Mr. Speaker, this resolution is extraordinary, not for

what it says but for what it deliberately refuses to admit. The

President took us to war. An immediate nuclear threat was the bait.

This resolution is the switch.

In the aftermath of the war, we found no stockpiles of weapons of

mass destruction, and with shifting justifications coming from the

President and memorialized here in this Republican-crafted resolution,

I cannot help but feel, as my constituents do, that we were sold a bill

of goods. Not surprisingly, today's feel-good pep-rally resolution does

not speak to these issues. What it does provide is the background music

for justification revisionists.

But since we have not discovered the promised stockpiles of weapons,

we have a big problem. Not that our failure to find the weapons is not

a big problem or that al Qaeda forces sneaking into Iraq is not a big

problem or that nation building a place the size of California is not a

big problem. The real problem is an utter lack of White House

credibility. It is gone. Having not just cried wolf, but rabid wolf,

this administration has lost its credibility with the Congress, with

the American people, with the people of Europe, even with the people of

``New Europe,'' and with the international community.

And the credibility gap extends to the plans for what we would do

after the war. We won the war. The Secretary of War makes good war. And

for the peace we were assured, the American people were assured that

there was a plan. In fact, there was. It was crafted by the State

Department. It spoke to all of the issues and problems that we have

come up with until today, and it was scrapped by the Secretary of

Defense. So how are the American people supposed to believe that the

current plan to hand over power to the Iraqis on June 30, ready or not,

come hell or high water, will actually work when all the expertise the

United States Government could muster in advance has been summarily

dismissed? I have concluded that the administration's plans to get us

into the war was bait and switch, and the plan to get us out looks like

cut and run.

Finally, I am deeply concerned that the war against Iraq has

undermined our stated Bush national security doctrine on preemption.

Surely we face a new and different world in the wake of September 11

and we must think differently about how to win the war on terror, but

preemption as a valid and legal doctrine for self-defense depends on

imminence, an imminent threat to our national security. What we have

discovered in Iraq is that there was no imminent threat and that our

intelligence about Saddam's weapons was far from the mark. The

administration has destroyed its credibility with the world community,

and if by our actions we have transformed preemptive war into

preventative war, then despite what today's resolution says, we have

not made the world a safe place but a more dangerous place in the long

run.