

which they have had nothing but an anemic wage growth.

David Rosenberg, chief economist at Merrill Lynch, said, "The income from the recovery has been locked up in the corporate sector. We have had a redistribution of income to the corporate sector."

The concentration of wealth has been accelerated by the President's economic and tax policies. A study cited by New York Times found that Americans are being taxed more than twice as heavily from earnings from work as they are from 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 for the wealthy, the rest of America have been literally going from paycheck to paycheck. Health care costs have gone from \$6,500 for a family of four to \$9,000 in less than 2 and a half years. College tuition costs increased in the year 2001 by 10 percent; 2002 by another 11 percent; and last year, 14 percent, all the while Pell Grants and other assistance for college have been frozen. \$180 billion has been lost in 401(k) net worth and savings plans, and we are putting a squeeze on middle-class families.

What we face today is the end of the middle class as we know it. We ended welfare as we know it because it was a failed system. This administration has an economic policy that is ending the middle class as we know it. As President Bush seeks reelection, he can say he has kept his commitment to the wealthiest of America, and the other 99 percent has made out just as he planned.

This administration has two books, two sets of values, two sets of priorities, a single economic strategy that divides a country along class lines. If we want to live in a country without class divisions, we cannot deny middle-class families the same dreams of affordable health care, quality education, and a safe place to live that the most fortunate in this country have today. A government that pays no heed to that gap between the rich and the middle class does so at its own peril. To quote Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis, "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."

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FEENEY). 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.)

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MORAN of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to utilize this time for my Special Order.

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

There was no objection.

TRIBUTE TO HON. STAN W. CLARK OF OAKLEY, KANSAS

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

Mr. MORAN of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I rise this evening to pay tribute to a man of principle and faith who nobly devoted his energies to the service of others. Today, we mourn the death of Kansas State Senator Stan Clark of Oakley, Kansas, who was tragically taken from us as a result of a vehicle accident this past Saturday.

I had the honor of serving alongside Stan Clark in the State Senate for 2 years of his decade of service. As I and many of his colleagues will attest, Senator Clark was unwavering in his pursuit of issues based upon principle. He deservedly earned a reputation for being a conscientious and dedicated legislator. As peers, we valued his thoroughness in considering each piece of legislation and his deliberate, detail-oriented analysis of policy affecting his constituents. He always knew more about pending legislation than any other member of the State Senate.

Stan dedicated himself to public service on behalf of Kansans, and especially those who call northwest Kansas home, and he did it with conviction and purpose. The fact that Senator Clark sought elective office is in itself unusual. He had to convince the leadership of the Dunkard Brethren Church that public service was an appropriate calling for a Christian, for his church firmly believed that a person must not be conformed to this world. I cannot imagine a congregation that can be more proud of a decision to allow a member of their church to pursue public office. Stan did not conform to the things of this world but worked to transform the world and to perfect the will of God.

A lifelong Kansan, Stan was always true to his roots. He lived a life guided by the morals and values we in Kansas hold dear. He was motivated to do the right thing in each and every circumstance. In today's partisan arena where there is too much Republican this and Democrat that, Stan put people above politics. Although Stan was not always able to convince everyone of the rightness of his position, nor was he always in the majority when the votes were cast, he treated every person with dignity and respect.

His humility and his warm, genuine grin, which originated deep within his heart, won him the love of friends and the respect of opponents. He lived his life striving to follow Paul's instructions in Romans 12:

"Let love be without hypocrisy. Abhor what is evil. Cling to what is good. Be kindly to one another with

brotherly love, serving the Lord, rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation, continuing steadfastly in prayer, given to hospitality. Do not set your mind on high things, but associate with the humble. Do not be wise in your own opinion. Repay no evil for evil. If it is possible, live peaceably with men. Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good."

In a speech just a few days before his death, addressing those gathered at a Vietnam moving wall displayed in his hometown of Oakley, Kansas, Stan told his neighbors his thoughts about death and as a result his thoughts about life. These are his words.

"Thinking about death produces a true love for life. When we are familiar with death, we accept each day and each week as a gift. This acceptance helps us to see all human life as priceless. Only when we are able to accept life, bit by bit, does it become precious. Only this awareness of death creates true inward freedom from material things. When we look death in the face, we overcome ambition and greed and the love of power and the fear of losing material things. When we look at ourselves, we realize how weak and misguided we can be. If we have not had the thought of death, we cannot achieve an inward freedom to live. When we bury death's control over our own lives and experience freedom and peace of mind, life becomes a gift that we can share with others."

After his commitment to his faith, most important to Stan was his family. He devoted endless love and attention to his wife, Ruth, and their son, Will. Most common was Stan's dedication to balancing public responsibilities with a commitment to quality time shared with his family.

Today I join his many friends and admirers in extending my deepest sympathies to Ruthie and her family during this time of loss. Stan, you will be greatly missed by me, by my family, and by our many friends and your constituents, but he who does the will of God abides forever.

HOW COULD BUSH ADMINISTRATION HAVE BEEN SO WRONG ABOUT IRAQ?

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, a question that should be asked here in Congress but there is resounding silence from the majority because they do not want to embarrass the Bush administration is how could the Bush administration have been so wrong about Iraq? How could they have been so wrong about the nonexistent weapons of mass destruction, about the nonexistent mobile biological warfare laboratories, about the fantasy that American troops would be greeted with flowers and there would be an immediate transition to a robust democracy in Iraq,

so, therefore, there would be no need for a robust force post-war to keep the peace, no need for body armor for the troops or armored Humvees.

And, in fact, the administration fired the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff because he did not believe that stuff and said we would need 300,000 troops or more to maintain the order. Of course, he was right; they were wrong. But how could they be so wrong?

I guess you could be wrong if you took your intelligence from a convicted fugitive, bunko artist, bank embezzler, and that was the chief source of intelligence and information for this administration. Despite the fact that the CIA severed all ties with Mr. Chalabi 7 years ago, despite the fact that the State Department rejected Mr. Chalabi quite some time ago, the Bush principals involved in planning and executing this war, particularly Mr. Wolfowitz who was one of Mr. Chalabi's dearest friends and compatriots, believed Chalabi over their own CIA, over the people at the State Department and in other intelligence agencies.

They said, oh, no, Ahmad, he is telling us what is really going on in Iraq. He is giving us good information.

In fact, Chalabi was invited to a meeting of the Defense Policy Board 9 days after September 11, and he said, hey, skip Afghanistan and go into Iraq. Luckily, that initial advice from Mr. Chalabi was ignored. But at the same time he began building the case that there would be no guerrilla warfare and there would be quickly a new democratic government with him as its chosen head and that showers of flowers would come upon the troops and Mr. Chalabi and others.

He was close and met with Condoleezza Rice, Vice President CHENEY and Secretary Wolfowitz. Mr. Chalabi, despite the protestations of this administration and all attempts to hide their ties to him, was provided \$39 million for his phoney intelligence by this administration, \$340,000 a month in a stipend that continued even after his lies regarding weapons of mass destruction and the post-war environment in Iraq. Even then the administration continued to give him \$340,000 a month.

He was flown into Iraq before the war was over by the Pentagon with the idea that he was going to become the new anointed president and leader. They had to quickly evacuate him when they found out that the Iraqi people did not think as much about this convicted bunko artist, fugitive, bank embezzler as did the CIA and others. They basically ran him out of the country until the U.S. established control.

He is, of course, not repentant about the bad information he gave us. He said, "As far as we are concerned, we," meaning he and the other fraud members of the INC, "have been entirely successful. Saddam is gone, Americans are in Baghdad, and what we said before is not important," and that is all of the lies he told us.

He went on to say the U.S. intelligence agencies are at fault because intelligence people are supposed to do a better job for their country and did not do such a good job. That is Mr. Wolfowitz and others who believed his lies were at fault, according to Mr. Chalabi, not he or the others who lied to us, misled us, and caused death of American troops and a lot of chaos in Iraq.

Now the director of DIA testified in March that all of the intelligence he gave us was either fabricated or embellished. The National Intelligence Council now says the intelligence was useless. Of course, his money was cut off last month. But, unfortunately, he did more damage than even that.

He has compromised the U.S. dramatically in the Middle East. As we see today, a headline story in the New York Times, "Chalabi reportedly told Iran that the U.S. had broken their code" which will mean incredible problems for the United States in gathering intelligence in that region where we already had scant resources.

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Now the Bush administration, Mr. Wolfowitz and others, are trying to pretend like they never met this guy before. They did not give him \$36 million, they did not base their war strategy on his phony intelligence, and they are not "best buds."

Well, you are judged by the friends you keep, and they cannot separate themselves from this. It has caused tremendous harm to our country, and those in the Bush administration who pushed Mr. Chalabi's information should be held to account. It has caused deaths of American troops.

CREATING A SENSIBLE, MULTILATERAL, AMERICAN RESPONSE TO TERRORISM

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

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, in their public speeches about the war in Iraq, President Bush and Vice President CHENEY often invoke the notion of sacrifice and responsibility. They insist that every American support their war in Iraq, and those that do not are labeled un-American, traitors, even treasonous.

According to this model, then, it follows that the White House would encourage patriotic, trustworthy companies to carry out the reconstruction of Iraq's war-torn infrastructure, their schools and hospitals, public buildings, roads and more. But that is just not happening.

Halliburton, which has been awarded reconstruction contracts left and right, does not seem terribly motivated by Bush and CHENEY's notion of sacrifice and responsibility. Perhaps all those no-bid contracts have gone to their

heads, or perhaps Halliburton is still reeling from the fumes of the millions of gallons of gasoline it has been contracted to import into Iraq, one of many hefty contracts specifically coordinated by DICK CHENEY's office.

You may recall that Vice President CHENEY is the former CEO of Halliburton. The problem is that, once again, the Vice President has lied to the American people about his involvement with his old employer, an employer that still pays him nearly \$200,000 each year in deferred salary and with whom he holds nearly 500,000 company shares.

On September 4 of last year, Vice President CHENEY said on "Meet the Press," "As Vice President, I have absolutely no influence of, involvement of, knowledge of in any way, shape or form of contracts let by the Corps of Engineers or anybody else in the Federal Government."

But that statement deeply contradicts an internal Pentagon e-mail obtained by Time Magazine, sent by an Army Corps of Engineers official on March 5, 2003, stating that the Vice President's office specifically coordinated a recent multibillion dollar contract in Iraq with Halliburton. That is the Vice President's office.

The e-mail specifies that Undersecretary of Defense Douglas Feith had appallingly "coordinated" the contract with the Vice President's office.

I wonder if Vice President CHENEY's coordination of lucrative contracts for his former employer appeals to the same high patriotic standards that he regularly invokes for the rest of us in his speeches. Or perhaps there is a double standard at work, a policy of patriotism when it is convenient, and another policy of sheer greed and selfishness when Halliburton comes knocking on the door with its \$200,000 in annual deferred salary for the Vice President.

There has to be a better way, because the Bush doctrine of cronyism has been tried; and it has failed utterly. It is time for a new security strategy, one that emphasizes brains instead of brawn, depends on quality and sincerity in all business negotiations, and one that is consistent with the best American values.

I have introduced H. Con. Res. 392, legislation to create a SMART security platform for the 21st century. SMART stands for Sensible, Multilateral, American Response to Terrorism. SMART treats war as an absolute last resort. It fights terrorism with stronger intelligence and multilateral partnerships that control 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 education.

The United States can no longer afford foreign presidents watching as our national leaders reward their buddies with contracts worth billions of dollars and then turn around and call dissemblers unpatriotic and un-American.