

and meeting the people and listening to the people. I could not help but think that July 4 has different meanings for all of us: Freedom, independence. We think about what July 4 means and has meant to the history of our Nation.

I went back and found an article written in 1995 that was in the Boston Globe by Jeff Jacoby, and he had in the article about the Founders of this great Nation, the writers of the Constitution. I do not know if this is a quote from one of the leaders of that period of time or from Mr. Jacoby, but I want to share it: "Religion can survive in the absence of freedom, but freedom without religion becomes dangerous and unstable."

In addition, I would also like to share a quote by Alexis de Tocqueville. Alexis de Tocqueville was a French philosopher and historian who traveled to America in the 1830s, and he was so impressed with this great Nation. He wrote, "In the end, the state of the Union comes down to the character of the people. I sought for the greatness and genius of America in her commodious harbors, ample rivers, and it was not there. I sought for it in the fertile fields, and boundless prairies, and it was not there. I sought it in her rich mines, and vast world commerce, and it was not there. Not until I went into the churches of America and heard her pulpits aflame with righteousness did I understand the secret of her genius and power."

Madam Speaker, I share that because our churches and synagogues in America are under attack. A lot of people would be surprised with me saying that, but recently the bishop of Colorado Springs, Bishop Sheridan, a Catholic bishop, wrote a three-page pastoral letter to every Catholic in his district. He did not say anything about Bush or KERRY, he did not say anything about Republican or Democrat, but being a Catholic, the Catholic Church stands for protecting the unborn. It is opposed to stem cell research and euthanasia. He said nothing about a party, nothing about a candidate.

But because he used the word "pro-life," Barry Lynn of the Americans for Separation of Church and State filed a complaint because this bishop is following the teachings of his church and his belief in Christ. And yet a complaint was filed that would challenge the 501(c)(3) status of that diocese.

It is a sad day in America when we have men and women overseas fighting for freedom for the Iraqis and the American people, and yet the reason why Mr. Lynn filed a complaint was because of code words.

I have introduced a bill, H.R. 235, that would eliminate the Johnson amendment that has put the restrictions on our churches, synagogues and mosques. But in addition to the Johnson law, in the early 1990s the IRS decided to expand the definition of the Johnson law, so now they have code words, and I will submit those later for the RECORD.

Regarding code words, this is what it says. The concern by the Internal Revenue Service is that 501(c)(3) organizations may support or oppose a particular candidate in a political campaign without specifically naming the candidate by using code words to substitute for the candidate's name in its message, such as conservative, liberal, prolife, prochoice, antichoice, Republican, Democrat, et cetera. When this occurs, it is quite evident what is happening, and an intervention is taking place.

What a sad commentary on the greatness of this Nation. From the beginning of America until 1954, there was never any restriction of speech on our churches, synagogues and mosques in this country, never until the Johnson amendment that went through the Senate on a revenue bill, never debated. Now ministers, priests and rabbis have the Federal Government through the Internal Revenue Service looking in on what they have to say when they are before their congregation.

Madam Speaker, I think that is a sad commentary on America. I think it is a sad commentary on those who have worn the uniform for this Nation and fought for freedom for the American people. If this was 1953, I would not be before this House because there would be no problem, there would be no restriction of speech. The first amendment right would be protected for those who speak on behalf of their Lord.

Madam Speaker, I close by saying that I hope that those of us in Congress on both sides of the aisle will do our part to make sure that the first amendment right applies to those who are spiritual leaders of America and protect their rights for which men and women have worn the uniform or are wearing the uniform.

Madam Speaker, I ask God to please bless our men and women in uniform and their families. I close by asking God to please bless America.

□ 1815

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mrs. JONES of Ohio. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take my Special Order at this time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. MILLER of Michigan). Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

#### IN HONOR OF PRIVATE FIRST CLASS SAMUEL BOWEN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Ohio (Mrs. JONES) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. JONES of Ohio. Madam Speaker, I rise today in honor of one of my constituents who gave the ultimate sacrifice for this country, Private First

Class Samuel Bowen. Private Bowen was killed in action yesterday in Iraq. He was a member of the 112th Engineer Battalion of Brookpark. Private Bowen was a resident of the city of Cleveland, a husband, and a father of three children.

Just last month Private Bowen saved the life of a fellow soldier during a rocket attack in Baghdad. I would like to read a portion of an article from today's Cleveland Plain Dealer that includes a quote from the soldier whose life Private Bowen saved.

It reads: "I cannot believe he was under attack twice in 3 weeks," said Ron Eaton, who was rescued by Bowen's heroism June 16 north of Baghdad.

Another quote: "I just wish that I would have been there for him like he was there for me."

"He took care of me before he took care of himself, Eaton said. And he said, 'As soon as I got out of surgery, he called me. He told me that he needed to talk with me because I was his battle buddy, and he needed to hear my voice. I can't believe how hard this is.'"

Private Bowen is the third soldier lost to the war in Iraq from my congressional district. It has been over a year since we declared major combat operations over in Iraq, yet our young people continue to die in this conflict. My heart aches for all of the families who have lost loved ones during this war.

I have been a vocal opponent of the war in Iraq, as many of my colleagues are aware. I have also been vocal in my support of the military troops over in the Middle East and across the world as well.

I pause today in remembrance of this brave young man, Private Samuel Bowen, who gave his life for our country. May the Lord bless and keep his family during this trying time.

I would ask that my colleagues join me in a moment of silence for Private First Class Samuel Bowen.

I do not pretend to be a great student of the Bible, yet my Sunday school lessons remain cemented in my head. All of those lessons talked about the importance of prayer, and some of them discussed how to pray; that a prayer can be general and that a prayer can be specific. My specific prayer is focused on all of the servicemen and women still serving in Iraq. I pray for their safe return and that the family of each young military men and women be comforted by their faith in God, a mighty God who will never let us down.

There is a passage in the Bible that reads: "Put on the whole armor of God, that you may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we are not contending against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places. Therefore take the whole armor of God that you may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done

all, to stand. Stand therefore, having girded your loins with truth, and having put on the breastplate of righteousness, and having shod your feet with the equipment of the gospel of peace; besides all these, taking the shield of faith, with which you can quench all the flaming darts of the evil one."

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

(Mr. BROWN of Ohio addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

#### SMART SECURITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

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

Ms. WOOLSEY. Madam Speaker, the administration's war in Iraq has failed. It has failed to make the world a safer place. In fact, I fear that we are actually less safe from terrorism than we were. The world has actually been made less safe and more susceptible to acts of terror.

Who should be held accountable for this mess? The war is not going too well. Nearly 900 brave American soldiers have already lost their lives as a result of this deadly conflict, not to mention the thousands of innocent Iraqi civilians that have been killed. Worse, as many as 25,000 American troops have been evacuated from Iraq for medical reasons, 25,000. That is one-sixth of the number of troops currently stationed in Iraq.

This speaks to a systematic failure of leadership, and, sadly, examples of this failure are widespread and easily recalled: the failure to secure Iraq's borders, the failure to prevent postwar looting, and the failure to provide the security necessary for reconstruction. In fact, the abuse of POWs at the Abu Ghraib prison is yet another example of failed leadership by the Bush administration. And it is also an example of failed leadership in planning for the war and postwar reconstruction in Iraq.

But the most shameful aspect of our involvement in Iraq, our greatest failure of all, is our failure to provide adequately for our soldiers when it comes to equipment, the guidance, and the leadership they need to ensure their survival in Iraq and the success that they need to complete their stay in that country.

We failed to immediately provide our soldiers with the essential tools for their survival, body armor capable of stopping bullets, armor for tanks that would help prevent the destruction of U.S. military convoys, and the necessary water equipment to keep them hydrated in the desert heat. This issue is one that should have been accounted for during the planning phases of the

war, not as an afterthought when our troops were stationed halfway across the world.

I ask my colleagues again who should be held accountable for this mess? Should it be Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, whom President Bush claimed was doing a "superb job," and whom Vice President CHENEY, in an absurd statement, called the best Secretary of Defense in our Nation's history? If Rumsfeld is doing a superb job, if he is the best Defense Secretary in history, then I really want to know who is the worst and what is a bad job.

Rumsfeld's consistent failure to adequately plan for the war in Iraq and the postwar phase, during which the lives of far more American soldiers have been lost than during the war itself, Donald Rumsfeld should resign his post with the best interests of the Nation in mind.

But we must also take heed of the quote made famous by President Harry S. Truman: "The buck stops here." President Bush would be well served to embrace this policy, a policy that served President Truman and our Nation well during an earlier wartime. Secretary Rumsfeld must not be used as a scapegoat for the President's failures.

I have introduced legislation to create a SMART security platform for the 21st century, H. Con. Res. 392. SMART stands for Sensible, Multilateral American Response to Terrorism. Three wonderful organizations, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Friends Committee on National Legislation, and Women's Action for New Directions, helped in writing this legislation.

SMART treats war as an absolute last resort. It fights terrorism with stronger intelligence and multilateral partnerships. It controls the spread of weapons of mass destruction with a renewed commitment to nonproliferation. And it aggressively invests in the development of impoverished nations with an emphasis on women's health and women's education.

The Bush doctrine of unilateralism has been tried, and it has failed. It is time for a new national security strategy based on our commitment to peace, our commitment to freedom, our compassion for the people of the world, and our capacity for multilateral leadership. Let us be smart about our future. SMART security, H. Res. 392, is tough, is pragmatic, is patriotic, and it will keep America safe.

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

(Mr. PENCE addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

#### ENRON

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gen-

tleman from Oregon (Mr. DEFAZIO) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DEFAZIO. Madam Speaker, just before the July 4 recess, the Democrats on our side of the aisle attempted to offer an amendment to force the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, chaired by Pat Wood of Texas, appointed by George Bush of Texas, from continuing to conceal documents regarding Enron of Texas and the scandal and the fraud of which Enron has perpetrated upon the people of the Western United States, costing us tens of billions of dollars, a huge runup in our electricity costs, something that is continuing to hurt the economy of Oregon, Washington, and California. All the businesses depended upon energy, small businesses and residential consumers.

The Republicans would not allow that amendment to be debated on the floor of the House because of its kind of embarrassing links between Enron and the Bush administration and the fraud that was perpetrated on the Western United States.

Ken Lay, as the chief executive of Enron, was the mastermind of this fraud. He bilked billions of dollars from millions of people for his own personal profit and that of his executives, and he was finally today brought to justice. We finally saw him in handcuffs on television, and hopefully he will have a long stay in jail, and hopefully he will also have to work during that stay and not just get free room and board, because he has already extracted enough cost from hard-working Americans.

When we asked for a meeting with Vice President CHENEY during the huge runup in prices in the Western United States, we got together; he got together with the Northwest delegation. And he, in response to concerns I raised, said that I was really stupid, and I just did not understand that this had nothing to do with fraud, abuse, or market manipulation. This was all about market forces. I just did not understand markets and that Enron was a leader in markets, and I just did not understand markets, and unless we build one 500-megawatt plant every week for the next 15 years, and this is Vice President CHENEY, the \$4,000 megawatt prices, about 100 times normal, would continue forever.

Of course, then we appealed to the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, seeing that the Vice President's mind was slightly closed on the matter. And the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, chaired by Pat Wood of Texas, with a couple of other appointees chosen by Ken Lay of Texas, of Enron, refused to look into it. Finally, after additional pressure was raised, they said they would look into it. Then they said, no, it is just market forces. There is no market manipulation.

Then a strange thing happened. The Senate changed hands. When the Senator from Vermont changed to Independent, and the Democrats took over