worship is not allowed, where free election is not allowed, and that message is quite troubling.

It is troubling because all too often our own trade minister, President Bush's Bob Zoellick, has used language to suggest that those of us who do not support his free trade agenda, his agenda to weaken environmental and labor standards, and environmental and labor standards around the world, that those of us who do not support his trade agenda are simply not concerned about terrorism.

He has questioned our patriotism by pointing out that most of us that oppose fast track are indifferent to terrorism, saying we do not share American values if we do not support fast track because that is the way, he says, to combat terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, fast track, to be sure, does not embody those American values that our trade rep has indicated. In fact, his claims that the President needs fast track are also simply not true. President Bush already has the authority to negotiate trade deals on behalf of the United States. Instead of simply dealing with tariffs and quotas, modern trade agreements contemplate issues as wide-ranging as environmental law, food safety, worker safety, local banking and tax standards.

Congress must not shirk its responsibility for trade agreements when so much is at stake. Supporters of fast track tell us the U.S. is being left behind. They tell us we need fast track to increase American exports and to bring new jobs to American workers. But our history of flawed trade agreements has led to a trade deficit with the rest of the world that surged to a record $370 billion.

The deficit last year is 40 percent higher than the deficit, the record-setting deficit, of the year before. The Department of Labor reported that NAFTA alone has been responsible, and these are the pro-NAFTA government statistics, that NAFTA alone has been responsible for the loss of 300,000 U.S. jobs.

While our trade agreements go to great lengths to protect investors and protect property rights, these agreements do not include enforceable provisions to protect workers or to protect the environment.

CEOs of America's biggest corporations tell us that globalization stimulates development and allows nations to improve labor and environmental standards. They say interaction with the developing world spreads democracy.

But as we engage with the developing countries in trade and investment, democratic developing countries are losing ground to authoritarian developing countries; in other words, democratic nations such as India are losing out to more totalitarian nations such as China. Democratic nations such as Taiwan are losing out to more authoritarian regimes such as Indonesia.

Why is that? Why are 65 percent of developing country exports coming from authoritarian countries? It is clear corporations locate their manufacturing bases in more authoritarian regimes where the most minimal standards are often ignored. Western investors want to go to China, want to go to Indonesia, want to go to countries which are dictatorships because they have docile workforces, because they do not allow trade unions to organize, because they have authoritarian governments, because they are predictable for western business, because they do not have environmental laws, because they do not have labor standards.

They do not want to go to India, they do not want to go to Taiwan, to South Korea. They do not want to stay even in this country, many times, because we have strong environmental laws, because we have labor protections, because labor unions can organize and bargain collectively, because we have free elections.

Western corporations want to invest in countries that have poor environmental standards and below-poverty wages, that have no worker benefits, that have no opportunities to bargain collectively. Mr. Speaker, that is why fast track is a very bad idea.

MAJOR GENERAL PAUL A. WEAVER, JR.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Nevada (Mr. GIBBONS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I come to the House of Representatives today to take a moment to recognize one of the finest officers in our Armed Forces, Major General Paul A. Weaver, Jr., the director of the Air National Guard.

Well known and respected by many Members in this Chamber, General Weaver will soon retire after almost 35 years of selfless service to our country. Today I am honored to acknowledge some of General Weaver's distinguished accomplishments, and to commend the superb service he has provided to the Air National Guard, the Air Force, and our great Nation.

After completing his Bachelor of Science Degree in Communicative Arts in Ithaca College in New York, he entered the United States Air Force in 1967 and was commissioned through Officer Training School. After earning his pilot wings, he had flying assignments in the F–4E and O–2A, and completed overseas tours in Germany and Korea.

In 1975, he joined the New York Air National Guard, with which he served in increasing levels of responsibility. This culminated when he took command of the 305th Airlift Group at Stewart Air National Guard Base, New York, in 1985.

Following his 9 years as commander, General Weaver served as the Air National Guard's deputy director for 4 years and was appointed the director of the Air Guard in 1998.

General Weaver is a command pilot with more than 2,800 flying hours in five different aircraft. He is a veteran of Operation Desert Shield, Desert Storm, and Just Cause. General Weaver's decorations include the Distinguished Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, Meritorious Service Medal, Aerial Achievement Medal, the Air Force Commendation Medal with two oak leaf clusters, Combat Readiness Medal with Service Star, and Southwest Asia Service Medal with two oak leaf clusters.

While serving as commander of the 105th Airlift wing, Paul Weaver was responsible for the largest conversion in the history of the Air National Guard. Under his command, the wing converted from the Air Force's smallest aircraft, the 0–2 Skymaster, to its largest, the C–5 Galaxy.

During this conversion, he oversaw the largest military construction program in the history of the reserve forces as he literally rebuilt Stewart Air National Guard Base.

As the Air National Guard's director, General Weaver's accomplishments are also noteworthy. He has dedicated each year of his term to a different theme: transition, the enlisted forces, the family, employers, and thereby providing focus and enhancement to each of these four crucial areas.

□ 2215

In addition, Paul Weaver's modernization, readiness, people and infrastructure initiatives have enabled a fuller partnership role in the Air Force's expeditionary aerospace force.

The Air Guard achieved all its domestic and global taskings and requirements with a force that is also smaller in size.

Under General Weaver's leadership, the Air National Guard is even more relevant, ready and responsive and accessible than it has ever been.

I would be remiss, Mr. Speaker, if I did not also mention that the Air National Guard is also fortunate to have another Weaver contributing to its success. Besides fully supporting his chosen profession, Paul's wife Cathylee Weaver has had a major impact on the Air Guard's family enrichment programs. With dignity and grace, she has dedicated time and attention to Air National Guard families which led to her recently being voted as Volunteer of the Year for Family Programs.

Clearly, the Air National Guard will lose not only one but two exceptional people.

Let me close, Mr. Speaker, by saying that as both its deputy director and director, General Weaver has made the Air National Guard a stronger and more capable partner for the Air Force. His distinguished and faithful service has provided significant and lasting contributions to our Nation's security.

I know my colleagues will join me in paying tribute to this outstanding citizen-airman and true patriot upon his retirement from the Air National Guard. We all thank General Weaver and wish him, Cathylee and the entire

Weaver family much health, great happiness and Godspeed.

THE FUTURE OF WOMEN LEADERS IN AFGHANISTAN

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. JEFF MILLER of Florida). Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD. Mr. Speaker, a number of my colleagues rose on the floor to speak to the critical issue of women in Afghanistan and their needs during these perilous times. As Democratic chair of the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues, I wish to add my voice in support of their excellent intervention.

The Women's Caucus has been stressing for some time now that, in working out any transitional settlement in Afghanistan, Afghan women leaders and organizations should be at the forefront of all discussions.

We must recall, in 1977, the women of that country made up 15 percent of the legislators in their legislative body. There is no reason that their representation should be less than that today when new and far-reaching decisions on governance are being made.

In light of the fact that so many Afghan men have been killed over the past 22 years in war and conflict, Afghan women constitute 60 percent of the women's population and should be so represented accordingly.

We must work, therefore, to help restore the women's level of participation in the rebirth of Afghanistan. As they strive both inside the country and outside to contribute toward shaping a meaningful future, we must demonstrate our resolve to help those Afghan women leaders to be involved in all political and economic negotiations from the very beginning.

This is why it was distressing to note the absence of Afghan women's groups at the U.N.-sponsored conference held this past week in Bonn. They should be viewed, I believe, as principal actors in Afghan political negotiations from the outset, not as marginal leaders and players to be brought in to rubber stamp decisions.

As the Afghan journalist Jamila Mujahed pointed out in an article in Sunday's Washington Post, ''This is very unfortunate that they have not invited women to join this meeting. No one has experienced such brutality against women anywhere in the world as what happened in Afghanistan. I want to go and tell everyone the things that happened to me and my colleagues these past 5 years.''

Mr. Speaker, I will submit the entire article for the RECORD.

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 25, 2001]

IN TALKS ON AFGHAN FUTURE, WOMEN AREN'T PRESENT

(By Keith B. Richburg)

KABUL, Afghanistan, Nov. 24.—In her 16 years as a professional radio broadcaster, Jamila Mujahed has been at her microphone for some of the city's most memorable news events: the toppling of President Najibullah in 1992 and the march of Islamic holy warriors into the capital, and, four years later, the arrival of the Taliban.

So it seemed only fitting that when the Taliban fled and the Northern Alliance arrived on Nov. 13, it was Mujahed who brought Afghans the news on the evening broadcast of Radio Kabul.

Now Mujahed has another very public message, one aimed at U.N. officials and German diplomats organizing the Afghan political conference scheduled to begin in Germany on Tuesday: Open the meeting to professional women like herself, and give women a say in shaping Afghanistan's future.

''This is very unfortunate that they have not invited women to join this meeting,'' she said. ''No one has experienced such brutality against women anywhere in the world as what happened in Afghanistan. I want to go and tell everyone the things that happened to me and my colleagues these past five years.''

The meeting in Bonn is being hailed as a first step toward ending decades of civil strife and helping Afghanistan's warring factions form a truly representative and broad-based government. Representatives of several Afghan factions will try to hammer out plans for an interim government to replace the Taliban and prevent the country from descending into anarchy.

But many Afghans here—not only women, but also professionals, academics and others—are chafing at the highly restricted invitation list.

The Northern Alliance, the armed anti-Taliban faction that seized control of Kabul and about half the country during the past two weeks, is the only group from inside Afghanistan that is attending the Bonn conference. A delegation representing Afghanistan's former king, Mohammed Zahir Shah, will be attending from Rome, where he has been in exile since 1973. And two other groups that have held political talks in the past—the Peshawar Assembly for Peace, named after the Pakistani border city, and the Cyprus group—also will attend. In all, just 30 Afghans will meet to begin mapping out the country's future.

In the view of many left on the outside looking in, whatever government eventually emerges from the process will be neither representative nor broad-based. ''It will be a less-than-50-percent government,'' said Sariya Parlika, a women's rights activist. Excluding female representatives in Bonn, she said, ''is a clear human rights violation.''

''This is only the gun barrel that is sending representatives,'' said Said Amin Mujahed, a history professor at the Academy of Social Sciences in Kabul and the husband of Jamila Mujahed. ''It's not the scholars or the professionals or the other educated people in Afghanistan. It's only the war factions and King Zahir's people. It can make a government, but not a broad-based one.''

The United Nations is sensitive to such criticism but says the makeup of the conference is for Afghans to decide.

At a recent news conference, U.N. special envoy Francesc Vendrell said, ''This meeting will be as representative as we can make it, given the very short notice.'' When asked about the participation of women, he said it was up to the invited groups to include women as part of their delegations—and not up to the United Nations ''to tell the Afghans who to invite.''

Today, U.N. spokesman Eric Falt told reporters, ''The women of Afghanistan . . . have a central role to play in the country's future.'' He said the Bonn meeting would demonstrate ''how much our encouragement to include women in the delegation has been listened to.''

Even if women are present at the Bonn meeting, no one expects the number to come close to representing their percentage of the Afghan population. Because of the large number of men killed in two decades of war, women make up about 60 percent of Afghanistan's 26 million people, according to most estimates.

''I think women should have more of a role than men,'' said Faizullah Jalal, a Kabul University professor who has pressed for the inclusion of academics at the conference. ''They have faced a lot of disasters in this country.''

Women have long been treated as second-class citizens in this conservative Muslim country, but the Taliban stripped women of the few rights they did have. After coming to power in 1996, the radical Islamic movement prohibited women from working, banned girls from attending school and made it illegal for women to be on the streets without a male relative and without being covered head-to-toe in the traditional long, flowing veil known as a burqa. Women caught violating the rules—even allowing an ankle to accidentally show—risked a public lashing by Taliban guardians of ''vice and virtue.''

Just before the Taliban took over, 70 percent of Afghanistan's teachers, half of its government workers and 40 percent of its physicians were women. There were female lawyers, doctors and journalists, and women helped staff the foreign relief agencies working here.

Jamila Mujahed, now 36, was among those caught up in the Taliban's reordering of society. A journalism graduate of Kabul University and a veteran broadcaster, she was abruptly told by the Taliban that she could no longer work because of her sex.

''We were used to being very free women,'' she said, describing how she and her colleagues in the pre-Taliban world would remain at the station until late at night working on big stories. ''How do you feel, changing to a world where you have no freedom? These five years caused a lot of psychiatric problems for me.''

She stayed at home. She wrote poetry. She said she sometimes took her anger out on her children, hitting them. When she sought professional help, she said, doctors told her ''the only medicine they could prescribe was going back to your job.''

after facing those hardships, women like Mjuahed say they deserve a place at the table in forming Afghanistan's next government.

Particularly upsetting, to the women and others, is that so many Afghan exiles will be attending the sessions while so many who stayed in Afghanistan and suffered under Taliban rule will be excluded.

''The presence of women from Afghanistan is necessary,'' said Parlika, the activist. ''Afghan women from Western countries can just tell tales about what a bullet can do. A woman from inside the country can express it with her eyes. She can express it with her body. She can express with her voice how the war has affected her.''

While it was left to the Afghani groups to decide on participation at the Bonn meeting, the U.N. agreed that the women of Afghanistan have a central role to play in putting that country back together. The future of women in Afghanistan, and ultimately the stability of any provisional settlement, will rest upon a foundation of inclusion, not exclusion.

Therefore, America, so often viewed as a beacon of freedom and human