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*CBS News*

# ***FACE THE NATION***

*Sunday, April 16, 2006*

**GUESTS:** Senator GEORGE ALLEN (R-VA)  
Member, U.S. Senate Committee  
on Foreign Relations

Governor BILL RICHARDSON (D-NM)  
Chairman, Democratic Governors'  
Association

**MODERATOR:** BOB SCHIEFFER - CBS News

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

BOB SCHIEFFER, host:

Today on FACE THE NATION, the revolt of the generals. Will Donald Rumsfeld be forced out as secretary of defense? We'll talk about that with two men who are influential in their political parties and who are already being mentioned as possible presidential candidates. George Allen is the Republican senator from Virginia who is up for re-election, but many say what he really has his eye on his party's presidential nomination. Bill Richardson is the Democratic governor of New Mexico who also happens to be of Hispanic heritage. Could he be the Democratic Party's answer in a year when the Hispanic vote could be crucial? We'll get a preview of their opinions on Rumsfeld, Iran, Iraq and other issues. Then I'll have a final thought about the Holy Week for two great religions. But first, the secular views of George Allen and Bill Richardson 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 from Washington on this beautiful Easter Sunday morning. We're going to get right to it. We start with Senator George Allen.

And, Senator Allen, I want to talk about the thing that has just really--Washington has been fixated on this week, and that is the future of Don Rumsfeld, this revolt of these generals, these retired generals, who have come forward and said that he needs to go. What do you make of this, and what do you think the president ought to do here?

Senator GEORGE ALLEN (Republican, Virginia; United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations): Number one, I have observed in Washington there's always this scapegoating. There also has to be this focus on personalities. And the one who makes the decision is the president. I was governor of Virginia, had Cabinet secretaries, and I wanted Cabinet secretaries that shared my views who were loyal, knowledgeable and experts in their particular fields of jurisdiction. So this will be up to the president of the United States to discern--to determine who's in his Cabinet, including the secretary of defense. Those generals, retired generals, are people of credibility. However, what matters is what the commander and chief thinks, and that's President Bush.

SCHIEFFER: Well, I have to say this, that your answer is sort of the default position that people fall back on when they don't want to comment on somebody in the government. They say, well, that's up to the president. That's the president's man.

Sen. ALLEN: Well...

SCHIEFFER: Do you think Secretary Rumsfeld has done a good job here?

Sen. ALLEN: I think he's executed, obviously, to the extent that the president wants him to execute. The one thing is, while the war in Iraq, which was designed, obviously, to remove Saddam Hussein, who everyone,

including the Clinton administration and the UN and the Europeans, all thought was a danger and potentially having weapons of mass destruction, particularly chemical and biological weapons, all of this was to knock this dictator out and to make this country safer. The war has been tough, and it has been difficult, and many had predicted it would not be this difficult. And they may not want to say something like that, but I will.

But as where--when you look at where we are presently and how the Iraqis need to stand up their own unity government, as we need to train more and more Iraqis, which we are, in their own self-defense and their own security, which we are. In the event that you switch the secretary of defense, what difference would that make? Will that mean anything to the terrorists? Would that mean anything insofar as the training of Iraqis? So that as they stand up, we can stand down and have our troops come home? Just like when there was all the fixation on the chief of staff, do you think it really matters who the chief of staff is to any of these terrorists, to al-Qaeda or anyone that we're fighting or we're in contentious with? So a lot of this focus on an individual is a way of maybe criticizing a president. But it would be more useful, I think, if we looked at ways to find benchmarks of progress that could be communicated to the American people rather than fixating on a personality.

SCHIEFFER: Well, you know, last week on this broadcast, we had Rick Wagoner, who's the CEO of General Motors. He's known as a smart, tough executive. But he's under great pressure right now because GM is not doing too well. And some of his critics say, 'For all his strengths, can the people who got us into all this, the bad mess that GM is in, can the people who got us into this be the ones who get us out of it?' And I think it's not--a lot of the critics of the war right now are not saying that this is something that would have an impact on the terrorists, but it would have an impact on our own policy and the way we go about things.

Sen. ALLEN: Well, then they ought to say, 'What changes or modifications or adjustments should be made in our policy?'

SCHIEFFER: Well, you have said you don't think it's going very well. What changes do you think should be made?

Sen. ALLEN: I'm saying--here's what I'm saying, is that the American people, rightfully or wrongfully, listened to some who thought that this would be easy. This has been tough. There's been a loss of life of over 2,300, and tens of thousands injured in one way or the other. And this has been a difficult--it's hard to stand up for a free and just society in a place, in a country that has been repressed. Progress was made politically last year with all the elections, 70 percent turnouts in elections, with people moving like slow-moving targets to vote, with all sorts of threats. Now it's incumbent upon those who were elected by the Iraqi people to get together, form this unity government, recognize that it is very difficult to get a two thirds consensus. We'd be still arguing about the presidential elections here if we needed two thirds.

SCHIEFFER: Well...

Sen. ALLEN: But progress has...

SCHIEFFER: ...I think you have put your finger on it here. We had an election in December there, and it's taken them--what?--five months now and they haven't been able to name one Cabinet officer as--to put together a government where all sides have a voice in the government. If they can't do that, Senator, nothing else matters, it seems to me.

Sen. ALLEN: It is crucial. These are a--this is a crucial time for the Iraqis and their future. Because right now, the uncertainty plays into the hands of the terrorists. All--and the terrorists have no motivation, nothing to win the hearts and minds of the Iraqi people. They don't want to--the Iraqis don't want a Taliban government. They don't want to return to the repression of Saddam Hussein and that dictatorship. So all these terrorists can do is to disrupt, wreak havoc, cause uncertainty. And the failure to come together of the leaders of Iraq and form this unity government where there is competence and--but just plain old governance is vitally important, and they need to come together for the future of their own country. And I think the people of Iraq, if you look at the constitution they've put together, it's a good constitution. They have freedom of religion where rights are not enhanced nor diminished on account of religious beliefs. And one thing that's really important is they have freedom of expression for men and women. And the influence of women is enormous in any society, but that's also a bit revolutionary in the Middle East.

SCHIEFFER: Well, let's talk about a couple of other things. What's been going on in this country on immigration. We saw these demonstrations. We haven't seen anything really like this since the Vietnam era, I would think. You are one of those who thinks we ought to tighten the border, but you don't see any kind of an amnesty program for the people who are already here. What do you do about all those people?

Sen. ALLEN: First, we--the federal government has neglected one of its primary responsibilities, and that is protection and prevention of harm to the American people. We need to secure our borders. We need everything from more personnel, we need detention centers--because right now it's a catch-and-release approach--we need to have virtual fences using sensors and unmanned aerial vehicles, and we, in some places, need also actual fences. Once that is done, once you stop the flow of people illegally entering this country, then one can look at what you do with the 10 to 12 million.

SCHIEFFER: Well, you're talking about arresting all these people and putting them in jail here? I mean, how much would that cost?

Sen. ALLEN: No--it--it's going to cost millions of dollars. But also, then, look at the cost of--to our schools, the cost to our emergency rooms, chaos of people coming in who cannot pay. Look at the cost in law enforcement for--inside the country. We see this in northern Virginia as a cost.

Look, immigration is--is important for this country. My mother's an immigrant; she came over to this country after World War II. And we're a country that's been settled and built by immigrants. We are also a nation of laws. And a country that cannot secure its own borders cannot really control its own destiny, so we need to secure the borders. We can make adjustments, clearly, to a legal, workable, effective temporary workers system, whether it's for technology workers, agriculture workers, seasonal workers, and the tourism and seafood and--and construction and landscaping business, all that's important. But it should be legal immigration. And I tell you, the people out there in the real world, I've been all over Virginia in--on my announcement tour, and this is a hot issue, has been. And I think that the Senate needs to put the pedal to the metal, get moving, make decisions, and, first and foremost, secure the borders.

SCHIEFFER: Do you think...

Sen. ALLEN: But do not reward illegal behavior with amnesty, because all you'll get is more illegal behavior.

SCHIEFFER: George Bush got a lot of the Hispanic vote last time. He wants what some people would call an amnesty program. Do you think this issue is going to hurt the Republicans?

Sen. ALLEN: I think the Republicans need to stand up for the rule of law. The Republicans need to stand up for securing our borders. And I think Republicans should also--and all people--ought to look at history. Twenty years ago, amnesty was provided to three million people in the country illegally. Now we have approximately, at best guess, 11 million in the country illegally. Twenty years from now we're going to have 20 million. We need to--to do this right, do it properly, and learn from history.

SCHIEFFER: Let me ask you quickly, you said you're making your announcement tour, you've announced for re-election to the Senate. Are you, in fact, going to seek the Republican presidential nomination?

Sen. ALLEN: Bob, my father was football coach of the Redskins here, and his--one of his famous exhortations was "The future's now." I'm paying attention to the--the present. When you get to the future, I'll make decisions then. A lot of good folks have encouraged me to run for president, which is very nice. But I want to keep advancing ideas to preserve our values, to make this country a land of opportunity for all, as well as securing our freedom. And that's what--what I'm running on and what I want to advocate for Virginians, and also to make this country a better place to live, learn and raise our families.

SCHIEFFER: All right, I think we'll end on that. Thank you very much.

We'll come back and get a totally different view, I expect, from Democratic governor Bill Richardson of New Mexico.

(Announcements)

SCHIEFFER: And we're joined now by the governor of New Mexico from Santa Fe, Bill Richardson, who is, by the way, a Democrat.

Well, Governor, you heard what Senator Allen just said about this whole Rumsfeld controversy that's going on. He said it's the president should make the decision--obviously, it's the president who would have to make the decision. But he said it's scapegoating and suggested it really wouldn't make any difference in the war on terrorism if you brought in a new secretary of defense. What's your--what's your thought about that?

Governor BILL RICHARDSON (Democrat, New Mexico; Chairman, Democratic Governors Association): Well, my view is that the secretary should step aside. Besides the fact that the Iraqi war has been mismanaged, that a lot of brave American men and women, over 2300, have perished, we should listen to what these generals are saying. These are six distinguished military officers who were involved in the invasion and occupation of Iraq, and they participated in the military strategy. And they basically are saying that Secretary Rumsfeld, on issues relating to military strategy, true military policy--supplies for the troops, number of troops, rules of engagement--didn't listen to them, that he did it, military policy, on his own. And we have to look at our military officers that are engaged in this war to provide the principal military advice. So this reaches a new level, I believe, of not willing to admit mistakes, not willing to change a course policy that is just not working. So it's not important what I say, what political leaders say. I think we have to listen to our military officers that are patriotic, that I believe are nonpartisan, probably most of them are Republicans, that are just totally frustrated with the way this war is going.

SCHIEFFER: You know, and nobody expects active duty generals to take issue with the civilians who run the Pentagon while they are on active duty. Our democracy requires that civilians always be in control of the military. That's one of our great strengths. But does it make you wonder, Governor, why, if these people so strongly disagreed with the policy, why they didn't resign? Isn't that also a responsibility of a military man, to resign when he finds that he cannot go along with a policy he's been ordered to carry out?

Gov. RICHARDSON: Well, Bob, one of the generals, rather than receiving a third star, resigned. So I think what you're seeing is deep frustration within the military, Deep frustration within our troops who complain that they don't have enough armor. I get letters from some of New Mexico's troops saying that 'We're not getting the kind of supplies and support that we need to defend ourselves.' So I believe in civilian control over the military. I think our military leaders have a right, when retired, to voice this dissent, but also I am sure that, in the course of their service to the country, they dissented on military tactics and strategy, and it is obvious that Secretary Rumsfeld did not listen to them. That's what really worries me. This is why we're in this morass. This is a civil war. This is a sectarian conflict. Our presence there, I believe, is leading to increasing danger to our troops but, also, to our objectives in the Middle East.

SCHIEFFER: How do you think the situation--how would you, you know, evaluate it at this particular time? As you heard, Senator Allen who supported this, he said, you know, it has not gone well, and he conceded it is still not going well. He said it still depends on the Iraqis being able to form some sort of a unified government. Where do you think we are right now? And, I guess, more importantly, Governor, where do you think we go from here?

Gov. RICHARDSON: Well, where we go from here is, I believe the time has come for a strategy, an announcement on disengagement. I believe that the war is very badly run; our objectives are not being fulfilled. I would redeploy those forces that we have in Iraq to the surrounding area to deal with real threats to America--the war on terrorism, our increasing lack of influence in Afghanistan with al-Qaeda. Right now the situation in Iran is potentially another Iraq. I believe what you need now is a very strong effort to get the three leaderships in Iraq, the Shiites, the Sunnis, the Kurds, to form a coalition government, put maximum pressure for them to do that, and then redeploy American forces to where we really have true national security threats. Our problem right now...

SCHIEFFER: Well...

Gov. RICHARDSON: ...is our obsession with Iraq has caused us to lack paying attention to real threats to our country like terrorism...

SCHIEFFER: Like--yeah.

Gov. RICHARDSON: ...like Iran, like al-Qaeda.

SCHIEFFER: Let me ask you to hold that question on Iran, because I definitely want to ask you about that. But are you saying that we just need to turn and get out of there? Because won't that be taken as a sign of weakness, won't the terrorists think they have won, and won't that encourage them to strike someplace else?

Gov. RICHARDSON: No, what I would do, Bob, is early next year I believe we fix a date certain for the start of an American withdrawal because right now our policy is just not working. and the civil war is getting worse. What I would do is call a Mideast conference, a summit, of Muslim countries to help with training the Iraqi security forces along with us; and then secondly, a real reconstruction effort among other Arab countries, wealthy countries, that deal with the reconstruction of Iraq. But our policy is not working, and we have to change course, and this is why Secretary Rumsfeld and the president need to at least admit that what we're doing is not working and have some course corrections. They're unwilling to even do that.

SCHIEFFER: All right. Let's shift to Iran. You just mentioned that there are reports that the Iranians, of course, are enriching uranium, the next step toward building a bomb. What should we do about that?

Gov. RICHARDSON: Well, first, we recognize that we cannot tolerate nuclear weapons in Iran, but, having said that, I would do totally different from what

the Bush administration is doing. I would engage the Iranians directly, talk directly to them about nuclear weapons, about Iraq. They have major influence on Iraq. Secondly, I would stop outsourcing our foreign policy to the Europeans, to the International Atomic Energy Agency, to the UN Security Council. I believe if we talk directly to them, but build an international consensus, international support--this is why the fraying of our relationship with the Europeans, with the allies, has been so costly is because we can't build a true international coalition that engages the third world also and surrounding countries to get Iran to stop developing nuclear weapons. Now, we have some time. We have five to 10 years before they develop a nuclear weapon. What we need to do, in that process, Bob, is use diplomacy, coercive diplomacy, potentially sanctions, special envoys, instead of talking about using military options. The fact that the Pentagon leaked that we would use tactical nuclear weapons is ridiculous. Military options should always be on the table, but you don't bring it out first. You exercise your full diplomatic engagement and tools, and the start of that is talking directly to them about borders.

SCHIEFFER: OK.

Gov. RICHARDSON: There may be a communality of interest. Iran wants secure borders in Iraq. Secondly, Iraq--Iran doesn't want to lose it's oil revenue. Fifty percent of its budget comes from oil revenue. So I think there may be a communality of interest that we haven't explored.

SCHIEFFER: OK. Let me ask you quickly, are you thinking of running for president?

Gov. RICHARDSON: Well, I'm going to give you the same answer Senator Allen did, and that is that I want to get re-elected. I'm running for re-election. My main goal is to elect more Democratic governors. There are 22 out of 50 right now. I think we can get a majority in--in November; 26, 27 Democratic governorships. I have a lot of issues here in New Mexico on education, health care, making schools better, making New Mexico the--the strongest state in the union. We're moving in that direction. We've had tax cuts.

SCHIEFFER: OK.

Gov. RICHARDSON: We've got a balanced budget.

SCHIEFFER: I have to.

Gov. RICHARDSON: So, Bob, I'm--I'm going to defer on that.

SCHIEFFER: All right. I'll give you some time to think about the future as Senator Allen was thinking about the future.

Gov. RICHARDSON: All right.

SCHIEFFER: Thank you so much, governor.

Gov. RICHARDSON: Thank you.

SCHIEFFER: We'll be back in a minute with a final word.

(Announcements)

SCHIEFFER: Finally today, for Christians and Jews these are holy days. And, as each day of the week passed, I was reminded just how diverse a country we have become and what strength that diversity gives us.

First, a friend begged off dinner at midweek after realizing she had to work late because she was the only person in the office not celebrating Passover. Payback, really; her colleagues had worked Christmas. But I know she would not think of it in that way. Just a nice thing to do for friends.

Then a Muslim friend called my wife to wish us a happy Easter. A small gesture, but appreciated. After all, he was calling about our holiday, not his. But it made me remember, as the Muslims would say, that we are all people of the book whose religious traditions evolved from the same God.

A friend who has a mixed marriage told me about spending the middle of the week teaching her kids to make matzoh balls and most of yesterday dying Easter eggs. One day the children will sort out the details; for now they're learning the traditions of two great religions. Like chicken soup, it can't hurt.

And then there was my friend who is not so sure of God. She still hides eggs for her kids who are teenagers, a family tradition which is not such a bad idea either.

Down through the ages, people have fought and died, arguing over religious details. How much better it is when we respect the beliefs of others, remember the common values that all religions share, and try to emulate those values in our daily lives. In ways large and small, my friends reminded me of that this week. I'm glad I have friends like that.

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