

Ms. WOOLSEY. I am going to actually address that in a little bit.

It would also be unprecedented in our Nation's history.

Actually, in early 1864, as the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) just referred, President Abraham Lincoln feared that he would lose the Presidency due to widespread criticism of his handling of the Civil War. No President had won a second term since Andrew Jackson more than 30 years prior, and the Union had recently suffered a string of military disappointments.

Many of Lincoln's closest advisers urged him to postpone the election, but Abraham Lincoln never even considered that possibility, nor should we.

In response to calls for postponing the Presidential election, President Lincoln said the following in November of 1864: "We cannot have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego or postpone a national election, it might already fairly claim to have conquered or ruined us."

The fight against terrorism, like the Civil War, will affect more than a generation of Americans, but we must be smart, smart about how we address the threat of terrorism, and we must make sure that in this long fight we do not lose what we are fighting for in the first place.

There must be a way to both fight terrorism and also hold on to democratic ideals that make our country great, and Mr. Speaker, there is.

I have introduced H. Con. Res. 392, the SMART security resolution, which provides a better way to address the threat of terrorism. SMART stands for Sensible, Multilateral, American Response to Terrorism.

Preventing future acts of terrorism, SMART security is more vigilant than the President on fighting terror. Instead of emphasizing military force, it focuses on multilateral partnership and stronger intelligence capabilities to track and detain terrorists.

Unlike the defective and obtrusive USA Patriot Act, SMART security focuses on tracking and arresting those involved in terrorist attacks, while respecting human and civil rights.

Terrorism is an international problem, we all know that. So the fight against terrorism must involve the international community. That is why SMART security calls for working closely with the U.N. and NATO to achieve its goal. Only by actively involving other Nations in this fight can we hope to prevent future acts of terrorism.

In the spirit of being smart about our national security, I have written a letter to Secretary Ridge that has been signed by over 100 Members of Congress requesting that Secretary Ridge take no further steps to postpone this year's Presidential election. Wars, droughts, floods and hurricanes have not stopped elections, and the possibility of a terrorist attack must not stop one either. We cannot forget that elections are the

very basis upon which our great American democracy was founded.

To ensure that the upcoming Presidential election is not postponed by the alarmist Bush administration, I urge all of my colleagues to add their signatures to this important letter to Secretary Ridge.

#### FREEDOM OF POLITICAL SPEECH

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

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I want to read a couple of statements from Bishop Smith of Trenton, New Jersey. The title of his little writing is called Bishop Smith calls for Freedom of Political Speech for the Catholic Church, and I would like to say that not only the Catholic church but the Protestant churches, the synagogues and the mosques in this country.

What I would like to read is: "At the Respect Life Mass for the Diocese on March 27 in St. James Church, Bishop Smith asked why, in our presumably democratic country, Catholic churches fear that the Internal Revenue Service will punish them if they speak out on politicians' positions on issues."

He further stated or wrote: "The First Amendment protects the free exercise of religion. Separation of church and state does not mean that the Church and its members should not voice or advocate for their positions. Separation of church and state is designed to ensure that there is no governmentally established religion."

Mr. Speaker, I want to say that because whether this would be a bishop of a Catholic faith or a Protestant minister or a Jewish rabbi or a cleric, they have the same problem. Most people do not know that from the beginning of this great Nation until 1954 that there was total freedom. They did know that. What they did not know, which is what I meant to say, is that in 1954 Lyndon Baines Johnson introduced an amendment on a revenue bill going through the Senate that was never debated. There were no committee hearings. There was no discussion of his amendment. In fact, at the time, the Democrats were the minority and the majority leader accepted the Johnson amendment without debate, unanimous consent.

I want to further add that Dr. James Davidson, a sociology professor at Purdue University who I have spoken to by telephone a couple of years ago, I want to read from some of his research and writing. He says, "The First Amendment speaks of religious freedom; it says nothing that would preclude churches from aligning themselves with or against candidates for public office . . . The courts also have never used Thomas Jefferson's celebrated 1802 metaphor about 'a wall of separation between church and state' to stifle churches' support of or opposition to political candidates."

I share that with my colleagues because, just recently, the bishop of Colorado Springs, Bishop Sheridan, wrote a pastoral letter, three pages which I have and read many times. Never in his pastoral letter did he say anything about President Bush or Candidate for the Presidency KERRY or about Democrats or Republicans. He just reminded the Catholics in his diocese, about 125,000, that the church stands for protecting the unborn. They are opposed to stem cell research. It protects the elderly.

So, therefore, in his letter basically what he said was that we, as Catholics, we stand for protecting life, and we, as Catholics, should think carefully during this next election. But, again, he never said the name of any candidate. He never said the name of any party, but because he used the word "pro-life," Barry Lynn, the Americans for Separation of Church and State, filed a complaint.

Well, one might say, well, Congressman, how can he file a complaint? He did not mention the candidate. He did not mention a party.

But what the IRS did in the early 1990s, they took the Johnson amendment and they expanded it through their rulemaking process, and now they have code words. Code words can be "pro-choice," "pro-life," "liberal," "conservative," "Democrat" or "Republican."

This, in my opinion, is not what this great Nation is about. It is not what we have men and women who have served this Nation during wartime from the beginning of America until today and tomorrow and as this war goes on in Iraq and Afghanistan, and yet these fine men and women that wear the uniform are there to protect freedom, not only to help the Iraqi people but freedom for the American people, and yet we have a law on the books that prohibits a member of the clergy from speaking out on the moral and political issues of the day.

Now, if this was 1953, Mr. Speaker, I would not even be on the floor, because there would be no problem. There was no law. But because of the Johnson amendment, we have elements in this country today that are on the extreme left that watch what our clergymen are saying about the policy and the politics of the day. I believe sincerely if the moral values of America are going to stand, then I believe that the freedom must ring in the churches and synagogues and the mosques of America, that they must have the freedom to speak freely about the issues of the day.

Again, I plan to be on the floor the next two or three nights and will continue to talk about this, because, as my colleagues know, outside of my office, 422, I have 12 posters. On each poster is about 60 faces of men and women who have died in Iraq and Afghanistan. I have it there for a main reason, to remind the American people that freedom, there is a cost, and,

therefore, we must, within the House and the Senate, do our part to protect the constitutional rights of the American people, and that includes those who are spiritual leaders of this country.

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

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

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

#### EXCHANGE OF SPECIAL ORDER TIME

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to replace the gentleman from California (Mr. GEORGE MILLER).

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

#### SHORTCOMINGS

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

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, Saddam Hussein was a murderous despot in Iraq, and the world is better off without him. There is no disputing that fact. However, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence report, all 511 pages, including the 15 percent that was redacted, raises very serious questions about the nature of the threat that Saddam Hussein posed to the United States that led to the first-ever preemptive war in the history of our country. Even the President says there were "some shortcomings." Well, let us look at a few of the shortcomings.

The aluminum tubes that we were told was slam dunk evidence by Mr. Tenet of the CIA that they were going to separate uranium and enrich it misrepresented key evidence. It had nothing to do with uranium separation.

Uranium from Niger, obvious sign; a key document was forged, rather amateur forgery, actually.

The revised weapons program; the claim is not supported by the intelligence.

The mobile labs; withheld important information about the sources, lack of reliability.

This is the famous Curveball, showed up drunk at his one meeting with a U.S. intelligence representative and did not seem very credible. One upstanding individual over at the CIA wanted to raise concerns and go on record about how the fact he was not a good source, but the deputy chief of the agency's Iraqi task force said we can

hash this out in a quick meeting. He rejected the worries as irrelevant.

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Here is his quote: "Let's keep in mind the fact that this war is going to happen regardless of what Curveball said or didn't said and that the powers that be probably aren't terribly interested in whether Curveball knows what he's talking about," the CIA official replied in an e-mail message obtained by the committee. Basically, they did not want to know that this was phony information.

Smallpox designer germs. Not supported by the intelligence, according to the CIA.

The drones. I saw pictures of the drones. They were these little patched-together things, and George Bush was talking about what a tremendous threat they were. Did not look like they could fly at all, and they certainly could not fly any distance. The head of intelligence for the Air Force, they know a little about planes, said, in fact, there was no credible threat connected to the drones.

The list goes on and on and on. And as the President says, there were some shortcomings. There were more than some shortcomings; there was an extraordinary distortion of very, very poor intelligence and minimal evidence that there was any threat posed by Saddam Hussein. In fact, the conclusion of this Republican Senate-led Select Committee on Intelligence is that the military of Saddam Hussein was on a horrible downward spiral, was incredibly degraded, had never recovered from the Gulf War, that the sanctions in the containment were working, and that he did not pose any credible threat to the United States nor even to Iran or some of his other neighbors.

But the President would still say, as he did seven times in 32 minutes yesterday, just to make sure people did not miss the message behind him, which was to show that American people are safer. Well, there is a real question about that since they put us on a higher terror alert. They are talking about postponing the elections. Postponing the constitutionally mandated elections, I do not know how they do that, but I guess it is part of his executive powers we do not know about, because of the threat posed by Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda, who have been over there regrouping and freely operating for the 2 years the Bush administration turned all our intelligence assets, the world's attentions, our military assets to Iraq.

And they say the world is safer? The world is not safer. In fact, he allowed those people to regroup and to raise a threat that is so grave that his Homeland Security Secretary is asking how we might be able to postpone the elections if we know 3 or 4 days before that George Bush is behind in the polls. No, no, I mean do we know there is a credible threat or there was a terrorist attack?

Now, there was one piece of evidence that was good. There is a guy named Zakawi; and he is a really, really bad guy. And Colin Powell pointed to where he was on the map. Guess where that was? That was in a little corner of Iraq, behind the Kurdish territory, which was overflowed by the United States on a daily basis. Saddam Hussein could not get at that guy if he wanted to. But we could have, three times.

Three times the Pentagon asked to take out Zakawi, who is now responsible for killing maybe tens of hundreds of U.S. troops and Iraqis in a terrorist campaign, and three times the Bush administration said, no, you cannot take him out. Because if you take him out, it might disturb our recruiting for the war against Iraq that does not pose a threat to the United States of America. What incredibly misplaced priorities these people have.

If it is a war on terrorism, then go after the terrorists: Osama bin, al Qaeda, Zakawi. But, no, they distracted us into this war with Iraq in some bizarre neoconservative vision of the world, and many Americans have died because of their mistakes, and I fear that more might because he has allowed the terrorists to regroup.

#### U.N. OIL-FOR-FOOD PROGRAM

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

Mr. CHOCOLA. Mr. Speaker, I find it interesting how night after night during this period of the evening we call Special Orders that my friends on the other side of the aisle come down and talk about allegations of scandals, of things like contracts with companies trying to help rebuild Iraq, outcries over misleading our Nation to war, charges of coverups and lack of cooperation; and so I would like to just address what the previous speaker talked about, which is this allegation that there is an attempt to delay the elections.

All the news reports I have seen in the last 24 hours is that there was never any request nor any really evidence of anybody trying to delay elections by any means at all. But sometimes we just do not let the facts get in the way of our opinions, and so we ignore those.

Mr. Speaker, I am going to ask my colleagues to imagine that there is a scenario like the following: imagine if the press had reported an alleged scandal that entailed \$10 billion of illegal payments, and in that same article it was revealed that the head of the program that was the subject of those allegations was implicated and was suspected of directly participating in those illegal payments.

And then after this head of this program was implicated, he went back to the organization that he was running, and he sent out letters to all of the