Mr. Speaker, I want to

thank our ranking member and my

friend for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today really with

a very heavy heart, one that is filled

with sorrow for the families and the

loved ones who were killed and injured

this week. Only the most foolish and

the most callous would not understand

the grief that has really gripped our

people and millions across the world.

This unspeakable act on the United

States has forced me, however, to rely

on my moral compass, my conscience,

and my God for direction. September 11

changed the world. Our deepest fears

now haunt us. Yet I am convinced that

military action will not prevent further

acts of international terrorism

against the United States. This is a

very complex and complicated matter.

This resolution will pass, although

we all know that the President can

wage a war even without it. However

difficult this vote may be, some of us

must urge the use of restraint. Our

country is in a state of mourning.

Some of us must say, let us step back

for a moment. Let us just pause for a

minute and think through the implications

of our actions today so that this

does not spiral out of control.

I have agonized over this vote, but I

came to grips with it today and I came

to grips with opposing this resolution

during the very painful yet very beautiful

memorial service. As a member of

the clergy so eloquently said, ‘‘As we

act, let us not become the evil that we

deplore.’’

Mr. Speaker, I rise today with a

heavy heart, one that is filled with sorrow for

the families and loved ones who were killed

and injured in New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania.

Only the most foolish or the most

callous would not understand the grief that

has gripped the American people and millions

across the world.

This unspeakable attack on the United

States has forced me to rely on my moral

compass, my conscience, and my God for direction.

September 11 changed the world. Our

deepest fears now haunt us. Yet I am convinced

that military action will not prevent further

acts of international terrorism against the

United States.

I know that this use-of-force resolution will

pass although we all know that the President

can wage a war even without this resolution.

However difficult this vote may be, some of us

must urge the use of restraint. There must be

some of us who say, let’s step back for a moment

and think through the implications of our

actions today—let us more fully understand its

consequences.

We are not dealing with a conventional war.

We cannot respond in a conventional manner.

I do not want to see this spiral out of control.

This crisis involves issues of national security,

foreign policy, public safety, intelligence gathering,

economics, and murder. Our response

must be equally multi-faceted.

We must not rush to judgment. Far too

many innocent people have already died. Our

country is in mourning. If we rush to launch a

counter-attack, we run too great a risk that

women, children, and other non-combatants

will be caught in the crossfire.

Nor can we let our justified anger over these

outrageous acts by vicious murderers inflame

prejudice against all Arab Americans, Muslims,

Southeast Asians, or any other people because

of their race, religion, or ethnicity.

Finally, we must be careful not to embark

on an open-ended war with neither an exit

strategy nor a focused target. We cannot repeat

past mistakes.

In 1964, Congress gave President Lyndon

Johnson the power to ‘‘take all necessary

measures’’ to repel attacks and prevent further

aggression. In so doing, this House abandoned

its own constitutional responsibilities

and launched our country into years of

undeclared war in Vietnam.

At that time, Senator Wayne Morse, one of

two lonely votes against the Tonkin Gulf Resolution,

declared,

Senator Morse was correct, and I fear we

make the same mistake today. And I fear the

consequences.

I have agonized over this vote. But I came

to grips with it in the very painful yet beautiful

memorial service today at the National Cathedral.

As a member of the clergy so eloquently

said,