Mr. Speaker, I am

voting for this resolution with a heavy heart,

but without hesitation.

Like the hearts of all Americans, my heart is

heavy with grief for all those killed and injured

in this week’s despicable attacks. It is weighted

with sympathy for all their families and

friends, and with concern for what may lie

ahead for our country and for other people

around the world.

But, however heavy our hearts, we in the

Congress and throughout America know we

must not lose heart.

We know we must not hesitate to fulfill our

responsibilities to our fellow citizens and to our

country.

We know that if we do, we will be giving

way to terror and giving victory to those who

seek to terrorize America.

And all Americans—Christians, Jews, Muslims,

and all others, too—know that we cannot

let these criminal deeds go unanswered.

This resolution is a key part of the answer.

It says the President can use force in a ‘‘necessary

and appropriate’’ response directed at

those who ‘‘planned, authorized, committed, or

aided the terrorist attacks on September 11,

2001,’’ as well as those who harbored the perpetrators,

so they will not commit new offenses.

It is broad, but it is not unlimited. It

covers the culpable but it is not aimed at anyone

else.

In other words, in voting for this resolution,

I am voting not for vengeance but for justice.

I think it is the duty of all civilized people to

insist on meting out justice to those who are

guilty, including those who have aided and

abetted the perpetrators—and we must not

hesitate to carry out that duty.

But we have another duty as well—a duty to

ourselves and to the things we hold most

dear.

To paraphrase Churchill, this week may

prove to be only the end of the beginning of

events that will challenge us all. Those events

likely will test our resolve in persisting through

a long and unsettling struggle. And they definitely

will test our dedication to our own principles—

the very principles that have made

America what it is and so have made us hated

by those who hate those principles.

We must not waiver in defending those principles.

We must not weaken in our determination

to maintain our Constitution and democracy.

And we must not surrender or reduce

the basic freedoms and the rights of all Americans—

because, if we do any of those things

we will have lost the struggle, whatever the results

of the use of force authorized by this resolution.