

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

### A TALE OF TWO ECONOMIES

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

Mr. EMANUEL. Mr. Speaker, the past 3 years show a tale of two economies and an unprecedented redistribution of wealth in this country resulting in one economy for middle-class families and one for the special interests.

While there is a profits boom for corporations and a compensation boom for the CEOs, there is a growing wage and benefits recession for the middle class. To those who say redistribution of wealth is wrong, I agree. I say redistributing the wealth to the wealthy is wrong and bad economics.

The tale of two economies is a contrast fueled by executive compensation that too often bears no relation to performance and regressive tax policies that punish work and reward wealth, creating an upside-down economy that has shifted the tax burden from wealth to work, burdening middle-class families already facing skyrocketing health care costs, skyrocketing and rising tuition costs, job uncertainty, and retirement insecurity.

While this administration creates tax loopholes for corporate jet use and has reduced the audits of millionaires, it is auditing hundreds of thousands of people and families earning \$30,000 or less. This is the essence of class warfare. And as the famed investment adviser, Mr. Buffet, once said, "There is class warfare and my class is winning."

A report this week, recently out and reported by Bloomberg in the Chicago Tribune showed U.S. corporate profits have increased by 87 percent between the third quarter of 2001 and the end of 2003. Compensation for the average CEO got a big raise of 8.7 percent while salaried employees have seen an anemic increase of 1.5 percent. That is the lowest salary and wage growth since World War II in the beginning of an "economic boom."

Bill McDonough, the former chairman of the New York Fed, and now chairman of the Public Accounting Oversight Board, describes the gap between CEO and worker pay as "immoral." That is his quote. And the New York Fed is not a bastion of liberalism. He notes that in 1980, CEO pay was 40 times higher than the average salaried employee and now is 500 times higher. He sums it up, and I quote, "I know a lot of CEOs from 1980, and I can assure you the CEOs of 2000 are not 10 times better."

The performance of Ken Lay from Enron, Dennis Kozlowski of Tyco, and Bernie Ebbers of WorldCom bear his statement out. At every turn the administration tells us the economy is coming along. That may be true in the

executive suites and board rooms, but the other economy has created the largest income disparities in this Nation.

David Rosenberg, chief economist at Merrill Lynch, one of the leading investment banking firms on Wall Street, said, and I quote, "The income from the recovery has been locked up in the corporate sector. We have had a redistribution of income to the corporate sector."

This redistribution has been accelerated by the President's economic and tax policies. A study cited by The New York Times this week found that Americans are being taxed more than twice as heavily on earnings from work as they are on investment income, even though more than half of all investment goes to the wealthiest 5 percent of taxpayers.

While this administration has been cutting taxes, the rest of working America have been literally going from paycheck to paycheck and having a tax increase. As paychecks have often been effectively frozen for many, what has happened to their lives? Health care costs have gone up from \$6,500 for a family of four in 2001 to \$9,000 today. College tuition costs have gone up 10 percent in 2001, 10 percent in 2002, and 14 percent in 2003. \$180 billion worth of retirement securities locked in 401(k)s have lost their net value.

We have literally put a squeeze on the middle-class family, and what we have today is the end of the middle class as we know it.

As President Bush seeks reelection, he can say he kept his commitment to the top 1 percent of America. The other 99 percent has not made out quite so well. This administration has two books, two sets of values, two sets of priorities, and a single economic strategy that divides the country along class. Compared to how Americans view their futures, we cannot deny the middle-class families the same dreams of affordable health care, quality education, a safe place to live that the most fortunate in this country have today.

A government that pays no heed to the yawning gap between rich and the middle class does it at its own peril.

As Louis Brandeis, a famous Supreme Court Justice, once said, "We can either have democracy in this country or we can have great wealth concentrated in the hands of a few, but we cannot have both."

### DOUBLE STANDARD

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

Mr. GARRETT of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I rise now to speak on a double standard. Yesterday, the world learned of a young brave man from Philadelphia named Nick Berg. Nick Berg was a 26-year-old man who was in Iraq looking for work with the recon-

struction and helping to lend a hand to the people in that country.

But a gruesome video, posted on a radical fundamentalist site, shows this young man, Nick Berg, bound in an orange jumpsuit with five hooded al Qaeda operatives standing behind him. One of those operatives read a prepared statement, pulled a large knife from his pocket, proceeded to push his head to the ground, and then with five strokes of the knife, decapitated Nick Berg and then held the head up to the camera.

I tell you, Mr. Speaker, my thoughts and my prayers go to Nick Berg's family and friends.

□ 1945

I honestly cannot imagine what the family is going through right now and how they must feel, but this act by al Qaeda is a reminder of the evil we face in this world, and it should reinforce this country's determination to win this war against terror.

Yet another concern in the tragic death of Nick Berg is the lack of any forceful response and condemnation from the European nations or the Arab community over this incident.

The worldwide broadcast of the photos of Iraqi prisoners has brought forth outrage by Americans and Iraqis alike, but not surprisingly, the anti-Americans who are already on the radio exploiting that incident as an opportunity to condemn America and Americans, further promoting this double standard of which I speak. Yes, a small number of American soldiers committed crimes against Iraqi prisoners. Those soldiers should be and will be tried and punished accordingly.

However, while explaining our anger over these crimes and our will to punish these people rightfully when found appropriately guilty, calling for the resignation of a Secretary or even appearing over-apologetic for actions at the prison, I think it is a mistake and plays into the hands of the double standard.

The anti-American left, in this country and elsewhere, forever remembers every single American misdeed while forgetting every anti-American and every anti-human atrocity that the terrorists have taken against those who oppose any one of their causes.

Mr. Speaker, what of the media outlets? They detail the outrage of Iraqis based on the images of a few soldiers' crimes against prisoners. They are the same media outlets that showed no remorse, no outrage whatsoever a few years ago, for the thousands of lives that Saddam Hussein killed using his mass graves, nor when the Iraqi crowds in Fallujah burned and mutilated four American contractors and then hung their corpses from a bridge, there was no outrage or remorse.

A while back in an article, Eason Jordan from CNN, he admitted that his network had deliberately covered up and ignored Saddam Hussein's atrocities and they did that just so they

could stay on TV. This policy of caution by CNN is not reflected in their current coverage of the charges against American soldiers.

Although the actions against the Iraqi prisoners are unacceptable, they are not part of the standard procedure here in the United States or in the military treatment of our prisoners. Although al Qaeda states that their actions against Nick Berg are in retaliation for the crimes taken against these prisoners, their actions by al Qaeda in reality are typical of al Qaeda and all their affiliates. Their previous acts of violence against Americans serve as a testament to that fact, such as the attacks of September 11 and the slaying of a Wall Street Journal reporter, Daniel Pearl.

Mr. Speaker, make no mistake, the slaying of Nick Berg was about a war against the West in general, and America in particular, and we should firmly stand on our commitment to our American morals and values and denounce anti-American acts. However, while we publicly uncover crimes committed by some members of our military against Iraqi prisoners, we should not play into this double standard set by various media outlets, the European community and the Arab community, and the American left where America is condemned and the brutality, terror, and the cold-blooded acts of murder of innocent people by terrorists is left unreported and without condemnation.

As these recent actions show, the terrorists are not bound by any moral conscience. America must maintain its strength and its resolve to win this war on terror.

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

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

#### EXCHANGE OF SPECIAL ORDER TIME

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to claim the time of the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. WYNN).

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

There was no objection.

#### AFFIRMING DEMOCRACY

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

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, the debate over the war in Iraq should not be derailed by the tragedy overwhelming the Berg family. That would be a victory against America that al

Qaeda is hoping for. No Republican or Democrat should do or say anything except that we are profoundly sorry for their loss. The country and Congress must remain focused on those responsible for the abuses at the Abu Ghraib prison.

The administration would have us believe that the abuses were the work of a few rogue soldiers, but accounts from some of those directly involved tell a different story. Today's Washington Post and other media worldwide are reporting on interviews and testimony given by soldiers. A private seen in the photos told the news media she was "just following orders." The general in charge of the prison says she was confronted by a superior and told "my way or the hard way."

From the Middle East, a 16-year-old Iraqi alleges he was subjected to a mock execution in front of his family.

Mr. Speaker, I will include for the RECORD several news accounts.

The military commanders and civilians at the Pentagon cannot agree on who was in charge and what policies were approved. That is what happened in a scandal before. History gets rewritten. Memories fade as if on cue.

From the little Congress has been able to learn in the last few days, one thing is clear; the story keeps changing. This has the look and the feel of a cover-up. The tactic is a well-known one around here: Find some scapegoats; send out surrogates to decry every call for a full and impartial investigation; act and speak like scandal is no big deal.

The American people have seen a cover-up in the past by another Republican administration, and the American people refuse to accept anything less than full disclosure and the truth. It was true for the Nixon administration, it will be true for the Bush administration.

We do not have time to wait for the truth to trickle out, but we certainly cannot show the world that the government leaks are how America finds the truth. These abuses will not go away, no matter how many speeches the majority leader makes trying to divert the attention of the American people. These abuses will not go away until we back our words with deeds and bring justice to everyone involved. Privates do not set policy, they follow orders. This scandal goes deeper and higher than the Congress, and the American people have been told so far.

The Australian newspapers carry the story "Rumsfeld Approved Harsh Interrogation." We need to know the truth, and that means we conduct the most vigorous and independent investigation ever undertaken. An investigation must begin at the top where policies were set and command decisions were made. The investigation must be widened to include Afghanistan and Guantanamo. People outside the reach of the administration should conduct an investigation.

This scandal has shaken this Nation to its core. It is a scandal being tele-

vised around the world every hour of every day. Virtually no one on the face of the earth has not seen or heard about the photographs and the atrocities. Yet some of the administration insist things are not so bad. Every time a Republican steps up to the podium to undertake damage control, the words echo around the world, and the words ring hollow.

Every attempt to act like this is no big deal undermines leaders in both parties who are trying to show the world that America does understand the meaning of justice and responsibility. Like it or not, and I certainly do not, we have to meet this head on. Words like torture, humiliation, and murder do apply. We have no choice but to shine the light of free and democratic society into the darkness of the scandal, whatever the outcome.

No one is above the law in America and we must show the world that the rule of law prevails in this country. It is not enough for the administration to say it will not happen again when the American people do not know how it happened in the first time. It is not enough to speak an apology on one hand, and then send Republicans to the podium to act as if we were somehow permitted an injustice now and then.

Freedom does not come easy, and freedom does not come with exceptions. It is not enough to name a few low-level soldiers and pretend we have addressed the issue. Administration surrogates are sent to the podium to paint Democrats, the news media, and anyone who dares to disagree as unpatriotic. The message around the world is America will do what it damn well pleases, anywhere in the world, illegal, immoral; sorry, world, we are immune. We cannot and we must not send that message.

The administration cannot spin-doctor its way out of the crisis. The world simply will not allow it. We cannot spin the inhumanity displayed in 1,000 pictures. No words can mitigate the humiliation. The war in Iraq is longer about affirming democracy in a far-off land. Now the war in Iraq is about affirming democracy in the United States.

[From The Age, May 13, 2004]  
RUMSFELD APPROVED "HARSH"  
INTERROGATION  
(By Julian Borger)

A list of two types of interrogation techniques: one is basic and for all prisoners; the other is much tougher and requires approval.

U.S. Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld approved the use of "harsh" interrogation techniques at Guantanamo Bay, including stripping detainees naked, making them hold "stress" positions and depriving them of sleep, a Pentagon official has confirmed.

Stephen Cambone, the under-secretary of defence for intelligence, also said severe interrogation techniques, including the use of dogs to intimidate prisoners, had been approved by military commanders in Iraq.

But Mr. Cambone, Mr. Rumsfeld's top intelligence official, insisted that all U.S. soldiers in Iraq were under orders to obey the Geneva Convention. He denied that the U.S. military leadership had helped create a climate for prison abuse.