

So now let me say some words about civil society.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND DEMOCRACY

What do we mean by the term?

Civil society is the space that exists between, on the one hand, the state—government—and, on the other, individual citizens. This space is where citizens act with one another through non-governmental organizations (NGOs), foundations, and independent media.

For as I am sure you will agree the state cannot—and should not—in any country do everything.

Indeed, I believe it significant that last year German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, as you know, a Social Democrat, declared:

“One of the great illusions of Social Democratic policies has been the idea that ‘more state’ guarantees more justice. However, providing or even extending the ‘classical’ means of state intervention—law, power, and money—can no longer be considered sufficient solutions for a society where movement ‘has become as important as regulation’ (Alain Touraine). . . .”

Added Schröder, “Subsidiarity, giving responsibility back to those who are willing and capable of assuming this responsibility, should not be understood as a gift from the state, but, rather, as a socio-political necessity.” (“The Civil Society Redefining the Responsibilities of State and Society,” *Die neue Gesellschaft*, No. 4, April, 2000, Frankfurt.)

For the health of democracy, then, we must strengthen the institutions of civil society.

FOUNDATIONS IN TURKEY

What is the state of civil society in Turkey today, on non-governmental organizations, or as we say, NGOs?

Now I do not pretend to be an expert on NGOs in Turkey. But I understand that there are some 75,000 private associations registered in Turkey including more than 10,000 nonprofit foundations. Some foundations make charitable donations to NGOs and individuals; others are so-called “operating foundations” which provide social services and support education and research. (“Human Rights and Turkey’s Future in Europe,” by Aslan Gunduz, *Orbis*, Vol. 45, No. 1, Winter 2001, p. 16.)

Of these 10,000 foundations, nearly half were started in only the last 30 years.

Of course, Turkey has a long history of philanthropic foundations. During the Ottoman Empire, many of the services the state now provides, in health care, education and city-planning, were financed by foundations. (Davut Aydin, unpublished book chapter.)

I am sure that you here can tell me how NGOs gained a new prominence in Turkey through their effective relief work after the earthquake.

But you also know that NGOs have often faced intense scrutiny, and sometimes harassment, from the government. So I cannot emphasize enough the importance of philanthropic support from the business community in sponsoring NGO activities.

Last year, by the way, I delivered a speech in Athens in which I sharply criticized the Greek law that imposes a 20% tax on philanthropic contributions, reduced by half in the December 2000 budget but still an anomaly in a land that gave us the word philanthropy.

I hope that Turkish law will include further incentives to create foundations and expand the services they provide.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY

I can also tell you that the National Endowment for Democracy, which, as I have

said, I chaired for several years, has supported several non-governmental organizations in Turkey. I’ll say something about a few to illustrate the kinds of civil society groups—and their activities—that contribute to a strong democracy:

First, I note that the Center for the Research of Societal Problems, (TOSAM), founded by Professor Dogu Ergil, has been a NED grantee since 1997.

An NGO called the Foundation for Research of Societal Problems (TOSAV) was established in 1996 to explore possible solutions to the Kurdish issue. After TOSAV published a Document of Mutual Understanding on possible peaceful solutions, TOSAV’s founders were brought to trial at State Security Court and the document was banned.

To continue their work, TOSAV members established TOSAM, which produces Democracy Radio, broadcasting bi-weekly programs on such themes as democracies and minorities, the role of the media in a democracy, and the relationship between central and local government.

The Helsinki citizens’ Assembly—Turkey (HCA—Turkey) has been a NED grantee since 1997.

Founded in 1990, HCA is an international coalition that works for the democratic integration of Europe and on conflict resolution in the Caucasus and the Middle East. HCA—Turkey was established by jurists, human rights activists, mayors, trade unionists, journalists, writers and academics.

HCA brings together representatives of civil society organizations from different cities, legal experts, academics and representatives of municipalities to develop and advocate an agenda for reform of the law governing NGOs in Turkey.

Women Living Under Muslim Law—Turkey (SLUML—Turkey) has been a recipient of NED grants since 1995. Founded in December 1993, this NGO provides information and advice to women’s organizations throughout the country. WLUM—Turkey sponsors a project to train social workers, psychologists and teachers from community centers throughout Turkey in conducting legal literacy group sessions for women.

An active civil society, then, provides a check on a powerful state. For in a genuine democracy, non-governmental associations have the responsibility of keeping a close eye on the operations of government. So you and I know that if governments, in order to discourage or eliminate criticism, seek to crush free and independent newspapers, radio and television, or to control NGOs, democracy will be gravely weakened.

EDUCATION CRUCIAL TO FUTURE OF TURKEY

It will not surprise you, given my history in Congress and as a university president, that I believe a key ingredient of civil society, fundamental to the success of democracy and a modern economy, is education.

Certainly, education is crucial to the future of Turkey, where 30% of the population is below the age of 15! (“EU-Turkey Relationship: Less Rhetoric, More Challenges,” by Bahadır Kaleagasi, *Private View*, No. 9, Autumn 2000, p. 22.)

Although I am a strong champion of both state and private support of education, I must note the growth in recent years of private universities in Turkey. As one who helped raise nearly \$1 billion in private funds for New York University, I am impressed that several of your private universities have been founded with the generous support of Turkish business leaders. I think here particularly of Bilkent University, Sabanci University and Koc University.

I add that I have myself accepted the invitation of one of Turkey’s outstanding business leaders, Mr. Rahmi Koc, to serve on the Board of Friends of Koc University, an American foundation chaired by the respected Turkish-American founder of Atlantic Records, and a good friend, Mr. Ahmet Ertegun, even as I have agreed to serve on the Board of Anatolia College in Thessaloniki. And I am pleased that these two institutions are cooperating in a joint training program.

These universities also make an important contribution to emerging civil society in Turkey. Founded through acts of philanthropy and charging tuition fees, they teach students that there can be institutions, independent of the state, serving social needs.

And as I speak of universities, let me say that while it is imperative that the United States and Turkey maintain their strategic alliance, I would very much like to see our relationships broadened to include expanded educational and cultural links. For most Americans, even educated ones, don’t know very much about Turkish history or culture.

I shall add that in respect of another important question affecting U.S. policy toward Turkey, Turkish relations with Greece, I have for several years now proposed that Turkish universities establish departments of Greek studies and Greek universities create department of Turkish studies, the better for each society to understand the other.

As I conclude his talk, I realize that I have certainly not covered every subject relevant to my central thesis. I have not attempted to be exhaustive; I hope I have been instructive.

HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY FOR DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY

My thesis is straightforward. It is that there are three powerful developments that, it seems to me, provide an historic opportunity for genuine democratic advance in Turkey.

The first is the economic and financial crisis that your country is now facing.

The second is Turkey’s application for membership in the European Union.

And the third is rising importance of the institutions of civil society in Turkish life.

I have drawn particular attention to the movement for democratic change—for freedom of expression, a free market economy and reform of the political system—pressed by the business leaders of Turkey, like those at TESEV and TUSIAD.

Although the friends of Turkey in my own country and elsewhere will do what we can to encourage reform, for your great country to become a vigorous and vibrant democracy is, in the final analysis, up to the people of Turkey.

REMEMBERING THE BIG THOMPSON FLOOD

Mr. ALLARD. Mr. President, I rise today to honor those who lost their lives, as well as those who survived, Colorado’s Big Thompson Flood of 1976. Twenty-five years ago today more than one foot of rain fell in a matter of hours, creating a flash flood in Big Thompson Canyon which killed 144 people and caused over \$30 million in property damage. We remember those who died in this natural disaster, and also the survivors who had to rebuild their lives, working as a community to start over again. Today, outside of my hometown of Loveland, Colorado, 1,000 survivors of this tragedy will gather to

commemorate the Big Thompson Flood. Though I cannot be with them in this ceremony, my thoughts and prayers are with them and I speak on the Senate floor today as a tribute to this special event.

I ask unanimous consent that the following letter, which I wrote for the commemoration ceremony of the Big Thompson Canyon Flood of 1976, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Greetings to the families and friends of the victims of the Big Thompson Canyon Flood

As we look back twenty-five years ago today we remember the shock and devastation that took place in this canyon. Joan and I arrived just after the crest from the Big Thompson flood had passed through Loveland and were astounded by the destruction. At the time I was a county health officer and I had a number of clients up the canyon ravaged by the flash flood who had animals at my hospital. I was devastated by the tragedies which affected our community.

Since that time the people of the communities in the canyon have worked together to rebuild their lives and their property. We have heard of many sad stories and yet, many stories of kindness and concern for others through the years.

Today, as survivors, families and friends congregate to commemorate the Big Thompson Canyon flood, my thoughts and prayers are with you. The bronze sculpture dedicated today will permanently honor those who died in the flood and I will enter this letter into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a tribute to all those affected by the Big Thompson Canyon Flood on July 31, 1976.

Joan's and my thoughts are with you as we remember the people who lost their lives and also those who survived this flood and recreated their lives.

Sincerely,
Wayne Allard

STOP TRADING AND AIDING THE BURMESE MILITARY JUNTA

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, once in awhile, the world is confronted with a national government so extreme in its violation of basic human rights and worker rights and so morally bankrupt that it requires exceptional, coordinated action on the part of all civilized nations. A case in point is the Burmese military junta that has been in power since 1988 and which continues to terrorize this nation of 48 million people to this day.

This is a despicable military dictatorship that is quite simply beyond the pale.

It uses forced labor as a normal way of conducting business and international trade.

It uses forced child labor to build roads and dams, to transport goods for the military, and to tend the fields.

It exploits 50,000 child soldiers—the most of any nation on Earth.

It is a drug trafficker of the first order—the No. 1 source of heroin on our streets in America.

It routinely confiscates and operates apparel and other factories, directly and indirectly, to earn foreign exchange to keep its brutal grip on power.

It brazenly ignores the democratic yearnings of its own people who overwhelmingly elected the National League for Democracy to power in the national elections in 1990.

It has kept Aung San Suu Kyi, the democratically elected national leader of Burma and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, under house arrest and cutoff from outside communication for most of the past decade, while imprisoning, torturing, and killing tens of thousands of Burmese prodemocracy supporters.

For all of these reasons, I introduced legislation, S. 926, in late May to establish a complete U.S. trade ban with Burma. I am greatly heartened that Senators HELMS, LEAHY, MCCONNELL, HOLLINGS, WELLSTONE, FEINGOLD, SCHUMER, FEINSTEIN, LIEBERMAN, CLINTON, TORRICELLI, DAYTON, CORZINE, and MIKULSKI have already joined as co-sponsors of this bill to make more effective the limited sanctions enacted by a bipartisan majority in 1997.

Now we need President Bush to throw his support behind this measure as well. I am hopeful that he will follow his words with action because he wrote to many of us nearly two months ago pledging that "we strongly support Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's heroic efforts to bring democracy to the Burmese people."

Now is not the time to hesitate. We already have fresh evidence that even the threat of enactment of this legislation is making life much more difficult for the Burmese generals in several ways.

First, the Wall Street Journal on July 9th carried an in-depth story under the headline, "Myanmar Faces Dual Blow from U.S. Proposed Ban." In this account, a ranking officer of the Myanmar Garment Manufacturing Association reports that orders for Burmese apparel have already begun to decline in the country's largest quasi-private sector industry. Not surprisingly, Burmese government officials and textile industry executives are denouncing our legislation, claiming that it will hurt tens of thousands of Burmese textile and apparel workers and their families. But, in fact, S. 926 enjoys the solid support of the Free Trade Union Movement of Burma, FTUB, and it was developed in close consultation with Burmese workers at the village and farm level inside that besieged nation. Small wonder given that the per capita GDP in Burma has now fallen to less than \$300 a year and the U.S. Embassy in Rangoon last summer cabled home that wages in the textile and apparel factories typically start at 8 cents an hour for a 48-hour work week.

Second, the Burmese military junta for the first time has recently an-

nounced that it will allow a team of investigators from the International Labor Organization (ILO) to visit Burma for three weeks in September to follow up the mountain of evidence compiled about the widespread use of forced labor. I hope this is not a cynical ploy on the part of the Burmese generals whereby ILO officials are carefully steered to sanitized work sites, after which the ILO mission issues a report stating that they saw little first-hand evidence of forced labor or that it is in decline due to the government's efforts to stop it.

To forestall this possibility, the following important precautions need to be taken now to prevent the Burmese generals from "whitewashing" their longstanding use of forced labor:

There should be regular ILO fact-finding teams sent to Burma every six months for the foreseeable future, not a onetime visit.

Every ILO fact-finding team sent into Burma should include at least one of the members of the ILO Commission of Inquiry which compiled the body of evidence of widespread use of forced labor in Burma. It was that Commission's report which led to the ILO invoking Article 33 procedures for the first time in history in 1999 and twice, since then, calling for the 175 member nations of the ILO to adopt stronger sanctions against this outlaw regime.

Before any ILO inspection team is dispatched, the Burmese generals must rescind their decree which prohibits any gathering of more than 5 Burmese civilians at one time. This will enable Burmese forced laborers or witnesses on their behalf to feel more secure in coming forward.

The ILO must also insist in advance that other UN agencies help monitor the whereabouts and safety of any Burmese forced laborers or witnesses thereto, once the ILO fact-finding teams leave the country.

Finally, the embassies of Japan and other ASEAN countries who lobbied hard for the dispatch of such ILO fact-finding teams must take on special, added responsibilities and function as conscientious monitors against forced labor and other egregious worker rights violations inside Burma whenever ILO fact-finding teams are not on the ground.

Third, now that more and more American consumers are learning for the first time that U.S. trade with Burma is actually growing, they are bringing their own pressure to bear on this sordid business. Last May 23rd, for example, Wal-Mart executives issued a statement that "Wal-Mart Stores, Inc. does not source products from Burma and we do not accept merchandise from our suppliers sourced in Burma and Wal-Mart-Canada will also not accept any merchandise sourced from Burma moving forward." I hope this claim can