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TELEVISION PROGRAM TO "CBS NEWS' FACE THE NATION. "***

CBS News

FACE THE NATION

Sunday, May 8, 2005

**GUESTS: Senator DICK LUGAR, (R-IN)
Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee**

**Senator JOSEPH BIDEN, (D-DE)
Ranking Member, Senate Foreign Relations
Committee**

**MICHAEL DUFFY
Time Magazine**

**MIKE ALLEN
The Washington Post**

MODERATOR: JOHN ROBERTS - CBS News

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**FACE THE NATION - CBS NEWS
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JOHN ROBERTS, host:

Today on FACE THE NATION, Senators Dick Lugar and Joe Biden on the Bolton nomination and Iraq. Suicide bombers hit a US security convoy in Baghdad yesterday, killing 22 people, including two Americans. Three hundred people have been killed in Iraq in just the past 10 days. Are coalition troops going to be there longer than the US planned? And what about the nomination of John Bolton to be United Nations ambassador? Can Democrats block it on the Hill? Is he the best man for the job? We'll ask the top two members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Chairman Dick Lugar, Republican of Indiana, and ranking member Joe Biden, Democrat, of Delaware.

And then we'll talk about the rest of the week's events with Mike Allen of The Washington Post and Mike Duffy of Time magazine. Iraq and the Bolton nomination on FACE THE NATION.

Announcer: FACE THE NATION with chief Washington correspondent Bob Schieffer. And now from Washington substituting for Bob Schieffer, CBS News chief White House correspondent John Roberts.

ROBERTS: And good morning to you from Washington on this Mother's Day.

And joining us now from Delaware is Senator Joe Biden, and here in our studio with us, Senator Dick Lugar of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Good morning to both of you and thanks for being with us.

Senator DICK LUGAR (Republican, Indiana; Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee): Good morning.

ROBERTS: Appreciate it.

Senator Biden, let's start with you. John Bolton, the president's nominee for ambassador to the United Nations, is scheduled for a vote in the Foreign Relations Committee this coming Thursday, the 12th. Is that vote going to go ahead?

Senator JOSEPH BIDEN (Democrat, Delaware; Ranking Member, Foreign Relations Committee): Well, I expect it's going to go ahead. We still need some additional information from the State Department. One thing both Dick and I agree on that needs to be forthcoming is those so-called intercepts and what action Mr. Bolton took relative to these intelligence intercepts if any, and, two, a place where the senator and I disagree relative to matters relating to whether or not he tried to stretch the envelope on intelligence matters.

ROBERTS: Let me get to some of the details in just a second, but, Senator Lugar, can the Democrats stop this vote from going through? Do you think he's going to be confirmed? Do you have all your Republicans on board?

Sen. LUGAR: Well, certainly Democrats or Republicans could stop the meeting from being very material. We will have a meeting on Thursday at 10:00 and it'll end by 3 and we hope to have a vote, but there are any number of parliamentary ways in which the vote could be prevented and Republicans, I suspect, will vote in favor of John Bolton. Democrats, I suspect, will vote unanimously against him. I think the vote may be 10-to-8, but I have no idea when the vote will happen. I hope that we can have it then. We've tried to work with our friend Joe Biden to bring about a civil five hours of debate evenly divided so that all the issues could be resolved.

And I share a hope the Intelligence Committee will work with us to get the intercept information. I think the case has been made by Democrats that they believe that John Bolton has been among members of the administration who tried to stretch intelligence. It's an important point, but nevertheless, no Democratic votes have been changed as they've been discovering this.

ROBERTS: Right.

Sen. LUGAR: Whether the public has changed its mind I think is doubtful.

ROBERTS: All right. There were four Republican senators who are voicing their concerns, first and foremost among them Senator Voinovich, who's in Slovenia, I believe, today. Have you got his vote? Are all the Republicans going to vote...

Sen. LUGAR: Oh, I'm not going to make a comment on each of the Republican votes. They will vote their wisdom and their conscience. I've been indicating that I believe they'll vote in favor of John Bolton at the end of the day. And I hope at the end of the day is on Thursday somewhere between 10 and 3.

ROBERTS: Senator Biden, last week you sent some letters to Secretary of State Condi Rice which I have in my hand. You had to send another one yesterday, a request for these documents and this information. At the very end, you say that, 'I would consider a failure to provide the documents to be a lack of cooperation.'

Sen. BIDEN: Correct.

ROBERTS: Are you getting a lack of cooperation from the State Department, and if you don't get what you want, what are you going to do?

Sen. BIDEN: Well, we'll cross that bridge...(unintelligible). I'm assuming that we get what we want. All we're asking for is the same kind of things that we asked for with regard to Negroponte. And it wasn't an issue. Look, the real issue here is how far did John Bolton stretch the truth or try to stretch the facts relating to intelligence. In The New York Times today, the fellow who headed up an intelligence agency said, 'When officials seek to remove from office analysts whose views they do not like, this is politicizing it.' And he goes on to talk about the mere effort 'even when it is excessively resisted creates a climate of intimidation and a culture of conformity.'

And what we're asking about is we want to get some data on four areas relating to Syria, Cuba and others that demonstrate whether or not he did or did not intend to do that, or attempt to do that. And we've not gotten that yet, and I hope we will.

ROBERTS: Well, let me put it to you this way. If you don't get that information, do you have all of the information you need to proceed to a vote on Thursday?

Sen. BIDEN: No, but we will--I'm counting on having that information. And I'm counting on being able to have a vote within five hours after we convene our hearing on Thursday morning.

ROBERTS: All right. Senator Lugar, it's somewhat confusing here to know is Bolton the right person for the job or not. President Bush says his blunt demeanor, and he's accused of being blunt himself on occasion, is just what the United Nations needs if it wants to get on the path of reform. Then on the other hand, former Secretary of State Colin Powell's former right-hand person Larry Wilkerson said it would be a mistake to confirm him. Who do we believe here?

Sen. LUGAR: Well, the president is the president. You know, several of us have tried to be president at one point or another but we can't all do that at the same time. We have a president. He has indicated he wants a blunt figure. He's used that term, just as you've stated, John, in a national teleconference not long ago, and said he himself, that is, Bush, is blunt. And the United Nations needs reform.

Now I have no doubt in all the testimony we've already uncovered, 31 people have been interviewed by the committee that John Bolton has been blunt. Some would say even more than that. Some would say intimidating, abusive, who tried to get people fired. But at the end of the day nobody was fired. People's feelings may have been bent out of shape. And the president is saying somebody that bends the feelings out of shape may be needed to wrench around the UN.

Now my own view is that the president deserves his person here. Dr. Rice, Condi Rice, said, 'This is our man. He is working for us. He will be reiterating the United States' position at the UN.' Now there have to be rather awesome circumstances, it seems to me, to say to the president of the United States, 'Too bad, Mr. President. You may think this is what is required for the UN, and our foreign policy, our security, but you're wrong. As a matter of fact, an assistant secretary of State or somebody else has a better idea.'

ROBERTS: Well, we'll know a little bit more about it in the coming days.

Let's move on to Iraq. Senator Biden, 300 people have been killed in Iraq over the last 10 days. A US security convoy was bombed by coordinated car bomb attacks yesterday. Twenty-two people, including two Americans, dead. Are US troops ever going to be able to come home from there?

Sen. BIDEN: Well, yes, if two things happen. One, if there's legitimacy for this government, and they've moving toward that. They provided two important spots to the Sunnis after considerable wrangling, the Defense Department, as well as a deputy prime ministership. Hopefully that will help. But the real hard work is going to begin now, once the government is up and running and writing that constitution, so it needs to be legitimate and viewed as legitimate. Number two, you have to provide them with capacity. And that is the capacity to actually keep order, maintain order, and there we're doing better but we're not taking advantage of the international offers that have been made to train those Iraqi troops and forces. And, lastly, we've been very incompetent, quite frankly, in the distribution of the moneys that we put in place to rebuild capacity, from electric capacity to sewer and water, etc., in Iraq, and creating considerable discontent. I think we can still remedy all three of those. But it's a real long haul. We're going to be there until that capacity exists.

ROBERTS: Senator Lugar, any idea how long that's going to be? You know, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the outgoing chairman, Richard Myers, said the other day that the insurgency is as strong as it's ever been.

Sen. LUGAR: Well, he probably is right, given the record of the last week. Certainly the insurgents, who are apparently all Saddam types who really look for a military coup for the overthrow of this fledgling government, are in operational numbers enough to kill a lot of Iraqis and occasionally Americans who get in harm's way. I think it's a terribly serious predicament. I agree with Joe Biden: The training thing cannot be overemphasized. If the United States is serious, and we are, about withdrawal of many of our troops, if not most of them, there will have to be replacements of police, national guard types, army types, to bring some security. Now we can count, I think, ultimately on some Sunnis to get tired of being killed. They will not be intimidated by Sunnis, whoever they may be.

The al-Qaida types that insinuate themselves in the country are another story. They hit targets of convenience, the suicide young people, and horrible missions coming in there. That will require security at the borders, much more than policing the towns. But that's of the essence even while this constitutional

framework gets under way. That constitution has to be written; it has to be ratified. Officers have to be elected. At the end of all of that, when Prime Minister Allawi--was prime minister--came over and talked to us he said we will talk about the withdrawal of American troops, it will be a mutually happy day.

ROBERTS: No question, though, it's going to be some time from now.

Sen. LUGAR: It appears that way.

ROBERTS: Right. President Bush just touched down in Moscow a short time ago. He's there for 60th anniversary of the end of World War II. "60 Minutes" tonight has an interview with Vladimir Putin, a rare interview with him, in which Putin said of Iraq that he thought it was perhaps was President Bush's biggest blunder. That said, though, President Putin also said that now is not the time for the United States to withdraw from Iraq. Let's take a quick look at his comments to "60 Minutes."

(Excerpt from "60 Minutes")

President VLADIMIR PUTIN (Russia): (Through Translator) Democracy cannot be exported to some other place. This must be a product of internal domestic development in a society, but if the US were to leave and abandon Iraq without establishing the grounds for a united country, that would definitely be a second mistake.

(End of excerpt)

ROBERTS: So a little bit of tough talk there from Vladimir Putin, which might suggest, Senator Biden, that the friendship between President Bush and President Putin, while they claim it's strong, seems to have more than a little bit of tension in it these days.

Sen. BIDEN: Well, what Putin said is not any different than what our British, our French, our German, our Italian friends have said, that they didn't like the way--with the exception of the Brits--the way in which we went in, but once we were in there, we have to win. And I would reinforce--I think it reinforces the point that they understand, Russia to France, that they have a stake in the outcome. And that's why I don't know why we're not reaching out more, particularly to the Europeans to get them more involved in the training, get them more involved in the civil society, get them more involved in the process in Iraq. But it's evidence to the fact that everyone understands, whether they like it or not, how we went in, that we must win. We must win. We must succeed.

ROBERTS: Senator Lugar, speak a little bit to the relationship between President Bush and President Putin. President Bush doesn't like some of what President Putin is doing these days, and he's very vocal about it. Putin doesn't like the fact that President Bush is vocal about it, yet they're still trying to get along. They've still got a lot of business to do with each other.

Sen. LUGAR: Well, and they're going to do business. But President Bush doesn't like, nor do I, the fact that President Putin has talked about the Baltic states, in terms of the 60th anniversary, as if they really shouldn't exist. Or worse still, Putin was in Georgia, rather his forces are still there, he personally in Ukraine campaigning, talking about democracy can't be exported. He really didn't want to see very much of it in those situations. We do have a fundamental disagreement on that. So President Bush, I think, gently is saying to his friend Vladimir Putin, 'Shape up in Russia.' There really is a need for democracy and for freedom there if we're to have a relationship that's lasting over time.

ROBERTS: Russia, of course, is one of the other four partners--one of the other five partners--I'm sorry--in the group of six who are trying to negotiate with North Korea...

Sen. LUGAR: Yes.

ROBERTS: ...to give up its nuclear program. There was some news out today that--or yesterday, I'm sorry--that North Korea may be preparing for a nuclear test. Do you believe it?

Sen. LUGAR: Well, let's see, there's a hopeful sign there that the Russian ambassador weighed in finally and said, 'We think it's time for the six powers to meet again.' The Russians haven't been exactly very active among the six. If they can make a contribution here that jars the Chinese sensibility and some others so we get down to the negotiating table again, that could be very, very helpful.

ROBERTS: But what about this intelligence that North Korea may be preparing for a nuclear test?

Sen. LUGAR: It may be. And certainly people are talking about caves being sealed, strange signs they haven't seen before, sort of hunkering down for an event. On the other hand, we in the world are saying, including Mr. ElBaradei at the United Nations, 'Don't do it.'

ROBERTS: Mm-hmm.

Sen. LUGAR: This would be cataclysmic. This really is over the top.

ROBERTS: Senator Biden, what do you believe President Bush should do if the intelligence determines that, in fact, North Korea is about to undertake a nuclear test?

Sen. BIDEN: Well, I think you could make a pretty strong case that they are at least making it appear as though they're ready for another test, and they may very well be doing that. I think we made a fundamental mistake four years ago not having direct talks with the North Koreans, not negotiations, laying out as we did with Libya what the upside of a relationship is and what the downside is. And it seems to me that notwithstanding the fact the six-parties talk should be reinvigorated, particularly the Russians and the Chinese getting more deeply involved, we should be prepared to lay down: 'This is where we are and this is the benefits that will flow from you withholding; this is the benefits that will flow from it, this is the consequences of not going forward.' It seems to me that now is the time to do that while the six-party talks are under way or simultaneous with them.

ROBERTS: Right. But can the United States allow a nuclear test to go forward if they determine it's imminent?

Sen. BIDEN: Well, they can't prevent it. The question is what do we do if they do do that? And it creates a specter of options that are all very, very difficult if we fail in this negotiating effort.

ROBERTS: All right. Senator Biden in Delaware and Senator Lugar here in Washington, thanks very much for being with us, very much appreciate it.

And we'll be back in just a moment with our roundtable discussion. Stick with us.

(Announcements)

ROBERTS: And welcome back to FACE THE NATION on this Mother's Day morning.

Joining us now, Mike Duffy of Time magazine and Mike Allen of The Washington Post. We've got the Mike and Mike show going.

Good morning to you both.

Mr. MIKE ALLEN (The Washington Post): Good morning.

ROBERTS: So, Mike Allen, where do you think the Bolton nomination is going?

Mr. ALLEN: I didn't hear a lot of confidence as far as the timing from Chairman Lugar here. But both the Senate leadership and the White House think that this has turned a corner. They think Democrats made a mistake by focusing so much on Bolton's personality and not on maybe some of the real substantive problems they had. And you alluded a bit to this in your questioning. The White House says, 'You don't understand. We chose him because he's this way.' Eighty percent of the American people are suspicious of the United Nations.

ROBERTS: Yeah. We need somebody to knock heads over there.

Mr. ALLEN: Yeah. They think it's inherently anti-American. And they want someone who will go up there and reform and tough talk. And you've been making that case for us.

ROBERTS: Right. Mike Duffy, Senator Biden seemed to get very close to the idea there that if he didn't get what he wants out of the State Department that there may be another delay in the vote.

Mr. MICHAEL DUFFY (Time Magazine): But he didn't actually say that.

ROBERTS: No. I know, just that he ...(unintelligible), yeah.

Mr. DUFFY: I'm not sure that he's got the Democrats on his side enough, you know, to actually stop it. The White House has been leaning hard on the Republicans on that committee to stay firm. And even though, I think, both sides recognize this vote's coming in--What?--four days, if you had to bet, you got to bet that Bolton is going to go through. And Bolton thinks he's going to go through. Already he's asked for the resumes of everyone who works at the US Mission in New York.

ROBERTS: So what does Senator Biden get from sending all of these letters to Secretary Rice and saying things like, 'Consider a failure to provide documents as a lack of cooperation'? Is he just laying down some markers?

Mr. DUFFY: And he's making sure that Bolton knows if he goes...

ROBERTS: 'We're going to be watching.'

Mr. DUFFY: ...perhaps there are some other things. 'We'll be watching you. You're in a little bit smaller box than you were in before.' I'm not sure that's bad for Condi Rice either as she tries to consolidate her power at the State Department.

ROBERTS: Going forward, Mike Allen, Senator Frist is still considering the nuclear option here and the filibuster ban against judicial nominees. We were expecting--it looked like he was going to do it a couple of weeks ago. Does he have the votes to do it going forward?

Mr. ALLEN: Well, Democrats will say to you if he had the votes he would have taken the vote. What Republicans say is a month ago the conference decided they're going to do this for sure if Democrats don't change their position, but they needed some time to explain it to people. They've had a paid advertising

campaign. They've been explaining it to the media. And you've had Senator Frist out there very visibly making compromise offers which is what I think some of the--they describe some of the votes as provisional. Republicans said, 'We want it to look like you made reasonable offers that were then rejected.'

ROBERTS: Right.

Mr. ALLEN: That gives the Republicans the cover to go with it.

ROBERTS: Because a few weeks ago, Mike Duffy, people were talking about this idea that if Senator Frist were to invoke the nuclear option and Democrats were to make good on their pledge to stop business in the Senate that it could be politically damaging for him, particularly if he wants to seek the highest office in the land in 2008. Do you think he's got some cover now that would allow him to say, 'I've made a good-faith effort. It's your fault, not mine'?

Mr. DUFFY: Right. There's no real appetite for compromise in Washington. There's just an appetite for pretending to be willing to or be willing to compromise. He doesn't actually have to do it. The thing that strikes me that's interesting about the filibuster fight is that it's really a dress rehearsal. It's a warm-up. It's like a war game. Both sides are sort of testing their armies, their leaders, their generals for the big fight.

ROBERTS: For a Supreme Court nomination.

Mr. DUFFY: That could come at any moment. I mean, at any moment, you know, one of the Supreme Court justices could resign or retire and then all of this talk about the filibuster and whether the 10 judges are going to be reviewed and re-voted on really will shift away and we'll get ready for the big fight which is what this is all about.

ROBERTS: Yeah, I guess so. Go ahead, Mike.

Mr. ALLEN: Yeah. Well, the great thing to watch on the Hill now that it'll be at least a week and a half, two weeks before this comes down is they're going to wait, do the highway bill first. So pork before principle, but the great pressure that we see on both Senator Reid, the Democratic leader who the other day you could see the president was under his skin. He called him a loser. This was the same senator the other day who called Alan Greenspan, you know, political hack.

ROBERTS: Right.

Mr. ALLEN: But he needs...

ROBERTS: Of course, Reid--is Reid feeling the tension or what?

Mr. DUFFY: Yeah, I think he is.

Mr. ALLEN: Well, yeah.

Mr. DUFFY: I think he's getting to the point where here he recognizes he doesn't have the votes to hold either Bolton and maybe filibusters and he's played a weak hand well up until this point, but I think he's just about out of cards.

Mr. ALLEN: Yeah. And a senator who cares about the institution who is the sort of Republican he needs is going to be turned off by that. Senator Frist, on the other hand, as far as the early stages of his presidential

race, he sees accomplishing this as his ticket to viability. This is his way to show that he has what it takes and so he needs to do this and be successful.

ROBERTS: All right. Another thorn in the side of the Democrats is the fact that now Republican committees are planning on drafting legislation for Social Security. Do the Democrats have to stop just saying no on Social Security? Do they need to come up with some alternate plans themselves?

Mr. DUFFY: I think the clever thing in Bush's most recent offer to sort of, you know, re-index Social Security benefits was essentially a Democratic idea and he's reached into their bag of tricks going back 20 years, things you could do to fix the system over the long period of time and he's...

ROBERTS: Yeah. And they keep talking about the fact that it came from Pozen...

Mr. DUFFY: Right...

ROBERTS: ...who is a Democrat.

Mr. DUFFY: ...who's a Democrat.

ROBERTS: Right.

Mr. DUFFY: Right. By putting essentially one of their ideas on the table, he's really forcing the Democrats to say, 'Are you for fixing this or are you just for saying no?' And at the moment, the Democrats are still on the, 'We're just for saying no' answer.

ROBERTS: Right.

Mr. ALLEN: The other thing the White House says that they hope to accomplish that was increasing his credibility on the issue. One of Karl Rove's many offices puts out a polling update, the good news in the polls. The memos have been shorter recently, but they were bragging this week about the fact that 35 percent of people trust the president and the party on Social Security.

Mr. DUFFY: Well, there you go.

Mr. ALLEN: Well, that's not a good...

ROBERTS: No, not a very good number.

Mr. ALLEN: ...place to be...

ROBERTS: Right.

Mr. ALLEN: ...and on the Hill, they say that they're concerned, that the White House has let this so get away from them it's hard to see how constructive dialogue will start. Any campaign that doesn't tell you how they're going to get where they're going...

ROBERTS: Right.

Mr. ALLEN: ...you know they have a problem.

ROBERTS: And the White House is very concerned about the fact that their program to slow the growth of increases is being described as a cut.

Mr. DUFFY: Yeah, I think one of the real problems that we have in all of these things is that there's not a lot of appetite here for compromise by either party. Both sides have kind of elected orthodox, you know, groups to Congress. Their leaders are particularly that way. They've lost. They haven't done a real big compromise on anything in 10 years.

ROBERTS: We're quickly running out of time here.

Mr. DUFFY: OK.

ROBERTS: Tom DeLay, is he going to survive?

Mr. DUFFY: Well, 'survive' has been redefined in Washington. If you have a scandal, you don't actually have to quit or resign, you just have to step down out of the leadership. That could still happen if this new Ethics Committee panel, which has been revived now, and they've got new--their old rules back, actually, goes and looks at DeLay's record, it could happen. But I think we're still some time away.

ROBERTS: Where do you think President Bush is on DeLay? I mean, he had him on Air Force One the other day. But, you know, it's sort of stick by your man until they, you know, take him away in handcuffs. And then...

Mr. ALLEN: He did. Mr. Bush...

ROBERTS: Not to suggest that that's going to happen with DeLay.

Mr. ALLEN: Sure. And then people point out he didn't hold hands like he did with the Saudi official. But what Mr. DeLay's problem is nobody's throwing their arm around him. You haven't seen Speaker Hastert with him in months. You talk to the president about it privately, he just sort of marvels at how much trouble DeLay is in. The president was very surprised that DeLay...

ROBERTS: Right.

Mr. ALLEN: ...had so much trouble in his own district in November.

ROBERTS: Terrific. Mike Allen and Mike Duffy, thanks for being with us this morning. Appreciate it.

Mr. DUFFY: Absolutely.

ROBERTS: And we'll be back in just a moment. Stay with us.

(Announcements)

ROBERTS: And that's our broadcast. Bob Schieffer will be back again on Sunday. Thanks for watching FACE THE NATION this morning. And happy Mother's Day.