

by R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

# From Troopergate to Monicagate



The *Washington Post*, Saturday, September 12, 1998, from its "Editorial Note" introducing the full, unedited text of Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr's report to

Congress: "We recognize that the independent counsel's report contains extensive sexually explicit material that normally would be unacceptable for publication in the *Post*. However, we have decided not to edit the text of the report..." So now, five years after *The American Spectator* published the Arkansas state troopers' accounts of life with Governor Bill Clinton, other editors are finding out how the editors of *The American Spectator* felt when we laid eyes on the salacious text of our first Troopergate piece. We too warned our readers, but that was years ago and since then there has been so much more to read.

History moves perpetually, like a great ocean; and Marx's theorizing notwithstanding, there is nothing more to it than that. Through the centuries its currents proceed silently onward: ceaseless, impersonal, remorseless. In January 1998 Bill Clinton believed that he was standing on a sound political footing thanks to his masterful dissembling and his brilliant legerdemain with lies. Unnoticed by him, a silent rip tide came along. During the first eight months of 1998 his plausibility washed out to sea with his presidency. Since the 1992 election *The American Spectator* has been gathering and publishing evidence of his eventual doom. This piece will recount our revelations.

RET is the author of *Boy Clinton and (with Anonymous) of The Impeachment of William Jefferson Clinton*.

Character is the central issue of every historic figure. The men and women of an era, heaving and sweating against the pull of history, give that era its drama, its issues, its *dramatis personae*. They strive to make their mark as the currents of history swirl around them. No one can ever be sure how things will turn out. Are the men and women of a given period possessed of sufficient wit and virtue, stupidity and baseness, to achieve their goals or avoid catastrophe? History's motion continues; the sand washes underfoot. Men and women deposit their artifacts and expire. In time the historians assess their fading work.

It is too early to say what will become of the perpetual adolescent whom we at *The American Spectator* call Boy Clinton. Nor do we know how our six years of reporting on him will be entered in the record books. We do know that we have been amassing evidence across an ever wider range of felonious behavior since 1992 when Bob Novak wrote "The Trouble With Clinton" in our June issue. Then we thought the trouble was his truthfulness. Five months later, when Grover Norquist wrote his prophetic "The Coming Clinton Dynasty," we expanded our diagnosis to include Clinton's prodigious capacity for abuse of power. Norquist predicted that Clinton's "cheerful use of the government to kneecap his critics and rivals" would get him through two presidential elections. In our August 1993 issue Lisa Schiffren expanded our case against Clinton to include ethical and perhaps legal violations along with a streak of cheapness. In her "Bill and Hillary at the Trough," Schiffren, a former Bush speechwriter whose FBI file might even then have been en route to the White House, revealed the shifty accounting practices, public subsidies, and tax schemes (the Clintons took deductions on Bill's used underwear!) that had allowed Arkansas's first family to live

handsomely on "Bill Clinton's much-touted 'lowest-in-the-nation' \$35,000 salary." Then in our January 1994 issue came the blockbuster. In late December 1993, just before the *Los Angeles Times* published a similar piece, we lifted the lid off Clinton's reckless promiscuity and reflexive deceits with our first Troopergate piece.

I look back on that piece with a mixture of subdued satisfaction and sadness. A national chorus of critics denounced its accuracy, but to my satisfaction no significant error has ever been unearthed. Along with that satisfaction, however, is sadness; all the grisly elements of *l'affaire Lewinsky* were in the first Troopergate piece and its follow-up four months later. Had our critics given a careful reading to the evidence in them, all the disgrace that Clinton has brought on the presidency and all the danger into which he has led the country might have been avoided. The economy would be humming along. Our foreign policy would not be in disarray. The White House would stand in the same resplendent dignity that it knew when John Adams first entered and George Bush left.

Since Troopergate, *The American Spectator* has published an abundance of other investigative pieces and stood out almost alone in warning the country of the Clinton administration's metastasizing scandals. Not that we were completely alone. The *Wall Street Journal's* editorial page has been stalwart, as has Wes Pruden's sturdy band at the *Washington Times*, and from London came the *Telegraph* papers led by the indefatigable one, Ambrose Evans-Pritchard. (Was this the reversal of Churchill's World War II observation of "the New World redressing the balance of the Old"?) As with Troopergate, most of these investigative pieces were met with studied neglect by America's political elites, a dereliction that allowed President Clinton to become more reckless and destructive than Governor Clinton.

Again, all the misbehavior of *l'affaire Lewinsky* was on display in the Troopergate stories, where Clinton was seen misusing state employees and state property such as rooms in the Governor's Mansion, police cars, and credit cards. He employed private investigators to gather dirt and to smear those whom he wished to discredit. He offered government jobs for sex and silence. He indulged his ravaging sexual appetites practically in public (on the grounds of the Governor's Mansion and in parked cars). And it was the troopers who first revealed his bizarre sophistications about oral sex—for which *they* received condemnation, not him.

The only new elements of misbehavior in the Lewinsky scandal are perjury, and various forms of obstruction of justice, crimes that make him immediately impeachable. None of these impeachable offenses nor any of the other indicacies of *l'affaire Lewinsky* would be publicly known were it not for an accident of history that every American historian will lecture his students on some day. Clinton committed perjury and obstruction of justice in resisting the Paula Corbin Jones lawsuit, a lawsuit initiated because of an editorial accident in the first Troopergate piece. In it we did not intend to include the names of any of the women who had been approached by the troopers. By sheer oversight we left the first name "Paula" in the piece. Ever since Clinton exposed himself to her in a Little Rock hotel room, this very ordinary American woman had been nursing her angers. When she saw her name in *The American Spectator*, the spark to file the suit

ignited. Evans-Pritchard notes that Paula's spunk is something unique to America. Ordinary Americans like Paula Jones live with a sense of freedom. The rule of law extends to them as it does to governors and presidents. Consequently they are possessed of an assertiveness that ordinary people of other nations do not always have. That Clinton has repeatedly challenged equality before the law, putting himself above the law, signifies the seriousness of his threat to America. His America would be a land where the powerful could overawe everyone else.

After the Troopergate stories in 1994 the next story of moment was David Brock's Travelgate piece. Here we see that the Clintons had brought the corrupt politics of one-party Arkansas to the White House. Now on the national level ordinary Americans could be bullied by the powerful. This time the victims would be the employees of the White House Travel Office, who along with others were harassed by the FBI and the IRS. The abuse of power, by the way, was purely gratuitous. Firing the employees was the Clintons' pre-



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rogative. They did not have to persecute them. But malicious law-breaking is a habit with the Clintons, as is lying. Brock demonstrated that Mrs. Clinton was behind the Travelgate firings, the purpose of which was essentially cronyism. All these revelations appeared here months before the rest of the press reported them.

By early 1994 so many details of overlapping scandals had been revealed by congressional inquiries and the small band of reporters hot on the Clintons' trail that for our February issue we summoned our fabled law firm, Solitary, Poor, Nasty, Brutish & Short, to estimate the number of criminal statutes implicated by reports in the national press about the misconduct of the Clintons, Webb Hubbell, and others in their inner circle. It turned out that the President's allegedly shameless conduct had implicated 24 laws with total potential criminal liability of disqualification from federal office, 178 years incarceration, and more than \$2.5 million in fines. (He should have quit while he was ahead.) The First Lady's reported misdeeds flouted five laws with a potential criminal liability of 47 years' incarceration and penalties of \$1.2 million. Hubbell's exposure ran to a possible 40-year term and more than \$1 million in fines. (Obviously, compared with subsequent legal judgments, we were actually quite tolerant towards Hubbell.) On NBC's "Dateline" I was chided for this fatidical satire when interviewed by Lisa Myers. She missed the February issue's grimmer joke. *The American Spectator's* investigative journalist, Byron York, in an imagined 1997 *New York Times Book Review* roundup of Clinton books, predicted the president's impeachment and the first couple's divorce. Oh unholy thoughts!

Other pieces published about the Clintons in 1994 show the White House stonewalling against the rising tide of congressional inquiries and practicing what was later to become a favored tactic in dealing with the Republican Congress; namely, in violation of House rules, dumping sought-after information on Congress just minutes before a White House aide was to testify, sometimes redacting that information for frivolous reasons, sometimes sending the wrong

material. In our September issue we showed how Hillary Rodham Clinton could not possibly have made the cattle futures trades that she claimed to make. By now the RTC investigation of Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan had the Clintons engaged in a cover up, and in our October issue James Ring Adams revealed Webb Hubbell as the coverup's possible mastermind with his "April and Webb and Jean and Jack." Finally, in our December 1994 issue Danny Wattenberg quoted an Arkansas trooper on how he distributed "walking around money" to buy the minority vote for Clinton when he was governor.

**C**ampaign finance fraud was an emerging theme in our 1994 issues. In "Beyond Whitewater" and "The Obstructionists," Adams reported evidence of the Clintons looting Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan in part to arrange hasty funding for their gubernatorial campaigns. In 1994 Adams also introduced one of the victims of the Clintons and their partners the McDougals, Freddie Whitener. Adams also introduced readers to the Clintons' and the McDougals' "designated fall guy," David Hale, who as a member of Arkansas's "political family" helped them prop up McDougal's tottering empire and conceal a bit of Hillary's bank fraud (a matter that I believe the Independent Counsel will soon act on).

The May 1995 issue was the first to mention Mena Airport, quoting witnesses who under oath made clear that when Clinton denied knowledge of the charges of drug trafficking out of that remote Arkansas airstrip, he was lying. In our August issue we published my full account of trooper L.D. Brown's experience at Mena with corroborating facts and testimony. There we see Governor Clinton encouraging Brown, his "fair-haired boy" among the troopers, to enter into a CIA operation that shipped arms out of Mena to the Nicaraguan contras. On the return trips drugs were being brought in by a rogue pilot, Barry Seal. When Brown informed Clinton, the governor said, "That's Lasater's deal," the reference being to Clinton's friend and supporter Dan Lasater. He, of course, was Roger Clinton's employer. Both were eventually convicted of drug

violations and jailed. Curiously the Boy President's diehard advocates often refer to this piece as "discredited" by the House Banking Committee. Actually, the Committee has not discredited the Mena story and is still preparing its report. Subsequent CIA reports have substantiated Brown's revelation, and as with Troopergate, no significant errors have yet to be discovered. Clinton's advocates would be well advised simply to drop the topic of Mena. It shows Clinton for the unprincipled political operator that he is, and the felonies committed at Mena might reveal him as an habitu  of underworld corruption as well as political corruption.

Other 1995 revelations of administration corruption were written by York, who in our June issue detailed the remunerative relationship between Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown and his high-rolling friend Nolanda Hill, now under indictment. Our November issue carried the first published interviews of the fired Travel Office employees, whose stories—told by York—should have caused wider alarm than they did. Earlier in the year York wrote an illuminating piece about the secretiveness of Mrs. Clinton's health-care plan for our March issue, the same issue that included Kenneth Timmerman's piece on the cozy deals that the Red Chinese were getting under Clinton. This was the first in an ongoing series of fresh reporting on the high-technology giveaways by the Clinton Commerce Department to China, Clinton's eventual campaign donor. Finally, in our August and October issues Adams disinterred still more political scandal from Clinton's Arkansas days: his use of David Hale's Capital Management Services as a "piggy bank," his acquisition of a political hush fund from three rural banks (money for Bimbo eruptions?), and in October a summation of all we had thus far learned about Whitewater, ending with this overly sanguine line: "The real investigation of Whitewater has just begun, offering constant potential for a collapse in the stone wall." Yet Adams's greatest scoop of the year was "What's Up in Jakarta?" in our September issue. There the Riady family of the Indonesian Lippo Group is introduced as having political and financial ties to the Clintons reaching back to the 1980's. Their



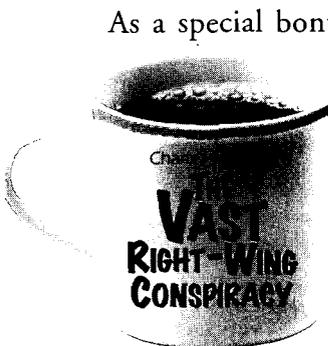
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access to the White House, the presence in the Commerce Department of their servant John Huang, and the lucrative deals being cut between them and the Clintons' cronies are all laid out by Adams an entire year before the *Los Angeles Times* supposedly broke the story.

By the end of 1995 we had detected most of the patterns of corruption that would run through the next few years of the Clinton regime ending up with the present riot of gaucheries, felonies, abuses of power, and other grounds for impeachment. One issue that is now dormant, the death of Vince Foster, will in my opinion come alive again when historians begin excavating this amazing six years. In our October 1995 issue, the indefatigable one, Evans-Pritchard, took inventory of all the "contradictions, inaccuracies, and unresolved mysteries" surrounding accounts of Foster's death up to that time. Judge Starr's later report claims that all these questions have been resolved. We shall see.

From 1996 to the present our investigative team has endured growing pressure from the Clintons, their agents, and such authoritarian types as Sidney Blumenthal. In numbers we have been reduced by famous and infamous defections. We have paid a significant price for our diligent pursuit of manifest wrongdoing. The Clintons have done their worst; yet we have remained productive, so much so, that many in the media both here and abroad are claiming that we have been "vindicated" by events. Well, again, I accept the vindication with satisfaction and sadness. Why did it have to take so long, and what further price will the American political system have to bear?

As the fainthearted fell away, Jim Adams repeatedly turned out pieces revealing the Clintons as a menace to the integrity of the nation's banking and pension system, much as they were to the state of Arkansas. Adams continued to turn up fresh evidence of the White House's suppression of the Whitewater investigation and its smearing of such incorruptible regulators as the RTC's Jean Lewis. In March 1997 Adams shed light on the Clintons' use of private eyes to smear and intimidate others, and in July he exposed the troubling activity of an FBI agent harassing one of our Arkansas researchers. In our July 1998 issue he and Laurie Mylroie reported on how Clinton's

foreign policy was being effectively thwarted by Saddam Hussein. Since then, the impotence of the Clinton foreign policy has been exposed all around the world, in southwest Asia, in Korea, in the Middle East, and in Russia.

**F**rom 1996 to the present Byron York has also remained the intrepid investigative reporter. In our June 1996 issue he explored Clinton's scheme to inveigle two huge insurance companies to pay his lawyers in the Paula Corbin Jones suit. In the September issue he proved beyond doubt that Clinton cheated at golf, but then who would have doubted? Also in 1996 he exposed previous drug use by the White House staff (November), and exposed that improbable Clinton apologist, the listless and factless Gene Lyons (October). Throughout 1997 York reported on foreign involvement in the administration and its campaigns; the corruption of Alexis Herman (March); the administration's gift to corrupt union president Arthur Coia, who escaped a looming RICO indictment with the help of Harold Ickes, Jr. (April); incoming White House Counsel Charles Ruff's formidable capacity to stonewall (June); the White House's spurious claims of attorney-client privilege (July); and James Carville's campaign against Starr (August). In the April 1998 issue York wobbled enthusiastic advocates of impeachment—for instance, me—when he foretold that Starr's report would not mention earlier abuses of power, focusing instead on felonies arising from *l'affaire Lewinsky*. I disputed him then. I still hope he is wrong, but we are all dependent on Starr's timetable.

The laxness of our technology transfer policy was first reported in a piece by Michael Ledeen and Stephen Bryen in our June 1994 issue. Since 1996, Kenneth Timmerman has returned repeatedly to the increasingly familiar theme of corrupt technology transfers from the United States to the exotic Orient. In March of 1997 Timmerman also gave us fresh information on John Huang.

Through the years, *The American Spectator* has kept tabs on Clintonites of all varieties. We were the first (and so far remain the only) publication to climb the Clinton family tree and demonstrate that

the nubile Catherine Cornelius of Travelgate fame could not be the presidential cousin that the White House insisted she was. This feat was achieved by investigative journalist Becky Borders in our May 1996 issue. In 1997's January issue Borders unveiled the first White House staffer to break with the Clintons, David Watkins. He was to be yet another of the Clintons' "designated fall guys," in this instance for Travelgate. Instead he came forward and revealed Hillary's key role in the firings, her affair with Foster (first revealed in Troopergate), and other White House unsavories.

Back in our December 1996 issue York raised the question as to whether Judge Starr could indict the president or call for impeachment. York concluded that indictment was impossible. Starr's course would be impeachment. Readers of *The American Spectator* have been weighing such terminal considerations for years. It has been a long chase. Now the likelihood of impeachment is growing, to the astonishment of some Americans but not to our readers. Last year I laid out the scenario of how Clinton's impeachment would look in my docudrama, *The Impeachment of William Jefferson Clinton* (Regnery). It was reviewed by Judge Robert Bork in our December issue. There this learned man came to two relevant conclusions: 1) Clinton *should* be impeached; 2) The fundamental charge is abuse of power.

That is where we stand today. The record of Clinton's abuses has been established through years of sedulous reportage right here in these pages. We have attracted the outrage of many liberals, most of whom could not believe in the perfidy of a man they considered one of their own. It came as no surprise when *New York Times* writer R.W. Apple exploded to an English journalist, "Do you want us to go round giving credibility to every piece of dirt thrown at the President by those a---s at *The American Spectator*?" Fewer are calling us such names now, and I do not know anyone who can call us wrong. It has been a long and not always amusing chase. The currents of history are moving rapidly. Some of our friends have been swept away. Now it is time for the Clintons to be swept away. ❀

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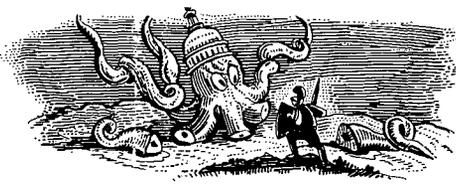
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# Losing One's Soul

## Facing up to the spiritual hazards of wealth.

**T**he one time I met the Stanford biologist Paul Ehrlich, about ten years ago, I suggested that if he really wanted to get world population down, he should preach the virtues of capitalism. Even though it creates abundant wealth, the rich countries barely achieve zero population growth. It's the people in poor countries who keep on having babies. He gave me a wan smile, and allowed there may be some truth to that. But of course, it wasn't what he had in mind. I think he saw my suggestion as rather a drastic remedy to the "population problem," as he saw it. There's no doubt, though, that the Biblical injunction "be fruitful and multiply" is obeyed more frequently by the poor than by the rich.

Which brings me to a simple question: Is wealth itself morally corrupting, either to individuals or to societies? The rich are not normally thought to lead exemplary lives. The United States, the wealthiest country in the world, now seems to be leading an undeclared crusade to undermine traditional morality all over the world. That is why the Vatican teamed up with Islamic countries at the 1994 Cairo population conference—to check the revolutionary juggernaut, Bill and Hillary at the helm. Judging by Clinton's approval ratings, the sexual revolution has now largely succeeded in the U.S., the only regret of our elites being that it has not yet gone far enough to render hypocrisy unnecessary. But in this article I am refer-

TOM BETHELL is TAS's Washington correspondent. His new book, *The Noblest Triumph*, was recently published by St. Martin's Press.

ring to the effects of prosperity on morality in general, not just sexual morality.

The Lambeth Conference, the once-a-decade meeting of the Anglican bishops in Canterbury, provided more food for thought. Having in large measure abandoned traditional moral teaching, the British and American (Episcopalian) bishops had planned a typically pointless statement about Third World debt forgiveness, and some of them were hoping to use the occasion to advance the cause of the sexual revolution still further. But Third World bishops, Africans in particular, held the line. One might say that the poorer countries upheld traditional morality against subversion by the rich. The pupils, still remembering their lessons, returned to remind their teachers of what they had once believed. John Shelby Spong, the wicked bishop of Newark, New Jersey, complained that Africans have "moved out of animism into a very superstitious kind of Christianity." The conference left one wondering what, if anything, "the West" now means.

In my book *The Noblest Triumph*, I note that many countries have been unable to put in place the legal and political system that gives security to property. As a result, they have not created much in the way of wealth. Many of these countries are in Africa, or more generally in the Third World. In fact, they are the same countries that held the line at Canterbury. Which brings me again to the question: Is wealth morally corrupting? It has not received much attention, partly because the evidence is complex and contradictory, and partly because the Christian left, which in its antagonism to capitalism might have been expected to raise it, has

been comparatively silent on the subject. The left has opposed capitalism not because it creates too *much* wealth, but because it creates too little, too unevenly distributed. With these inequalities supposedly removed (by state ownership), wealth would "gush forth abundantly," in the promise of Nikita Khrushchev. The left has not raised moral objections to wealth *per se*, because its worldview is no less materialistic than that of the right, and perhaps a great deal more so.

If leftist clergymen were to put out a pastoral letter, condemning capitalism on the grounds that the prosperity it creates powerfully tempts us away from the straight and narrow path, I for one would read the document with interest. But that is not the way leftists think. They are so preoccupied with the inequality—and therefore, as they see it, the unfairness—of this life that they are wont to overlook the next. In fact, I would go further and say that those who *do* believe in the next life are for that reason not greatly concerned about inequality in this; the obsession about equality arises precisely among those who think that justice is "now or never."

We see this reflected in the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, which, without acknowledgment, represents the point of view of the Catholic left. In recent years the conference has taken an interest in: Land mines. Arms control. Income distribution and redistribution. The rights of illegal immigrants. The protection of the environment. International debt relief. Foreign aid. And so on. The salvation of souls hardly seems to enter their worldview at all.

Of course, the left has only recently (if yet) been reconciled to the idea that capitalism is the true wealth-creating system. Economists themselves have only recently acknowledged it, after all, and if they have