

© 2008, CBS Broadcasting Inc. All Rights Reserved.

*PLEASE CREDIT ANY QUOTES OR EXCERPTS FROM THIS CBS
TELEVISION PROGRAM TO "CBS NEWS' FACE THE NATION."*

CBS News

FACE THE NATION

Sunday, August 17, 2008

**GUESTS: Secretary CONDOLEEZA RICE
Secretary of State**

**Governor TIM PAWLENTY
Republican, Minnesota**

**Senator EVAN BAYH
Democrat, Indiana**

MODERATOR/PANELIST: Bob Schieffer – CBS News

*This is a rush transcript provided
for the information and convenience of
the press. Accuracy is not guaranteed.
In case of doubt, please check with*

**FACE THE NATION - CBS NEWS
(202)-457-4481**

BOB SCHIEFFER, host:

Today on FACE THE NATION, the Russian president says Russian troops will begin pulling back from their positions in Georgia at midday tomorrow. Is the crisis past? We'll get the latest and where we go from here from Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, who's with the president this morning at his ranch in Crawford, Texas.

Then we'll talk with two possible vice presidential running mates: Minnesota Governor Tim Pawlenty, who's said to be high on John McCain's short list; and Indiana Senator Evan Bayh, a possible Barack Obama choice. I'll have a final thought on how this crisis has turned the campaign from silly stuff to serious business.

But first, what to do about Russia on FACE THE NATION.

Announcer: FACE THE NATION with CBS News chief Washington correspondent Bob Schieffer. And now, from CBS News in Washington, Bob Schieffer.

SCHIEFFER: And good morning again. Joining us now from Crawford, Texas, the Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice.

Madame Secretary, welcome. Let me just give the...

Secretary CONDOLEEZA RICE (Secretary of State): Thank you.

SCHIEFFER: ...overnight news developments here, and that is that Russia's president has apparently told French President Sarkozy that Russian troops will begin pulling back from their positions in Georgia beginning at midday tomorrow. Does this mean that the crisis is past?

Sec'y RICE: Well, the problem is first of all that the Russian president has given his word several times and it's not been honored by Russian troops. So I assume that this time Russian forces are indeed going to withdraw. Secondly, the Georgian people deserve to get back to a more normal life, but the circumstances of this are not going to be forgotten by the United States, by the West or by the many countries surrounding Russia. So we hope that Georgia can begin to get back to a more normal life if Russia will carry through with its pledge. But the consequences of this go on.

SCHIEFFER: Well, as I understand it, the agreement does not mention how large the peacekeeping force in Georgia can be. The Russians have had troops there, they've called them a peacekeeping force. We're learning from intelligence sources that the Russians may have as many as 15,000 troops there now. Are all of those troops...

Sec'y RICE: The...

SCHIEFFER: ...going to have to pull out, as far as you're concerned?

Sec'y RICE: The peacekeeping forces that will remain are the peacekeeping forces that were there before the conflict began on August 6th, 7th. So that is clearly stated, that every--all the

forces that came in after the crisis started have to go. The "peacekeepers," quote/unquote, who were there before the crisis will remain.

SCHIEFFER: Madame Secretary, has this--how has this changed the United States' assessment of the Russian government, Prime Minister Putin and all of that? There was a time when we saw him as a partner. What has this done to US/Russian relations?

Sec'y RICE: Well, I would put it this way, Bob: We have offered--President Bush has offered an opportunity for Russia to behave as a partner; offered an opportunity for Russia to make a strategic choice in favor of integration into the international economic, political, diplomatic, security structures; made an opportunity for Russia to finally act like a 21st century, modern power. And I do think that Russian behavior calls seriously into question whether Russia is prepared to make that choice. In fact, Russia seems to want to have it both ways. It wants to be a part of these institutions that are so essential to the international economy and international order, and on the other hand it wants to engage in kind of Soviet-style behavior of intimidating and invading allies--or neighbors. Both can't be true.

SCHIEFFER: Where do we go from here? We've had people like the Republican candidate for president, John McCain, who said some time ago that we ought to just kick them out of the G8, the group of industrial nations. Should we try to further isolate Russia? Would that, in fact, be a good idea to ask them to leave G8, or tell them to leave?

Sec'y RICE: Well, by its behavior Russia's isolating itself. The world has been appalled, frankly, at Russian troops in Georgian cities and bombing ports and areas that are really for commerce. So Russia's isolating itself. Now, as to what we will do about Russian participation in certain institutions and American support for that, you know, we'll take a look. Right now we're focused on helping the Georgian people getting the Russians out of Georgian territory, helping Georgia to rebuild. If Russia thought that it was going to be able to bring down the Georgian state, bring down its democratic institutions, it's failed. And what they've done instead is to bring down Russia's reputation as a potential--and I want to emphasize potential--partner in the international system.

SCHIEFFER: Were we close to going to war here?

Sec'y RICE: Oh, I think that would seriously overstate where we were, Bob. It was a difficult crisis. This is a zone of conflict. What the Russians did was to unfortunately go well beyond the zone of conflict and threaten Georgian institutions. But they learned very quickly that the world was not going to stand for 1968-like behavior where they occupied a capital and brought down a government and stayed for 20 years. Very quickly the institutions of the West--NATO, the European Union, the US/European Union relationship--came into being, and I think Russia realized its limitations. But the damage to Russia's reputation and the damage to people's views of Russia's suitability for some of these institutions, that damage can't be undone. Georgia can be rebuilt. Russia's reputation is going to take a while, if ever.

SCHIEFFER: Madame Secretary, do you in any way feel any responsibility for this happening? Because some experts are saying that the United States may have overpromised what it would do, or told the Georgian president what we would do in response to something like this. Some on the Russian side are saying that, in fact, we had the Georgian president on a leash and you basically

unleashed him, that he went into this misunderstanding what the United States' response might be.

Sec'y RICE: You know, it says something about Russia that they talk about a democratically-elected leader being on a leash. The United States and Georgia have had a very good relationship. This is a pro-Western, pro-European government that wants to be part of those institutions. And all the United States has done is encourage democratic government in Georgia, encourage market-based economic reforms, encouraged a fight against corruption and encouraged the Georgians to look toward the modern institutions of the West. That's what we've done.

As to this particular conflict, we've encouraged Georgians and all parties to resolve this conflict in South Ossetia and Abkhazia peacefully. We've supported peace plans, we've supported diplomacy, we've told all parties not to get involved in military conflict. But let's remember that what was initially a conflict in the zone of conflict, a place that's been volatile for more than a decade now; what was originally a conflict there was accelerated and exacerbated by the Russian decision to reach deep into Georgia, not to stay in the zone of conflict. That's what happened here. But the United States has told all parties that the use of military force in any way in this hot zone, this volatile region, was going to be a mistake.

SCHIEFFER: Will Georgia get back these disputed territories, these provinces that broke away from Georgia which set off all this when the Georgian troops took the first steps on this?

Sec'y RICE: Well, it is a dispute area, but it's supposed to be resolved diplomatically. And the United States will stand for the territorial integrity of Georgia, will stand for the fact that any negotiations proceed from the basis that this--these territories are within the internationally-recognized boundaries of Georgia based on a number of Security Council resolutions that recognized that state. And then there should be an international negotiation to determine how to put in place a stable political and security framework. After all, the Georgians have from time to time offered substantial autonomy to these regions. This will have to be negotiated, but it starts from the point of the territorial integrity of Georgia.

SCHIEFFER: All right. Well, Madame Secretary, thank you so much for joining us this morning. We appreciate it.

Sec'y RICE: Thank you.

SCHIEFFER: We'll be back in one minute to talk with some potential vice presidential running mates.

(Announcements)

SCHIEFFER: And with us now, Indiana Senator Evan Bayh and Minnesota Governor Tim Pawlenty. Both, of course, have been mentioned as possible running mates for their respective parties' presidential nominees.

Gentlemen, what we've sort of been doing here as a matter of routine with potential running mates is if either of you has been told that you're going to be the nominee, we would certainly like to hear that from you this morning. Or if either of you have said that you've asked that your

name be taken out of consideration, I'd like to hear from either of you on that. If not, I won't put you through this dance of how pleased you are to be talked about and all of that, but you can't say. Does anybody have announcement here?

Governor TIM PAWLENTY (Republican, Minnesota): I think the senator does.

Senator EVAN BAYH (Democrat, Indiana): Well, we may make news this morning, Bob, but it's not going to be that. So I hate to disappoint you, but nothing to report today.

SCHIEFFER: All right.

Gov. PAWLENTY: Same answer here, Bob.

SCHIEFFER: OK, fine. All right, let's talk about what you just heard, this crisis that's going on.

Governor, John McCain says that we're all Georgians now. He refused, in a recent interview, to take military action off the table. Under what circumstances do you think that the United States should take military action in this kind of situation?

Gov. PAWLENTY: Well, Senator McCain said last night during the forum with Pastor Warren that he would use and deploy US military assets and forces when the national security interests of the United States were at risk or challenged. I think he's acknowledged that military action in this particular situation is unlikely, but as commander and chief he wants to make sure all options remain available to him, and that's understandable. But Secretary Gates and most others have recognized that this is going to be handled diplomatically. But Senator McCain has said we need to deal with this aggressively. And one of the questions this crisis raises is who do you want sitting across the table from Vladimir Putin and people like him, John McCain or Senator Obama? And I think the answer is Senator McCain. And that's for obvious reasons, with his experience on national security, military affairs, his clarity, his strength and his judgment in these matters, as you saw with the surge and as you see even before this crisis broke out. He said last year 'We've got a problem. We should be thinking about having Russia be disinvited from the G8.'

SCHIEFFER: Do you think Senator McCain went too far, Senator Bayh?

Sen. BAYH: Bob, I do. We are not all Georgians now. If we were Georgians and the Russians were invading our country and killing our people, we'd be in a state of war. And clearly that's not what we want. And John sometimes--he's a good person, but he's a little bit given to this kind of bellicose rhetoric which has a tendency to inflame conflicts rather than to diffuse them. And that's what you want in a president.

And with regard to the issue of judgment, I think Barack Obama has consistently demonstrated superior judgment to Senator McCain on a whole host of national security issues: whether to go into Iraq or not. Barack Obama was correct. How to get out of Iraq. The Iraqis embrace Barack Obama's position. Even George Bush is coming around. He was right about Afghanistan. Finally, John McCain is coming around on that. He was right about engaging Iran. George Bush has come around on that. And he was right about Georgia. Months ago he was calling for the--for this conflict to be diffused; instead, the president and John McCain are so obsessed with Iraq, we

dropped the ball. If we'd listened to Senator Obama and his judgment, perhaps we wouldn't be here today.

Gov. PAWLENTY: Well, Bob, in all due respect to Senator Bayh, an amazing thing happened...

Sen. BAYH: You're sounding like a senator.

Gov. PAWLENTY: Yeah. Well, Senator Obama was interviewed in Europe. This is just one example of many of his, I think, naivete when it comes to these matters. He said, 'If you knew then what you know now about the surge, would you still vote against it?' You know what he said? He said, 'Yes, I would.' The surge has been singularly--or at least very predominantly--one of the main reasons for the turn-around in the war. Senator McCain saw that, because--the need for it because of his judgment, his experience and wisdom. Senator Obama to this day--to this day denies the value and the strategic benefit of the surge. That is a startling lack of judgment, in my view.

Sen. BAYH: Bob, can I comment?

SCHIEFFER: Hm.

Sen. BAYH: Tim, you opposed the surge, so obviously reasonable people can...

Gov. PAWLENTY: That's not true.

Sen. BAYH: Yeah, yeah. I read about it in your hometown newspaper.

John McCain opposed the surge in Afghanistan. Clearly we needed to do more there. We wouldn't be in Iraq today if we'd followed Barack Obama's advice, and both the Iraqis and even George Bush--and when John McCain was asked about Barack's 16-month timetable for getting us out of Iraq, he said, 'Well, that sounds like a reasonable timetable to me.' So Barack Obama has consistently demonstrated the kind of judgment that we want in a commander in chief. He's strong, he's cool, he's smart. That's what we need in these difficult times.

Gov. PAWLENTY: Allow me--if you'd indulge me in one correction. I did not oppose the surge, I said I was skeptical of it because I thought it was too late. Like Senator McCain, I wanted it to start earlier. Senator Bayh, unlike Senator Obama, said we should kick Russia out of the G8. He also supported the war, unlike Senator Obama. So if we want to start talking about differences between Senator Obama and Senator Bayh, I'm happy to do that.

But the point is this is about Senator McCain and Senator Obama. Senator McCain's judgment in these matters is legendary. He's somebody of deep experience. If you look at that forum last night with Pastor Warren, Senator McCain was crisp, decisive, knew what he was about, knew his values. Senator Obama, I thought, was hesitant, halting and quite wandering in his answers.

SCHIEFFER: I want to talk about that in just a minute, but let me--let's just stay on Russia here for a minute. You heard the secretary of state. There are some who say the United States, because it's been sort of poking the eye of Russia lately--this is what you'll hear from the Russian side--

that maybe we have some responsibility, that maybe we promised the Georgians more than we could or should deliver should something like this break out. What about that, Governor?

Gov. PAWLENTY: Well, Georgia, of course, has been a state that has been westward looking, has been a friend of ours. We have indicated to them through cultural exchanges and other exchanges that we want to be supportive of them. But I haven't seen any evidence that the United States of America has overpromised. And when you look at the reactions of the two candidates-- Senator McCain, Senator Obama--Senator McCain came out saying, you know, 'This really is bullying behavior by Russia against one of our friends, the state of Georgia.' Senator Obama's statement came out and essentially implied that we're going to equally blame our friend Georgia, and Russia. And then he revised his statement two or three times. But again, it shows a lack of sure-footedness by Senator Obama, and I think Senator McCain not just in this crisis, but even previously, saying 'I saw Vladimir Putin and I saw in his eyes a K, a G and a B, and he's a bully.' And who do you want sitting across the table from somebody like Putin? You want Barack Obama or John McCain? I know the answer for me and a lot of Americans, most Americans, is going to be John McCain.

Sen. BAYH: Bob, let us know forget that Barack Obama has been calling for a resolution of these disputes for many, many months now, long before hostilities broke out. If we'd followed his advice, perhaps we wouldn't be talking about this here today. If the president and Senator McCain weren't so obsessed on an open-ended commitment to Iraq, perhaps we would've paid greater attention to some of these issues. And the broader question is, unfortunately, the national security policies of this administration, fully endorse and supported by Senator McCain, have created a perception of weakness in the world about our country that we cannot tolerate. The Russians know that we're bogged down in Iraq. Even if we wanted to propose a military deterrent, we're not able to do that very easily now because of their Iraq policies that Senator McCain would continue. The Russians know that we're more addicted to imported oil today than we were on 9/11. We have to break that addiction to be strong. They realize the budget deficits we're running. We have to go to the Chinese, the Japanese, even the Mexicans to borrow money. That's not what a great, strong country does. John McCain would continue those policies, Barack would change them. That's the kind of commander in chief we need to make America strong, so that we're in a better position to support our allies in a crisis like this.

Gov. PAWLENTY: In terms of withdrawing troops from Iraq, as everyone knows, Senator McCain has said he favors that but he wants to do it at a time and under a circumstances that allows Iraq to be stable and defend itself and brings our troops home with honor and victory. And again, General David Petraeus said summarily and arbitrarily taking our troops out of there as Senator Obama has proposed is not in the best interests of the United States, could potentially be destabilizing and put at risk all of the great work and valor and sacrifice and blood and treasure our country has put into that country. Again, would you rather trust the judgment of General Petraeus on these matters, or Barack Obama? I think I know the answer.

Sen. BAYH: Barack has not proposed arbitrarily and irrationally taking our troops out of Iraq. The course of action that he has laid out is endorsed by the Iraqis themselves. Who knows about conditions on the ground in Iraq than the Iraqis? It's been--even the Bush administration is now talking about targets and timelines and things like that. I would trust, as commander in chief, the person who got Iraq right, Afghanistan right, Iran right, who knows that we need to break our addiction to imported oil, get our budget in shape, strengthen our military. That's the kind of

judgment, that's the kind of strength I want in a commander in chief when you're dealing with nations like Russia or others in a dangerous world.

SCHIEFFER: Let's talk about some other things here. Last night you had this evangelical minister, Rick Warren, talk to each of these candidates for an hour in kind of separate interviews. They talked about things like moral failures. John McCain talked about the failure of his first marriage. Barack Obama talked about his drug usage as a young person. My question is, do you think those kinds of things are appropriate in a presidential campaign? Is this what candidates ought to be talking about? How did--what about you, Governor?

Gov. PAWLENTY: Well, I think Pastor Warren allowed the candidates some latitude was asking the question open-ended, give them some discretion about how they want to answer it. But I think the American people want to get a measure of the person in terms of their character, their judgment, their experience, their values, their perspective. And if you saw Senator McCain's performance last night--and I really would encourage people to watch the tape of both candidates--he was decisive, he was crisp, he understood what he was about and his values, and that shone through in his answers and her performance on that question and others.

In contrast, Senator Obama seemed deeply conflicted, halting, wandering and, at least from my perspective, did not exercise the kind of decisiveness that you want to see on these issues from a leader. But as to your question on the moral issues, I think it's one piece of the equation for people to get a measure of the person and their values.

Sen. BAYH: Bob, I think the American people want to know several things about a potential president. It's not just your policies, they want to get a sense of who you are, what your values are. And I think Senator Obama was very clear last night. He's a devout Christian who shares those values, he believes that we need to be a good steward of God's earth and protect the environment, he believes that we need to help the less fortunate, those who have--who are sick and afflicted. I think he spoke very eloquently about growing up in a home where his father was absent. He had a strong single mother, but he knew the pain of an absent father. He wants to strengthen families, to nurture our children, to give them the kind of chance that they deserve in life. I thought he spoke very movingly about that. And I deeply regret the negative tone that too often creeps into American politics, and I wish that Senator McCain would take the opportunity to denounce this scurrilous book that's come out against Barack Obama making all sorts of lies and allegations against him. The old John McCain would denounce that, the new John McCain has embraced those kind of tactics. That is unfortunate. We don't need that in politics today.

SCHIEFFER: Time is up, I'm sorry. We have to end it right there. Thanks to both of you...

Gov. PAWLENTY: You're welcome.

Sen. BAYH: Thank you, Bob.

SCHIEFFER: ...for a very civil discussion.

Back with some final thoughts in just a minute.

(Announcements)

SCHIEFFER: Finally today, I suppose the good news is the presidential campaign finally got off the silly stuff last week; the bad news is it took a crisis with Russia to do it. When the Russian tanks rolled into Georgia, we were reminded what we elect presidents to do: deal with the unexpected events that often receive scant attention in the campaigns that proceed them.

Foreign policy usually gets short shrift in presidential campaigns. The political consultants say people get bored with events in far-off places that have no direct bearing on their lives. Iraq was hardly mentioned in campaign 2000; this time we get a preview of the next president's work schedule. He'll spend a lot of time deciding how to deal with Russia--not a pocketbook issue, to be sure, but maybe a life or death issue.

I can't believe that any rational American official wants to go to war with Russia. The secretary of defense has said as much. But how do we deal now with Russia? What can we actually do to influence that country? What is best for our security? This is a dangerous time. Great powers have blundered into war for reasons far more frivolous than what we saw this week, and the candidates will do well not to meddle. We have one president at a time, and they are not yet it. What we do need to know is how each of them sees all this, how they approach the whole idea of managing relations with Russia. Those are the kinds of things campaigns ought to be about.

For the rest of us, what happened this week should be a warning. There is too much at stake to allow this campaign to drift back to the silly stuff that had begun to consume it. We deserve better and should demand it. We'll be back in a minute.

(Announcements)

SCHIEFFER: And we'll see you next week from Denver, where FACE THE NATION will be originating from the Democratic National Convention. Thanks for watching. See you then.

