Good evening, Madam Speaker. To varying degrees, Americans

realize that it's time to end this war. You hear frustration; you see

almost rabid anger. Americans understand we have a failed policy in

Iraq. It's not working. 3,600 American troops have been killed; 2,700

U.S. troops have been wounded; 50,000 Iraqis have been killed. This

administration is pursuing a failed foreign and military policy.

Now, let me be quick to note: This doesn't mean that our military has

failed. Our military has in fact performed very admirably. They have

done so despite the inept management of this administration, which has

failed to provide them with the adequate armor that they need. Yet our

military has fought on. But, again, it is the wrong policy.

First of all, we need to redefine our notions of winning and losing.

This is the wrong war, it is in the wrong place, and it is being, as I

indicated earlier, handled in the wrong way.

A lot of people are afraid to pull our troops out because they will

say we will have lost. No, we will not have lost. We will have been

pursuing the wrong policy. It is almost like the British redcoats

facing the U.S. revolutionaries in the American Revolutionary

War. They were fighting in the wrong way. We are doing the same thing.

We have to face the facts.

Supporters of the war are also saying look, we can't get out because

the result will be a catastrophe. Note to the administration: It is

already a catastrophe. What we need to do is change direction, with the

hope that we can actually fight a war on terrorism and save American

lives.

We can't continue to try to mediate Iraq's civil war. It is time to

redeploy our troops, to bring them back home. We have in fact a civil

war in Iraq. Both sides dislike our military presence. Iraqi insurgents

are willing to kill themselves and become martyrs for their cause. We

don't really understand this phenomenon. How can you beat an enemy that

is willing to kill himself before you do? It doesn't work.

This is not a war in which killing more insurgents will result in

``victory.'' In fact, the National Intelligence Estimates indicate that

our presence in Iraq is counterproductive. Iraq has more insurgents

now, more militants, more terrorists, more jihadists, if you will,

today than they did when we deposed Saddam Hussein. Iraq has become a

haven for terrorists, and our military engagement is not reducing the

number of insurgents. They are increasing.

Our continued presence in Iraq, more than 4 years, leads many Iraqis

to the perception that what we really want to do is control their oil

resources. This perception undermines any attempt to promote freedom

and democracy. They think we just want the oil.

We have done one good thing through this Congress. We passed a

resolution in this House that says we will have no permanent bases.

That is the type of message we need to be sending, that we are not

there to control your country. But what should we do in the overall

battle against terrorism and in Iraq?

First of all, how about some diplomacy? Why is diplomacy always last?

From Korea to Iran, here is what we do. We call them names first, and

then we, finally, years later, say, well, maybe we ought to talk. Let's

try talking first.

It is time this administration took diplomatic engagement to a higher

level around the world. We need to take it seriously. We need to

abandon this go-it-alone policy.

How about supporting Muslim efforts to promote peace? I think there

are countries in the region, Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, who

have a vested interest in promoting peace. Let's give them a chance to

promote peace. They have the greatest stake in having a peaceful

region. There are also international religious leaders who could

perhaps mediate a peace. What we do know is that the United States

lacks the credibility to promote peace or mediate peace in this region.

Let's turn to the U.N. Why don't we ask the U.N. to promote a peace

process in Iraq while we pull our troops out? We need a permanent

United Nations emergency peace force. I have introduced such a bill. A

permanent U.N. entity that would work in these areas of conflict, both

in Iraq, in the Middle East, in Africa, the Sudan, Chad, and on and on.

We can use the UN as a vehicle to promote peace and save the lives of

American men and women who are in the Army and in our military.

Also we need to introduce the concept of humanitarian aid. Now, we do

some, it is true, but how about leading with diplomacy and humanitarian

aid? Put a new face on America's foreign policy. More humanitarian aid,

building schools and building hospitals, says to the world that

Americans really want to be your friend, as opposed to troops beating

down your door, going door-to-door.

We also need to keep in mind, although we withdraw our troops, we

have not abandoned Iraq. We need to continue to support reconstruction

aid. But let me be quick to add, we need reconstruction aid with a lot

more congressional oversight. This idea that Halliburton and other

companies are just making billions and billions in profits and we don't

see anything coming up from the ground in Iraq is unsatisfactory. We

need humanitarian aid, we need reconstruction aid, we need

congressional oversight to go with it.

In conclusion, we really need to spend our money more wisely to fight

the real threat that we have. We know the threat is not in Iraq, the

threat is in Afghanistan. What should we do?

First of all, we need greater emphasis on intelligence, to break up

these small cells. The attacks we have seen in Britain and elsewhere

are done by small cells. We need to interrupt weapons transfers,

because that is what is causing the problem. We also need to interrupt

these terrorist camps. We need to use our Special Forces intelligently

to fight the real war that we have.

Bring our troops home, initiate diplomacy, humanitarian aid,

reconstructive aid. We need a sound foreign policy. We don't have it

with this administration. But with this Congress continuing to press

the fight, we are going to have it.