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**CBS News**

# **FACE THE NATION**

**Sunday, November 13, 2005**

**GUESTS: Senator JOHN McCain, (R-AZ)**

**Governor MARK WARNER, (D-VA)**

**ELISABETH BUMILLER**

**The New York Times**

**MODERATOR: BOB SCHIEFFER - CBS News**

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**FACE THE NATION - CBS NEWS  
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BOB SCHIEFFER, host:

Today on FACE THE NATION, Senator John McCain and Virginia Governor Mark Warner. This week, Senator McCain, Republican of Arizona, put forth a new plan for winning the war in Iraq, which would require more troops, not fewer. Will it fly? And can he get the Bush administration to agree to bar torture of all terrorist suspects? We'll ask him.

Then we'll talk with Virginia's Democratic Governor Mark Warner, whose protege Tim Kaine just won the governorship, is there a lesson here for Democrats and does this increase the possibility that Warner may run for president?

Elisabeth Bumiller of The New York Times joins in the questioning, and I'll have a final word on multitasking. But first, Senator McCain 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. Senator McCain joins us in the studio. And by the way, he has a new book out. He's become a prolific author: "Character Is Destiny: A Collection of Inspiring Stories Every Young Person Should Know and Every Adult Should Remember." Joining in the questioning, Elisabeth Bumiller of The New York Times, who, as far as I know, is not selling something.

Welcome to you, Elisabeth.

Ms. ELISABETH BUMILLER (The New York Times): Thank you.

SCHIEFFER: Senator McCain, let's get right to it. President Bush...

Senator JOHN McCAIN (Republican, Arizona; Armed Services Committee): Do you want to talk more about the book? OK.

SCHIEFFER: President Bush accused his critics of rewriting history last week.

Sen. McCAIN: Yeah.

SCHIEFFER: And in--he said in doing so, the criticisms they were making of his war policy was endangering our troops in Iraq. Do you believe it is unpatriotic to criticize the Iraq policy?

Sen. McCAIN: No, I think it's a very legitimate aspect of American life to criticize and to disagree and to debate. But I want to say I think it's a lie to say that the president lied to the American people. I sat on the Robb-Silverman Commission. I saw many, many analysts that came before that committee. I asked every one of them--I said, 'Did--were you ever pressured politically or any other way to change your analysis of the situation as you saw?' Every one of them said no. Now was there a colossal intelligence failure? Of course, there was. Is there still a lot of things that need to be done to improve that? Are we winning the war on terror? I think it depends on your parameters. But to assert that the president intentionally lied to the American people is just wrong.

And could I finally say, every intelligence agency in the world, including the Russian, including the French, including the Israeli, all had--reached the same conclusion, and that was that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction. So I think open, honest disagreement, more discussion, more debate, the more facts that come out, the better off we are, but I would not accept the premise the president lied.

SCHIEFFER: Well, a lot of people, including me, thought it was right to go into Iraq when we thought that Saddam Hussein had a nuclear weapon. It turned out, as you say, we were not wrong, we were really wrong about that.

Sen. McCain: Dead wrong.

SCHIEFFER: And a lot of people got fooled. But here we are in Iraq. Do you think the war is going well? Do you think it's going poorly? Are we getting the truth about what's happening there?

Sen. McCain: I think we're making some progress. I think the December 15th election when they have their own government will be important. I think that the training of the Iraqi military is moving along slowly, but I think there's a lot of signs of progress. I think there's a lot of signs of--that frustrate us so much; the continued casualties of American military personnel, the failure to control even the road from the airport to Baghdad, the strategy, which they tell me is changing and I hope it is, of going in and killing insurgents and leaving.

You know, old guys like you and me always have a tendency to compare it to the Vietnam War. And the Vietnam War was search and destroy, and then they came back in. This was--because we didn't have enough troops, it was almost forced upon us. Well, we've got to control areas. We've got to expand control. And this was an original idea of mine. Many bright people have sa--expand the control, let people live normal lives, let them have some kind of environment and security and then they'll support their government.

SCHIEFFER: Well, let me just ask you this. What you're talking about is putting more troops in, not finding a way to get our troops out of there.

Sen. McCain: Well, I think it's not so much the number as it the kinds of troops. We need more civil affairs people, more Special Forces, more translators, more of the kind of people that are involved in the direct ability to counter insurgencies. And also, by the way, we need more agencies of government involved in it. I hope we're not going to talk about my disagreements with Secretary Rumsfeld but we can't let the Department of Defense run this war. It's got to be run by every agency of government that has been in--that has a stake in it, and there's a whole lot of stake in economic development and political vitalization of the country.

Ms. BUMILLER: Senator McCain, let me ask you about torture. This issue i--obviously, as you know, the vice president is pushing very hard for an exemption for the CIA for torture. You've--you're working against that and you recently had a conversation with President Bush about that. Where is the president on this issue?

Sen. McCain: I have not had a conversation with the president yet. I hope to see him and talk to him about it. He's been away, as we know, and he's headed to Asia on Monday, but I know that we will. But I have been talking with other people in the White House about this issue and I hope we can get it resolved. I'd like to say that I've known Vice President Cheney for 25 years. He and I are friends. He is sincere in his beliefs. He loves this country and is a patriot. We just have a fundamental disagreement. I hope we can get that disagreement worked out sooner rather than later.

Ms. BUMILLER: Do you sense any distance between the vice president and the president on this issue? Do you sense that the vice president is pushing this hard and the president is interested in some sort of deal or a compromise?

Sen. McCain: I have the feeling that they're together in that they want to work this out as well as Steve Hadley, as well as Condoleezza Rice. This is an issue which is obviously encompassing, that they want to get this thing worked out and I hope that we can.

Ms. Bumiller: I see. How can you work this out if you don't want the exemption and the vice president wants it. Where is the middle ground here?

Sen. McCain: That's what we're searching for, Elisabeth, but I do believe--it's important we get this behind us. We've got a war to fight. We've got a whole lot of other issues facing us and this is not good in a whole variety of ways.

Schieffer: Senator, if there's anybody in this country that's an expert on prisoners of war--I mean, you spent about five years in that hotel run by the North Vietnamese in Hanoi. Why do you feel so strongly about this?

Sen. McCain: I feel strongly about this for the same reason that General Powell, General Vessey, General Shalikashvili, literally everybody who--and I'm sure there's some exceptions--but literally everybody who's been involved in combat, in conflict and understands that--and others who understand that we've got two wars going on--one, a military one in Iraq and then we've got a war for public opinion, for the hearts and minds of all the people in the world. It's obvious that bin Laden and others are engaged in their ideological struggle. And if we are viewed as a country that engages in torture and abuse of human rights, then I think that as one of my colleagues said than possible information that we might be able to gain is far counterbalanced by what effect of public opinion. After the abuses at Abu Ghraib, public opinion about the United States in the Arab world and throughout the world plummeted. We've got to make sure that we don't torture people.

Ms. Bumiller: Does Vice President Cheney believe that torture works?

Sen. McCain: It's hard for me to articulate very well his position since I'm not in agreement with it, but they think that there are cases or situations where you have to be able to take certain measures in order to get information, the smoking gun and the immediate situation, and I understand that logic. But, one, torture doesn't work. To start with physical torture doesn't work. The Israelis don't torture and they are facing acts of terror every day. And again what is...

Ms. Bumiller: And you know it doesn't work from your own experience...

Sen. McCain: Oh, I think...

Ms. Bumiller: ...because when you...

Sen. McCain: ...not only my own experience, but, I mean, most experts will tell you that when enough physical pain is inflicted on someone, they'll tell you anything they think that you want to know. But I'm very worried about the image of the United States of America engaging in this kind of activity. It's not--I hold no grief for the terrorists. They are the quintessence of evil. I hope they never get out of prison, the evil ones, but it's not about them. It's about us. This battle we're in is about the things we stand for and believe in and practice. And that is an observance of human rights no matter how terrible our adversaries may be.

Schieffer: Let's talk a little bit about politics. There's no question that the...

Sen. McCain: Thank you.

SCHIEFFER: ...president is in his worst shape politically that he has been throughout his presidency. And, I mean, we've just seen in recent months his popularity and his favorability ratings go really down. I know you don't want to be in the position of telling the president how to run the White House, but how worried are you about all that and what do you think needs to be done here?

Sen. McCain: Well, of course I should be worried. As a loyal Republican and a person who's loyal to this president, I am, of course, concerned. These numbers are not good. I take some comfort in the knowledge that the last two administrations, in their second term, both Clinton and Reagan, had serious problems. They were different problems but they had serious problems. Both were able to emerge.

SCHIEFFER: Both kind of overhauled the White House staff, too.

Sen. McCain: They overhauled the White House but they also got back on an agenda that was important to the American people. We've got to get back on an energy policy, immigration reform; we've got to make progress in the war in Iraq. In other words, there's got to be some specific agenda items that address the concerns of the American people.

SCHIEFFER: And what again...

Sen. McCain: At one point--about 80 percent of the American people believe that Congress doesn't share their priorities.

SCHIEFFER: Yeah.

Sen. McCain: We've got to get back on their priorities.

SCHIEFFER: If the president were to overhaul his staff, who would be some people who might be good to bring in to the White House at this time?

Sen. McCain: I do not pretend to tell the president what he should do and I emphasize that. And of course, I've never contemplated being president myself, as you know, yeah.

SCHIEFFER: I understand.

Sen. McCain: But I love Fred Thompson. I think he's a great guy. I remember when Reagan brought in Howard Baker, also from Tennessee. Fred Thompson will kill me for having said this on this program. He'll maybe never speak to me again, but maybe something like that. But I also know that the president relies very much on Karl Rove and his other advisers who he's spent many years--and I respect that.

Ms. Bumiller: Senator, let me ask you about a recent poll that shows you neck and neck with former Mayor Rudy Giuliani for the Republican nomination, and you're just edging out Hillary Clinton for the presidency. When are you going to make a decision and what is your thinking right now about a campaign?

Sen. McCain: Those polling numbers are wonderful for the ego, and mine is sizable, but the fact is, they're name ID. That's why we have campaigns and not coronations. To have my name mentioned in the same breath with Rudy Giuliani is a great honor. I think he's an American hero and a person who has served this nation and has great ability to serve it. I was going to--I'm going to wait until the 2006 elections before contemplating it and deciding whether I would want to run or not. But again, Rudy Giuliani is--what he did after--for New York both before and after 9/11, he has a place in history.

SCHIEFFER: How would you like to run against Hillary Clinton? Say you did get the nomination. What would that be like?

Sen. McCain: I d--it's hard for me to contemplate. But I think that any Republican who underestimates Senator Clinton if--and I think it's reasonable to assume that she may be the Democrat nominee--if you underestimate her, you do it at great risk.

SCHIEFFER: Senator McCain, it's always a pleasure to have you.

Sen. McCain: Thank you.

SCHIEFFER: Back in a moment with Virginia's governor, Mark Warner.

(Announcements)

SCHIEFFER: And joining us now, Virginia Governor Mark Warner, the governor--the Democratic governor--in a very conservative state that President Bush carried handily.

And this week your protege, Tim Kaine, another conservative Democrat, will keep the governor's chair in Democratic hands. Is there a lesson here for other Democrats around the country, Governor?

Governor MARK WARNER (Democrat, Virginia): Oh, I think there is. There's a lesson that results matter. One of the things we've done in Virginia, working with Tim Kaine--and he ran a great campaign. We've taken a state that had a deficit, turned it into a surplus. We've made record investments in education and seen results. We've got the largest increase in math SAT scores, for example. We've taken our communities that were underemployed and our rural areas and seen record job growth. And on top of that, we were named the best managed state in the country. And in the aftermath of Katrina, results matter. Efficiency matters.

You know, you compare that to the kind of social hot-button campaign that his opponent ran, and what I thought the message was--that results--pragmatist, you know, bipartisan approach that we've practiced in Virginia, I think has some traction.

SCHIEFFER: What you're saying is, when it snows make sure you get the snow plows out.

Gov. WARNER: You've got to--you know, at the end of the day, Virginians, at least, they want to see things happen. They want to see results. Unfortunately, that's not the case of what's going on in Washington. At the end of the campaign, Tim's opponent brought in the president, and my feeling was if they want to compare how things are going in Washington vs. how things are going in Virginia, I'll take that comparison any day of the week.

Ms. BUMILLER: Well, that brings us to the next question. Did President Bush hurt Mr. Kilgore's chances when he came in the campaign in the last hour for him?

Gov. WARNER: You know, I don't know. I'll leave it to the pundits to make that determination. I do know this: that Tim's victory on Tuesday was a solid one. It was all across the state. And I think that what he--Tim--said he was going to do was to continue the approach we've taken over the last four years.

Ms. BUMILLER: So what are your plans for running for the presidency in 2008?

Gov. WARNER: Oh, I've not made any--I've not made any decision. I mean, the first thing I want to do is make sure that I finish this job strong. If I want to do anything else in politics, I want to make sure the folks

in Virginia feel that I gave them a strong four years. I've got another budget; I've got some other legislative proposals. But I do want to be part of the debate. And that debate, particularly in terms of the Democratic Party, is we've got to, I think, recapture that sensible center. We've got to be again the party of fiscal responsibility. If Democrats continue to put forward candidates that can only be competitive in 16 or 17 states, I think we do not only the Democratic Party a disservice, but I think we do the country a disservice.

SCHIEFFER: What about this whole business of faith and its role in politics? Your man sort of let people know that he was a person of faith. What--is that important? What is--what component is that of a modern campaign, as it were?

Gov. WARNER: Well, I've known Tim Kaine for 25 years. His faith is a very important part of who he is. I think what voters are looking for, what Americans are looking for, is people who are comfortable in their own skin. And Tim clearly is. I ran a campaign that was focused on a different approach. It focused on how we make sure rural communities and small-town America doesn't get left behind. I think, again, folks saw somebody that was comfortable not only in--you know, at the law firms and the boardrooms, but also at the county fairs. And that is what we as Democrats need to put forward: people who are comfortable talking about their faith, talking about values, comfortable in parts of America where, you know, let's face it, in the past Democrats perhaps haven't been welcome as much recently.

Ms. BUMILLER: Governor Warner, you raised taxes and yet your popularity did not seem to suffer. Now should President Bush do the same thing to balance the budget?

Gov. WARNER: Listen, what we did in Virginia was we started with cutting spending. Matter of fact, we cut more spending than any governor in Virginia history. We got rid of close to 5,000 positions in state government. We eliminated 70 boards and agencies. Then we launched a major reform of state government in terms of how it operates: consolidated our IT services; changed the way we bought some goods; looked at our state's real estate portfolio differently. And then we ended up saying, 'Hey, we still have a structural budget imbalance,' because like most states in the late '90s, in the go-go days, we either cut taxes too much or started spending too much. We launched a tax reform plan that lowered some taxes, raised others.

And, you know, what I found was, you know, a little bit of truth goes a long way. The people in their guts in Virginia knew we had to fix our finances. And what we did, with a direct case to the people, in a 2:1 Republican Legislature, found that common ground that not only reformed our tax code, but kept our AAA bond rating, and now Virginia's got one of the fastest-growing economies in the country, second lowest unemployment and, as I mentioned, we were named the best managed state in the country. So I think people--again, they want to look at results.

SCHIEFFER: How can Democrats appeal to the South? That used to be the backbone of Democratic support. It has not been in recent times. And now we're seeing, down through the middle of the country and across the South, Democrats in many cases in this last presidential election didn't even go there because they thought they had no chance. What advice would you give to Democratic candidates as they go through the Midwest and the South?

Gov. WARNER: Well, first of all, we've got a lot of successful Democrats across the South and the Midwest. We have got Democratic governors in North Carolina, West Virginia, Tennessee, Louisiana, Montana, Kansas. These are the reddest of red states. I think we need candidates who are going to be going forward that are results-driven, that are centrists, that can talk about the issues that people care about. How do we educate our kids? How do we balance our budget? How do we provide transportation solutions? How do we keep America safe in an extraordinarily challenging world? And I think Democrats have done that at the gubernatorial level. I think we need to make sure as a national party, we do the same.

SCHIEFFER: Can you win the presidency without the South?

Gov. WARNER: Listen, I don't think a Democratic candidate that only competes for 16 states and then tries to hit a triple bank shot to get that 17th state, that even if you win under that scenario can you govern. And what this country desperately needs is someone who not only can win but can govern.

Ms. BUMILLER: Let's say you had been in the Senate. How would you have voted for the Iraq War resolution had you voted for it...

Gov. WARNER: Well, first of all...

Ms. BUMILLER: ...had been there?

Gov. WARNER: ...I think what we continue to see is the fact that not all the senators had all the information. I heard Senator McCain earlier, and I, you know, have tremendous respect for Senator McCain. But I think the Democratic Party ought to get over refighting how we got into the war and, again, continue to press the president on what he hopes to do in terms of how we will finish the job.

I think there are three or four things we need to focus on. One, how do we keep the Sunnis involved in the government? How do we make sure that they don't feel excluded? Two, how do we make sure that as we go through the reconstruction of Iraq, that we don't continue to spend 30 cents on every dollar for security for folks like Halliburton and how do we get more Iraqis involved in the reconstruction? Three, how do we end up making sure that we truly keep that coalition involved? Because this is an international issue, not just an American issue. And four, I think we--one of the issues that will come out of Iraq--and I don't believe we have to set a arbitrary time line because--not only in terms of Iraq but Afghanistan and Iran, but we've got to make sure we look at this whole question of forced structure. Our military is so good at kicking out the command and control of the bad guys, but as we see in Iraq or in Afghanistan, Somalia, Bosnia, what do we do afterwards in terms of restoring civil authority?

Ms. BUMILLER: But would you have voted for the war?

Gov. WARNER: Listen, I'm not go--I don't have all the information of what would have happened at that point. I think we ought to focus again how we finish the job, not go back and refight how we got there in the first place.

SCHIEFFER: Governor, we have to end it there. Thank you very much for a...

Gov. WARNER: Thank you, Bob.

SCHIEFFER: ...very interesting discussion.

Back with a final word in just a minute.

(Announcements)

SCHIEFFER: Finally today, I am convinced that when judgment day comes, half the people in line at the pearly gates will be talking on cell phones. Seeing those pictures last week of the woman who continued to talk on her cell phone while robbing a bank left me more convinced of that than ever. And that got the people in our news room to wondering: Is there any place in American life where cell phones have not intruded? Apparently not. One colleague heard a guy on his train fire someone by cell phone, another became so annoyed by a loud cell phoner that when he overheard the guy give his phone number, my friend

just wrote it down and called him. He had call waiting, and when he answered, my friend told him to please shut up.

I once heard a guy in a men's room stall calling someone to ask for a date. I've always wondered how he explained the flushing sounds. 'By the way, honey, I'm calling from Niagara Falls.' But my favorite phone story comes from a friend who was on a train sitting beside a woman in her 60s who had phoned her psychiatrist to complain about sexual pressure from her boyfriend who kept waking her at 3 in the morning. It is beside the point, I know, but from what my friend could make out, the psychiatrist told her to start charging the guy rent.

If you would like to hear your favorite cell phone story on TV, just send it to me, but do us all a favor, e-mail us.

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