

the use of terrorism perpetrated against Israel, the United States, or any other nation. At the same time, we must seek justice, for without justice, as the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS) knows so well, there will be no peace.

ETHICAL AND MORAL QUAGMIRE FOR THE ADMINISTRATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MURPHY). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, it is clear to me that the administration has fallen into an ethical and moral quagmire with regards to its policies in Iraq and its efforts to paper over its deceptions.

Yesterday, I asked the political director, Mr. Karl Rove, to step down for his role in the outing of Ambassador Wilson's wife. Last week, I asked the Attorney General to appoint a special counsel, in large part due to the possible conflicts the investigation of Mr. Rove would cause.

I reached these conclusions because of the following. It was just reported in Newsweek that after the initial leak, Karl Rove sought to give the leak wider dissemination by contacting Chris Mathews and stating that Mr. Wilson's wife and her undercover status were "fair game." It was also reported that a White House source confirmed that Mr. Rove had been working the press on the story but had merely told the press it was reasonable to discuss who sent Wilson to Niger.

It is very possible that his actions were illegal under title 18 United States Code 793. If one knows that national security information has been leaked, the person is required to report it to authorities, not to further disseminate it, as Mr. Rove has done.

But even if he has not broken the letter of the law, Mr. Rove's actions are morally indefensible. He has used his influence to smear and intimidate a whistleblower, an ambassador to the United States Government, and to further publicize Mrs. Wilson's name, in fact, a CIA covert operative, and to impugn the Wilsons' integrity. As a matter of fact, according to the New York Times, a Republican congressional staffer said the administration strategy for dealing with the Wilsons was to slime and defend.

There is a clear conflict when one is investigating the White House staff; and as a matter of fact, it has been reported in Time magazine that Attorney General Ashcroft over the years has paid Mr. Rove \$746,000 for campaign consulting in his political races. It has also been reported that Mr. Rove was the driving force behind Ashcroft's nomination as Attorney General. "How the religious right pushed for Ashcroft's nomination," written in the New York Times, January 7, 2001, by David Johnson and Neil Lewis.

We also know that Mr. Rove was reportedly fired from the campaign of President George H.W. Bush over a leak to Robert Novak. "Why are these men laughing," published in Esquire magazine, written by Ron Suskind, January 2003.

Wayne Slater, a Karl Rove biographer, notes a pattern of unethical behavior. He says, "I don't know who leaked what to whom. Most people don't know the facts here. And both Bob Novak and Karl Rove have said it didn't happen. But I have to say that it certainly was consistent with the Karl Rove that I know. If he didn't do this, he certainly has a pattern of activity over the 15 years, 20 years that I've known him where he has done similar things." See CNN, October 1, 2003.

Another Rove biographer, James Moore, thinks that he must have known about the leak and says, "After having watched Mr. Rove for all of these years, I know full well, and anybody who knows the way he works, that something of this nature does not happen without Karl checking the yes box. I'm saying that if Mr. Rove is not involved, I'll eat the paperback copy of my own book because this is a guy who controls everything, and he has a history of putting a layer of protection between himself and other people, using other operatives to get things done." Buchanan and Press, MSNBC, October 1, 2003.

Finally, let us not forget that many have received information that Mr. Rove is the source of the initial illegal leaks themselves. According to the London newspaper, The Guardian, on October 1, several journalists have confirmed off the record that Mr. Rove is the source of these leaks. We know from The Washington Post that fully six journalists were called with the initial leak.

The above information is all publicly available. I do not possess a team of investigators. All one needs to do to gather this information is read the New York Times, Newsweek, The Washington Post, Time magazine.

I will insert my full statement at this point.

Mr. Speaker, it is clear to me that the Administration has fallen into an ethical and moral quagmire with regards to its policies in Iraq and its efforts to paper over its deceptions.

Yesterday I asked Karl Rove to step down for his role in the outing of Ambassador Wilson's Wife. Last week, I asked the Attorney General to appoint a special counsel, in large part due to the possible conflicts in the investigation of Mr. Rove.

I reach these conclusions because of the following:

It was just reported in Newsweek that after the initial leak Karl Rove sought to give the leak wider dissemination by contacting Chris Mathews and stating that Mr. Wilson's wife and her under cover status were "fair game." It was also reported that a White House source confirmed that Mr. Rove had been working the press on the story, but had merely told the press "it was reasonable to discuss who sent Wilson to Niger."

It's very possible that his actions were illegal. Under 18 USC 793 if you know national security information has been leaked, you are required to report it to authorities, not to further disseminate it, as Mr. Rove has done.

Even if Mr. Rove hasn't broken the letter of the law, his actions are morally indefensible. He has used his influence to smear and intimidate a whistle-blower. It is quite obvious he has sought to further publicize Mrs. Wilson's name and to impugn the Wilsons' integrity. As a matter of fact according to the New York Times, a Republican congressional staffer said that the Administration's strategy for dealing with the Wilsons was to "Slime and Defend."

There is a clear conflict whenever you are investigating White House staff. As a matter of fact, Time Magazine has reported that AG Ashcroft paid Mr. Rove \$746,000 in the 1980's and 1990's for campaign consulting on his Senate and Governor's races.

It has also been reported that Mr. Rove was the driving force behind Ashcroft's nomination as Attorney General. "How the Religious Right Pushed for Ashcroft's Nomination," David Johnston and Neil A. Lewis, New York times, January 7, 2001.

We also know that Rove was reportedly fired from the campaign of President George H. W. Bush over a leak to Robert Novak. "Why Are These Men Laughing?", Ron Suskind, Esquire Magazine, January 2003.

Wayne Slater, a Karl Rove biographer notes a pattern of unethical behavior: "I don't know who leaked what to whom. Most people don't know the facts here. And both Bob Novak and Karl Rove have said it didn't happen. But I have to say that it certainly was consistent with the Karl Rove that I know. If he didn't do this, he certainly has a pattern of activity over the 15 years, 20 years that I've known him where he has done similar things." ("Paula Zahn Now," CNN, Oct. 1, 2003).

James Moore, another Rove biographer thinks he must have known about the leak: "After having watched Mr. Rove for all of these years, I know full well, and anybody who knows the way he works, that something of this nature does not happen without Karl checking the yes box . . . I'm saying that if Mr. Rove is not involved, I'll eat the paperback copy of my own book because this is a guy who controls everything, and he has a history of putting a layer of protection between himself and other people, using other operatives to get things done." ("Buchanan & Press," MSNBC, Oct. 1, 2003).

Finally, let us not forget that many have received information that Mr. Rove is the source of the initial illegal leaks themselves. According to the London Newspaper the Guardian on October 1, several journalists have confirmed off the record that Mr. Rove is the source of these leaks. We know from the Washington Post that fully six journalists were called with the initial leak.

The above information is all publicly available. I don't have a team of investigators. All you need to do to gather this information is read the Washington Post, the New York Times, Newsweek, Time and the like. Its not rocket science, and its all public information. If you add it up, it's an overwhelming case for resignation and the appointment of a special prosecutor.

President Bush promised to return "honor and integrity" to the White House and "change the tone in Washington." Instead, Mr. Rove's

actions are akin to the type of abuse and vendettas we saw during Watergate.

When it comes to ethics, this is an Administration that has gone to extremes to avoid independent scrutiny. Whether it is investigating the President's friend Ken Lay or his Secretary of the Army Thomas White for their involvement in the Enron Fraud; Vice President CHENEY for his involvement in financial fraud by Halliburton; or the involvement of top Republican legislators in trading campaign contributions for legislative favors on behalf of Westar, in the instances the Attorney General has not seen fit to open a single independent investigation.

LACK OF CREDIBILITY IN THIS ADMINISTRATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Speaker, I am taking this opportunity to focus attention on the lack of credibility of this administration. This administration has been revealed for attempting to mislead the American public, and they certainly have mismanaged this so-called Iraqi freedom war. This administration's credibility is on the line, and let me recount some of the reasons why.

Every American now knows that there are no weapons of mass destruction, that this administration claimed they knew about, had identified and could document in Iraq. They even claimed that they had the drones that do surveillance that were capable of carrying weapons of mass destruction. That has been debunked. That is not true. They also claimed and there were weeks of stories in the paper about the President's claim that Saddam Hussein had attempted to purchase yellow cake, or uranium, from Niger. That has been found not to be true.

□ 1945

They claimed and tried to mislead the American public in several ways. They have been caught trying to tie 9/11 to Saddam Hussein, and they have had to back off of it, and they have looked rather foolish in doing that.

But, really, to underscore this lack of credibility, imagine that Karl Rove, sitting at the right hand of the President of the United States, had the audacity, the temerity to call the press and to out an undercover CIA agent and the wife of an ambassador. Not only did he break the law, he endangered the life of this woman. And this is a man who is calling the shots in the White House, again whispering into the ear of the President, guiding and leading him.

They also claimed, as they bombed Iraq, that Iraq would be rebuilt with the oil resources. We know that they secured the oil fields when they landed. And they told us that they would be pumping the oil and that the revenues from that oil would pay for the rebuilding. Well, those are just a few of the instances of misleading information, dis-

tortions, information that has managed to confuse the American people and create a lot of distrust.

But I am not going to concentrate all of my 5 minutes on that. That story has been written. And I do not care how they try to do their little mini shake-up and pretend that Rumsfeld is not the point person that he is, and drag out Condoleezza Rice, who is supposed to put a better spin on it than Rumsfeld. I do not care how they try to do that. The fact of the matter is, the American people are unhappy.

We are unhappy when we look at the request for \$87 billion that this President has asked the American public to ante up, this \$87 billion at a time when the economy is not well. When we have lost over 3.5 million jobs, where people are trying to make ends meet, cannot pay their bills and have plants that are closing down every day, the President asks the American people to ante up \$87 billion because he is proposing to spend \$850 million on Iraqi health care, including \$150 million for a new Children's Hospital.

The number of uninsured Americans has grown to 43.6 million in 2002, up from 41 million in 2001. There are 8.5 million children without health insurance. And I can keep on going. They want to do some housing in Iraq. The President proposes to spend \$470 million on housing and construction, including \$100 million to build 3,528 new houses in Iraq. How many Members of Congress could use some new housing in their districts?

In the United States, we are experiencing a housing shortage on an unprecedented scale. According to the Millennium Housing Commission, there is currently a 1.8 million unit gap between the number of extremely low-income households and the number of affordable rental units available for these households.

But let us not stop there. Let us move on to education. The President's proposal includes distributing 5 million science and math books, 1.2 million school supply kits for students, and as many as 1,000 primary schools are being rehabbed. One Member on the other side of the aisle got on the floor and showed us the brand new book bags they bought for all of the children of Iraq. I had to remind him that children in my district do not even have books to put in a book bag.

The President's signature program, No Child Left Behind, is underfunded by \$8 billion. While we are witnessing this in this country, think about the lack of credibility that this administration has created with the way it has done these contracts.

An August 28 Washington Post article noted that Halliburton, the company formerly headed by Vice President CHENEY, has won contracts worth more than a couple billion dollars under Operation Iraqi Freedom and stands to make hundreds of millions of dollars more under a no-bid contract awarded by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

Bechtel has earned at least \$350 million.

Mr. Speaker, I could go on and on and on. But every night Members will be coming to the floor talking about the lack of credibility, the mismanagement and the shock and awe campaign that was put on. Well, Mr. President, we are going to shock and awe you. Mr. President, you are going to be shocked when the people speak out and decide that they do not want this kind of representation.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MURPHY). Members are reminded not to address their remarks to those outside the Chamber.

SANCTITY OF HUMAN LIFE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. PENCE) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to rise again now for the second time in this Chamber to address an issue that, while we passed significant legislation concerning partial-birth abortion recently, truthfully the Congress does very little to speak to what I believe is the defining issue of our time: namely, the questions and debates surrounding the sanctity of human life.

So, Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago I initiated on the floor of this Congress what I hope will become a series during my tenure here, a series of conversations between myself and other Members of Congress who care deeply about this debate and where we might explore the historical and intellectual and moral foundations of the right to life.

It seems altogether fitting that we do it here, in this Congress and in this place. Because this is not only the House of the people, but it is the place throughout the history of this Nation where not only have we come together to debate the urgent needs of the country but also we have come to this place and in this building for over 200 years to discuss those things which are, while not urgent to some, they are important to the fabric of the Nation. In my humble opinion, Mr. Speaker, restoring a fundamental understanding about the sanctity of human life and its central position in the development of notions of justice in western civilization is without a doubt the most significant issue of our day.

I was inspired by none other than a former member of this body, John Quincy Adams, who, prior to being a 20-year Member of Congress was, of course, President of the United States of America. But as he served in the Chamber just adjacent to this one, where the Congress met for much of the 19th century, John Quincy Adams