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CBS News

FACE THE NATION

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**GUESTS: Senator BOB CASEY (D-PA)
Obama Supporter**

**Governor ED RENDELL (D-PA)
Clinton Supporter**

**Mr. ROGER SIMON
Politico**

**Mr. JOE TRIPPI
Democratic Strategist**

MODERATOR/PANELIST: Mr. 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, two days before the crucial Pennsylvania primary, and where does the race for the Democratic nomination stand? Senators Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton are going at it hammer and tong. Who will come out of this state with the win, and why? We'll ask Obama supporter Senator Bob Casey of Pennsylvania and Senator Clinton supporter, the state's governor, Ed Rendell.

We'll talk about the race and what's coming up next with Democratic strategist Joe Trippi and Roger Simon of Politico.

Then I'll have a final word on showing the colors.

But first, the Pennsylvania primary 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.

Well, the subject this morning, the Pennsylvania primary. It is two days from now. And joining us from Harrisburg, Senator Bob Casey. He supports Senator Obama. And with us from Philadelphia, Governor Ed Rendell.

Governor Rendell, let me start with you. Just the other day, Senator Clinton's state director said a win is a win is a win, meaning that they would be happy with any kind of win. But I understand that you told some of Senator Clinton's supporters, and this is a quote that we have from you, "not to put pressure on you folks," talking about Clinton supporters, "but this is it. We're going to win, but we've got to win big. If we win big, we're going to wind up with more votes than Barack Obama, and it's going to be a very big decision then for the superdelegates." It sounds to me like, governor, you're setting the goal pretty high there, saying you've got to win it big.

Governor ED RENDELL (Clinton Supporter, Democrat, Pennsylvania): Well, sure, but I guess the rub is, what's big, Bob? Senator Obama has set an all-time record for spending during a six-week period. He spent over \$2.9 million on TV last week in Pennsylvania. That's almost obscene. And we've been outspent 3 1/2-to-1. So to win by four, five, six, seven points, under that type of spending differential, that would be a huge and very significant victory. That would be a victory of 120, 130, 140,000-vote margin, and I think that would be a very significant victory. Would I like to win by double digits? Sure, but I don't think that's going to happen. Pennsylvania, in most cases, has a record of very close primary elections, and when you're outspent like that, a win by middle digits, four or five, six, seven is a very significant one.

SCHIEFFER: Now, governor, I don't want to dispute what you said, but it sounds to me like you've kind of scaling back that a little bit, when you say that.

Gov. RENDELL: Well, when I made that statement, I had no idea that the spending would be at a record level. I've always been a good money raiser, and I've put a lot of money on TV in the closing weeks of my campaign, but I never exceeded 1.2, \$1.3 million. The Obama campaign,

\$2.9 million. You can't go anywhere in the Philadelphia region, you can't listen to TV for 10 minutes without seeing an ad. Given that level of spending, it's even overcoming what was a subpar performance in the debate by Senator Obama and a great performance by Senator Clinton. I know, Bob, you saw the national Gallup poll went from Senator Clinton down in double digits to ahead by one because Democrats across the nation saw her performance in that poll and were blown away. She showed leadership ability, command of the issues, good solutions, and those are the things I still think that could make this a big victory. But, given that spending differential, it's not going to be easy.

SCHIEFFER: Well, I guess all I have to ask Senator Casey is, what about that, senator?

Senator BOB CASEY (Obama Supporter; Democrat, Pennsylvania): Well, Bob, I think it's going to be an interesting night on the 22nd. I don't--I'm not sure anyone knows, really, where it will--where it will end. But I do think that, from Senator Obama's perspective, he's made tremendous progress in a--in the last six or seven weeks. I don't know if it's enough progress to have a close race or a winning race, but I think it will lay a foundation for the fall, as it would for Senator Clinton.

But I think, in many ways, this has a longer-term positive benefits for Senator Obama. He's been across this state in all kinds of places, cities and towns, connecting directly with voters. And because of his message of change, which was really two parts--one is taking on tough special interests--I think he's already proven he can do that as a candidate and as president--but also his message of bringing people together to solve tough problems. I think when he was on the road yesterday talking a lot about the number of jobs lost here in Pennsylvania in just a couple of months--more than 8,000 jobs lost according to the national statistics--and I think his message of hope, his message of change has resonated. But we'll see what happens. But I think he's made a lot of progress, which will help him in November, as it would any candidate who has to win Pennsylvania.

SCHIEFFER: Well...

Sen. CASEY: I know one thing that the governor--the governor and I agree on, Governor Rendell and I agree that we have to win Pennsylvania in the fall. And I think this contest has helped us do that.

SCHIEFFER: Well, what would you think would be a win for Senator Obama on Tuesday?

Sen. CASEY: Well, Bob, I don't know. I'm not a pollster or a pundit. But I do think, just from being on the road with him as much as I have day after day, the way he's been able to connect with people--and I think he's felt the heart and soul of the people of Pennsylvania. We were up in Erie on Friday. And the very last question in a town hall meeting was from a disabled veteran. He didn't have a microphone available, so Senator Obama went off the stage, handed him his microphone. And all this veteran said to him was 'Thank you for running. I want to thank you and your wife and your daughters for enduring a campaign.' It was a wonderful moment and spoke to the best of Pennsylvania from an American hero, as our veterans are. But it also, I think, gives Senator Obama and his supporters a good sense that the people of Pennsylvania have responded well to his message of hope.

SCHIEFFER: I think you both would agree with me that this debate in Pennsylvania has not been all that it could have been. It's been--it's been quite negative. But I must say that I find a certain irony here. Here a month ago, Senator Clinton was talking about how she was not getting a fair shake, that she was getting unfair coverage, and then just the other day in Pennsylvania here's what she said about that.

Senator HILLARY CLINTON: (Friday) I'm with Harry Truman on this: If you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen.

SCHIEFFER: Little bit of a change there. And Senator Obama, on the other hand, came up with this remark.

Senator BARACK OBAMA: (Yesterday) Over the last several weeks, since she fell behind, she's resorted to what's called kitchen sink strategies. She's got the kitchen sink flying and the china flying and the, you know, the buffet's coming at me, and...

SCHIEFFER: And shortly after he said that, one of his supporters said that Senator Clinton was unfit to lay a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, after that story she told about coming under sniper fire in Bosnia.

What's going on here, Governor Rendell? You've seen a lot of these campaigns. It just--it just seems to get nastier and nastier.

Gov. RENDELL: Yeah, and that's true. But Bob, I think you highlighted the hypocrisy of the Obama campaign. I don't know if the senator has authorized these things, but if he hasn't, he should take some definitive action.

First, while he's on a train trip talking about how we don't have distractions and we're not going to be negative and how negative Senator Clinton is, John Dickerson from Slate wrote, on that very train trip, in between stops, they did a conference call in which they did that despicable conference in which this fellow suggested that Senator Clinton couldn't lay a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier because she was mistaken about Bosnia, as low a blow as I've seen. They've sent out mail that Newsday has said was inaccurate reporting of what was said in their paper. They've sent out messages about Senator Clinton's health care plan that other editorial boards of other states have debunked. And there are robo-calls going into Erie saying you can't trust Senator Clinton on guns.

So you've got to be fish or fowl. If you're going to fight hard and complain about--don't complain about negatives from the other side and don't try to pretend that you're into some form of new politics. The Obama campaign--the campaign itself, not the senator--has engaged in horribly negative tactics. And that Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, that's almost Swift Boat in its dimension. And I know Bob would agree with me that that has no place in Pennsylvania politics.

SCHIEFFER: Senator...

Sen. CASEY: Well, it has no--it has no place, and certainly Senator Obama hasn't engaged in that at all.

Look, I could cite lots of instances where the Clinton campaign...

Gov. RENDELL: Right. But we haven't been hypocritical, Bob.

Sen. CASEY: ...has engaged in smear tactics.

Gov. RENDELL: We haven't been hypocritical.

Sen. CASEY: But you know what?

Gov. RENDELL: We don't say...

Sen. CASEY: But let me...

Gov. RENDELL: ...that this is a new day.

Sen. CASEY: Ed, let me finish. Let me finish. But all of these voters are going to vote on April 22nd can see through a lot of these back-and-forth exchanges. They want to hear about how these candidates are going to address their lives, their jobs in this terrible economy. And there's been--there've been--there's been a lot of fighting back and forth. But if this is going to become a contest of who's--you know, which campaign has engaged in smear tactics, I think Senator Obama will do well on the positive side of that. I think he has lifted the debate. There are lots of times in this campaign where he could have attacked and finger pointed, and he didn't. He lifted the campaign. I think it shows his leadership skills.

Gov. RENDELL: But he's lifting the campaign...

Sen. CASEY: I think voters are seeing through a lot of this.

Gov. RENDELL: He's lifting the campaign with his own rhetoric, and at the same time his campaign is engaging in gutter politics. Bob, that conference call in which that general...

Sen. CASEY: Ed, come on. Ed...

Gov. RENDELL: ...that general said what he said about the unknown soldier's tomb...

Sen. CASEY: Ed, you know...

Gov. RENDELL: That was from the Obama train, according to John Dickerson in Slate, and that's despicable.

Sen. CASEY: Ed.

Gov. RENDELL: And you know that and I know that.

Sen. CASEY: There are both--on both sides--on both sides...

Gov. RENDELL: But we are not hypocritical about it.

Sen. CASEY: ...the candidates engage in this. And--oh, I wouldn't say that. I wouldn't agree with that.

Gov. RENDELL: We don't say that this is a new...

Sen. CASEY: But I think we should move to what most people are concerned about. Ed, it's their jobs--you know, as governor. You have worked very hard on these issues.

Gov. RENDELL: But with three days to go...

Sen. CASEY: Health care, jobs. I don't think we should...

Gov. RENDELL: ...what does the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier have to do with this?

Sen. CASEY: I don't think we should get bogged down on this back and forth. That's not what voters want.

Gov. RENDELL: I understand that, Bob, and you're right. And you and I never have conducted campaigns like that, even when we ran against each other. But what does that type of scurrilous stuff have to do coming from a good man's campaign with three days to go? That's just not the right type of politics. It's certainly not new politics changing the direction of our country.

SCHIEFFER: Well, senator, I want to give you a chance to respond.

Sen. CASEY: I agree, but I...

SCHIEFFER: But let me just also ask you, senator, I have not heard you say that you want to disown that statement by that supporter. I--maybe you meant to say that, but you didn't. Do you? Do you...

Sen. CASEY: Oh, absolutely. Absolutely. But I would hope that the Clinton campaign would disavow a lot of their statements. When they were--when they were smearing--in the debate--in the debate, there was plenty of that I think from Senator Clinton herself.

Gov. RENDELL: And I said...

Sen. CASEY: But let's...

Gov. RENDELL: Bob, I said after the debate...

Sen. CASEY: The voters see through that.

Gov. RENDELL: I said after the debate that I thought the first 45 minutes was a disgrace, that we should've gone right to Iraq and important questions, and some people...

Sen. CASEY: We agree on that.

Gov. RENDELL: Right. I thought the debate was just so disappointing. But still, there's got to be a level of consistency. You can't have the candidate saying one thing about 'we're changing politics' and then have robo-calls going into Erie saying 'you can't trust Senator Clinton on guns' and have press conferences like that. And you and I never did that. We were in a heated campaign together. We pointed out fallacies in each other's record, but we never got into personal stuff like that. Never.

SCHIEFFER: Well, let's talk--you brought up...

Sen. CASEY: But I think...

SCHIEFFER: Go ahead, senator.

Sen. CASEY: ...we can point to a lot of examples on the other side.

Gov. RENDELL: And I agree.

Sen. CASEY: And you can point to a lot of examples on the other side.

Gov. RENDELL: But we--but there's no hypocrisy.

Sen. CASEY: But look at the last week. The last week, where I couldn't believe some of the things that were said about Senator Obama, but I think voters see through a lot of this, and they understand that these candidates have an obligation to address their lives and their challenges. And I think--I think Senator Obama's done that very well.

SCHIEFFER: Well, let me just say one thing that apparently the polls reflect that voters are seeing and that the polls seem to reflect, that the longer this nastiness goes on, the more the negatives of both of these candidates is going up. And we now see that in a country where 82 percent of the people say the country is headed in the wrong direction, that the Republican candidate John McCain is now running about even with the Democratic candidate, whether it's Senator Obama or Senator Clinton. What would be your response to that, Senator Casey?

Sen. CASEY: I'm not worried a bit about that. Look, polls are all over the lot. They don't mean a thing right now in terms of the general election. Both of these candidates can win in the general election. If you want to talk about a smear, the other side has said that Senator Obama can't win a general election or they can't win in Pennsylvania. That's malarkey. We know that both these candidates can win Pennsylvania in the fall and beat John McCain. I don't really care what John McCain's polls show right now with these candidates. Either of them can win because we're not going to settle for, in America, a third Bush term, and that's what--that's basically what Senator McCain has articulated.

SCHIEFFER: Governor?

Gov. RENDELL: I agree with Bob. I think, don't worry about general election polls in April. Worry about general election polls in late September and October. And I think whoever our candidate is, you're going to find, at least in Pennsylvania, the Democratic Party united as one. We're going to go out roaring, talk to the American people about what's happened in the last

eight years and our hopes and our solutions, and either Senator Obama or Senator Clinton can carry the day here in Pennsylvania and nationally. I'm confident of victory in the fall and I'm confident that we'll get together. And Bob and I are perfect symbols, a strong supporter for Senator Obama. He's very lucky to have the most popular Democrat in the state with him every--literally every minute; and the governor of the state, we're going to be together regardless of who that candidate is, and we're going to score a big victory in Pennsylvania.

SCHIEFFER: Let me just ask both of you this question. Governor Rendell, would Senator Clinton do better if she put Senator Obama on the ticket? And then after you give your answer to that, I'll ask you, Senator Casey, would Senator Obama do better with Senator Clinton on the ticket? You first, governor.

Gov. RENDELL: Well, Bob, with the caveat that I don't speak for the campaign, I think that would be a great ticket. I think it would be a ticket that would guarantee the party would be united. It would cause excitement all through the country, and I think it would sweep to a big victory. But I don't speak for the campaign.

SCHIEFFER: All right. Senator Casey?

Sen. CASEY: I think it's--Bob, I think it's kind of early to talk about--talk about running mates. There's still a ways to go. We have a big primary on Tuesday. We've got primaries in North Carolina and Indiana. It's a little early, but these are two of the strongest candidates we've seen in the Democratic Party in a generation, and I think this debate in our state's been very healthy for the long term prospects of winning in November.

SCHIEFFER: All right, I want to ask you--each of you a final question, 10-second answer, please. Will this be over, and will Democrats know who their candidate is by the convention? Senator Casey.

Sen. CASEY: Yes, I think we will, and I think we must do that. I think we've got to bring--come together a lot longer--I should say, a lot earlier than the convention week.

SCHIEFFER: All right. Senator--governor.

Gov. RENDELL: Well, that would be a preferable result, but it really depends, Bob, on what happens in the next nine states. You can't answer that question without knowing the results. There's a chance that it could be over before the convention, but there's a chance it could go to the convention. I mean, it's--there's a chance that Senator Clinton will capture the overall popular vote by the end of the voting, particularly if you count, as you should, the votes in Florida.

SCHIEFFER: All right. Well, gentlemen, I want to thank both of you. We will be watching, and we'll be back in just a minute to talk to two experts.

(Announcements)

SCHIEFFER: Campaign quick check. Roger Simon, the chief political columnist for Politico; and Joe Trippi, who is a Democratic strategist, also a CBS News consultant.

Well, gentlemen, there you saw two very strong advocates for these two candidates, and it seemed to me that they're--what they said this morning pretty much reflected the candidacies here. We saw Governor Rendell saying, 'Well, this may have to go all the way to convention,' because he knows, probably, if Hillary Clinton is going to get the nomination, that's where it's going to have to go. You saw just the opposite reaction from Senator Casey.

What did you make of that, Joe?

Mr. JOE TRIPPI (Democratic Strategist): Well, I mean, I think Rendell's really talking to a lot of the superdelegates out there, and I think his comments to--telling people in New York, the followers of the Clinton campaign, that 'we really need to win big,' is reflective, I think, of when he was chairman of the--of the--of the DNC, knows a lot of these superdelegates, and knows that if they don't win big, you're going to see a move towards Obama. I think that's--he's actually got his hand on--finger on the pulse of superdelegates more than maybe the Clinton campaign does.

SCHIEFFER: Well, he's certainly--that was not, you'd have to say the governor was off message...

Mr. TRIPPI: Oh, yeah.

SCHIEFFER: ...if you went to the campaign, because they're certainly saying, you know, win is a win is a win. But Governor Rendell often goes off message.

Mr. ROGER SIMON (Politico): Right.

SCHIEFFER: The other part is, he's often right.

Mr. SIMON: Well, this is a campaign that's become totally about process. It's about how you move superdelegates vs. pledged delegates. It's about--it's about what the press likes to write about, which is the mechanics of the campaign rather than the issues of the campaign. But the fact is, there seems to be no way for Hillary Clinton to take a lead in pledged delegates. If she's going to be the nominee, she's going to have to get it through superdelegates, and the Clinton campaign has to give the superdelegates, or the party big shots, some kind of reasonable cover to vote for her. The most likely cover is that somehow, by winning Pennsylvania big, she will move ahead in the popular vote. And even though that has nothing to do with convention delegates, that will give them the excuse they need. It's a--it's a thin argument, but it's probably the best argument she has.

Mr. TRIPPI: I was going to say, the problem they've got is, the more they hammer on Obama to do that, the more her negatives are going up, to the point now where there's polls showing both Obama and Clinton with negatives over 50 percent, which is not good. Superdelegates, I think, seeing this now, and seeing potentially that this is going to go to the convention, are going to have to step up if the Democratic Party's not going to have a fight going into that thing.

SCHIEFFER: Do you--do you also find a certain irony here? And these Democrats, both of these Democrats are for gun control, any way that you cut it.

Mr. SIMON: Right.

SCHIEFFER: Neither one of them is going to get the vote of the National Rifle Association.

Mr. TRIPPI: Right.

SCHIEFFER: And yet, they're both out there campaigning for the vote, Hillary Clinton talking about being a duck hunter and...

Mr. SIMON: Right.

SCHIEFFER: ...all that kind of business, and Obama is--really won't come down and say what he thinks about the gun control law here in the District of Columbia.

Mr. SIMON: Guns are a huge issue for the Democratic Party, and a bad issue. In 2000, when Al Gore lost, he lost really not by losing Florida, he lost by winning three winnable states--Arkansas, Tennessee and West Virginia--where the gun vote was very popular. His position was no different than Bill Clinton. Bill Clinton says, 'Look, this is a mainstream police safety issue. You don't need semi-automatic weapons, you don't need cop killer bullets. I don't want to take your hunting guns away.' People believed him. Al Gore said the same thing, John Kerry said the same thing. Hunters didn't believe them. Al--Bill Clinton could get over that cultural divide. It helped from being a good old boy from Arkansas. But the current candidates are having trouble with the cultural divide which portrays the Democratic candidate as a cultural elitist.

Mr. TRIPPI: And I think the real thing, too, is that they're trying--both these campaigns are fighting and have been fighting for some time over white, working class Democrats, and--to which the cultural things like the gun issue are very, very important. This isn't just Republican, independent, this is across the board. This is the culture of Pennsylvania--not just Pennsylvania, but a lot of places. And both are--I agree with Roger--both are having a large--a big problem catching that, getting into that cultural divide. And that's why this group keeps swinging in Wisconsin to Obama, in Ohio to Hillary Clinton. And it may be the group that decides coming down the stretch here whether this is ended quickly by swinging to Obama, or whether we do go into the convention.

SCHIEFFER: So by your reasoning, then, his remarks about people being--clinging to their religion and their patriotism because they're frustrated about the economy, that--I take it what you're saying, that's hurting him in--among these working class whites, especially.

Mr. TRIPPI: I think he got there with clumsy language, but I'm not sure the exchange hurt him. Because in the end, these people--I've been there, I've worked in Pennsylvania--they are angry about what's happened to their towns and how they've been left behind, and how nobody in Washington listens to them. I think he made a mistake by connecting that to guns and--to that anger to guns and religion. But I--he may be talking to them, and that may be responsible for closing the gap a little bit. It really is going to--I think whether--if Clinton wins big, it's because these voters move to her in the final days. If this closes, Obama won that exchange over time, and it means probably this thing's going to be over very quickly.

SCHIEFFER: That--you think she would drop out, then?

Mr. TRIPPI: I think--well, I've always thought, as you know, that we'd be--this thing will be finished on May 7th, the day after North Carolina and Indiana, if she doesn't open up and win--start winning consistently white men and sort of downscale white Democrats.

SCHIEFFER: What do you think about that, Roger?

Mr. SIMON: I think it's interesting that Barack Obama is spending so much time and money in Pennsylvania, a state where he was supposed to be losing by double digits. Now, he's got all the money in the world, he can--almost literally has more money than he knows what to do with. But he only has 24 hours a day, seven days a week. And he's spending a lot of that time--whistle stop train tours, bus tours, big rallies--in a state where he's supposed to lose big. It tells me--instead of campaigning, for instance, in Indiana, which is a state in play.

Mr. TRIPPI: Mm-hmm.

Mr. SIMON: It tells me that I think he really thinks he can win Pennsylvania, or if not win it, come close enough where Hillary Clinton will have to say, 'I'm pulling out.' However, I think if--even if she wins by a vote, she will go ahead to Indiana and Pennsylvania. If she loses both of those on the same day, I think she will have to pull out of the race.

SCHIEFFER: And how does all this affect the election in the fall? We just heard Senator Casey, said, 'Oh, it doesn't make any difference,' that Democrats will all come together. I'm not sure I agree with him on that.

Mr. TRIPPI: Well, I mean, John McCain's got to be right now laughing and enjoying this. I mean, I--and the Republicans do because the--you are seeing these negatives go up with both candidates. I mean, nobody can dispute that on either said. That--and that isn't good if this continues, if it continues to be this silly. I mean, some of these attacks--you know, Hillary Clinton doesn't deserve to be laying a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, I mean, it's ridiculous that it got--that it's getting this mean.

SCHIEFFER: Mm-hmm.

Mr. TRIPPI: Even if it wasn't the campaign condoning it, it's getting ridiculous. And if that doesn't stop, then yes, we're going to have problems. The Democrats have problems.

SCHIEFFER: Got 30 seconds, Roger.

Mr. SIMON: But there will be a wow period after the Democratic convention, where Democrats and some independents and even some Republicans say, 'Wow, we just nominated the first African-American,' or, 'Wow, we just nominated the first woman. This is really historic.' And that is really going to pump up the Democratic Party. So it's not quite as bleak a picture as it may look. I agree with Joe that it's gotten out of hand in negativity, but they're going to get a little honeymoon after their convention is over.

SCHIEFFER: All right. Well, thanks, both of you.

I'll be back with a final word in just a minute.

(Announcements)

SCHIEFFER: Finally today, I watched the ABC debate the other night when that question came up again about why Senator Obama doesn't wear a flag pin in his lapel. Since no one asked me, here is my thought on all that.

I think it is a nice thing if people want to wear a flag on their lapel, but I believe it more important to keep the flag behind our lapel in our hearts. I feel the same way about wearing my religion on my sleeve. It just fits me better on the inside. When I go to see our local baseball team, I do wear my Washington Nationals baseball cap. But am I less a fan if I don't wear it to work? The truth is, I have been known to wear a red, white and blue stars-and-stripes tie on the Fourth of July. But am I less patriotic when I trade it for my Santa Claus tie at Christmas?

Patriotism is no more about signs or pins than religion is about reminding others how pious we think we are. No, the proof in these puddings is not the signs we wear, but how we act. Wouldn't that also be a better way to judge our presidential candidates than by the jewelry they wear?

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

