago, in which you asked her about the golden years and how were they, and she said, 'Well, we--we really didn't have very many golden years'...

WALLACE: That's the truth.

SCHIEFFER: ...because he became ill and, as she said, he sort of went to a different place.

WALLACE: Can you imagine 10 long years in which she is--she very seldom left California, only when it was a--there they are, the two of them. They--they s--she seldom left California. She was with him all the time. And the wonderful thing was that, you know, there had been some talk about strains in the family and so forth. When I talked to her yesterday, Ron
and Patty were with her; Michael had been there the night before. It was then that I began to
realize that this conceivably was about to happen.

But people forget that Ronald Reagan was a Democrat. I remember I asked him once, `When
was the last time'--this was about 1975. I asked him, `When was the last time we had a
leader in the United States we had a good deal of faith in?' And he surprised the dickens out
of me. He said, `Franklin Delano Roosevelt took his case to the people. When the New Deal
started he was faced with a Congress that wouldn't go along, went over their heads; Fireside
Chats.' And I think that Franklin Roosevelt was a kind of hero to him. And then, of course,
he left the Democratic Party and turned to the re...

SCHIEFFER: You know, she--she did not take an active role in politics as it were, but in some
ways, she was--I always thought the perfect show business wife. She was the wife who
always looked out for his backside. She always had the radar up, the antenna out. She was
there to look out for Ronald Reagan and make sure that he understood what was going on,
some of the things I think that maybe he didn't pay much attention to, but she most certainly
did.

WALLACE: Well, she--she guarded his back zealously. You know, people say that she didn't
have a good deal to do with politics. Politics qua politics perhaps not, but in that White
House, Donald Regan knew how--how politically involved, for instance, she was. And I
think when the story is really told, Bob, we're going to find that Nancy had a lot more to do
with the bid--she had a lot more to do with his relationship with, for instance, Mikhail
Gorbachev than we had any idea. That story is still really untold and she's the only one now
who can tell it.

SCHIEFFER: All right. Mike Wallace, thank you very much. You are the only one who can
tell us what you have just told us about this relationship I think in some ways.

We'll be back in a minute.

(Announcements)

SCHIEFFER: And you're watching a special edition of FACE THE NATION. We'll be back
with expanded coverage in just a moment.

(Announcements)

SCHIEFFER: And we're back now with our expanded edition of FACE THE NATION on the
legacy of President Reagan. President Bush was in Europe for the 60th anniversary
celebration of the Normandy invasion. When he learned of President Reagan's death, he
called Mrs. Reagan, and then said it was a sad hour in the life of America.

President GEORGE W. BUSH: (From videotape) Ronald Reagan won America's respect with
his greatness, and won its love with his goodness. He had the confidence that comes with
conviction, the strength that comes with character, the grace that comes with humility and
the humor that comes with wisdom. He leaves behind a nation he restored and a world he
helped save. During the years of President Reagan, America laid to rest an era of division
and self-doubt and because of his leadership, the world laid to rest an era of fear and
tyranny. Now in laying our leader to rest, we say thank you.

SCHIEFFER: Earlier this morning, after the ceremonies at the American ceremony--American
Cemetery just above the Normandy beaches, I talked about Ronald Reagan with a man who
served as his last national security adviser, the current secretary of State, Colin Powell. I
Secretary COLIN POWELL (State Department): It was a wonderful experience. He was a man that was constantly exuding optimism, a love of America, a total belief in freedom and the power of freedom and democracy to transcend any form of tyranny on the face of the Earth. I saw him both as a diplomat as national security adviser and deputy national security adviser, but I also saw him as a soldier, because during those years I was still in the Army, and I'll never forget that it was Ronald Reagan who helped to restore pride in the armed forces of the United States when he became president in 1981, and he also gave us the wherewithal to once again be the best military force on the face of the Earth. So seeing him as a soldier and as his national security adviser, I'm sad at his passing, but I will always be grateful for the service that he gave to the nation that he loved so much and to the cause of freedom throughout the world.

SCHIEFFER: It's said that he was short on detail but long on vision. He really was kind of a different kind of leader, wasn't he?

Sec. POWELL: He was, indeed. He had several simple, straightforward visionary principles. America should be strong, America should be a nation of values. We should not be afraid to show those values to the rest of the world. He believed, ultimately, that the Soviet Union was a failed political system, and it was his role as president to help bring about the end, not to push them over a cliff, but to help guide them to a realization that there was a better political system for them, and he finally met the man who understood that, Mikhail Gorbachev, and the two of them together, in the last several years of the Reagan administration, did historic work together.

SCHIEFFER: It's very interesting. I guess they had--five summits where they were together. They got to know each other very well, and as you allude to there, this was the man who called the Soviet Union 'the evil empire.' And yet, he and Gorbachev did develop--was it a good relationship, a good working relationship? What was the relationship between the two of them?

Sec. POWELL: It was a good--it was a very good relationship. Gorbachev knew that he needed Reagan and even though, yes, Reagan called it the evil empire, Gorbachev never pushed back or resented that. In fact, he needed that kind of clear statement from the United States to persuade others in the Soviet Union that they had to make changes. Remember, he was trying to keep the Soviet Union intact. Perestroika, restructuring and glasnost openness were not for the purpose of bringing an end to communism or the Soviet Union, but to making it a different system that would survive in the 21st century.

What Reagan knew is that it couldn't survive either with glasnost or perestroika. Communism had to come to an end, and it did. And he knew it and he worked with Gorbachev, and even though Gorbachev didn't succeed in keeping the union together, he brought it to the point where now we see a democratic Russia; still pressures within that society, but a Russia that is a friend and a partner with the United States.

SCHIEFFER: Some would say that--some of his strongest supporters would say that Ronald Reagan and the defense buildup in the United States that he brought about actually brought down the Soviet Union. Others would say, 'Well, that may be taking it a little too far, but certainly he created the conditions to help bring down the Soviet Union.' Where do you come down on that argument?

Sec. POWELL: I think many things contributed to bringing down the Soviet Union. First and foremost, it was living a flawed s--it was a flawed system. It was living an ideology that was
living a lie. And so that was a fatal weakness to the system. But it wouldn't have come down as quickly as it did if it hadn't been for Ronald Reagan and the military buildup which said, 'You cannot beat us militarily. We will do what we have to do to make sure that we are strong. And guess what? We can also provide for our social and economic needs. We can have guns and butter. Why don't you try it?' And they tried it and realized they couldn't do it. They didn't have a system that worked either politically and economically that allowed them to have guns and butter. So they had many, many guns, but it was a society that was increasingly unable to cope with the economic and social challenges of the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, and therefore it collapsed.

So all of these things came together. Reagan's vision, the inherent weakness of the Communist system and the buildup all came together to produce the real--results that we saw in the early 1990s.

SCHIEFFER: You're a leader. You've been trained in leadership and management as a general officer in the Army. We talked at the beginning about Reagan was a different kind of leader. How was he different? Because he truly did delegate and left so much of the detail to others that some said that maybe he was almost detached. Was he?

Sec. POWELL: No. He delegated but he always gave us a clear vision, and it was a vision that never varied and it was constantly repeated so you could count on it. And we knew what he wanted and he made it clear what he wanted, and he counted on those of us who he trusted to help bring reality to that vision. But let me tell you, whenever e--anybody ever strayed off what he wanted or his vision, Ronald Reagan would show you what a determined, disciplined leader could do, and he would bring you rapidly back in line.

And so I think that was his greatness, his ability to see that vision clearly, never waiver from it and to bring all of the forces available to him, political, economic and military, to bear on achieving that vision.

SCHIEFFER: What did you learn from him, do you think?

Sec. POWELL: How to be calm in the middle of a crisis; how to set a clear vision; how to use the--the skills you have as a communicator to push that vision forward. He'd often been called, of course, the great communicator, and he was. He just exuded an image, he exuded a confidence that was infectious, and it touched not only his fellow Americans, it touched people around the world.

SCHIEFFER: I--I--I have always felt that the optimism that he exuded and you refer to was--was maybe responsible for a lot of his success, perhaps most of his success, because I think it sort of reflected the optimism of most Americans. We are, after all, an optimistic people, it seems to me.

Sec. POWELL: I--I think that's absolutely right. And one of the little rules I've followed in my career and lifetime is perpetual optimism is a force multiplier. I mean, if you're optimistic all the time, if you always believe you can, then others around you begin to believe that. And the world looks to America as the nation that can: the America that can put a man in space, the America that can believe in democracy, the America that can, over time, solve its social problems. And America always has had that vision and that image for the rest of the world, and Reagan was the personification of it. And when people looked at Reagan, they saw America. And Reagan knew that. He knew that he, in his person and the way he projected that optimism, was projecting an image not just of Ronald Reagan but an image of all Americans and of America to the rest of the world.
SCHIEFFER: Mr. Secretary, let me ask you a little bit about what's going on on this trip. The president met yesterday with French President Chirac. Although the Americans and the French have come together for this wonderful celebration, there are still deep divisions between the United States and France over Iraq. There's people in Iraq—I mean, people in France, as we well know, don't take the same view of Iraq that the Americans do. What did they talk about, and how is that going?

Sec. POWELL: They talked about the shared values that America and France have shared for—together for so many, many years. As the president noted in his speech this morning, France was our first friend during our War for Independence. And so there are so many things that pull us together that when we do have disagreements they tend to get very much magnified. But what we have seen here over the last 24 hours is America and France are coming together again for the purpose of helping the Iraqi people. And you see that manifested in the work that's taking place in New York now on a new UN resolution. It's only been 13 days since we introduced the first draft of that resolution, and I'm confident that over the next couple of days, as President Chirac and President Bush said yesterday, we will see the Security Council come together, vote on that resolution and pass it.

And I'm very encouraged by what's been happening in New York at the UN over the last couple of days. It shows how the international community can come together, despite previous serious disagreements about whether this war should have been fought. And those disagreements haven't simply gone way; they're still there. And you heard it expressed yesterday. But now is the time to move forward, and that's what I hope this resolution will allow us to do, to move forward as an international community to allow the Iraqi people and to help the Iraqi people achieve the democracy that they so richly deserve, having gotten rid of a tyrant, Saddam Hussein.

SCHIEFFER: Well, what is the significance of this resolution? It sort of will give international approval to the transfer of power. Will it include money? Will it spell out what to do about troops? Give me some sense of what the significance of it is.

Sec. POWELL: First and foremost, it will endorse returning full sovereignty to the Iraqi people by the 30th of June. Ambassador Bremer, having done a brilliant job, will go home. And the government as you now know it, in the person of Ambassador Bremer and the Coalition Provisional Authority, will go, and an Iraqi government will take over, an interim Iraqi government. And their principal task, in addition to running the country, is to get ready for elections at the end of the year. We are leaving a significant military force in Iraq, as are our coalition partners, in order to give the Iraqi government the security they need and give the Iraqi people the security they need as they move to elections.

But the resolution says full sovereignty. There is now going to be an interim government, and they have all the authority.

The second thing the resolution will do, by cross-referencing letters that have been exchanged between us and the new government, is put in place arrangements for our military force to stay there in a country that now has a sovereign. That sovereign, the new Iraqi government, has asked for us to stay, and so we've worked out the arrangements and they'll be reflected by reference in the resolution. It will also ask nations around the world to consider how much more they can give with respect to troops or money or reconstruction efforts or police training; so many ways that nations can contribute to the Iraqi people so that they can build their democracy.

And so I think it is a fine, comprehensive resolution that gives standing to the arrangements that have been made by Ambassador Brahimi with respect to the selection of this new
government and the process to get to full constitutional sovereignty and representative government by the end of 2005.

SCHIEFFER: Do you have any indication at this point, Mr. Secretary, that any other country is going to send troops in to help with the security there?

Sec. POWELL: I don't know of any other country at the moment that is prepared to send troops, but there were a number of countries that were interested in it if full sovereignty was returned and if there was a UN resolution that provided a continuing mandate for the presence of troops. This resolution will do that, but I don't know how many more nations might be prepared to, willing to provide troops.

What we're really focusing on now, though, is building up Iraqi military capability and police capability. The Iraqis really want to do it themselves, and they need time to build up these forces and they need our security presence to give them that time, and our assistance, our financial assistance, to help them build up those forces. So ultimately, security must be in the hands of the Iraqi people if they are truly going to be a sovereign nation, and that's the principal goal that we have, the international community has. And the resolution talks to that and strongly supports all efforts to build up Iraqi forces as quickly as possible.

SCHIEFFER: All right. Mr. Secretary, thank you so much for joining us this morning.

Sec. POWELL: Thank you very much.

SCHIEFFER: And we'll continue with our expanded edition of FACE THE NATION after this short break.

(Announcements)

SCHIEFFER: And we're back now with Ed Rollins, who was President Reagan's deputy assistant for political affairs, and author Edmund Morris, who wrote "Dutch," a memoir about Ronald Reagan.

Mr. Rollins, what kind of a politician was Ronald Reagan? When you were planning a campaign or advising him on politics, how was he to deal with? Did he like politics?

Mr. ED ROLLINS (Political Consultant): He lo...

SCHIEFFER: Did he understand it?

Mr. ROLLINS: Well, he--he certainly understood it. He--he had a--he didn't understand maybe the mechanics of it in the way a Nixon did, who could tell you every county chairman in the country, but Reagan always understood the body politic. He always knew what people wanted to hear. He always knew what they wanted, and I think that he had great, great instincts about the--about--about people, and that's really what politics are about.

SCHIEFFER: What was it that caused him to have such a connection with people? People genuinely liked him. Why was that, do you think?

Mr. ROLLINS: Well, I think--I think he liked them. I think part of--part of the greatness of Reagan was he was a man who always thought he was representing the people, and he always felt this obligation to try and make this country a better place for the young people. He was a man who obviously had a troubled youth. He had great opportunities in his life and he--and he always appreciated those. And I think the slogan of his campaign at the end
of four years was 'Better, stronger, prouder,' and I think that that's clearly what he wanted to make America.

SCHIEFFER: Edmund Morris, as a historian, do you think that Ronald Reagan was changed after the assassination attempt on his life? Because after all, here was a man at an advanced age who received a very serious wound, and--and he did recover, but he seemed to remain cheerful and optimistic. Was that one of the reasons that he seemed to enjoy life so much that--because he had escaped death?

Mr. EDMUND MORRIS (Author, "Dutch: A Memoir of Ronald Reagan"): Yes, it was more than a serious blow. It was--it was nearly a death blow, and a man who loses 50 percent of his blood supply and is on the very point of death is changed by the experience. And he was changed physically and, more important, philosophically in the sense that he became much more fatalistic after that assassination attempt. He felt that he'd been spared by God to bring about the dreams of his presidency and he, for the rest of his presidency, had a feeling of divine mission. It seems rather hokey to use language of this kind, but it's language that came naturally to his own lips. He felt he had been spared. He felt he had to do God's work, and he felt that, with America behind him, these positive things would be achieved.

SCHIEFFER: He seemed to be--and seemed to identify with people. Was that genuine, do you think?

Mr. MORRIS: I don't find that Reagan identified with people much. He identified with the United States to an almost eerie extent. In his body, in his behavior, in his rhetoric, he personified our country and our Constitution, which is why I think he was impressive on the international stage, negotiating in our behalf, with Mikhail Gorbachev and other world leaders. On a one-on-one level, he had very little curiosity about individual human beings. He needed to charm everybody he met, and invariably succeeded, but his appeal was basically to the American people en masse, rather than on any intimate basis, one on one.

SCHIEFFER: Ed Rollins, he became known as the Teflon president at several points in his presidency because people said that criticism just--just wouldn't stick. He went through something of a scandal, a serious scandal, the Iran-Contra affair, where it turned out that the United States was violating law by trying to basically buy off terrorists, which is something President Reagan had always said that he was against. He had always been one of those who said you have to stand up to the terrorists. How was he able to do that? How was he able to get past something like Iran-Contra?

Mr. ROLLINS: Well, I--I think even though the Iran-Contra was probably the most inconsistent policy that he'd ever undertaken, his motives at the end of the day were to rescue American hostages who had been held for a long period of time and to support Contras who had been supported by this country for a substantial period of time. So I mean, I think his motives were very honorable even though the action itself at the end of the day wasn't proper. I think that he clearly was honest to the public and I think in this particular case, he admitted that the mistakes had been made, and I think from that point, where he was very unpopular for a period of time and there was even a period where a lot of people didn't believe he was telling the truth, but he came back from that and went out of office as the popular president in--in history at that point in time, and I think will always be viewed as a great man and an honest man.

SCHIEFFER: Edmund Morris, people consistently underestimated Ronald Reagan. Why do you think that was?

Mr. MORRIS: Well, he was not unaware of that fact, and he rather traded on it. Reagan
was a strange combination of tremendous id--his sense of identity was enormous--but comparatively small ego. He had very little personal vanity. He genuinely did not mind who got the credit for any of the successes of his administration, providing his aims were brought about. In many cases, I found in his diaries policy decisions that were subsequently triumphant had been arrived at by the president in private, and he didn't much care afterwards who got the credit for his own policy...

SCHIEFFER: Let...

Mr. MORRIS: ...initiatives.

SCHIEFFER: Let me ask you quickly about Maggie Thatcher. They seemed to have a very close, professional relationship. Was she a significant influence on him?

Mr. MORRIS: She adored him. I think the influence is mainly the other way around. She was very attracted to Ronald Reagan, ideologically and physically. Couldn't keep her hand off him and he treated her as somebody who had the same kind of policies and beliefs in the free-market enterprise system as he, but he was the initiator of most of those policies and the reverence she felt for him was palpable, right to the end of their relationship.

SCHIEFFER: Let me ask you, quickly, Ed Rollins--we have about 30 seconds--what do you think his impact on the Republican Party will be?

Mr. ROLLINS: Republican Party is his party today. He clearly articulated the message of--of lower taxes, strong national defense, smaller governments, and that's really what the Republicans are about today. He inspired a whole new generation of young people, and clearly forever people will see themselves as--as Reagan Republicans.

SCHIEFFER: All right. I want to thank both of you...

Mr. ROLLINS: Thank you.

SCHIEFFER: ...for those insights. Very interesting.

I'll have a final word and we'll continue with our expanded edition of FACE THE NATION after this short break.

(Announcements)

SCHIEFFER: Finally today, Americans are by nature an optimistic people. Who but the optimistic would have crossed the Atlantic Ocean to found the first colonies or launched the American Revolution with the belief that it had any chance of success, or headed West in those covered wagons unsure of where they were going or what they would find there? Ronald Reagan, with his cheerful attitude, reflected that optimism. His critics poked fun of him, but he always disarmed them by poking fun at himself. When he was accused of being distracted, he told visitors to the Oval Office that, 'Someday they'll say Ronald Reagan slept here.' People loved him for things like that.

You could--a candidate--you could hate his policies, but it was hard not to like Ronald Reagan. Critics underestimated him because he had started as an actor, but he always said his acting background helped him to communicate. He understood that communication is more than words. He had great respect for the presidency, and that was reflected in the way he walked and talked. You never saw a bad picture of Ronald Reagan. He looked like a president. By his demeanor, the American people sensed that he also had great respect and
He always found reason for hope, even on that day when he announced in a handwritten letter to the American people that he had Alzheimer's. He reassured the country that as he began what he called, 'the journey that will lead me into the sunset of my life, I know that for America there will always be a bright dawn ahead.'

Ronald Reagan always had an actor's sense of timing. He knew when it was time to leave the stage, and so it is fitting that he leaves this life at the time when world leaders will be in this country for the economic summit, which will make it convenient for them to attend his funeral. I don't know what Ronald Reagan would have said about that, but I think he would have said something that would have made all the rest of us smile.

That's it for us. We'll see you next week right here on FACE THE NATION.

(Video montage of President Reagan is shown)