removed most of those provisions or mutilated them beyond recognition.

They removed a requirement that all people entering the U.S. must provide secure verification of their identities and citizenship; a requirement that people present secure identification to establish their identity to Federal employees. They took out provisions which would have expedited the removal of illegal aliens and prevented terrorists from obtaining asylum.

They stripped a provision that would have cut down on excessive judicial review of the deportations of criminal aliens. They cut a provision which would have mandated that dangerous aliens who cannot be deported be detained. They chopped a section that would have imposed criminal penalties for false claims of citizenship.

Finally, the issue that has received the most attention lately, they cut a provision that would have barred illegal aliens from obtaining driver's licenses.

After all of this, they told the people who lost their loved ones on September 11 that those who are truly seeking to improve their safety are the ones holding this bill up in conference.

This is not a time for partisan politics or turf wars. If the goal here is truly to improve the security of our Nation as best we can, we cannot stifle intelligence activities nor ignore the mammoth threat pouring through our borders and living among us.

I urge my colleagues to join me in refusing to settle for a bill that does not do all it can to improve the safety of those who sent us here to represent them.

DEMOCRATS' MORAL VALUES

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

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, last month Ohio Democrats took our moral values to the polls.

For many of us, our faith guided us, and our final vote for President was far too close to declare, my State, a State full of evangelical fundamentalists.

For many of us, moral values are grounded in our religious faith.

My Lutheran upbringing instructs me and my fellow Christians in the teachings of Jesus, to read and to follow as best we can the words of the Beatitudes, to try to live our lives and practice our politics as Jesus would have wanted us to.

For others of us, those moral values take the form of a faith in our country's greatness to solve our most pressing problems of racial inequality, inaccessible health care, poverty of millions of American children and the war in Iraq.

For several years, I have worn a lapel pin depicting a canary in a cage. A century ago, miners took a canary into the mines to warn them of toxic gases. Miners were forced, in those days, to provide for their own protection. No mine safety laws. No trade unions able to help. No real support from their government.

A baby born a hundred years ago in those days had a life expectancy of about 47 years. Today, because of public health initiatives, worker safety laws, Medicare, Social Security, and other new laws, protections for children and minorities and the disabled, we live decades longer.

Every bit of progress in the struggle for economic and social justice, often rooted in our Judeo-Christian beliefs, prevailed over the opposition of society's most privileged and most powerful.

Today, those struggles continue. Our fight, in this chamber, for seniors who are forced to choose between medicine and food and our fight against the large pharmaceutical companies' greed is our understanding of the Holy Word.

Our opposition to tax cuts for America's most privileged adults and Head Start cuts afflicting our least privileged children follow from the teachings of Christ.

George Bush approved more than 150 executions, one every 2 weeks of his governorship in Texas. Our opposition to the death penalty is grounded in the Scriptures.

Our belief that government programs like Medicare and Social Security and Medicaid, not privatized imitations of them, our belief in those programs should serve all Americans bespeaks a faith in the greatness of our country and its ability and willingness to lift up all its children.

As we have seen over the last 4 years, Republicans campaign to their religious friends on their moral values, mostly opposition to abortion and gay rights, and then govern for and with their corporate allies and contributors.

On the floor of the House of Representatives, in the light of day, we hear much talk about moral values, but in the committee rooms and the cloakrooms, in the halls and in the hideaways, choices are made by Republican leaders that run counter to the teachings of Christ and Mohammed and the Jewish prophets and fly in the face of the values upon which our Nation was founded.

This Congress hurts families by underfunding Leave No Child Behind and college student loans, while giving tax cuts to the wealthiest among us.

This Congress hurts the elderly by defeating legislation to bring down the price of prescription drugs and then passing a Medicare bill that further enriches their drug and insurance company contributors.

This Congress hurts God's earth when it caves to the energy companies and the oil companies.

This Congress hurts our communities when it gives tax breaks to encourage the largest corporations to outsource their jobs.

And this Congress hurts our grandchildren when it loads huge burdens of debt on future generations.

Tens of thousands of Ohioans worked feverishly for months to help change our Nation's course because of their moral values, because of their faith in God, because of their belief in our Nation's history of taking care of the least among us.

In no way do I question the faith of my political opponents, but I am weary of the far right's claim that they are the only ones guided by the hand of God.

My understanding of the teachings of Christ, my religious upbringing, call me to walk a different path and to express and act upon my faith in the cause of social and economic justice.

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

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

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

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

SMART SECURITY AND ROOT CAUSES OF IRAQI INSURGENCY

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

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, not all Members of Congress supported the war in Iraq, but we all have to live with its consequences. The global havoc wreaked by this war will affect the world in ways that we can only imagine today.

Let us not forget that more than 1,200 American soldiers have been killed in Iraq. Over 9,000 have been wounded, and an estimated 16,000 Iraqi civilians have been killed as a result of this war. In fact, 16,000 is probably a very low estimate.

The growing Iraqi insurgency, like the global War on Terror, cannot be won by being stronger than the insurgents. We cannot win this war with guns and bombs, because for every insurgent we kill, three more sign up. We have to be smarter than the insurgents. We are going to win this battle of conflicting ideologies only if we use our good senses and our good hearts.

We know that the anger at the heart of the Iraqi insurgency stems from, at least in part, a deep resentment over the American presence in their country. After years of Saddam Hussein's totalitarian regime, the Iraqi people see the United States as just another occupying force.

We have to make a choice in Iraq. Do we want to address the root causes of the insurgency or do we want to continue down our current path, shooting

and bombing everything in sight and perpetually fighting a losing battle for the hearts and minds of the Iraqi people?

We must reopen the debate about the situation in Iraq to determine why our current policies are not working. We must figure out why the insurgency continues to grow despite our military efforts. Only through a robust, public dialogue can we begin to get to the bottom of these questions.

To address the root cause of terrorism around the world, such as the current insurgency in Iraq, I have introduced H. Con. Res. 392, a SMART Security Resolution for the 21st Century. SMART stands for sensible, multilateral, American response to terrorism.

SMART security calls for the United States to address the root causes of terrorism by engaging our United Nations partners, by engaging also the world humanitarian community and all of our United States allies in the international and civilian-led reconstruction and political transition processes that we are involved in.

Can my colleagues imagine what Iraq might look like if, instead of rushing to invade the country, we had waited just a few months and continued to engage the rest of the world community in the weapons inspection process? We would have learned that Iraq did not possess weapons of mass destruction. We would have prevented the deaths of thousands of American troops and innocent Iraqi civilians.

Imagine if, after the invasion, we had allowed other Nations and the U.N. to partner with the United States in engaging the Iraqis in the reconstruction program. We would not be faced with billions of dollars of debt because the finances of cleanup would have been offset by dozens of other donor Nations.

SMART security calls for increased developmental aid for programs that are integrated with peace building and conflict prevention measures. Unfortunately, we are struggling to provide funds for Iraqi's development because we are too busy paying for military operations, and the insurgents are busy working against our every effort in that regard.

Already, the White House has asked Congress to pilfer $3 billion from Iraq's reconstruction funds in order to pay for military operations. That request represents a complete failure to adequately plan and prepare for this war.

Mr. Speaker, the United States must stop engaging in this reckless national security strategy, a strategy whose current path only encourages future terrorist activities.

It is time we pursued a SMART security strategy for America, a strategy that will secure Iraq, a strategy that will keep America safe and secure for the future, because, if we do not, all we will be left with are the consequences of our current failed policies.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WHY IS IT SO URGENT THAT WE PASS AN INTELLIGENCE REFORM BILL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, there are few times when a bipartisan bill—of such substance and urgency, comes to the House that will truly benefit the safety and security of the American people as we have in this instance. The intelligence bill that is sitting in our Chambers, H.R. 10/S. 2845, must be passed before we close for 2004.

I urge my colleagues to join me in urging our colleagues to pass this bill and avoid imminent dereliction of duty.

This week may be our last chance this year to consider and pass this overwhelmingly popular bipartisan measure. This sweeping bill includes the creation of a national intelligence director to oversee the Central Intelligence Agency, a plan with which even our President agrees.

Given the recent vulnerabilities that we have experienced in bioterrorism defense with the shortage of flu vaccinations and the recent discovery that 380 tons of explosive material in Iraq remains unaccounted for, it is more than critical for this body to pass the intelligence reform legislation now—while we have an opportunity. The families of the fallen victims are looking to us for leadership and responsible action.

This bill would pass easily in the House of Representatives if our Speaker would overrule its opponents and schedule a vote. Furthermore, the companion Senate measure has sufficient support for passage.

I believe very strongly that immigration does not equate with terrorism. Nevertheless, we continue to look to the enforcement of our immigration laws as a way to protect our country from terrorist attacks, and this did not begin with the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001. Serious efforts in this regard were going on long before that happened. For instance, partly in response to the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, Congress strengthened the anti-terrorism provisions in the Immigration and Nationality Act, the INA, and passed provisions that were expected to ramp up enforcement activities, notably in the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, IIRIRA, of 1996, Public Law 104–208, and the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, Public Law 104–132.

The INA gives the government broad authority to arrest and detain aliens in the United States who are suspected terrorists or who are suspected of supporting terrorist organizations, as well as aliens who have violated other provisions of immigration law. This was augmented by a mandatory detention provision that we added with the U.S. PATRIOT Act.

More than 1,200 people reportedly were detained after September 11. Some experts support a broadening of the authority to arrest and detain aliens in the United States who are suspected terrorists or who are suspected of supporting terrorist organizations.

I believe that current law will be adequate with minimal changes. I am concerned that further expansion may erode individual rights and that, as a result, innocent foreign nationals may be detained and deported.

Unfortunately, the House bill to implement the Commission's recommendations included a number of extraneous provisions that dealt with immigration reform issues rather than with the need to secure our country against further terrorist attacks.

For instance, it included court stripping provisions to reduce access to Federal court review from adverse decisions in immigration removal proceedings. It had a provision to take away the power of a Federal court judge to stay an alien appellant's removal pending the outcome of his appeal proceedings. It provided for greatly expanding the use of expedited removal proceedings, which would have enabled the Government to remove thousands of undocumented aliens without hearings or due process of any kind. It even had a provision permitting the government to deport aliens to countries where they would be tortured—in direct violation of the Convention Against Torture.

This troubled the 9/11 Commissioners to the point where they wrote letters to the Congress encouraging us to put these contentious issues aside so that we could move forward with the serious business of implementing their recommendations.

I am pleased that bipartisanship and a sense of responsibility prevailed in the end as far as the joint conference is concerned. The extraneous provisions I just mentioned have been removed from the bill. The final product is worthy of the outstanding effort that the Commission put into analyzing the horrific events of September 11, 2001. While I recognize that it does not fully implement the recommendations of the Commission in every respect, it is a major effort to move forward with the essential elements of the Commission's recommendations. We must consider and pass this legislation now.