Mr. Speaker, I have come down to this floor more than

200 times to hold the administration accountable for its actions in

Iraq. Since then, we have seen it all, from freedom fries to ``the

surge.'' During these dog days of summer, however, we can't relent. We

have to join together as never before because this administration is

moving in new and even more dangerous directions in foreign policy. Let

me give you an example.

Several weeks ago, the administration confirmed what I had been

saying

for the last 3 or 4 years; namely, that they are determined to maintain

tens of thousands of American troops on permanent military bases in

Iraq for many decades to come. To support this position, they draw an

absurd comparison between the situation in Iraq and the situation in

South Korea. South Korea, where U.S. troops have been stationed for

more than 50 years. And then White House spokesman Tony Snow said U.S.

troops may have to stay in Iraq indefinitely to perform what he called

an over-the-horizon support role. Over-the-horizon support role. George

Orwell couldn't have said it any better. Call it what it really is,

Tony: Occupation.

Ever since the administration took us into Iraq, I have tried to get

at the heart of what is wrong with this foreign policy, and I believe

the answer is this: The administration's foreign policy has failed. It

has failed because it sells America short. The administration believes

that the only weapon we have to fight terrorism is military power, but

by relying on military power alone and ignoring our many other

strengths, they have made America much weaker, not stronger.

There is another answer: A much different look at diplomacy and

foreign policy. First, we must reestablish our moral leadership and

regain our standing in the global community by using diplomacy as our

first and best resort, and war only as our last resort. President

Roosevelt said that the Presidency is preeminently a place of moral

leadership, and that is something this administration must learn.

Second, we must rebuild our international alliances. We may be a

Superpower, but we don't have super powers like Spiderman. So, we need

the help of other nations. International cooperation is by far the best

way to dismantle terrorist networks, manage globalization, stop the

spread of disease and global warming, and fight the poverty that is the

breeding ground of terrorism.

Third, Mr. Speaker, we must stop using fear as an excuse to justify

immoral wars, or as a bludgeon to crush dissent and trash our

Constitution. Again, quoting President Roosevelt, the only thing we

have to fear, he said, is fear itself. Well, this administration

believes that without fear, they can't move their agenda.

Fourth, we must end our addiction to foreign oil that pumps billions

of dollars into autocratic regimes and props them up. Let's get serious

about sustainable energy. And let's export green technology instead of

war.

Next, we must renew our commitment to nuclear nonproliferation. It is

sheer hypocrisy to demand that Iran and North Korea halt their nuclear

programs while we talk about developing new nuclear weapons of our very

own.

And finally, we must take the money we are investing in war and

reinvest it in what makes us truly strong: education, health care,

jobs, child care, the environment, and nonviolent problem solving.

I have offered a national security plan myself which rests on these

broad principles. It's called SMART, which stands for Sensible

Multilateral American Response to Terrorism. SMART, H. Res. 227, is

deadly serious about stopping acts of terrorism. It would beef-up our

intelligence capabilities. It would enhance our efforts to cut off

financing for terrorist organizations.