

History is littered with people who have made those miscalculations before. Now the Taliban and al-Qaeda are about to share their fate. The battle is not yet fully won, though victory, at least in this first battle of this new war against terrorism, has taken sufficient form that we can see the outlines of success.

Before this war on terrorism targets new adversaries, there will be the matter of how to bring to justice those who created these crimes, murdered our people, and attacked our Nation. President Bush has suggested a military tribunal that would hear the evidence and render justice. It is an important decision for our country. We have always, in dealing with criminal cases in our country, taken enormous pride in that the accused is afforded every right and assumed to have every innocence until convicted in full accord with our Constitution.

After declarations of war and military campaigns, in those instances when people have committed either atrocities against humanity or engaged in military hostilities outside of the conduct of the rules of war, they have been brought to justice; they have been tried by military justice.

Now we are engaged in a new kind of war. Our adversaries wear no uniforms. They may not belong to the army of any recognized state. Our country received no declaration of war, according to the articles of war of civilized nations. So the actions of President Bush in bringing the leaders of al-Qaeda, or the Taliban, to justice are precedent. But they need not be controversial. The Taliban and al-Qaeda may not have been in the family of nations, but the law is not blind. By their actions and their words, Bin Laden and the Taliban leadership declared war on the United States of America. The destruction of American civilian aircraft into our greatest cities and the offices of the U.S. Government and the taking of thousands of lives was an act of war, not a civilian crime.

It would have been no different had an aircraft with a foreign flag dropped a bomb on New York or Washington. The orders given would have been the same, the consequences identical, and should stand before the law on an equal basis. The leaders of the Taliban and al-Qaeda are entitled to military justice, to be heard before a military tribunal of either the U.S. military or the assembled military leadership of the allies in this endeavor. But they are not entitled to sit in a civilian court provided for American citizens under the Constitution of this country for the rights of our people and those who enter our shores.

The level of justice may not be the same in a military tribunal as in a civilian court, but it is justice. They can be heard as any other military adversary.

Before leaving on this Thanksgiving holiday, I wish to say how proud I have been of this Congress, my country, and

our Armed Forces. This is not what any of us wanted for the 21st century. We all believed that somehow only months ago as the 20th century came to a close, our time was going to be different.

Through all the ravages of the 20th century, the disappointment, the destruction, the genocide, finally men and women had come of age. We understood the foolishness of combat, the recklessness of armed struggle, the uselessness of combat. We had built institutions to resolve our international differences. While cultures, faiths, and languages might differ, there at least was emerging some common understanding of the principles of governance, justice, and self-respect.

It would appear that our enthusiasm for a new time was either misplaced or poorly timed. Not only do these opening years of the 21st century not appear to be an improvement on all we experienced in the 20th century, but they look remarkably similar to the 18th or 19th centuries.

All human progress is not forward. All nations do not advance at the same speed. All cultures have not learned history the same. Yet we are patient and hopeful. If anything characterizes the people of the United States, it is our boundless optimism. From this terrible experience, perhaps we can at least take this to salvage those many years still remaining in the 21st century to make our time different. In the destruction of al-Qaeda and the Taliban, a message will at least be received by those who would harbor terrorists or those who would collaborate in these actions: Our kindness is not weakness; our laws do not provide you opportunities to take advantage of our justice; we are strong, we are resolved, and we are determined to defend ourselves, our children, and our future, as every generation before us. We are a good and a great people, but we are a strong and determined people. We have our place in the future, our role in the world, and it will not be compromised. It will not be taken from us.

Much of this planet has decided upon some common norms of justice and conduct, to conduct ourselves in peace within institutions. All nations are welcome to join in them according to their own traditions, their own laws, and their own faiths, but the age when nations or organizations would be permitted to operate against all human experience and all rules of decency are over.

We have only perhaps begun to defeat one terrorist organization in one country, but surely the lessons from this experience are unmistakable and are heard on every corner of the globe.

That is my hope and my prayer for this Thanksgiving. Godspeed to every American soldier wherever he or she may be on this holiday. May you be home for Christmas; may we not have to call upon you again. But if we do, may you serve with the same distinction, courage, and valor that every

American has seen in your actions in these last few weeks.

#### THE OUTSTANDING SERVICE AND DEDICATION OF OUR MILITARY MEN AND WOMEN

Mr. CLELAND. Mr. President, I want to quickly discuss recent news that U.S. forces are engaged on the ground in Afghanistan. Though it isn't yet certain the details of this report, if this is a new assault in our war on terrorism or whether this is the continuation of our current operations, I would like to raise the attention of everyone to the outstanding service and dedication that our military men and women are showing in the war on terrorism. It is their sacrifice and selfless service that has taken the war on terrorism to the terrorists themselves. As we have seen since last week, our military is fully engaged and we are seeing the successes of their many missions. As I have always said, the backbone of our military is not technology or weapons, but the people. Our brave military men and women are waging this fight today and we need to remember them and their families in this difficult time.

#### COMMENDING THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE KEPT THE SENATE SAFE AND RUNNING IN A DIFFICULT MONTH

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, yesterday marked 1 month since the letter containing anthrax was opened in my office. Being at "ground zero" in the largest bioterrorism attack ever on U.S. soil has been unsettling and frustrating for many of us. As our Nation prepares to celebrate Thanksgiving, though, there is much for which we in the Senate family have to be grateful.

On a personal note, I am deeply grateful that the members of my staff who were exposed to anthrax continue to be in good health and good spirits and they continue to come to work every day, inspiring our entire staff with their courage and dedication. I am grateful, as well, that the other members of our Senate family who were exposed also continue to be in good health. I am grateful to the doctors and scientists who have worked long hours to protect Americans from this threat, not just on Capitol Hill, but in Washington, Trenton, New York and even as far away as Kansas City.

I am particularly grateful to a special group of people who have kept the Senate safe and running during this unprecedented time. At the top of that list is Al Lenhardt, the Senate's Sergeant at Arms, and his staff. If there was ever a case of the right person, in the right job, at the right time, it is Al Lenhardt. On September 11, Al had been Sergeant at Arms for exactly 1 week. I don't believe he has taken a day off work since then. The first Saturday morning after the anthrax letter was opened, he was at work in the Capitol, surrounded by scientists and investigators. He had been at work until

late the night before. That morning, someone asked him: "If you had it to do all over again, do you think you'd still take this job?" Without a moment's hesitation, he replied: "Absolutely. To be in a position to serve your country—what better job could there be?"

Al Lenhardt is helped in that job by an equally dedicated staff. In addition to keeping us safe, for the last month, the men and women of the Sergeant at Arms Office have played an indispensable role in keeping the Senate running. Only once before—when the British burned the Capitol in 1814—have so many Senators been displaced from their offices. The staff of the Sergeant at Arms Office and the Rules Committee have been faced with a huge logistical challenge, and they have responded amazingly.

Senator DODD and the Rules Committee Staff Director, Kennie Gill, deserve special thanks for the amazing job they did relocating displaced Senate offices. Since October 18, Kennie, the Rules Committee staff and the Sergeant at Arms' Office have set up 129 temporary offices within the Capitol, in the Russell and Dirksen Buildings and at Postal Square. They re-established our computer network.

This one task alone involved dropping 650 new LAN lines, laying over a mile of copper cabling, and nearly half a mile of fiber cabling, creating 216 new network protocol addresses for temporary PC locations, opening 73 routers between Senate offices and creating a new Senate fiber network. In addition, Rules Committee and Sergeant at Arms staff attached 700 PCs and 110 printers to the Senate computer network. They have kept our telecommunications system up and running by connecting nearly 600 new telephone lines, 200 new voice mail boxes and 64 fax machines.

Members of the Rules Committee and Sergeant at Arms staffs, and the vendors who support them, have worked for weeks straight without a day off. They have worked nights and weekends, putting in thousands of hours of overtime. They have refused to allow the largest bioterrorism attack in our Nation's history to stop the work of the Senate, and for that we all owe them a debt of gratitude.

The 1,400 men and women of the Capitol Police force are also working a lot of overtime. Since September 11, they have all been putting in 12-hour days, 6 days a week. That is a minimum. Sometimes they pull double shifts. They work through colds, weekends, holidays, and their childrens' birthdays. They remain at their posts, alert.

If you had asked me a month ago whether the Senate could carry on in the middle of a bioterrorism attack, with 50 Senators locked out of their offices, I might have been a little skeptical. But Al Lenhardt and his staff, Kennie Gill and her staff and the men and women of the Capitol Police force have shown us that anything is pos-

sible. Together, they have kept the Senate safe and operating in these anxious times. We are grateful to them all.

#### INTERNET TAX NONDISCRIMINATION ACT

Mr. REID. Mr. President, yesterday the Senate decided to ban, for two more years, Internet access taxes and discriminatory taxes on e-commerce. For American Internet users, I fully support this decision, as did the vast majority of my colleagues.

I also supported the Senate's decision to more thoroughly consider a meritorious yet deficient proposal that would have helped States eventually require interstate retailers to collect tax on all sales, even to States where the retailer has no substantial presence. E-commerce and brick and mortar businesses should be placed on a level playing field.

On behalf of the important State and local government programs that sales tax revenue support, I firmly believe this issue needs to be resolved very soon. I was concerned, however, that the proposed legislation had a few key shortcomings.

First, I believe the proposal did not give the States clear guidance on what Congress expects them to address as they simplify their sales tax rules. The Supreme Court has said that the current State sales tax system is unconstitutionally complex, but that Congress can remedy that problem. On one particular point, the proposal did not tell the States to ensure that no tax loopholes be adopted that would allow some sellers to avoid tax collection responsibilities. I believe that Congress must not allow tax discrimination among retail business models.

Second, I believe that Congress will need expert assistance to help analyze the State's efforts to make their tax systems constitutional, especially if we hope to consider their efforts quickly. For that reason, I believe there must be a timely federal review of the States' eventual agreement before it is presented to Congress. Also, I believe a federal agency is much better positioned than Congress to ensure continuing compliance with the interstate agreement.

I did not support the Enzi/Dorgan amendment because it would have added complexity, making a retroactive change in the law, that is unclear, and did not go through a complete vetting process. This was a meritorious but flawed amendment. The House would not have accepted this legislation with this amendment.

I look forward to working with my colleagues, the States, and industry next year on a bill that addresses the States' legitimate tax revenue needs and ensures that the simplified State tax system is fair to all retailers and can be efficiently considered and monitored.

I will not likely support another moratorium. We must take the steps

necessary to bring our interstate tax rules into the 21st Century.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I voted in support of the Enzi Amendment to the Internet Tax Nondiscrimination Act because I believed that after nearly 2 years of working towards a compromise on this very important issue, it was time to move forward and provide States with guidance on how to level the playing field for Internet and bricks and mortar retail establishments. Of equal importance is that in this time when State coffers are shrinking and State spending requirements are increasing with the need to pay for the increased security needs each State now faces, we cannot in good conscience short change the States.

Let me be clear. I do not support a tax on the Internet. The Enzi amendment did not tax the Internet. It simply provided a way to move towards a system where States can collect taxes that are already owed. Moreover, I strongly support a permanent ban on Internet access taxes. The Enzi amendment intended to create such a ban. If there were questions as to whether that intent was fully carried out by the language as drafted, I believe we could have addressed those questions adequately in conference. I oppose discriminatory Internet taxes. Again, the Enzi amendment banned such taxes for 5 years and ultimately such a ban will be made permanent.

It is also important to point out that the Enzi amendment, had it succeeded, would not have been the final word on whether States could begin collecting taxes owed on Internet sales. After up to 5 years of working towards a compromise, and after at least 20 States agreed to simplify their tax collection systems in a uniform manner, Congress still would have had the opportunity to vote down a simplification plan, if we believed it was unfairly burdensome to Internet or other remote sellers. That provision provided a critical measure of assurance that States could not unfairly insist on the collection of taxes.

I was an original cosponsor of the Internet tax moratorium that only recently expired, and I hope, with the additional 2-year moratorium that we have just enacted we will enjoy some measure of success in forging a compromise that will have broad support. I will continue to work with my colleagues to ensure that Internet companies are never required to divine the tax rate of a consumer in one of thousands of taxable jurisdictions. In addition, I will work to ensure that uniform definitions for taxable property are part of any simplification plan, so that companies do not have to analyze different definitions for the same item in different states. Uniformity in auditing procedures, filing requirements and remittance forms will also be goals we will continue to try to reach.

Equity dictates that we do not treat the taxation of goods differently simply because of the method by which