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SUBJECT: LEXIS(R)-NEXIS(R) Email Request (40:0:10196162) (part 6 of 13)

TO: Matthew A. Vogel (CN=Matthew A. Vogel/OU=OVP/O=EOP [OVP])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

work supports. We've put tough child support measures in place to make sure that absent parents who can afford to pay do so, and we're providing resources to help low-income fathers work and pay child support. Since 1992, child support collections have nearly doubled.

To promote and reward work, we've also increased the minimum wage, expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit, invested in child care and health care for low-income families, provided welfare to work transportation, and secured more housing vouchers to help welfare recipients and other hard-pressed working families move closer to job opportunities.

In this time of unprecedented prosperity, we must redouble our efforts to extend opportunity to all Americans. In the State of the Union address and my new budget, I will put forward a range of initiatives, such as expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit, that reward work and responsibility and help more hard-pressed working families who are playing by the rules.

SUBJECT: HEALTHCARE

QUESTION:

Some states, such as Massachusetts, Oregon and Illinois, have tried to revive the push for universal health care coverage that you were forced to abandon in 1994, but their efforts have not gone far. Do you think there's a chance for universal coverage anytime in the near future, whether through states or the federal government or a combination of efforts of the two?

ANSWER:

The Vice President and I feel strongly that we should never abandon the quest for affordable, quality health insurance for every American. We must develop policies which build on and improve the health care system on a step by step basis. The budget I will submit to Congress this year will do just that, investing over \$110 billion to provide health insurance to low income families and other vulnerable populations and small businesses. If enacted, this investment would be greater than anything that had been accomplished since the enactment of Medicare in 1965. I will do everything I can to get this extremely important step enacted this year.

SUBJECT: ENVIRONMENT

QUESTION:

You recently created three new national monuments and expanded a fourth in western states and spoke of the effort to free these lands "from the pressures of development and the threat of sprawl for all Americans." At least 35 governors have made statements or proposed legislation sympathetic with "smart growth" policies, which would tend to favor the basic conservation decision. Is your work done on this issue or will you take further steps before leaving office?

ANSWER:

Protecting extraordinary lands as national monuments is just one of the ways this Administration is working to preserve America's natural heritage for future generations. A new century poses new conservation challenges. Chief among them is helping our communities save small but precious green space close to home, and grow in ways that enhance every citizen's quality of life. The latest Department of Agriculture figures show that the loss of farmland and other open space more than doubled through the 1990's. Communities across the country are taking action to save the best of what's left, and the federal government must

help.

That is why last year Vice President Gore and I launched two new initiatives providing states and communities with new conservation options. Through our Lands Legacy initiative, we secured more than \$200 million to help states and communities protect farmland, forests, urban parks, coastland, and other local green spaces. Through our Livable Communities initiative, we secured record funding for mass transit and proposed Better America Bonds, a new financing tool that states and communities could use to improve water quality, redevelop brownfields, and preserve open space.

My budget for the coming year will propose significant increases to strengthen both of these initiatives and to ensure that every community has the opportunity to grow in ways that respect and preserve its natural heritage. We also will continue our efforts to strengthen protections on the federal lands that belong to each and every American, including our plan to protect more than 40 million acres of "roadless" area on our national forests. Working in partnership with our states and communities, we can fulfill Theodore Roosevelt's vision of leaving this land "a better land for our descendants than it is for us."

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LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: January 28, 2000

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USA TODAY

January 28, 2000, Friday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 4A

LENGTH: 1581 words

HEADLINE: Clinton outlines past triumphs, future tasks

BYLINE: Susan Page

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

WASHINGTON -- President Clinton's final State of the Union address Thursday night was more than his account of the country's present condition. It was also his attempt to shape the perception of his past and to boost the prospects of Vice President Gore's future.

Call it a political hat trick.

"We are fortunate to be alive at this moment in history," Clinton said as he began speaking. "Never before have we had such a blessed opportunity, and therefore such a profound obligation, to build the more perfect union of our founders' dreams."

The speech before an audience of lawmakers, diplomats, Cabinet members and others may have drawn the largest national audience Clinton will command until the inauguration of his successor.

He used the opportunity to take credit for the administration's achievements, especially on the economy, without alluding to the impeachment tempest that was roaring during last year's State of the Union. He outlined his ideas for facing challenges ahead, detailing dozens of policy proposals that have little chance of enactment before he leaves office.

And he acknowledged his vice president in ways worked out beforehand between the Gore and Clinton staffs. Clinton thanked Gore for his leadership on environmental issues and the effort to connect classrooms to the Internet. He pointedly echoed Gore's campaign proposals on preschool education and health care.

"Tonight, I propose that we follow Vice President Gore's suggestion to make low-income parents eligible for the insurance that covers their children," he said, an endorsement that aims to steal Bradley's

thunder on his signature issue. He also proposed state registration of handgun purchases, another Bradley issue.

He singled out Tipper Gore for praise, hailing her as the person "who has led our efforts to break down the barriers to decent treatment of mental illness."

But he twice stumbled over a key word in touting Gore. "Last year, the vice president launched a new effort to make communities more liberal -- no, livable," he said as Republicans hooted.

In a gesture to another figure close to Clinton who is running for election, Clinton praised Hillary Rodham Clinton for working "tirelessly for children and families for 30 years." She is running for the Senate from her new home in New York.

"It's classic Clinton," presidential historian Michael Beschloss says. "He's used State of the Union addresses in ways presidents have not before." This year, Clinton was trying "to keep himself from being too much of a lame duck," Beschloss says, "to start trying to frame his presidency for those in my line of work . . . and to elect Hillary and Al Gore."

A dramatic tradition

For Clinton, his previous State of the Union speeches have been packed with drama, intended and unintended. His 1994 address proposed a universal health-care plan that failed so disastrously, it contributed to Democrats' loss of House and Senate control in midterm elections. In an odd confluence of timing in 1997, some television networks used a split screen to show Clinton delivering his speech as the jury in the O.J. Simpson civil trial returned its verdict.

The 1998 State of the Union was delivered days after Clinton was accused of having sex with Monica Lewinsky. Last year, he spoke eight hours after his lawyers began their case in his Senate impeachment trial.

This year, the drama was more manufactured, with weeks of orchestrated White House leaks on proposals to repair schools, get deadbeat parents into job-training programs and pay off the national debt.

The list of legislative proposals is a favored device to reward constituencies -- deputy White House chief of staff Maria Echaveste received requests for "mentions" that filled eight single-spaced pages -- and to make Clinton look active. "It's a last reminder, 'Hey, I'm trying,' " says George Edwards, director of the Center for Presidential Studies at Texas A&M. But the speech also ran a record-breaking 89 minutes, with discursive asides that weren't in his prepared text and an exhaustive and exhausting list of proposals.

Clinton faces a lame duck's struggle to remain a central force as the 2000 primaries begin a transition to a new president. In a USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll this month, a 53%-27% majority of those surveyed said they were paying more attention to the proposals being made by the candidates running for president than to the president himself.

"For Clinton, Gore's election has become as important as passing legislation. "That's how he sees a very important part of his legacy," says Stephen Hess, a veteran of several White House staffs. "Particularly for a president who faced impeachment, it's a justification of where he stands. It's the equivalent of a third election."

End of 'Clinton era'?

Clinton's open efforts to boost Gore are unprecedented in modern times. Neither President Eisenhower nor President Reagan mentioned his vice president -- Richard Nixon and George Bush, respectively -- in the State of the Union delivered the year his No. 2 was running for president. But Clinton mentioned the Gores a half-dozen times.

Associates say Clinton fears that Gore's defeat would call into question his efforts to redefine the Democratic party as more centrist, and a new Republican administration almost certainly would take delight in reversing policies Clinton has crafted. Texas Gov. George W. Bush greeted his victory in the Iowa caucuses Monday by proclaiming "the beginning of the end of the Clinton era." Last year, Gore made a point of moving from Clinton's shadow, expressing disappointment with Clinton's personal misbehavior and rarely mentioning his name on the stump. But while campaigning in Iowa and now New Hampshire, Gore has begun talking about Clinton more often. He has sought to tap Clinton's support among African-American voters in the March primaries in Southern states, and he argues his service with Clinton gives him the experience to keep the economic expansion going.

Actually, Gore is so identified with Clinton and his administration that it may not matter whether he chooses to emphasize it. The Iowa caucuses made it clear just how much people's attitudes toward Clinton determine their view of Gore. Exit polls showed that Gore won 4-to-1 among those who view Clinton favorably; rival Bill Bradley won by almost 3-to-1 among those who don't.

As the speech was being written, Gore chief of staff Charles Burson urged the Clinton staff to note Gore's contributions and to promote

some of his campaign proposals, especially on health care and education.

In the past, they say, State of the Union addresses have boosted Gore's rating by about 10 points, and the bump has lasted seven to 10 days. That is, past New Hampshire's first-in-the-nation primary next Tuesday.

From tax cuts to child support

President Clinton's State of the Union proposals at a glance:

Tax cuts and hikes: He calls for \$ 350 billion in tax cuts over 10 years, including easing the so-called marriage penalty. He also is seeking about \$ 100 billion in increases that White House aides said would close loopholes and end some tax shelters. The net reduction would be \$ 250 billion.

Foreign policy: Clinton emphasizes the need to help former Cold War adversaries Russia and China move toward democracy and global economic integration. He wants China brought into the World Trade Organization and debt relief for Russia.

Education: He seeks billions of dollars for a variety of programs, from increasing Head Start funding by \$ 1 billion next fiscal year to earmarking \$ 1 billion for improving the quality and number of teachers in classrooms. He also wants \$ 1.3 billion in loans and grants to help districts build and repair schools.

Health care: Clinton proposes spending \$ 110 billion over 10 years on steps to provide health insurance for millions of Americans with no current coverage; he would create a \$ 3,000 annual tax credit for families providing long-term care and allow people as young as 55 to pay to join Medicare.

Vaccines: He proposes that private industry be given \$ 1 billion in tax incentives over 10 years to develop vaccines for such life threatening diseases as malaria, tuberculosis and AIDS.

Gun control: Clinton seeks a system of state-based licenses for the purchase of handguns. Individuals would have to obtain a photo-license to prove that a background check had been conducted before they could buy a handgun.

He's also seeking \$ 280 million in the next fiscal year for enforcement of existing federal laws, including hiring 1,000 more federal, state and local prosecutors.

Working poor: He seeks expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit that aids working families who live at or near poverty levels. In addition to spending \$ 21 billion over 10 years on that break, Clinton also would expand a program offering housing vouchers to low-income tenants.

Clinton also is renewing the call for retirement savings accounts. The federal government would offer a 2-for-1 match for the first \$ 100 contributed.

Child support: Clinton would crack down on parents who are behind in child-support payments by taking such steps as intercepting their gambling winnings and refusing to issue passports to those who owe \$ 2,500 or more.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, b/w, Steve Jaffe, AFP; Gore greetings: Vice President Gore shakes President Clinton's hand before the president's last State of the Union

address. In the address Thursday night, Clinton praised Gore for the vice president's work on the environment and education.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 28, 2000

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USA TODAY

January 28, 2000, Friday, FIRST EDITION

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BYLINE: Susan Page

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BODY:

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Call it a political hat trick.

"We are fortunate to be alive at this moment in history," Clinton said as he began speaking. "Never before has our nation enjoyed, at once, so much prosperity and social progress with so little internal crisis or so few external threats. Never before have we had such a blessed opportunity, and therefore such a profound obligation, to build the more perfect union of our founders' dreams."

An audience of lawmakers, diplomats, Cabinet members and others interrupted Clinton repeatedly with applause. The speech may have drawn the largest national audience Clinton will command until the inauguration of his successor.

He used the opportunity to take credit for the administration's achievements, especially on the economy, without alluding to the impeachment scandal that was roaring during last year's State of the Union. He outlined his ideas for facing challenges ahead, detailing dozens of policy proposals that have little chance of enactment before he leaves office.

And he acknowledged his vice president in ways worked out beforehand between the Gore and Clinton staffs. Clinton thanked Gore for his leadership on environmental issues and the effort to connect classrooms to the Internet. He pointedly echoed Gore's campaign proposals on preschool education and health care.

"Tonight, I propose that we follow Vice President Gore's suggestion to make low-income parents eligible for the insurance that covers their children," he said, an endorsement that aims to steal Bradley's thunder on his signature issue. He also proposed state registration of handgun purchases, another issue Bradley has emphasized.

He also singled out Tipper Gore for praise, hailing her as "the person . . . who has led our efforts to break down the barriers to the decent treatment of mental illness."

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The list of legislative proposals is a favored device to reward constituencies -- deputy White House chief of staff Maria Echaveste collected eight single-spaced pages of requests for "mentions" -- and to make Clinton look active. "It's a last reminder, 'Hey, I'm trying,' " says George Edwards, director of the Center for Presidential Studies at Texas A&M. "He's perfectly aware there's going to be no sweeping legislation passed in this last session."

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Working poor: He seeks expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit that aids working families who live at or near poverty levels. In addition to spending \$ 21 billion over 10 years on that break, Clinton also would expand a program offering housing vouchers to low-income tenants.

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Child support: Clinton would crack down on parents who are behind in child-support payments by taking such steps as intercepting their gambling winnings and refusing to issue passports to those who owe \$ 2,500 or more.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, b/w, J. Pat Carter, AP; Gore campaign: President Clinton and Vice President Gore talk at a Gore 2000 rally in August in Little Rock. In his State of the Union address Thursday night, Clinton praised Gore for the

vice
president's work on the environment and education.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 28, 2000

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FDCH Federal Department and Agency Documents

January 27, 2000; Thursday

LENGTH: 2583 words

AGENCY: WHITE HOUSE

SIC-MAJOR-GROUP: 09 - General Classification

HEADLINE: Q&A WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON FROM STATELINE.ORG SUBJECT: INTERNET
AND
GOVERNMENT

CONTACT: 202-456-7150

BODY:

QUESTION:

Mr. President, thank you for helping Stateline.org mark its first anniversary online (Jan. 25) by agreeing to field some of our questions. New York Times columnist Tom Friedman recently wrote that the "creative destruction" of the Internet is about to hit government, and that the next decade "is going to be as revolutionary and creative a period in American politics as was the period between the Declaration of Independence in 1776 and the Constitutional Convention in 1787." Do you agree? How do you see the Internet changing government?

ANSWER:

I strongly agree that the Internet and information technology has the potential to strengthen our democracy and to make government more open, efficient, and "user-friendly." Thanks to the leadership of Vice President Gore and his commitment to "reinventing government," many federal agencies have made significant progress in using the Internet: People can get information on the latest health research, different medical illnesses and a host of medical resources designed to help people stay healthy from the Department of Health and Human Services's Healthfinder. (www.healthfinder.gov) Parents, teachers and students can download high-quality educational resources from the Federal Resources for Educational Excellence -- everything from a children's guide to the U.S. Government, to virtual exhibits on famous inventions, to a virtual tour of John F. Kennedy's birthplace. (www.ed.gov/free). College students can track their student loan status on line, reserve a camp site for their spring break, or file a change of address, all at the "Access America for Students" web site. www.students.gov Entrepreneurs seeking to start their own business can get online help from the Business Advisor sponsored by the Small Business Administration -- include loans, e-mail counseling and mentoring, government contracts, and an opportunity to electronically present their business plan to potential investors. (www.business.gov) Using America's Job Bank, developed by the Department of Labor and the

Employment Service, people can find their dream job by searching a database that lists over 1.5 million jobs. Employees can search the resumes of over 1.6 million job seekers. (www.ajb.org) I think that the potential payoffs are enormous, and will only increase as more Americans gain access to the Internet, and as Internet technology becomes more versatile and powerful:

Citizens will be able to access government information and complete secure transactions with the federal government 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, avoiding the need to wait in line.

The efficiency and effectiveness of government will be improved -- with real savings for the American taxpayer.

Government information, such as information on local environmental conditions, will be at people's fingertips as opposed to locked away in filing cabinets.

Citizens will be able to track legislation and the voting record of their Congressional representatives on the issues that they care most about.

Opportunities for "informed participation" at all levels of our government will expand -- with the possibility for increased electronic communication between citizens and their government. People who aren't satisfied with a 2 minute story on the nightly news will be able to explore issues in far greater depth.

To ensure that we make the most of these possibilities, I issued a Presidential Directive on "electronic government" last month, and directed agencies to:

Work together to make government information and services much easier to find;

Put the top 500 government forms online;

Increase the number of government benefits and services that can be securely delivered online;

Ensure that federal Web sites are accessible to people with disabilities, and to build good privacy practices into their Web sites;

and

Conduct a 1-year study to examine the feasibility of online voting.

By working together with the private sector and with non-profit organizations, we have the opportunity strengthen our democracy in the Information Age, and to make government more open, responsive, and efficient. The Internet of the 21st century will not only be a global electronic marketplace -- it may also become the town square.

SUBJECT: EDUCATION:

QUESTION:

Since states shoulder most of the burden of education costs of education and they and local school districts are most responsible for setting policy, what more can the federal government do about the slow progress in improving education and the failure to meet the ambitious Goals 2000 that you helped draft in 1989?

ANSWER:

During the past seven years my Administration has worked to reshape the federal role in education to invest more in our schools and demand more from them. We have worked to increase investment in elementary and secondary education and have nearly doubled the federal investment in education since I took office. Federal dollars are now invested in

proven strategies for reform such as reducing class size, improving teacher quality, and fixing failing schools.

At the same time, I have consistently supported high standards and accountability to ensure that our students are prepared for success in the 21st Century. Although schools are struggling to meet these standards, in setting them we moved the country in the right direction. Eleven years ago, there was a debate about setting high academic standards and whether all students could meet them. Today, 49 states have developed standards and there's consensus that all students can achieve them. Now, we need to build that same consensus around investing to help students reach those standards and holding schools accountable for results. I believe that not expecting high academic achievement from all our children, or allowing students to proceed from grade to grade without mastering appropriate academic material cheats them of the success they deserve.

We must also hold educators at the state and local level accountable for results. Last year I worked to create a fund that helps states and school districts turn around or close low-performing schools and ensure that all students have high quality public school options. This year I will call on Congress again to pass my Educational Accountability Act, which would further raise standards and increase accountability.

SUBJECT: WELFARE REFORM

QUESTION:

Despite the many successes of welfare reform, evidence has emerged that some families -- albeit a much smaller number than initially predicted -- are falling through the cracks. The Urban Institute has reported that 12 percent of former welfare recipients are not working, do not live with someone who works and are not receiving child support, social security or SSI. There are other similar findings. As you know, states may exempt 20 percent of their caseload from the 5-year time limit. But many states report that those who could easily leave welfare have already done so and that the remaining caseload is largely composed of families that face many barriers to independence. If states reach out to those families who have left the rolls but aren't able to earn a living, the proportion of "very hard-to-serve" will only increase. How can this problem be dealt with?

ANSWER:

In 1992, I promised to end welfare as we know it, and more than three years after the enactment of the welfare reform law, millions of people have moved from welfare to work, and child poverty is at its lowest level since 1980. More than 1.3 million welfare recipients nationwide went to work in 1998 alone; the percentage of adults still on welfare who were working nearly quadrupled between 1992 and 1998 with all fifty states meeting the welfare reform law's overall work requirement; numerous independent studies confirm that people are moving in record numbers from welfare to work; and welfare rolls are down by more than half since 1992 to their lowest level in 30 years. Today, there are 2.2 million fewer children living in poverty than in 1993, and the child poverty rate declined from 22.7 percent to 18.9 percent -- the largest five year drop in nearly 30 years. The overall poverty rate fell to 12.7 percent in 1998, with 4.8 million fewer people in poverty than in

1993.

I believe we can and will help the "hardest-to-serve" still on the welfare rolls as well as those families working to stay off welfare. As a result of record caseload declines, states now have more welfare reform resources per person to invest in those remaining on the rolls -- and to help those who have left welfare succeed in the workforce, support their children, and avoid returning to welfare. The final welfare reform regulations I announced last April make it easier for states to use welfare reform funds to pay for child care, transportation, and job retention services to help people who have left welfare stay off the rolls or avoid going on welfare in the first place. We also clarified that such supports for working families would not count toward the five-year time limit for welfare benefits. Along with this flexibility, we are holding states accountable for moving people from welfare to work, and I have urged them to use the resources to invest in those who need the most help.

To help those still on the rolls who need more help moving into the workforce, I fought for and obtained \$3 billion in Welfare-to-Work funds in the 1997 Balanced Budget Act. These funds help those individuals and communities facing the greatest challenges in making the transition from welfare to work. We've enlisted businesses, civic and faith-based groups, and federal agencies to join in moving people from welfare to work, and all have risen to the challenge: for example, 12,000 companies joined the Welfare to Work Partnership and hired nearly 650,000 people. My Administration has also worked hard to ensure that all working families eligible for health insurance and nutritional assistance get these important work supports. We've put tough child support measures in place to make sure that absent parents who can afford to pay do so, and we're providing resources to help low-income fathers work and pay child support. Since 1992, child support collections have nearly doubled.

To promote and reward work, we've also increased the minimum wage, expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit, invested in child care and health care for low-income families, provided welfare to work transportation, and secured more housing vouchers to help welfare recipients and other hard-pressed working families move closer to job opportunities.

In this time of unprecedented prosperity, we must redouble our efforts to extend opportunity to all Americans. In the State of the Union address and my new budget, I will put forward a range of initiatives, such as expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit, that reward work and responsibility and help more hard-pressed working families who are playing by the rules.

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QUESTION:

Some states, such as Massachusetts, Oregon and Illinois, have tried to revive the push for universal health care coverage that you were forced to abandon in 1994, but their efforts have not gone far. Do you think there's a chance for universal coverage anytime in the near future, whether through states or the federal government or a combination of efforts of the two?

ANSWER:

The Vice President and I feel strongly that we should never abandon the

quest for affordable, quality health insurance for every American. We must develop policies which build on and improve the health care system on a step by step basis. The budget I will submit to Congress this year will do just that, investing over \$110 billion to provide health insurance to low income families and other vulnerable populations and small businesses. If enacted, this investment would be greater than anything that had been accomplished since the enactment of Medicare in 1965. I will do everything I can to get this extremely important step enacted this year.

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QUESTION:

You recently created three new national monuments and expanded a fourth in western states and spoke of the effort to free these lands "from the pressures of development and the threat of sprawl for all Americans."

At least 35 governors have made statements or proposed legislation sympathetic with "smart growth" policies, which would tend to favor the basic conservation decision. Is your work done on this issue or will you take further steps before leaving office?

ANSWER:

Protecting extraordinary lands as national monuments is just one of the ways this Administration is working to preserve America's natural heritage for future generations. A new century poses new conservation challenges. Chief among them is helping our communities save small but precious green space close to home, and grow in ways that enhance every citizen's quality of life. The latest Department of Agriculture figures show that the loss of farmland and other open space more than doubled through the 1990's. Communities across the country are taking action to save the best of what's left, and the federal government must help.

That is why last year Vice President Gore and I launched two new initiatives providing states and communities with new conservation options. Through our Lands Legacy initiative, we secured more than \$200 million to help states and communities protect farmland, forests, urban parks, coastland, and other local green spaces. Through our Livable Communities initiative, we secured record funding for mass transit and proposed Better America Bonds, a new financing tool that states and communities could use to improve water quality, redevelop brownfields, and preserve open space.

My budget for the coming year will propose significant increases to strengthen both of these initiatives and to ensure that every community has the opportunity to grow in ways that respect and preserve its natural heritage. We also will continue our efforts to strengthen protections on the federal lands that belong to each and every American, including our plan to protect more than 40 million acres of "roadless" area on our national forests. Working in partnership with our states and communities, we can fulfill Theodore Roosevelt's vision of leaving this land "a better land for our descendants than it is for us."

REGION: 4th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals - Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Washington, D.C.

INDUSTRY-CODE: Executive, legislative, and general government, except finance

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NBC News Transcripts

SHOW: NBC NEWS SPECIAL REPORT: STATE OF THE UNION 2000 (9:00 PM ET)

January 27, 2000, Thursday

LENGTH: 3019 words

HEADLINE: PRESIDENT CLINTON'S UPCOMING STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

ANCHORS: TOM BROKAW

REPORTERS: LISA MYERS

BODY:

Announcer: The following is an NBC News special: THE STATE OF THE UNION. Reporting from Washington, here is Tom Brokaw.

TOM BROKAW, anchor:

Good ever--good evening, everyone. You're looking at the nation's capital tonight, surrounded by a fresh blanket of snow. And it is there that President Bill Clinton, William Jefferson Clinton, will go before the Congress and the nation for the final time, to deliver his speech on the state of the union. The first speech that was called a State of the Union speech, delivered by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, ran about 850 words. Tonight, we expect that Bill Clinton will speak for probably just over an hour, although his aides say that they have been trimming this speech all day long.

He goes before the country tonight with the approval of about two-thirds of the constituents that he serves in this country, the way he's handling the job as president of the United States. That's the number in the latest NBC News/Wall Street Journal poll, now 65 percent approval. Disapproval 30 percent. Those are heroic numbers by anyone's definition.

As for the handling of the economy, the president has almost three-quarters of the country behind him on all that. It is the longest-running economic expansion in the country's history. And, right direction, wrong direction? Well, more than half the people think that we're going in the right direction. The president tonight will be talking about the unfinished items on his agenda.

He'll also be attempting to help his friend and his vice president, Al Gore, who is now running to succeed him, and there will probably be some items that could be of help to his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, who's running for the United States Senate from the state of New York. And Bill Clinton himself, of course, will be running for his place in history, trying to secure his legacy. But he does appear tonight with the continuing shadow of impeachment, a contempt-of-court citation and continuing, deep questions about his personal character. He will not be able to neutralize those questions tonight, but he does hope in the course of this next year to at least put them in some kind of perspective. We'll leave it to historians to make that judgment many years down the road. There is the prospective senatorial candidate, Hillary Rodham Clinton. And just behind her in the dashing red dress is the wife of the secretary of Defense, Janet Langhart, who's the wife of Bill Cohen.

Some of the guests that are there tonight, an Air Force pilot who flew over the skies that were filled with hostile anti-aircraft fire during the Kosovo mission. Mrs. Gore, just to your lower right, is talking to a very vibrant young woman, her name is Julie Foudy. She's a member of the women's national soccer team. Her nickname as the captain was "Loudy Foudy." We'll be hearing more about these guests as the evening goes on. It's an important symbol

tonight
to see the president and his family together in this final State of the
Union
appearance. Chelsea, who is at Stanford, is back for this appearance,
seated
next to Julie Foudy, who is also a Stanford graduate, by the way. She
hails
from Mission Viejo, California.

NBC's Tim Russert is there at the Capitol tonight as well. He's our
Washington bureau chief and moderator of "Meet the Press." Tim, there
will be any number of issues on the agenda tonight to serve not only the
president, but
of course the man who stands there to your left on the screen, always
erect and
at attention, Vice President Al Gore.

TIM RUSSERT reporting:

Absolutely, Tom. The president basically has three goals. First, take
credit for all the good things that have happened to the economy and to
the
country over the last seven years, and he'll spell those out. Secondly,
put
forward a tax-cut plan and an increased minimum wage that he thinks the
Republicans in Congress will go for, which will help them in their own
re-election as well as help his legacy and help the vice president. And
that's
the third thing, Tom, he believes--the president believes, if he can
elect Al
Gore president and Hillary Clinton senator, it is the equivalent of a
third term
for him. And he's going to have some issues like gun control, suing HMOs,
prescription drugs, he knows the Republican Congress will probably not
pass
those, but they become wedge issues for the Democrats, the vice president
and
his wife to use in the general election to help them attain power.

BROKAW: NBC's Claire Shipman joins us, as well, tonight. Claire, what
are
the realistic hopes that the president will get through a lot of these
proposals
that he's going to lay before the Congress tonight, especially this reach
that
he's going to make on gun control?

CLAIRE SHIPMAN reporting:

Well, look, his aides say that he thinks he can get them through. That
he
has a hope that it--it's going to be a, quote, "interesting" year. That
there
might be a possibility for him to pass what you're talking about, which
is a new
proposal on gun control for the president, a licensing of handguns, that
the
states would require people to obtain a license before they are able to
buy
handguns. Interestingly, this is a proposal--proposal that Al Gore made
first. He
was out in front of the White House on this. The president is now
joining him
on this. Most people think the president is trying to give a boost for
the vice
president by joining him on this, and that he doesn't really think that
he can
get it through Congress this year.

BROKAW: Thanks very much, NBC's Claire Shipman.

We're going to hear now the announcement of the president's cabinet,
led by
Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. One member of the cabinet is
missing
tonight, that's the tradition here and they take it very seriously. It's
Energy
Secretary Bill Richardson. They have one cabinet member missing, in case
something happens to the president and the vice president and the members
of the
Congress, then you have somebody who can run the government and they are
taken
to a place outside of the beltway. They have a comfortable evening.
There's no
great tension because no one anticipates that anything will happen, but
they
want to be prepared in case that it does.

No members of the US Supreme Court will be here tonight. We always look
forward to seeing them, in their long black robes, but for honest reasons
of
illness or travel, no members of the highest court in the land will be in
the
chamber tonight for the president's final State of the Union address.
Man who
used to walk in with the president every year at this time joins us now
from New
York, where he has returned to the private sector. He is one of the
architects of the success of Bill Clinton, one of the great architects of
this

economy, and that is former Treasury Secretary Bob Rubin. Mr. Rubin, does it look a lot different to you, the economy, from the outside looking in than the inside looking out when you're in Washington?

Mr. ROBERT RUBIN (Former Secretary of Treasury): Well, Tom, it really has been a remarkable seven years, as y--as you've said. And I think that economic conditions look very favorable from the outside, just as they look from the inside. I think one of the things that strikes me, having left Washington, is--is how enormously important it is that we continue on the policy track that has contributed so greatly to these strong economic conditions. Particularly that we continue a deficit reduction and move toward retiring the debt of the federal government.

BROKAW: There are lots of questions about what we ought to do with that record surplus. A lot of people say we ought not to initiate any new government programs, use it all to pay down the debt, use it all to secure Medicare and Social Security. Would that be your counsel if you were still in the president's cabinet?

Mr. RUBIN: M--my view, Tom, would be that it should be used predominantly to pay down the federal debt, and that, very, very importantly, we use realistic numbers in assessing exactly what that surplus is. And I was very troubled with Congressional Budget Office estimates that came out, I guess it was yesterday, seems to me that even the high end of those estimates had very unrealistic assumptions about the reductions in Defense and other programs, i--in making the very large surplus projections that were made.

BROKAW: And aren't those projections going to be very tempting to Congress to take advantage of that surplus and get their pet projects through for home?

Mr. RUBIN: Well, look, Tom, it's always been easy to cut taxes or to spend. And the hard thing is to do what the president and vice president did in 1993, which is to cut the deficit. And I think we've got to continue with that difficult path, because it's the right path for the country and I think it's the right path going forward. But I think we need to start with a realistic estimate with exactly what this surplus is. And I don't think that yesterday's high-end estimates represent anything remotely like what the surplus would realistically be estimated to be.

BROKAW: But how do we get a realistic assessment of what the surplus is going to be?

Mr. RUBIN: Well, I think you'll see an estimate coming out from the administration, and I think when it comes out it will follow the path that the president set us on during the transition. The end of 1992 and in his first year in office, which is to always have prudent, careful and realistic numbers.

BROKAW: All right, Bob Rubin, you'll be with us for a while, so we'll be coming back to you later on. We want to go back to Capitol Hill now to NBC's Lisa Myers. She follows the Congress for NBC News, of course, and no one does it better. Lisa, what are the chances that some of these president's proposals are going to get through over there? Let's begin with the tax cut at about \$ 350 billion?

LISA MYERS reporting:

Well, interestingly, Trent Lott, the Senate majority leader, has already put out a statement saying, if the president does indeed echo Republican calls to cut taxes for married couples and for people who send their children to college, that this can be, quote, "A year of accomplishment." Tom, the basic fact is: the Republicans have already decided that they very much need some accomplishments if they're going to hold the House this fall in the elections. So, they have suddenly discovered prescription drugs for the elderly as an issue, it's now at

the top of their agenda. They also are trying to figure out how to get out some new patient's bill of rights for people in HMOs, because of the tremendous political pressure on that issue. So there's a very real possibility that because of the pressures Republicans feel and the because of the president's desire for a legacy that they can do at least a little bit of business.

BROKAW: Lisa, while you were talking we were looking at a picture of Lloyd Benson, who is one of the venerated figures in the Democratic party, of course. He has not been well, he has served this country in so many ways. He was in the Air Force during World War II. Bob Michael, who's a former speaker of the House of Representatives and has been succeeded by--actually he was not speaker, he was the minority leader for a time and then Newt Gingrich took his job, and he was a very popular figure here. But now another member from Illinois, Dennis Hastert, has the job of speaker. I was saying about Lloyd Benson, he has been brought here as a special guest of the president tonight. He was in the Air Force during World War II. He served in the Senate from--from the state of Texas, of course. And he was the vice presidential candidate who debated Dan Quayle, and said to him, memorably, "I knew John Kennedy. He was a friend of mine. You're no John Kennedy." He has been--gone back to his ranch in Texas, he's not been well, but he's here tonight and he'll no doubt get a very warm reception from this crowd this evening.

Michael Waldman served as a speech writer for President Clinton. President Clinton's ability to go on and to get deeply involved in these speeches right up to the last millisecond is part of the lure of his administration. Michael, we're told that he's been handed the speech just moments ago in the ready room, do you think that he probably is prepared to accept it at this point?

Mr. MICHAEL WALDMAN (Former Clinton Speech Writer): Well, I think it's about time when the tinkering has to end. I know that he was rehearsing and revising up to the last minute. And he spends weeks and weeks working on a speech like this, going through the policy, rewriting, going through drafts and rehearsing.

BROKAW: And you had a--you had an experience with him one time in which you were working on a speech in a limousine on the way to the Capitol, and what, you inserted a comma or something?

Mr. WALDMAN: He had a speech done very early in 1997. One change was made on the laptop--I do think it was a comma. We inserted the disk into the teleprompter machine and it had converted the entire speech into one long paragraph. So while the president was walking down the aisle, shaking hands with members of Congress, I and the other speech writers were shouting at the guy who operated the teleprompter, saying, "There! There! Put those paragraphs in there." It always can be kind of hairy. But this is a speech where every line is something that Bill Clinton has worked on for a long time and he really knows it, even without the text, probably.

BROKAW: We want to remind our viewers tonight, as well, that after the president speaks we will hear from Republicans. Senator Frist from Tennessee and Senator Collins from Maine will have the Republican response tonight. It will be shorter than what the president has to say. What the Republicans have done the past few years is to get some of their new and promising members to respond to the president's speech. Then, on MSNBC, we'll be going for a full hour tonight about 'Are we better off now than we were seven years ago?'

Doris Kearns Goodwin, the noted presidential historian, joins us tonight as well. Doris, it's too early to make a judgement about the legacy of Bill Clinton or how historians--people doing your line of work a hundred years from now, will judge his administration. How much can he do, tactically, in the time that's left to him to kind of get what he wants on the record?

Ms. DORIS KEARNS GOODWIN: Well, you know, there's two phases to this question of the legacy. One is what he will be viewed as after he's dead. But as a young man, and the other phase, is what his reputation will be from now until he dies. And I think we cannot overestimate how important it is for him to elect Gore for that to happen. Think the difference it will make for him to have positive comments coming out of the administration, as opposed to Governor Bush saying, 'This is the beginning of the end of the Clinton administration.' I watched President Johnson in those last years of his life, so sad at the ranch because he was being repudiated. That's what he's looking for: non-repudiation.

BROKAW: And as we were hearing from you, Doris, we were also hearing from Bill Livingood, who is the sergeant-at-arms, and he was announcing the arrival of the president of the United States. Followed by Richard Gephardt, who is the Democratic leader in the United States House of Representatives. And just behind the president there, to your right, is Strom Thurmond, who is the oldest living member of United States Senate, obviously, and--from South Carolina. He's made it into the 21st century. Extraordinary man, in 1948 he ran for president as a Dixiecrat. Still a lively sense of humor and a man who is not going to give up his seat voluntarily in South Carolina.

Dick Arme, who's been one of the president's sharpest critics in the House, is also there as part of the House leadership escorting the president in. David Bonior, the bearded man, is from Michigan. He's been one of the real tigers for the Democrats on their side of the aisle. Just behind Richard Gephardt, who is the blonde hair there to your--right behind the president is Tom Daschle, who is the minority leader in the United States Senate, from the great state of South Dakota. The chances of the Democrats regaining the Senate--most people in Congress and watching all of this think--are very long indeed. But the Democrats think they've got a real shot at gaining the House, especially if they can get the president home this year. That is, Al Gore. Larry Summers, who succeeded Bob Rubin as his faithful deputy, is there as well.

If we can, we're just going to show you a picture as we--look at this, of Bill Clinton in 1993. It was his first State of the Union address. We won't hear him, we're just going to show you the imagery. A more youthful man then. And it was in 1994, of course, that he made the speech--there's Tom Foley off to the right, who's been long-gone as the speaker of the House of Representatives. Now replaced by Dennis Hastert. And Al Gore. Big evening for Al Gore. He comes here surging out of Iowa after haf--after soundly defeating Bill Bradley in the Iowa caucuses. And in New Hampshire, where Gore had been trailing in December, he now has a very substantial, by New Hampshire standards, lead over his principal opponent, Bill Bradley. He's leading 49 to 40 in all the latest polls from up there. And the election there is Tuesday, of course, so you'll see a lot of Al Gore tonight and hear a lot about him. And as Tim has pointed out in the past, the Tennessee Titans are in the Super Bowl on Sunday, that can't hurt Al Gore either.

It's a big night for white shirts, blue shirts and red ties. Hastert's saying it feels a little heavy. Hastert replaced Newt Gingrich--actually replaced Robert Livingston. Gingrich re--quit the House, then Livingston was forced to quit the House, then the--Dennis Hastert, who was unheard of across the country, came in as the consensus choice on the Republican side. A former wrestling coach from Illinois who has been kind of a coach among the Republicans, as well.

We do expect the president tonight to ask the states to issue photo ID licenses for handgun purchases. That will get the attention of the National Rifle Association and the people who are opponents of gun control on Capitol Hill. That will be an explosive issue here tonight, but it's one that Al Gore has talked about. Two years ago, you'll remember, the president was here

very
shortly after disclosure with Monica Lewinsky.

Representative DENNIS HASTERT: Members of Congress. I have the high
privilege
and the distinct honor of presenting to you the president of the United
States.

BROKAW: Part of the ritual of Washington life, that is all the
introduction
that is required for a president. And in the honor of the office, as
they often
say, if not always the man. Even those Republicans who have spent so
much of
their time on Capitol Hill trying to impeach him or have been so sharply
critical of him are in awe of his political powers.

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The Washington Times

January 27, 2000, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: PART A; Pg. A1

LENGTH: 970 words

HEADLINE: Davis scolds OPM chief for late decision on closing while on
Gore campaign trail

BYLINE: Ellen Sorokin; THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BODY:

The government's personnel chief should have delegated the decision on
closing federal offices Tuesday to someone who was in town rather than
make the
call from Iowa, where she was campaigning for Vice President Al Gore, a
Republican congressional leader said yesterday.

Rep. Thomas M. Davis III of Virginia, who represents tens of
thousands of
federal workers, said Office of Personnel Management Director Janice R.
Lachance should have been in Washington when a fierce snowstorm struck.

If she had been here, Mr. Davis said, Ms. Lachance might have decided
to
close federal offices hours before thousands of government workers braved
snow-
and ice-covered highways.

"There is a time to govern and a time to campaign," Mr. Davis said.
"She has
to make up her mind whether or not she wants to be a political operative
or help
and work with federal employees. It's not a great mixture. Federal
workers
should not be a second priority or tossed around like footballs."

White House officials defended Ms. Lachance, saying her political work
on
behalf of the Gore campaign was not a violation of the Hatch Act, a
federal
statute that prohibits government employees from participating in most
political
activities.

According to a White House statement, Cabinet members or presidential
appointees - like Ms. Lachance - are allowed to engage in political
activity as
long as travel costs are not paid by the federal government.

Gore spokesman Chris Lehane said Ms. Lachance, 46, is not the only
administration official campaigning for the vice president. He said
Cabinet
secretaries and former administration staffers are also on the campaign
trail,
although he said he did not know how many.

"But you can just look around and see that they're a lot of people," Mr.
Lehane said last night, gesturing around the bustling press room at
WMUR-TV in
Manchester, N.H., before last night's presidential debates. "You know, our
people support Al Gore."

He said he assumed the officials are not on government time when they
campaign for Mr. Gore.

"My assumption is - I'd go ask each and every one how they're doing it
- but
my understanding is they take vacation time," Mr. Lehane said.

Asked whether spending a weekend on the campaign trail might have
distracted

Ms. Lachance from her duties at the Office of Personnel Management, Mr. Lehane said, "Ask her."

Pressed on whether Ms. Lachance should have been in Washington during the snowstorm, he said, "I would refer you to her."

In response, Ms. Lachance said being in Iowa during Tuesday's snowstorm did not delay her decision to shut down the government in Washington.

"Absolutely not," she said. "It was 3 a.m. and I was on the telephone, in my hotel room, in my bed when I made the decision to declare unscheduled leave. The second conference call convinced me that the weather conditions were too dangerous to keep the government open."

Ms. Lachance was stranded early Tuesday morning in Council Bluffs, Iowa, after four days with the Gore campaign. She returned to Washington early yesterday morning.

The OPM director approved the government shutdown at 7 a.m. Tuesday, three hours after the National Weather Service warned that a severe snowstorm threatened the District and its suburbs.

The lateness of the decision angered many federal workers who already were on their way to work on slippery roads or were waiting for delayed trains at commuter rail and Metro stations.

Mr. Davis said OPM officials should admit they made a mistake in making a delayed call on the closing, instead of blaming the change in weather.

"Everyone makes mistakes, and OPM officials should admit that they made a mistake," Mr. Davis said. "There's no question that the decision to shut down was delayed because the director was not here."

Ms. Lachance, a lawyer, joined the president's transition team after working in the first Clinton-Gore campaign. She was named OPM's communications director in 1993 and rose to chief of staff by 1996. In 1997, the Senate confirmed her as deputy director, then director. She previously headed communications and political affairs at the American Federation of Government Employees, a union affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

Ms. Lachance yesterday again defended her decision on changing the operating status of the government so late Tuesday morning. She said she relied on the information she received through her 4 a.m. telephone conference call with 40 state and local officials, all of whom she says reached the same conclusion to keep the local and federal government open.

"I wasn't alone. We made that decision based on the information we got from the National Weather Service," Ms. Lachance said. "The information we got very much supported a decision to declare unscheduled leave."

Rep. James P. Moran, Virginia Democrat, said he doesn't blame OPM officials for announcing the shutdown so late, even though many workers including his cousin's wife, Kathy Moran, who took trains into the city were left stranded until 5 p.m. when the trains returned to take them home.

"The real problem was the weather forecast," Mr. Moran said. "It's an expensive decision to give general leave. OPM was rightfully concerned about the costs."

Mr. Moran said he doesn't believe that it mattered whether Ms. Lachance was in town. "It would be a problem if she was acting unilaterally. But there was consensus among the officials who participated in the first conference call to leave the government open," he said.

Mr. Davis still disagreed with the decision-making process. "If she wants to campaign, let her campaign. But for heaven's sake, don't put the federal employees at a disadvantage."

* White House correspondent Bill Sammon contributed to this report from

Manchester, N.H.

GRAPHIC: Photo (color), Feeling the heat: OPM Director Janice R. Lachance still defends the timing of her decision to close federal offices Tuesday.. By Kenneth Lambert/The Washington Times

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January 25, 2000, Tuesday

SECTION: NATIONAL DESK

LENGTH: 1949 words

HEADLINE: Text of Q&A with President Clinton from Stateline.org (1/2)

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Jan. 25

BODY:

The following was released today by the White House (Part 1 of 2):
Q&A WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON FROM STATELINE.ORG

SUBJECT: INTERNET AND GOVERNMENT

QUESTION:

Mr. President, thank you for helping Stateline.org mark its first anniversary online (Jan. 25) by agreeing to field some of our questions.

New York Times columnist Tom Friedman recently wrote that the "creative destruction" of the Internet is about to hit government, and that the next

decade "is going to be as revolutionary and creative a period in American politics as was the period between the Declaration of Independence in 1776

and the Constitutional Convention in 1787. " Do you agree? How do you see the Internet changing government?

ANSWER:

I strongly agree that the Internet and information technology has the potential to strengthen our democracy and to make government more open, efficient, and "user-friendly." Thanks to the leadership of Vice President

Gore and his commitment to "reinventing government," many federal agencies

have made significant progress in using the Internet:

People can get information on the latest health research, different medical illnesses and a host of medical resources designed to help people stay healthy from the Department of Health and Human Services's Healthfinder. (www.healthfinder.gov)

Parents, teachers and students can download high-quality educational resources from the Federal Resources for Educational Excellence -- everything from a children's guide to the U.S. Government, to virtual exhibits on famous inventions, to a virtual tour of John F. Kennedy's birthplace. (www.ed.gov/free).

College students can track their student loan status on line, reserve a camp site for their spring break, or file a change of address, all at the

"Access America for Students" web site. www.students.gov

Entrepreneurs seeking to start their own business can get online help from the Business Advisor sponsored by the Small Business Administration

-- include loans, e-mail counseling and mentoring, government contracts, and an opportunity to electronically present their business plan to potential investors. (www.business.gov)

Using America's Job Bank, developed by the Department of Labor and the Employment Service, people can find their dream job by searching a database

that lists over 1.5 million jobs. Employees can search the resumes of over 1.6 million job seekers. (www.ajb.org) I think that the potential payoffs are enormous, and will only increase as more Americans gain access

to the Internet, and as Internet technology becomes more versatile and powerful:

Citizens will be able to access government information and complete secure transactions with the federal government 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, avoiding the need to wait in line.

The efficiency and effectiveness of government will be improved -- with real savings for the American taxpayer.

Government information, such as information on local environmental conditions, will be at people's fingertips as opposed to locked away in filing cabinets.

Citizens will be able to track legislation and the voting record of their Congressional representatives on the issues that they care most about.

Opportunities for "informed participation" at all levels of our government will expand -- with the possibility for increased electronic communication between citizens and their government. People who aren't satisfied with a 2 minute story on the nightly news will be able to explore

issues in far greater depth.

To ensure that we make the most of these possibilities, I issued a Presidential Directive on "electronic government" last month, and directed

agencies to:

Work together to make government information and services much easier to find;

Put the top 500 government forms online;

Increase the number of government benefits and services that can be securely delivered online;

Ensure that federal Web sites are accessible to people with disabilities, and to build good privacy practices into their Web sites; and

Conduct a 1-year study to examine the feasibility of online voting.

By working together with the private sector and with non-profit organizations, we have the opportunity to strengthen our democracy in the Information Age, and to make government more open, responsive, and efficient. The Internet of the 21st century will not only be a global electronic marketplace -- it may also become the town square.

SUBJECT: EDUCATION:

QUESTION:

Since states shoulder most of the burden of education costs of education and they and local school districts are most responsible for setting policy, what more can the federal government do about the slow progress in improving education and the failure to meet the ambitious Goals

2000 that you helped draft in 1989?

ANSWER:

During the past seven years my Administration has worked to reshape the federal role in education to invest more in our schools and demand more

from them. We have worked to increase investment in elementary and secondary education and have nearly doubled the federal investment in education since I took office. Federal dollars are now invested in proven strategies for reform such as reducing class size, improving teacher quality, and fixing failing schools.

At the same time, I have consistently supported high standards and accountability to ensure that our students are prepared for success in the

21st Century. Although schools are struggling to meet these standards, in

setting them we moved the country in the right direction. Eleven years ago, there was a debate about setting high academic standards and whether all students could meet them. Today, 49 states have developed standards and there's consensus that all students can achieve them. Now, we need to

build that same consensus around investing to help students reach those standards and holding schools accountable for results. I believe that not

expecting high academic achievement from all our children, or allowing students to proceed from grade to grade without mastering appropriate academic material cheats them of the success they deserve.

We must also hold educators at the state and local level accountable for results. Last year I worked to create a fund that helps states and school districts turn around or close low-performing schools and ensure that all students have high quality public school options. This year I will call on Congress again to pass my Educational Accountability Act, which would further raise standards and increase accountability.

SUBJECT: WELFARE REFORM

QUESTION:

Despite the many successes of welfare reform, evidence has emerged that some families -- albeit a much smaller number than initially predicted

-- are falling through the cracks. The Urban Institute has reported that 12

percent of former welfare recipients are not working, do not live with someone who works and are not receiving child support, social security or SSI. There are other similar findings. As you know, states may exempt 20 percent of their caseload from the 5-year time limit. But many states report that those who could easily leave welfare have already done so and that the remaining caseload is largely composed of families that face many

barriers to independence. If states reach out to those families who have left the rolls but aren't able to earn a living, the proportion of "very hard-to-serve" will only increase. How can this problem be dealt with?

ANSWER:

In 1992, I promised to end welfare as we know it, and more than three years after the enactment of the welfare reform law, millions of people have moved from welfare to work, and child poverty is at its lowest level since 1980. More than 1.3 million welfare recipients nationwide went to work in 1998 alone; the percentage of adults still on welfare who were working nearly quadrupled between 1992 and 1998 with all fifty states meeting the welfare reform law's overall work requirement; numerous independent studies confirm that people are moving in record numbers from welfare to work; and welfare rolls are down by more than half since 1992 to

their lowest level in 30 years. Today, there are 2.2 million fewer children living in poverty than in 1993, and the child poverty rate declined from 22.7 percent to 18.9 percent -- the largest five year drop in

nearly 30 years. The overall poverty rate fell to 12.7 percent in 1998, with 4.8 million fewer people in poverty than in 1993.

I believe we can and will help the "hardest-to-serve" still on the welfare rolls as well as those families working to stay off welfare. As a result of record caseload declines, states now have more welfare reform resources per person to invest in those remaining on the rolls -- and to help those who have left welfare succeed in the workforce, support their children, and avoid returning to welfare. The final welfare reform regulations I announced last April make it easier for states to use welfare

reform funds to pay for child care, transportation, and job retention services to help people who have left welfare stay off the rolls or avoid going on welfare in the first place. We also clarified that such supports

for working families would not count toward the five-year time limit for welfare benefits. Along with this flexibility, we are holding states accountable for moving people from welfare to work, and I have urged them to use the resources to invest in those who need the most help.

To help those still on the rolls who need more help moving into the workforce, I fought for and obtained \$3 billion in Welfare-to-Work funds in

the 1997 Balanced Budget Act. These funds help those individuals and communities facing the greatest challenges in making the transition from welfare to work. We've enlisted businesses, civic and faith-based groups,

and federal agencies to join in moving people from welfare to work, and all

have risen to the challenge: for example, 12,000 companies joined the Welfare to Work Partnership and hired nearly 650,000 people. My Administration has also worked hard to ensure that all working families eligible for health insurance and nutritional assistance get these important work supports. We've put tough child support measures in place to make sure that absent parents who can afford to pay do so, and we're providing resources to help low-income fathers work and pay child support. Since 1992, child support collections have nearly doubled.

To promote and reward work, we've also increased the minimum wage, expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit, invested in child care and health care for low-income families, provided welfare to work transportation, and

secured more housing vouchers to help welfare recipients and other hard-pressed working families move closer to job opportunities.

In this time of unprecedented prosperity, we must redouble our efforts to extend opportunity to all Americans. In the State of the Union address

and my new budget, I will put forward a range of initiatives, such as expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit, that reward work and responsibility

and help more hard-pressed working families who are playing by the rules. White House Press Office, 202-456-2100

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The Christian Science Monitor

January 21, 2000, Friday

SECTION: USA; Pg. 3

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HEADLINE: Smoothing the bumps to the White House

BYLINE: Francine Kiefer, Staff writer of the Christian Science Monitor

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

HIGHLIGHT:

Past Cabinet members and staffers offer lessons on how to ease the move

BODY:

When John Podesta signed on as staff secretary at the Clinton White House seven years ago, he arrived to find his personal computer missing its hard drive. His Republican predecessors had removed this modern-day filing cabinet, leaving only wires.

It was a stark reminder of how, in many ways, the White House is nothing but an empty shell when a new president takes over. Documents have been removed, and empty desks clog the hallways. No one is there to explain the divvying up of limited parking spaces, or infinitely more important, the nuts and bolts of launching a new administration.

This uncertain period can trip up a freshly minted president - as the nation witnessed when gaffe after gaffe highlighted the start of the Clinton administration. In the past three decades, only Ronald Reagan has successfully managed a smooth slide into the Oval Office, says presidential scholar Martha Joynt Kumar.

But chaos need not reign at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue next year, says Ms. Kumar, a professor at Towson University in Maryland. Searching for common keys to successful transitions, Kumar and about a dozen presidential scholars are assembling a kind of White House owner's manual. Funded by the Pew Foundation, it will be given to the new team right after this year's elections.

No institutional memory

The most extensive study of its kind, the project is based on interviews with 75 current and former White House officials back to the Nixon administration. The interviews cover seven jobs crucial to getting a White House moving, including the chief of staff, the personnel director, and the president's legal counsel - who vets the appointees.

Unlike a corporation that takes on a new chief executive officer, the White House offers no institutional memory for its new boss. "You're left in this ambiguous position where you have the greatest opportunity to make a mark but the least capacity to do it," says Kumar. According to Kumar, candidate Clinton fell into common traps. The biggest one: his focus on winning without sufficient planning for what would come immediately afterward.

While President Reagan's chief of staff was announced in November, President Clinton waited until December to announce his. Most of Clinton's staff were not appointed until the week before his January inauguration - too late to take advantage of the available briefings and materials from their Bush administration counterparts.

Clinton's other common error was to load up his key positions with loyal campaign workers and "friends of Bill." Fresh from victory, many of these energetic thirty-somethings had little knowledge of how a White House actually works.

For instance, it was a mistake to have both George Stephanopoulos and Dee Dee Myers brief the press - and to give only Mr. Stephanopoulos walk-in access to the president, former Clinton press secretary Mike McCurry explained to Kumar.

"Of course, anyone [with experience] would have said, 'Whatever you do, make sure the press secretary has the access necessary to accomplish the job,' " Mr. McCurry said.

Clinton's early problems were compounded by the fact that the main job qualification of his chief of staff, Mack McLarty, appeared to be that he was the president's boyhood friend.

"The first two years of the Clinton administration were like a soccer game at school: All the kids go after the ball at the same time," recalled Leon Panetta at a recent Heritage Foundation forum on the presidency. Mr. Panetta, a former member of Congress and also Clinton's budget director, eventually was brought in to restore order and replace Mr. McLarty.

"There's a natural tendency to appoint people who come out of your campaign, who know you and understand you," said Panetta. But a certain amount of Washington experience is needed, he explained, "because Washington is not your typical state capital."

In the modern presidency, Kumar says, Mr. Reagan did the best job of preparing for his transition - perhaps because he knew what it took to run a mega-state like California.

Reagan approach different

In the spring before the 1980 elections, Pendleton James, a California headhunter who also served in the Nixon administration, was asked to discreetly collect information on possible appointees for a Reagan White House.

The emphasis was on government - rather than campaign - experience, and the early attention to personnel allowed the president-elect to assemble his team shortly after the election.

Briefing books listing everything Reagan had said on the issues during the campaign were brought out as screening of appointees began.

Edwin Harper, of the Reagan transition team, explained to Kumar:

As Cabinet officers were selected, "my staff and I briefed each of them on, 'Here's what the president has promised the American people he was going to do. If you've got any questions about that, we ought to discuss it right now.' "

The mistakes of the Clinton administration are perhaps less likely to be repeated if either George W. Bush or Al Gore occupies the Oval Office. Both men have intimate knowledge of the White House. Also, both parties have now had fairly recent stints in the White House, so there should be potential staff members from previous administrations to tap.

Even so, Kumar makes no assumptions about the transition potential of this year's crop of candidates, saying it's still too early to assess.

And as Panetta exasperatedly observes: "The lessons that are so obvious in this town are never learned."

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Federal News Service

January 18, 2000, Tuesday

SECTION: STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING

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HEADLINE: SPEECH BY SECRETARY OF STATE MADELEINE ALBRIGHT AT THE ANNUAL ROSTOV LECTURE ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ALSO PRESENT: PAUL WOLFOWITZ, DEAN OF THE SCHOOL

LOCATION: JOHNS HOPKINS PAUL NITZE SCHOOL OF ADVANCED AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, WASHINGTON, D.C.

TIME: 10:14 A.M. EST

BODY:

(Applause.)

SEC. ALBRIGHT: Thank you very much. Thank you.

I know you claim me as one of your own, because I keep getting those annual giving -- (laughter).

(Laughs.) I do my best. I do my -- (laughter).

Thank you very much, Dean Wolfowitz. I'm delighted to be here before such a distinguished audience with many honored guests and including several generations of the SAIS family.

I'm sorry that Ambassador Nitze is not here, because I did want to point out that two days ago he celebrated his 93rd birthday. And to George Kennan, he might seem like a youngster, but to the rest of us, he is an inspiration. And so even though he's not here, I hope we can all wish "happy birthday," somewhat belatedly, to Paul Nitze, and may he have many more.

I'm especially interested to see a lot of students here. Of course, I know that the spring registration had been scheduled for today but was postponed because of my speech. So I actually have no idea how many of you came to hear me and how -- (laughter) -- (laughs) -- how many came expecting to register and just stayed on only because your morning was already shot. (Laughter.)

But whatever your motives, I hope you will sit back, relax, and think up the easiest possible questions for when I finish my remarks. (Laughter.)

Three years ago, at my Senate confirmation hearing, I testified that the framework for American leadership must include measures to control the threats posed by nuclear weapons and terror, to seize opportunities for settling regional conflicts, to maintain America as the hub of an expanding global economy, and to defend cherished principles of liberty and law. I said further

that our key alliances and relationships were at the center of that framework, for these are the bonds that hold together the entire international system.

When we're able to act cooperatively with other leading nations, we create a convergence of power and purpose that can solve problems and spur progress around the globe.

This basic framework will continue to guide us in the year 2000. Our priorities include an even stronger NATO, bolstered by new members, developing new capabilities and prepared for new missions. We will strive with our partners to build peace in Kosovo and integrate all of Southeastern Europe into the continent's democratic mainstream. We will work in consultation with Congress, our allies and others to respond effectively to the threats posed by weapons of mass destruction and the missiles that can deliver them.

We will focus attention on our complex relationships with Russia and China, adhering to core principles while seeking to advance common interests. We will continue our efforts with allies in Asia to ensure stability on the Korean peninsula and to work with everyone concerned to ease tensions in South Asia. We will strive for even greater cooperation along our borders with Canada and Mexico. Their economic, legal, social and environmental issues have an especially direct impact on the lives of our citizens. And we will do all we can to support peace in key regions, such as Central Africa, Northern Ireland, the Aegean, the Caucasus and, most immediately, the Middle East. It is in this region that we are coming closer to settling one of history's longest and most enduring conflicts.

Earlier this month, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk al-Shara journeyed to Shepherdstown, West Virginia, for intensive negotiations.

This Thursday Chairman Arafat will meet with President Clinton in Washington. And at the end of this month, I will co-chair with Russian Foreign Minister Ivanov, a ministerial meeting of the Multilateral Steering Group, in Moscow. This group brings Arab and Israeli leaders together to develop solutions to regional problems. All this activity reflects that negotiations are now moving ahead.

But negotiating the peace remains a formidable task. As we are seeing in the Israeli-Syrian negotiations, both sides genuinely desire peace. But overcoming a legacy of mistrust is not easy. Understandably, both want to be sure their needs will be addressed first. Our challenge is to work with both sides and find ways to narrow their differences to the point where all needs get resolved simultaneously.

To succeed, the parties will have to overcome many problems and bridge gaps that may appear unbridgeable at the outset. There will inevitably be many ups and downs and roadblocks prior to a breakthrough. Sometimes negotiations may be delayed while the parties consider their next moves, as is the case with the Syrian track at this moment. Sometimes deadlines are not met, as has often happened on the Palestinian track, but in the end they seem to work things out and achieve the results necessary.

But despite these tribulations, a key underlining reality is emerging; the logic of peace has become compelling for Arabs, Israelis and Palestinians alike. Their leaders will have to take hard, fateful, even painful decisions, but they have increasingly come to understand that there is no better alternative. The children of this region deserve to grow up free from the threat of terror and war, in societies that are working together to build prosperity, manage shared resources, and enrich civic life.

This has long been the dream of those who care about the Middle East and the people who live there. Today, more than ever, the opportunity exists for the region's leaders to make it possible, and it is in America's interests and fully in accord with our values to help them do so.

The Middle East, and the other priorities I have listed, will engage much of our time and energy in the months ahead. But the primary reason I've come here this morning is to talk about a general imperative that underlies these and many other specific goals, and that is democracy. This focus is appropriate, not because democratic elections always produce good or leaders, or because free people always use their freedom wisely, or because free economies always generate prosperity, or because democracy is efficient. In truth, democracy can be maddening, messy and muddled; but as Churchill famously observed, as a system of government, it is miles ahead of whatever is in second place. Moreover, democracy is the hard rock upon which America's world leadership is built. It is why our land has attracted to its shores a steady stream of the world's boldest and most creative women and men; it is why our predecessors had the courage and faith to triumph in two global conflicts; it is why we were able to stand tall during the decades of the Cold War; and it is at the heart of what Joe Nye has called "America's soft power" in the current era.

There are those who scoff and say that promoting democracy is all well and good, but what about our specific national interests? My reply and I think this would be backed up by modern presidents from Truman to Reagan and Bush and Clinton -- is that our identification with democracy is vital to the pursuit of our interests.

Today the United States has the strongest economy and the finest armed forces in the world, of which we are justly proud, but even a country as powerful as America, will often need the help and cooperation of others if we're to protect our security, prosperity and values. And most people around the world recognize that when we act in support of freedom, we aid not only our interests, but theirs, as well. A hundred years ago, the number of countries with a government elected competitively and on the basis of universal suffrage was zero. Today, according to Freedom House, it is 120. These include countries on every continent and people of virtually every culture and faith.

For those wedded to stereotypes, it is worth noting that a majority of the world's Muslims, as well as Hindus, Christians and Jews, now live in countries considered at least partly free. Over the past half-century, we've seen nation after nation gain its freedom -- in Asia and Africa, from colonialism; in Latin America, from military dictators; in Central and Eastern Europe, from Communism, and in South Africa, from apartheid. We witnessed and celebrated all this, and yet we're not complacent as we enter the new century because we understand that true democracy is never achieved, it is always a pursuit. And we know that if we who love liberty grow weary, those who love only power will one day sweep us away.

This morning, as we scan the horizon, we must ask whether the century just past will prove the forerunner to a time of greater freedom and deeper democracy or whether the democratic tide has already begun to recede.

We know that in many countries, the arrival of electoral democracy has been accompanied by economic expectations that are as yet unfulfilled. For example, over the past decade, daily life for most people has gotten harder, not easier, in the New Independent States. Surveys indicate a majority have come to equate democracy with inequality and the unravelling of the social fabric.

Around the globe, newly democratic countries are having trouble matching the visible and immediate promise of elections with tangible, widespread benefits for their people. If unaddressed, this raises the risk that public confidence in democracy will erode and support growth of failed remedies from the past, including protectionism and authoritarianism.

But economic anxieties are far from the only threats to democratic government. In the Caucasus and part of Africa, transitions have been retarded by ethnic strife. As Vice President Gore recently emphasized, HIV-AIDS has become a threat, not only to health, but also to economic, social and political development, especially in Africa.

And quite a number of electoral democracies are in trouble because their leaders are concentrating not on self-government, but on self-enrichment, self-glorification and self-perpetuation in power.

The result is sham democracy, where rights are not respected and the very concept of political openness is tarnished by association.

When elected governments depart from democratic principles, they run a grave risk. Political opponents may feel they have no option but to try to seize power through unconstitutional means. But by so doing, these opponents run an even greater risk. A military coup or other violent seizure of power moves democratic development back to square one. It brings to power authorities who lack legitimacy and are ineligible for assistance from the United States and many others.

The right approach for those frustrated by sham democracy is to push with principled determination for genuine democracy, greater accountability, more openness, and real competition of ideas. This approach takes time, but it can bear fruit, especially if other democracies are listening and prepared to reinforce the message in appropriate ways.

It is by now a truism that what's most important is not a country's first election, but rather its second and third, and what matters is not simply that people have the right to vote but that they are offered a real choice, under conditions that are truly free and fair.

Elections, moreover, are not -- but one note in the democratic symphony. A full orchestra is required, including markets that reward initiative, police that respect due process, legal structures that provide justice, and a press corps that is free to pursue the facts and publish the truth.

These institutions do not arise overnight. Building democracy takes many years and much patience. It requires not only the seeds of democratic ideals but also the soil of democratic culture in which those seeds may take root and grow.

But patience is not a policy.

Democracy may be conceived by dreamers, but it is made real by doers. And our responsibility, as the world's leading democracy, is to work in partnership with others to help nations in transition move to a higher stage of democratic development. We must begin by affirming our faith in democratic principles and values, understanding that however difficult the past, there is no real progress without liberty. We must work within global and regional institutions to strengthen the commitment to democratic principles and assist governments that practice them. We must use our assistance to foster vibrant civil societies and economic reforms that reward the hard-working many, not just the privileged few. And we must use the tools of public diplomacy, including modern technologies such as the Internet, to spread indispensable ideas such as freedom.

I am proud of the help that USAID, the State Department, and other U.S. government agencies are providing to nations in transition. From Asia to Africa to the Andes, they are training judges, drafting commercial codes, advancing the status of women, bolstering civil society, and otherwise helping to assemble the nuts and bolts of freedom. I am pleased that in this work we have partners such as the European Union, Japan and a host of non-governmental and private sector organizations that are committed to making the new century a time of freedom and growth.

The United States is determined to make a good start towards this goal by making the year 2000 a time of democratic advancement across the world

stage.

In June, the Polish government will host an unprecedented gathering of countries from around the world whose governments have expressed their commitment to the democratic path. I will join my counterparts not only from Poland, but also Chile, the Czech Republic, India, the Republic of Korea and Mali as co-convenors of that conference. This Community of Democracies initiative will explore ways that we can cooperate more effectively in strengthening democratic societies and values. Poland will simultaneously host the nongovernmental World Forum on Democracy, recognizing that the growth of civil society is a key to broadening democratic constituencies. Later in the year, the International Conference on New or Restored Democracies will be held in Benin, focusing on complementary goals.

The underlying theme of these efforts is that democratic societies must learn from and assist each other, whether in times of relative stability or when emergencies arise.

In the year ahead, the United States will be focusing particular attention and resources on the challenges faced by four key democracies: Colombia, Nigeria, Indonesia and Ukraine. These nations differ markedly, but each can be a major force for stability and progress in its region, and each is at a critical point along the democratic path.

This past weekend, I visited Colombia to express support for President Andres Pastrana's plan for achieving peace, fighting crime, promoting prosperity and improving governance throughout his country.

The United States has a profound interest in helping to achieve these closely linked goals. Four-fifths of the cocaine entering our country either comes from Colombia or is transported through it. Most of Colombia's heroin production is exported to the United States. Drug-related activities fuel crime and corruption, aggravate social problems, and retard economic progress throughout the Americas.

During my visit, I explained President Clinton's decision to request \$1.6 billion in assistance. If approved by Congress, this aid will help Bogota gain control over parts of the country now dominated by guerrillas, paramilitaries, and drug traffickers. It will support alternative development programs, increase our backing for narcotics interdiction, and strengthen mechanisms for judicial reform and protecting human rights.

The struggle in Colombia is not between right and left, rich and poor, or between one ethnic group and another. It's between those who want to pursue prosperity and social development democratically and those who addicted to criminality, violence, and corruption.

And only Colombians can devise a solution to Colombia's ills. And President Pastrana has put forward a bold plan for doing just that, and we are proud to support him.

Another major test of democracy is under way in Nigeria, a country with a troubled history but great human and cultural strengths. Nigeria is the most populous nation in Africa and exercises enormous influence within its region. It is also a major trading partner and one of the largest suppliers of imported oil.

Over the past two years, Nigerians have made an inspiring journey from dictatorship to democracy, but years of military misrule have imposed enormous cost. President Obasanjo enjoys broad popular support, but his government is fragile, and he must also cope with high public expectations. During the 1970s oil boom, Nigeria's per capita income was more than four times what it is today.

Nigeria faces the full array of problems confronting a nation in transition: public institutions are weak, the economy troubled, the military in need of

reform, and the population divided along ethnic, religious and regional lines. The new president has only been in power for seven months, but he's launched a forceful set of initiatives aimed at curbing corruption, asserting civilian control, and protecting human rights. In response, President Clinton and Congress have nearly quadrupled our assistance to Nigeria. Our purpose is to help Nigerians address urgent threats to stability and democracy, to invigorate key institutions such as the legislature and courts, and encourage needed economic reforms.

During my visit to Abjua last fall, I said that history may one day compare the importance of the democratic transition in Nigeria to that of Nelson Mandela's election in South Africa. Nigerians today are engaged in a high-stakes test of democracy, and we must do all we can to help them succeed.

Far to the east, Indonesia has embarked on its own transition, reflecting its unique culture and history. For the first time in decades, it has elected a president in a contest, the outcome of which was not known in advance, and a parliament whose decisions really matter. All the while, it has been buffeted by financial crises, civil disturbances, factional violence and controversy over East Timor.

The Indonesian people deserve great credit for conducting fair and peaceful elections.

And the new president, Abdurrahman Wahid, merits broad support as he strives to stabilize the economy, deepen civilian control over the military, establish the rule of law, maintain national unity, and respect human rights. These challenges are simple to identify but devilishly difficult to achieve. The new president is widely respected for his humanity and wisdom. But to succeed, he must make tough decisions and explain them in terms his people will understand and accept.

A half a century ago, one of Indonesia's founding fathers Mohammed Hatta warned his countrymen that the struggle for true freedom would go on for a very, very long time, demanding sacrifices and suffering. Today, Indonesia is nearer the goal of true democracy than it has ever been, but the struggle is far from over. And our job, which reflects our interests, is to ensure that the Indonesians don't struggle alone.

Accordingly, we have substantially increased assistance for democratic institution-building in areas such as judicial reform, civil-military relations and the development of political parties in the parliament. We will continue to deepen our investment in light of Indonesia's importance and in response to Indonesia's requests and needs.

Finally, we come to Ukraine, a country that is key to building a secure and undivided Europe and a partner and a friend to the United States. Since gaining independence, Ukraine has made much progress towards a democratic society and market economy.

Although a candidate for ethnic discord, it has maintained internal peace. It has held three competitive, albeit imperfect, presidential elections. Most recently, President Kuchma won a clear mandate for a far-reaching economic reform and further integration into European and global institutions. He responded by appointing a strong reformer as prime minister.

Like many other countries in transition, Ukraine is threatened by economic decline, corruption and crime. Lower living standards have undermined respect for government and dampened public morale. Relations between the executive and legislative branches have been strained. Wealthy oligarchs have used their political contacts to expand their empires, and the independent press has been intimidated and harassed.

The United States has provided Ukraine almost \$2 billion in assistance this decade. Our focus has been on nuclear threat reduction and democratic institution building, and this year we plan to double our most important exchange programs in order to help educate and train the next generation of

Ukraine's leaders. 1999 was notable for what didn't happen in Ukraine; the economy didn't melt down, and the communists didn't come back to power.

Our hope is that this year will be memorable for positive reasons, the most important of which would be to carry out long-delayed and much-needed structural reforms to protect Ukraine's solvency, attract foreign investment and fuel its economy.

Ukraine's transformation into a fully stable and democratic European state would assist similar transitions throughout the former Soviet Union.

It is in America's national interest that Ukraine succeed.

To this end, we will continue to help our partner move down the path to deeper reform, fuller freedom, and sustained growth.

Of course, as you can tell from listening to me, it takes resources to put meat on the bones of our backing for democracy for these four key countries and worldwide, and this will require congressional and public support.

Funding for international affairs declined substantially in the 1990s, in real terms, compared to the decade before. We're fighting to reverse this trend.

International programs are frequently dismissed as "foreign aid," but the truth is that they aid America. By helping to build more stable, prosperous, and a more democratic world, they make our citizens more secure, create new economic opportunities, and reduce the likelihood that our armed forces will be called into combat.

Many Americans are surprised when I tell them that the amount we allocate to the entire spectrum of foreign affairs is only about one penny of every dollar the federal government spends. So when I say we've quadrupled something or doubled something, keep in mind within what.

But that penny, that penny out of every dollar, may be responsible for 50 percent of the history that is written about our era and makes a difference in the lives of 100 percent of the American people.

The best leaders of both parties in Congress understand this. They know that American diplomacy belongs on the short list of budget priorities, and it should be a starting point next month when consideration of the year 2001 budget begins.

This morning, I've come here to state plainly that as the new century begins, the United States is determined to help other democratic peoples preserve and deepen their freedoms, and to keep liberty's torch alive in the hearts of those still denied their fundamental rights. Some say it's hegemonic to promote democracy and that we're trying to impose our values on others. I say by definition, democracy cannot be imposed in any country at any time. It is dictatorship that is an imposition; democracy is a choice.

Further, when we raise democracy's banner, we do no more than pay what we owe to those whose vision and sacrifice enabled us to live in a world more free than it has ever been. This is the debt we owe not only to Jefferson, but also to Bolivar, Shevchenko and Kossuth; not only to the Roosevelts, but also to Marti, Masaryk, Gandhi and Mandela; not only to Martin Luther King, but also to Vaclav Havel, Kim Dae Jung and Aung San Suu Kyi.

We know from our own turbulent history that the path to democracy is rocky, treacherous, and always uphill. But we also know that if we keep faith with the democratic principles, this is the only path that we can all walk together, and that we can be -- the democratic principles that have guided us this far, we will have the light we need to guide us through the perilous miles to come.

Thank you very much. And now I'd be very pleased to respond to whatever questions you might have. (Applause.)

(Cross talk.)

SEC. ALBRIGHT: (Confers with Dean Wolfowitz.) (Applause.)

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Madame Secretary, thank you for those remarks.

And I failed to note, in introducing you, you are also a member of the board of the National Endowment for Democracy, which I am proud to say I am a member of the board now. And I think you have made a powerful case for how democracy serves American interests.

I know there are a lot of questions in this audience. If the press will bear with me, I am going to call on some students first. But I will get to the press, as well.

Does any brave student want to ask the first question? It's always the hardest. (Laughter.) Way in back. If you can speak loudly, it will save us getting the mike back there.

SEC. ALBRIGHT (?): (Inaudible.) (Laughter.)

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Yeah. You -- (laughs) --

SEC. ALBRIGHT (?): Oh. (Laughter.)

Q Madame Secretary, I just wanted to return to the topic of Colombia for a moment. And regarding the \$1.6 billion package, it's interesting that just 10 years ago, the level of assistance that the United States sent to Colombia was under \$10 million.

And what critics of the package have -- the point they have made is that there is a possibility for increasing involvement in a counterinsurgency war, not just the counternarcotics war that the administration has purported to support. Yet when I talk to officials within the U.S. government, they oftentimes wink and say: "Well, everyone knows that it's very difficult to differentiate between the narcotics and the insurgency issues. In that sense, we are confident that part of this will go towards counterinsurgency efforts."

And my question is, if that is okay by the standard of the United States government, why does the U.S. government not make a more explicit policy of saying that assistance will be going to aid the Colombian military in its counterinsurgency battle?

SEC. ALBRIGHT: Because it is not going to the Colombian military for its counterinsurgency battle, it is going for counternarcotics. It is based on Plan Colombia, which President Pastrana has created in the last months, which is a comprehensive plan that deals with the basic problems that exist in Colombia, which is the production of narcotics, their peace process, the importance of getting their economy back on track and developing appropriate social institutions, with a great emphasis on human rights.

After a lot of study of Plan Colombia, the U.S. government, the Clinton administration decided that we would support it. The Colombians themselves are putting \$4 billion towards the plan. The World Bank is putting \$2.7 billion toward it. And we are -- the IMF -- I'm sorry -- is putting that. And then we are supporting that funding come from the World Bank and the IDB.

We think it is a good plan because it does have all those comprehensive aspects to it. Proportions of the money will go to the social/economic development aspect of it, and the larger proportion will go primarily to funding counternarcotics efforts.

We -- it is very clear -- from your question, it is also clear -- that clearly the insurgents benefit to a great degree from the money that comes from coca production. And so to that extent, there is a connection. But we have made very clear that the money we are giving is for counternarcotics.

The money that is going to fight that is going to the -- a portion of it, \$95 million -- to the Colombian National Police, and a portion to the Colombian military. The only part of which will be used is composed of military that have been vetted by name for not having any human rights abuses, and they are there not to fight but to protect the Colombian National Police as they go into the Putumayo, the southern area of Colombia, where the coca production exists.

I believe that this is a very good investment, and especially after my trip

this weekend down there, where I met with all of President Pastrana's team, with General Serrano, the head of the police, and looked at how some of the court facilities work, talked about crop eradication, and also made very clear about our great interest in human rights. So we believe this is a good investment, and having also then gone to neighboring countries, I know that trying to get Colombia and the drug problem there under control is something that is good for regional stability, obviously good for the United States.

MR. WOLFOVITZ: Back here.

Q Would you just comment on your prediction for the spread of democracy in China? With a country that's so large and so populated, it seems almost attainable, and I'm curious to see how you predict what will be happening in the near future.

SEC. ALBRIGHT: Well, let me just say this. It clearly is very large and difficult to predict. (Laughter.) I think that China and our relationships with China are among the biggest challenges that face us. China, with its size and location and potential power, is a major power in the world, in the region, and therefore necessary for the United States to engage with China across the board, which we are doing. We have been pressing, and obviously successfully, to get them into the WTO, and we will be taking to Congress the legislation necessary for normal trade relations with them.

At the same time, we are making very clear that we are not giving up in terms of our own principles and the need for human rights, and are introducing in the United Nations Human Rights Commission a resolution condemning China's approach or dealings with human rights issues.

I think that -- and when I have been to China and met with various programs of students and people dealing with their legal system, I think that we are generally pushing in order to open up Chinese society. It is very difficult.

However, technology is helping us. There is no question that with the spread of Internet and globalization, the spread of information, there is no way to keep that out of China, if China is going to compete economically; the two go together. They need to have the kind of technology in order to be able to be part of the international economic system, and it can't be stopped.

At the time that I was a student here and then teaching, I spent a lot of time talking about how alternative sources of information undermine communist systems. I spent more time than I wish to tell you on that subject. (Laughter.)

And what is evident is that there is no way, there wasn't even then, to have a completely hermetically closed information system. It is now impossible to have a hermetically closed information system. And from the times when the Xerox machine was an enemy of the people, it is now it obviously that people have access to a variety of information. And with information comes democracy.

So I can't predict the amount of time. I just think that information and the desire of people to run their own lives, those two together, and the need to be a part of the economy, makes this evolution inexorable but difficult to predict its timing.

MR. WOLFOVITZ: Yes?

Q Yes. In relationship to Africa and Vice President Gore mentioning that HIV is such an impetus (sic) to the development of the continent, do you foresee the United States relaxing its policy in relationship to allowing these countries to develop generic HIV drugs and HIV-related illness drugs?

SEC. ALBRIGHT: I think that this has been one of the major issues in terms of intellectual property rights and the question of how it's possible to have

generic drugs that are available. Again, I believe that having put so much stress on the whole proposition, I think we have to look at how to make the HIV-AIDS drugs available to people.

The problem here is that millions of people are dying of HIV-AIDS in a way that undermines the stability of these various countries. And also, it was a little unusual to raise this issue in front of the Security Council, but for those of you who are U.N. buffs, I believe it was absolutely an appropriate thing to do because it becomes a security issue, and in order to bring it right down to Security Council business, a lot of the peacekeepers themselves are those who are in danger of getting HIV AIDS or of spreading HIV AIDS. So it is the major danger, and I think that we ought to be looking at various ways to make it possible for people to deal with the ravages of AIDS.

MR. WOLFOVITZ: Over there?

Q My name is (Lou Dugan?). I wanted to greet you as a fellow member of the '63 class of SAIS.

SEC. ALBRIGHT: We both look a little different! (Laughter.)

Q And I wondered if I could sneak in a question, looking back on that time, to know how it was that you did choose SAIS -- (laughter) -- and what impact that specifically had on your illustrious career.

SEC. ALBRIGHT: Well, Lou -- you know, we used to study together. (Laughter.) We had our study group.

Let me say I thought, at the time, and I still do, that SAIS was really offering a very well-rounded approach to international relations and foreign policy. I say this with some care, having taught at Georgetown. (Laughter.) So I have to do this right. (Laughter.)

I also -- interestingly enough, I at that stage already was interested in having a doctoral program, following a doctoral program, and believe it or not, that at that time SAIS -- maybe you still do this -- required that at the beginning of your graduate work, you actually write down what your dissertation is going to be on. So that made me -- my dissertation ended up being on something different, but it did make me think a lot about the longer range of what I was trying to do with my international relations education.

And I felt that it -- SAIS did and does provide a way of being able to look at the large variety of what international relations is. It was not as wide and varied then as it is now. If I were designing a curriculum for an international relations course at this time, it would be so totally different, not only from when I was at SAIS, but when I taught at Georgetown, of putting in subjects that I deal with today, that have to do with the environment and health, as I was just asked, and obviously a lot more on economics than we ever had, and issues to do with a lot more cross-border activities, and maybe a little bit less memorizing of regional institutions. (Laughter.)

But -- there will be a few people in this audience who will remember this -- there was a course that we called Wide Wide World, that everybody took and that covered everything. And the value of that course for me was -- and I hope nobody from Columbia is listening -- is that I translated it into many, many credits at Columbia. (Laughter.)

MR. WOLFOVITZ: I just want to note for the record, in deference to your having told jokes on having degrees from Columbia, I didn't want to make any competitive claims for SAIS here -- (laughter) -- but I do think it's testimony to the value of that kind of education and -- (inaudible word).

SEC. ALBRIGHT: I must also say that my father was the dean of another, competing school, at the University of Denver. So -- (laughter).

MR. WOLFOVITZ: That's right.

Barry Schweid.

Q I want it noted that I have two Columbia degrees. (Laughter.) And I'm glad you chose Columbia.

On the Middle East and on the subject of democracy, wouldn't opportunities or chances of peace in the Middle East be more secure if the U.S. were endeavoring more to promote democracy among the Arab partners you want Israel to come to terms with? Or put another way, how can you depend, how can you trust an agreement or expect a democracy, even a tough little country like Israel, to trust an agreement reached with authoritarian regimes? And, more practically, can you tell us what you're doing, what contracts now either you or Ambassador Ross or whoever is now -- are now pursuing with the Syrians and Israelis to try to repair this breach?

SEC. ALBRIGHT: Let me say that I think obviously the world would be better off, as I stated in my remarks, if every country were a democracy.

They are not all democracies. They are not -- and they are all in various stages in their evolution.

I think that various countries have different systems where -- interestingly enough, I believe that public perception and public opinion, whether they are democracies are not, still play a role; it's just a different role. I think to say that countries that do not have democratically elected governments by our standards does not mean that they can simply just make things happen.

I do think that we have in the past found, if you look historically, that it is possible to have treaties that last with countries that are not democracies. And if you are interested in a case in point, which might lead to another question here, is we had the ABM Treaty signed with the Soviet Union, and it has been the bedrock of our Arms Control Program. So I don't think that that is a -- while democracy everywhere is much desired, I don't think that that is an element that is necessary in order to sign functioning agreements.

As to what's going on, I think that I would not describe what is happening now as a "breach." I think that, as I said in my remarks, that we knew all along that these were going to be very difficult negotiations. If they were easy, they would have been resolved a long time ago. And the leaders of both countries have fateful decisions that have to be made.

As has been made -- we put out a statement yesterday on this, is that basically what is happening now is that there is a delay because each country has a different approach as to how it wants its major problems dealt with, and as might be expected, each one wants to have its needs decided first. And what we are trying to do is to develop some simultaneity and try to move the whole package forward.

In the absence of having the highest level talks at the moment, experts will be coming from both countries in order to discuss the -- give us their comments on the text we put down. And the text we put down was our effort to record really our understanding of where both sides were on the key issues, and the text is heavily bracketed and shows where the differences are. And we're just going to keep working it.

But I think that, Barry, you, as much as anybody, has seen the ebbs and flows of the Middle East peace process, and other processes in diplomacy, and I think that we just have to keep at it. It's very important, it's very serious. The president and I have been talking to leaders. He spoke with President Assad this morning, and I spoke with Foreign Minister Shara yesterday. We have been talking with Prime Minister Barak on a frequent basis. So we're just going to keep working it. But "breach" is not the right description for where we are now.

Q Tyler Marshall (sp), Los Angeles Times. Madame Secretary, another struggling democracy that you didn't mention was Russia.

U.S.-Russia relationship is not the best at the moment. American-

sponsored
reforms have produced more disillusionment than prosperity, and also some
suspicion. NATO enlargement, Kosovo war, also added to that suspicion.
And now
we have the Chechnya war, which has clouded the relationship.

You are going to Russia shortly. What can you do in your last year in
office
to improve that relationship?

SEC. ALBRIGHT: Uh, it sounds so terminal. (Laughs.) (Laughter.)

Let me just say; first of all, I did mention Russia, not as one of my
four
countries. But in terms of managing the relationship with Russia, it's
clearly
one of the major issues that we have to deal with in the year 2000.

I think that we want to see the continued reform programs going
forward. You
know, it's very easy to see half-full, half-empty activity as far as
Russia is
concerned. And I think we have to understand that President Yeltsin's
actions
were according to the constitution: They had Duma elections; they are
going to
have a presidential election.

There are various aspects of a functioning market economy going on.
There has
been some improvement in their economic situation.

And Acting President Putin is somebody that I have been kind of
describing as
having "two strands" to him; one where he has a tough side, in terms of
his KGB
background and his stand on Chechnya. At the same time he has, I think,
been one
of the leading reformers, first out of St. Petersburg and then within the
Yeltsin administration. And he, from what we can tell, seems determined
to move
reform forward.

So we are not kind of starry-eyed about Russia. We are very realistic
about
the difficult problems but also understand the importance of pushing and
working
with them, and having it be seen as being in our national interest that we
continue to provide assistance in the form of threat reduction and
assistance to
various parts of their civil society.

When I go to Russia -- and this is a very good example -- we -- I'm
going to
have bilateral meetings with somebody who actually is a very good friend
of
mine, Igor Ivanov, and talk about the things on which we disagree,
obviously,
but at the same time look for areas where we agree. And the fact that
we're
going to be co-chairing a meeting on the multilateral talks that come out
of the
Madrid conference for the Middle East is an example of that.

And so with a country the importance and size of Russia, we are bound
to have
a relationship that has some pretty tough points and some areas of
cooperation.

But I am pretty sanguine about it moving forward properly and our having
an
important role in making it happen.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Okay.

Q Madame Secretary, I'd like to return to the Israeli-Syrian peace
track, if
I could. I'd love to get your reaction to that leaked text in the Israeli
press
last week. How frustrated were you to see something that was supposed to
be kept
private between the U.S., Israel, and Syria -- suddenly full seven pages
printed
in the Ha'aretz? Did you express this frustration to the Israeli
government? And
do you think that it was something that was done by Prime Minister Barak
or by
somebody within the Israeli cabinet who was opposed to the peace process?
And
how do you prevent future leaks? Thank you.

SEC. ALBRIGHT: You're -- (laughter) -- well, for any future leaks, let
me
just say this:

It is very hard to carry on diplomatic negotiations of this type, where
countries have to put kind of their crown jewels on the table and hope
that it
be done in a way where there is complete privacy, because it's very
difficult.

On the other hand, it's also very difficult to expect, in the kinds of societies we live in, that such a complete blackout is possible, even though it does not help.

My reaction to the leaks is that they are unhelpful, and I think that that's my best reaction that I have, is that they were unhelpful. (Subdued laughter.)

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Over there?

Q Madame Secretary, on the ABM issue you touched on, there is a test, as you know, tonight of the National Missile Defense system. I wonder whether you feel that the diplomats in the U.S. government are kind of at the mercy of the technology at this point: that if the technology works, the administration has set up a policy that it will go forward, when from a diplomatic point of view, this may prove to be a highly problematic decision regarding relations with Russia, because it may upset the whole ABM structure.

SEC. ALBRIGHT: Well first of all, let me say that we have never said that a -- first of all, let me clarify this. There has been no decision made on the deployment of the National Missile Defense, and that decision will be made sometime during the summer, and it will be based not just on what you're saying, on technology -- technology, the feasibility of it, is obviously a part of it -- but also on the threat, the cost, and its effect on our national security, including how it affects arms control agreements. So it is a -- there are a number of criteria on which this decision is going to be based.

And I think it's very important for everyone to understand, as I said earlier, that the ABM Treaty has been a cornerstone of our arms control process. If one were to go forward with the NMD, then obviously there would have to be some adjustments.

But I hope that people will understand that the decision is not just being made, or would not be being made, because it has not yet been made, on the basis of just the technology. That is just one of four aspects of it. And so diplomacy and the overall context within which we're operating has as much impact on this as what can be done, you know, by the testing.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Unfortunately, I think --

SEC. ALBRIGHT: By the way, I, for one, cannot confirm whether there is something going on tonight. I just want to make that clear. I do not know that.

MR. WOLFOWITZ: I'm told that you have time for one more, which puts me in a terrible position -- (chuckles) -- and I suppose I should just blindfold myself! I'm going to let Mrs. Rostoff (sp). I think she's entitled --

SEC. ALBRIGHT: She's entitled, yes! (Laughter.)

MR. WOLFOWITZ: (Laughing) I think she is entitled!

SEC. ALBRIGHT: Yes. (Laughter.)

Q Thank you.

Madame Secretary, any of these --

MR. WOLFOWITZ: Why do you stand up?

Q All right. Woops. Any of these programs that you have been speaking about, are they predicated on any of the human-rights issues that we are also facing; the World Trade Organization problem? So many people spoke against China because of their human rights abuse. How do you feel about that?

SEC. ALBRIGHT: Well, let me say that all our programs have within them the importance of our country's dedication to human rights. I think, as I have talked about democracy being a central theme to our foreign policy, I happen to believe that human rights must be, because we have to be true to our principles.

And I feel, more and more, as I come to the last year of being secretary of State, that -- I think that what is very important is there is no doubt in my

mind that we are, and will continue to be, the most powerful country in the world. But I believe, in order to have American power work, it has to be good power. I believe in the goodness of American power. And in order to do that, I think we have to stick with the principles that we have.

And human rights are high, right up there. I spent a lot of time this last weekend talking about human rights in Colombia, I spend a lot of time when I am in China talking about human rights, and I do it everywhere I go.

But I also think this -- and I think it is very important to understand this -- is that we have lots of aspects to our foreign policy. We have to be able to engage with countries and go at them in different ways. There is no one way to achieve what we want.

And I think the hardest part about all the things that those of us that are in government now and those who may be in government later -- (laughter) -- have to deal with is that -- (laughs) -- is that often things, to the outsider, don't seem consistent.

And yet if you begin to deal with each of the issues separately and you keep your eye on the ball about where you want to be -- and from my perspective, it is to exist within a community of democracies, where we can understand how people operate within their countries and that there are human rights, but we're not there yet. And in order to get there, we have to take a number of steps, which, to those that are not following it on an hourly basis or those who don't actually have to make the decisions, may seem to be inconsistent.

But I feel that we have a very good framework. And as the last secretary of State of the 20th century and the first of the 21st -- (laughter, applause) -- I think we're on a good path.

But it's difficult, and there are ups and downs. But I do think that we have a good lodestar.

Thank you all very much.

Q Thank you. (Applause.)

END

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Hastert: Republicans Aren't Isolationists

CHICAGO (AP)

Republicans aren't isolationists, they just want to follow the American tradition of being careful about getting involved in foreign affairs, House Speaker Dennis Hastert told a group of business executives. Hastert cited Republican leadership in areas such as defense preparedness, trade and the fight against drug trafficking as proof that they're willing to get involved as long as it is in the national interest. During a speech Monday to the Mid-America Committee for International Business and Government Cooperation, Hastert said despite democratic ideals and military power, the United States "cannot, and we

should not, try to impose our will every place and on every occasion in the world. ... Even Americans cannot solve all the world's problems.'

\$2.7B Sought for Health Programs

WASHINGTON (AP)

With millions of uninsured children eligible for federal health programs, President Clinton will ask Congress for \$2.7 billion to make it easier for states and families to sign kids up, officials said Monday. Vice President Al Gore planned to highlight the plan Tuesday in Iowa. Health policy, and how to get insurance to 44 million uninsured Americans, has emerged as the most significant debate between Gore and former Sen. Bill Bradley, who are locked in a battle for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Hostage Confirms Hijacker Photos

BOMBAY, India (AP)

A physician who treated fellow passengers aboard a hijacked Indian Airlines plane said Monday that she recognized the faces of the hijackers in photographs distributed by the Indian government. Bombay pathologist Anita Joshi was one of the few hostages to see the hijackers without their masks. 'They are the same people' who appeared in photographs published by India last week, Joshi said at a news conference in Bombay. India has blamed Pakistan for the hijacking and called for the hijackers' arrest. Pakistan has denied the accusations and said the hijackers are in Indian-held Kashmir.

Cuban Protesters Fall Silent

HAVANA, Cuba (AP)

Thousands of protesters demanding the return of 6-year-old Elian Gonzalez fell silent Monday upon hearing the announcement that an American judge had ordered the boy to stay in the United States until at least March. The demonstrators had gathered for the latest in a monthlong string of rallies lobbying for Elian to be returned from Miami to Cuba and be reunited with his father. Many looked stunned when Hassan Perez, head of student group tied to the government, announced the decision that had come that day in Florida.

Evidence of Europa Ocean Exists

LOS ANGELES (AP)

New evidence from NASA's Galileo spacecraft bolsters theories that a liquid ocean lies beneath the crust of Jupiter's moon Europa, scientists reported Monday after analyzing results from the probe's latest flyby. The findings indirectly support the case for life beneath the moon's icy crust. Some experts believe primitive organisms could survive just as they do deep in the Earth's ocean near volcanic vents. 'Certainly if you are going to look for other environments where life might form or be able to survive, this is a good one,' said Torrence Johnson, Galileo's project scientist at NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena.

Bush, McCain Spar Over Taxes

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich. (AP)

Taxes were the keynote argument Monday night in the third Republican campaign debate in five days, stirred by Steve Forbes' television ad attacking Gov. George Bush on grounds he reneged on a pledge against any tax increases in Texas. Disputing the Forbes ad, Bush said he has twice led his state to the biggest tax cuts in its history. Sen. John McCain chimed in, saying that the

federal tax cut Bush is proposing now would spend all the projected budget surplus and \$20 billion more, with two-thirds of the cut going to the wealthiest 10 percent of Americans.

Tokyo Stocks Rise

TOKYO (AP)

Tokyo share prices climbed Tuesday led by technology issues and boosted by an overnight record closing on Wall Street. The Nikkei rose 575.32 points to 18,768.73 at the end of the morning session. In New York Monday, the Dow rose 49.64 to end at 11,572.20, a new high.

Spurs 93, Jazz 86

SAN ANTONIO (AP)

Tim Duncan scored a career-high 46 points to lead the San Antonio Spurs to a 93-86 victory over the Utah Jazz, and back into first place in the NBA's Midwest Division. Duncan, who also pulled down 14 rebounds, was 16-of-28 from the floor and 14-of-16 at the free throw line as he topped his previous career-high of 42 points. Karl Malone scored 23 points to lead Utah, Howard Eisley added 16 and Bryon Russell had 15.

Mideast Talks Recess With No Accord

SHEPHERDSTOWN, W.Va. (AP)

Israeli and Syrian delegates have returned home for consultations with their governments ahead of another round of land-for-peace negotiations. The talks recessed on Monday without agreement on new borders or any other major elements of a treaty still eluding them despite rigorous American mediation. After eight days of talks, there was no change in the Syrian or Israeli stand on the borders issue. Syria insists on a pullback to the June 4, 1967, border. Israel has not specified exactly how much land it will give and Israeli leaders have rejected Syria's withdrawal demand.

Africa Seeks Affordable AIDS Drugs

UNITED NATIONS (AP)

African countries say wealthy nations should make HIV-fighting drugs available and affordable to residents of the continent, which has been hardest hit by AIDS yet has virtually no access to treatments saving lives in the industrialized world. Many African health ministers and ambassadors attending a meeting of the Security Council on Monday applauded a new initiative by the United States to increase funding for AIDS prevention programs and vaccine research. At the meeting, Vice President Al Gore announced that the White House was seeking an extra \$150 million this year from Congress for vaccine research and prevention programs in Africa.

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Tokyo Stock Prices Close Higher

TOKYO (AP)

The Nikkei gained 657.51 points to close at 18,850.92.

Lakers 130, Nuggets 95

LOS ANGELES (AP)

Shaquille O'Neal had 31 points, 19 rebounds and nine assists, and Kobe Bryant scored 30 points Monday night as the Los Angeles Lakers routed Denver 130-95 to run their winning streak to 15. The victory avenged one of the Lakers' five losses this season a 93-82 defeat at Denver on Nov. 18, when Bryant was sidelined by a broken hand.

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National Monuments To Be Declared

GRAND CANYON NATIONAL PARK, Ariz. (AP)

On the 92nd anniversary of the Grand Canyon's designation as a national monument, President Clinton is taking 'aggressive action' to safeguard some of the nation's most picturesque open spaces. After a helicopter tour of the Canyon and a hike along Tuweep Valley, Clinton, with the most salient symbol of the American West's majesty as a backdrop, was declaring three new national monuments and expanding another. The lands already belong to the federal government. But the executive action was being carried out, in some cases, despite protests from local and state officials.

Iranian Minister Visits Britain

LONDON (AP)

Iran's foreign minister has faced egg-hurling protesters in London and sharp criticism in Tehran over his two-day trip. Tuesday, Kamal Kharrazi, the first Iranian Cabinet official to visit Britain since the 1979 Islamic revolution, was scheduled to address the Royal Institute of International Affairs before meeting business leaders to bolster trade. Kharrazi on Monday shrugged off the protests by Iranian exiles, who hurled eggs and paint at his limousine as he drove to a meeting with Prime Minister Tony Blair.

\$2.7B Sought for Children's Health Programs

WASHINGTON (AP)

Vice President Al Gore is touting a \$2.7 billion administration plan aimed at getting millions of uninsured children health coverage, a problem that has emerged as major issue in this year's presidential race. President Clinton is asking Congress for the money Tuesday to fund the five-year effort to boost enrollment in federal health programs for children by making it easier to sign up kids who are eligible for coverage. Gore, campaigning in Iowa, planned to release a new report showing that 2 million children already have been enrolled in the Children's Health Insurance Program, called CHIP, double the enrollment last year.

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Trail Blazers 107, Mavericks 94

PORTLAND, Ore. (AP)

Scottie Pippen had 17 points, including three 3-point baskets in the decisive third quarter, to lead the Portland Trail Blazers to a 107-94 win over the Dallas Mavericks on Monday night. Damon Stoudamire and Detlef Schrempf also scored 17 points for Portland. Dirk Nowitzki led Dallas with 19 points.

China Bracing for Membership in WTO

BEIJING (AP)

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Iranian Minister Visits Britain

LONDON (AP)

Iran's foreign minister has faced egg-hurling protesters in London and sharp criticism in Tehran over his two-day trip. Today, Kamal Kharrazi, the first Iranian Cabinet official to visit Britain since the 1979 Islamic revolution, was scheduled to address the Royal Institute of International Affairs before meeting business leaders to bolster trade. Kharrazi yesterday shrugged off the protests by Iranian exiles, who hurled eggs and paint at his limousine as he drove to a meeting with Prime Minister Tony Blair.

\$2.7B Sought for Children's Health Programs

WASHINGTON (AP)

Vice President Al Gore is touting a \$2.7 billion administration plan aimed at getting millions of uninsured children health coverage, a problem that has emerged as major issue in this year's presidential race. President Clinton is asking Congress for the money today to fund the five-year effort to boost enrollment in federal health programs for children by making it easier to sign up kids who are eligible for coverage.

Mideast Talks Recess With No Accord

SHEPHERDSTOWN, W.Va. (AP)

Israeli and Syrian delegates have returned home for consultations with their governments ahead of another round of land-for-peace negotiations. The talks recessed yesterday without agreement on new borders or any other major elements of a treaty still eluding them despite rigorous American mediation. After eight days of talks, there was no change in the Syrian or Israeli stand on the borders issue. Syria insists on a pullback to the June 4, 1967, border.

Africa Seeks Affordable AIDS Drugs

UNITED NATIONS (AP)

African countries say wealthy nations should make HIV-fighting drugs available and affordable to residents of the continent, which has been hardest hit by AIDS yet has virtually no access to treatments saving lives in the industrialized world. Many African health ministers and ambassadors attending a meeting of the Security Council yesterday applauded a new initiative by the United States to increase funding for AIDS prevention programs and vaccine research.

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Gang Violence Rocks East Timor City

BAUCAU, East Timor (AP)

Gang warfare has broken out in East Timor's second-largest city, posing a challenge to U.N. authority, officials said today. For two weeks, gangs of youths have fought pitched battles for control of the streets in Baucau, 70 miles west of the capital, Dili, said Sergey Lashin, chief of the U.N. police force in East Timor. Several people have been injured, Lashin said. He said one of the gangs had links to the pro-Indonesia movement. Indonesia invaded East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, in 1975 and ruled it for 24 years.

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Ruling Keeps Cuban Boy in U.S.

MIAMI (AP)

It doesn't appear as if Elian Gonzalez will be leaving the United States any time soon. A Florida judge ruled yesterday that the 6-year-old boy can stay at least until a March 6 custody hearing. The Immigration and Naturalization Agency also said it had no intention of trying to send him back to Cuba, after earlier setting a Friday deadline. The INS has no plans to do any enforcement

action on
Elian," INS spokesman Mike Gilhooly said. "We have no plans to change
the
custody arrangement of him being with his Miami family."

Serb General To Be Charged With Genocide

THE HAGUE, Netherlands (AP)

A Bosnian Serb commander and his political ally, accused of
masterminding one
of the bloodiest ethnic cleansing campaigns of the Bosnian war, pleaded
innocent
at a U.N. tribunal today to charges of genocide and crimes against
humanity. The
case against Gen. Momir Talic and Radoslav Brdjanin is pivotal for
prosecutors
at the Yugoslav war crimes tribunal. They have failed to secure a genocide
conviction in the seven years since the court was established to bring
justice
to the Balkans.

Dozens Killed in Indonesian Clashes

AMBON, Indonesia (AP)

Christians and Muslims have clashed violently in eastern Indonesia,
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separatists in the nation's southwest fought with soldiers, witnesses and
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military said today. Dozens of people were killed in the battles.
Violence broke
out Saturday on Seram Island, 1,600 miles east of Jakarta, and continued
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Jury Awards Grew in 1999

BOSTON (AP)

A law publication says juries became more generous in 1999, giving nearly \$9 billion in the 10 biggest awards to individuals and families, nearly three times as much as in 1998. Lawyers Weekly USA said the total was \$750 million in 1997. The biggest award last year was the \$4.9 billion given to six people in Los Angeles burned when their Chevy Malibu was rear-ended and burst into flames. A spokesman for the Attorney Trial Lawyers Association says juries are sending corporations a message about negligence.

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Teen Indicted for Columbine Threat

DENVER (AP)

A federal grand jury yesterday indicted a Florida teen-ager accused of sending a computer threat that shut down Columbine High School for two days and a Texas man who made unrelated threats in September. Michael Ian Campbell, 18, faces one count of sending threatening communication over interstate commerce. Campbell was accused of sending a message to Columbine sophomore Erin J. Walton, saying he was going to "finish what begun." Arthur Leon Thomas, 18, of Houston, was indicted on three counts of sending threatening letters to Columbine.

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Police: Fired Employee Kills Two

PORT ST. LUCIE, Fla. (AP)

A man suspected of killing his boss and a co-worker after losing his
job is
being sought today by authorities who fear he may have his 10-year-old
daughter
with him. Mario Betancourt, 43, allegedly opened fire with a handgun at
the
Padding Store, from where he was fired last week for suspicion of
stealing. Shop
owner Richard Mashler and employee Kenneth Conklin were killed. Police say
Betancourt has a violent criminal past.

Study Outlines Circumcision Risks

CHICAGO (AP)

A new study indicates that circumcising newborns offers practically no medical benefit but causes virtually no harm. Researchers found that infants who undergo the procedure have only a 1-in-476 chance of complications. Circumcision is thought to prevent urinary tract infections and penile cancer. But the researchers found that for every complication from circumcision, only six urinary tract infections are prevented.

Dow Down 8.85

NEW YORK (AP)

Financial analysts expect markets to weather a bit of profit-taking today after the Dow industrials set a second straight record high. Just before 10 a.m. EST, the Dow was down 8.85 to 11,563.35. Declining issues on the New York Stock Exchange led advancers 1,050-624. The Nasdaq was down 29.57 to 4,020.10.

Sele Spurns Orioles For Mariners

SEATTLE (AP)

Right-hander Aaron Sele, who reportedly agreed to a \$29 million, four-year deal with Baltimore, instead signed a \$15 million, two-year contract with the Seattle Mariners last night after the Orioles sought changes in the pact. Baltimore was reportedly concerned with Sele's health, although Sele missed only one start in two seasons with Texas. He was 18-9 last season for the Rangers.

Court Shields States in Age Lawsuits

WASHINGTON (AP)

The Supreme Court is taking away more of the federal government's power over the states, voting 5-4 today to shield states against federal lawsuits by employees who say they are victims of age bias. The court, citing cases from Florida and Alabama, says Congress went too far when it allowed federal lawsuits against the states under a 1967 age discrimination law. The law cannot trump states' 11th Amendment immunity against being sued in federal courts, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor wrote.

Russians Probe Shooting at Embassy

MOSCOW (AP)

Military prosecutors in Moscow launched a criminal probe today into how a Russian soldier sneaked into the U.S. Embassy compound before being shot and wounded by a Marine guard. The soldier, 19-year-old Yevgeny Ivanov, broke into the compound last night and tried to take a car, which he then crashed, Russian officials said. A U.S. Marine guard was involved in the shooting, an embassy spokeswoman said. Hospital officials said Ivanov suffered five bullet wounds and is in stable condition.

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MIAMI (AP)

The Immigration and Naturalization Service said today it has no plans to force the immediate return of 6-year-old Elian Gonzalez to Cuba in the wake of a state judge's decision to grant emergency custody of the child to his great-uncle in Miami. INS officials had last week ordered Elian who was

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clinging to an inner tube off the coast of Florida on Thanksgiving Day to
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returned to his father in Cuba, giving a target date of Friday, Jan. 14.
That
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Illegal Immigrants Found on Ship

SEATTLE (AP)

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from Hong Kong, said Irene Mortensen, an Immigration and Naturalization
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spokeswoman. "They all appear to be in pretty good health," Mortensen
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"They were lucky." On Monday, the bodies of an elderly woman and two
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aboard
another ship, the Cape May, that also had arrived from Hong Kong.

FDA Expands Smoked Seafood Recall

WASHINGTON (AP)

In a major expansion of an earlier recall, thousands of pounds of smoked
seafood products are being recalled because the fish may be contaminated
with
bacteria that can cause life-threatening infections. Royal Baltic of
Brooklyn,
N.Y., last month recalled several batches of smoked fish products sold in
four
states. The Food and Drug Administration expanded the recall to encompass
what
the FDA said was potentially thousands of pounds of Royal Baltic products
sold
nationwide. The fish may be contaminated with listeria, a type of food
poisoning.

Dow Up 46.22

NEW YORK (AP)

Just before 11 a.m. EST, the Dow was up 46.22 to 11,618.42. Declining
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on the New York Stock Exchange led advancers 1,595-973. The Nasdaq was
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Nilsson Talking to Japanese Team

MILWAUKEE (AP)

Free agent Dave Nilsson, a power-hitting catcher expected to attract
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with 21
homers last season for Milwaukee, but teams are apparently worried that
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DECATUR, Ill. (AP)

A federal judge today upheld the expulsion of six students for fighting
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football game, ruling they did not prove their rights were violated by the
school district's "zero tolerance" anti-violence policy. The case gained
national attention late last year when Rev. Jesse Jackson led protest
marches
and rallies and attempted to mediate the dispute. The students were
expelled for
participating in a raucous melee that erupted in the grandstand at a
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football game between MacArthur and Eisenhower high schools.

Court Shields States in Age Lawsuits

WASHINGTON (AP)

The Supreme Court is taking away more of the federal government's power
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against the states under a 1967 age discrimination law. The law cannot
trump
states' 11th Amendment immunity against being sued in federal courts.
Justice
Sandra Day O'Connor wrote.

Russians Probe Shooting at Embassy

MOSCOW (AP)

Military prosecutors in Moscow launched a criminal probe today into how
a
Russian soldier sneaked into the U.S. Embassy compound before being shot
and
wounded by a Marine guard. The soldier, 19-year-old Yevgeny Ivanov, broke
into
the compound last night and tried to take a car, which he then crashed.
Russian
officials said. A U.S. Marine guard was involved in the shooting, an
embassy
spokeswoman said. Hospital officials said Ivanov suffered five bullet
wounds and
is in stable condition.

Ruling Keeps Cuban Boy in U.S.

MIAMI (AP)

The Immigration and Naturalization Service said today it has no plans to
force the immediate return of 6-year-old Elian Gonzalez to Cuba in the
wake of a
state judge's decision to grant emergency custody of the child to his
great-uncle in Miami. INS officials had last week ordered Elian who was
found
clinging to an inner tube off the coast of Florida on Thanksgiving Day to
be
returned to his father in Cuba, giving a target date of Friday, Jan. 14.
That
ruling was endorsed by President Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno.
A
Miami judge last night ruled that Elian can stay with his U.S. relatives
until
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who is seeking temporary custody.

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Court Shields States in Age Lawsuits

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The Supreme Court is taking away more of the federal government's power over the states, voting 5-4 today to shield states against federal lawsuits by employees who say they are victims of age bias. The court, citing cases from Florida and Alabama, says Congress went too far when it allowed federal lawsuits against the states under a 1967 age discrimination law. The law cannot trump states' 11th Amendment immunity against being sued in federal courts, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor wrote.

Russian Space Module Launch Delayed

MOSCOW (AP)

In a major setback for the international space station, the launch of a key module will be delayed yet again after flaws were detected in a booster rocket, a top official said today. The launch of the station's crew module won't be possible until at least August, a spokesman for the company which built the module said. The launch of the module, called Zvezda (Star), had already been delayed 18 months, causing major delays for the whole project. Sixteen countries, including the United States, are participating in the \$60 billion station.

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Gary Glitter Is Freed From Prison

HORFIELD, England (AP)

Singer Gary Glitter, best known for the sports anthem "Rock And Roll Part 2," was freed from prison today after serving half of a four-month sentence for downloading more than 4,000 pornographic pictures of children from the Internet. The 55-year-old, whose real name is Paul Francis Gadd, was arrested in 1997 after technicians at a Bristol computer store in western England found indecent images on his computer's hard drive. Glitter sold 18 million records over the

course of 25 years.

French Truck Co. Owners Protest Law

PARIS (AP)

French truck company owners brought road freight to a standstill for a second day today to protest a law shortening the work week. Barricades slowed traffic on borders with Italy, Belgium, Spain and Germany. The truck owners are protesting a 30 percent rise in diesel prices over the last year, but their main concern is the government's program to reduce the work week from 39 hours to 35. They say the law, aimed at reducing double-digit unemployment, will make truckers far less competitive than their European counterparts.

Russian Ruble Hits New Low

MOSCOW (AP)

The Russian ruble hit a new low today because of a low supply of dollars and high demand for hard currency, traders said. At one point the ruble dipped to 29 to the dollar, but regained ground to close at 28.5, a fall of 2.8 percent. Central Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko insisted it was a temporary technical drop and that the bank would not intervene heavily to support the ruble. the Interfax news agency reported.

Dow Up 43

NEW YORK (AP)

Just before noon EST, the Dow was up 43.51 to 11,615.71. Declining issues on the New York Stock Exchange led advancers 1,690-1,080. The Nasdaq was down 1.98 to 4,047.69.

Vikings Raise Ticket Prices Again

EDEN PRAIRIE, Minn. (AP)

The Minnesota Vikings will raise ticket prices for the fifth time in seven years, with increases from 17.5 percent for lower-priced tickets to 9 percent for the top-priced tickets. Ticket prices for two preseason and eight regular season games will be from \$23.50 to \$65.50 per game. This season, prices ranged from \$20 to \$60. The NFL average ticket price this season was \$45.63.

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INS Won't Force Cuban Boy Home

MIAMI (AP)

The Immigration and Naturalization Service said today it has no plans to force the immediate return of Elian Gonzalez to Cuba in the wake of a state

judge's decision to grant emergency custody of the 6-year-old boy to his great-uncle in Miami. The INS last week ruled that the boy's father in Cuba should have custody, and gave a target date of this Friday for his return. The judge, who said the boy's Miami relatives had shown that Elian would face 'imminent and irreparable harm' if he were returned to Cuba, set a custody hearing date for March 6. Elian returned to school today.

First Lady To Announce Run in Feb.

ROCHESTER, N.Y. (AP)

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who confirmed in November that she intends to run for the New York Senate, said today she will formally announce her candidacy early next month. She said today that she wants President Clinton and her daughter Chelsea on hand for the announcement. Mrs. Clinton is expected to face New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani in a race for the seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

GOP Accused of Closing Poll Booths

GREENVILLE, S.C. (AP)

The Justice Department has been asked to investigate the Republican Party's plan not to open polling places in some precincts for its presidential primary, a move that the GOP maintains is not aimed at hindering black voters' access to the polls. The Republicans said last week they would use paper ballots and consolidate some polling places for the party's Feb. 19 presidential primary because they must rely on volunteers to run the election. State Rep. Todd Rutherford, a black Democrat, said that in the 1996 primary the Republicans did not operate ballot boxes in many predominantly black precincts of downtown Columbia, while opening all polling places in majority white precincts.

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Yeltsin May Create Foundation

MOSCOW (AP)

Former President Boris Yeltsin is considering plans to create a political

foundation and travel in Europe now that he is retired, his spokesman said in an interview published today. Yeltsin, 69, resigned unexpectedly on Dec. 31, saying it was time for Russia to have younger leaders. He appointed Prime Minister Vladimir Putin as acting president.

Dow Up 35

NEW YORK (AP)

Just before 1 p.m. EST, the Dow was up 35.05 to 11,607.25. Declining issues on the New York Stock Exchange led advancers 1,815-1,111. The Nasdaq was down 18.39 to 4,031.28.

Trachsel Seeking Rockies Contract

DENVER (AP)

Steve Trachsel, who said last summer that he would never consider playing for Colorado, has contacted Rockies general manager Dan O'Dowd about signing a contract. Trachsel is coming off an 8-18 season with the Chicago Cubs and hasn't gathered much interest. The 29-year-old right-hander has a 60-69 career record with a 4.35 ERA.

Jackson To Appeal Students' Expulsions

DECATUR, Ill. (AP)

The Rev. Jesse Jackson says his Rainbow-PUSH Coalition will appeal a judge's ruling today that upholds the expulsions of six high school students for a fight at a football game. Jackson called the ruling "harsh," and says it disregards the teen-agers' future. The federal judge said the students did not prove their rights were violated by the school district's "zero tolerance" anti-violence policy. The teens were expelled for a maximum of two years after the Sept. 17 brawl, which cleared the visitor's bleachers but caused no serious injuries.

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statement later today.

Mother of Abused Quads Sentenced

PHOENIX (AP)

A mother of quadruplets was sentenced today to more than 150 years in prison for shaking the babies so hard they suffered broken skulls and brain damage. The babies' father was sentenced to five years. Elizabeth Whittle, 25, were convicted in November on 13 of 14 counts of child abuse. Babies Robert, Damian and Megan have mostly recovered from the injuries suffered in April 1998, but are prone to seizures. Baby Anthony is brain-damaged, deaf and blind.

U.S. Fighter Planes Bomb Iraq

ANKARA, Turkey (AP)

U.S. warplanes bombed an Iraqi air defense system today, responding to Iraqi artillery fire during routine patrols of the no-fly zone over northern Iraq, the U.S. military said. The planes attacked an Iraqi integrated air defense system after the Iraqi forces opened fire with artillery from sites near Mosul and Bashiqah, about 250 miles north of Baghdad, the Germany-based U.S. European Command said in a statement. U.S. and British planes have been patrolling no-fly zones over northern and southern Iraq since the end of the 1991 Persian Gulf War to protect minority Kurds and Shiites from Iraqi forces.

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Dow Up 31

NEW YORK (AP)

Just before 2 p.m. EST, the Dow was up 31.02 to 11,603.23. Declining issues on the New York Stock Exchange led advancers 1,885-1,094. The Nasdaq was down 51.32 to 3,998.35.

Jets Sold to Pharmaceutical Empire Heir

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The New York Jets were sold today to Robert Wood Johnson IV, heir to the Johnson & Johnson pharmaceutical empire, for nearly \$635 million. The sale must be approved by 24 of the NFL's 31 owners. Johnson's bid was chosen over that of Cablevision chairman Charles Dolan, who reportedly offered about \$625 million. Sources say the NFL prefers Johnson as an owner because Dolan owns NHL and NBA teams and the NFL has concerns about two-sport league ownership.

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Fisk, Perez Voted Into Hall of Fame

NEW YORK (AP)

Former Red Sox and White Sox catcher Carlton Fisk and slugging first baseman Tony Perez were elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame today. Fisk, who caught the most games in major league history (2,226) and hit a record 351 of 376 career home runs while playing the position, received 397 votes among the record 499 ballots cast by members of the Baseball Writers' Association of America. Perez, who played for Cincinnati, Montreal and Boston, received 385 votes.

3 New National Monuments Named

GRAND CANYON NATIONAL PARK, Ariz. (AP)

President Clinton today marked the 92nd anniversary of the Grand Canyon's designation as a national monument by safeguarding other picturesque open spaces. Clinton named as national monuments a jagged 1,500-square-mile desert area dotted with junipers known as the Grand Canyon-Parashant; Agua Fria, 71,000 acres encompassing two mesas filled with Indian ruins, petroglyphs and other prehistoric treasures north of Phoenix; and hundreds of rocks and small islands along the California coast.

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Gift Elephant Injured in Journey

LUCKNOW, India (AP)

Veterinarians are treating a 3-year-old elephant intended as a gift to
the
Japanese government after she collapsed during a four-day cross-country
journey
on the back of a pickup truck. Jaya suffered injuries to her neck and was
paralyzed on one side during the 660-mile trip across northern India. The
driver
transporting her to New Delhi for air shipment to Japan traveled for two
days
without letting her off the truck.

Supermarket Covering Up Cosmo

CINCINNATI (AP)

Kroger, the nation's largest grocery chain, will cover up Cosmopolitan
magazine at checkout stands because of complaints about headlines like
''Sex Tricks He's Never Seen Before.'' Kroger operates 2,268 grocery stores and
about
800 convenience stores in 31 states. The decision was hailed by Morality
in
Media, a New York organization that has been pressuring the nation's
supermarket
chains to remove or cover magazines with ''lurid sexual content'' from
checkout
aisles.

Dow Up 41

NEW YORK (AP)

Just before 3 p.m. EST, the Dow was up 41.57 to 11,613.77. Declining issues on the New York Stock Exchange led advancers 1,929-1,124. The Nasdaq was down 42.75 to 4,006.92.

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Clinton Names National Monuments

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President Clinton marked the 92nd anniversary of the Grand Canyon's designation as a national monument by declaring three new national monuments and expanding another. The president spent an hour watching the sun rise over the canyon, then took a helicopter tour of the canyon and hiked along Tuweep Valley. Clinton named as national monuments: a 1,500-square-mile desert area dotted with junipers known as the Grand Canyon-Parashant; Agua Fria, 71,000 acres encompassing two mesas filled with Indian ruins, petroglyphs and other prehistoric treasures north of Phoenix; and hundreds of rocks and small islands along the California coast.

INS Won't Force Cuban Boy Home

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The Immigration and Naturalization Service says it doesn't plan to try to force 6-year-old Elian Gonzalez to go back to Cuba. The INS had ruled last week that the boy's father in Cuba should have custody, but yesterday, a federal judge ruled that the boy should stay with relatives in the U.S. pending a custody hearing in March. The boy's great uncle in South Florida is also seeking custody.

Judge Upholds Decatur Expulsions

DECATUR, Ill. (AP)

A federal judge says the six students in Decatur, Ill., who were expelled for fighting at a football game should stay expelled. The judge said the students did not prove that their rights were violated. The ruling follows weeks of protests led by the Rev. Jesse Jackson, who said his Rainbow/PUSH

Coalition
would appeal the decision.

Post Office Asks 1-Cent Rate Hike

WASHINGTON (AP)

Postal rates may be going up, but if they do, it won't be until 2001. The Postal Service announced the new rates today 34 cents for letters and 21 cents for post cards. The proposal now goes to the Postal Rate Commission, which will hold hearings before ruling on the request. In addition to the increase in the base rate for a first-class stamp, the charge for each additional ounce would rise from 22 cents to 23 cents. Priority mail would rise from \$3.20 to \$3.45 for the first pound, and the first half-pound of Express Mail would increase from \$11.75 to \$12.30.

Court Shields States in Age Lawsuits

WASHINGTON (AP)

The Supreme Court ruled today that state employees cannot go into federal court to sue over age discrimination. The court, by a 5-4 vote, said Congress exceeded its authority when allowing such lawsuits against the states under 1974 amendments to the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967. Justice Sandra Day O'Connor wrote for the court that the federal law may not overturn the states' 11th Amendment immunity against being sued in federal courts.

Elephant Hurt on Trek to Japan

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Veterinarians are treating a 3-year-old elephant intended as a gift to the Japanese government after she collapsed during a four-day cross-country journey on the back of a pickup truck. Jaya suffered injuries to her neck and was paralyzed on one side during the 660-mile trip across northern India. The 1,055-pound elephant had been offered as a gift during a visit to Tokyo by India's Defense Minister George Fernandes.

Dow Drops 38; Nasdaq Tumbles 130

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Stocks turned mostly lower today as rising bond yields drew investors away from stocks. Shares of Internet companies led the Nasdaq composite index to a steep decline. Just before the 4 p.m. EST close, the Dow Jones industrial average was down 38.78 at 11,533.42. The Nasdaq Composite Index was off 130.07 at 3,919.60.

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(PROFILE

(CO:Johnson & Johnson; TS:JNJ; IG:DRG;)

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Electronics Prices Expected To Rise

PEBBLE BEACH, Calif. (AP)

Consumers can expect to pay more for computers and other electronic goods over the next two or three years as the demand for chips continues to push prices upward. The chip supply squeeze that began earlier this year probably will continue through 2002 as manufacturers race to build new production plants, analysts said today. "Bad news for shoppers, great news for the industry," said G. Dan Hutcheson, president of VLSI Research Inc. in San Jose.

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\$1.6B Colombia Aid Package Proposed

WASHINGTON (AP)

Money alone will not fix the problems of drug violence and corruption in Colombia, but \$1.6 billion will go a long way toward bolstering democracy there, the Clinton administration said today. The White House proposed a package for the South American nation that President Clinton said will stem the production and export of illegal narcotics, while supporting economic development and improving human rights in Colombia. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright is flying to Colombia this weekend to explain the package.

E. Timor Victims Exhumed from Graves

LABUKOE, East Timor (AP)

U.N. investigators exhumed two mass graves in East Timor Tuesday and found the bodies of eight people who were likely killed months before the province voted to break away from Indonesia. The investigators had expected to find the remains of 18 East Timorese who were executed by Indonesian-allied militiamen. But only eight bodies were recovered before heavy rain suspended the work, officials said. Anti-independence militia violence both before and after the U.N.-sponsored ballot in August left East Timor devastated. At least 200 bodies have been recovered since international peacekeepers were deployed in September to restore law and order.

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GM Stops Production of Electric Car

DETROIT (AP)

General Motors Corp. has stopped production of its sleek EV1 electric car, citing waning interest from its customers. GM vice chairman Harry J. Pearce said today that GM was shifting its attention from all-electric cars to vehicles powered by hybrid fuel-electric systems and fuel cells, which use hydrogen to create electricity. Pearce said the company had a sufficient supply of EV1s on hand and said while GM could build more, there was "no particular need."

Japan Stocks Fall in Early Trading

TOKYO (AP)

Japanese stocks fell moderately in early trading Wednesday. The Nikkei shed 149.58 points to 18,701.34 points. In New York Tuesday, the Dow Jones industrial average fell 71.12 to close at 11,511.08.

V. Williams To Miss Australian Open

MELBOURNE, Australia (AP)

Venus Williams became the second leading American tennis player in two days to withdraw from next week's Australian Open when she notified organizers Wednesday that she was pulling out with tendinitis in her left wrist. Monica Seles, a four-time champion, withdrew Tuesday saying she was still not ready to play after a foot injury suffered last October. Williams was replaced as the No. 3 seed in the women's draw by her younger sister, Serena, winner at last year's U.S. Open.

Clinton To Expand Tax Break Plan

WASHINGTON (AP)

President Clinton, expanding his election-year package of tax initiatives, will offer a plan tomorrow to expand tax breaks for low-income working Americans, an administration official said today. Clinton, in a speech to the Democratic Leadership Council, will announce that he will ask Congress to enlarge the earned income tax credit, which now is claimed by nearly 20 million people. The credit already has emerged as an issue in the presidential campaign, with Democratic hopeful Bill Bradley urging that more low-income working parents be eligible for the credits and that the amount of help be increased.

GOP Reaching Out to Hispanics

SACRAMENTO, Calif. (AP)

In a major effort to reach out to Hispanics, the Republican National Committee plans to unveil a multimillion-dollar TV ad campaign to try to attract the votes of a group that largely sides with Democrats in national elections. GOP leaders from around the country today opened what they are calling "The New

Republican Century'' with a brainstorming session on Hispanic voters. During the meeting, RNC leaders and experts in Hispanic politics will meet to set strategy, both in public and behind closed doors.

\$1.6B Colombia Aid Package Proposed

WASHINGTON (AP)

Money alone will not fix the problems of drug violence and corruption in Colombia, but \$1.6 billion will go a long way toward bolstering democracy there, the Clinton administration said today. The White House proposed a package for the South American nation that President Clinton said will stem the production and export of illegal narcotics, while supporting economic development and improving human rights in Colombia. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright is flying to Colombia this weekend to explain the package.

E. Timor Victims Exhumed from Graves

LABUKOE, East Timor (AP)

U.N. investigators exhumed two mass graves in East Timor Tuesday and found the bodies of eight people who were likely killed months before the province voted to break away from Indonesia. The investigators had expected to find the remains of 18 East Timorese who were executed by Indonesian-allied militiamen. But only eight bodies were recovered before heavy rain suspended the work, officials said. Anti-independence militia violence both before and after the U.N.-sponsored ballot in August left East Timor devastated. At least 200 bodies have been recovered since international peacekeepers were deployed in September to restore law and order.

Pinochet Deemed Unfit for Trial

LONDON (AP)

Doctors ruled that Gen. Augusto Pinochet was unfit to stand trial on human rights abuse charges, the British government announced Tuesday, opening the possibility that the former Chilean dictator could win his battle against extradition to Spain. The 84-year-old Pinochet has been under detention in Britain since his arrest in a London hospital nearly 15 months ago. He was arrested on a Spanish warrant for alleged human rights violations committed during his rule in Chile.

GM Stops Production of Electric Car

DETROIT (AP)

General Motors Corp. has stopped production of its sleek EV1 electric car, citing waning interest from its customers. GM vice chairman Harry J. Pearce said today that GM was shifting its attention from all-electric cars to vehicles powered by hybrid fuel-electric systems and fuel cells, which use hydrogen to create electricity. Pearce said the company had a sufficient supply of EV1s on hand and said while GM could build more, there was ''no particular need.''

Japan Stocks Fall in Early Trading

TOKYO (AP)

Japanese stocks fell moderately in early trading Wednesday. The Nikkei shed 149.58 points to 18,701.34 points. In New York Tuesday, the Dow Jones industrial average fell 71.12 to close at 11,511.08.

Michigan St. Defeats Indiana in OT

EAST LANSING, Mich. (AP)

Morris Peterson forced overtime with a 3-pointer and scored four more points in the extra session as No. 11 Michigan State defeated No. 9 Indiana 77-71 to take over first place in the Big Ten tonight. The win left the Spartans (12-4, 3-0 Big Ten) the lone unbeaten team in conference play. Indiana (12-2, 2-1), which never led in the five-minute overtime, was held to just one basket in the extra period, a 3-pointer by Michael Lewis with 4.0 seconds remaining. Charlie Bell led the Spartans with 22 points and Peterson finished with 17.

Pinochet Found Unfit for Trial

LONDON (AP)

A medical team found that Gen. Augusto Pinochet was too ill to stand trial on charges of human rights abuses, the government announced Tuesday, in a decision that may clear the way for the former dictator to return home to Chile. The ruling drew quick reaction in Chile where a group representing relatives of alleged victims expressed its disappointment, while supporters declared it was good for both Pinochet and for Chile. The Spanish government said it had no plans to contest the announcement.

Bush Responds to Rivals With New Ad

WASHINGTON (AP)

Responding to his rivals on two campaign fronts, George W. Bush is preparing to air new ads defending his commitment to Social Security and accusing Steve Forbes of running a negative campaign. The ad involving Forbes is in response to a spot the conservative publisher is airing in Iowa and New Hampshire that accuses Bush of breaking a no-tax pledge during his term as Texas' governor. It is tentatively scheduled to air in Iowa this week, with the Bush campaign waiting to make sure Forbes' spot airs as widely as promised.

More Police Urged for Kosovo

UNITED NATIONS (AP)

Although violence is declining in Kosovo, the Serb province remains extremely dangerous for ethnic minorities and desperately needs more international police, a senior United Nations official said today. The official, speaking at a press briefing on condition of anonymity, said the level of violence has declined by 'orders of magnitude' since a NATO-led peacekeeping operation entered Kosovo in June.

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Japan Stocks Fall Moderately

TOKYO (AP)

Tokyo share prices fell moderately Wednesday on profit-taking following a decline on Wall Street. The Nikkei shed 128.82 points to 18,722.10 points at the end of the morning session. In New York Tuesday, the Dow Jones industrial average fell 71.12 to close at 11,511.08.

Syracuse Remains Only Unbeaten Team

CHARLESTON, W.Va. (AP)

Tony Bland scored nine of his 22 points in the final five minutes as No. 7 Syracuse beat West Virginia 76-63 tonight to remain the only unbeaten team in Division I. Etan Thomas added 14 points, 15 rebounds and five blocks as the Orangemen (12-0, 3-0 Big East) won for the second straight time on the road following a 10-game homestand.

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WITH CANDIDATES: GARY BAUER GOVERNOR GEORGE W. BUSH (R-TX) SENATOR ORRIN HATCH (R-UT) SENATOR JOHN MCCAIN (R-AZ) ALAN KEYES STEVE FORBES

MODERATORS: BRIAN WILLIAMS AND DAVID STANTON

LOCATION: COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

TIME: 8:00 P.M. EST FRIDAY, JANUARY 7, 2000

BODY:

MR. WILLIAMS: Good evening and welcome, on behalf of NBC News, MSNBC, and WIS TV in Columbia, South Carolina -- a big night in a big state, considered politically the gateway to the American South for its presidential primary February 19th.

MR. STANTON: Next month South Carolinians will decide who they want to be the Republican nominee. And since 1980, the very first Republican primary here in South Carolina, won by Ronald Reagan, no Republican has won its party's nomination without first winning here in South Carolina.

MR. WILLIAMS: Tonight we are going to hear from all six men vying for the GOP nomination for president. Let's meet each one of them now. Alan Keyes, former assistant secretary of State and ambassador under Ronald Reagan. (Applause.) U.S. Senator John McCain from the state of Arizona. (Applause. Cheers.) Former Reagan administration official Gary Bauer. (Applause. Cheers.) The governor of the state of Texas, George W. Bush. (Applause. Cheers.) Steve Forbes of the magazine of the same name. (Applause. Cheers.) And from the state of Utah, U.S. Senator Orrin Hatch. (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: We had drawings to determine the order of the questions, and each candidate will have 45 seconds to answer most questions. And we begin with a question for each candidate, beginning with Ambassador Keyes. Ambassador Keyes, last night you asked where all the conservatives have gone. If you had a choice between eight more years of a Democratic president or eight years of a pro-choice Republican, which would you choose?

MR. KEYES: Well, frankly I don't think that has to be our choice, unless we make a terrible error in the Republican Party. I think we have to choose to stand forthrightly for the pro-life position. And if we do not, the party doesn't stand a chance of winning a victory in November -- it will not happen. This party was born of principle. This party will die if it does not adhere to its Declaration principles. And I think that's very clear. I have said it. I know most of the people in this room and throughout the Republican Party and the country understand that. So your hypothetical is of no matter to me. We will not face that alternative. (Applause. Cheers.)

MR. WILLIAMS: Ambassador Keyes, thank you. Next question to Senator McCain. Senator, I am reading from the Associated Press a few minutes ago this evening, and I read, in quotes, "Two weeks after Ameritech's chairman held a fundraiser for him, Senator John McCain sent a stinging letter to federal regulators accusing them of being unfair toward the phone company." Senator, your letter went on to say that the letter was not meant to benefit any one single person. And you have said in your own defense that this is part of what is wrong with

Washington. However, do you understand now the appearance here, and can you tell us here tonight is there anything else about the transportation you use, about the letters you have written, anything else that you know of that is about to come out?

SEN. MCCAIN: I have, first of all, no idea. But the fact is that again my job as chairman of the Committee of Commerce, Science and Transportation is to oversight bureaucracies that are supposed to be serving the people. The Federal Communications Commission has not been doing that. Of all the times when I have weighed in, I have asked them to do their duty and to expedite the procedures as they are laid out under the law and according to existing regulations. I will continue to do that job. And when a constituent, a person of mine who has trouble, or a citizen of this country who can't get a reaction or an answer from a bureaucracy that is paid for with their tax dollars, I believe that people like me should weigh in, particularly when it is my responsibility as the chairman of the committee. I fully understand --

MR. WILLIAMS: Time is up, senator. Thank you, sir.

SEN. MCCAIN: Thank you. (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: Ladies and gentlemen, again we would ask that you would hold your applause until the end of the debate so we will have more time for the questions with the candidates.

Mr. Bauer, if someone in your family was raped and became pregnant and wanted an abortion, and after a discussion with you they were adamant in their decision to have an abortion, would you support that decision or would you try to prevent it?

MR. BAUER: This is a very basic question. If my daughter or somebody that I loved was raped, that would be the most horrible thing I could possibly imagine. But I would comfort her. I would pray with her. I would explain to her that she couldn't make right the terrible thing that had happened to her by taking the life of her innocent unborn child. (Applause. Cheers.)

But the most important thing, sir, is not what I would do under those circumstances but what I would do as president. And as president I would throw rapists in jail for a long time so America's women wouldn't have to worry about it. (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: Thank you, sir.

MR. WILLIAMS: Governor Bush, a few blocks from here on top of the State Capitol Building, the confederate flag flies with the state flag and the U.S. flag. (Boos.) It is, as you can here from the reaction of tonight's -- (boos) -- it is, as you can here from the reaction of tonight's crowd of 3,000 people from South Carolina, a hot button issue here. The question is: Does the flag offend you personally?

GOV. BUSH: The answer to your question is -- and what you are trying to get me to do is to express the will of the people of South Carolina, is what you are trying to get me to do.

MR. WILLIAMS: No, I am asking you about your personal feelings.

GOV. BUSH: The people of South Carolina -- (applause, cheers) -- Brian, I believe the people of South Carolina can figure out what to do with this flag issue. It's the people of South Carolina's decision to make. (Applause. Cheers.)

MR. WILLIAMS: If I may --

GOV. BUSH: I don't believe -- I don't believe it's the role of someone from outside South Carolina and someone running for president to come into this state and tell the people of South Carolina what to do with their business when it comes to the flag. (Applause. Cheers.)

MR. WILLIAMS: As an American citizen, do you have a visceral reaction to

seeing the confederate flag? (Boos.)

GOV. BUSH: As an American citizen, I trust the people of South Carolina to make the decision for South Carolina. (Applause. Cheers.)

MR. STANTON: Mr. Forbes has the next question. There are many people on fixed incomes with health problems. And by the time they say their medications have been paid for, they don't have money for food or clothing or other necessities. Do you think people like this need some help, and from what source should that help come?

MR. FORBES: Well, clearly millions of Americans need help on health care. The major reason why is they are not in charge of their health care -- HMOs are, insurers are, government bureaucracies are. And that's not right. And that's why I proposed with Medicare that people on Medicare have the same kind of choice members of Congress and those who work for the federal government have being able to choose from several hundred different health care plans. And if you have a need for prescriptive medicines, you can pick a plan that will provide that need. If you have a need for long-term care, you can do the same thing. I want to give people choice, put health care back in the hands of the people, and I've got specific proposals to do it. (Applause. Cheers.)

MR. WILLIAMS: Thank you, Mr. Forbes. Tonight we're also going to be taking some emails. This particular one comes into us from Carla Hardee of South Carolina: Forty, fifty, even sixty years ago, when a man entered the military he did so with commitment. Along with this he was promised commitment by the government. One of the promises made was medical for himself and his dependents. If elected, Senator Hatch, what would you do specifically to reinstitute the lifetime benefits veterans are entitled to by having placed their lives in the hands of the United States government? What attraction would you offer for new enlistees to encourage a stronger and more vital military presence?

SEN. HATCH: Well, I'll tell you the first thing I'd do as president is I would make sure that a third of our military who qualify for food stamps start getting paid decently and honorably. (Applause.) Twelve thousand of them are on food stamps. It's terrible. And to make a long story short, we have to live up to our commitments to our military people. One of them was to provide health care for veterans. We have about 26 million veterans in this country. A very small percentage of those actually apply for this type of health care. But we have got to provide for it, and it seems to me we have got to make it the best possible health care we can.

MR. STANTON: We're also going to give the candidates a chance to ask each other questions tonight, and we begin with Mr. Forbes, who has a question for Mr. Bauer.

MR. FORBES: Gary, you have obviously read in the papers about a key official in the Gore campaign, Donna Brazile, who made very racist remarks about General Powell and about Congressman J.C. Watts. I believe, and I think you believe, and I hope we can get our colleagues here tonight together to ask Al Gore to fire Donna Brazile and to apologize to two great Americans, J.C. Watts and General Powell. Will you join me in that? (Applause.)

MR. BAUER: Steve, Steve, you are absolutely right. Let me just say to the good people in this audience, you have watched for 10 years while the Democratic Party has attempted to smear our party with charges of racism, with charges of not caring about the poor, with all sorts of scare tactics -- that we don't care about the weak and the sick and the handicapped. They do it time and time and time again. And all too often our party in the face of that has run for the tall grass. It is time for us to stand up. We are a party of great principles.

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Gore's campaign manager ought to be ashamed of herself, and she ought to resign tonight. (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: Mr. Bauer, thank you.

MR. WILLIAMS: We'd like now to enter a brief phase of short questions and rapid-fire answers -- gentlemen, if you could, answers of one to two seconds in length. (Laughter.) We will begin with Senator -- one to two sentences. We will settle for one to two sentences in length if you must. Senator McCain, you will begin. All gentlemen will answer this first question: Has affirmative action made America a better nation?

SEN. MCCAIN: Yes, but quotas have made it worse.

MR. WILLIAMS: Gary Bauer.

MR. BAUER: Oh, you mean the same question?

MR. WILLIAMS: Yes.

MR. BAUER: I would agree. I think that the idea behind affirmative action was legitimate and decent, that when you start counting by race you divide America, you don't bring it together.

MR. WILLIAMS: Governor Bush?

GOV. BUSH: Only if affirmative action means equal opportunity for everybody. (Applause.)

MR. WILLIAMS: Mr. Forbes?

MR. FORBES: Quotas and set-asides are wrong. That's why we genuinely need real affirmation of opportunity starting by letting parents choose their own schools for their own children. (Applause.)

MR. WILLIAMS: Senator Hatch?

SEN. HATCH: When affirmative action means job training, outreach and education, it's good. When it starts pitting one group against another through a system of preferences it's bad. And I've got to tell you quotas are wrong for America, and I agree: equal opportunity is what we should have for everybody. (Applause.)

MR. WILLIAMS: Ambassador Keyes?

MR. KEYES: I think it may be more important to ask whether it's helped the people it was supposed to help. And I think that it has actually hurt them by damaging the reputation of many minorities in this country and not giving them credit for their real achievements, and I think that's wrong. (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: We have another short-answer question. South Carolinians are going to be voting on a state lottery later this year. A national gambling commission has recommended no further state lotteries -- a moratorium on them for the time being. Do you agree with that, Mr. Bauer?

MR. BAUER: Yes, I do agree with it. I not only agree with that -- I think the gambling industry is corrupting our culture, corrupting our families, and will eventually corrupt politics with the unregulated money. (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: Governor Bush, same question.

GOV. BUSH: I've got a strong anti-gambling record in my state of Texas. But let me say something: just like the flag, the people of South Carolina can figure out whether or not they want to have a lottery or not. That's the people of South Carolina's decision to make. (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: Mr. Forbes?

MR. FORBES: When the gambling issue came up in my home state of New Jersey more than 20 years ago, I voted against it every time it came up. So I would urge you not to think that gambling money is going to provide you with a better education. It's a false steal. (Applause.) MR. STANTON: Senator Hatch.

SEN. HATCH: Yes, yes, yes and yes. (Laughs.) I have to say that South

Carolina has got to determine its own destiny, and I would certainly support that.

MR. STANTON: Ambassador?

MR. KEYES: I think it's very important that we leave these decisions up to the states. But if you solicit my advice, I'll tell you this: all governments everywhere -- federal, state, local -- should get out of the business of putting a corrupting, regressive tax on the backs of their people! (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: Senator McCain.

SEN. MCCAIN: I believe the people of South Carolina made a very wise decision when they rejected video poker in their state. It was very harmful -- (applause) -- it was very harmful and very addictive.

The problem with these lotteries is that the poor people are the ones who buy the lottery tickets, and it is a very regressive tax. But I would leave the decision up to the people of South Carolina --

MR. STANTON: Thank you.

SEN. MCCAIN: -- and I will respect and admire their decision.

MR. STANTON: Thank you. Also tonight we're going to be taking questions from our audience. And we will begin with a Greenville County farmer, Grady Jones. Mr. Jones?

Q I'll address my question to all of you gentlemen. I am a farmer. Most farmers would rather get adequate pay at the marketplace instead of receiving government subsidies to tide them over. Farmers now get paid in most cases less than they got 25 years ago. During this time their production costs have at least quadrupled. What will you do as president to help farmers get sufficient pay for their work?

MR. STANTON: Governor Bush?

GOV. BUSH: I would be a free-trading president, a president that will work tirelessly to open up markets for agricultural products all over the world. I believe our American farmers, whether they be the South Carolinian farmer or the Iowan farmer or the Texas rancher, can compete so long as the playing field is level. That's why I am such a strong advocate of free trade, and that's why I reject protectionism and isolationism, because I think it hurts our American farmers. (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: Mr. Forbes.

MR. FORBES: Clearly -- clearly the Clinton-Gore administration has made a hash of farm policies as they have everything else. There are several things that have to be done. One is to open up foreign markets -- bust them open -- they've talked about it, they haven't done it. Number two, stop hurting our existing customers overseas for our farm products and other products, by having the International Monetary Fund and Treasury Department wreck economies by giving them high taxes and trashing their money. We also must get the Federal Reserve on a steady monetary policy instead of raising interest rates, which damages, several damages commodity prices -- it happened 15 years ago. We must also enforce antitrust laws, integration in the farm sector, in the food sector. All of these things and others I think would help revive the farmers in America. (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: Thank you, sir. Senator Hatch.

SEN. HATCH: I am a strong proponent of Freedom to Farm, but with a safety net. We have to make a transition there -- have to support the \$8.7 billion emergency farm bill. We have the Hatch-Daschle bill that would allow state-inspected meats to be sold throughout the country like foreign meats can be sold. We spent nine percent of our income on food, the lowest in the

world.

We spend -- or should I say 90 days to pay on food -- nine percent. It takes 129 days to pay for our taxes. Think about it: it's a lot more than our food.

I think we have got to do everything we can about vertical and horizontal integration in the antitrust field, and of course I'd do everything to push foreign markets all over the world as president.

MR. STANTON: Ambassador Keyes?

MR. KEYES: I think it's very critical, first of all, that we recognize that we have to give our farmers access to the kind of capital that they need in order to deal with the challenges that they face in their marketplace, a banking system that is not sensitive to the needs of agriculture is what is destroying the family farm, and we need to change that.

But I would have to disagree with Governor Bush. If you want access to markets abroad, then don't practice this phony free-trade approach. We need to get out of this collective business of bargaining and sit down and make these countries understand if they want access to our markets, they are going to have to give us in exchange something that is of equal value. And the collectivist approach we have been taking hasn't produced that result. (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: Senator McCain.

SEN. MCCAIN: The American farmer is the most productive and efficient farmer in the world. He or she can compete anywhere in the world as long as we open the markets to those products. Isolationism and protectionism doesn't work. We should not subsidize ethanol or sugar or any other crop, because then that hurts the American consumer. But I will lower the barriers to United States products coming in the United States in return for any nation that will lower their barriers to United States products, particularly our magnificent and wonderful agricultural products. I am proud of the American farmer. Our trade with Canada has increased, our trade with Mexico has increased, and our farmers have benefited from it. And I believe that one of our jobs is to protect the family farmer in America. And this is the best way to do it. (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: Mr. Bauer?

MR. BAUER: I will enforce the antitrust laws of this country. If we ever wake up and our food supply is controlled by a handful of companies and the family farm is dead, we will regret that for the rest of our history.

Free trade is fine, but we don't have free trade. For 10 years in a row we have given China most-favored-nation status, and in exchange they have stuck their finger in our eye. They buy less of our farm products now than they did in the past. Governor Bush and many others up here would give China most-favored-nation status again. I will not. I will withdraw it the first week in office. (Applause. Cheers.)

MR. STANTON: Mr. Bauer, thank you.

MR. WILLIAMS: Mr. Bauer, thank you. Now Senator Hatch has a question for Ambassador Keyes.

SEN. HATCH: Ambassador Keyes, what is missing from these debates, it seems to me, is a very substantive discussion of what really America needs: What are we going to do to -- we have been discussing a limited handful of issues through these various debates, and we better begin talking about the problems that are troubling Americans: safety of our homes, our families, our schools, our country. And I would like to know what you think we ought to be doing in this area.

MR. KEYES: Well, I thank you for the question, Senator Hatch. I think that is quite clear. And I said it over and over again everywhere I go. I believe especially as Republicans we better face the fact we don't have a major economic crisis, we don't have a major international crisis. We have a moral crisis that is claiming the lives of our children -- in the schools and in the streets --

(applause) -- and in the neighborhoods. And we must address that crisis as a matter of top priority. And I don't care who doesn't want to hear it. That means that the number one issue facing this country is the issue that takes us away from the principle that God gave us our rights, and those rights have to be exercised with respect for him. That issue is abortion, and we better address it forthrightly, up front, or we won't deserve to win. (Applause. Cheers.)

MR. STANTON: Thank you, ambassador. We're taking another email now -- a Columbia minister, the Reverend Eric Skidmore, sent us this: "What percentage of your annual income do you share with charitable causes? And how does your household decide how much you will share with those in need each year?" And a viewer called and asked, "Would you be willing to release your income tax returns for the past five years to show us how much?" And we begin with Mr. Forbes. (Laughter.)

MR. FORBES: Well, I just released tax information a few days ago, releasing my income taxes paid and contributions made to charity. I believe it's about 7 to 8 percent of the income goes to charity each year, and I'm proud of it and I hope to do more in the future. So I have released the information.

I think one of the great strengths of America today is the willingness of the American people to give. No other nation does it the way we do, and that's why I want to get rid of this corrupt tax code, allow the American people to genuinely keep more of what they earn. And that way, when they have more, they give more. With my tax plan, they'll have more and there'll be more charitable giving. (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: Senator Hatch.

SEN. HATCH: The answer is yes. And I have to say that Elaine and I try to -- as I said before, I can't even lift Steve's wallet. But the fact of the matter is, Elaine and I give about 11 percent of our gross income to charity, and we're going to continue to do that because we think it's the right thing to do in this country. And as far as I'm concerned, we don't have anything to hide, if people want to see what we make, to understand how really poor we are. (Laughter.)

MR. STANTON: Ambassador Keyes.

MR. KEYES: The answer to the question -- I really don't know what percentage we give. Two things are true, though. I have no problem with folks knowing how little, in point of fact, I make in the way of income. I do have a problem, though, with the whole assumption we have in this society, based on our income tax system, that it is, in fact, legitimate to invade the privacy of individuals or anybody else.

I think the income tax system has utterly corrupted our sense of liberty, and that's why I think it ought to be abolished. (Applause.) And such returns should not have to be given or exposed to anybody -- not mine, not yours, not anyone's. But I believe, in addition to that, that the whole business of the tax deduction corrupts the spirit of charity. And that's also why we need to get rid of the income tax so we will really give freely, not out of any selfish interest. (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: Senator McCain.

SEN. MCCAIN: Several years ago, Congress enacted a pay raise, and my constituents didn't think we needed it. I don't know if that was a personal view or of Congress in general. Ever since then, I've been giving my pay raises to charity, and I think that comes out to around \$30,000. \$30,000 or \$40,000. Cindy also and I have a very large charitable trust.

But, you know, I'm not here to hype my book, "Faith of My Fathers," \$24.95, Random House; been on the best-seller list for four months. I'm not here to hype

that at all, because I wouldn't even mention it except it had the most remote connection, and that is that I got \$500,000 advance from Random House. I gave my half of that, which I shared with my co-author, to charity. And I continue to give those proceeds to charity. (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: Mr. Bauer.

MR. BAUER: I just -- before I answer the question, I'd like to get a pledge from you that if you're involved in a Democratic debate, to be sure to ask Al Gore this question. (Laughter/applause.)

MR. STANTON: Mr. Bauer, I can assure you, if we're involved in the Democratic debate, we will ask the vice president that question.

MR. BAUER: My background is Southern Baptist. My wife and I are in a non-denominational church right now. We take very seriously the biblical call to tithe. We give about 10 percent of our income every year. And my flat-tax plan, by the way, continues to allow charitable contributions to be tax-deductible, unlike Mr. Forbes, which I think is a very important thing for us to do.

MR. STANTON: Governor Bush.

GOV. BUSH: I think it's important for people in public life to reveal their income tax returns. I have done so ever since I've been the governor of the state of Texas. Laura and I try to contribute as generously as possible. I'm not sure of the percentage to which we have given to charities. I believe non-itemizers ought to be allowed to deduct charitable giving from their returns.

Let me tell you, the great strength of America and why I'm so optimistic about our country's future is that the great strength of our country lies in the hearts and souls of decent citizens, not in the halls of government. I intend to rally the armies of compassion all across America, should I become the president, to help people in need with people (in heart?). (Applause.)

MR. WILLIAMS: Thank you, Governor Bush. Ambassador Keyes, it is your turn to ask a question of Senator McCain.

MR. KEYES: Senator McCain, yesterday we got into a discussion of the question of homosexuals in the military. And I wasn't quite sure that everyone understood exactly what your position was. I have signed the following pledge: "In the interest of national security and the morale of our armed forces, if elected president of the United States, I pledge to reinstitute the ban on homosexuals serving in our nation's military." (Applause.) Would you join me -- would you join me, sir, in signing that pledge?

SEN. MCCAIN: No, I will not, Alan. And you know very well that when people like General Colin Powell, General Norman Schwarzkopf, and the military leaders that you and I respect say that this policy is a good one -- by the way, it should not be abandoned, as the two leading presidential candidates on the Democratic -- it's a disgraceful statement on the part of Senator Bradley and Vice President Gore to say that they would only appoint a chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who would accept gays in the military. That is a total destruction of the entire concept of the military. And we should, as Americans, reject such a thing because of the harmful effects it will have on the military of the United States of America. No, I will not. I will support the present policy. (Applause.)

MR. WILLIAMS: And so we continue, well, I think with a few exceptions perhaps, from Columbia, South Carolina tonight. We're going to take a break. Our coverage of our debate this evening, part of Decision 2000, will continue right after this.

(Announcements.)

MR. WILLIAMS: And welcome back. On behalf of NBC News, MSNBC and WIS Television in Columbia, South Carolina, this is our live coverage of this evening's debate among the six presidential candidates for the GOP nomination for president. We are back. David Stanton will continue the questioning.

MR. STANTON: And the next question is a question from Mr. Bauer to ask of Governor Bush.

MR. BAUER: Yes. Thank you very much. Governor Bush, this is the fourth time in a row that I've drawn your name to ask the first question to. I think the odds are 10,000 to one. I think I'm going to keep drawing your name until you actually answer the question. (Laughter.)

GOV. BUSH: Starting off with an incredible cheap shot.

MR. BAUER: Governor, just a few weeks ago, we transferred the Panama Canal back to Panama. Bill Clinton sent Jimmy Carter there to do it. I believe our national security is at stake in Panama. We've got a growing Chinese influence there. They've got the land on both ends of the canal. If I'm president, I'm going to look at how I can reassert American military forces there. Are you willing to take the steps necessary, including putting our military back in Panama, in order to stop the Chinese from taking over influence there?

GOV. BUSH: Here's what I'm willing to do.

MR. BAUER: Okay.

GOV. BUSH: First, I ran for the United States Congress in 1978 in West Texas, came in second place in a two-man race. (Laughter.) But during the course of the campaign, I opposed the Panama Canal Treaty. (Scattered applause.) Now, our country has signed a treaty. I believe we ought to honor the treaty. But when I'm the president, if I find in any way, shape or form the canal is closed to world interests, I will do whatever it takes to keep the canal open. It is in our national strategic interest to have a peaceful hemisphere. It is in our national strategic interest to have a hemisphere in which trade can flow freely. And I will liberate the canal if I have to.

MR. BAUER: Do you see a threat from China in the canal, sir?

GOV. BUSH: Well, we'll just wait and see. We'll wait and see.

MR. WILLIAMS: Gentlemen, thank you. Again, this question will be for all of you. And we are also joined tonight by reporter Stephanie Trotter of our NBC television station in Greenville, South Carolina, WYFF.

MS. TROTTER: Thank you, Brian. Gentlemen, I'm curious. As an adult, what is the biggest mistake that you've made, and what lesson did you learn from it?

SEN. HATCH: Say it again. Have her say it again.

MS. TROTTER: One more time, so everybody can hear. Our viewers are curious. On a personal note, what is the biggest mistake you made as an adult, and what lesson did you learn from it?

GOV. BUSH: Would you like me to start?

MR. WILLIAMS: No, we're going to begin with Senator Hatch.

SEN. HATCH: I don't know what the question is. I couldn't quite understand it.

MR. WILLIAMS: The question is -- if we could have Stephanie Trotter repeat the question one more time on the microphone.

MS. TROTTER: Our viewers would like to know, what is the biggest mistake you made as an adult, and what lesson did you learn from it?

SEN. HATCH: Well, I've made so many of them in my life that I'm not sure I can pick any one of them. (Applause.) I mean, let's just face it. I've made a lot of mistakes. I think one of the mistakes in this campaign was filing on July 1st, so late. But don't worry; don't count me out.

MR. WILLIAMS: Ambassador Keyes, same question.

MR. KEYES: In hearing that question, I think about the biggest mistake I might make as an adult would be to treat that as if it's a question that is appropriate to be asked. (Cheers/applause.) MS. TROTTER: (Inaudible.)

MR. KEYES: And I say that quite frankly. I think that we have to understand that there ought to be in our public life a certain decorum, a certain dignity. There are things that I'll tell my priest in the confessional that I will not tell you or any other American. (Cheers.)

MR. WILLIAMS: Thank you, Mr. Ambassador.

MR. KEYES: But I'll say this. I'll say this. In terms of what I deeply believe to be relevant for the purposes of running for president and the job that I would have to do for the American people and so forth and so on, I think that maybe the biggest mistake I have made in my public life, before I got involved in this presidential race, was not to have spoken out on the issue of the life of the unborn before I did.

MR. WILLIAMS: Mr. Ambassador --

MR. KEYES: I spent all those years working on foreign policy and did not pay enough attention to the fact --

MR. WILLIAMS: Mr. Ambassador, thank you --

MR. KEYES: -- that there were those not championing this issue.

MR. WILLIAMS: Thank you for your answer.

MR. KEYES: And I'm glad I finally came forward on it.

MR. WILLIAMS: Mr. Ambassador, thank you for your answer. (Applause.)
Senator McCain.

SEN. MCCAIN: Well, for a long time, I thought the biggest mistake I made in my life might have been when I was sitting in the ready room of an aircraft carrier in the Philippines and a guy came on board and said, "We're looking for volunteers to switch over to another carrier." (Laughter.) Something happened to my arm.

But in reality, the biggest mistake that I made in my life was attending a meeting with four other senators and four regulators because of the appearance of impropriety. It's something that will always be a mark on my record and something that people will judge me for for the rest of my life.

MR. WILLIAMS: Senator McCain, thank you. (Applause.) Mr. Bauer.

MR. BAUER: Well, I just want to point out to you, ma'am, that if you asked the president of the United States that question, it would be an essay answer. (Cheers.) I'm not going to tell you the greatest personal mistake I've ever made, because it is personal, but I'll tell you the biggest political mistake I ever made.

I made a presentation to the president of the United States, Ronald Reagan, in the Cabinet Room, and I made the mistake of citing to him a poll. And his face turned blood-red and he pointed his finger at me and he said, "Gary, don't cite polls. Tell me the best thing to do for America." I've never forgotten those words, and those words will carry us back into the White House. (Applause.)

MR. WILLIAMS: Mr. Bauer, thank you. Governor Bush.

GOV. BUSH: Well, as you know, I've had a perfect background. (Applause.)

MR. WILLIAMS: Haven't we all, sir?

GOV. BUSH: After all, I was raised by Barbara Bush. (Laughter/applause.) As you may remember, I was in the business world at one time. I was the managing partner, managing general partner of the mighty Texas Rangers. I signed off on that wonderful transaction -- Sammy Sosa for Harold Baines. (Laughter.)

MR. WILLIAMS: Thank you, Governor. Mr. Forbes.

MR. FORBES: Well, like my colleagues here tonight, I've made my share of

personal mistakes. And fortunately, none of us here tonight, put together, will match what has been done in the White House in the last seven and a half years.

(Cheers/applause.)

But on a professional basis, when I was young and inexperienced, I wrote some magazine columns in which, when I was in my 20s, I saw merit in things like raising the gasoline tax, raising the age for Social Security retirees, and things like that. But I've learned and grown. That's why I have the positions I have today. And I hope the rest of my colleagues in the Republican Party will have the same growth. (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: Thank you, Mr. Forbes. And now we're going to pair the candidates off to discuss particular issues. We begin with Ambassador Keyes and Mr. Forbes. And the issue is negative advertising. Are you concerned that if you have negative advertising towards each other in the Republican primaries that that will hurt the eventual nominee in the general election? Ambassador Keyes.

MR. KEYES: Well, two things. First of all, I myself don't believe in any form of kind of negative campaigning. I think that it's important, however, that we be honest and forthright about our differences on the issues. That is not negative campaigning. That's our obligation to the people of this country. And so if I disagree with Senator McCain or Governor Bush or Mr. Forbes or Gary Bauer or Senator Hatch on an important issue and point that out in an ad or anywhere else, that's not negative campaigning. It's an effort to illustrate the choice before the people.

But if we turn it into a contest of personalities and snide remarks and efforts to make the American people think that there's something wrong at a personal level with others in the race, I think that shows a lack of respect for each other and for the process, and we shouldn't so degrade it. (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: Mr. Forbes.

MR. FORBES: Mine has always been a campaign of issues and ideas. I believe that the American people want an honest, open and vigorous debate about issues. One of the issues, for example, is taxation. I want to get rid of this tax code. A couple of my opponents do not. I think we need a vigorous and open debate on that in detail. If you make a tax pledge, I believe you should keep it. I want that kind of honest and vigorous debate.

And I think Alan is exactly right. We don't want to get into personalities. We do want to get into principle and substance. That is what we had in the Lincoln-Douglas debates. That is what we had with the debate about the ratification of our Constitution. And I think today, as we go in the new century, these kind of issues -- health care, education, Social Security, taxes, the life issue --

MR. STANTON: Time's up.

MR. FORBES: -- we do need an honest, open and vigorous debate.

MR. STANTON: Thank you, sir.

MR. WILLIAMS: Mr. Forbes, thank you. (Applause.) Our next pairing of sorts will be Senator McCain and Governor Bush. And gentlemen, starting with the senator, the subject again is taxes.

SEN. MCCAIN: Well, Governor, I know your people are running around saying that your tax cut is bigger than mine, that yours is bigger than mine. (Laughter.) I think the phrase they use is the tax gap between Bush and McCain. I'm more concerned about the surplus gap. It's fiscally irresponsible to promise a huge tax cut that is based on a surplus that we may not have.

My tax plan is fiscally conservative. It's about the same as yours for middle-income and lower-income Americans. It places a top priority on saving Social Security. It offers a needed tax break for middle-income people. And it begins paying down the national debt. My friends, we ought to pay down the

national debt. (Applause.) George, the American people are tired of people who make promises, who make promises about tax cuts that they can't keep.

MR. WILLIAMS: Senator, thank you. Governor?

GOV. BUSH: The senator and I have a fundamental disagreement. Let me see if I can put it in human terms for you. Chris and Beth Bradley came to the airport today. They make \$42,000 a year in income. Under the plan that you laid out, Mr. Senator, here in South Carolina, they will receive a \$200 tax cut. Under the plan that I have proposed and will get through the United States Congress, they'd receive a \$1,852 tax cut. (Applause.)

I believe -- and the fundamental difference, the fundamental difference is that the additional \$1,600, the difference will go to Washington under your idea. And under my idea, it goes in the people's pockets. (Applause.) There is enough money -- there is enough money to take care of Social Security. There is enough money to meet the basic needs of our government. And there is enough money to give the American people a substantial tax cut, and that's exactly what I'm going to do.

MR. STANTON: Thank you, Governor Bush. (Applause.) And the next pairing is Mr. Bauer and Senator Hatch. The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, which includes South Carolina, has issued a ruling on the Miranda warning. That's the warning that police give to suspects. They've said that if police fail to give that warning, then the evidence that is gathered is not necessarily excluded. The U.S. Supreme Court is considering that. Do you think the Miranda warnings have a place in our criminal justice system?

MR. BAUER: You know, I think what we've done for over 30 years with unelected liberal judges is favor the criminal over the victim. (Applause.) Now, we all want to observe the Constitution and to follow its provisions. But when the penalty for a policeman's mistake is to put a criminal back out on the street then we are hurting America, we are hurting our law-abiding citizens.

When I am president of the United States, my judges will be traditional conservative judges. They will favor the citizen, not the criminal, they will be pro-life, they will stop remaking America in the image of American liberalism and start remaking it in the image of American conservatism. (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: Senator Hatch.

SEN. HATCH: I agree with everything that Gary said, but this involves a Congressional enactment after Miranda was upheld by the Supreme Court. The Congressional enactment is in Section 3501 that basically says that if a person commits a crime and they voluntarily confess, that confession is admissible into a court of law. That's right. That's the way it should be.

But this makes it a bigger point. I have said the most important single issue in this campaign is after Clinton will have appointed 50 percent of the federal judiciary and two Supreme Court justices, one of us is going to appoint the other 50 percent and up to five Supreme Court justices. And I can tell you if we don't do it right, and if we don't know what we're doing, we're going to see the death penalty go, we're going to see preferences throughout this country in quotas. We're going to see all kinds of changes that you can't believe, like losing the Second Amendment right to keep and bear arms. And I could go on and on.

MR. WILLIAMS: Senator --

SEN. HATCH: And this is an important issue, and it's one of the most important issues in the whole goldarn campaign.

MR. WILLIAMS: Senator Hatch, thank you. (Applause.) Now we -- we go back now to the format of one candidate asking a question of the other now. Governor Bush with a question for Senator Hatch.

GOV. BUSH: Senator Hatch, as you know, my good friend John McCain and I, have a dispute over campaign funding laws. (Voice: You're not alone.) I believe the McCain-Feingold bill will hurt the Republican Party and hurt conservative causes.

I want you to answer to me -- you've been involved in this debate on the floor of the Senate -- would you please explain to me and the folks of South Carolina why so many Republican Senators rejected the McCain-Feingold campaign funding reform bill?

SEN. HATCH: Why should I or any other Republican be for a bill that is unconstitutional, that leaves all the First Amendment rights for the public interest groups to speak and do whatever they want to and to raise any kind of monies they want to, and takes away those First Amendment rights from the two political parties? That's ridiculous. (Applause.) I've got to tell you, we can't do that.

Have you ever -- have you ever wondered why all of the Democrats love McCain-Feingold and hardly any Republicans do? Well, think it through: Because it would hurt the Republican Party. You're looking the guy that as a brand-new freshman Senator, fought through labor law reform that protected all of the South from being -- having forced unionization on it.

And I can tell you this: John is starting to sound like the accordion player who only knows one tune, "Lady of Spain."

MR. WILLIAMS: Senator, on that note -- (applause and laughter.)

SEN. HATCH: That was a little tough, I've got to admit.

MR. WILLIAMS: We give you credit for mixing in foreign policy tonight.

SEN. MCCAIN: Can I respond to that?

MR. WILLIAMS: Could we give Senator McCain 30 seconds to respond -- get a response from Senator McCain?

SEN. MCCAIN: You know, George, I've always thought that what's best for the country is best for the party. The real scandal in Washington, along with Monica Lewinsky, was the debasement of every institution of government. You are defending an illegal system. You are defending a system that has caused the debasement of every institution of government, and it's got to be stopped. Al Gore said there's no controlling legal authority. Well, I'll give him a controlling legal authority. With John McCain as president, there will be a controlling legal authority. It is now legal in the United States of America for a Chinese Army-owned corporation to give unlimited amounts of money to an American political campaign -- we're awash in it.

You've got a supporter right now that's running attack ads on me --

MR. WILLIAMS: Thank you, Senator.

SEN. MCCAIN: And by the way, I wish you'd change the picture. And these attack ads are being (funded ?) by people that he won't even disclose.

MR. WILLIAMS: Senator, a few seconds. Gentlemen, we've got to move on, and the next question is from Senator McCain for Mr. Forbes.

SEN. MCCAIN: It's interesting in the last debate and through most of this one, there has been no discussion of foreign policy, Steve. I think it's still important. I think the state of our military is still important. I think the fact that we have a president of the United States, a National Security Adviser, a Secretary of State and a Secretary of Defense, none of whom have ever spent one minute wearing the uniform of the United States of America's military is a disgrace. And we're going to change it. (Applause.)

I want to -- I want to talk to you about Russia. You're concerned about Russia, I'm concerned about Russia. We're concerned about Chechnya and we're concerned about the Caucasus and Georgia, and the oil and gas reserves that are there, and I'm particularly interested in your views of Mr. Putin and what we can expect, and how you would handle our relations with Russia at this

particular moment.

MR. FORBES: Thank you, Senator. I think that our relations with Russia today are another prime example of the lack of a foreign policy of the Clinton-Gore administration. The way they're applauding this coup that just took place where the thieving oligarchs of the Kremlin told Yeltsin "Get out, and we'll let you keep your illegal gains, and let your family keep their illegal gains, and this way we can move the election up, have the war fever from Chechnya."

The war in Chechnya is simply an election ploy. It's also, I fear, part of the first step of the old Russian nationalists of reestablishing the old Soviet Empire. Chechnya today, perhaps Georgia tomorrow, Armenia after that. So it's a disaster, and Clinton and Gore have been negligent in not denouncing what's happening in Chechnya.

MR. STANTON: Thank you, Mr. Forbes.

MR. FORBES: Green light. (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: And our final audience question tonight comes from the mayor of Arcadia Lakes about 10 miles from here, Joan Brady.

MS. BRADY: First let me offer some Southern hospitality and welcome you gentlemen to the state of South Carolina. My question deals with Internet taxation. Many small-town merchants and big-city downtown businessmen are very concerned with the increasing amount of consumer purchases that are being non-taxed over the Internet.

My question: Does this pose unfair competition for our local merchants? And also are municipalities and states missing out on a possible revenue resource?

MR. STANTON: Gentlemen, you have 30 seconds each, because we're short on time, and we'll begin with Governor Bush.

GOV. BUSH: I think it's too early to know what the effects are. That's why I support the moratorium on Internet taxation. And I'll support it for another three to five years, until we know. We've had people on this stage say that e-commerce is going to help mom and pop businesses on the town squares all across America. They may be right. John, you may be right. I don't know and neither do you, and so therefore I think it makes sense --

SEN. MCCAIN: I do.

GOV. BUSH: -- to extend the moratorium.

MR. STANTON: Mr. Forbes.

MR. FORBES: I believe the moratorium should be made permanent, because the Internet -- (scattered applause) -- the Internet is allowing the growth of commerce in America. It's stimulating commerce. It also means more jobs, people delivering products, it stimulates the sales. And that's why we should not be raising sales taxes, as my good colleague here tried to do in Texas, and we should be reducing the level of taxation, not raising it.

"Tax" should not be part of the vocabulary of the Republican Party. (Applause.)

MR. STANTON: Time's up. Senator Hatch.

SEN. HATCH: We are living at a miracle moment in time. This is the new millennium, and this is one of the greatest industries in the world. We lead the world in it. We don't know where it's going to go. I know that most women, like my wife Elaine, like to go and walk through the stores and touch the things that they buy. So I'm not afraid of that.

And I think we ought to keep taxes out of the Internet. And if there comes a time when they have to be in there because of fairness, that's another matter. But right now, I'm totally against having any taxation of the Internet.

MR. STANTON: Ambassador Keyes.

MR. KEYES: Well, I think it's important while it's a fledgling area to continue the moratorium on taxation. I think it would be a mistake to make that

moratorium permanent. Two things.

First, no tax on access to the Internet. Participation is the lifeblood of the Internet. But I don't see any reason to assume that Internet businesses aren't going to become robust enough to bear the same level of support for the community that other businesses bear and since we ought to abolish the income tax and move to a national sales tax, I would not want to exclude that area of commerce from national taxation under a sales tax when we have abolished the income tax.

MR. STANTON: Senator McCain. (Applause.)

SEN. MCCAIN: If we had had Internet taxation over the holiday, American citizens would have paid an additional \$600 million in taxes. This Internet tax moratorium should be made permanent, it should be made permanent today. The American people are taking advantage of a wonderful new opportunity with this technology. We should do everything we can to encourage it.

There was a recent study that showed if we put in this sales tax, that we would have impacted the Internet by as much as 24 percent. The American people deserve to have this tax moratorium made permanent. And anybody who is opposed to it is obviously in support of a massive tax increase.

MR. STANTON: Time's up, sir. Mr. Bauer.

MR. BAUER: Yes, I support keeping the Internet tax-free. But I am not going to be cavalier about what small mom and pop operations on Main Street are facing. They already get the short end of the stick. They're overtaxed, they're overregulated. So while I'll keep the Internet tax-free, as president I will fight to lower taxes on those small mom and pop stores, all over the country. If Main Street dies in America, a part of America will die that we need to keep.

MR. WILLIAMS: That concludes the question-and-answer -- (applause) -- thank you, Mr. Bauer. That concludes the question-and-answer format for this debate. It is now time for our closing statements. Each candidate will have 45 seconds. We're going to begin this evening with Mr. Forbes.

MR. FORBES: Well, thank you all very much for having this debate tonight. I'm a conservative Republican. I put forth a bold agenda. It reflects those conservative principles. The lobbyists in Washington have no hooks in me. The kingmakers, the political deal-makers -- they have no hooks in me.

I can do what is right for the American people. And that's why I proposed getting rid of this federal income tax, giving you a genuine tax cut, a massive tax cut for the American people, allowing you to choose your own doctors, allowing you to choose your own schools, allowing you to be in charge of Social Security rather than the Washington politicians and rebuilding our military.

I ask for your support. Together we can do great things for America.

MR. WILLIAMS: Mr. Forbes, thank you. (Applause.) Mr. Forbes, thank you. Senator Hatch.

SEN. HATCH: We are dealing with the current administration, which is perhaps the most deceitful and the most corrupt in history. And frankly, we've got to do something about it and that's why all of us are running in part.

We've got to restore to the White House somebody who has an impeccable example to set for our children, who is willing to go to the movie industry and the music industry and the videogame industry and other industries and say it's time to get together and get rid of the pornography and the obscenity, and all of the swear words and all of the other things that are wrecking our lives of our children.

And I think that's something that any one of us here can bring to the presidency of the United States. If I didn't think I could do a better job, I wouldn't be running, so I'm asking for your support.

MR. WILLIAMS: Senator Hatch, thank you. (Applause.) Ambassador Keyes.

MR. KEYES: I thought I'd ask the question: Where have all the conservatives gone? We have folks standing up here who follow Clinton's policies on free trade, follow his policies on Social Security follow his policies in other areas, and still want us to believe that they're conservatives who want to adopt an approach to campaign finance reform that violates our fundamental rights as citizens.

I think it's time we got back to real conservatism: control of our money, control of our schools, control of our country, control of ourselves based on a restored sense of moral principle that puts the God who gave us our rights back in this position of authority. I think it's time to renew our allegiance to those principles and strengthen our march into the next century.

MR. WILLIAMS: Ambassador Keyes, thank you. (Applause.) Senator McCain.

SEN. MCCAIN: I want to thank all of you for being here tonight. I'm a proud conservative Republican with a 17-year conservative record. I want to return the government to the people. I want to reform the institutions of government, education and the military, the tax code. I want to get the influence of the big money and the trial lawyers and the labor unions out of our business and give the government back to you. And once we do that, then I will be able to inspire a generation of Americans to causes greater than their self-interest. Please join me in this great crusade. (Applause.)

MR. WILLIAMS: Senator McCain, thank you. And Mr. Bauer.

MR. BAUER: I worked for Ronald Reagan for eight years. I was his Undersecretary of Education and his Domestic Policy Advisor at the White House. My biggest concern is that our party might forget what he taught us about how to be the governing party of the United States.

We have to offer a clear, bold alternative. I will do that. My judges will be pro-life. I will get rid of the education bureaucracy and give vouchers and tuition tax credits to parents. I will make sure that taxes are lower. I will follow a Reagan policy toward China. And to every veteran here tonight and watching on TV, in one year, if I'm elected, you will have a commander-in-chief you can respect again.

MR. STANTON: Mr. Bauer, thank you. (Applause.) Governor Bush.

GOV. BUSH: I'm looking forward to taking my campaign to the people of South Carolina and I'm asking for your vote. I appreciate Senator Strom Thurmond's strong support. I appreciate the Lieutenant-Governor, the Attorney General, the Speaker's strong support. I appreciate former Governors Beasley and Campbell's strong support.

I'm going to remind the people of South Carolina I'm the one person on this stage who has ever been elected to an executive position. I've been the governor of the state of Texas. I have cut taxes, I have reformed welfare, and I have insisted upon educational excellence for every child. I'll cut the taxes. I'll strengthen the military. I will bring a conservative agenda that is compassionate for all Americans --

MR. STANTON: Governor Bush -- GOV. BUSH: -- should I become the president.

MR. WILLIAMS: Thank you, Governor Bush. (Applause.) Thank you all for attending this debate with us. And that is our time for tonight. On behalf of NBC News, MSNBC and WIS television in Columbia, South Carolina, I'm Brian Williams for David Stanton and all the folks gathered here tonight in Columbia, South Carolina. Good night, everybody. (Applause.)

END

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JANUARY 7, 2000

SPEAKERS: GARY BAUER, REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

GOVERNOR GEORGE W. BUSH (R-TX), REPUBLICAN
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

STEVE FORBES, REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

U.S. SENATOR ORRIN HATCH (R-UT), REPUBLICAN
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

FORMER AMBASSADOR ALAN KEYES, REPUBLICAN
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

U.S. SENATOR JOHN MCCAIN (R-AZ), REPUBLICAN
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

BRIAN WILLIAMS, MSNBC

DAVE STANTON, WIS-TV

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WILLIAMS: Good evening and welcome, on behalf of NBC News, MSNBC and
WIS-TV
in Columbia, South Carolina. A big night in a big state, considered
politically
the gateway to the American South for its presidential primary February
19.

STANTON: Next month, South Carolinians will decide who they want to be
the
Republican nominee. And since 1980, the very first Republican primary
here in
South Carolina, won by Ronald Reagan, no Republican has won his party's
nomination without first winning here in South Carolina.

WILLIAMS: Tonight we are going to hear from all six men vying for the
GOP
nomination for president. Let's meet each one of them now.

Alan Keyes, former assistant secretary of state and ambassador under
Ronald
Reagan.

U.S. Senator...

(APPLAUSE)

U.S. Senator John McCain from the state of Arizona.

(APPLAUSE)

Former Reagan administration official Gary Bauer.

(APPLAUSE)

The governor of the state of Texas, George W. Bush.

(APPLAUSE)

Steve Forbes of the magazine of the same name.

(APPLAUSE)

And from the state of Utah, U.S. Senator Orrin Hatch.

(APPLAUSE)

STANTON: We had drawings to determine the order of the questions and each candidate will have 45 seconds to answer most questions. And we begin with a question for each candidate, beginning with Ambassador Keyes.

Ambassador Keyes, last night you asked where all the conservatives have gone. If you had a choice between eight more years of a Democratic president or eight years of a pro-choice Republican, which would you choose?

KEYES: Well, frankly, I don't think that has to be our choice, unless we make a terrible error in the Republican Party. I think we have to choose to stand forthrightly for the pro-life position. And if we do not, the party doesn't stand a chance of winning a victory in November. It will not happen.

(APPLAUSE)

This party was born of principle. This party will die if it does not adhere to its declaration principles. And I think that's very clear. I have said it. I know most of the people in this room and throughout the Republican Party in the country understand that.

So your hypothetical is of no matter to me. We will not face that alternative.

WILLIAMS: Ambassador, Ambassador Keyes, thank you. Next question to Senator McCain.

Senator, I'm reading from the Associated Press a few minutes ago this evening. And I read, it quotes, "two weeks after Ameritech's chairman held a fund-raiser for him, Senator John McCain sent a stinging letter to federal regulators accusing them of being unfair toward the phone company."

Senator, your letter went on to say that the letter was not meant to benefit any one single person.

And you have said in your own defense that this is part of what is wrong with Washington. However, do you understand now the appearance here and can you tell us here tonight is there anything else about the transportation you use, about the letters you have written, anything else that you know of that is about to come out?

MCCAIN: I have, first of all, no idea. But the fact is that again my job as chairman of the Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation is the oversight of bureaucracies that are supposed to be serving the people. The Federal Communications Commission has not been doing that. But all the

times

when I have weighed in I have asked them to do their duty and to expedite the procedures as they're laid out under the law and according to existing regulations.

I will continue to do that job, and when a constituent, a person of mine who has trouble -- or a citizen of this country who can't get a reaction or an answer from a bureaucracy that's paid for with their tax dollars, I believe that people like me should weigh in, particularly when it is my responsibility as chairman of the committee. I fully understand...

STANTON: Times up, Senator. Thank you, sir.

MCCAIN: Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

STANTON: Ladies and gentlemen, again we would ask that you would hold your applause until the end of the debate so we will have more time for the questions with the candidates.

WILLIAMS: Mr. Bauer, if someone in your family was raped and became pregnant and wanted an abortion, and after discussion with you they were adamant in their decision to have an abortion, would you support that decision or would you try to prevent it?

BAUER: This is a very basic question. If my daughter or somebody that I loved was raped, that would be the most horrible thing I could possibly imagine, but I would comfort her. I would pray with her. I would explain to her that she couldn't make right the terrible thing that had happened to her by taking the life of her innocent, unborn child.

(APPLAUSE)

But the most important thing, sir, is not what I would do under those circumstances, but what I would do as president and as president, I would throw rapists in jail for a long time so America's women wouldn't have to worry about it.

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMS: Thank you, sir.

Governor Bush -- Governor Bush, a few blocks from here on top of the state capital building, the Confederate flag flies with the state flag and the U.S. flag. It is, as you can hear from the reaction of tonight's...

(AUDIENCE BOOING)

It is, as you can hear from the reaction of tonight's crowd of 3,000 people from South Carolina, a hot-button issue here. The question is, does the flag offend you personally?

BUSH: The answer to your question is and what you're trying to get me to do is to express the will of the people of the South Carolina is what you're trying to get on...

WILLIAMS: No, I'm asking you about your personal feelings.

(APPLAUSE)

BUSH: Brian, I believe the people of South Carolina can figure out what to do with this flag issue. It's the people of South Carolina's decision.

(APPLAUSE)

If I may, I don't believe it's the role of someone from outside South Carolina and someone running for president to come into this state and tell the people of South Carolina what to do with their business when it comes to the flag.

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMS: As an American citizen, do you have a visceral reaction to seeing the Confederate flag?

BUSH: As an American citizen, I trust the people of South Carolina to make the decision for South Carolina.

(APPLAUSE)

STANTON: Mr. Forbes has the next question. There are many people on fixed incomes with health problems. And by the time, they say, their medications have been paid for, they don't have money for food or clothing or other necessities. Do you think people like this need some help and from what source should that help come?

FORBES: Clearly, millions of Americans need help on health care. The major reason why is they are not in charge of their health care. HMOs are. Insurers are. Government bureaucracies are. And that's not right. And that's why I proposed with Medicare that people on Medicare have the same kind of choice that members of Congress and those who work for the federal government have, being able to choose from several hundred different health care plans. And if you have a need for prescriptive medicines, you can pick a plan that will provide that need.

FORBES: If you have a need for long-term care, you can do the same thing. I want to give people choice, put health care back in the hands in the people, and I've got specific proposals to do it.

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMS: Tonight -- tonight -- thank you, Mr. Forbes.

Tonight, we're also going to be taking some e-mails. This particular one comes into us from Carla Harvey (ph) of South Carolina: 40, 50, even 60 years ago, when a man entered the military, he did so with commitment. Along with this, he was promised commitment by the government. One of the promises made was medical, for himself and his dependents.

If elected, Senator Hatch, what would you do specifically to reinstitute the lifetime benefits veterans are entitled to by having placed their lives in the hands of the United States government. What attraction would you offer for new enlistees to encourage a stronger and more vital military presence?

HATCH: Well, I'll tell you, the first thing I'd do as president is I would make sure that a third of our military qualified for food stamps start getting paid decently and honorably.

(APPLAUSE)

Twelve thousand of them are on food stamps. It's terrible.

And to make a long story short, we have to live up to our commitments to our military people. One of them was to provide health care for veterans. We have about 26 million veterans in this country. A very small percentage of those actually apply for this type of health care. But we've got to provide for it. It seems to me we've got to make it the best possible health care we can.

(APPLAUSE)

STANTON: We're also going to give the -- we're also going to give the candidates a chance to ask each other questions tonight. And we begin with Mr. Forbes, who has a question for Mr. Bauer.

FORBES: Gary, you've obviously read in the papers about a key official in the Gore campaign, Donna Brazile, who made very racist remarks about General Powell and about Congressman J.C. Watts. I believe, and I think you believe, and I hope we can get our colleagues here tonight together, to ask Al Gore to fire Donna Brazile and apologize to two great Americans, J.C. Watts and General Powell. Will you join me in that?

(APPLAUSE)

BAUER: Steve, Steve, you're absolutely right. And let me just say to the good people in this audience, you have watched for 10 years while the Democratic Party has attempted to smear our party with charges of racism, with charges of not caring about the poor, with all sorts of scare tactics -- that we don't care about the weak and the sick and the handicapped. They do it time and time and time again. And all too often our party, in the face of that, has run for the tall grass.

It is time for us to stand up. We are a party of great principles. Al Gore's campaign manager ought to be ashamed of herself and she ought to resign tonight.

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMS: Mr. Bauer, thank you.

We'd like now to enter a brief phase of short questions and rapid-fire answers. Gentlemen, if you could, answers of one to two seconds in length. We will begin with Senator...

(LAUGHTER)

STANTON: One to two sentences.

WILLIAMS: We will settle for one to two sentences in length, if you must.

Senator McCain, you'll begin. All gentlemen will answer this first question. Has affirmative action made America a better nation?

MCCAIN: Yes, but quotas have made it worse.

WILLIAMS: Gary Bauer?

BAUER: Yes, sir?

WILLIAMS: That was your answer?

BAUER: Oh, you mean the same question?

WILLIAMS: Yes.

BAUER: I would agree. I think that the idea behind affirmative action was legitimate and decent, but when you start counting by race, you divide America, you don't bring it together.

WILLIAMS: Governor Bush.

BUSH: Only if affirmative action means equal opportunity for everybody.

WILLIAMS: Mr. Forbes.

(APPLAUSE)

FORBES: Quotas...

(APPLAUSE)

... quotas and set asides are wrong, and that's why we genuinely need real affirmation of opportunities starting by letting parents choose their own schools for their own children.

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMS: Senator Hatch.

HATCH: When affirmative action means job training outreach and education it's good. When it starts pitting one group against another throw a system of preferences, it's bad. And I've got to tell you quotas are wrong for America, and I agree -- equal opportunity is what we should have for everybody.

WILLIAMS: Ambassador Keyes.

(APPLAUSE)

KEYES: I think it maybe more important to ask whether it's helped the people it was supposed to help. And I think it has actually hurt them by damaging the reputation of many minorities in this country and not giving them credit for their real achievements, and I think that's wrong.

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMS: And another -- we have another short answer question. South Carolinians are going to be voting on a state lottery later this year. A national gambling commission has recommended no further state lotteries, a moratorium on them for the time being. Do you agree with that, Mr. Bauer?

BAUER: Yes, I do agree with it. I not only agree with that, I think the gambling industry is corrupting our culture, corrupting our families and will eventually corrupt politics with the unregulated money.

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMS: Governor Bush, same question.

BUSH: I've got a strong anti-gambling record in my state of Texas, but let me say something. Just like the flag, the people of South Carolina can figure out whether or not they want to have a lottery or not. It's the people of South Carolina's decision to make.

WILLIAMS: Mr. Forbes.

FORBES: When the gambling issue came up in my home state of New Jersey more than 20 years ago, I voted against it every time it came up, so I would urge you not to think that gambling money is going to provide you with a better education.

FORBES: It's a false deal.

(APPLAUSE)

HATCH: Yes, yes, and yes. I have to say that South Carolina has got to determine its own destiny, and I would certainly support that.

STANTON: Ambassador.

KEYES: I think it's very important that we leave these decisions up to the states. But if you solicit my advice I'll tell you this: All governments everywhere -- federal, state, local -- should get out of the business of putting a corrupting, regressive tax on the backs of their people.

(APPLAUSE)

STANTON: Senator McCain.

MCCAIN: I believe the people of South Carolina made a very wise decision when they rejected video poker in this state. It was very harmful.

(APPLAUSE)

It was very harmful and very addictive. The problem with these lotteries is that the poor people are the ones who buy the lottery tickets; and it is a very regressive tax. But I would leave the decision up to the people of South Carolina. And I will respect and admire their decision.

Thank you. Also tonight we're going to be taking questions from our audience. And we'll begin with a Greenville County farmer, Grady Jones (ph).
Mr. Jones?

QUESTION: I'll address my question to all of you gentlemen. I am a farmer.

QUESTION: Most farmers would rather get adequate pay at the marketplace instead of receiving government subsidies to tide them over. Farmers now get paid in most cases less than they got 25 years ago. During this time their production costs have at least quadrupled.

What will you do as president to help farmers get sufficient pay for their work?

WILLIAMS: Governor Bush?

BUSH: I would be a free-trading president, a president that will work tirelessly to open up markets for agricultural products all over the world. I believe our American farmers, whether they be the South Carolinian farmer, or the Iowan farmer or the Texas rancher, can compete so long as the playing field is level.

That's why I am such a strong advocate of free trade and that's why I reject protectionism and isolationism because I think it hurts our American farmers.

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMS: Mr. Forbes.

(APPLAUSE)

FORBES: Clearly...

(APPLAUSE)

... clearly the Clinton-Gore administration has made a hash of farm policy as they have everything else. There are several things that have to be done. One is to open up foreign markets, bust them open. They've talked about it; they haven't done it.

Number two, stop hurting our existing customers overseas for our farm products and other products by having the International Monetary Fund and Treasury Department wreck economies by giving them high taxes and trashing their money.

We also must get the Federal Reserve on a steady monetary policy instead of raising interest rates, which damages -- severely damages -- commodity prices. It happened 15 years ago.

We must also enforce antitrust laws, and integration in the farm sector, in the food sector. All of these things and others I think would help revive the farmers in the America.

(APPLAUSE)

STANTON: Thank you, sir. Senator Hatch.

HATCH: I'm a strong proponent of freedom to farm, but with a safety net. We have to make a transition there, help to support the \$8.7 billion emergency farm bill. We have the Hatch-Daschle bill that would allow state-inspected meats to be sold throughout the country like foreign meats can be sold.

We spend 9 percent of our income on food, the lowest in the world. We spend -- or should I say 90 days to pay on food, 9 percent. It takes 129 days to pay for our taxes. Think about it, a lot more than our food.

I think we've got to do everything we can about vertical and horizontal integration in the antitrust field. And of course, I would do everything to push foreign markets all over the world as president.

STANTON: Ambassador Keyes.

KEYES: I think it is very critical, first of all, that we recognize that we have to give our farmers access to the kind of capital that they need in order to deal with the challenges they face in their marketplace. A banking system that is not sensitive to the needs of agriculture is what is destroying the family farm and we need to change that.

But I would have to disagree with Governor Bush. You want access to markets abroad, then don't practice this phony free trade approach. We need to get out of this collective business of bargaining and sit down and make these countries understand if they want access to our markets, they're going to have to give us in exchange something that is of equal value. And the collectivist approach we've been taking hasn't produced that result.

(APPLAUSE)

STANTON: Senator McCain.

MCCAIN: The American farmer is the most productive and efficient farmer in the world. He or she can compete anywhere in the world as long as we open the markets to those products. Isolationism and protectionism doesn't work. We should not subsidize ethanol or sugar or any other crop because then that hurts the American consumer. But I will lower the barriers to the United States, for products coming into the United States, in return for any nation that will lower their barriers to United States products particularly our magnificent and wonderful agricultural products.

MCCAIN: I am proud of the American farmer. Our trade with Canada has increased, our trade with Mexico has increased, and our farmers have benefited from it. And I believe that one of our jobs is to protect the family farmer in America, and this is the best way to do it.

STANTON: Mr. Bauer.

BAUER: I will...

(APPLAUSE)

I will enforce the antitrust laws of this country. If we ever wake up and our food supply is controlled by a handful of companies and the family farm is dead, we will regret that for the rest of our history.

Free trade is fine, but we don't have free trade. For 10 years in a row we have given China Most Favored Nation status and in exchange they have stuck their finger in our eye. They buy less of our farm products now than they did in the past.

Governor Bush and many others up here would give China Most Favored Nation status again. I will not. I will withdraw it the first week in office.

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMS: Mr. Bauer, thank you. Mr. Bauer, thank you.

Now, Senator Hatch has a question for Ambassador Keyes.

HATCH: Ambassador Keyes, what is missing from these debates, it seems to me, is a very substantive discussion of what really America needs. What are we going to do to -- we've been discussing a limited handful of issues through these various debates and we better begin talking about the problems that are troubling America. The safety of our homes, our families, our schools, our country. And I'd like to know what you think we ought to be doing in this area.

KEYES: Well, I thank you for the question, Senator Hatch. I think that it's quite clear -- and I've said it over and over again everywhere I go -- I believe, especially as Republicans, we better face the fact: We don't have a major economic crisis, we don't have a major international crisis, we have a moral crisis that is claiming the lives of our children in the schools and in the streets and in the neighborhoods.

(APPLAUSE)

KEYES: And we must address that crisis as a matter of top priority. And I

don't care who doesn't want to hear it.

That means that the number one issue facing this country is the issue that takes us away from the principle that God gave us our rights, and those rights have to be exercised with respect for him.

That issue is abortion. And we better address it forthrightly, up front, or we won't deserve to win.

(APPLAUSE)

STANTON: Thank you, Ambassador. We're taking another e-mail now. A Columbia minister, the Rev. Eric Skidmore (ph) sent us this:

"What percentage of your annual income do you share with charitable causes? And how does your household decide how much you will share with those in need each year?"

And a viewer called and asked, "Would you be willing to release your income taxes for the past five years to show us how much?"

And we begin with Mr. Forbes.

(LAUGHTER)

FORBES: Well, I -- I just -- I just released tax information a few days ago -- releasing my income taxes paid and contributions made to charity. I believe it's about seven to eight percent of the income goes to charity each year. And I'm proud of it, and I hope to do more in the future. So I have released the information.

I think one of the great strengths of America today is the willingness of the American people to give. No other nation does it the way we do. And that's why I want to get rid of this corrupt tax code, allow the American people to genuinely keep more of what they earn. And that way, when they have more they give more. With my tax plan, they'll have more and there will be more charitable giving.

(APPLAUSE)

HATCH: The answer's yes, and I have to say that Elaine and I try to -- or, as I said before, I can't even lift Steve's wallet. But the fact of the matter is that Elaine and I give about 11 percent of our gross income to charity. And we're going to continue to do that because we think it's the right thing to do in this country.

And as far as I'm concerned, we don't have anything to hide. If people want to see what we make, they'll understand how really poor we are.

(LAUGHTER)

STANTON: Ambassador Keyes.

KEYES: The answer to the question is I really don't know what percentage we give. Two things are true though: I have no problem with folks knowing how little, in point of fact, I make in the way of income.

I do have a problem, though, with the whole assumption we have in this society, based on our income tax system, that it is in fact legitimate to invade the privacy of individuals or anybody else. I think the income tax

system has
utterly corrupted our sense of liberty, and that's why I think it ought
to be
abolished, and such returns should not have to be given or exposed to
anybody --
not mine, not yours, not anyone's.

But I believe, in addition to that, that the whole business of the tax
deduction corrupts the spirit of charity. And that's also why we need to
get
rid of the income tax, so we will really give freely, not out of any
selfish
interest.

(APPLAUSE)

STANTON: Senator McCain.

MCCAIN: Several years ago, Congress enacted a pay raise, and my
constituents
didn't think we needed it. I don't know if that was a personal view, or
of
Congress in general.

Ever since then, I've been giving my pay raises to charity, and I think
that
comes out to around \$30,000, \$30,000 or \$40,000.

MCCAIN: Cindy, also, and I have a very large charitable trust.

But, you know, I'm not here to hype my book, "Faith in My Fathers,"
\$24.95,
Random House, been on the bestseller list for four months.

(LAUGHTER)

I'm not here to hype that at all, because I wouldn't even mention it
except
it had the most remote connection, and that is that I got \$500,000
advance from
Random House, I gave my half of that, which I shared with my coauthor, to
charity, and I continue to give those proceeds to charity.

(APPLAUSE)

STANTON: Mr. Bauer.

BAUER: I just -- before I answer the question, I'd like to get a pledge
from
you that if you're involved in a Democratic debate, to be sure to ask Al
Gore
this question.

(APPLAUSE)

STANTON: Mr. Bauer, I can assure you, if we're involved in a Democratic
debate we will ask the vice president that question.

BAUER: But my background is Southern Baptist. My wife and I are in
nondenomination church right now. We take very seriously the biblical
call to
tithe. We give about 10 percent of our income every year. And my flat
tax
plan, by the way, continues to allow charitable contributions to be tax
deductible, unlike Mr. Forbes, which I think is a very important thing
for us to
do.

STANTON: Governor Bush.

BUSH: I think it's important for people in public life to reveal their
income
tax returns. I have done so ever since I've been the governor of the
state of
Texas. Laura and I try to contribute as generously as possible. I'm not
sure
of the percentage to which we have given to charities.

BUSH: I believe non-itemizers ought to be allowed to deduct charitable
givings from their returns.

Let me tell you, the great strength of America and why I'm so optimistic about our country's future is that the great strength of our country lies in the hearts and souls of decent citizens, not in the halls of government.

I intend to rally the armies of compassion all across America should I become the president to help people in need with people in heart.

WILLIAMS: Thank you, Governor Bush.

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMS: Ambassador Keyes, it is your turn to ask a question of Senator McCain.

KEYES: Senator McCain, yesterday we got into a discussion of the question of homosexuals in the military, and I wasn't quite sure that everyone understood exactly what your position was. I have signed the following pledge: In the interest of national security and the morale of our armed forces, if elected president of the United States, I pledge to reinstitute the ban on homosexuals serving in our nation's military.

(APPLAUSE)

Would you join me -- would you join me, sir, in signing that pledge?

MCCAIN: No, I will not Alan, and you know very well that when people like General Colin Powell, General Norman Schwarzkopf and the military leaders that you and I respect say that this policy is a good one -- by the way it should not be abandoned as the two leading presidential candidates on the -- it's a disgraceful statement on the part of Senator Bradley and Vice President Gore to say that they would only appoint a chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who would open -- accept gays in the military. That is a total destruction of the entire concept of the military. And we should as Americans reject such a thing because of the harmful effects it will have on the military of the United States of America.

No, I will not. I will support the present policy.

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMS: And so, we will continue.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

WILLIAMS: And welcome back on behalf of NEC News, MSNBC and WIS-Television in Columbia, South Carolina. This is our live coverage of this evening's debate among the six presidential candidates for the GOP nomination for president. We are back.

David Stanton will continue the questioning.

STANTON: And the next question is a question from Mr. Bauer to ask of Governor Bush.

Mr. Bauer.

BAUER: Yes. Thank you very much.

Governor Bush, this is the fourth time in a row that I've drawn your name to ask the first question to. I think the odds are ten thousand to one. I

think
I'm going to keep drawing your name until you actually answer the question.

(LAUGHTER)

BUSH: Starting off with an incredible cheap shot.

(LAUGHTER)

BAUER: Governor, just a few weeks ago, we transferred the Panama Canal back to Panama. Bill Clinton sent Jimmy Carter there to do it. I believe our national security is at stake in Panama. We've got a growing Chinese influence there. They've got the land on both ends of the canal. If I'm president I'm going to look at how I can reassert American military forces there.

Are you willing to take the steps necessary including putting our military back in Panama in order to stop the Chinese from taking over influence there?

BUSH: Here's what I'm willing to do.

BAUER: OK.

BUSH: First, I ran for the United States Congress in 1978 in west Texas. Came in second place in a two-man race...

(LAUGHTER)

... but during the course of the campaign I opposed the Panama Canal Treaty. Now our...

(APPLAUSE)

... our country has signed a treaty; I believe we ought to honor the treaty. But when I'm the president, if I find in any way, shape or form the canal is closed to world interests, I will do whatever it takes to keep the canal open.

BUSH: It is in our national strategic interest to have a peaceful hemisphere. It is in our national strategic interest to have a hemisphere in which trade can flow freely. And I will liberate the canal if I have to.

WILLIAMS: Governor Bush, thank you.

BAUER: Do you see (inaudible) China in the canal, sir.

BUSH: Yes, we'll just wait and see. We'll wait and see.

WILLIAMS: Gentlemen, thank you. Again, this question will be for all of you. And we are also joined tonight by reporter Stephanie Trotter of our NBC television station in Greenville, South Carolina, WYFF.

TROTTER: Thank you, Brian.

Gentlemen, I am curious, as an adult what is the biggest mistake that you have made and what lesson did you learn from it?

HATCH: Can you say it again? Have her say it again.

WILLIAMS: You can ask the question.

TROTTER: One more time, so everybody can hear. Our viewers are curious on a personal note, what is the biggest mistake you made as an adult and what lesson did you learn from it?

BUSH: Would you like me to start?

HATCH: No...

(CROSSTALK)

WILLIAMS: We are going to begin with Senator Hatch.

HATCH: I don't know what the question is. I couldn't quite understand it.

WILLIAMS: The question is -- if we can have Stephanie Trotter repeat the question one more time on the mike.

TROTTER: Our viewers would like to know, what is the biggest mistake you made as an adult and what lesson did you learn from it?

HATCH: Well, I've made so many of them in my life that I'm not sure I can pick any one of them.

(APPLAUSE)

HATCH: But I -- I mean, let's just face it: I've made a lot of mistakes.

(APPLAUSE)

I think that -- I think one of the mistakes in this campaign was filing on July 1 so late. But don't worry; don't count me out.

(APPLAUSE)

STANTON: Ambassador Keyes, same question.

KEYES: You know, I -- I -- in hearing that question I think about the biggest mistake I might make as an adult would be to treat that as if it's a question that is appropriate to be asked.

(APPLAUSE)

Hold on. Wait a minute.

(APPLAUSE)

TROTTER: Everyone makes mistakes, and you can learn from those mistakes.

KEYES: I, frankly -- and I say that quite frankly. I think that we have to understand that there ought to be in our public life a certain decorum, a certain dignity. There are things that I'll tell my priest in the confessional that I will not tell you or any other American. OK?

(APPLAUSE)

STANTON: Thank you, Mr. Ambassador.

KEYES: But I'll say this. I'll say this. In terms of what I deeply believe to be relevant for the purposes of running for president and the job that I would have to do for the American people and so forth and so on, I think that maybe the biggest mistake I had made in my public life before I got involved in this presidential race was not to have spoken out on the issue of the life of the unborn before I did. I spent all those years working on foreign policy and did not pay enough attention to the fact that there were those not championing

this issue.

STANTON: Mr. Ambassador, thank you. Thank you for your answer.

KEYES: And I'm glad I finally came forward on it.

STANTON: Mr. Ambassador, thank you for your answer.

(APPLAUSE)

STANTON: Senator McCain.

MCCAIN: Well, for a long time I thought the biggest mistake I made in my life might have been when I was sitting in the ready room in an aircraft carrier in the Philippines and a guy came on board and said, "We're looking for volunteers to switch over to another carrier."

(LAUGHTER)

MCCAIN: Something happened to my arm.

But in reality, the biggest mistake that I made in my life was attending a meeting with four other senators and four regulators because of the appearance of impropriety. And it's something that will always be a mark on my record and something that people will judge me for the rest of my life.

WILLIAMS: Senator McCain, thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

Mr. Bauer.

BAUER: Well, I just want to point out to you, ma'am, that if you asked the president of the United States that question it would be an essay answer.

(APPLAUSE)

I'm not going to tell you the greatest personal mistake I've ever made because it is personal, but I'll tell you the biggest political mistake I ever made. I made a presentation to the president of the United States, Ronald Reagan, in the Cabinet Room, and I made the mistake of citing to him a poll. And his face turned blood red and he pointed his finger at me and said, Gary, don't cite polls, tell me the best thing to do for America. I've never forgotten those words, and those words will carry us back into the White House.

WILLIAMS: Mr. Bauer, thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

Mr. Bauer, thank you.

Governor Bush.

BUSH: Well, as you know, I've had a perfect background.

(LAUGHTER)

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMS: Haven't we all, sir?

BUSH: After all, I was raised by Barbara Bush.

(APPLAUSE)

As you may remember, I was in the business world at one time, I was the managing partner -- general -- managing general partner of the mighty Texas Rangers. I signed off on that wonderful transaction: Sammy Sosa for Harold Baines.

(LAUGHTER)

WILLIAMS: Thank you, Governor. Mr. Forbes.

FORBES: Well, like my colleagues here tonight, I've made my share of personal mistakes and fortunately, none of us here tonight put together will match what will match what has been done in the White House in the last seven-and-a-half years.

(APPLAUSE)

But, on a professional basis, when I was young and inexperienced, I wrote some magazine columns in which, when I was in my 20s, I saw merit in things like raising the gasoline tax, raising the age for Social Security retirees and things like that. But I've learned and grown, that's why I have the positions I have today. And I hope the rest of my colleagues in the Republican Party will have the same growth.

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMS: Thank you. Mr. Forbes.

(APPLAUSE)

And now, we're going to pair the candidates off to discuss particular issues. We begin with Ambassador Keyes and Mr. Forbes and the issue is negative advertising. Are you concerned that if you have negative advertising toward each other in the Republican primary, that that will hurt the eventual nominee in the general election.

Ambassador Keyes?

KEYES: Well, two things. First of all, I myself don't believe in any form of kind of negative campaigning. I think that it's important, however, that we be honest and forthright about our differences on the issues. That is not negative campaigning, that's our obligation to the people of this country. And so if I disagree with Senator McCain or Governor Bush or Mr. Forbes or Gary Bauer or Senator Hatch on an important issue and point that out in an ad or anywhere else, that's not negative campaigning.

KEYES: It's an effort to illustrate the choice before the people. But if we turn it into a contest of personalities and snide remarks and efforts to make the American people think that there's something wrong at a personal level with others in the race, I think that that shows a lack of respect for each other and for the process, and we shouldn't so degrade it.

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMS: Mr. Forbes.

FORBES: Mine has always been a campaign of issues and ideas, and I believe that the American people want an honest, open and vigorous debate about issues.

One of the issues, for example, is taxation. I want to get rid of this tax code. A couple of my opponents do not. I think we need a vigorous and open debate on that in detail.

If you make a tax pledge, I believe you should keep it. I want that kind of honest and vigorous debate, and I think Alan is exactly right. We don't want to get into personalities; we do want to get into principle and substance. That is what we had in the Lincoln- Douglass debates; that is what we had with the debate about the ratification of our Constitution. And I think today as we go in the new century, these kind of issues: health care, education, Social Security, taxes, the life issue...

WILLIAMS: Time's up.

FORBES: We do need an honest, open and vigorous debate.

WILLIAMS: Thank you, sir.

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMS: Mr. Forbes, thank you.

Our next -- our next pairing, of sorts, will be Senator McCain and Governor Bush -- and gentlemen, starting with the senator, the subject, again is taxes.

MCCAIN: Well, Governor, I know your people are running around saying that your tax cut is bigger than mine -- that yours is bigger than mine.

(LAUGHTER)

I think the phrase they used was the tax gap between Bush and McCain.

MCCAIN: I'm more concerned about the surplus gap. It's fiscally irresponsible to promise a huge tax cut that is based on a surplus that we may not have.

My tax plan is fiscally conservative. It's about the same as yours for middle-income and lower income Americans.

It places a top priority on saving Social Security. It offers a needed tax break for middle income people and it begins paying down the national debt. My friends, we ought to pay down the national debt.

(APPLAUSE)

George, the American people are tired of people who make promises, who make promises about tax cuts that they can't keep.

WILLIAMS: Senator, thank you. Governor.

BUSH: The senator and I have a fundamental disagreement. Let me see if I can put it in human terms for you.

Chris and Beth Bradley (ph) came to airport today. They make \$42,000 a year in income. Under the plan that you laid out, Mr. Senator, here in South Carolina, they will receive a \$200 tax cut. Under the plan that I propose and will get through the United States Congress, they receive \$1,852.00 tax cut.

(APPLAUSE)

I believe...

(APPLAUSE)

... and the fundamental difference -- the fundamental difference is that the additional \$1,600 -- the difference will go to Washington under your idea, and under my idea it goes into people's pockets.

There is enough money -- there is enough money -- there is enough money to take care of Social Security. There is enough money to meet the basic needs of our government. And there is enough money to give the American people a substantial tax cut and that's...

WILLIAMS: Time's up.

BUSH: ... exactly what I'm going to do.

STANTON: Thank you, Governor Bush.

(APPLAUSE)

The next pairing is Mr. Bauer and Senator Hatch.

STANTON: The 4th Circuit Court of Appeals, which includes South Carolina, has issued a ruling on the Miranda warning. That's the warning that police give to suspects. They said that if police fail to give that warning then they -- the evidence that is gathered is not necessarily excluded. The U.S. Supreme Court is considering that.

Do you think the Miranda warnings have a place in our criminal justice system, Mr. Bauer?

BAUER: You know, I think what we've done for over 30 years with unelected liberal judges is favored the criminal over the victim.

(APPLAUSE)

Now, we all want -- we all want to observe the Constitution and to follow its provisions. But when the penalty for a policeman's mistake is to put a criminal back out on the street, then we are hurting America, we are hurting our law-abiding citizens.

When I am president of the United States, my judges will be traditional conservative judges. They will favor the citizen, not the criminal. They will be pro-life. They will stop remarking America in the image of American liberalism and start remarking it in the image of American conservatism.

(APPLAUSE)

STANTON: Senator Hatch.

HATCH: I agree with everything that Gary said, but this involves a congressional enactment after Miranda was upheld by the Supreme Court. The congressional enactment is in section 3501 that basically that if a person commits a crime and they voluntarily confess, that confession is admissible into a court of law. That's right. That's the way it should be.

But this makes a bigger point. I have said the most important single issue in this campaign is, after Clinton will have appointed 50 percent of the federal judiciary and two Supreme Court justices, one of us is going to appoint the other 50 percent and up to five Supreme Court justices. And I can tell you, if we don't do it right and if we don't know what we're doing, we're going to see the death penalty go.

HATCH: We're going to see preferences throughout this country and quotas.
We're going to see all kinds of changes in the law that you can't believe, like losing the Second Amendment to keep and bear arms. And I could go on and on.

WILLIAMS: Senator Hatch.

HATCH: This is an important issue. And it's one of the most important issues in this whole doggone campaign.

WILLIAMS: Senator Hatch -- Senator Hatch, thank you.

APPLAUSE:

Now we -- we go back now -- we go back now to the format of one candidate asking a question of the other. Now, Governor Bush with a question for Senator Hatch.

BUSH: Senator Hatch, as you know, my good friend, John McCain and I, have a dispute over campaign funding laws.

HATCH: You're not alone.

BUSH: I believe the McCain-Feingold bill will hurt the Republican Party and hurt conservative causes. I want you to answer to me, you've been involved in this debate on the floor of the Senate. Would you please explain to me and the folks of South Carolina why so many Republican senators rejected the McCain-Feingold campaign funding reform bill?

HATCH: Why should I or any other Republican be for a bill that is unconstitutional, that leaves all the First Amendment rights for the public interest groups to speak and do whatever they want to and raise any kinds of monies they want to, and takes away those First Amendment rights from the two political parties? That's ridiculous.

(APPLAUSE)

I've got to tell you we can't do this.

Have you ever -- have you ever wondered why all the Democrats love McCain-Feingold and hardly any Republicans do?

HATCH: Well, think it through, because it would hurt the Republican Party. You're looking at the guy that as a brand new freshman senator fought through labor law reform that protected all of the South from being -- having forced unionization on it. And I can tell you this, John is starting to sound like the accordion player who only knows one tune, "Lady of Spain."

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMS: Senator, on that note...

(LAUGHTER)

HATCH: That was a little tough, I've got to admit.

WILLIAMS: We give you credit for mixing in foreign policy tonight.

STANTON: Can we give Senator McCain 30 seconds to respond to that?

WILLIAMS: We're got to get a response from Senator McCain.

MCCAIN: You know, George, I've always thought that what's best for the country was best for the party. The real scandal in Washington along with Monica Lewinsky was the debasement of every institution of government.

You are defending an illegal system. You are defending a system that has caused the debasement of every institution of government and it's got to be stopped.

Al Gore said there's no controlling legal authority. Well, I'll give him a controlling legal authority. With John McCain as president, there'll be a controlling legal authority. It is now legal in the United States of America for a Chinese army-owned corporation to give unlimited amounts of money to an American political campaign. We're awash in it.

You've got a supporter right now that's running attack ads on me.

WILLIAMS: Thank you, Senator. Thank you, Senator.

MCCAIN: And by the way, I wish you'd change the picture. And these attack ads are being funded by people...

BUSH: John...

WILLIAMS: Senator, a few -- a few seconds.

MCCAIN: ... that he won't even disclose.

WILLIAMS: Gentlemen, we've got to move on, and the next question is from Senator McCain for Mr. Forbes.

MCCAIN: It's interesting in the last debate and through most of this one that there has been no discussion of foreign policy, Steve.

MCCAIN: I think it's still important. I think the state of our military is still important. I think the fact that we have a president of the United States, a national security adviser, the secretary of state and a secretary of defense, none of whom have ever spent one minute wearing the uniform of the United States of America's military is a disgrace, and we're going to change it.

(APPLAUSE)

I want to talk to you about Russia. We are concerned about Russia, I'm concerned about Russia. We're concerned about Chechnya, we're concerned about the Caucasus and Georgia and the oil and gas reserves that are there, and I'm particularly interested in your views of Mr. Putin and what we can expect and how you handle our relations with Russia at this particular moment.

FORBES: Thank you, Senator. I think that our relations with Russia today are another prime example of the lack of a foreign policy of the Clinton-Gore administration.

The way they're applauding this coup that just took place where the thieving oligarchs of the Kremlin told Yeltsin, Get out, we're let you keep your illegal gains, we'll let your family keep their illegal gains and this way we can move the election up, have the war fever from Chechnya.

The war in Chechnya is simply an election ploy; it's also, I fear, part of the first step of the old Russian nationalists of reestablishing the old Soviet empire. Chechnya today, perhaps Georgia tomorrow, Armenia after that. So it's a disaster and Clinton and Gore have been negligent in not denouncing what's

happening in Chechnya. It's a green light.

STANTON: Thank you, Mr. Forbes. Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

And our final audience question tonight comes from the mayor of Arcadia (ph) Lakes, about 10 miles from here, Joan Brave (ph).

QUESTION: First, let me offer some Southern hospitality and welcome you gentlemen to the State of South Carolina.

QUESTION: My question deals with Internet taxation. Many small town merchants and big city downtown businessmen are very concerned with the increasing amount of consumer purchases that are being nontaxed over the Internet. My question, does this pose unfair competition for our local merchants? And also are municipalities and states missing out on a possible revenue resource?

STANTON: And, gentlemen, you have 30 seconds each because we're short on time and we'll begin with Governor Bush.

BUSH: I think it's too early to know what the effects are. That's why I support the moratorium on Internet taxation, and I'll support it for another three to five years until we know. We've had people on this stage say that e-commerce is going to help mom-and-pop businesses on the town squares all across America. They may be right.

John, you may be right. I don't know and neither do you. And so therefore I think it makes sense to extend the moratorium.

STANTON: Mr. Forbes.

FORBES: I believe the moratorium should be made permanent, because the Internet -- the Internet is allowing the growth of commerce in America, it's stimulating commerce. It also means more jobs, people delivering products. It stimulates the sales.

And that's why we should not be raising sales taxes, as my good colleague here tried to do in Texas, and we should be reducing the level of taxation, not raising it. "Tax" should not be part of the vocabulary of the Republican Party. Reduce and get rid of it.

(APPLAUSE)

STANTON: Time's up. Time's up.

Senator Hatch.

HATCH: We are living at a miracle moment in time. This is the new millennium. This is one of the greatest industries in the world. We lead the world in it. We don't know where it's going to go.

I know that most women, like my wife Elaine, like to go and walk through the stores and touch the things that they buy, so I'm not afraid of that.

And I think we ought to keep taxes out of the Internet. If there comes a time when they have to be in there because of fairness, that's another matter. But right now, I'm totally against having any taxation of the Internet.

STANTON: Ambassador Keyes.

KEYES: I think it's important, while it's fledgling area, to continue the moratorium on taxation. I think it would be a mistake to make that moratorium

permanent.

Two things. First, no tax on access to the Internet. Participation is the lifeblood of the Internet.

But I don't see any reason to assume that Internet businesses aren't going to become robust enough to bear the same level of support for the community that other businesses bear. And since we ought to abolish the income tax and move to a national sales tax, I would not want to exclude that area of commerce from national taxation under a sales tax when we have abolished the income tax.

STANTON: Senator McCain.

(APPLAUSE)

MCCAIN: If we had had Internet taxation over the holiday, American citizens would have paid an additional \$600 million in taxes. This Internet tax moratorium should be made permanent; it should be made permanent today.

The American people are taking advantage of a wonderful new opportunity with this technology. We should do everything we can to encourage it. There was a recent study that showed if we put in this sales tax, that we would have impacted the Internet by as much as 24 percent.

The American people deserve to have this tax moratorium made permanent, and anybody who is opposed to it is obviously in support of a massive tax increase.

STANTON: Time's up, sir.

Mr. Bauer.

BAUER: Yes, I support keeping the Internet tax-free. But I am not going to be cavalier about what small mom-and-pop operations on Main Street are facing. They already get the short end of the stick.

BAUER: They're over-taxed. They're over-regulated. So while I'll keep the Internet tax-free, as president I will fight to lower taxes on those small mom-and-pop stores all over the country. If Main Street dies in America, a part of America will die that we need to keep.

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMS: That concludes the question and answer -- thank you, Mr. Bauer.

That concludes the question and answer format for this debate. It is now time for our closing statements. Each candidate will have 45 seconds. We're going to begin this evening with Mr. Forbes.

FORBES: Well, thank you all very much for having this debate tonight. I'm a conservative Republican. I put forth a bold agenda that reflects those conservative principles. The lobbyists in Washington have no hooks in me. The king makers, the political deal makers, they have no hooks in me. I can do what is right for the American people.

And that's why I've proposed getting rid of this federal income tax, giving you a genuine tax cut -- a massive tax cut for the American people, allowing you to choose your own doctors, allowing you to choose your own schools, allowing you to be in charge of Social Security rather than the Washington politicians -- and rebuilding our military.

I ask for your support. Together, we can do great things for America.

WILLIAMS: Mr. Forbes, thank you. Mr. Forbes, thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

Senator Hatch.

HATCH: We are dealing with the current administration, which is perhaps the most deceitful and the most corrupt in history. And, frankly, we've got to do something about it. And that's why all of us are running, in part.

HATCH: We've got to restore to the White House somebody who has an impeccable example to set for our children, who is willing to go to the movie industry, to the music industry, the video game industry, and other industries and say it's time to get together and get rid of the pornography and the obscenity and all of the swear words, and all of the other things that are wrecking our lives of our children.

HATCH: And I think that's something that any one of us here can bring to the presidency of the United States. If I didn't think I could do a better job, I wouldn't be running. So, I'm asking for your support.

STANTON: Senator Hatch, thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

Ambassador Keyes.

KEYES: Last night I asked the question, where have all the conservatives gone? We have folks standing up here who follow Clinton's policies on free trade, follow his policies on Social Security, follow his policies in other areas and still want us to believe that they're conservatives -- who want to adopt an approach to campaign finance reform that violates our fundamental rights at citizens.

I think it's time we got back to real conservatism: control of our money, control of our schools, control of our country, control of ourselves, based on a restored sense of moral principle that puts the God who gave us our rights back in his position of authority.

I think it's time to renew our allegiance to those principles and strengthen our march into the next century.

WILLIAMS: Ambassador Keyes, thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

Senator McCain.

MCCAIN: I want to thank all of you for being here tonight. I'm a proud conservative Republican with a 17-year conservative voting record. I want to return the government to the people. I want to reform the institutions of government, education, the military, the tax code.

I want to get the influence of the big money of the trial lawyers and the labor unions out of our business and give the government back to you.

And once we do that then I will be able to inspire a generation of Americans to causes greater than their self interests.

Please join me in this great crusade.

WILLIAMS: Senator McCain, thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

And Mr. Bauer.

BAUER: I worked for Ronald Reagan for eight years. I was his undersecretary of education and his domestic policy adviser at the White House. My biggest concern is that our party might forget what he taught us about how to be the governing party of the United States.

BAUER: We have to offer a clear, bold alternative. I will do that.

My judges will be pro-life. I will get rid of the education bureaucracy and give vouchers and tuition tax credits to parents. I will make sure that taxes are lower. I will follow a Reagan policy toward China.

And, to every veteran here tonight and watching on TV, in one year, if I'm elected, you will have a commander in chief you can respect again.

WILLIAMS: Mr. Bauer, thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMS: Governor Bush.

BUSH: I am looking forward to taking my campaign to the people of South Carolina, and I'm asking for your vote. I appreciate Senator Strom Thurmond's strong support. I appreciate the lieutenant governor, the attorney general, the speaker's strong support. I appreciate former Governor's Beasley (ph) and Campbell's strong support.

I'm going to remind the people of South Carolina I'm the one person on this stage who's ever been elected to an executive position. I've been the governor of the state of Texas. I have cut taxes. I've reformed Welfare. And I have insisted upon educational excellence for every child.

I'll cut the taxes. I'll strengthen the military. I will bring a conservative agenda that is compassionate for all Americans should I become the president.

STANTON: Thank you, Governor Bush.

(APPLAUSE)

STANTON: And thank you all, the candidates, for being with us. And that is our time for tonight.

WILLIAMS: On behalf of NBC News, MSNBC, and WIS Television in Columbia, South Carolina, I'm Brian Williams for David Stanton and all the folks gathered here in Columbia, South Carolina. Good night, everybody.

END

NOTES:

Unknown - Indicates speaker unknown.

Inaudible - Could not make out what was being said.

off mike - Indicates could not make out what was being said.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PERSON: JOHN MCCAIN (71%); RONALD WILSON REAGAN (65%); ORRIN G HATCH

(57%);

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ABC NEWS

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ANCHORS: TED KOPPEL

BODY:

Announcer: January 6th, 2000.

TED KOPPEL, host:

(VO) It began with a pledge of total clarity from the front-runner.

Mr. JOHN DiSTASO: Governor, is this no new taxes, so help me God?

Governor GEORGE W. BUSH: This is not only no new taxes, this is tax cuts so help me God.

KOPPEL: (VO) But for much of tonight's Republican debate, there was more heat than light, and at times it threatened to spiral out of control.

Mr. TIM RUSSERT: Does anyone--does anyone here agree with Mr. Keyes?

Mr. ALAN KEYES: Excuse me, I'm not done.

Mr. GARY BAUER: And it's got to stop.

Senator ORRIN HATCH: Gary--Gary--Gary, excuse me. I'm going to stand here and take some time myself. Let me tell you something.

KOPPEL: Still, there were a number of substantive exchanges substantive exchanges on campaign finance reform, on religion, on gays in the military.

Senator JOHN MCCAIN: I would make sure that a policy that's working, and is working, and should work, is continued

KOPPEL: (VO) Tonight. THE 2000 VOTE, the Republican debate.

Announcer: From ABC News, this is NIGHTLINE. Reporting from Washington, Ted Koppel.

KOPPEL: Orchestrating a debate among six candidates can seem a lot like trying to handcuff an octopus while wearing boxing gloves. And the truth is that since Gary Bauer and Alan Keyes, Orrin Hatch and even Steve Forbes are not getting a lot of free face time on national television, there is a natural reluctance to let go of the microphone just when they feel that they're getting a little traction. There was, in any event, a sense of energy about tonight's debate in New Hampshire.

With reporters throwing tough, pointed questions and several of the candidates occasionally jumping in with both feet even when they weren't being called upon, it wasn't hard to tell who's who: Keyes and Bauer hammering away at the core issues of social conservatism, right to life, gays in the military, religious values; Orrin Hatch stressing his own legislative experience; Steve Forbes pushing for the elimination of the IRS and the complete restructuring of the US tax system. But perhaps, inevitably, most attention will still be focused on the two men who, in New Hampshire at least, are battling neck-and-neck, Governor Bush and Senator McCain. And early on in the debate, one of the questioners picked up with McCain where this program left off last night, on the issue of McCain's perceived pressure on the FCC to help a broadcaster who has contributed to the Arizona senator's campaign.

Unidentified Reporter #1: You say you did nothing wrong. But to others, your

actions and words can seem hypocritical. Would you agree that you've exercised poor judgment?

Senator JOHN MCCAIN (Presidential Candidate): You know, the reason why I've worked so hard for campaign finance reform, because all this money washing around Washington and all these uncontrolled contributions taint all of us. No matter what we do, we are under a cloud of suspicion, and I am one of those as well. And that's why I fought so hard and will continue to fight so hard to clean up this mess and return the government back to the people of this country, which they've clearly lost. And since I work there, I know it.

Mr. TIM RUSSERT: Governor Bush, you said today Senator McCain should answer these questions, that he should walk the walk. Has he answered the question? Is he walking the walk?

Governor GEORGE W. BUSH: Yes, I think so. My objection with John is not how he's conducted himself as chairman of the Commerce Committee, my objection is he is proposing a campaign funding reform that will hurt Republicans and hurt the conservative cause. He's asking us to unilaterally disarm, which I will refuse to do.

Mr. RUSSERT: But you have no problem with him...

Gov. BUSH: I thought his answer was fine.

Mr. RUSSERT: Next question, John, just take...

Sen. MCCAIN: Can--can I respond to that very quickly? Look, you know as well as I do, George, that the unions carry millions and millions of dollars in checks in soft money down to the Democratic National Committee. Trial lawyers do the same thing. You're not--we'll hurt the unions bad if we take away their soft money. I'm for paycheck protection. I'm also ask for stockholders also to pay theirs. But what you're saying is that we should continue what happened in 1994. That's disgraceful. Chinese money, Indonesian money came in to the campaign. We'll never know about the breaches of security.

Gov. BUSH: Let--let me ask--let me say something.

Sen. MCCAIN: I think you've got to understand. Right now a supporter of yours is running attack ads, morphing Bill Clinton's face into mine. And by the way, ask them to get a better picture, will you? And...

Gov. BUSH: Let me say here--let me...

Sen. MCCAIN: ...and ask him--and ask him--ask him at least--at least to disclose where this money is coming from. This shows you how desperate these two people are.

Gov. BUSH: Hey, John, this so-called supporter of mine was running ads against me in the state of Texas. Let me say something about this...

Mr. GARY BAUER: Please. Please. (Unintelligible)...applauding this. I mean, let's get on with the issues that the American people...

Mr. TIM RUSSERT: Gov--Governor Bush...(unintelligible)...

Gov. BUSH: What Al Gore is applauding is the campaign funding reforms that John supports. His plan--and I trust your integrity. I trust your judgment, I don't trust the plan that you're outlining. It is bad for Republicans, and it's bad for the conservative cause.

Sen. MCCAIN: You have--you have...

Mr. RUSSERT: John DiStaso--John DiStaso--we have to move on. John DiStaso, another question.

Sen. MCCAIN: ...several million dollars, and I don't think you have an idea of how important campaign finance is reformed, to restore the confidence of young Americans in their government...

Gov. BUSH: What you don't need to do is tell me what I have a good idea about or not.

Rep. MCCAIN: ...because the cynicism and alienation is there. I don't

believe you have a good idea, otherwise, you'd get on board as most Americans want us to.

Mr. JOHN DiSTASO (The Union Leader): Mr. Forbes, you're a wealthy man with a tax-cut plan. Tell us why you're not yet connecting or not connecting with a large segment of New Hampshire voters? Is it that some view you as aloof and out of touch, or--while others may say that you're just not the genuine article?

Mr. STEVE FORBES (Presidential Candidate): Maybe--maybe you want me to give a hug to John. I don't know.

Sen. McCAIN: I'd be glad to, Steve.

Mr. FORBES: Thank you.

Mr. BAUER: Steve, this is the paper that endorsed you!

Mr. DiSTASO: I had nothing to do with that. It's not my job.

Mr. FORBES: Well, sometimes you discover when you're a publisher, reporters have ideas of their own, and--but that's the purpose of a campaign. I am independent. The special interests and lobbyists have no hooks into me. And that's why I think my campaign is catching on.

KOPPEL: Among those glued to their sets tonight, ABC political analyst, George Stephanopoulos who joins us from New York and Kate O'Beirne, Washington editor of the National Review here in Washington.

Kate, explain something to me. Here is--here is George Bush going after John McCain for the overall campaign finance reform plan, but refusing to go after him for the specific. One would think he'd be more vulnerable on the specific. What's--what's at work here?

Ms. KATE O'BEIRNE (National Review): When Governor Bush said that he had no problem with John McCain's behavior as chairman of the Commercial Committee, well he doesn't have to lodge any kind of a criticism there, because the media's going to keep alive that story. And given John McCain's, I think, defense on the merits in that case, I think he does make a convincing case, that he was not improperly interfering on behalf of a donor. And given John McCain's reputation for integrity, there's no need for George Bush to go after him there.

What does resonate with Republican voters is John McCain's campaign finance reform. It might be very popular in other quarters, but it's not popular among Republican voters. So what does George Bush get to do? He gets to defend the Republican party against people like John McCain and Democrats who want a plan such as this. And it's also not popular among pro-life groups, citizens, organizing groups, and anti-tax groups. They feel threatened by McCain's plan, which would, they believe, inhibit their ability to make third-party expenditures on behalf of their issues.

KOPPEL: George...

Ms. OBEIRNE: That's a big overlap between pro-life and anti-tax groups and Republican primary voters.

KOPPEL: (VO) George, your take on the same question?

Mr. GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS:

I think Kate's right. What George Bush is doing is actually looking before and beyond New Hampshire. And in New Hampshire there are a lot of independents. They're attracted to the campaign finance issue, but not in Iowa and not in South Carolina. The caucus and the primaries that bracket New Hampshire and that are dominated by more conservative, more partisan Republicans--in one way. I guess, George W. Bush is sacrificing a pawn in order to get the larger victory.

KOPPEL: All right, let's--let's leave it for a moment. We'll come back to the larger issue of the debate as a whole, and the role of religion, which crept

back in tonight's debate. We'll focus on that specifically when we come back.

Announcer: This is ABC News NIGHTLINE, brought to you by...

(Commercial break)

KOPPEL: During the last Republican debate, Governor Bush said that Jesus was the philosophical thinker with whom he most identified. Tonight, Tim Russert asked the governor what role religion would have in George Bush's Oval Office.

Mr. RUSSERT: Fifteen million atheists in this country. Five million Jews. Five million Muslims. Millions more Buddhists and Hindus. Should they feel excluded from George W. Bush because of his allegiance to Jesus?

Gov. BUSH: No. I was asked what influenced my life, and I gave the answer the way--an honest, unvarnished answer. It doesn't make me better than you or make me better than anybody else. But it's a foundation for how I live my life. Some may accept the answer, and some may not. But, Tim, I really don't care. It's me. It's what I'm all about.

Mr. RUSSERT: Would the expression...

Gov. BUSH: It's how I live my life. It's--it's just a part of me.

Mr. RUSSERT: Would you take an expression like, 'What would Jesus do?' into the Oval Office?

Gov. BUSH: I would take an expression into the Oval Office of, 'Dear, God, help me.'

Mr. BAUER: So would we, Governor.

Mr. RUSSERT: In 1993--in 1993, you suggested, unless you...

Mr. BAUER: And that wasn't very Christian of you: (Unintelligible).

Mr. RUSSERT: In 1993 you suggested unless you accepted Jesus Christ as your Lord and Savior, you couldn't go to heaven.

Gov. BUSH: No, no. What I said was my religion teaches--my religion says that you accept Christ and you go to heaven. That was a statement that some interpreted that said, 'I get to decide who goes to heaven. Governors don't decide who gets to go to heaven. No, sir. God decides who goes to heaven, Mr. Russert.'

Sen. McCAIN: Let me say something about God, if I could. A little self-serving. I'm the only candidate for president who's actually conducted church services. In prison I was named--in prison, I was named the room chaplain, not because I was more religious than any of my fellow cell mates, but because I had been to prep school and to the Naval Academy and I knew all the services. But we had some wonderful experiences in prison. But one of the sermons that I gave, and I'm a great sermoner, as you know, that prepared me for public life, is the parable according to when Jesus held up the coin when asked if they should pay taxes. And I said, quoted, "Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's. Render unto God that which is God's." When I'm in the Oval Office, I obviously have a relationship with God, but I'm rendering unto Caesar as well.

KOPPEL: And we're back once again with Kate O'Beirne and ABC's George Stephanopoulos. George, you seemed to be cringing a little bit a couple of times. Why?

Mr. STEPHANOPOULOS: The phrase that comes to my head when I listen to Governor Bush talk about religion is he still doesn't get it. There was a great concern after the last debate that he had an exclusionary message. And here he says if people don't accept my answer, I really don't care. What words didn't you hear in Governor Bush's answer? The separation of church and state, tolerance, humility. I think this will not hurt him in the primaries, but I think it's gotten to the point where before--if he gets the nomination in the

general election, he will have to give a speech, much like on John Kennedy's in 1960 in West Virginia where he talks about the role of religion would play in the Oval Office and reassures people that his view--his view of faith would not dictate his political and governing decisions.

KOPPEL: Actually, Kate, Alan Keyes gave a rather an elegant brief little lecture on the fact that separation of church and state appears nowhere in the Constitution.

Ms. O'BEIRNE: I thought that was effective, as Alan Keyes so frequently is. Look, it's 2000. Just as John Kennedy had no intention of inviting the pope over to the White House to govern in coordination with him...

KOPPEL: You have to remind the younger viewers that that was one of the charges that was being leveled against the first--against the first Catholic president.

Ms. O'BEIRNE: Absolutely. Questions were raised about his allegiance to the Vatican, but it's the year 2000. I disagree, I don't--maybe George is right. I--George Bush so obviously speaks personally, you know, about what's important to him personally. He could be a little more articulate about it. But that might go to how--how sincere he is, it's something he feels deeply about. He's quick to say it doesn't make him better than anybody else, that's certainly humble, and I thought it was very effective when he made a little joke to Gary Bauer. Not very Christian of you, Gary. He's able to laugh about--about Gary's jibe to him. I think he handled it gracefully tonight and I can't imagine it really threatens in any real sense typical Americans.

KOPPEL: When you and I were talking before the program, George, you remarked on the fact that you think both in last night's Democratic debate and tonight's Republican debate, you have on the one hand the Democrats moving out on a limb a little bit too far to the left, and some of the Republicans moving out on a limb a little too far to the right. Is this what you were talking about with regard to the Republicans?

Mr. STEPHANOPOULOS: I--I think so. That's exactly right, Ted. And, you know, Richard Nixon used to give advice for Republicans. He said 'You can go to the right in the primaries and then run to the center in the general. I think that George W. Bush can do that, as I said, if he gives the speech. I actually believe it's a much tougher problem for Vice President Gore last night, who said there was a litmus, he would have a litmus test for his nominees to the joint chiefs for gays in the military. It's going to be harder for Vice President Gore to back off that than it will be for Governor Bush to expand on his answer on church and state.

KOPPEL: Actually, you've brought us to the very point where I--where I wanted to make the transition to our next segment, because the most heated exchange tonight was on the subject of gays in the military. We'll have a portion of that exchange when we come back.

(Commercial break)

KOPPEL: Let's look now at a final excerpt from tonight's debate. The subject, gays in the military.

Mr. RUSSERT: Senator McCain, last night on this very stage, both Democratic candidates for president said that they would require appointees to the Joint Chiefs of Staff to support allowing gays to openly serve in the military. Would you do the same, or would you insist that your appointees oppose allowing gays to openly serve in the military?

Sen. MCCAIN: My appointees on the Joint Chiefs of Staff?

Mr. RUSSERT: That's correct.

Sen. McCAIN: I would make sure that a policy that's working and is working and should work is continued. I believe that when people like General Colin Powell and other most respected men in America come up with a policy that does work, yes, it has troubles with it, yes, if it needs some reviews or changes or fine-tuning, then I'll be glad to support such a thing. But I cannot--I cannot change a policy that's working.

Mr. RUSSERT: Governor Bush, would you appoint someone to the Joint Chiefs of Staff who openly advocated, openly allowing gays to serve in the military?

Gov. BUSH: No.

Mr. RUSSERT: Would you appoint...

Gov. BUSH: I'll appoint...

Mr. RUSSERT: Would you appoint an openly gay person to a senior staff or Cabinet position.

Gov. BUSH: How would I know? I don't ask. Somebody's sexual orientation is their personal business, as far as I'm concerned.

Mr. RUSSERT: If he or she said...

Gov. BUSH: Somebody...

Mr. RUSSERT: If he or she said 'I am gay and proud of it and think that it's an acceptable lifestyle?'

Gov. BUSH: It depends upon what their politics are, Tim. Depends on what their views are. But I'm--I agree with what John and Gary said about the military. I'm a don't ask, don't tell man. The purpose of the military is to fight and win war, and to be able to deter war.

Mr. ALAN KEYES: Excuse me. I have to tell you, I keep asking myself, excuse me. Excuse me.

Sen. McCAIN: Excuse me.

Mr. KEYES: I keep asking myself where all the conservatives have gone? If we think that having homosexuals in the military is bad for discipline, bad for morale, then we ought to stand against it. I know that rank and file military people do, and I pledge as president of the United States that I will return to the ban on homosexuals in the military, and I think that's where we need to be. And I believe...

Mr. RUSSERT: Does anyone agree with Mr. Keyes?

Mr. KEYES: Wait, wait, wait. Excuse me, I'm not done. It's time that we all faced up to the truth. If we accept the radical homosexual agenda, be it in the military, or in marriage, or in other areas of our lives, we are utterly destroying the concepts of family and sexual responsibility without which the traditional family cannot survive. We must oppose it in the military, we must oppose it in marriage, and we must oppose it if the fundamental institution of our civilization is to survive.

KOPPEL: Back again with George Stephanopoulos and Kate O'Beirne. Kate, you feel that several of the candidates kind of missed the point.

Ms. O'BEIRNE: Well, I think--I was surprised that no one on the stage seemed to appreciate that homosexuals are banned from serving in the military. That in 1993, a Democratic Congress reaffirmed the ban on homosexuals serving in the military. So they seemed ill informed to that--to that extent, but I do think--I agree with George--that Al Gore made a very big mistake last night adopting a litmus test for the joint chiefs. That would demand that a candidate support gay rights agenda before they could join the Joint Chiefs. Bradley, of course, answered the question much better by saying 'Look, it's my policy, people in the military follow the commander in chief's policies.'

KOPPEL: George, where do you--where do you think this is going to lead? Is this an issue with legs in this campaign?

Mr. STEPHANOPOULOS: I--I think it could be an issue in the general election and I do think that the vice president's going to have to figure out a way to modify his position to put it more in line with what Bill Bradley said last night. I also think that--watching those clips again, Alan Keyes did a real favor for Governor Bush tonight, he made him seem tolerant by comparison to homosexuals in our society. Because Bush almost got into trouble when he couldn't quite say that he would allow an openly gay person to serve in his administration. He was able to avoid the question. That's the danger for the Republican Party where they seem to say that, you know, homosexuals are not a part of our society in any way or they can't be openly a part of our society. They're in better shape when they limit it to the military.

KOPPEL: Kate, let's talk a little bit about--about the debates themselves. And you and I were chatting before the program, and it's--as I said at the outset, it is a terribly awkward format, and there are at least three people, maybe four who don't really have a snowballs chance in hell of getting the nomination, but they're still in there, making it very awkward for there to be a genuine debate, which is normally something that takes place between two people. Tell me what your thoughts are.

Ms. O'BEIRNE: I thought the debate last night between Bill Bradley and Al Gore was a real debate. It was very helpful. They had a real opportunity to explore issues and to go back and forth and you learned something about both candidates, and that has not been possible in these larger forums. Some people on that stage aren't even seriously running for president. They are either on a crusade on certain issues or they're pitching two way constituencies with in the Republican Party. But having said that, I'm not at all sure that the Bush camp wants a one on one with John McCain, so the current format you know both gives an opportunity to marginal candidates, but it also in this case I think, the Bush camp, sort of benefits him.

KOPPEL: Given--given a bunch of poor alternatives, George, is there anything we can do to--to improve this one? We have a number of candidates--even though there are clearly one or two who are just not--truly not going to make it...

Mr. STEPHANOPOULOS: Well, you know, we still haven't even had a vote, so I'm not--I'm not worried about the debates. I'm actually struck by how much the two campaigns have become mirror images of each other. You have a clear choice on both sides. Both front-runners, Gore and Bush, are basically saying elect me for what I've done and what I will do. My experience and my agenda. Their challengers, McCain and Bradley, are saying elect me for who I am, character and judgment. It's a very clear choice and I think it's coming through in the debate.

KOPPEL: And the clear choice between liberals on the one side and conservatives on the other. That's perhaps clearer than it's been in years.

Mr. STEPHANOPOULOS: More and more. No question about it now. As I said earlier, I think you will see both sides kind of sprint back to the middle in the general election, but they're being pushed out to the edges in the primaries.

KOPPEL: (VO) All right, George and Kate, thank you both very much indeed.

I'll be back in a moment.

(Commercial break)

KOPPEL: Tomorrow on "Good Morning America," an exclusive interview with Jeanne Moore, the only American aboard that hijacked Indian airliner. That's our report for tonight. I'm Ted Koppel in Washington. For all of us here at ABC News, good night.

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Africa News

January 3, 2000

SECTION: NEWS, DOCUMENTS & COMMENTARY

LENGTH: 1706 words

HEADLINE: Africa-at-Large;
Energy Development and Conservation Key to Africa's Growth

BYLINE: U.S. Department of State

BODY:

Washington DC. - Susan E. Rice, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs
U.S.-Africa Energy Ministers Conference Tucson, Arizona December 14, 1999

Thank you, Congressman Kolbe. Secretary Richardson, Dick Matzke,
Minister
Kachamila, distinguished ministers, private sector representatives: Let
me take
the opportunity to welcome you, as Secretary Richardson did last night, to
Tucson and to the U.S.-Africa Energy Ministers Conference. Secretary
Richardson
has been a strong advocate for Africa for many years -- in Congress, as UN
Ambassador, and now through his leadership at the Energy Department with
the
African Energy Initiative and this Ministerial. Mr. Secretary, I am
grateful for
your vision and deep personal commitment. This U.S.-Africa Energy
Ministerial is
testimony to how far we have come over the past few years -- Africans and
Americans, public and private sectors -- to build stronger ties and a true
partnership between the U.S. and Africa. In 1994, at the White House
Conference
on Africa, President Clinton challenged us to get to work, "to develop a
policy
toward Africa that would unleash the potential of the African people in
ways
that would lead to a safer and more prosperous world."

I am proud to say that his administration -- working with all of you --
has
taken that mandate to heart. Some 5 years ago, Africa was the nearly
exclusive
domain of one understaffed bureau at the State Department and another at
USAID.
Now virtually every government agency-- from Energy to the Transportation
Department, from the Export-Import Bank to the Commerce Department and
the Trade
and Development Agency -- is implementing creative new initiatives to
strengthen
our partnership with Africa.

Five years ago, we also lacked a comprehensive framework for fueling our
mutual prosperity. Now, we are implementing a visionary new economic
policy
toward Africa under the President's Partnership for Economic Growth and
Opportunity. Both the House and the Senate have passed the African Growth
and
Opportunity Act -- now awaiting conference committee. And most members of
our
Cabinet -- including Secretary Richardson and most recently UN Ambassador
Richard Holbrooke -- have taken his or her own unique expertise to Africa.

Against this back-drop, the United States is pursuing two over- arching
policy goals on the continent: accelerating Africa's integration into the
global
economy and combating transnational security threats -- like terrorism,
proliferation, environmental degradation and disease -- that put at
greater risk
both Africans and Americans daily. Rarely do these two policy goals
converge
more closely than in the area of energy cooperation. Promoting Africa's
full
integration into global energy markets benefits Africans as well as U.S.
companies and consumers. Environmentally sustainable energy development
will
help spur Africa's growth and protect our delicate planet for generations
to
come.

Balancing energy development with energy conservation -- an implicit
theme of
this conference -- is not a zero-sum game. Clean energy alternatives and
improved energy efficiency will open doors for both African and American
entrepreneurs in other promising non-energy sectors including agriculture,
manufacturing, and tourism. Developing Africa's tremendous oil and gas
production capacity, pursuing environmentally sensitive, growth-inducing
technologies, and protecting Africa's delicate ecosystem all are
necessities.
And, they must also be priorities if we are to build a better common

future in the century to come. U.S. companies are well aware of America's growing stake in Africa's energy sector. Americans depend increasingly on Africa -- one of the world's most untapped energy markets -- to fuel cars, heat living rooms and power industry. Last year, sub-Saharan Africa exported some 1.3 million barrels of oil per day to the U.S., or about 16.36% of total U.S. imports, compared to 23% from the Persian Gulf region. Over the next 10 years, we expect to rely increasingly on Africa as a key source of our imported oil.

We will also look to Africa to help fulfill our growing demand for natural gas. By the year 2015, global requirements for this energy source -- which Africa has in abundance -- could increase 85% from current levels.

Beyond our traditional involvement in Africa's oil sector, U.S. companies are making large investments in natural gas delivery systems to enable Africa to capture and sell its product effectively. The West Africa Gas Pipeline is a notable example. This innovative partnership, led by Chevron, enjoys strong U.S. government support. It will serve our collective interests by delivering power to four African countries, catalyzing regional integration, and providing spin-off projects for companies from all sectors and regions.

Enron is playing a similar role with its \$2,500 million contract to develop a natural gas field, and build a pipeline and steel plant in Mozambique. U.S. investments in developing Africa's infrastructure and tapping Africa's vast oil and gas reserves are win-win propositions for all concerned.

For this reason, under President Clinton's Partnership plan, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) has dedicated three quarters of a billion (750 million) dollars to encourage private sector investment in Africa. We are increasing development and technical assistance and improving our high-level dialogue through fora such as this Ministerial to foster greater reform, development, and two-way trade and investment.

Many African governments already have taken significant steps to reform their economies and open their markets to U.S. traders and investors. Many are establishing inclusive political systems, accountable governance and promoting respect for human rights. In the majority of African nations -- from South Africa to Mali to Tanzania -- democratic institutions now form the basis for governance. Nigeria is now bravely implementing a remarkable transition to civilian rule.

Roughly 30 of Africa's nations are liberalizing their trade and investment regimes, reducing tariffs, ending subsidies and fighting corruption. From SADC to ECOWAS and COMESA, from WAEMU to the EAC -- African countries are beginning to integrate their markets to form regional economic engines.

Yet, despite this important progress, we all know Africa's profound challenges still hold its people back. Today, 5,000 African families will mourn lost loved ones at a funeral service for a victim of HIV/AIDS. HIV/AIDS is no longer just a health problem, it is the greatest threat ever to Africa's security and potential prosperity. It is a crisis of the highest order, which, if unchecked, can undo all the progress of the recent past. HIV/AIDS is decimating Africans from all walks of life.

This pandemic can and must be countered directly -- through enlightened leadership, destigmatization, prevention, education and provision of affordable, compassionate treatment. Two countries are proving that this battle can be won: Uganda, the African epicenter of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and Senegal. They have done so through massive grassroots public awareness and prevention campaigns. As a result, Uganda has cut its incidence rates by two-thirds, and Senegal now has some of the lowest rates in all of Africa.

This past summer, Vice President Gore announced a \$100 million initiative this fiscal year to double U.S. efforts to fight the disease globally. This is a vital step in the right direction, but clearly, much, much more remains

to be
done--by all of us.

Persistent conflict is the other major factor stalling African progress. From Sierra Leone to Central Africa, and from Angola to Sudan, too many African countries are fighting costly wars that retard growth, kill innocent civilians, enrich despots and warlords, and scare off investors.

The United States has worked long and hard to help our African partners resolve these disputes. Over the past year, U.S. diplomats made critical interventions in the continuing push to try to achieve a lasting peace in the energy-rich Congo. The U.S. also helped negotiate the fragile cease-fire in Sierra Leone and provided over \$110 million in logistical assistance to the West African peacekeeping force ECOMOG.

Still, Africans themselves must decide if their choice is for peace or for war. We cannot make that choice, but we can and we must support those who are genuinely committed to turning their swords into plowshares. And there are many in Africa.

In Nigeria, despite the historic success of its people to democratize and reconcile their nation, communal tensions in the Delta are worrisome indeed. The U.S. stands ready and willing to lend an appropriate helping hand. But no outsider's contribution can match or substitute for the Nigerian government's own ongoing efforts and continued responsibility to ensure the Delta peoples' voices are heard, their environment is protected, the rule of law is respected, and the region's development goes forward. Ladies and Gentlemen, both the challenges and the opportunities facing the African people are immense. Yet, Africans' irrepressible will to triumph remains extraordinary and inspirational. Their will is our collective hope and already a powerful engine for Africa's development.

Each of us in this room has a contribution to make to accelerating Africa's progress and, by extension, our own. Through enlightened policies, creative investments, and responsible leadership, we can together build a safer and more prosperous future.

As one of our great Presidents, Lyndon Johnson, once said, "the test before us as a people is not whether our commitments match our will and courage, but whether we have the will and the courage to match our commitments." We have much left to do to promote our mutual security and prosperity. Our efforts -- African and American, public and private sector -- must be long-term, sustained, and determined. Together, we can and we must not merely reaffirm, but, in fact, fulfill our responsibilities to better the lives of all our people.

Thank you.

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The Atlanta Journal the Atlanta Constitution

January 1, 2000

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HEADLINE: Yeltsin hands reins to 'new people' Successor Putin was a little-known bureaucrat until he was lifted into the limelight as prime minister in September.;

[Home Edition]

DATELINE: Moscow

BODY:

President Boris Yeltsin, who climbed atop a tank to help usher democracy into Russia, stepped down unexpectedly Friday, apologizing for failing to transform his nation into a "rich, civilized country."

In an emotional nationally televised address, Yeltsin, 68, bade farewell to his countrymen after eight years in office, during which economic crises, corruption charges and ill health tarnished his image as a freedom fighter.

"Russians should enter the new millennium with new politicians, new people who are clever, energetic and strong, while we, who have been in power for many years, should rather go," he said, his voice choking back emotion.

Under the Russian Constitution, the prime minister, Vladimir Putin, becomes acting president, and new elections must be held within three months. Putin, the country's most popular politician, was picked by Yeltsin as his preferred successor in early September by naming the 47-year-old former KGB official his fifth prime minister in 17 months.

With reporters looking on in the wood-paneled president's office in the Kremlin, Yeltsin passed a black briefcase to Putin containing the codes for Russia's nuclear weapons.

Within hours, Putin granted Yeltsin immunity from prosecution, a development some analysts believe could have motivated the resignation.

Yeltsin's two daughters, his son-in-law and at least 60 other current and former Kremlin aides are reportedly under investigation for corruption and bribery charges in separate cases by Swiss and Italian prosecutors, as well as a money-laundering investigation by U.S. authorities.

"Yeltsin is a real political animal. He has been anxious about his family," said Andrei Zudin, the director of political research at Moscow's Center for Political Technologies, a think tank. "Putin is a great surprise for him. He's proven he's a winner . . . popular and loyal."

Because of heart trouble and other ailments, Yeltsin had turned over day-to-day rule of the world's second-largest nuclear power to Putin, including leading the Russian military assault against Muslim separatists in the breakaway republic of Chechnya --- the main reason the prime minister skyrocketed from an unknown bureaucrat to become Russia's most visible and popular public figure.

Russians busily preparing for New Year's Eve, traditionally their biggest holiday of the year, reacted calmly and with relief to Yeltsin's announcement.

"It's the best present I could have asked for," said Nadia Gorobaya, 19, a student rushing around the capital for last-minute holiday purchases. "He should have done this sooner. He's a disgrace as a leader. . . . He hasn't brought us democracy. In fact, he's brought us almost nothing."

Indeed, Yeltsin, in his speech, acknowledged mistakes and asked several times for forgiveness.

"I beg your forgiveness for having failed to jump in one leap from the gray, stagnant, totalitarian past to the clear, rich, civilized future," he said. "I want to beg forgiveness for your dreams that never came true. I am leaving. I've done what I could."

Besides the threat of prosecution for corruption, other analysts said, the timing of Yeltsin's action could have had more to do with the war raging in Chechnya.

For three months, Russia has waged a campaign against Chechen rebels, a war

the Kremlin has called a fight against Islamic bandits and terrorists. Russia's military has relentlessly bombed factories, hospitals and television stations along with civilian homes in the southern republic, forcing more than 20,000 people to flee.

At least 30,000 people died in the first Chechen war from 1994 to 1996, many of them civilians and conscript Russian soldiers. The death toll turned public opinion in Russia against the offensive. This time around, however, casualties are minimal and a majority of Russians back the campaign.

In recent weeks, the Russian army has focused its efforts on taking control of the Chechen capital, Grozny, but has stalled after meeting heavy resistance from what is reported to be a small pack of rebels entrenched in the city. The bulk of the rebel fighting force is thought to have retreated to mountain hideaways to wait out the frigid winter.

"Putin's popularity depends on a successful war," says Yevgeny Volk, the director of the Moscow office of the Heritage Foundation. "Extending the war means extending the chances of Russian soldiers coming home in body bags. No politician wants that."

On Dec. 19, Russians voted for a new parliament, handing a surprising victory to the pro-Kremlin Unity Party that Putin backs. With this strong showing and the subsequent backing of other smaller political parties, Putin is the undisputed favorite to win the presidential race. Those elections had been scheduled for June.

"Yeltsin has shortened the electoral campaign period down to three months from six months," said Andrei Piontkovsky, a Moscow political analyst. "For three months they can keep up this story of success in Chechnya. In six months, that would no longer be possible."

Putin met with the Russian Cabinet soon after Yeltsin's announcement, saying he would not make any serious changes to domestic or foreign policy in the three months he would effectively run the government.

"Nothing must change in our work. Russia's foreign policy will not change," Putin said.

In Washington, President Clinton praised Yeltsin for putting a democratic structure in place in Russia. "We have had our differences . . . but President Yeltsin and my starting point has always been how Russia and the United States could work together to advance common interests," Clinton said. "In this spirit, I look forward to working with acting President Putin as the Russian people begin this process of making the transition from one democratically elected president to the other."

The Clinton administration has invested much time and money into its relationship with Yeltsin and his multiple governments, portraying the occasionally impetuous Russian as the best personification of democratic ideals and economic market reforms. Yeltsin's nationalistic blustering and current corruption allegations have been an embarrassment to both Clinton and Vice President Al Gore. With high-profile disagreements over Kosovo and Chechnya, U.S.- Russian relations have dropped to their lowest point since the end of the Cold War.

Still, analysts suggest a Putin presidency would be good for bilateral ties.

"Putin is a strong and wise man, one that is not a typical leader in the Russian mold," said Zudin. "He served in the intelligence branches that collected information about the West. He, unlike others, has ingested this knowledge and knows how other countries work, and approves."

About the writer

Margaret Coker is the new Moscow correspondent for Cox Newspapers. She replaces Charles W. Holmes, who will join the Cox Newspapers Washington bureau after seven years abroad in Israel and Russia.

Coker, 30, has been acting Moscow bureau chief for Business Week. Before that, she worked in Moscow for The Moscow Times and CBS Marketwatch. Her reporting background includes time with United Press International and CBS Marketwatch in Washington covering Capitol Hill, the Federal Reserve and various agencies. She reported for The Associated Press from Central Asia.

Coker is a 1993 graduate of Lewis & Clark College in Portland, Ore., with a degree in political science and a specialization in Soviet area studies. She is

fluent in Russian.

Photo

Boris Yeltsin wipes his eye (above) as he resigns Friday in Moscow. / Associated Press

Photo

Left: A dramatic farewell as he leaves the Kremlin. (Acting President Vladimir Putin stands second from left.) / Associated Press

Credit: Staff Correspondent

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HEADLINE: Yeltsin hands reins to 'new people';

Successor Putin was a little-known bureaucrat until he was lifted into the limelight as prime minister in September.

BYLINE: Margaret Coker, Staff Correspondent

SOURCE: AJC

DATELINE: Moscow

BODY:

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"Yeltsin is a real political animal. He has been anxious about his family," said Andrei Zudin, the director of political research at Moscow's Center for Political Technologies, a think tank. "Putin is a great surprise for him. He's

proven he's a winner . . . popular and loyal."

Because of heart trouble and other ailments, Yeltsin had turned over day-to-day rule of the world's second-largest nuclear power to Putin, including leading the Russian military assault against Muslim separatists in the breakaway republic of Chechnya --- the main reason the prime minister skyrocketed from an unknown bureaucrat to become Russia's most visible and popular public figure.

Russians busily preparing for New Year's Eve, traditionally their biggest holiday of the year, reacted calmly and with relief to Yeltsin's announcement.

"It's the best present I could have asked for," said Nadia Gorobaya, 19, a student rushing around the capital for last-minute holiday purchases. "He should have done this sooner. He's a disgrace as a leader. . . . He hasn't brought us democracy. In fact, he's brought us almost nothing."

Indeed, Yeltsin, in his speech, acknowledged mistakes and asked several times for forgiveness.

"I beg your forgiveness for having failed to jump in one leap from the gray, stagnant, totalitarian past to the clear, rich, civilized future," he said. " I want to beg forgiveness for your dreams that never came true. I am leaving. I've done what I could."

Besides the threat of prosecution for corruption, other analysts said, the timing of Yeltsin's action could have had more to do with the war raging in Chechnya.

For three months, Russia has waged a campaign against Chechen rebels, a war the Kremlin has called a fight against Islamic bandits and terrorists. Russia's military has relentlessly bombed factories, hospitals and television stations along with civilian homes in the southern republic, forcing more than 20,000 people to flee.

At least 30,000 people died in the first Chechen war from 1994 to 1996, many of them civilians and conscript Russian soldiers. The death toll turned public opinion in Russia against the offensive. This time around, however, casualties are minimal and a majority of Russians back the campaign.

In recent weeks, the Russian army has focused its efforts on taking control of the Chechen capital, Grozny, but has stalled after meeting heavy resistance from what is reported to be a small pack of rebels entrenched in the city. The bulk of the rebel fighting force is thought to have retreated to mountain hideaways to wait out the frigid winter.

"Putin's popularity depends on a successful war," says Yevgeny Volk, the director of the Moscow office of the Heritage Foundation. "Extending the war means extending the chances of Russian soldiers coming home in body bags. No politician wants that."

On Dec. 19, Russians voted for a new parliament, handing a surprising victory to the pro-Kremlin Unity Party that Putin backs. With this strong showing and the subsequent backing of other smaller political parties, Putin is the undisputed favorite to win the presidential race. Those elections had been scheduled for June.

"Yeltsin has shortened the electoral campaign period down to three months from six months," said Andrei Piontkovsky, a Moscow political analyst. "For three months they can keep up this story of success in Chechnya. In six months, that would no longer be possible."

Putin met with the Russian Cabinet soon after Yeltsin's announcement, saying he would not make any serious changes to domestic or foreign policy in the three months he would effectively run the government.

"Nothing must change in our work. Russia's foreign policy will not change,"

Putin said.

In Washington, President Clinton praised Yeltsin for putting a democratic structure in place in Russia. "We have had our differences . . . but President Yeltsin and my starting point has always been how Russia and the United States could work together to advance common interests," Clinton said. "In this spirit, I look forward to working with acting President Putin as the Russian people begin this process of making the transition from one democratically elected president to the other."

The Clinton administration has invested much time and money into its relationship with Yeltsin and his multiple governments, portraying the occasionally impetuous Russian as the best personification of democratic ideals and economic market reforms. Yeltsin's nationalistic blustering and current corruption allegations have been an embarrassment to both Clinton and Vice President Al Gore. With high-profile disagreements over Kosovo and Chechnya, U.S.-Russian relations have dropped to their lowest point since the end of the Cold War.

Still, analysts suggest a Putin presidency would be good for bilateral ties.

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About the writer

Margaret Coker is the new Moscow correspondent for Cox Newspapers. She replaces Charles W. Holmes, who will join the Cox Newspapers Washington bureau after seven years abroad in Israel and Russia.

Coker, 30, has been acting Moscow bureau chief for Business Week. Before that, she worked in Moscow for The Moscow Times and CBS Marketwatch. Her reporting background includes time with United Press International and CBS Marketwatch in Washington covering Capitol Hill, the Federal Reserve and various agencies. She reported for The Associated Press from Central Asia.

Coker is a 1993 graduate of Lewis & Clark College in Portland, Ore., with a degree in political science and a specialization in Soviet area studies. She is fluent in Russian.

GRAPHIC: Photo

Boris Yeltsin wipes his eye (above) as he resigns Friday in Moscow. / Associated Press

Photo

Left: A dramatic farewell as he leaves the Kremlin. (Acting President Vladimir Putin stands second from left.) / Associated Press

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Brookings Review

January 1, 2000

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HEADLINE: After the Campaign, What?

BYLINE: Mann, Thomas; Ornstein, Norman J.

BODY:

Governance Questions for the 2000 Election

We live in the age of the permanent campaign. Almost seven years into his presidency, Bill Clinton remains in full campaign mode, and a year before the 2000 election the presidential campaign is already many months old (some would argue it began in 1996, with Al Gore's speech at the Democratic Party Convention in Chicago). Campaigns are nonstop and year-round, and governing is

intimately linked to the campaigns in a continuous loop. Campaign consultants move without pause from the campaign trail to work for the victorious elected officials, helping to shape their policy messages and frame issues for advantage in the next campaign. Legislative proposals, routinely subject to intense polling and focus groups before they are launched, are monitored by tracking polls thereafter. Outside groups run advertising campaigns that are indistinguishable from electioneering.

Private groups orchestrate legal challenges to laws they oppose, sue government and their adversaries, and use the discovery process to troll for politically embarrassing revelations about their opponents. Party leaders and other elected officials devote more and more of their energies to building campaign war chests, which both distracts from and shapes their governing responsibilities. Reporters increasingly cover policy battles in Congress and the White House as campaigns, with the focus on who is winning and losing and not on the stakes involved. Campaigning is governing is campaigning.

It was not always so. For most of American history, campaigns generally were confined to the latter half of election years, and when the campaign ended, the governing began--after a lengthy transition interval. Policymakers knew that campaigns could and often would be rough-and-tumble, even harsh, contests but accepted as a matter of course that once the campaigns were over, erstwhile adversaries would often be allies. Campaign bitterness was generally confined to one's opponent, not all the members of his or her party. The day after the election, campaign materials were put away, as Christmas lights are boxed and returned to the attic after the holidays, and the tools and personnel for governing emerged.

The Bad New Days?

America is not going to return to that bygone era. The hundreds or thousands of campaign consultants, public relations firms, political pollsters, issue advocacy organizations, party campaign committees, and congressional leadership campaign organizations will not disappear quietly or fade away. Journalists will not easily stop covering campaigns and policy negotiations alike as though they were horse races.

This is not to suggest that everything about our political process in earlier days was good, much less that everything about today's politics is bad. The permanent campaign has not kept Americans from throwing incumbent administrations out of office, showing their displeasure with policy directions, and signaling their desire for change. But we have paid a price for the transcendence of campaigning over governing. One part of the price has come in public cynicism and disengagement. Less than half the voting-age population cast a ballot in the last presidential election, almost 14 percentage points below the turnout in 1960. Moreover, the youngest cohorts' striking disengagement from politics promises even lower turnout rates in the future.

Contemporary election campaign practices, including attack ads with nasty, inaccurate, or unfair charges, have left millions of Americans manifestly dissatisfied with the electoral process and disposed to assume the worst about those who compete for their attention and votes. Media coverage of presidential campaigns, especially on local television news programs, has shrunk in recent cycles, and much of what is provided does little to engage or inform ordinary citizens.

Most importantly, campaigning seems increasingly antithetical to governing. Parties and individual officeholders routinely manipulate the policy process to gain tactical advantage in the next election. And candidates often frame campaign themes and take positions in ways that frustrate rather than facilitate the task of governing after the election. Campaigning intrinsically is a zero-sum game, where there is a winner and a loser. Governing ideally is an additive game, where a broad policy coalition lets many on all sides declare

victory. The more campaigning absorbs governing, the more difficult coalition-building becomes.

Combating Public Cynicism

Widespread criticism of campaign practices and coverage has prompted a good deal of soul-searching within the media and efforts by reform groups to improve public deliberation in presidential elections. But changing today's system will require more than pious exhortation. As the Task Force on Campaign Reform reported recently, "candidates want to win elections, journalists want to exercise their craft, media executives want to earn profits, citizens want to be informed and entertained and see the 'right' candidate win." Proposals for improving the practice and coverage of presidential campaigns must serve the interests of these key actors if they are to have any chance of being adopted and sustained.

The early stages of the 2000 presidential campaign provide some basis for encouragement that the dialogue will be fruitful. Despite plenty of horse race, campaign tactics, and scandal coverage during 1999--and ample cynicism and hype on the talk news shows--the press has already provided substantial information about the major candidates, including their backgrounds, records, and positions, and the major themes of their campaigns. They have also done a good job of combing the policy agenda, as defined by both experts and ordinary citizens. A crucial test is whether they will be willing to repeat this information, in clever and insightful ways, when potential voters are paying more attention to the campaign.

But even if they do, something will be missing. Voters could well find this material about the candidates in more accessible and entertaining formats and still lack crucial information for making their decision. And presidential candidates could engage in a most impressive form of public deliberation on the issues and yet be utterly unprepared to assume the responsibilities of office and put in place a realistic plan for governing. What would be missing in both cases is a clear sense of how the presidential candidates would govern if elected.

Preparing to Govern

Strikingly underplayed in the conduct and coverage of presidential campaigns is the host of questions about governing that become absolutely central the day after the election--to the president-elect and his key advisers, to the new Congress, to the pool of candidates for high-level political appointments, and to the same journalists who largely avoid those questions during the campaign--not to mention to the citizens waiting to see how the election now concluded will influence their lives.

We do not intend to emphasize process over substance or to suggest that universal principles of governance apply equally to all newly elected presidents. Presidencies are shaped by the personal qualities and policy agendas of presidents as well as by the broader political, economic, social, and security context in which they operate. But variations in strategies of governance are no excuse for an absence of forethought about which strategies are most appropriate and offer some reasonable chance of success. These considerations deserve a full airing during the campaign.

We provide here a series of questions about governance that should be raised during the upcoming campaign--by candidates with their opponents, by citizens in town meetings, by debate sponsors in planning major televised events, and by journalists in interviews and background stories--all done in a way that serves the interests of candidates, citizens, and the media, and most important, the interests of governing in America.

1. Questions about the transition

* What concrete steps will you take before the election to prepare for a successful transition?

* How will your transition expedite appointments to your White House

staff,
cabinet, and subcabinet? What will you do to get people in office and
serving on
day one of your administration?

* What kinds of people will you recruit to each level of your
administration? How will you convince quality people to join your
administration, given many Americans' reticence about public service?

* What will you propose to reverse the increasing delays in nominating
and
confirming high-level presidential appointees?

Candidates for the presidency do not talk about how they will prepare
to
govern, fearing it presumptuous to plan for a transition before being
elected.

This reluctance to plan has increasingly slowed the start of new
administrations, who waste precious weeks between the election and the
inauguration because of a lack of forethought about shaping the new White
House
and presidential team. Transition planning is not presumptuous. Indeed,
candidates who fail to make concrete preelection provisions for governing
are
lacking in seriousness of purpose.

The task of staffing a new administration is staggering: more than
6,000
presidential appointments, including roughly 600 Senate-confirmed cabinet
and
subcabinet members, 600 noncareer members of the Senior Executive Service,
another 1,500 Schedule C personal and confidential assistants, hundreds of
federal judges, and several thousand members of advisory boards and
commissions.
The average tenure of presidential political appointees has been steadily
declining and is now barely 14 months. If appointments are not made well
before
the inauguration, they can be delayed for months into the presidency,
creating
uncertainty in agencies and gaps in policymaking. A strategy, process,
and early
start are essential for smooth and responsive policymaking and
administration.

2. Questions about agenda

* What are your specific plans for the first 100 days of your
administration?

* How will you meet the requirement for submitting a budget for the new
fiscal year early in your administration?

* What legislative proposals will you put before Congress first?

* What do you consider the greatest risk in launching a new
administration
--trying to accomplish too little or too much?

A smooth, quick start is key to a successful presidency. Of course,
each new
administration faces a unique set of political and policy possibilities
that
emerge from the particular campaign and election results. But
presidents-elect
have not always thought through the contingencies and related them to an
initial
strategy for governing, in part because they are seldom asked about these
matters before Election Day. And that has occasionally led them to
miscalculate
what can be accomplished early in their administrations and how best to
proceed.

3. Questions about relations with Congress

* In recent years Congress has become more partisan and ideologically
polarized, with narrow majorities that make party government problematic
and
with fewer centrists available to help build bipartisan coalitions. How
do you
intend to work with this new Congress?

* How will your approach vary depending on whether your party has a
narrow
majority or is in the minority in one or both houses of Congress?

* The filibuster in the Senate is now routine, setting the bar at 60,
not 50
votes for most key issues. How will you attract the necessary
supermajorities in
that chamber, especially on controversial policies such as managing the
budget
surplus, adjusting or restructuring Social Security and Medicare,
increasing
access to health insurance, and altering the federal role in education?

Most plausible scenarios for the 2000 elections would leave both
houses of
Congress with narrow majorities, even if the presidential outcome is
lopsided,
which seems unlikely. The new president may well lead a unified party

government, but an exclusive reliance on partisan majorities is likely to founder in the face of the multiple veto points in the U.S. political system.

Yet building bipartisan majorities in Congress is much more difficult now that the center of gravity in each party has shifted to its ideological pole. And members of Congress are more likely to hear from activists and donors who reinforce the ideological polarization of the parties. Grappling with these forces is one of the biggest challenges facing the new president.

4. Questions about governing in the era of the permanent campaign

* In the words of political scientist Hugh Heclo, "Not just presidents but everyone with an active interest in what happens in Washington now engages in continuous efforts to orchestrate, amplify, and inject the presumptive voices of the American people ... into the formulation and management of national policy." Policymaking occurs in a context of "permanent, professionally-managed, and adversarial campaigning to win the support of those publics upon whom the survival of the political client depends." How will this permanent campaign affect your strategies of governance?

We have entered an era in which politicians must campaign to govern and govern by campaigning. It will do no good to try to obliterate the elements of our politics, communications, and culture that contribute to this phenomenon. Some reforms may help, but they will not perform miracles. Potential presidents as well as journalists and citizens need to think through and talk through the implications of this permanent campaign and explore how it can be exploited or adapted to serve broader public purposes. Successful presidents must adapt their policies and strategies to the environment of the permanent campaign.

5. Questions about foreign policy decisionmaking

* With the end of the Cold War and the globalization of the economy, U.S. foreign policymaking has become more, not less contentious. While signs of neoisolationism are often overstated, public apathy and sharp disagreement among policy elites have contributed to very rocky relations between the president and Congress. What steps would you take to build domestic political support for your foreign policy leadership?

The assumption of bipartisan support for foreign policy is no longer operative in the post-Cold War era. Foreign policy increasingly has to resemble domestic policy in its political dynamics. Beyond an ambiguous and unenthusiastic internationalism, little agreement exists on the appropriate ends and means of American foreign policy. Deep-seated differences, often cutting across the usual ideological and partisan boundaries, exist on a wide range of international matters, including the role of multilateral institutions, the place of labor and environmental standards in trade negotiations, the conditions justifying humanitarian military intervention, the centrality of human rights in dealings with China, and the nature of our economic and political engagement with Russia. The temptation, in a permanent campaign mode, is for candidates to exploit these differences for ideological or partisan advantage, without regard for the consequences for managing an effective foreign policy.

6. Questions about reform

* What structural changes--if any--would you seek in our political institutions and processes to improve governance and to help achieve your policy ambitions for the country?

There is no panacea here, but the possible areas for constructive structural change are legion: pre-election transition planning, the number of political appointees and the structure of executive management, early orientation and training for political appointees, the speed, breadth, and nature of security clearances for top officials, the rules for hiring and firing civil servants, campaign finance laws, ethics and financial disclosure requirements, the budget

process, the national security policy apparatus, and the application of fast-track provisions in Congress to additional policy arenas.

What's Possible?

Whether these questions can be insinuated into the 2000 campaign dialogue depends on our creativity in designing interesting and entertaining formats and in demonstrating that the interests of candidates, citizens, and the media are served in so doing. The permanent campaign will not disappear anytime soon, but constructive steps can and should be taken during the 2000 election campaign to improve the climate for governing in the new millennium.

Thomas Mann is W. Averell Harriman Senior Fellow in the Brookings Governmental Studies program. Norman Ornstein is resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. They are collaborating on the Transition to Governing Project, funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts.

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The Palm Beach Post

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HEADLINE: YELTSIN QUILTS, HANDS REINS TO PUTIN

BYLINE: Margaret Coker, Palm Beach Post Staff Writer

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

President Boris Yeltsin, who climbed atop a tank to help usher democracy into Russia, stepped down unexpectedly Friday, apologizing for failing to transform his nation into a "rich, civilized country."

In an emotional, nationally televised address, the 68-year-old Yeltsin bid farewell to his countrymen after eight years in power, during which economic crises, corruption charges and ill health have tarnished his image as a freedom fighter.

"Russians should enter the new millennium with new politicians, new people who are clever, energetic and strong, while we, who have been in power for many years, should rather go," he said, his voice choking back emotion.

Under the Russian Constitution, Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, the country's most popular politician, becomes acting president, and new elections must be held within three months. Yeltsin tapped Putin as his preferred successor when the 47-year-old former KGB official became the fifth prime minister in 17 months in early September.

With reporters looking on in the wood-paneled president's office in the Kremlin, Yeltsin passed a black briefcase to Putin containing the codes for Russia's nuclear weapons.

Within hours, Putin granted Yeltsin immunity from prosecution, a development some analysts believe could have motivated the resignation.

Yeltsin's two daughters, his son-in-law, and at least 60 other current and former Kremlin aides are reportedly under investigation for corruption and bribery charges in separate cases by Swiss and Italian prosecutors, as well as a money-laundering investigation by U.S. authorities.

"Yeltsin is a real political animal. He has been anxious about his family," said Andrei Zudin, the director of political research at Moscow's Center for Political Technologies, a think tank. "Putin is a great surprise for him."

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proven he's a winner . . . popular and loyal."

Yeltsin's resignation was unexpected but not surprising. Rumors have circulated in Moscow for months that the ailing politician would step down - if he did not die first. Yeltsin had quintuple heart bypass surgery three years ago, and has repeatedly been hospitalized for pneumonia and other illnesses.

He had turned over day-to-day rule of the world's second largest nuclear power to Putin, including leading the Russian military assault against Muslim separatists in the breakaway republic of Chechnya - the main reason why the prime minister skyrocketed from an unknown bureaucrat to become Russia's most visible and popular public figure.

Russians busily preparing for New Year's Eve, traditionally their biggest holiday of the year, reacted calmly and with relief to Yeltsin's announcement.

"It's the best present I could have asked for," said Nadia Gorobaya, a 19-year-old student rushing around the capital for last minute holiday purchases. "He should have done this sooner. He's a disgrace as a leader . . . he hasn't brought us democracy. In fact, he's brought us almost nothing."

Indeed, Yeltsin, in his speech, acknowledged mistakes and asked several times for forgiveness.

"I beg your forgiveness for having failed to jump in one leap from the gray, stagnant, totalitarian past to the clear, rich and civilized future," he said. "I want to beg forgiveness for your dreams that never came true. I am leaving. I've done what I could."

War in Chechnya a factor

Besides the threat of prosecution for corruption, others said the timing of Yeltsin's action had more to do with the war raging in Chechnya.

Russia has waged a three-month campaign there against Chechen rebels, a war the Kremlin has called a fight against Islamic bandits and terrorists. Russia's military has relentlessly bombed factories, hospitals and television stations, along with civilian homes in the southern republic, forcing more than 20,000 people to flee to neighboring regions.

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Putin met with the Russian Cabinet soon after Yeltsin's announcement, saying he would not make any serious changes to domestic or foreign policy in the three months he would effectively run the government. Itar-Tass news agency reported that elections would tentatively take place on March 26.

"Nothing must change in our work. Russia's foreign policy will not change," Putin said.

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"In this spirit, I look forward to working with Acting President Putin as the Russian people begin this process of making the transition from one democratically elected president to the other," Clinton said.

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Moreover, with high-profile disagreements over Kosovo and Chechnya, U.S.-Russian relations have dropped to their lowest point since the end of the Cold War.

Analysts see Putin as a plus

Still, analysts feel a Putin presidency would be a good development for bilateral ties.

"Putin is a strong and wise man, one that is not a typical leader in the Russian mold," said Zudin, of the Center for Political Technologies. "He served in the intelligence branches that collected information about the West. He, unlike others, has ingested this knowledge and knows how other countries work, and approves."

If a single image marked Yeltsin's mercurial political career, it was clambering atop a T-72 tank in 1991 to defend the government of then-President Mikhail Gorbachev against a coup attempt by Soviet legislators unhappy with reform. Two years later, Yeltsin, now president, would put down another attempt to topple the government.

In recent years, however, the leader has become more the butt of jokes than the admired democrat, with approval ratings in the single digits.

NOTES:

Ran all editions.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO (2 C & 1 B&W, 1. (C) Yeltsin: The former leader apologized for his failures., 2. (C) Putin: Grants Yeltsin immunity from prosecution. 3. (B&W) THE ASSOCIATED PRESS file photo, Russian President Boris Yeltsin (left) reads a statement from atop an armored personnel carrier in Moscow in 1991 urging Russians to resist a hardline takeover of the central government

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Vital Speeches

January 1, 2000

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BYLINE: Holbrooke, Richard

BODY:

Delivered at Pretoria

THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE CONGO

Our delegation has come to Africa on this trip, which began five days ago, as part of the commitment of President Clinton, Secretary of State Albright, and the entire national security team to elevate African issues on our list of national priorities.

I have discussed this issue often with President Clinton, and I know how deeply he feels about Africa, how deeply he feels that the region needs more attention -- from the United States, from the Congress, from the American people, and from the media -- and how the region needs more support. Not only did he make an historic trip to Africa two years ago, but he encouraged the mission we are on as well as those of Secretary Albright, who has come here every year as Secretary of State and was in the area, but not in South Africa, just six weeks ago. The United States called for and chaired a special U.N. Security Council Ministerial on Africa, and last spring, Secretary Albright hosted hundreds of African leaders from 50 nations in Washington for the first U.S.-African Ministerial meeting.

When the United States assumes the Presidency of the Security Council next month, in January 2000-- the first month of the first year of the new millennium -- I wish to announce today that we intend to make Africa the priority of the month. In fact we intend to call January of next year the "Month of Africa" in the U.N. Security Council. We will hold at least four public meetings of the Security Council to focus the U.N. and, we hope, the world -- or at least that part of the world that listens -- to the problems and the importance of this continent. One session will definitely be on Angola, one will be on the Congo and we will announce the subjects of the others in the near future after consulting with other members of the United Nations.

I wish to draw your attention to the fact that in the United States, as most of you know, foreign policy and our budget are determined in close consultation with the independent Legislative Branch, the Congress; for this reason I am particularly delighted that I am accompanied on this trip by Senator Russ Feingold of Wisconsin, who is the senior United States Democratic Senator on African affairs. Senator Feingold is deeply concerned with African affairs. He has visited the area before. His presence on this trip and the support of the chairman of his sub-committee, Senator Bill Frist of Tennessee, a Republican -- also a heart surgeon, who performed the first heart/lung transplant in the United States and who has spent many of his vacations performing surgery in the refugee camps in southern Sudan and who has a deep interest in Africa -- shows that the region is not going to be ignored by its most enlightened members. But clearly the Administration's aspirations for Africa will continue to run ahead of the resources that are allocated to this continent's problems. That is unavoidable and the nature of our system. Given the fact that there will always be a gap between resources and rhetoric, we in the United States face a choice: we can scale back our objectives, or we can continue to aspire to the larger goals even when they appear to exceed the resources that have been allocated to them. I for one -- and I know this view is shared by President Clinton, Vice President Gore, and Secretary of State Albright, and my other colleagues -- will continue to seek the larger goals, even when the resources do not always match our rhetoric. Why do I say that? It is very simple. I believe firmly that if we scale back our rhetoric, the resources will simply shrink more. It's better to dream the

larger
dream and try to lead people towards it. In the coming year we will work
long
and hard to attain more support for our programs. We will continue to
make the
case that it is in America's interest to see an Africa that is at peace,
prosperous, and whose people are free and empowered to shape their own
destinies.

No nation exemplifies this hope more than South Africa. I am honored
to be
able to give the only speech of our ten-nation trip here in Pretoria,
here in
South Africa, because your nation is an inspiration to people not only on
this
continent, but throughout the world, including the United States. I am
but one
of the many people who had long feared a bloody outcome in South Africa,
and who
watched some of the world's most inspiring leaders effect a peaceful
transition
here. I watched on television that historic day in 1990 when Nelson
Mandela left
jail and it was broadcast live by CNN around the world; I watched the
entire day
and, like many of you, was moved in the most profound and emotional way.
And
yesterday our delegation was deeply privileged to meet with two of your
great
leaders, former President Nelson Mandela and President Mbeki.

But South Africa, like many nations around the world who have only
recently
replaced one repressive system of government with another of democracy and
freedom in individual rights, still faces many challenges -- whether
assuring
that South Africa's full economic potential reaches every citizen, or
fighting
crime and corruption, or healing the legacy of racial divisions and
oppression.
I am particularly concerned, let me say -- and I know that Senator
Feingold
shares this view and has introduced legislation to deal with it in the
Senate --
with the issue of AIDS, all around the world, but especially in Africa,
given
the statistics which we have been hearing in every stop of this trip. It
threatens development and progress everywhere, including most definitely
in this
great nation. Pretending the AIDS problem does not exist, failing to
destigmatize it, hiding it, or obscuring its true nature, will only make
it
worse. We faced these problems in the United States a decade ago and were
too
slow to react and it was only when we destigmatized the problem, brought
it out
of the closet and explained to everyone that it strikes people
indiscriminately and the massive danger that AIDS is that we began to
deal with
it. Let me say that it is clear to add that on the basis of what we have
been
told here and by experts in New York and Washington, that this is not
just a
health problem, it is an economic problem that can sap the economic
development
and potential future of countries that are making very significant
economic
progress -- I think of Namibia and I regret to say, the threat that it
poses to
this country.

Let me assure you that we are trying to understand the challenges you
face.
Our own history is proof that government of the people, by the people and
for
the people is not always easy. Political, economic and social change
rarely
occur overnight. The journey to freedom can be long and frustrating, but
it is
worth the effort. And for you, like your brethren in Eastern and Central
Europe,
the journey has just begun. The challenges are formidable, but so is the
creativity, capacity and determination of this nation's leaders and
people. As
President Mbeki has put it: "This is South Africa's dawning of the dawn."

Perhaps the most urgent objective of our trip is to search for ways to
assist the resolution of conflicts that threaten the future of this
region. This
is, to my mind, the United Nations' most vital responsibility throughout
the
world. This purpose was central in the minds of President Roosevelt,
Winston
Churchill, and their colleagues, when, during World War II, they laid the
foundations conceptually and then, at the end of the war, created and put
into
being the United Nations itself.

Today, the U.N., and the concept of collective security is challenged
as

never before. Around the world, from Bosnia and Kosovo to Kashmir and East Timor -- as well throughout the great continent of Africa -- we confront a series of problems that are daunting even to the most committed internationalist. There are literally dozens of areas where there is bloodshed right now or could explode at any time. Each crisis has its own individual characteristics and each, therefore, must be handled on its own merits and according to its particular circumstances. But there are common threads.

In every crisis, every warring partner always argues the uniqueness of its historical grievances. In every crisis in every part of the world we are told: 'you are ignoring us and paying attention to the other regions of the world.' The complaints that we have heard here on our trip and in the States about neglect of Africa, are word for word identical to those we heard a week ago in Indonesia and East Timor, and that I have heard for the last few years in Bosnia and Kosovo. They are not unique to Africa. As I travel the world -- and in the last three months I have been to four main arenas of U.N. responsibility: Bosnia, Kosovo, East Timor, and now Africa -- I'm struck by characteristics that are common to all these problems: the breakdown of states, ethnic hatred, greed on the part of leaders, violent nationalism, oppression of minorities and refugees.

President Mandela yesterday addressed this issue with our delegation. He told us of his great dream that the leaders of the conflicts -- and we spoke of the Middle East, Indonesia and Africa -- would look to the future rather than to the past; to seek common ground rather than accentuate or exacerbate past differences. Of course, not everyone is Nelson Mandela -- in fact, no one else is. He is, to my mind, the world's leading moral authority today, and his message must be listened to.

As President Mandela told us, the wars of Africa, like those of Europe and Asia, are not inevitable. They are caused by leaders who yield to the narrowest definition of self-interest and sacrifice their own citizens to their greed, their ambition, their weakness. The United Nations, the United States, the European Union, and humanitarian organizations all over the world are desperately trying to deal with the consequences of these policies and spending billions of dollars in the process. But statesmen, stateswomen, and all officials have a responsibility to go beyond dealing with the consequences of these problems. We must address the underlying causes.

As a start on this continent, the United States seeks to empower Africans to handle crisis. Through President Clinton's 1996 African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI), we are enhancing Africa's own peacekeeping capability. The United States has also contributed nearly \$ 8 million to the Organization of African Unity and through the work of special envoys like Ambassador Howard Wolpe -- who is part of our delegation and is with us here today at the head table -- we are attempting to assist regional leaders in their efforts to resolve conflicts.

South Africa has been a leader in addressing and mediating conflict on the continent. As Howard Wolpe, Senator Feingold and I told President Mandela yesterday, we enthusiastically support his recent decision to put his skills and influence and vast authority to bear as a special facilitator for the Burundi crisis, as we hope that it can avoid falling into a new catastrophic round of bloodshed.

As we set out to create the structures for peace to prevent future conflicts, we must do all we can to solve current crises like those in Burundi, Angola, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia and Eritrea, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In Sierra Leone, the West African states have courageously worked through ECOWAS to secure a lasting peace. We joined other Security Council members to establish a peacekeeping force for Sierra Leone. Last week the United States delivered an additional \$ 6 million to ECOMOG.

In Angola, a country that our delegation visited only three days ago, the

United States and the United Nations have been engaged for years in an effort to end its civil war, one of the deadliest and longest-running conflicts on earth.

Tragically, and primarily because of the actions of UNITA, we have seen the peace unravel yet again in recent months. We saw first-hand on our trip the terrible results of this war -- the personal trauma, the amputees, the refugees, the disintegration of the entire infrastructure of Angola, the malnourished children and the victims of landmines. We will, as I said a moment ago, therefore, hold a special Security Council meeting on Angola in January, and we will immediately begin to seek ways to tighten the sanctions regime. But I want to say that this does not mean a blank check for oppression by either party in this tragic struggle. Those responsible for this endless war, now in its thirty-fifth year, deserve the contempt and opprobrium of the world.

Let me turn now to what is perhaps the biggest challenge we may face in Africa in the coming year. I speak of course of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Last week, the United States joined the other members of the Security Council in approving a resolution that authorizes the U.N. to begin preparations for deployment of 500 military observers. Preparing for a peacekeeping mission in the Congo, getting it right, is our main focus for the remainder of the trip. The task is truly daunting, as President Mbeki warned us yesterday. But, as he also said, we -- the U.S., the United Nations, the international community -- must not turn away from this responsibility.

As it happens, there is a ready and excellent path to peace that has been laid out for Congo. It has been signed by all the parties, after a negotiation superbly led by President Chiluba of Zambia. It is called the Lusaka Agreement. The United States supports the Lusaka Agreement fully.

Allow me at this point a brief personal digression. I have worked on issues of conflict resolution and in arenas of conflict and war for my entire career in this government, stretching over the last thirty-seven years, from Vietnam and Cambodia in the 1960's and 1970's to Bosnia, Kosovo and East Timor most recently. I believe deeply in peacekeeping efforts -- and in the need for the United Nations to play an important role in assisting in conflict resolution. I have lived with failures, and I have participated in successes. I need hardly tell you which is more satisfying.

But peacekeeping requires far more than words, more than paper agreements. The parties to the Lusaka Agreement must respect their commitments if peace is to return to the troubled Congo. The international community cannot simply impose peace in the Congo.

What most stands in the way of international efforts to assist the Congo right now is -- and I say this with great regret -- the actions of some of the parties themselves. The U.N. cannot alone bring peace to this troubled nation, as we have seen so tragically in three historic failures of the United Nations, in the decade since the end of the cold war: Somalia, Bosnia, and Rwanda. Two in Africa and one in Europe. And I would also add Angola. The renewed fighting in the Congo -- which is a direct violation of the Lusaka Agreement -- threatens to leave this important agreement negotiated by President Chiluba in tatters. If the parties in Congo truly want the international community's involvement and support, such violations of these commitments are simply unacceptable.

The United States through the United Nations and through our special envoy here with us today, has worked tirelessly to support the Lusaka process. This includes supporting the recently established Joint Military Commission (JMC), which needs significant international support. Accordingly, I am pleased to announce that the United States will deliver \$ 1 million to the Joint Military Commission within the next few days. We hope this action will invigorate

the
Joint Military Commission. We urge other countries that have made
commitments to
follow through and deliver the money that they have promised.

The Joint Military Commission has a vital, but difficult task to carry
out.

So, too, however, do the parties. We cannot expect that alone, outside
peacekeepers will deliver a peace that is lasting and just. The people of
the
region, the government of the Congo, the rebel groups, the neighboring
countries
must commit themselves to the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement, to
stop
all the fighting, to bring in an outside facilitator into the process, to
withdraw the outside forces and to replace them with a peacekeeping force.

At the same time, the government in Kinshasa must enable U.N. liaison
officers and the U.N. assessment teams to do their jobs. Kinshasa must
assure
them the necessary access, freedom of movement, and security. All sides
must
disavow provocative action; publicly disavow statements showing intent to
abrogate Lusaka; prevent attacks on civilians; and bring to justice those
who
commit such atrocities. And we urge them, we call on them, to take the
most
immediate next step in the Lusaka Agreement: to choose a facilitator for
the
political process. However, to the evident frustration of nearly
everyone, this
simplest, but essential step has not been made. We respectfully urge that
a
facilitator be chosen rapidly. Without even this basic requirement
fulfilled,
the United States will be unable to support moving to the next stage of
peacekeeping.

We can only move forward together to bring peace to Congo if the
parties act
in good faith and support the Lusaka process -- the very process that they
created. In the end, if the Lusaka process fails because the parties
can't agree
on something as simple as choosing a facilitator, they will face tragic
consequences, while the world -- including those of us, like the United
States,
like this delegation, who wish to help -- will be stymied and frustrated.
This
would be more than a tragedy for the people of the region -- it would be a
dangerous setback to the cause of resolving conflict throughout the world
and, perhaps most distressing, it would put another serious cloud over the
vision of
a reformed and revitalized Africa: the "African Renaissance" that has
been so
eloquently and passionately described by President Mbeki.

But if the parties find the will to maintain and bolster peace in
Congo, it
is the United Nations' mission to help. It is the United States' goal to
assist.
Where meaningful peace agreements are in place and observed -- agreements
like
Lusaka -- the U.N. and the United States should support their
implementation.
Where an international presence is required to achieve a meaningful peace
agreement, or to provide the last element to an already meaningful
agreement,
the U.N. has a vital role to play. And it is critical that, when
required, U.N.
peacekeeping is effective -- we cannot afford to repeat the failed
peacekeeping
efforts from earlier this decade, the catastrophes that almost took the
United
Nations down that I mentioned earlier. The U.N.'s sad performance in
Bosnia and
Somalia, and its -- let me be frank -- our inaction in Rwanda.

When regional actors cooperate, when they observe a cease fire, when
they
ensure total access and security for international observers or
peacekeepers,
when they choose a political facilitator to move the process forward,
then the
U.N. and the international community can make a real difference. We will
be
prepared to help central Africa to become stable and democratic, just as
we were
there to help the transition of the new democracies of Southern Africa --
Namibia, Mozambique and your country.

South Africa, of course, stands out as a shining example of what is
possible. Almost a decade ago, the South African people and their
courageous
leaders chose the path to peace, and invited the U.N. to help facilitate
the
process. And next door in Namibia, which was the previous stop on our
trip, the
U.N. played an even more vital role in helping Namibia peacefully
navigate the
path to independence. Just last week, Namibia celebrated its third round

of free national elections. What the U.N. once contributed to the Namibians, free Namibia now gives back through its magnificent participation in the Security Council and through the leadership of Ambassador Martin Andjaba, who led the U.N.'s mission to East Timor, and through the Presidency of the General Assembly of Foreign Minister Gurirab.

Or look to your other neighbor, Mozambique, where the U.N. oversaw a cease fire and transition process that also led to democracy. The people of Mozambique are making history as we speak, with their second multi-party elections. South Africa, Namibia, and Mozambique, all in their different way, show how valuable the United Nations can be. It is imperative that our ultimate objective be the same outcome for Congo, Sierra Leone, Angola and other conflicts.

In conclusion, let me say, that it is with these key goals in mind that our delegation leaves now for the second half of our trip, where we will be joined by Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Susan Rice. We will go to the five nations that are most deeply involved in the Congo tragedy -- Zimbabwe, Zambia, Rwanda, Uganda, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo itself. We set out with no illusions as to the complexities of the situation, but we hope and we pray that the leaders of the region will work productively with the United Nations, United States and all those many people who pray and dream and work for the African Renaissance, to help bring peace to the Congo.

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December 31, 1999

SECTION: International news

LENGTH: 1951 words

HEADLINE: YELTSIN RESIGNS UNEXPECTEDLY, TURNS OVER REINS TO PRIME MINISTER PUTIN
(1100&ADD) With RUSSIA-PUTIN-0101; YELTSIN-LEGACY-0101.

BYLINE: MARGARET COKER

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

President Boris Yeltsin, who climbed atop a tank to help usher democracy into Russia, stepped down unexpectedly Friday, apologizing for failing to transform his nation into a "rich, civilized country."

In an emotional, nationally televised address, the 68-year-old Yeltsin bid farewell to his countrymen after eight years in power, during which economic crises, corruption charges and ill health have tarnished his image as a freedom fighter.

"Russians should enter the new millennium with new politicians, new people who are clever, energetic and strong, while we, who have been in power for many years, should rather go," he said, his voice choking back emotion.

Under the Russian Constitution, Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, the country's most popular politician, becomes acting president, and new elections must be held within three months. Yeltsin tapped Putin as his preferred successor when the 47-year-old former KGB official became the fifth prime minister in 17 months in early September.

With reporters looking on in the wood-paneled president's office in the Kremlin, Yeltsin passed a black briefcase to Putin containing the codes for

Russia's nuclear weapons.

Within hours, Putin granted Yeltsin immunity from prosecution, a development some analysts believe could have motivated the resignation.

Yeltsin's two daughters, his son-in-law, and at least 60 other current and former Kremlin aides are reportedly under investigation for corruption and bribery charges in separate cases by Swiss and Italian prosecutors, as well as a money-laundering investigation by U.S. authorities.

"Yeltsin is a real political animal. He has been anxious about his family," said Andrei Zudin, the director of political research at Moscow's Center for Political Technologies, a think tank. "Putin is a great surprise for him. He's proven he's a winner ... popular and loyal."

Yeltsin's resignation was unexpected but not surprising. Rumors have circulated in Moscow for months that the ailing silver-maned politician would step down _ if he did not die first. Yeltsin had quintuple heart bypass surgery three years ago, and has repeatedly been hospitalized for pneumonia and other illnesses.

He had turned over day-to-day rule of the world's second largest nuclear power to Putin, including leading the Russian military assault against Muslim separatists in the breakaway republic of Chechnya _ the main reason why the prime minister skyrocketed from an unknown bureaucrat to become Russia's most visible and popular public figure.

Russians busily preparing for New Year's Eve, traditionally their biggest holiday of the year, reacted calmly and with relief to Yeltsin's announcement.

"It's the best present I could have asked for," said Nadia Gorobaya, a 19-year-old student rushing around the capital for last minute holiday purchases. "He should have done this sooner. He's a disgrace as a leader ... he hasn't brought us democracy. In fact, he's brought us almost nothing."

Indeed, Yeltsin, in his speech acknowledged mistakes and asked several times for forgiveness.

"I beg your forgiveness for having failed to jump in one leap from the gray, stagnant, totalitarian past to the clear, rich and civilized future," he said. "I want to beg forgiveness for your dreams that never came true. I am leaving. I've done what I could."

Besides the threat of prosecution for corruption, others said the timing of Yeltsin's action had more to do with the war raging in Chechnya.

Russia has waged a three-month campaign there against Chechen rebels, a war the Kremlin has called a fight against Islamic bandits and terrorists. Russia's military has relentlessly bombed factories, hospitals and television stations, along with civilian homes in the southern republic, forcing more than 20,000 people to flee to neighboring regions.

At least 30,000 people died in the first Chechen war from 1994 to 1996, many of whom were civilians and conscript Russian soldiers. The death toll turned public opinion in Russia against the offensive. This time around, however, casualties are minimal and a majority of Russians back the campaign.

In recent weeks, the Russian army has focused its efforts on taking control of the Chechen capital Grozny, but has stalled after meeting heavy resistance from what is reported to be a small pack of rebels entrenched in the city. The bulk of the rebel fighting force is thought to have retreated to mountain hideaways to wait out the frigid winter.

"Putin's popularity depends on a successful war," says Yevgeny Volk, the director of the Moscow office of the Heritage Foundation. "Extending the war means extending the chances of Russian soldiers coming home in body bags. No politician wants that."

Russians on Dec. 19 voted for a new parliament, handing a surprising victory to the pro-Kremlin Unity Party that Putin backs. With this strong showing and the subsequent backing of other smaller political parties, Putin is the undisputed favorite to win the presidential race. Those elections had been scheduled for June.

"Yeltsin has shortened the electoral campaign period down to three months from six months," said Andrei Piontkovsky, a Moscow political analyst. "For three months they can keep up this story of success in Chechnya. In six months, that would no longer be possible."

Putin met with the Russian Cabinet soon after Yeltsin's announcement, saying he would not make any serious changes to domestic or foreign policy in the three months he would effectively run the government. Itar-Tass news agency reported that elections would tentatively take place on March 26.

"Nothing must change in our work. Russia's foreign policy will not change," Putin said.

In Washington, President Clinton praised Yeltsin for putting a democratic structure in place in Russia. "We have had our differences ... but Yeltsin and my starting point has always been how Russia and the United States could work together to advance common interests," Clinton said in a statement.

"In this spirit, I look forward to working with Acting President Putin as the Russian people begin this process of making the transition from one democratically elected president to the other," Clinton said.

The Clinton administration has invested much time and money into its relationship with Yeltsin and his multiple governments, portraying the occasionally impetuous Russian as the best personification of democratic ideals and economic market reforms. Yeltsin's nationalistic blustering and current corruption allegations have been an embarrassment to both Clinton and Vice President Al Gore.

(EDs: Story can end here. Optional add follows.)

Moreover, with high-profile disagreements over Kosovo and Chechnya, U.S.-Russian relations have dropped to their lowest point since the end of the Cold War.

Still, analysts feel a Putin presidency would be a good development for bilateral ties.

"Putin is a strong and wise man, one that is not a typical leader in the Russian mold," said Zudin, of the Center for Political Technologies. "He served in the intelligence branches that collected information about the West. He, unlike others, has ingested this knowledge and knows how other countries work, and approves."

If a single image marked Yeltsin's mercurial political career, it was clambering atop a T-72 tank in 1991 to defend the government of then-President Mikhail Gorbachev against a coup attempt by Soviet legislators unhappy with reform. Two years later, Yeltsin, now president, would put down another attempt to topple the government.

In recent years, however, the leader has become more the butt of jokes than the admired democrat, with approval ratings in the single digits. Yeltsin, the first democratically elected president in Russia's history, has been worried about how history would remember him, according to former high-ranking aides.

On the day he announced his resignation, however, many Russians were generous in their assessment of his era.

"An epoch is over, said Nadezhda, a 43-year-old municipal worker, who refused to give her last name. "Good or bad he was a strong leader. We felt safe behind his back."

ENDIT

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Federal News Service

December 21, 1999, Tuesday

LENGTH: 3792 words

HEADLINE: STATE DEPARTMENT FOREIGN PRESS CENTER BRIEFING

BRIEFER: BRADY ANDERSON, ADMINISTRATOR U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

SUBJECT: RECENT TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST

MODERATOR: MARJORIE RANSOM

LOCATION: THE FOREIGN PRESS CENTER, WASHINGTON, DC

TIME: 11:00 A.M., EST DATE: TUESDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1999

BODY:

MS. RANSOM: Hello. I'm Marjorie Ransom. I'm the director of the Department of State Foreign Press Centers. It's my pleasure today to welcome to our center for the first time Brady Anderson, administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development, who will talk to us on the record about his recent trip to the Middle East. From 1994 to 1997, Mr. Anderson served as U.S. ambassador to Tanzania. And before we begin, I caution you to wait for the microphone before you ask your questions, and to please identify yourself each time by name and media organization. Mr. Anderson.

MR. ANDERSON: Yes, thank you very much. It's a pleasure to be here with you at the Foreign Press Center today and talk about my recent trip to the Middle East. We began the journey in Jordan, then went to the West Bank, Gaza and transited down to Sharm-el-Sheikh and then up to Cairo, and back to Washington.

The purpose of the trip was to -- for me as administrator, having been confirmed in the post last August -- to see firsthand our programs in the Middle East. I wanted to go there because of the size of the programs, the future of the programs, and of course the importance of our programs as a part of the foreign policy in the regions and a part of the Middle East peace process.

Beginning in Jordan, I dedicated this -- one has the opportunity to do these things in my job -- the refurbishment of a water treatment plant outside Amman, which provides 40 percent of the drinking water for that city. That was about a \$7 million refurbishing process.

Also in Jordan, I viewed medical clinics that are set up for pregnant women to advise them on their health care before they have the baby, and also encouraging them to come back after they've had the child for post-partum care.

We have several clinics in Jordan that are doing that. And I was fascinated by a Jordanian woman who was the head of the clinic there and her excitement when a woman who had been to the clinic and had a baby