

The putsch at the CPB

Last year, when it looked like Congressional Republicans were serious about cutting funding for government-subsidized television for the upper middle-classes, representatives of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) trooped in numbers to Capitol Hill. Hotly and indignantly disputed were accusations that public television is a bastion of liberal bias and contentions that PBS productions invariably reflect the left-of-center views of this country's prosperous intellectual elite. Just look at Ken Burns' series on the Civil War, we were told, a phenomenally popular and acclaimed series. William Buckley's "Firing Line" got more honorary mention during that period than perhaps ever before. So did Peggy Noonan's series on American values. See, so the argument went, public television is flush with shows informed by conservative views.

Well, what a surprise it is then to find that the Board of the CPB — which was created by Congress to be a non-partisan source of funding and leadership for public broadcasting — will be meeting today to vote on a new chairman, New Jersey businessman Alan Sagner. Mr. Sagner has quite an intriguing record for someone nominated to this allegedly non-partisan position. Not only has he been a part owner of the radical Nation magazine since 1977 (this according to the Nation itself), something he forgot to mention in his Senate confirmation hearings as a board member in 1994 when questioned about his political views by Sen. John McCain. He was also, according to the New York Times, chairman of the New Jersey Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze in the 1980s.

Mr. Sagner was also a founding member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, a Trotskyite organization formed in the early 1960s in order to support Fidel Castro's revolution. While the organization received the support of intellectuals like James Baldwin, Simone de Beauvoir, Jean-Paul Sartre, Norman Mailer and Kenneth Tynan, the connection that brought it real attention — including that of the FBI — was with Lee Harvey Oswald, who shot John F. Kennedy and was himself a member.

Among those who have expressed their dismay

over this turn of events is Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, who on Sept. 10 wrote to Larry Pressler, chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, that he feared Mr. Sagner would "unduly politicize the board." Mr. D'Amato continued, "I am very concerned about Mr. Sagner's background, qualifications and future plans for the board. While Mr. Sagner is considered to be a successful businessman, I would like to know Mr. Sagner's qualifications to fill such an important position. In addition, the election of Mr. Sagner as Chairman of the CPB Board inevitably calls into question Mr. Sagner's future plans for the board as well as PBS broadcasting in general."

It appears that today's vote is the latest in a series of moves to consolidate power on the board by a number of Clinton operatives, led by the redoubtable Diane Blair, a former member of Betsy Wright's "Bimbo Squad" in 1992 and wife of Jim Blair. Mr. Blair, it will be recalled, is Chief Counsel for Tyson's Chicken and the man who advised Hillary Rodham Clinton on her phenomenally successful cattle futures investments. For what would seem to be good reasons, Mrs. Blair is very close to the Clintons and is said to have spent more nights at the White House than just about anyone except the first family. Both Mrs. Blair and Mr. Sagner are Clinton appointees, and they have recently been joined on the board by yet another, Heidi Schulman, wife of Commerce Secretary Mickey Kantor. Ms. Schulman, like her husband, was a recess appointment (on Aug. 30). That is, she never went through Senate confirmation hearings for her position on the board. Her presence appears to have tipped the balance on the board in favor of the Clintonites, who will be gaining further power from Mr. Sagner's election.

As Mrs. Clinton might say, Mrs. Blair and friends obviously believe they "need those slots," and they are dead serious about getting "their people in." But if Mr. Sagner becomes chairman, public broadcasting may well end up ruing the day. When the funding battle heats up again, his appointment will surely be excellent ammunition in the pockets of the Republicans.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1996

True Brit: The Birth Of a Story

U.S. Press Follows, No Questions Asked

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Another accusatory story about the Clinton administration echoed across the Atlantic this week, making its way from a Rupert Murdoch newspaper in London to two conservative U.S. papers.

The target this time is first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who is alleged to have intervened to suppress allegations of sexual harassment at the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

"It's blatantly untrue . . . it's ludicrous," said Neel Lattimore, the first lady's spokesman. He accused the Washington Times and the Wall Street Journal editorial page, both of which picked up the charge from the Sunday Times of London, of "writing stories and never checking with people whose names they are basically slandering."

The story is part of a pattern in which openly partisan British newspapers, some of which have looser standards of verification than their U.S. counterparts, have been the vehicle for airing disputed allegations that are then repeated, without further checking, in the American press.

James Adams, Washington correspondent CPB, F8, Col. 1

CPB, Front F1

spondent for the Sunday Times, quoted a single, unnamed source as alleging Hillary Clinton's involvement in the CPB case. In an interview from London, he said he did not know if his sources had firsthand knowledge of any role by the first lady.

"Are they right or are they wrong? Difficult to say," Adams said. "The sourcing on the story came from the highest level of those who should have known. I am satisfied they believed what they told me."

London newspapers have carried a number of thinly documented stories about the Whitewater investigation, Vincent Foster's death and the president's alleged extramarital affairs, some of them peddled by Clinton's political enemies. The Sunday Times has written of what it called Clinton's "almost psychotic inability to control his zipper." (Last spring, Adams ventured into local politics with a piece headlined "Riot fear looms over Washington.")

The Sunday Telegraph, meanwhile, has reported that "the lid is being blown off the whole squalid regime" in Arkansas, and that Whitewater may "bring down the whole administration." The paper has questioned whether Foster was "a U.S. agent," saying the late White House aide made secret trips to Switzerland.

The Sunday Telegraph has also published a story about a former Arkansas beauty queen who says she once had an affair with Clinton and that she has been threatened with violence by a Democratic Party intermediary if she continues to talk. That piece was picked up last year in several Washington Times columns, including one by Editor in Chief Wesley Pruden. It was also trumpeted in a Wall Street Journal editorial, which complained that "the respectable press is spending too much time adjudicating what the reader has a right to know, and too little time with the old spirit of 'stop the presses.'"

In the CPB case, both the Journal and the Washington Times suggested that The Washington Post deliberately omitted Hillary Clinton's role from its account of the tangled tale. "What needs to be explained is how [Post reporter] Marc Fisher could write 3,000 words on this and not discuss what's already on the public record," said Robert L. Bartley, the Journal's editorial page editor. "It was curious that there were these two different versions of the same story."

Fisher said he had made "a bunch of calls" to check on whether Mrs. Clinton was involved. "We got very clear and convincing denials every step of the way . . . If there had been a first lady angle, I would have been more than happy to include it," he said. "That would have made the story even juicier."

Adams published his 11-paragraph account

of the CPB controversy Sunday. The Post ran a 2,100-word article in its Style section Tuesday.

The story involves allegations that Martha Buchanan, a member of the corporation's board, kissed CPB Vice President Fred DeMarco on the lips and made other advances. After DeMarco allegedly rebuffed her, Buchanan is said by other officials to have com-

*"'Inside the Beltway' is
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in another publication."*

—Washington Times Editor Wesley Pruden

plained about his work and tried to get him fired.

Top CPB officials hired a law firm to evaluate its legal liability. In one of a flurry of memos about the matter, CPB President Richard Carlson accused his boss, then-Chairman Henry Cauthen, of trying "to cover up this case."

Another CPB board member, Sheila Tate, brought the matter to then-White House counsel Abner Mikva, who conducted a series of meetings but took no action. None of the

CPB documents leaked to The Post and the Sunday Times mentions the first lady.

Adams began his front-page piece by declaring that "Hillary Clinton has been accused of suppressing a sexual harassment investigation." He wrote that she "became involved at the behest of Diane Blair, a friend and member of the CPB board which answers to the White House."

An "official close to the investigation" was quoted as saying: "Diane spoke to Hillary and Hillary spoke to somebody in the White House counsel's office to interfere with the investigation. There is simply no other explanation for the delay which has left all of us vulnerable." No details were offered.

The headline: "Hillary Clinton 'stopped sex case against friend.'" Lattimore says the first lady does not know Buchanan.

Mikva told The Post this week: "I never talked to [Clinton] about it . . . No one in the counsel's office ever talked to her about it."

Blair said in a letter to Carlson Wednesday that "the story that I involved Mrs. Clinton in this case is a total and complete fabrication. I have never spoken one word to Mrs. Clinton about this, and she has had no involvement whatsoever with it."

On Wednesday, the Washington Times's "Inside the Beltway" column summarized the Sunday Times account and reported that The Post had followed it up—"without the Hillary angle, of course."

On Thursday, under the heading "No Style," the Journal editorial page noted the differences between the Post and Sunday Times

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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1995

accounts. The paper added that in light of the Whitewater affair, "we don't find it beyond imagining that the first lady would tell the mere mortals in Judge Mikva's office to lay off a friend."

Said Lattimore, "I don't understand why the London Times, the Washington Times and the Wall Street Journal are now following this new journalistic tactic of relying on assumptions instead of facts." He said none of the papers had called for comment.

Editor Pruden said the Washington Times had not done its own reporting on the matter. "'Inside the Beltway' is kind of a political gossip column," he said. "We're just reporting what we found in another publication." Asked whether his paper should have called the White House for comment, he said, "Why didn't the White House make a big deal about [the Sunday Times piece] the day before?"

Said the Journal's Bartley: "We knew the first lady's office had denied it. We didn't need to call to ascertain that. We meant to include that. If you've got 600 words, something has to give."

He added that "we did not make an attempt to independently confirm" whether Mrs. Clinton was involved, but that "a lot of people involved in the incident think that it's at least plausible that she was."

Adams, asked if he thought his sources were trying to discredit the first lady, said, "It may be there is some kind of agenda here, and it just so happens I was the trigger."

When Government Oversteps

Everett Alvarez's case against Montgomery County renewed my concern (not paranoia) that the powers of government are encroaching on our basic liberties ("Police Party Raid Angers Ex-POW," Metro, Nov. 29). I could not agree more that the county is "overusing criminal law to solve a social problem." I find it troubling that the police or anyone else could be so audacious, not only by entering a man's house but also by continuing to justify it as an acceptable means to prevent teenage drinking.

The problems we face as a society are indeed many and deep, and uncontrolled teenage drinking is among them. However, it is not one that we should alleviate by pursuing it mainly as a crime. In fact, its criminal nature is almost irrelevant when compared with its social roots. By focusing on teenage drinking as a crime that must be stopped at all costs, Montgomery

County has included among those costs some freedoms I would rather keep.

The county has apparently lost the vision of government that used to balance both the need to punish unacceptable or criminal behavior and the equal need to preserve the liberties for which men like Mr. Alvarez suffered dearly. Tipping the scale in favor of pursuing even the most worthwhile goals can endanger the most basic premise of American government: freedom from capricious rule.

Anyone who is willing to solve our social ills by ignoring constitutional tenets ought to think again about what our system of government is designed to do and at what price. I cannot accept any claim that the police have a right to conduct warrantless searches for any reason, whether it be for a party where there could be underage drinking or for any other reason.

We seem to have lost sight of the fact that we own our government, a privi-

lege few have in this world. When we allow our government to try to solve problems by nibbling at our rights, we drift into dangerous waters, though we may not always acknowledge it.

I hope Mr. Alvarez wins his case against Montgomery County and that his victory will force officials to think more about what they are doing when they enforce even the most well-intentioned laws. Only by acknowledging that the ends do not always justify the means will we continue to enjoy the rights Mr. Alvarez fought for, rights that Montgomery County sadly mistakes for privileges.

SEAN REDMOND
Washington

Work of the Assassination Records Review Board

In his article, "Did the Mob Kill JFK?" [Outlook, Dec. 10], Ronald Goldfarb notes the important mandate that Congress gave to the Kennedy Assassination Records Review Board. However, two additional points might serve to further clarify the work of the board.

Although, as Mr. Goldfarb notes, the board is a federal agency, its five members were nominated by the two largest historical organizations, an organization of archivists and the American Bar Association. To further ensure our independence, none of us could hold a federal office at the time we were nominated.

Second, it should be emphasized that the board is committed to seeking, reviewing and opening as many records as possible. But it was not established to solve what Mr. Goldfarb describes as the "mysteries" of the Kennedy assassination. That task will be left to further researchers, journalists and historians whose work will begin when ours is finished.

ANNA K. NELSON
Washington

The writer is a member of the Assassination Records Review Board.

The Modest Mr. Reston

A footnote to the obituary on James "Scotty" Reston of the New York Times [Metro, Dec. 8]. During my presidency of the National Press Club in 1973, we inaugurated the Fourth Estate Award for a lifetime of distinguished contributions to journalism. Walter Cronkite was the first recipient. The following year, the board of governors chose James Reston.

I wrote him to arrange a date for the formal awards dinner, and he kept postponing a decision, finally telling me he preferred not to have any ceremony. I countered with a suggestion for a small private lunch with a few friends at which his award was presented. This modest man is the only recipient in 22 years who has not been publicly honored with this special citation by his peers.

DON LARRABEE
Bethesda

'Character Assassination'

Doug Farah's article "Doubt Cast on Haiti's Chance to Rise From Poverty" [news story, Dec. 7] quotes a letter that Reps. Dan Burton and Robert Torricelli claim to have sent to Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. This letter makes reference to a speech in which President Aristide had purportedly incited people to violence.

The congressmen received from the Haitian Embassy a chronology of

events, which demands for integrity's sake a reformulation of their letter. Failing this, their pretension in preaching to President Aristide will scarcely mask their efforts to sponsor a campaign of character assassination, which has failed and no doubt will again.

JEAN CASIMIR
Ambassador
Embassy of Haiti
Washington

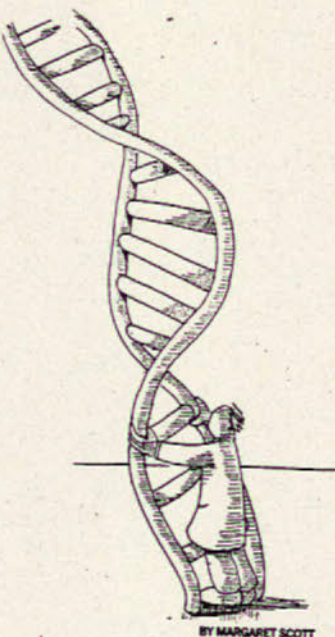
Underfunded Research On Cancer Prevention

The Dec. 8 news story about the hype of gene therapy recalls the similar hype about genes and cancer. The many expensive and elegant studies showing the presence of altered genes in some human cancers inspire both hope and fear. There is no evidence that these genes cause the cancers; they could equally be products of the cancers which arise from other causes.

Yet while this work is generously supported, efforts in cancer prevention and the search for cancer-causing agents languish because they are grossly underfunded.

WILLIAM LIJINSKY
Columbia

The writer is a retired director of the Chemical Carcinogenesis Program at the Frederick Cancer Research Center.



Protecting Development of Pharmaceuticals

I must correct an inaccuracy in Mary McGrory's Nov. 28 column regarding my comments opposing any effort to weaken patent protection under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Those comments, which were part of an ad published in The Post, were not taken from an old speech but from a recent article I wrote about the threat to medical innovation posed by efforts to weaken the patent protection afforded by GATT. In the article, I discuss how important patent protection is to the development of new and better medicines to ease human suffering.

The U.S. pharmaceutical research industry is the world leader in the development of innovative new medicines, which requires investing billions of dollars in research and development that can span decades without any guarantee of success. Patent protection makes that investment in research worthwhile—and possible—because proceeds from the sales of these medicines support research behind not only new drugs but also the thousands of drug candidates that never make it out of the lab.

Recently, patent protection around the world was strengthened and harmonized by GATT, which required changes that standardized intellectual property protection in all participating countries. Now some generic drug companies are asking Congress for a special exemption from the law so they can ignore the patent protections under GATT and bring their products to market faster. I believe such an exemption would be unwise.

Generic drug companies play an important role in helping lower the costs of medicines. But it is the pharmaceutical research industry that discovers and develops those medicines in the first place. Preserve patent protection, and you preserve the opportunity for the discovery of future cures and treatments for disease. Undercut that protection, and you undercut America's hope for new and better answers to our health care needs.

C. EVERETT KOOP, M.D.
Bethesda

The writer was U.S. surgeon general in the Reagan administration.

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Why were CPB memos leaked?

Romantic pursuit ended 3 years ago

By Steve Behrens

Who was the intended victim when someone dumped reams of embarrassing internal CPB documents in the laps of reporters this month?

Most directly injured was the reputation of Martha Buchanan, a CPB Board member accused of chasing after and giving an unbidden kiss to CPB Senior Vice President Fred DeMarco almost four years ago. Based on more than 400 pages of leaked documents, the story of her failed courtship and/or sexual harassment of DeMarco got big play in the *Washington Post* Dec. 12.

Another victim may be CPB President Richard Carlson, a frequent opponent of Buchanan's. A *Wall Street Journal* editorial Dec. 14 speculated that the leak "is part of an effort to force out" Carlson.

Indeed, the leaker may have been trying to frame Carlson, because observers were sure to suspect that he or an ally had leaked the documents to damage Buchanan.

Then there are CPB and public broadcasting. The leaker may have intended to embarrass them, giving the *Post* more than 400 pages of material for its tragicomedy of high-priced lawyers, dueling faxes and unreciprocated romantic interest.

And there's DeMarco, who, according to the leaked memos, just wanted to forget Martha Buchanan and the events of 1992, and may not be enjoying his new celebrity. "I have no comments to make about this," he said last week, "and

I really don't want to discuss this matter at all."

The weapon that inflicted this latest damage to Buchanan, Carlson, DeMarco and public broadcasting was a blunt instrument: more than 400 pages of CPB documents, including some apparent originals, left anonymously at the front desk of the *Post* on Dec. 9, according to reporter Marc Fisher. Copies also were given to the *London Times*, which rushed a Hillary Clinton angle into print the next day. Fisher followed on the 12th. Copies of some of the documents also were obtained by Laurence Jarvik, a prominent critic of public broadcasting, who provided copies to *Current*.

Jarvik denied that he released the documents to the newspapers, but said he wished that he had. "It couldn't have happened at a better time," he said. "Everyone had forgotten about my issue."

Who gave the memos to the newspapers and to Jarvik isn't known. They once were private among Carlson, former chairman Sheila Tate and Cauthen, but somehow left the building.

"Between the members of the board, the outside attorneys and the White House, there were many copies of the documents floating around," said a CPB official.

Buchanan, Carlson, Tate and present chair-

man Rianjean Busterworth and others were not available for comment. A CPB statement Dec. 12 declined to comment on "personnel matters" and regretted that someone "whose only intention appears to be to cause harm to the corporation" had revealed confidential information.

"Vendetta" against Buchanan

One theory to explain CPB's pursuit of the

Buchanan case and the leak comes from Vic Gold, the only member of the board during its recent contentious months who is willing to discuss events in detail. Gold resigned from the board Dec. 5, before the leak put the Buchanan affair in the public realm.

"It is quite obvious that if Richard Carlson was not behind it, he is president and was responsible for it," Gold said last week. "It was a personal vendetta with Martha Buchanan." Carlson didn't like Buchanan's "bulldog" questioning of budgets and handling of projects,

including the DeMarco-managed balance-and-objectivity hearings in fall 1993, Gold said.

For months most of the board, including Buchanan, knew nothing of the allegations; she was not permitted to "face her accuser," Gold said. She did not know about the blizzard of memos about her, he said, until the White House called to discuss her appointment.

Carlson and his board supporter Sheila Tate

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Leak

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moved to discredit Gold and his theory.

"This is nuts, but I'd expect nothing less from a guy who campaigned for Bill Clinton and flacked for Spiro Agnew," said a Carlson quote released by a CPB spokesman.

Tate denied any involvement in the leak. "Vic Gold has spent his life making irresponsible comments," said her statement.

(Gold said Carlson's quote was "a typical Carlson smear." Gold was proud to work for Agnew, along with William Safire and Pat Buchanan, he told *Current*, but never worked on behalf of Connor, the segregationist police commissioner of Birmingham, Ala. Carlson had missed the point of one of Gold's favorite political anecdotes, he said.)

This was not standard Republican vs. Democrat antipathy; Gold, Carlson and Tate are all Republicans. Buchanan is a Democrat appointed by President Bush. But there's little doubt about the personal animosities that figure in his theory.

Gold has been on Buchanan's side, questioning Carlson and Tate publicly on a number of issues, so his suspicions are not surprising and some people won't give them much credibility. But he does point to a consistently antagonistic relationship between Carlson/Tate and Buchanan.

In repeated matchups, Tate has sided with the half of the board that backs Carlson, and Buchanan and Gold have led the criticism. The board split almost evenly over the election of Tate's successor as chairman in September 1994, electing South Carolina ETV President Henry Cauthen, who was then backing Carlson. Early this year, Buchanan, Gold and allies balked when management hired Gingrich friend Vin Weber to provide "strategic advice" on CPB's future funding. The deal was leaked to the *Washington Times* and undone.

And in May they reacted with outrage when they learned that Cauthen had privately extended Carlson's contract for three years and given him a \$296,800 golden parachute without a formal review of his performance and without telling the board.

In the memos and the *Post*'s report, Tate was the strongest voice for protecting CPB from legal liability in case DeMarco filed a sexual harassment suit involving Buchanan. On Sept. 18, 1994, nine days before the bitter board chairmanship election in which she opposed Buchanan, Tate learned about the allegations against Buchanan and informed CPB Executive Vice President Bob Conrod.

Tate later insisted on taking the problem to White House Counsel Abner Mikva, seeking to prevent Buchanan's reappointment, though outside attorneys had advised against that course of action. The attorneys warned that the affair could go public if CPB went to the White House.

On Sept. 8, over the objections of Chairman Henry Cauthen and with the support of Carlson, Tate took the Buchanan matter to Mikva at the White House. Administration sources later told the *Post* there was a consensus "approved by Chief of Staff Leon Panetta" that Buchanan would not be reappointed.

Carlson likewise pressed to protect CPB from liability, though Gold contended Buchanan's alleged complaints never seriously threatened DeMarco's job. "There is only one person who can hire and fire Fred DeMarco, and that is Richard Carlson."

Gold alluded to his own career as a political speechwriter. "I have been involved in politics for a long period of time," said Gold. "I've come from Louisiana, and it's been a rough sport at times. The thing that's almost frightening and chilling about this is that it's so grati-

itous. [Buchanan] has been defeated, she's been crushed... and someone still has so much venom for her."

How liable and what to do?

The whole megillah, if the memos and the *Post* report are to be believed, began in a series of station-relations meetings held by CPB in hotels around the country. Station relations was DeMarco's job, and Buchanan was an active board member. At a grant review meeting in Dallas early in 1992, Buchanan, a stylish 61-year-old former TV anchor, allegedly had the hotel gift shop send a gift to DeMarco, a sociable 53-year-old former NBC station manager, a night shirt with the slogan, "I only sleep with the best." DeMarco later returned it to Buchanan.

Outside attorney Stephen B. Forman ordered an identical shirt for CPB to have on hand.

Buchanan was said to have made other invitations and overtures to DeMarco, and once allegedly kissed him goodnight, on the mouth, in a hotel lobby during the spring 1992 Public Radio Conference in Seattle. Later that year, DeMarco became engaged to marry Pat Hunter, now a PBS program administrator, and they married in February 1993.

Buchanan stopped chasing DeMarco three years ago and her attitude toward him changed drastically, he wrote in a memo that CPB gave to attorneys. He recalled hearing from Carlson in November 1993 that Buchanan had problems with his performance, and from Conrod, several months later, that she wanted him fired. The discomfort had an "adverse affect on my health," contributing to hospitalizations in June 1992 and March 1993, according to the memo.

Two attorneys hired by CPB, Forman and June Kalfjarvi, concurred in a June 1995 report that there was "reasonable cause" to believe that DeMarco's rejection of Buchanan "prompted her to speak poorly" about him. While DeMarco's job hadn't been hurt, "the facts may be sufficient to state a claim for hostile environment sexual harassment," the lawyers concluded. "If CPB does not take prompt and effective measures to remedy the situation, it likely would be liable if further sexual conduct occurs or unfounded criticism continues."

The lawyers laid out five ways CPB could take remedial action, and recommended Option 1: monitoring the situation and taking action only if Buchanan resumes "unsupported criticism" or if DeMarco suffered "adverse employment action" because of her complaints.

"Fraught with risk"

Option 4, which Carlson and Tate chose to follow, was to take the problem to the White House, since Buchanan and other CPB Board members are presidential appointees. The White House could ask her to resign or could dismiss her. "By reason of the political nature of this approach," Forman and Kalfjarvi cautioned, "it must be noted that it is fraught with risk, including the probability of public disclosure of the matter."

Two weeks later, according to the CPB memos, Carlson, Cauthen and General Counsel

Lillian Hernandez briefed Cauthen on the attorneys' report, though they did not give him a copy that day. Carlson rejected an alternative advanced by Cauthen—approaching the White House through Cauthen's friend, Don Fowler of the Democratic National Committee.

At that July 16 briefing in Cauthen's Washington hotel room, they agreed that going to the White House was the only reasonable option, Fernandez summed up in a memo to Cauthen later that week.

Cauthen later complained to Carlson that the briefing had been "very misleading." When Fernandez sent him the attorneys' June report, he adopted their recommended Option 1: monitoring the Buchanan-DeMarco situation.

"As far as the implications that have been made in newspapers," he told *Current* last week, "I am very comfortable with what I did with any matter that may have arisen. I followed specifically the recommendations of the legal counsel hired by CPB."

Cauthen began opposing the White House option after he had read the outside attorneys' recommendations. In early August when he found out that Fernandez was moving ahead to make an appointment with the White House, he objected angrily.

On Aug. 8, Tate wrote to Cauthen, insisting that he meet with the White House within 10 days, or she would brief presidential counsel Mikva herself.

Cauthen replied the next day: "Making a decision to go against the advice of both private attorneys as well as against the request of Mr. DeMarco is not one that I am willing to make at this time." He advised Fernandez that she should not go with Tate to the White House and on Sept. 7 phoned Carlson at home to stop her from going.

On Sept. 8, the *Post* reported, Tate went without Fernandez, but brought along Fred Figdng, a former presidential counsel who, like Tate, worked in the Reagan White House. Later, with Cauthen's reluctant approval, Fernandez returned to the White House with former Nixon aide Leonard Garment, who was at least the fifth outside attorney CPB had hired to protect itself from one of its own senior vice presidents.

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The story told by the London *Sunday Times* Dec. 10 diverges somewhat from the one in the memos. The Murdoch-owned newspaper alleges that CPB Board member Diane Blair, a good friend of Hillary Clinton, brought the First Lady into matter. "There is simply no other explanation for the delay which has left all of us vulnerable," said an unnamed "official" close to the investigation. Blair did not return a call from *Current*.

On Sept. 19, Cauthen was succeeded as chairman by Rita Jean Butterworth.

By then, Cauthen's relationship with CPB management had deteriorated. Fernandez had hired an attorney in September to advise Cauthen that he was not her boss. And Cauthen unsuccessfully sought board funding so he could hire his own lawyer, according to the *Post*.

Carlson and Cauthen exchanged memos in which Carlson accused Cauthen of "disingenuity" and Cauthen charged Carlson with deviousness. On Oct. 26, Cauthen produced a 12-page catalog of 30 "misleading, distorted or inaccurate" statements in a single Carlson memo.

Whether the leak was meant to sabotage Carlson or Buchanan or a bigger target, it may have wounded both CPB officials. Carlson appears to have lost at least Cauthen's support on the divided board, and his future with the corporation may be further threatened by board turnover next March, when terms end for Tate, Buchanan and two other appointees of Reagan or Bush: Honey Alexander, wife of presidential candidate Lamar Alexander, an ally of Tate's, and Dallas foundation executive Carolyn Bacon, a friend of Buchanan's. ■

REVIEW & OUTLOOK (Editorial): No Style

As the classic song lyric would have it, a kiss is just a kiss. Well, time goes by, and that's not a sentiment that meets with favor in the '90s -- at least not in Washington. If you believe an expose in the Washington Post's Style section on Tuesday, a single kiss may be the kiss of death for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

The story of the smooch, as recounted by Style, is as follows: Martha Buchanan, a 61-year-old member of the CPB board, is accused of having kissed Fred DeMarco, a 53-year-old CPB vice president, on the lips without his consent. The offending kiss apparently took place in a hotel bar in Seattle in 1992. This is just one of the advances Ms. Buchanan supposedly made to Mr. DeMarco. Others included invitations to dinner and the opera and the gift of a nightshirt that read "I Only Sleep With the Best." "What is an older woman supposed to do?" Ms. Buchanan allegedly demanded of Mr. DeMarco. "Only go to bed with her cat?"

The gentleman's reply was to rebuff Ms. Buchanan's advances. Then in 1993, Mr. DeMarco, a widower, remarried, and according to documents obtained by Style, Ms. Buchanan started badmouthing him, trying -- unsuccessfully -- to get him fired.

It wasn't until the next year that lawyers got involved, when Sheila Tate, former Bush campaign press secretary and a CPB board member, heard about what had happened. Sensing

sexual harassment, Ms. Tate got the CPB to hire a law firm to conduct an investigation, the upshot of which was that the CPB decided it should inform the White House, which had appointed Ms. Buchanan, a Democrat, and whose term is coming up for renewal. It did so this fall, notifying then-White House Counsel Abner Mikva.

This in a nutshell is the gist of the Style story. The spin's message is that this titillating tale may be the undoing of the CPB, which is under attack by Republicans who want to cut funding for public broadcasting.

There is, however, another version of the story. It ran on page one of the Sunday Times of London this past weekend. The details and many of the quotes are the same, but there's more. The headline reads: "Hillary Clinton stopped sex case against friend."

According to the Times, Mrs. Clinton told the office of White House Counsel Abner Mikva to lay off the investigation of Ms. Buchanan. Yes, this is the same Hillary Clinton who once said in defense of Anita Hill: "As women and as lawyers we must never again shy from raising our voices against sexual harassment." We suppose there's a footnote somewhere exempting protection for middle-aged white males.

The Times also points out that Ms. Buchanan has other important friends, specifically, Diane Blair, who is a member of the CPB board and, as Arkansas aficionados know, a pledged member of the Clinton inner circle. How inner-circle? She stays at the White House when she's in town for board meetings. And Mrs. Blair doesn't sleep with a cat but with a fellow named Jim, who helped Mrs. Clinton make a killing in the commodities market.

The Times story has been met with a string of denials. Phone calls are flying, but no one we've encountered is willing to talk on the record. But given what the Whitewater hearings have surfaced about White House operatives shuffling the Foster files, we don't find it beyond imagining that the First Lady would tell the mere mortals in Judge Mikva's office to lay off a friend. And we note that Judge Mikva did pack it in.

Oh yes, there's the public television angle. Nowhere to be found in the Style section story is that making the sexual harassment story public now is part of an effort to force out CPB President Richard Carlson. Mr. Carlson, it seems, isn't popular with liberals on the board for his inclusionary politics, which has included funding a documentary on the Republican Revolution. Mr. Carlson now has before him a proposal for a documentary on Whitewater and the labyrinthine world of Arkansas politics. It wouldn't be at all surprising if this latest episode has heightened his interest in the subject.

*Milner
Kuper*

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

12/14/95
WSJ

During the Wright inquiry, pointedly says: "In 1988 we and Congressman Gingrich insisted on an independent, thorough investigation of Speaker Wright and we got it. There must be the same kind of thorough, credible inquiry now in Speaker Gingrich's case. That requires the outside counsel to conduct a full investigation of the speaker's relationship with Gopac and what it did for him."

Mr. Phelan notes there was "quite a difference" between the initial allegations against Speaker Wright and the final charges: "You can't ask an outside counsel to see possible violations and ignore them." Mr. Phelan, who says his knowledge of the Gingrich case primarily is from what he has read in the papers but who is a bona fide expert on House ethics rules, makes clear that the Gingrich situation "looks like a very serious case." (In 1989, it was Mr. Phelan who cleared Rep. Gingrich of an earlier ethics charge.)

The key will be whether the partisan House Ethics Committee seeks a convincing outside counsel. That has been its history, using such high powered lawyers as Leon Jaworski, Joe Califano, Stanley Brand, Johnnie Cochran and Mr. Phelan. The speaker's allies instead are pushing for a more narrow choice, specifically a tax lawyer. That would be an inexcusable cop-out, analogous to appointing a real estate lawyer as the special counsel in the Whitewater case.

REVIEW & OUTLOOK (Editorial): Gingrich Exorcism

"We had a group of challengers in, and I told them I have one piece of advice: Their opponents' middle name is Gingrich."

-- Rep. Martin Frost, chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.

The big national campaign to demonize Newt Gingrich ran into the usual group of exorcists on Tuesday: the voters. The Democrats teed up a special election Tuesday in California for a House seat as the launch of their strategy to elect Democrats everywhere next year by running against the House Speaker and his "radical agenda." The Republican, Tom Campbell, won by 23 points. This, incidentally, was in a culturally liberal Silicon Valley district that gave George Bush only 30% in 1992.

The Frost DCCC operation sent in hired gun Jay Marlin to orient challenger Jerry Estruth's campaign as a Gingrich referendum. When the Gingrich ethics bonfire was lit back in Washington, Mr. Marlin threw that torch into the Estruth campaign as well. "This couldn't have happened at a better time for us," he exulted.

Meanwhile, the same press corps that carried logs for the Beltway ethics bonfire flew into California to position the Campbell-Estruth race: A data base search turned up 32 stories in the past two weeks in which the race was described as a "referendum" on Newt Gingrich or the conservative revolution. One, typical headline: "Democrat Doing Well Running Against Gingrich Instead of His Opponent."

If Tom Campbell had lost, there'd have been 32 stories about the incipient crumbling of the Gingrich/GOP edifice. But Tom Campbell won in a blowout.

Question: If a Republican rises in the U.S. media forest, will anyone hear it? Well, a third of the votes in the race were absentee ballots and were all counted by 11:30 p.m. on the East Coast, yet no results appeared in the Washington Post or New York Times. CNN and the network morning shows largely ignored the Campbell results. Suddenly, the no-surprises House election of Jesse Jackson Jr. became big news.

Democratic spin-doctors already have excuses for why their humiliating loss has zero national implications. The best is that Mr. Campbell won because he repudiated the "harshly conservative" GOP agenda. Really? Mr. Campbell supports school choice and the California Civil Rights Initiative. He defended the Gingrich position on capital gains tax cuts and Medicare reform. Mr. Campbell, who learned his economics at the University of Chicago, says

he found voters "were either rich or hoped to be" and that they understood the need for entitlement reforms.

Tom Campbell's landslide victory shows that Republicans don't have to flinch: If they can get their story in front of the public, they can win, despite constant incoming salvos of demagoguery. Indeed, a new "megapoll" of 7,200 voters taken by six GOP pollsters found that opposition to Republican budget plans falls to 32% from 46% after respondents are informed of the details.

The Campbell race also demonstrated to Republicans the value of submerging internal differences. The National Rifle Association and other conservative groups stayed neutral despite disdain for Mr. Campbell's positions on social issues. Dozens of GOP House Members of all ideological stripes sent money; conservative leader Paul Weyrich sent a sizable check.

The final lesson is that the demonization of Newt Gingrich, notably the hyperventilated ethics offensive, is essentially an exercise in propaganda. Put someone on the evening news in a negative light night after night and, no surprise, pollsters will get the expected negative echo. Democrats thought the echo would carry them to victory in the Campbell-Estruth race. It didn't. Their braintrust may now have to come up with an alternative strategy, though in our experience what's left after an echo fades is nothing.

REVIEW & OUTLOOK (Editorial) -- Asides: Status Quo Stalwart

A \$5 million pilot school scholarship program for Washington, D.C., has become a hostage to GOP Senator James Jeffords' implacable opposition. Mr. Jeffords' own rural Vermont happens to be the only state where all students enjoy a form of school choice, but he is threatening to filibuster the D.C. appropriations bill if a voucher program is included. Should he block such a modest experiment in parental control, we doubt his GOP colleagues will look kindly on his taking over the chairmanship of the Labor Committee next year when Senator Nancy Kassebaum retires. Ensuring educational opportunity has become an article of faith among many Republican voters. It would be a travesty if the Republican Senate allowed a highly visible chance to test this school reform in the District.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

By John McCaslin

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But by now the incident was caught in the tangled web of sexual harassment rules and law and regulations inspired by feminists and the hundreds of lawyers forever in search of clients. Everybody at the CPB who understood what could be at stake was naturally terrified. Sheila Tate, a member of the board, pushed for a full investigation, in the interests of both fair play and to protect the corporation.

When Mr. DeMarco first declined Miss Buchanan's entreaties, as set out in 68 pages of internal CPB memorandums, she enlisted the help of a mutual friend to plead her case with Mr. DeMarco. At one point, according to one memo, Miss Buchanan complained: "What is an older woman to do to get a man to date her? No one wants to date mature women. They have a lot to offer. What is an older woman supposed to do, go to bed with her cat?"

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Coincidence follows confidence at this White House. Abner Mikva resigned, unexpectedly, as the president's third White House counsel the day after Mr. Cauthen announced to the board that he wouldn't stand for another term as chairman. A tough world down there.

Pinching the flag

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Above-ground music

House Majority Whip Tom DeLay, Texas Republican, is inviting one and all to a Christmas benefit for the Orphan Foundation of America Scholarship Fund.

Headlining the benefit are "The Amendments" — Republican Reps. Scott L. Klug of Wisconsin (drums), Martin R. Hoke of Ohio (keyboards), John M. McHugh of New York (bass) and Joe Scarborough of Florida (bass) and Democratic Rep. Collin C. Peterson of Minnesota (guitar).

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Bigwigs, glitterati pine for Eddie

The Grinch-like mindset of a few grumpy old congressional men was banished to the winter's fold at "Christmas in Washington," NBC's launch to the holiday season.

Sunday evening at the National Building Museum twinkled with Hollywood glitz, hosted by the Emmy-winning "Frasier" cast — **Kelsey Grammer**, **John Maloney**, **David Hyde Pierce**, **Jane Leeves** and **Peri Gilpin** — and rocked with pop star **Gloria Estefan**, soulmeister **Al Green** and opera diva **Dawn Upshaw**.

But all that glitter didn't satiate the audience of discriminating Washingtonians.

They wanted the dog.

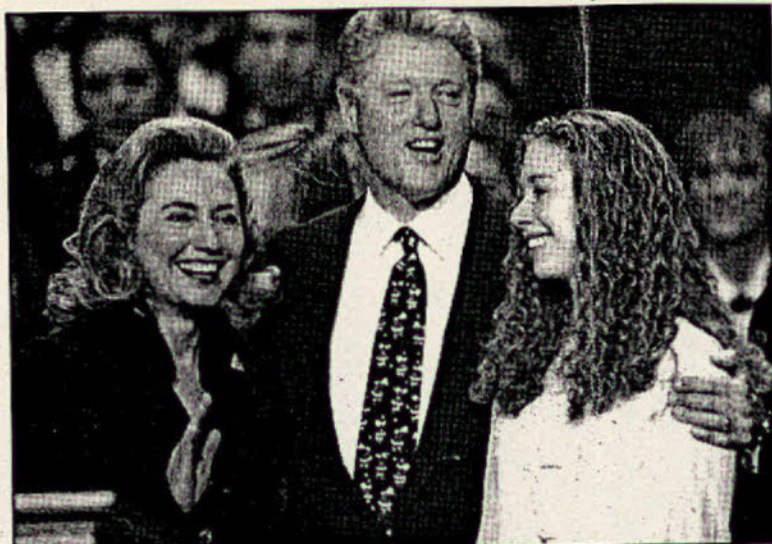
"If that doesn't give you the spirit of Christmas, nothing will," nodded a black-velvet-clad **Lily McLean** after a spine-tin-gling opening by the ship-shape U.S. Naval Academy Glee Club. "But where's the dog?" she whispered.

Yes, even in the nation's capital, politicians and socialites inquired about Moose — the furry, scene-stealing little Jack Russell terrier that plays Eddie.

"Everyone gave us such a warm welcome," Mr. Pierce cracked to the audience of nearly 1,000. "Then they said, 'Where's the dog?'"

President Clinton and family sang Christmas carols during the holiday revels, which will be broadcast tomorrow at 10 p.m. The 14th-annual gala, with its two-story-high Christmas tree under the world's tallest Corinthian columns, benefits the Children's National Medical Center.

"The sense of merriment is



Hillary Rodham Clinton, President Clinton and daughter Chelsea

vital," producer **Michael Stevens** said before the show. "There is a very intimidating audience here. The 'Frasier' cast can find humor in anything."

And the stars, from all walks of American culture, delivered. The silky-voiced Miss Estefan, in a shimmering black sheath, crooned her soulful ballad "Mas Alla," which she premiered earlier for **Pope John Paul II**. The pop-Latin singer was in town to receive an International Mentor Award.

When Mr. Green, his voice soft as butter, sang a magical "Have Yourself a Merry Little Christmas," one almost expected Santa to materialize onstage with his sleigh. But it was the Eastern High School Choir's hand-clapping, foot-stomping "He Shall Glorify" that stole the show.

Before the first family's

arrival, parents escorted boys and girls clad in natty suits and velvet dresses to glimpse the front-row presidential seats (marked by irreverent labels "Potus"). First lady **Hillary Rod-**

ham Clinton, her hair in a soft flip, wore a black tailored suit with a velvet collar and gold buttons. Daughter **Chelsea** gave **Vernon Jordan** a hug before sitting down beside three school chums.

Clad in an elegant, bright-red lace gown, Miss Upshaw popped into town to sing "While Shepherds Watched Their Flock" — sans microphone. Even Handel's age-old favorite sung by the Naval Academy, the Hallelujah chorus, raised goosebumps.

Mr. Grammer, looking bookish in tortoise-shell glasses, held his own in the closing Christmas medley with his warm baritone. By then, the Christmas magic had worked its spell — even Mr. Clinton belted out "Good King Wenceslaus."

Peace in Bosnia was on nearly everybody's mind. Country crooner **Clint Black** said he sang his moving "Christmas for Every Boy and Girl" with Bosnian children in mind.

"It made my heart ache," he said later backstage, clad in his trademark black duds and cowboy hat. "I was frustrated with the idea that Santa Claus will get to every boy and girl, but some he won't. I wanted to find a way to poke it to Santa Claus."

In his closing Christmas message, Mr. Clinton said: "People see America as a nation graced by God, a land of honesty, fairness and freedom. We know people trust us to work with them to ensure peace. I ask for peace, from the Middle East to Northern Ireland to the children of Bosnia, and ask what we can do as peacemakers."

A slew of newshounds present included NBC's red-tied **Tim Russert**, **Andrea Mitchell** and friend **Alan Greenspan**, **Gwen Ifill** and a dapper **Arch Campbell**.

Building Museum patrons included chairman **Kent Colton**, former chairman **Robert McLean** and wife **Lily**, and former Rep. **Elliott Levitas**. Guests included **Vernon** and **Ann Jordan**, former White House press secretary **Dee Dee Myers**, Mr. and Mrs. **Thomas McLarty**, **Harold Ickes** and **Laura Handman**, Mr. and Mrs. **Thurgood Marshall Jr.**, **Ethel Kennedy** and NBC President **Robert Wright**. Two of Transportation Secretary **Frederico F. Pena's** children portrayed elves, as did a 4-year-old who was cured of pneumonia at the children's center.

Rep. **Sonny Bono**, California Republican, said performances like these "were the only times I miss" performing.

Bordering on 61, the former half of the hit '60s duo **Sonny and Cher** didn't look a gray hair over 45. Speaking with an easy hipness untouched by Washington mumbo-jumbo, Mr. Bono credited his wife, **Mary**, for keeping him young. It must be the California weather.

As the evening wound down, a gravely voiced **Ben Bradlee** in a Santa Claus tie was spotted extricating his coat from the cloakroom maelstrom. Then everyone dashed out into the earlobe-freezing night to warm up their cars for home.

— **Allison Young**

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From: Diane D. Blair

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Peter
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INSIDE THE BELTWAY

By John McCaslin

Perrier with a twist

Much has been written in recent days about Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary's travel excesses. Yesterday, this columnist obtained from a source an official Energy Department list of "Tips on Preparation for O'Leary Visits," compiled from a discussion at a meeting of Mrs. O'Leary's public affairs directors.

The tips, a sample of which follow, were later distributed to Mrs. O'Leary's staff involved with travel.

- "She likes to accomplish something while in town or on site, such as make a deal with the governor, do something for the employees, or make a major announcement affecting the local organization."

- "She wants to know audience's point of view in advance of appearance. She also wants to know what she can do for them."

- "She recognizes the importance of good questions from the audience to which she can respond in a manner that provides good headlines or sound bites."

- "She likes the flexibility of making on-the-spot commitments to local stakeholders."

- "Be sensitive to labor situations. She doesn't like to cross picket lines or do anything else that will upset unions."

- "She likes to relax and chat during meals. She prefers not to make decisions while eating."

- "She likes Perrier and fruit for snacks or light meals."

- "She likes hotels that offer a broad range of amenities, such as hairdressers, exercise equipment, etc."

- "Don't pack schedules too tightly. The secretary likes to be flexible, and sometimes adds itineraries as the day progresses."

- "She doesn't like fanfare or traveling with an entourage. No motorcades during tours. Keep groups small during walking tours."

- "A good approach is for the manager (or other senior official) to be the driver. Just the two of them in the car."



No word yet on whether Hazel O'Leary wants the brown M&Ms plucked out of her candy dish.

Bah humbug

What a bunch of Scrooges are seated on the Senate Republican Policy Committee. So what if President Clinton's latest budget proposal is actually worse than the others. Why take it out on those of us who still believe in Santa Claus?

"Maybe in places where reindeer fly, sleighs make round-the-world trips and jolly fat elves fit down chimneys, Clinton's third budget balances," says the committee, chaired by Sen. Don Nickles of Oklahoma, who can count on a lump of coal to fill his stocking this year.

Wasn't Hillary

"Absolutely, totally untrue," reacted Hillary Rodham Clinton's spokesman, Neel Lattimore, to our item yesterday quoting the Sunday Times of London, which had suggested that Mrs. Clinton squelched an investigation of a sexual harassment incident at the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to protect a female member of the CPB board.

Erdreich in '96

Federal agency heads, includ-

ing President Clinton, should closely observe Ben L. Erdreich, chairman of the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, to discover what he's doing right.

Mr. Erdreich reports that his quasi-judicial agency, responsible for deciding federal employee appeals of personnel actions, has not only saved taxpayers bundles of money, but also "is providing more responsive service despite a 16 percent reduction in work force and a 40 percent increase in workload since 1993."

Underground chimes

The customary signals warning that doors are about to slide shut on the subway running between the U.S. Capitol and Senate Hart Office Building have been replaced with the first 11 notes of the "Jingle Bells" refrain.

We're not alone

A Northern Virginia firm is holding a one-day Privacy and Security Seminar, concentrating on industrial espionage and electronic eavesdropping, Jan. 29 at the Dulles Hilton Hotel.

A sample of topics: the best way to tap a phone, how to detect a tap, modern eavesdropping methods such as room bugs and covert video surveillance, and who is spying on you.

Really, spying in Washington? "The camera can be looking through a tiny hole in the dropped ceiling, wall, smoke alarm, or you name it," warns James A. Ross of Ross Engineering Inc., which is holding the seminar.

And just hiding from the smoke alarm may not be enough. "In quick plant installations," Mr. Ross adds, "the hiding places include a VCR, a handbag, a fanny pack, a book on the bookshelf, etc."

A West Point graduate, Mr. Ross has more than 45 years of experience in engineering, communications and electronics. He's performed "services" for many Fortune 500 companies.

Brown sets police-chief priority

SAN FRANCISCO (UPI) — Newly elected San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown made his first official pronouncement yesterday, pledging to find a new police chief for the troubled department.

Mr. Brown became the city's first black mayor Tuesday, defeating incumbent Frank Jordan

Two areas of particular concern for San Franciscans have been the municipal transit system and the

cases, a failure-plagued 911 system and a sexual harassment suit filed against Chief Tony Ribera, who publicly announced he would step down if Mr. Jordan lost.

Mr. Brown said he now expected Chief Ribera's resignation "to be on the mayor's desk long before I'm sworn in" Jan. 8.