Mr. Speaker, this is a deceitful resolution not for

what it says, but for what it does not say. It is unfortunate that our

Republican colleagues would once again use an issue that unites all

Americans--support for our troops--into a naked political stunt that

attempts to rewrite history in a divisive manner. The American people

should understand that the Republican leadership in this House has

prevented any Member of Congress from offering any change to this

resolution.

The main defect of this resolution is that it tells only a small part

of the story about Iraq. In an obvious attempt to change the subject,

the resolution contains absolutely no mention of the primary

justification President Bush gave for going to war in Iraq--the alleged

existence of stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction. Instead, the

resolution attempts to justify the decision for war on humanitarian

grounds alone. It cites, among other things, Saddam Hussein's use of

chemical weapons against Iraq's Kurdish citizens in 1988.

No one needs to tell me about Saddam Hussein's human rights abuses

against the Kurds. In 1988, at the end of the Iran-Iraq war, I traveled

to the Iraq-Turkish border as a staffer on the U.S. Senate Foreign

relations Committee with my colleague Peter Galbraith. At that time,

thousands of Kurds were fleeing across the border to seek refuge in

Turkey. We interviewed hundreds of those refugees and documented Iraq's

use of chemical weapons against the Kurdish people. Our report formed

the basis for legislation to impose economic sanctions against Iraq for

its use of chemical weapons against the Kurds. The bill passed the

United States Senate; but the Reagan Administration, which included

many of the key officials now in the Bush administration, opposed and

helped block that sanctions legislation from passing. I challenge

anyone to explain to me how you can oppose economic sanctions in 1988

in response to Iraq's use of chemical weapons against civilians and

then today turn around and say that those same actions are the reason

the United States went to war in 2003.

Moreover, if Saddam Hussein's use of chemical weapons against his own

people was the reason for military action, we should have finished the

job during the Persian Gulf War in 1991. Iraq has not used chemical

weapons since 1988, since the time my colleague Peter Galbraith and I

went to the Iraq-Turkish border at the end of the Iran-Iraq war. But 3

years later in 1991, not only did we not remove Hussein in Baghdad, but

at the end of the war the United States looked the other way for many

days while Saddam Hussein turned his guns on the Shias in the south and

the Kurds in the north. This history exposes the hypocrisy of this

attempt to rewrite history in order to change the argument for going to

war in Iraq in 2003.

The fact is that the Bush Administration told the American people

that we had to go to war because Saddam Hussein currently possessed

stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction and posed an imminent threat

to the United States. When the U.N. inspectors asked for additional

time to determine whether Iraq possessed stockpiles of such weapons,

the Administration rejected the request and went to war. We now know

that--based on the report of Chief U.S. weapons inspector, David Kay,

that to date no stockpiles of chemical, biological or nuclear weapons

have been found in Iraq. This resolution says nothing about the serious

blow to U.S. credibility and security around the world caused by the

Administration's misuse and abuse of intelligence information.

The Republican leadership would like to equate support for our troops

in Iraq with support for the President's decision to go to war in Iraq.

But my constituents and the American people deserve better than the

false choice presented by this resolution. I will not play the game of

having to support the President's views on Iraq in order to express

support our troops. I continue to stand behind our troops and am

grateful for their valiant service. I recently returned from a trip to

Iraq where I had the honor of meeting with many of the men and women in

our Armed Forces. I expressed to them the gratitude of the American

people for their sacrifice and for their service to our country. It is

a disservice to our troops that the Republican leadership here would

exploit them to attempt to gain partisan political advantage.

I have crafted an alternative resolution that presents the part of

the story that the Republican leadership would like the American people

to forget. This substitute resolution does not change a single word of

the underlying resolution. However, it presents a fuller picture of the

real story behind the decision to go to war in Iraq. Every one of the

``Whereas'' clauses in this alternative resolution is factually

accurate and incontrovertible. Why does the Republican leadership want

to hide from these facts? Why does it want to prevent the American

people from knowing the full story? Why will it not allow this

substitute to be voted on? Mr. Speaker, I submit this alternative

resolution for the Record.