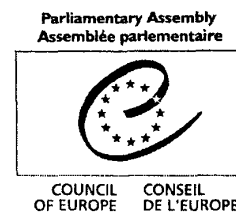


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(Second part)

REPORT

Thirteenth sitting

Wednesday 27 April 2005 at 3 p.m.

In this report:

1. Speeches in English are reported in full.
2. Speeches in other languages are summarised.
3. Speeches in German and Italian are reproduced in full in a separate document.
4. Corrections should be handed in at Room 1059A not later than 24 hours after the report has been circulated.

The contents page for this sitting is given at the end of the verbatim report.

Mr van den Linden, President of the Assembly, took the Chair at 3.05 p.m.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – The sitting is open.

1. Minutes of proceedings

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – The minutes of proceedings of the eleventh sitting have been distributed.

Are these minutes agreed to?

They are agreed to.

The minutes of proceedings of the twelfth sitting have not yet been distributed, so their adoption is deferred to a later sitting.

2. Election of a judge to the European Court of Human Rights

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – I have to announce the results of the ballot in the election of a judge to the European Court of Human Rights in respect of Latvia.

Numbers of members voting: 151

Blank or spoiled ballot papers: 9

Votes cast: 142

Absolute majority required: 72

The votes cast were as follows:

Ms Justice Jautrite Briede: 24

Ms Gita Feldhune: 10

Ms Ineta Ziemele: 108

Accordingly, Ms Ziemele having obtained an absolute majority of votes cast, I declare her elected a member of the European Court of Human Rights, for a term of office starting today and continuing until 31 October 2007.

3. Organisation of debates

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – This afternoon we have debates on three reports for which there is a total of forty-five speakers, and thirteen amendments to consider.

After the speech by Mr Juncker the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, we will have to interrupt the list of speakers in the first debate at about 5.20 p.m. and the list of speakers in the second debate at about 7.35 p.m. in order to leave sufficient time for the replies on behalf of the Committees and the votes. The second debate will start at about 5.40 p.m.

Speeches are limited to four minutes.

Are these arrangements agreed?

They are agreed.

4. Address by Mr Jean-Claude Juncker, Prime Minister of Luxembourg and President of the Council of the European Union

THE PRESIDENT said that the Assembly now had the honour of hearing an address by Mr Jean-Claude Juncker, Prime Minister of Luxembourg and President of the Council of the European Union. After his address, the Prime Minister had kindly agreed to take questions from the floor. The President was delighted to extend a warm welcome to Mr Juncker who was also the first permanent president of the group of eurozone finance ministers and a personal friend. He was a central figure on the European political scene and played an important part in European Union meetings on social and budgetary affairs. He had been one of the principal architects of the Maastricht Treaty. He had become Prime Minister of

Luxembourg in 1995 and that was a logical conclusion to all that he had already achieved in the service of his country. He had addressed the Assembly for the first time on 26 June 2002 and had then spoken about the common interests of the European Union and the Council of Europe.

He had referred to the great achievement of the Council of Europe in its work on human rights. The Council of Europe had brought to the whole continent higher legal standards and the European Union could learn much from the example that had been set. In two weeks' time the Council of Europe would be holding its Third Summit, in Warsaw, and a key item on the agenda was relations between the Council and the European Union. It was clear that the European Union could learn much from the institutions and organisations of the Council of Europe. The two bodies should work together and make sure there was no unnecessary overlap of their activities. It was important that the European Union and its member states worked with the Council of Europe. This was particularly important for the candidate countries. The Council of Europe could offer a forum where all these countries could work together on an equal footing. He was sure that he had the full support of the Prime Minister.

Mr JUNCKER (*Prime Minister of Luxembourg and President of the Council of the European Union*) said it was a great pleasure to come to Strasbourg, the European capital *par excellence* and the bastion of European parliamentarianism. Both the European Parliament and the Council of Europe had their headquarters in the city. He had been a student in the city between 1975 and 1979 and so was returning to a city that meant a great deal to him. As a student he had followed the work of the Parliamentary Assembly and was familiar with its documentation and the colour of its reports. He continued to be impressed by the appearance and quality of those reports and felt that they should be much better known outside the Council of Europe.

This was his third appearance before the Assembly as Prime Minister, having addressed it in 1997 and 2002 as well as today. The President, Mr van der Linden, was a long-standing friend and it was a great pleasure to address the Assembly. Because of the "wisdom" of the voters, he had always been in government and had not had the opportunity to be a member of the Assembly; again because of the voters, he noted that three of his – if that was not too presumptuous a word – former ministers were current members of the Assembly.

Looking back to 1975 when he was a student in Strasbourg, he was impressed by the achievements of the Council of Europe and the continent as a whole since that time. There were now forty-six member countries in the Council of Europe. The Organisation had been set up formally in August 1949 but had existed in an informal way throughout the Second World War. Indeed, its origins went back to the 1920s and if Europe had held on to the vision of those pioneers during the 1930s and 1940s many of the difficulties of the war period could have been avoided. It was important to remember the contribution of people such as Spinelli and Churchill. The latter's Zurich speech had called for the peoples of Europe to unite and for the West to start a process that would one day be completed in the East. The meetings in The Hague in 1945 and 1948 had set in train a process to which Europe was putting the finishing touches today.

The process of European integration begun by the meeting in The Hague in 1948, to which Mr Adenauer, Mr Mitterrand and Mr Churchill contributed, was being concluded.

Life in Europe had never been so pleasant as it was today compared to the difficulties experienced by our fathers and grandfathers. The Council of Europe had accompanied European states as they proceeded to greater integration. The Council remained valid within the European Union. It was not his view that the European Union could replace the Council of Europe – it was irreplaceable. The European Union, for its part, was undergoing difficulties. He was well placed to know this given the experience of the Luxembourg presidency. It was the intention to steer the Union into easier times. Reforming the stability and growth pact was an essential part of the Union. He hoped that in June the Union's budgetary framework for the period 2005-2013 would be agreed by member states, but he had no illusions about the difficulties of achieving this. The European Union had considerable ambitions and to be credible they had to be matched by funds. In March, the Lisbon Strategy had been taken up and adjusted. It was important not to sit back but to meet economic and social obligations in order to keep the reforms on track. Europeans had to have ownership of the Lisbon Strategy as well as the European Union.

He believed that Europe required the constitutional treaty. Ratifying this treaty would be difficult. The treaty was not perfect, but no such document was perfect and he believed that, even if imperfect, the treaty would have positive results. Although the treaty might not have provided what everyone wanted, it did provide a basis. The treaty was not an ideal representation. If that had been the case, it would have been unwieldy. A draft document by a single individual might be relatively simple to achieve, but where two or more people were involved difficulties arose. He looked to Mr Luc Van den Brande, who was sitting in the Chamber and had been engaged in such enterprises, on that point. Details of documents requiring

widespread agreement were frequently in dispute even where the principles were agreed. It had been an achievement for member states to agree a treaty, and that was an argument for continuing with it. Only Europe was capable of such an achievement. The voices of those seeking to reject the treaty might be tempting but he did not think that that path should be taken.

On the eve of the summit of the Council of Europe in Warsaw, he wished to say that this first such summit in an eastern European city could not have been envisaged at the time of the meetings of the Council of Europe held between the 1950s and the 1980s. No one would have thought that a meeting of the Council of Europe could take place in eastern Europe. The Council was testament to Europe putting its dark history to rest. The fact of the meeting in Warsaw was an achievement in itself, but of course there were concrete issues – for example, relations between the Council and Europe – for which no answers had yet been found.

The European Union and its twenty-five members had to give the Council of Europe its due place – for example, in standard setting and cultural achievements. It was necessary to put an end to the *ridiculous rivalry between the European Union and the Council of Europe*, and the Commission must heed that message. Artificial difficulties had been conjured up, but the institutions could work together. He considered that a memorandum of understanding was required between the Council and the European Union on the basis of established guidelines which should remain. Such a memorandum should be submitted to the Council.

The Warsaw Summit should be used to boost the credibility of the bodies of the Council of Europe. The human resources available to the European Court of Human Rights had to be increased to avoid too large a backlog of cases. It was to the credit of both the Court and the Council of Europe that a body of Europe-wide case-law had been established.

The Council of Europe should remain a European and international organisation ensuring high standards and demanding those standards from its members and everyone who lived on the European continent. The principles that underpinned the Council in 1949 remained relevant.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Prime Minister, I thank you for your speech. It was profound in its analysis; it was courageous; it showed a deep European conviction and a deep European spirit. I am delighted to hear the stance that you have taken as we look to our Third Summit in Warsaw. It was a timely speech, and I most wholeheartedly thank you for it.

Many members wish to put questions to you. To allow as many questions as possible, I have authorised no supplementary questions whatever. I remind my colleagues that their questions should not exceed thirty seconds in length.

I call Mr Elo, who will speak on behalf of the Socialist Group.

Mr ELO (*Finland*). – First, I thank Prime Minister Juncker for his very good introductory speech. Will he reassure members of this Assembly that the Council of Europe's human rights mechanisms will be fully taken into account when the legislation setting up the European Union's new fundamental rights agency is drafted? Do you agree that including regular monitoring of the human rights situation in individual countries – whether EU member states, candidate or neighbouring countries – would at best be an unnecessary duplication of effort and at worst jeopardise the work that the Council has been doing in those countries?

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. I would ask colleagues to take only thirty seconds, because so many questions have been tabled. May I ask the Prime Minister to respond?

Mr JUNCKER. – My answer is yes.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. I call Mr Van den Brande to speak on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party.

Mr VAN DEN BRANDE (*Belgium*). – Prime Minister and dear friends, the EU near neighbourhood policy is naturally a priority, as it deals with human rights, civil rights, migration and so on, which are a primary concern for the Assembly.

(*The speaker continued in French*)

He asked that the European Union be clear when dividing up responsibilities with regard to neighbourhood policy.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you. Mr Prime Minister, would you care to reply?

Mr JUNCKER said that he did not like the term “neighbourhood” because it implied a limited vision of Europe. He said that when we define “neighbourhood policy” we should rely on the experience of the Council of Europe, which had been built up over a long period, of dealing with Europe and its neighbours. The European Union and the Council of Europe must work together in this area.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you. I call Mr Eörsi on behalf of the Liberal, Democratic and Reformers' Group.

Mr EÖRSI (*Hungary*). – Mr Prime Minister, when you speak about the Lisbon agenda I am sure that you often communicate with the European Parliament. Immediate decisions, however, are made by member countries, so you have a unique opportunity to speak to members of national parliaments in the twenty-five member countries. What is your message to national parliamentary instruments in the twenty-five capital cities? How can we make the Lisbon strategy truly successful?

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. Mr Prime Minister, would you care to reply?

Mr JUNCKER said that national parliaments were important to the successful implementation of the Lisbon agenda. It was difficult to put the objectives agreed at European Union level into practice at national level. It was important that the responsibility for implementing the objectives was borne by national governments in accordance with the guidelines set at EU level. National reform programmes should be elaborated and national parliaments should be involved in the implementation of the programmes.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you. I call Mr Kvakkestad to speak on behalf of the European Democratic Group.

Mr KVAKKESTAD (*Norway*). – I thank you for a very clear speech, Mr Prime Minister, on important issues. There are certain areas in which the Council of Europe and the European Union should try not to duplicate work, but we must co-operate. In fields where the Council and the EU have common interests, do you envisage the opportunity to strengthen co-operation with more joint efforts and even joint missions, such as the Stability Pact in the Balkans?

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. Mr Prime Minister, would you care to reply?

Mr JUNCKER said that it was important that any rivalry between the European Union and the Council of Europe ended. In Europe there were many areas of shared competence involving the two institutions, especially in the Balkan countries. In this area, the EU could benefit from the experience of the Council of Europe. When a country applied for European Union membership the Council of Europe was habitually consulted.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you, Mr Juncker. I call Mr Schreiner to speak on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party.

Mr SCHREINER (*France*) asked whether the relevant directive and services would be amended to allow liberalisation without “social dumping”, and whether the necessary clarification amendments were under way.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you. Would you care to reply, Mr Prime Minister?

Mr JUNCKER said that although he was not French he shared the French view on the directive and stressed that France was not the only country to express fears in that area. It was clear that the European Union and the European market needed an opening of the services sector as 70% of European added value was accounted for by that sector. Competition was therefore necessary, but unnecessary risks should not be taken and labour laws should not be compromised. The directive had to be reviewed to ensure that such risks were eliminated. The right approach would not be wild cat deregulation, but the provision of a set of strict but flexible rules.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you, Mr Prime Minister. I will group several questions together. First, I call Mr Zernovski.

Mr ZERNOVSKI (*“The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”*). – Mr Prime Minister, during your presidency “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” has submitted the answers to the questionnaire, and we expect that by the end of December it will achieve the status of a candidate country. I thank you for your support. In that context, should we expect liberalisation of the visa regime, which is one of the

biggest problems facing Macedonian citizens? That would be a stimulating message for them that things are going in the right direction.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Mr Zernovski. I call Mr Jaskiernia.

Mr JASKIERNIA (*Poland*). – Mr Prime Minister, in your speech you talked about the Third Summit in Warsaw and said that you are for the signing of a memorandum of understanding. Will you specify what basic points should be in such a memorandum? You said also that you are in favour of an extension of the human resources available to the European Court of Human Rights. What do you mean by that?

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Mr Jaskiernia. I call Mr Iwiński.

Mr IWINSKI (*Poland*). – For obvious reasons, our Organisation is also deeply interested in the future of the European Union. I would like to know your opinion on the ratification process for the European constitutional treaty by national parliaments and by referendums. To be very frank, I want to know what could happen to the European project in the event of the French referendum failing to ratify the treaty.

(The speaker continued in French)

He asked whether Mr Juncker shared the view of Mr Frattini that if the French referendum resulted in a "no", the constitutional treaty would have to be renegotiated.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Mr Iwiński. I call Mr Szabó.

Mr SZABÓ (*Hungary*). – Mr Prime Minister, I want to take you back to the Lisbon agenda. A recent evaluation showed that there is considerable lag in the realisation of the objectives resulting from the conclusions of Wim Kok's committees. How do you evaluate the chances of reaching the desired level of competitiveness, particularly considering the small amount of finance made available for research and development in the European Union?

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Mr Prime Minister, would you care to reply?

Mr JUNCKER said that the visa regime in Macedonia was under consideration. With regard to the memorandum of understanding he wished to give no detail because the text submitted to the Warsaw Summit was familiar to the Assembly. He did not share Mr Frattini's view about the referendum in France. Discussion would not automatically be reopened if one country said no. The ratification process would still be pursued and the situation would be reviewed at the end of the process using the mechanism already discussed. If several countries failed to ratify the treaty the EU Council would look again at the issue.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you, Mr Prime Minister. I call Mr Kosachev.

Mr KOSACHEV (*Russian Federation*). – Dear Mr Prime Minister, three conventions are to be signed during the Third Summit. I am informed that the European Union will therefore insist on introducing a so-called disconnection clause, which will create a precedent whereby the same convention of the Council of Europe applies in different member countries on a different basis. We think that that approach is fair to the Council of Europe.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you, Mr Kosachev. I call Mr Tulaev.

Mr TULAEV (*Russian Federation*) said he would like to continue the previous line of questioning. He asked what specific proposals had been made for the summit in Moscow.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you. I call Mr Slutsky.

Mr SLUTSKY (*Russian Federation*) asked what the Luxembourg presidency had done to help national minorities in new European Union member states who frequently faced discrimination.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you, Mr Slutsky. I call Mr Gardetto.

Mr GARDETTO (*Monaco*) asked how the European Union was seeking to improve co-operation between the smallest countries in Europe and themselves.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you, Mr Gardetto. Would you care to reply, Mr Prime Minister?

Mr JUNCKER said that he would take the question from Mr Gardetto first. He had always consulted smaller countries over European Union decisions, especially those about taxation. In the European Union, a European savings tax had been introduced only after consultation with smaller countries. It was important that smaller countries were not treated in a condescending fashion.

He said that the disconnection clause would not constitute a precedent. There had already been disconnection in other areas. The European Union would never shirk its obligations – for example, those on the trafficking in human beings.

On the question of relations between the EU and Russia he would meet President Putin on 10 May. He was not able to say more than that now but could report that he had met Mr Putin in December 2004 and that officials were preparing for the meeting in May. Much progress had been made – for example, on overflight rights.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you, Mr Juncker. I call Ms Hoffman.

Ms HOFFMANN (*Germany*) said that the European Union had new political neighbours – for example, in Ukraine – and he wondered what Mr Juncker could say about future relations between the European Union and Ukraine.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you. I call Mr Gross.

Mr GROSS (*Switzerland*) asked about the European Union's relations with the wider world.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you. I call Mr Nami.

Mr NAMI (*Cyprus*). – Prime Minister, a year ago this Assembly passed a resolution saying that following the yes vote to the United Nations plan to reunify Cyprus, Turkish Cypriots' international isolation must cease. Despite a similar decision by the European Council, so far the European Union has not been able to take concrete steps to achieve this goal, which we all believe will facilitate a comprehensive settlement. What initiatives may we expect to see during your remaining term of the EU presidency to end the isolation of Turkish Cypriots and integrate them into the European family?

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you. I call Mr Mercan.

Mr MERCAN (*Turkey*). – I concur with my colleague from Northern Cyprus and ask you to elaborate on what measures could be taken to relieve the isolation of Northern Cyprus.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you. Mr Prime Minister, would you care to reply?

Mr JUNCKER said in reply to Ms Hoffman that he was very pleased that Ukraine was becoming much closer to the European institutions. It was up to the European Union to welcome and support Ukraine and he could see no insuperable obstacles to closer ties. He could not, however, promise Ukraine's speedy admission to the European Union. On the issue of visas there had been much debate within the European Union and between the European Union and Ukraine, but a solution was not as close as Ms Hoffman's question suggested.

In reply to Mr Gross he would recommend the availability of information, especially in French, about the European constitution. He also felt that while there were some harmful aspects of globalisation there were benefits from working together on a worldwide basis, particularly on social problems. Turning to the question of textile imports from China the European Union was in a much better position than individual countries to tackle the problem of over-supply. He felt that the euro provided a defence in the area of currency fluctuation.

In response to Mr Nami he said that the European Union was engaged in diplomatic discussions on the position of Northern Cyprus. It sought the co-operation of both Greeks and Turks on the island of Cyprus. He could not say more than that at this stage.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – We must now conclude the questions to Mr Juncker. On behalf of the Assembly, I thank him most warmly for his address and for the answers he has given to questions.

5. Discrimination against women in the workplace and in sport

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – The next item of business this afternoon is the joint debate on the report on discrimination against women in the workforce and the workplace, presented by Ms Čordová on behalf of the Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men, Document 10484, and the report

on discrimination against women and girls in sport on behalf of the same committee, presented by Ms Cliveti, chairperson of the committee, in the place of the rapporteur, Ms Aguiar, Document 10483.

The list of speakers closed at 12.30 p.m. today. Seventeen names are on the list. I remind you that we have already agreed that in order to finish by 5.40 p.m. we shall interrupt the list of speakers at about 5.20 p.m. to allow time for the reply and the vote. I remind members that the Assembly agreed on Monday that speaking time in the debates today is limited to four minutes.

I call Ms Čordová, rapporteur, for the first report. She has eight minutes.

Ms ČORDOVÁ (*Czech Republic*). – Discrimination against women in the work force and the workplace is an old but topical problem, that exists to different extents in all Council of Europe member countries.

First, let me be a little critical. Since the committee's creation, we have concentrated on issues that are relevant to the equality of women and men in various spheres. However, women's participation in the labour market and women's economic activity have been discussed only very recently, although those issues are of the utmost importance. That is rather sad, given the importance of women's economic independence and their involvement in every country's economy. It is impossible to imagine any prospering country without women's active presence in the labour market.

Although we cannot doubt the statistics that show that the rate of female employment is generally increasing in most European countries, the difference between female and male employment rates remains very significant – 18.5%. I want to mention data from 2003 for my country of origin as an example. In the Czech Republic, where the tradition of women working full time has existed since the 1950s, women's economic participation rate is now 51% while that of men is 69%. The same applies to the incidence of unemployment among women and men. In all the countries analysed, women form more than 50% of the unemployed population. That can be seen by comparing unemployment rates by gender.

Let us focus on some examples of discrimination against women in the labour market. The situation is critical for women with higher education qualifications who have invested in their training and cannot find an appropriate job. It is no longer true that women are less educated than men. In several countries, the opposite is true. Nevertheless, it remains common to find women in positions for which they are overqualified.

Another difficulty that women face in gaining access to employment and choosing a job relates to the fact that they are either potential or actual mothers. Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to prove that that factor plays a role in labour market strategies. That point is valid, but a majority of Council of Europe countries have already introduced measures allowing both women and men to share parental leave. The number of men taking their parental leave is generally very low, which does not bring any change to the general perception of women as mothers, who are risky to employ and who prefer family to work and career. Such women are made to accept lower pay, which is not consistent with the principle of equality, and they are often dissuaded from reporting cases of discrimination for fear of losing their jobs. That is why all those involved in combating wage discrimination – bodies that promote equality, labour inspectorates, courts, trade unions and non-governmental organisations – should use their capacity to intervene and to close or minimise the wage gap.

Women are confronted with discriminatory behaviour in all phases of their adult lives. The most widely known examples of such discrimination occur after they finish their degree, after they return from parental leave, and when they are more than 50 years old, which is the only example where discrimination against men is comparable to that of discrimination against women.

Obviously, gender-specific and discriminatory reasoning is illogical – such reasoning includes the ideas that it requires more money and time to employ a woman than a man, and that women might get pregnant, start their maternity and/or parental leave and need replacing, which is costly. That stereotype is repugnant and unfair, and it is wrong, too. International Labour Organisation research proves that the additional cost of employing a female worker and covering maternity and child care expenses is very low – 2% of the monthly gross earnings of a woman employee. Unfortunately, the problem lies in family responsibilities not being shared equally. We must focus on the important issue of the reconciliation of family and of employment.

All those issues relate directly to the wage gap. The most important issue is unequal pay for equal work or for work of equal value. Although most European countries have introduced laws on equal pay for equal work, wage discrimination persists in the majority of them. The greatest difference concerns fringe benefits. Data from 2002 on the average salaries of full-time working women and men show that the

average difference is approximately 20% – wage discrimination that cannot be explained by relevant or logical reasons is estimated at 15%.

The higher the post, the less likely a woman is to get it. Women who reach decision-making positions remain exceptional, and their example is often used to underline the assertion that those women who really want to succeed can do so. In the long run, it is positive both for companies and for women to support equal opportunities for women and men.

The lower income that women earn during their lifetimes directly influences their lower pensions in retirement. Apart from women's lower pensions, it is important to examine the correlation between the length of a woman's life and the feminisation of poverty. Women are often left with very low living standards.

Women are discriminated against in various ways: they have limited access to the labour market compared with men; they earn less than men, even when they reach the same positions; and they continually hit the glass ceiling when it comes to promotion. We must make it clear that women have the right not to be discriminated against, to be treated equally to men and to have equal chances.

(Ms Severinsen, Vice-President of the Assembly, took the Chair in place of Mr van der Linden.)

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you. I call Ms Cliveti, Chairperson of the Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men.

Ms CLIVETI (*Romania*) thanked members of the committee and said that the two committee rapporteurs had worked together. It had been a pleasant task to present the report and she was speaking on behalf of Ms Aguiar.

Young women and girls were the victims of discrimination in all areas of sport. There was unequal treatment in the marginal role for women in regulatory bodies and in funding. Sport was beneficial to health, but the structure of sport had been designed for men. For women lacking easy access to sporting facilities, or having family difficulties, all those matters were difficult. There had to be support for the International Olympic Committee's push to oblige national federations to draw more women into sport. In this regard, there was the Womens' Sport Network. Where rules were not obeyed in this context, financial sanctions should be considered. High profile sportswomen could encourage the participation of other women in sport and there were examples in the United States and Romania. A paralympic champion had encouraged the committee to pursue its efforts at both the international level and the local level where sport had an important role in integration. Successful sportswomen frequently indicated that there was no discrimination, but there was stereotyping – for example, sport was seen as predominantly a masculine preserve. The committee was recommending that the Council of Europe had a strategy to cover all womens' sport and for all funding and media aspects. There was a requirement to move beyond rhetoric and to come to concrete proposals. She hoped that those proposed would be backed. There was a long way to go to achieve a satisfactory result in both amateur and professional spheres.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. I call Ms Zapfl-Helbling, who will speak on behalf of the Group of European People's Party.

Ms ZAPFL-HELBLING (*Switzerland*) said that she would be speaking to the second report. It could not be said that women had the same opportunities as men in the sporting field. This was an issue not only outside Europe but in western Europe. The spotlight was on the top level in sport. Successful sportswomen were models for young girls, but this was often to do with non-sporting attributes such as charm, figure and income. Sports bodies had an unofficial list based on the attractiveness of sportswomen. There were dangers of girls being pressured at a young age and of their being unable to withstand that sexual exploitation. Sometimes the sponsors of such girls turned a blind eye to that aspect of the issue.

Sport was an entrenched male preserve in which women could emancipate themselves. Sport made claims on both body and mind, and affected a large number of personality aspects such as motivation. The report sought to raise the profile of the issue of discrimination of women in sport – for example, sexual harassment. Funding must be equal between men and women, and the media must focus on womens' sporting accomplishments.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. I call Ms Pericleous Papadopoulos, who will speak on behalf of the Liberal, Democratic and Reformers' Group.

Ms PERICLEOUS PAPADOPOULOS (*Cyprus*). – Dear colleagues, on behalf of my group, I add our voice to those speaking out against any discrimination towards women, in the workplace and in sports.

We agree that several barriers still hinder complete and equal participation in life – the lack of back-up and support structures; difficulty in reconciling family and professional life; problems of reintegrating in the work force following pregnancy or a career break; and inadequate media coverage of successful professional women.

Even though United Nations and ILO conventions, the revised European Social Charter, European Community law and national laws of Council of Europe member states protect in law the basic rights of women at work, the reality is that there is not always compliance.

Discrimination persists in various forms, such as the lack of access to the labour market, the wage gap between the sexes and the glass ceiling. Discrimination results in the lower participation of women in the labour market, a higher unemployment rate, a high number of discouraged women workers, lower earnings for women for work of equal value, and worse pension and insurance conditions for retired women.

Women pay a gender penalty as mothers. They are excluded from promotions to decision-making posts. Handicapped women and women from minorities suffer double discrimination. It is no surprise that statistics show the feminisation of poverty, the feminisation of unemployment and the feminisation of part-time, underpaid workers.

The challenge for the European Union is to achieve the Lisbon agenda goal – that is, to reach by 2010 an average employment rate for women of at least 60%. The challenge for countries of the EU and of the Council of Europe is to decrease the unemployment rate for women and to take concrete measures on discrimination against women. They should revise and devise legislation that prohibits discrimination; provide for a positive duty to prevent discrimination and promote equality; implement existing laws, rules and regulations; implement functioning control mechanisms, supported by the state, employers and trade unions; and organise awareness-raising campaigns.

Similar action is needed to fight discrimination in sports, which has always been an arena for criticism for certain groups or individuals. Gender discrimination in sports negatively affects females in the pursuit of opportunities as athletes, coaches or administrators of athletics programmes. It denies them equal access and equal opportunities in sports in many ways. That is also contrary to Council of Europe principles, the European sports charter and the persistent efforts of the Sub-Committee on Youth and Sport actively to encourage the participation of individuals in sports and to prohibit discrimination.

The Liberal, Democratic and Reformers' Group fully supports the working up of an effective European strategy for women and sports, and endorses the recommendations of both reports. It would be advisable, however, if in future rapporteurs on issues relevant to sports consulted the competent committee beforehand.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. I call Mr Platvoet, who will speak on behalf of the Group of the Unified European Left.

Mr PLATVOET (*Netherlands*). – I congratulate both rapporteurs on their valuable reports, which emphasise the gap between law and reality. Discrimination against women in the labour market and in the workplace is still widespread. The opportunity to earn their own living is very important for women, enabling them to obtain independence, participate in society and live on their own. It is also important for society as a whole to have the equal representation of both sexes in all fields.

Ms Čurdová's report underlines the fact that there is still much to do. If one looks at the raw unemployment statistics for men and women, one can draw the conclusion that there is far higher unemployment for women, but that is only half, or even a quarter, of the story. We must look at the definition of unemployment. If women do not register as being willing to work, they are left out of the figures. Many women work part time, so there is hidden unemployment. Women who work are often paid less than men who do the same job. They also have lower-ranking jobs. The draft recommendation proposes measures to be taken by the Committee of Ministers. Importantly, some of those measures deal with the equal division of work between the sexes in the workplace and in the household.

As well as improving laws and implementing and monitoring them, it is important that all countries have anti-discrimination boards so that both women and men can register complaints about discrimination and obtain justice. It is disappointing that the recommendations do not make such a proposal. I should have tabled an amendment, but I was unable to do so. However, it is important to set up anti-

discrimination boards in countries where they do not yet exist. We have them in Holland, and we have had positive experiences of them.

Discrimination against women and girls in sport is another important issue. There is a work force in sport, so both reports share common ground. It is ridiculous, for instance, that women are paid less than men when they win a marathon. The draft recommendation makes some good proposals on improving the participation of women in sport and in sports organisations, not only in top-flight sport but, more importantly, in recreational sport. If women's input in sport increases, their output will also improve with better results and more female sporting icons. However, I do not agree with the final recommendation in paragraph 5.i. Under European standards, we have a free press, so I do not see how governments can increase the coverage of women in sports in the media. Only better results will achieve that.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Mr Platvoet. I call Ms Vermot-Mangold, who will speak on behalf of the Socialist Group.

Ms VERMOT-MANGOLD (*Switzerland*) said that in the labour market women were discriminated against – not 100% of women, but a noticeable minority – on a regular basis. Most women received good educations in member states, but systematic indifferences had to be addressed. Most top posts were occupied by men with women residing in back offices. Often women had to forgo promotional prospects to promote their partner's career. That was one of the reasons why part-time jobs were mostly occupied by women with families. The full-time labour market gave priority to the flexible employee. Women should not face a choice between work and family. Social support was needed to ensure that that did not happen. The glass ceiling referred to in the report existed and it prevented women from excelling in their careers – for example in project management. Women could move only horizontally up the hierarchy – they were not given responsibility and decision-making posts. State measures and new laws were necessary to prohibit such discrimination.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Ms Vermot-Mangold. I call Ms Hurskainen.

Ms HURSKAINEN (*Finland*). – The concept of equality is generally well accepted. The principle of equal treatment is regarded as good, and discrimination on the basis of gender is considered bad. Despite the wide acceptance of gender equality, in practice it is interpreted in various ways by different cultures and by Council of Europe member states. In Finland, the issue of gender equality remains high on the political agenda. All the Finnish political parties support equality.

As a sign of that, the Gender Equality Act was adopted in 1987, and an amendment to the Act is now in preparation. Last December, the Government adopted an equality working programme.

Legislation is an important and indispensable formal base for the implementation of gender equality as it regulates practices in all parts of society. Statutory gender quotas stipulated by law secure a more equal participation of women in society. The quotas guarantee a minimum of 40% female representation in all state and consultative committees, and in other similar organs in Finland.

Gender equality is generally put into practice in all areas of society in Finland, but "generally" does not mean "always". Despite the existing regulations and reform efforts, a current phenomenon needs serious attention: young male graduates find permanent employment very easily, while young female graduates tend to find only temporary employment. Short-term employment with its consequent insecurity regarding the future is the reality for most young women in Finland. That de facto discrimination against young and fertile women has begun to threaten the balance of the Finnish labour market.

Discrimination against women, in the work force and elsewhere, is a serious challenge at a national and a global level. Avoiding and breaking down discrimination on the basis of gender requires active involvement by all concerned, including the Council of Europe.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Ms Hurskainen. I call Ms Grosskost.

Ms GROSSKOST (*France*) said that she would speak to the first report. Socio-economic discrimination against women was a serious problem. The European Parliament's Commission on Women's Rights noted wage gaps around the EU of approximately 30%. In France salaries were uneven between the sexes, as was the distribution of positions of responsibility. More women were unemployed than was necessary. Women under the age of 25 faced higher unemployment rates despite having training equal to that of the men. In the future women would be actively involved in promoting social and economic cohesion. Simply put more women needed to work. The wage gap must be tackled and the political will in this area had to be capitalised on. She cited the Bill currently in progress in the French National Assembly which was seeking to remedy wage problems, among other measures. Equality

between the sexes was vital for the healthy growth of society and she asked the Assembly to endorse the report.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Ms Grosskost. I call Mr Branger.

Mr BRANGER (*France*) said that between 2002 and 2004 the French were the presidents of the Women in European Sport Network. This network sought to promote equal opportunities and encourage women to influence decision-making sporting bodies. It was important to address the issue at school level and to encourage sporting participation in schools. In France a sharp drop had been noted in levels of female participation in sport in schools. This was partly due to the influence of Islamic groups who had asked for separate time slots for Islamic girls to engage in sporting activity. He agreed with the recommendation to combat discrimination in professional sport, but felt that the issue must also be tackled at school level. Europe should be an example in this regard.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. I call Ms Pasternak.

Ms PASTERNAK (*Poland*). – The problem of discrimination against women in the workplace also occurs in Poland. However, thanks to our knowledge of the problem and our ability to examine its scale, together with the actions taken to solve it on a legal, informative and educational basis, discrimination against women in the work force and workplace is gradually vanishing.

The obligation to treat men and women equally in the field of employment is based on constitutional law and on labour law expressed in Article 11 of the Polish labour code. Those laws needed a process of substantiation to make it possible to enforce them. In the past, discrimination usually remained unpunished, but the Act dated 24 August 2001 changed the labour code and added settlements about the prohibition of discrimination in the work force and workplace. That law also ensured guarantees for women discriminated against in their workplace. As well as those amendments to the law, Polish labour laws have been changed with the purpose of better implementation of international law and a more effective guarantee of equal treatment of men and women in the work force and the workplace. Nevertheless, we should remember that having excellent laws against discrimination will not eliminate all the symptoms of discriminating treatment. Many aspects of discrimination have their background in mentality and culture.

According to the latest survey by the national labour inspectorate, women are constantly in a minority in higher posts – proportionally, men account for 62% and women for 38%. That relates more to the private sector than to the public sector. One of the indications of discrimination against women in the work force and the workplace is the wage gap. Women are often paid less than men, especially in higher positions. Sometimes the woman's wage is up to one fifth lower than the man's.

We should also bear in mind the positive aspect of women's better access to promotion. According to the national labour inspectorate survey and surveys held by other organisations, the difficulties that women have in being promoted seem to be disappearing. The disparities between an average promotion date after a certain period of employment and after reaching a certain age are relatively low. In relation to working conditions and working hours, those disparities are unimportant. For various reasons, women use their maternity rights to take care of children more often than men.

Discrimination in the workplace also involves discrimination in enrolment procedures, during which it is quite common to ask questions about family status and plans concerning children. That is very important because rights against discrimination are relevant only to the enrolment procedure. That is particularly common in the private sector where the enrolment cannot be formalised. Women who are entering the labour market or changing their job may have difficulties with finding a position, hence the greater number of unemployed women.

The scale of discrimination against women in the workplace and the work force is similar to that in other European countries. The problem has been recognised and is constantly monitored by public institutions, which prevent discrimination against women. The first steps leading to positive changes – for example, the revision and implementation of existing laws – have been taken. The tough work is to change the mentality and cultural conditions that are responsible for discrimination. I believe that, thanks to a range of educational and social campaigns and the debate that is taking place in Poland, discrimination against women in the workplace and the work force will be effectively restricted.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Ms Pasternak. I call Mr Schneider.

Mr SCHNEIDER (*France*) felt that there was still room for improvement and Article 1 of the European Sports Charter of 1992 should be implemented. The report listed some of the things preventing

women from taking part in sport, such as conflict with family responsibilities, wage differentials, media indifference and lack of involvement in sports organisation. This was, however, similar to the situation in other areas of life where women did not enjoy equal pay with men, were not generally part of management and often had to put their families first. Religion was a factor because it could prevent women from taking part in sport if they were forbidden to wear the appropriate clothing. In France there had been much debate about the wearing of the veil in schools and a law had been passed against that. It was important to uphold the principles of secularity, which could widen the opportunities for women. There had been measures to counter discrimination but they had to be realistic and practical. Gradually, hostility to women taking part in sport, including the Olympic Games had reduced. He congratulated the rapporteur on her report and supported its conclusions.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Mr Schneider. I call Ms Bilgehan.

Ms BİLGEHAN (*Turkey*) drew attention to the absence of most of her male colleagues and many of her female ones too. She congratulated Mrs Čurdová on her report. She wanted much greater access for women to the workplace and encouragement for them to enter the labour market and the decision-making process. This would happen only if there was public support, including that of the Council of Europe and its members. Turkey was moving strongly in that direction. Eighty years ago when the modern country had been founded, discrimination against women had been outlawed. Recently, revisions had been made to the civil, legal and labour codes. Maternity leave was now sixteen weeks, which was longer than in many other countries; paternity leave was now available; and dismissal on grounds of pregnancy was illegal. Many families had made changes to the way in which they organised their lives. In Turkey, 36% of academics, 31% of architects and 29% of doctors and surgeons were women. However, only 4.4% of Turkish parliamentarians were women and there was only one female minister.

Turning to the second report, she felt that the development of sport in schools was fundamental to the promotion of women in sport generally. It was now compulsory for both boys and girls to do physical education in school and classes were mixed.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. I remind members that speeches are limited to four minutes. If we are to hear all the speakers, we must stick to that. I call Ms Ahlquist.

Ms AHLQUIST (*Sweden*). – First, I thank the two rapporteurs for two very good reports.

I am proud that Sweden has a high proportion of women – 48% – in the Swedish Parliament. In our government, 50% of ministers are women. It is important not only to promote women's rights but to make women visible. We, as politicians, can do that. We can send an important signal to the rest of society.

Many countries view Sweden as a good country for the position of women in the labour market, but there are still many things to work for in Sweden, as in other countries. The big gap between women and men can no longer be ignored. Let me give some examples.

In Sweden, 76% of women and 80% of men are employed. The figures are almost the same, but 33% of women and only 9% of men work part time. That means lower salaries and lower pensions for women. In Sweden, 1.2 million women work part time. They get small salaries and small pensions. That means that they are not independent when they work and they will not be independent when they get old.

Swedish women still do much more domestic work than men and they take care of elderly family members more than men do. Today, 70% of all men in Sweden are looked after by their wives when they become old and are dying. However, the women have to buy their help because there are no men to take care of them and it can be difficult because of their low pensions. That is not fair.

Women still get only 80% of men's salaries for doing the same job. In Sweden, it would cost approximately 2 billion Swedish crowns to change matters. That is not much money, but nothing happens. Why?

It remains difficult to convince Swedish men to take parental leave, even though we have the best parental insurance in the world. Men seem to believe that their contribution to the labour market is more important than that of women. We cannot accept that. I am convinced that women have the right to equal standards in the labour market.

It is our duty to keep fighting. We must show that gender discrimination should never be tolerated in the labour market, which is so important to so many aspects of a person's life.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Ms Ahlqvist. I call Ms Damanaki

Ms DAMANAKI (*Greece*). – Thank you, Madam President.

I thank the rapporteurs for their informative and well-constructed reports and draft recommendations. I want to say a few words about women and sport, which, to a great extent, is a topic that reflects the overall situation in our societies. Discrimination in opportunities and pay and bonuses, a lack of appropriate support structures, difficult and limited access to posts of responsibility on ruling bodies and the difficulty of combining work and family life are not exclusive to the world of sports; they are still the realities of our societies.

However, the situation has improved, and it is still improving fast. Recent experience in my country, including the Olympic Games, proves that point. Perhaps Baron Pierre de Coubertin stressed that the Olympic Games is male work, but my country had a very different experience. Girls sometimes receive better media coverage and encouragement than boys, but that is the case only in sports that are considered to be "feminine" and that are connected with sex appeal.

I will not discuss the importance of physical education and sport for all people. It is undeniable how it contributes to good health and self-esteem. As a Greek, I remind you of the idea that the emancipation of the mind and of the body go together.

As a woman, I agree with the rapporteur that it is necessary to promote equality in opportunities and sponsorship for women athletes. Equality in sports' ruling bodies is also essential, and it is important to press national bodies and sports federations to ensure equality in pay and bonuses.

I underline the point that the main obstacle is still the reconciliation of work, sport and family life. That issue will not be resolved without the participation of men in the private sphere of family and the upbringing of children. Unfortunately, few male members are here to hear that point.

As a mother, I believe that we should focus our efforts on schools. The draft recommendation on the co-education of girls and boys is important. We must encourage the two sexes to co-exist, and we should not separate them. Through physical education, we can teach our children to respect and celebrate their differences, and through sports we can infuse them with the values of democracy.

As a socialist, I believe that such long-term investment would further consolidate social cohesion and raise citizens who share the challenges of the future and who believe in the equal enjoyment of social rights for all.

I support the idea of creating a European strategy for women and sport, as broadly described in the draft recommendation. To that end, I recognise the need to examine, and where necessary to review, national policies on women's and girls' participation in sports and to launch coherent pan-European campaigns to raise awareness.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Ms Damanaki.

I call Ms Losier-Cool.

Ms LOSIER-COOL (*Observer from Canada*) said that in Canada over the past twenty-five years women's employment had doubled and the condition of mothers had improved. However, problems remained. There were many more women in part-time employment than there were men. Many more men than women could ensure that family pressures did not hinder increased work for them. Canada had taken steps to reconcile family and work life cycles through insurance, and paternity and maternity benefits and the protection of employment. As a result the take-up rate of parental leave among men was currently higher than among women. This was intended to promote a fairer share between the sexes of work in the home.

There were also problems with a wage gap between men and women. Women's salary levels were 70% of those of men. More women than men moved into less well paid jobs. The Canadian law of rights of the individual outlawed a differential wage based on sex for jobs of similar weight and status. According to the Canadian Statistical Service 34% of management positions and 25% of senior management positions were occupied by women. The "companies 500" list indicated that 16% of management positions in those companies were occupied by women. In the civil service 35% of executive jobs were held by women. She made reference to the strong Canadian action programme for promoting the equality of women in the work force and the workplace. She urged support for the first report.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. That concludes the list of speakers. I call Ms Cliveti, Chairperson of the Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men, to reply.

Ms CLIVETI (*Romania*) thanked all the participants in the debate. She raised the fact that the Committee on Culture, Science and Education had not given an opinion on the report. However, the committee had not indicated that it wished to do so. The Sub-Committee on Youth and Sport had prepared a number of amendments to the report and she was keen to participate in this way with other colleagues. She wished to thank Ms Aguiar once again.

One neglected subject in the discussion was the difficulties involved in co-ordinating work and sport. The Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men was examining this matter and could come up with some solutions. On another subject, while many women worked in the media they sometimes did not support women's rights as sports women. That did not apply in her country and she did not wish to criticise the media, who were aware of the issue. She wished to commend the report.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. I call Ms Čurďová to reply on the first report. She has four minutes.

Ms ČURDOVÁ (*Czech Republic*). – Dear colleagues, I thank you for the discussion on the report entitled "Discrimination against women in the workforce and the workplace". It shows that the problem is very complex and suggests ways of dealing with it. Given the different historical experiences of Council of Europe member countries, it is very difficult, but all the more important, to take a common approach to its resolution.

Our discussion also showed that it is necessary to deal with the problem of balance between professional and family life, unpaid work and the double burden. We must fight the stereotypes that still exist in our society among men as well as women. All Council of Europe member states must use the methods of gender mainstreaming consistently so that its provision is not only formal.

Equal opportunities in the labour market and the related programme on discrimination against women are topics to which we should give our attention in the coming years, because they are about not only women and men, but real, everyday life for half our citizens, our future prosperity and our society.

THE PRESIDENT. – Does the chairperson of the committee wish to speak?

Ms CLIVETI (*Romania*). – The report spoke for itself.

THE PRESIDENT. – The debate is closed.

We will now proceed to vote on the whole of the draft recommendation contained in Document 10484. A two-thirds majority is needed.

The vote is open.

The draft recommendation in Document 10484 is adopted.

We now come to the amendments to the draft recommendation proposed by the Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in Document 10483 on discrimination against women and girls in sport.

The five amendments to the draft recommendation will be taken in numerical order.

I remind members that speeches on amendments are limited to one minute.

We come to Amendment No. 1, tabled by Mr André Schneider, Lord Russell-Johnston, Mr Joseph Falzon, Mr Christophe Spiliotis-Saquet, Mr Jacques Legendre, Ms Anne Basseur, Mr Jerzy Smorawiński and Mr Johannes Randegger, which is in the draft recommendation, at the beginning of paragraph 1, replace the words "Women suffer" with the words: "Almost ten years after its resolution 1092(96) on discrimination against women in the field of sport and more particularly in the Olympic Games, the Assembly is distressed to observe that women still suffer".

I call Mr Schneider to support the amendment.

Mr SCHNEIDER (*France*) said that the objective of the amendment was to recognise what had been achieved by non-governmental organisations and other bodies.

THE PRESIDENT. – Does anyone wish to speak against the amendment?

That is not the case.

What is the opinion of the committee?

Ms CLIVETI (*Romania*) (Translation). – The committee is in favour.

THE PRESIDENT. – The vote is open.

Amendment No. 1 is adopted.

We come to Amendment No. 2, tabled by Mr André Schneider, Lord Russell-Johnston, Mr Joseph Falzon, Mr Christophe Spiliotis-Saquet, Mr Jacques Legendre, Ms Anne Brasseur, Mr Jerzy Smorawiński and Mr Johannes Randegger, which is in the draft recommendation, after paragraph 4, add the following paragraph: "The involvement of the Council of Europe on the issue of women's participation in sport started however much earlier, in 1980, with the seminar on 'a greater involvement of women in sport' organised by the Committee for the Development of Sport (CDDS). As a result of this, and of other similar initiatives, the network 'European Women and Sport' (EWS) was created. The subject has been discussed in Ministerial conferences by the Council of Europe and Unesco from 1981 to 2004. The IOC also organised three World Conferences on the topic."

I call Mr Schneider to support the amendment.

Mr SCHNEIDER (*France*) said that the text of the amendment was clear and followed on from the previous amendment, which sought to emphasise the progress that had already been made.

THE PRESIDENT. – Does anyone wish to speak against the amendment?

That is not the case.

What is the opinion of the committee?

Ms CLIVETI (*Romania*) (Translation). – The committee is in favour.

THE PRESIDENT. – The vote is open.

Amendment No. 2 is adopted.

We come to Amendment No. 3, tabled by Mr André Schneider, Lord Russell-Johnston, Mr Joseph Falzon, Mr Christophe Spiliotis-Saquet, Mr Jacques Legendre, Ms Anne Brasseur, Mr Jerzy Smorawiński and Mr Johannes Randegger, which is, in the draft recommendation, after paragraph 4, insert the following paragraph:

"The Assembly welcomes the work of the Council of Europe, the CDDS, Unesco, the IOC, the EWS and of all bodies, at national, European and international level, to combat discrimination against women and girls and to promote their participation in sport. In this context it supports the Brighton Declaration (1994), the Windhoek (1998) and Paris (2004) Calls for Action and the Berlin Memorandum (2002)."

I call Mr Schneider to support the amendment.

Mr SCHNEIDER (*France*) said that this amendment was again proposed explicitly to emphasise the work that had already been done.

THE PRESIDENT. – Does anyone wish to speak against the amendment?

That is not the case.

What is the opinion of the committee?

Ms CLIVETI (*Romania*). – The committee is in favour of the amendment.

THE PRESIDENT. – The vote is open.

Amendment No. 3 is adopted.

We come to Amendment No. 4, tabled by Mr André Schneider, Lord Russell-Johnston, Mr Joseph Falzon, Mr Christophe Spiliotis-Saquet, Mr Jacques Legendre, Ms Anne Brasseur, Mr Jerzy Smorawiński and Mr Johannes Randegger, which is, in the draft recommendation, paragraph 5.i, replace the words "instruct the competent intergovernmental committee to make an in-depth study of national sport policies

and their impact on women's and girls' participation in sports activities and work out a "European Strategy for Women and Sport", which should ensure:" with the following words:

"encourage the CDDS to continue, in cooperation with other relevant bodies, to promote the participation of women and girls in sport, to combat discrimination against women and girls in sport and to ensure:"

I call Mr Schneider to support the amendment.

Mr SCHNEIDER (*France*) said that the committee had tabled the amendment to delete paragraph 5.1.

THE PRESIDENT. – I understand that an oral sub-amendment has been tabled on behalf of the Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men, which would replace the proposed text of Amendment No. 4 with the following text:

"instruct the CDDS to continue, in cooperation with other relevant bodies, to promote the participation of women and girls in sport, to combat discrimination against women and girls in sport and to make an in-depth study of national sport policies and their impact on women's and girls' participation in sports activities and to work out a "European Strategy for Women and Sport", which should ensure:"

In my opinion, the oral sub-amendment meets the criteria of Rule 34.6, and can be considered unless ten or more members of the Assembly object. Is there any opposition to the oral sub-amendment being debated?

That is not the case.

Does anyone wish to speak against the oral sub-amendment?

That is not the case.

What is the opinion of the committee?

Ms CLIVETI (*Romania*) (Translation). – The committee is in favour of the oral sub-amendment.

THE PRESIDENT. – The vote is open.

The oral sub-amendment is adopted.

Does anyone wish to speak against the amendment, as amended?

That is not the case.

What is the opinion of the committee?

Ms CLIVETI (*Romania*). – The committee is in favour of the amendment, as amended.

THE PRESIDENT. – The vote is open.

Amendment No. 4, as amended, is adopted.

We come to Amendment No. 5, tabled by Mr André Schneider, Lord Russell-Johnston, Mr Joseph Falzon, Mr Christophe Spiliotis-Saquet, Mr Jacques Legendre, Ms Anne Brasseur, Mr Jerzy Smorawiński and Mr Johannes Randegger, which is, in the draft recommendation, delete paragraph 5.ii.

I call Mr Schneider to support the amendment.

Mr SCHNEIDER (*France*) said that the amendment had been tabled to delete paragraph 5.2.

THE PRESIDENT. – Does anyone wish to speak against the amendment?

I call Ms Cliveti.

Ms CLIVETI (*Romania*) said that she did not support the amendment because in order to do successful follow-up work on the report a ministerial conference would be needed.

THE PRESIDENT. – The committee is against the amendment.

The vote is open.

Amendment No. 5 is rejected.

We will now proceed to vote on the whole of the draft recommendation contained in Document 10483, as amended.

The vote is open.

The draft recommendation in Document 10483, as amended, is adopted.

(Mr Iwiński, Vice-President of the Assembly, took the Chair in place of Ms Severinsen.)

6. Migration and integration

THE PRESIDENT. – The next item of business this afternoon is the debate on the report on migration and integration: a challenge and an opportunity for Europe, presented by Mr Branger on behalf of the Committee on Migration, Refugees and Population, Document 10453.

The list of speakers closed at 12.30 p.m. Twenty-eight names are on the list and eight amendments have been tabled. I remind you that we have already agreed that in order to finish by 8 p.m., we shall interrupt the list of speakers at about 7.35 p.m. to allow time for the reply and the vote. I remind members that the Assembly agreed on Monday that speaking time in the debates today is limited to four minutes.

I call Mr Branger, the rapporteur. He has eight minutes.

Mr BRANGER (*France*) said that the issue of immigration and integration provided a major challenge for Europe to confront. The Council of Europe should be a part of the discussion on this issue at every level. The issue itself concerned the values that the Council of Europe persistently sought to defend – human rights and human freedoms.

The events of 11 September 2001 had provided member states with a new political goal of combating terrorism, which had to be a part of the thinking on immigration. Figures showed that Europe had to be prepared to welcome new migrants in the coming years. Europe itself had to shape the form this immigration would take. It was desirable that immigration was selective but fair – controlled but flexible.

The committee had willingly adopted the resolution that was being presented to the Assembly today. The Council of Europe had to stress the importance of developing effective policies to deal with the issue. Immigrants must become an integral part of their host country, respecting the constitution and laws of that state. For its part the state had to protect immigrants from discrimination, especially with regard to education and employment. The Assembly called on Council of Europe member states to agree effective migration strategies, emphasise co-development policies, take steps to avoid migratory movements generated by a need for protection and ensure that activities undertaken with implications for migration – for example, terrorist legislative proposals – ensured respect for fundamental human rights. Furthermore, the Assembly called for member states to use objective criteria to manage immigration. It would also be important to foster a knowledge of the values of the Council of Europe throughout member state societies. To this end, courses and integration schemes had to be set up free of charge in host countries and in countries of origin to educate potential migrants before immigration took place. Member states had to produce reliable clear information on the immigrants living in their countries and seek to monitor migration patterns carefully. The committee supported the possibility of a common European Union asylum and migration policy. It was important to raise public awareness of the consequences of the accession of new member states.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Mr Branger. I call Mr Çavuşoğlu, who is speaking on behalf of the European Democratic Group.

Mr ÇAVUŞOĞLU (*Turkey*). – On behalf of the European Democratic Group, I thank the rapporteur for his excellent study and his interesting presentation.

As is widely acknowledged, migration has been a common pattern of human behaviour throughout history. Over centuries, individuals and families have crossed borders, either by choice or by force. The migration phenomenon gained new dimensions following the Second World War, with the growing need for foreign labour in the western world. A series of work force and social security agreements have been concluded with countries concerned to regulate migration movement and provide migrants with social security.

Global contrasts inevitably lead to continuing migration pressures, which add to those of the legacy of half a century of immigration in western Europe. Labour immigration, followed by family reunion and the increasing number of asylum seekers have been the new concerns of the policy-makers since the 1990s. Consequently, the integration of regular migrants has become the core of the migration policies that countries have started to develop.

Experience shows that a successful integration process involves three main elements: adaptation by immigrants to the host society; adaptation by the host society to immigrants; and adequate communication strategies between the two populations as well as between their respective governments. However, efforts made over the past ten years in Europe to implement active integration policies, including promotion of equal opportunities, vocational advancement, access to social services, socio-cultural integration and civic anticipation by immigrant communities, do not seem to be commensurate with the intention to achieve successful migrant integration.

Unfortunately, the practices of major host countries regarding migrants overtly contradict their obligations under numerous international convention instruments. Such practices generally concern restricting family reunions and access to equal educational opportunities, limiting native language courses for migrants, disparities in wages and discrimination in business life.

Today, Europe is characterised by the withdrawal of minorities into their shells, partly in response to their rejection by host populations, the over-representation of immigrant populations in the increasing unemployment figures, their social exclusion and increasing public hostility to their presence. There is a clear increase in racism, xenophobia, discrimination and Islamophobia. That environment inevitably sponsors disintegration. A major problem as regards integration is that public opinion appears to be increasingly negative about the integration problems of migrants; and the more negative public opinion becomes, the harder it is for political leaders publicly to address the issue in positive terms.

We in Turkey therefore support the view that there should be good co-operation with the host countries to meet the needs of Turkish people living abroad in social and educational fields for their successful integration. Within that framework, my country encourages Turkish people living abroad to integrate with local societies and hence contribute to the political, economic, social and cultural life of the society they live in.

About 1.2 million of the 3.5 million Turks living in Europe are of education age. As a modest contribution to integration efforts, and considering that education is the first step for successful integration, Turkey has prepared an education action plan and begun its implementation together with Germany and other western countries. Learning and speaking the local language are the two integral parts of the plan.

It is our firm belief that the success of integration depends on a strong will and determination on the part of all parties.

With those thoughts in mind and in view of the importance of the issue, we congratulate the rapporteur on his well-prepared report and give our support to the report and the resolution therein.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. I call Mr Cilevičs to speak on behalf of the Socialist Group.

MR CILEVIČS (*Latvia*). – Mr Branger has prepared an excellent report that marks the next stage of a serious shift in priorities in relation to how European countries handle immigration and related issues. For decades, European states focused on conditions of entry and residence – whom to allow to come and stay in their countries. Nowadays, questions of a different nature concerning what happens to people when they have attained residence rights are increasingly taking precedence. It is natural that problems of integration are being given ever-higher priority. When people have residence permits, or have even been naturalised and obtained citizenship, that is not the end of the story but the beginning.

The phenomenon of so-called second generation migrants is good evidence of that. First generation migrants often want to become like residents and citizens of their host country by integrating and assimilating. The second generation are young people who were raised, or even born, in the host country: they speak its official languages and are its citizens. What is important for them is recognition and respect for their distinct identity. Integration policies must therefore be very flexible in order to prevent the dangerous phenomenon whereby extreme and radical ideas – even such awful things as terrorism – become attractive to such young people.

Integration is a two-way street. On the one hand, we recognise cultural diversity as a basic value of the modern era. Diversity is not only tolerated but celebrated. On the other hand, we must recognise some basic values enshrined in laws. Those values, as Mr Branger rightly points out, are human rights,

democracy and the rule of law, but not the culture and traditions of the host country. We should bear it in mind that not only should immigrants adapt to the conditions of their host country, but host countries should adapt to their new residents and citizens.

We in Latvia also have the problem of integration. In 1999, we established an official integration council and we have corresponding governmental institutions. We have had some success but also serious failures and problems, just like other European countries.

I believe that the report is the next essential stage in this very important work. We should continue our efforts to handle the integration problem properly, and here in the environment of the Council of Europe mutual co-operation by European states is extremely important. I congratulate Mr Branger on his essential contribution to that work, and look forward to our common efforts to find better ways of integration in future so that our Europe becomes a common home for people of different origins and cultural identities.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. I call Ms Zapfl-Helbling to speak on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party.

Ms ZAPFL-HELBLING (*Switzerland*) said that the report presented both challenges and opportunities. It was important that basic values were upheld when dealing with asylum seekers. First, those who were not refugees should be encouraged to go back to their own countries, if necessary with financial assistance. Secondly, foreigners resident in a country should be encouraged to integrate. Nineteen per cent of the Swiss population had come from abroad and many had lived in the country for many years. The Swiss economy depended on the contribution they made. Integration was the responsibility of local rather than central government and much had been done at that level to involve foreign born inhabitants in civic life. If there was insufficient integration whole ethnic groups would become isolated and this could lead to unemployment and even crime. She supported the report and the request that it should be considered by the Committee of Ministers. The member countries of the Council of Europe should do all they could to reduce poverty across the world.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. I call Lord Judd. Perhaps it is a pity that we do not have Lords from other countries.

Lord JUDD (*United Kingdom*). – First, I thank Jean-Guy Branger for a very important report – it is a good piece of work. In all our preoccupations with the global economy, liberal economics and the market, we must recognise that the market has one gigantic flaw – the restrictions on the movement of labour. The resultant pressures must be addressed by global policies such as those of the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation, as well as the common agricultural policy and our policies on debt, which are highly relevant to the pressures on people to move.

The Council of Europe must be concerned with human rights and social justice in the countries of origin because they are essential if people are not to be under undue pressure to uproot themselves and go to other parts of the world. If we take that seriously, we must be careful to ensure that we do not develop admissions policies that accentuate the problems of less fortunate parts of the world by giving preference to the people who are needed most in those societies if their economies are to be successful.

In making a success of integration in our own countries, we must acknowledge that we cannot throw the problem of incoming people on to the most disadvantaged sections of our own communities. The resources for health, education and social infrastructure in the areas to which the immigrants go in our countries are crucial to making a success of immigration policy.

If we are to make a success of integration, we have to change the political game. Too often, we have competing political leaders trying to demonstrate that they are doing more to keep people out and send people home. If the emphasis of the debate is all on that, what hope have we of winning the hearts and minds of people in our own societies to meeting the challenge of making integration a success? What chance do we have of creating the right ethos among officials who operate on the front line of the application of immigration policy? The dignity of and respect for people who come to our societies should be top of our priorities at all times. If we insult people and humiliate them, we accentuate the dangers of global terrorism. That is not exaggeration; it is a fact. If we send young intelligent people away from our societies, after bad experiences, that will aggravate the problem of instability in the world.

This morning, we talked a great deal about values in the context of our concern about life. I cannot help contrasting the attendance this morning with that this evening. Central to our commitment – and, if I may say so, our Christian commitment – is the challenge of recognising diversity. For me, diversity is one

of the richest elements of creation and the challenge is not to perceive it as a negative factor that is to be contained, but to view it as exciting and something on which we build for the future.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. I share your concern about attendance – we are discussing one of the biggest challenges to contemporary Europe, and not only Europe. I call Mr Reymann.

Mr REYMANN (*France*) welcomed the important report, which covered so many aspects of migration and integration. In France measures had been taken to reduce the involvement of criminal elements and a law had been passed to provide for fingerprinting of immigrants. Similar measures had been taken in the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy and Finland. Countries should regulate immigration as humanely as possible by providing doctors and interpreters in the reception centres and suitable housing without excessive delay. He congratulated the rapporteur on his excellent report.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. I call Ms Hadžiahmetović.

Ms HADŽIAHMETOVIĆ (*Bosnia and Herzegovina*). – I am very glad about today's discussion on this challenging topic. It is greater than issues of migration and integration because it covers European society, European values, the richness of cultures, diversity and, of course, European identity. When considered in that context, the report is stimulating indeed. It offers sufficient material for discussion and raises many questions. All praise should go to the rapporteur, Mr Branger.

Migration is a challenge and an opportunity for Europe. I consider it especially important to remind ourselves that migration is a dual process and that there are considerations of cause and politics. Bearing in mind that there are economic, political and demographic reasons for migration in Europe, there are four kinds of social recognition.

First, there are migrations within European countries at the level of village to city and less developed regions to developed regions. They are largely caused by economic reasons, which relate to national policies.

Secondly, migration within EU countries relates to the realisation of one of the four fundamental freedoms on which the EU is built: the freedom of movement of people, which concerns EU politics, regional politics and economic and social cohesion.

Thirdly, there is the issue of migration within Europe, especially between EU and non-EU countries. When we analyse such migration, we should pay special attention to migration within Council of Europe member states, where universal values such as equality, human rights and democracy exist.

Fourthly, migration to Europe motivated by economic, political and demographic factors is, in the absence of unified European politics, subject to different treatment and various solutions.

We must analyse migration in Europe, and we must resolve the problems related to it. Several issues have been raised, such as the character and level of openness within European society. What does European identity mean to Europeans and to non-Europeans? What about exclusivity in Europe? Does that notion include western Europe, the developed part of Europe, the EU or the Council of Europe? European values are rich and diverse, but what about the moderation of diversity?

In general terms, clear replies to those questions and on similar issues would lay the groundwork for European politics, including a special role for the Council of Europe. I emphasise the need for openness and dialogue. Furthermore, migration and integration involves the synthesis of economic, political and demographic issues, problems and solutions. Once again, I remind members that that dual process is an area of common interest.

It is up to us. We must choose whether those issues are treated as problems or as solutions.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Ms Hadžiahmetović.

I call Mr Schneider.

Mr SCHNEIDER (*France*) thanked Mr Branger for his excellent report and to focus on the position in France, which received 100 000 immigrants per year. That coincided with positive indigenous growth. Most of the immigrant growth was a result of family reunification. There was high unemployment in the under 25 and over 55 age groups. As a result of those factors French family policy had not changed, but as France anticipated a downward trend in future population the government had set up a working group to study demographic issues, including immigration. Integration of immigrants was a priority of government policy adopted in 2003. It was based on social promotion and combating discrimination. The policy had

the full support of the President of France and countered threats to social cohesion, especially among socially disadvantaged groups. The threat was due to inadequate facilities for immigrants, and France had a policy of increased fairness towards incomers. There should be a policy of equality based on common values.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Mr Schneider.

I call Mr Mirzazada.

Mr MIRZAZADA (*Azerbaijan*) considered that one of the reasons for immigration was the people's desire to improve their lives. Whole nations had moved for that reason.

He welcomed the report because it concluded not that immigration should stop but that there should be regulation. Migrants had to live in host countries according to the law; and the host country had to respect minority cultures.

He wished to make three important points. First, the causes of immigration had to be explored. Recently, thousands of people in Azerbaijan had fled Armenian aggression. If that had happened in western Europe it would have had a much higher profile. Secondly, southeast Asia was now developing economically, which had lessened emigration from that area. Thirdly, on occasion migrants in a host country had masqueraded as representatives of minority groups by using the culture of those groups – for example, Azerbaijani music and poetry.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. I call Mr Gülçiçek.

Mr GÜLÇİÇEK (*Turkey*) said that the subject of the report was very important. Immigrants had not always been received well by host countries, but they had made an important contribution. Their legal status had to be regulated to promote a harmonious result. A focus on training and citizenship would improve integration and ensure that both the host countries and immigrants would benefit from the resulting harmonious relations.

Following the report, what was required was a serious immigration strategy. A policy of assisting integration through employment would allow all member states to use the labour pool. He wished to highlight the fact that the report stressed that no racist attitudes should be allowed. He thanked the rapporteur and supported the report. Even though people might look different they shared a common humanity.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you. I call Mr Geghamyan.

Mr GEGHAMYAN (*Armenia*). – For the Armenian people, the issue of migration has not lost its topicality for over a century and a half. Anatole France, the famous French writer, wrathfully condemned European rulers in 1916 for their sluggish indifference to the destiny of the Armenian people. He wrote: "Our sister is dying in the East. Her only crime is that she shares our feelings, loves what we ourselves love. She, as we, has absorbed and embodied in wisdom, justice, poetry and art. And in this lies her unforgivable fault. Armenia is dying, but it will revive. It has very little blood left, which will give birth to a heroic generation."

With those words, the great humanist characterised the fate of hundreds of thousands of Armenians who were saved by a miracle from the genocide committed in 1915 in the Ottoman Empire. The Armenians who survived by a miracle ran away throughout the world. The names of many immigrants and their children are inscribed in golden letters in the new history of their second homeland.

The tragic pages of our history resound with pain in the hearts of the current generation, in particular during these April days, when the 12 million Armenians dispersed throughout the world light candles in churches and cathedrals in memory of their 1.5 million compatriots who, guiltlessly, were killed in Anatolia.

I shall refer to the newspaper *Bakinsky Rabochy* - or *Baku Worker* - of 25 July 2002. Heydar Aliiev, the then President of Azerbaijan, said: "I am referring to the period when I was the first secretary...I sought to change the demography" of Nagorno-Karabakh. He continued: "Nagorno Karabagh raised the issue of opening an institute...Everybody in my country was against it. I thought it over and decided to open a university in Nagorno Karabagh. We sent the Azerbaijanis from the surrounding areas not to Baku, but to Nagorno Karabagh. We opened a big shoe factory there, and sent Azerbaijanis from the surrounding areas of the" region "to Nagorno Karabagh. Thus through these and other means I

endeavoured to have more Azeris in Nagorno Karabagh, and the number of Armenians was reduced". One cannot put it more frankly than that.

Today, if we in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe do not undertake an in-depth study of the reasons for migration in the South Caucasus and do not take necessary measures to prevent them from arising, more than 140 000 inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh might become potential immigrants, which will turn into a humanitarian disaster in the region.

In the first days of April, the world bade farewell to Pope John Paul II. Everybody – the Israelis, the Muslims, the Hindus, the Christians – arrived in the Eternal City for the funeral of the Supreme Pontiff. The great Pope realised by mind, and felt in his heart, his great predestination. It seemed as if the first lesson from what people experienced in those days should be heeded by us. Perhaps it requires very little of us: to start our part-session by standing up and paying tribute to the memory of 1.5 million Armenian victims of the 1915 genocide with one minute's silence.

Let us recall and contemplate once again the warning of the great Norwegian, Fridtjof Nansen: "Woe is the Armenian that they are involved in the European politics. It would have been much better for them if none of the European diplomats pronounced the name of Armenia".

Thank you for your attention.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you. I call Ms Hoffman.

Ms HOFFMANN (*Germany*) said that she was pleased that the recommendation promoted the full integration of immigrants. Immigrants must understand the importance of integrating into their host country. For that reason, it was important that they should learn the language and traditions of the host country. Immigrants should not only need to come to a host country, but want to come to that country and join that society. It would be possible to have immigration laws to ensure the smooth integration of asylum seekers, refugees and others. Immigrants had different backgrounds and integrated in different ways. Therefore in Germany appropriate rules for different groups had to be adopted. European values should be taught to immigrants and immigrants should respect the rule of law and the democratic institutions of their host country. It was not always easy however to distinguish which immigrants had this respect. We should continue to exchange experiences in the area and learn from each other. The key to solving the problem lay in dealing with it not at national level but at the level of the wider community. THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. I call Mr Banac.

Mr BANAC (*Croatia*). – I am painfully aware that I am about to make some dissenting remarks, but I hope that they will contribute to our discussion. I am sensitive – perhaps too sensitive – to discourses that are critical of multiculturalism, perhaps because I come from a country in which multiculturalism is frequently pilloried. There are many examples, and unfortunately we can find such assumptions in the report. For instance, a rather self-satisfied sentence refers to "prospective" immigrants who are "unaware of the rules underpinning our societies". Worse still, those rules are represented as inviolable in practice, as though they are not frequently diminished, specifically in regard to immigrants who are coloured and/or Muslim.

That subtext is also evident in the phrase, "Fundamentalism can lead to terrorism". In the circumstances, it should be a serious intellectual project to define the meaning of fundamentalism. Is it something new? Is it restricted only to one religious tradition? Is it, in fact, a contradiction of age-old religious traditions? Moreover, if assimilation is "inconsistent with the values of the Council of Europe" – as indeed it is – why engage in polemics against "communalism, which has never been accurately defined"? Would communalism or collective rights be derided as a "socio-political project aimed at subjecting the members of a specified group to a set of rules deemed to be specific to this group" if we were not discussing immigrants in Europe but instead discussing established parallel societies that have co-existed, albeit not always harmoniously, within a number of European states?

I have many questions, perhaps because the document under discussion offers relatively few answers. However, there are hints. The United States is said to have demonstrated that "common rules can prevail over specificities, even when they are presented as a religious cornerstone". Hence, Mormon polygamy was forbidden by law. Does that mean that it is permissible to ban the covering of Muslim women, however minimal, in all European public institutions? Does it mean that we can look forward to the banning of kosher or halal butchers? If there is a working "consensus that a system of immigrant selection will become necessary in European countries", and if that requires assurances of racial non-discrimination, does that open the door to ideological or religio-ideological discrimination? Is that the implication of the matter-of-fact reference to the Danish law of July 2002 that clearly conforms to an assimilationist vision of integration?

Ladies and gentlemen, an integrated Europe must not be defined in a way that suggests an integral Europe or fortress Europe. The Council must avoid any suggestion of discomfort with multiculturalism, which has lately been a conspicuous feature of discourse by a number of prominent European political leaders. The discussion of migration and integration requires clarity which, unfortunately, is missing from the report.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Mr Banac.

Ms Hajiyeva is not here, so I call Ms Vermot-Mangold.

Ms VERMOT-MANGOLD (*Switzerland*) said that her contribution was an extension of what the previous speaker had said. More work had to be done on the report to solve some unanswered questions. The most important cause of migration was the widening rich-poor gap between countries. Migrants were increasingly being motivated by the prospect of employment and increased income and borders could not be sealed to such people. Migration was a right and not a favour. Immigrants contributed economically and culturally to a country and accepting immigrants helped to combat xenophobia and racism. It was the responsibility of all citizens to make progress together. Assimilation of cultures was necessary and desirable. Cultures could be reshaped as we learned from each other. Integration meant adapting to a changing world and to each other. This meant that we would sometimes argue with each other and indeed, this could be productive. We should resist uniformity and cultural castration. In order to make progress however, appropriate instruments were needed – for example money, imagination and the ability to compromise.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Ms Vermot-Mangold. Mr Shybko and Mr Rakhansky are not here, so I call Mr Sánchez-Carreño.

Mr SÁNCHEZ-CARREÑO (*Mexico*) said that the report was valuable in that it was a summary of experience that Europe had gathered. It provided an illustration of what should be done to tackle what was a universal issue. Figures had shown that 3% of humankind was in a different place from where it had been born. Migration made a valuable contribution to global culture and had to be accepted and tolerated. After all, tolerance was one of Europe's democratic values. Immigration was the basis for social cohesion.

He welcomed the differing viewpoints offered by the report - those of the migrant as well as those of the host country. Respect for both parties was necessary and successful migration policies would not be possible if the issue was looked at unilaterally. Migration was a reality and must be accepted. There were three goals that the world should work towards as regards migration. Migration should be legal, safe and orderly. Migration in this manner would improve all cultures.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Mr Sánchez-Carreño. The Euro-Mexican forum that was held last year was a great success.

Mr Nessa is not here. Those members who are absent have probably left or are taking part in a reception, so it will probably be possible for us to finish earlier. I call my Polish compatriot, Mr Stuligrosz.

Mr STULIGROSZ (*Poland*). – It is a great honour to speak on this subject, which is significant for the future of our continent, for the future of European identity and for the foundation of our moral values. I express my strong conviction that the report covers all the important aspects of the problems and provides a good basis for a debate on immigration and integration as a great challenge for Europe in this constantly changing world.

Our planet is getting smaller and smaller; the distances between continents are becoming shorter; and, while that process lasts, Europe gets closer to the other continents. The development of modern modes of transportation makes it easier for people to move around, and they take advantage of those new possibilities. Europe, with its relatively stable economy and high standard of living, becomes a major destination for those looking for a better life.

It is therefore high time for Europeans to state our attitude towards migration and integration and towards our guests or fellow citizens coming from other continents to look for what we are all looking for: the well being and prosperity of our families.

The best way to release cultural tension is to remove barriers between people by encouraging dialogue and removing the prejudice and fear that unfortunately exists between those who come here from distant countries and those who were born as Europeans. In every European country, dialogue and mutual tolerance are required among those who belong to the majority and those who are coming here

and becoming minorities in countries where they decided to start their new life. The foundations of this dialogue and understanding should be principles and values such as democracy and human rights.

It is also important to say that in bearing in mind the rights of immigrants coming to Europe we should do as much as possible to secure the "right not to emigrate" – to lead a prosperous and peaceful life in their own country.

As a representative of the nation that throughout its long history faced severe times when immigration was the only opportunity for thousands of Poles to live a peaceful and free life, I have to call for a better understanding of those who are coming to Europe. They often come here because they do not have their own place to stay.

Taking into consideration all the issues, Europeans should never forget the value of solidarity that means taking responsibility for those in trouble. We should welcome those who come here and help them to contribute as much as they can to our societies. As John Paul II once said, "If the 'dream' of a peaceful world is shared by all, if the refugees' and migrants' contribution is properly evaluated, then humanity can become more and more of a universal family and our earth a true 'common home'."

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you Mr Stuligrosz. I call Mr Lindblad.

Mr LINDBLAD (*Sweden*). – This is a very interesting report. It is nothing revolutionary, but a small step in the right direction. I am pleased that we have a new focus. I am also pleased that the rapporteur says at paragraph 9(iii) of the draft resolution that lawful immigration is important because it is essential that we Europeans understand that for demographic reasons we must have more, not less, immigration into Europe. It is time for us to try to be good at attracting people from outside Europe to come here and work. Migration is not a problem but a possibility. I am not as pessimistic as Mr Banac, although I think that we share many common values about the importance of migration.

We should change focus in relation to how we discuss migration and migrants. In my country, and probably in most other European countries, we talk about first, second and third generation immigrants – who knows where it will end? In the United States, people take the opposite approach when they talk about first generation Americans. I think that that is right – we can sometimes learn things from the other side of the ocean, and that is one of them.

When Mr Juncker was here today and we had the opportunity to ask him questions, he spoke about the demographic problem of Europe dying of old age. Too few children are produced, and even if all of us go home at night and produce babies, it will be twenty years before they will be able to produce anything for us. We are in a hurry and must do something right now.

I find it confusing that the report is about integration as well as migration, because they are two big topics that should be debated separately. In relation to integration, I ask whom we are going to integrate and from where to where, and what is the purpose. I agree with Lord Judd that differences are essential for society and for our future, but it is also important that all citizens in Europe are law abiding; that is not controversial as I see it.

The problem in the asylum system, at least in Sweden and probably in some other European countries, is the waiting list. People are waiting for one, two or three years to find out whether they will be able to stay. Sometimes they are people from Palestine or Saudi Arabia who are not allowed back so they have nowhere to go and are caught in limbo between decisions. Our asylum systems must be efficient so that people can get a decision quickly. I am certain that if we allow more migrant workers the problem will ease considerably because many people want a better lifestyle and are not in need of protection.

This is the opportunity for those of us in the Council of Europe to embrace the possibilities and to see migration as necessary. It has always been there but now is the time to use it for the future of Europe.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Mr Lindblad. I call Mr Gubert.

Mr GUBERT (*Italy*) said that the report summed up what Europe faced. Some areas needed further research. First, migration was inevitable and posed a challenge for Europe. While countries needed migration, it was necessary to control the situation. Secondly, the human rights of migrants had to be protected and help given with the cost of settling in a new country and finding work.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Mr Gubert. Mr Platvoet is absent. I call Mr van Thijn.

Mr VAN THIJN (*The Netherlands*). – Thank you, Mr President, for your generosity.

I am eager to take the opportunity to express my gratitude for an excellent report on one of the most relevant issues of today. One of the best parts of the report is that which defines and compares several models of integration. I agree with the rapporteur that we in Europe cannot take integration to mean assimilation. A policy of assimilation in Europe is one of the biggest dangers of our time. Although the word is mostly not mentioned, the policy is often one of assimilation. It means asking a minority or several minorities to live up to the dominant culture. That is a humiliating policy because it ignores the values of other countries. It is also humiliating for citizens who are part of another culture. It can easily lead to considering other cultures as inferior, which is not in accordance with the principles of decent society.

The most important lesson of the report is the need to perceive integration as a two-way process. If we are not only idealistic but pragmatic, there is no other option. A few months ago, the United Nations Development Programme published a report on diversity in the world today. It explains that there are 5 000 different cultures in the world but only 200 nations to accommodate them. I have never counted the different cultures in Europe, but I am sure that Europe's main task in integrating is to accommodate such a variety of cultures. A clash of cultures and the concept of superior and inferior cultures would be a shame. Europe can integrate only when it accommodates the variety of cultures harmoniously. I am happy that the report defines this immense task for the near future.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. We all hope that the picture conjured up my old, good friend from Harvard university, Samuel Huntington, of the clash of civilizations is not inevitable. There are more than 6 000 languages under our canopy, half of which are in Africa.

I call Ms Bacon.

Ms BACON (*Observer from Canada*) said that many people had come from Europe to Canada in the period between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. More recently there had been immigration from other parts of the world. Canada was a country of immigrants. In 2001 18.4% of the population had been born outside Canada. The percentage was higher in the cities. The Canadian population had grown by only 4% during the period 1996 to 2001 and half of that increase was attributable to immigration. That gave rise to many challenges and the Canadian government had therefore developed settlement programmes whereby immigrants could attend language and citizenship classes. Such programmes were controversial elsewhere, but in Canada they had proved successful and were generally accepted. Language skills were a prerequisite of acquiring citizenship. Canada was also taking steps to stop trafficking in human beings and illegal immigration.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Thank you. I did not want to interrupt you, because the experience of Canada is very important. That concludes the list of speakers.

I call Mr Branger, rapporteur, to reply. He has four minutes.

Mr BRANGER (*France*) expressed pleasure at hearing so many speeches on the subject under discussion and complemented members of the Assembly who were sufficiently committed to talk about immigration and integration issues. The committee strove not to answer all questions arising from the issue, but was conscious that immigration and integration were becoming ever harder to tackle. The committee had looked at common problems and had attempted to provide basic guidelines in order to establish common ground. The contributions of members enhanced the richness of the committee's offering. Europe was not a fortress, but integration did not mean assimilation. Mutual respect was of vital importance. When human differences occurred there was a need for complementary solutions. Therein lay the importance of tolerance. What was required was to seek better ways of living, and better ways of offering to others what we could provide from our societies. This was a subject to which the committee would return.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you, Mr Branger. Does the chairperson of the committee wish to speak? He has two minutes.

Mr WILKINSON (*United Kingdom*). – The report by Senator Branger has been debated impressively, not least by our Observer friends Mr Sánchez-Carreño and Ms Bacon, who have brought an important American perspective to our proceedings. The document is outstanding, and I am grateful to Senator Branger and to the Secretariat for the wealth of information that they have provided on a crucial issue for economic development, social stability and quality of life in Europe.

Mass immigration challenges our ethical values and the Council of Europe's principles of personal freedom, democratic rights and the rule of law for all.

At one level, our countries are enormously enriched by immigration; at another, cherished values and the practices of centuries are called into question. The traditional concept of European civilisation is being constantly modified with it and European diversity becomes more and more prevalent.

It is arguable whether overpopulated, under-employed western Europe benefits from immigration in the sense that more investment and higher capital formulations are required as well. The admission of a Berlin-sized number of people every year poses a great challenge to us all, but, in spite of these challenges – be they the Madrid bombings, be they disturbing al Qaeda revelations – the faith in, encouragement of and steadfast adherence to managed migration, coupled with enlightened programmes of education, integration and social support to which Senator Branger alluded, give us hope. They mean that racial intolerance, communal violence and deprivation are less likely in the future.

This is a positive, constructive report in the best traditions of this Assembly.

THE PRESIDENT. – Thank you. The debate is closed.

The Committee on Migration, Refugees and Population has presented a draft resolution in Document 10453 to which eight amendments have been tabled. The amendments to the draft resolution will be taken in the order in which they appear on the notice paper, as follows: 1 to 4, 8 and 5 to 7.

I remind you that speeches on amendments are limited to one minute.

We come to Amendment No. 1, tabled by Ms Tana de Zulueta, Ms Carina Hägg, Ms Majléne Westerlund Panke, Ms Ruth-Gaby Vermot-Mangold, Lord Frank Judd, Ms Josette Durrieu, Mr Franco Danieli and Ms Carina Ohlsson, which is, in the draft resolution, paragraph 2, after the word “immigrants”, replace the words “the most” with the word: “a”.

It was planned that Ms de Zulueta would speak to the amendment, but I do not see her in the Hemicycle.

I call Ms Vermot-Mangold to support the amendment.

Ms VERMOT-MANGOLD (*Switzerland*) asked whether it would be possible to take the first two amendments together.

THE PRESIDENT. – According to the rules, we can only take one after another, so it is not possible to deal with them together.

Ms VERMOT-MANGOLD (*Switzerland*) said that countries must do everything possible to ensure that rule of law is obeyed. Integration should not be forced, and we should aim for a smooth process.

THE PRESIDENT. – Does anyone wish to speak against the amendment?

That is not the case.

What is the opinion of the committee?

Mr WILKINSON (*United Kingdom*). – We voted in favour.

THE PRESIDENT. – The vote is open.

Amendment No. 1 is adopted.

We come to Amendment No. 2, tabled by Ms Tana de Zulueta, Ms Carina Hägg, Ms Majléne Westerlund Panke, Ms Ruth-Gaby Vermot-Mangold, Lord Frank Judd, Ms Josette Durrieu, Mr Franco Danieli and Ms Carina Ohlsson, which is in the draft resolution, paragraph 2, after the word “societies”, replace the words “such as” with the words: “as codified by the European Convention on Human Rights, including”.

I call Ms Vermot-Mangold to support the amendment.

Ms VERMOT-MANGOLD (*Switzerland*) said that the point of the amendment was to stress the European Convention on Human Rights.

THE PRESIDENT. – Does anyone wish to speak against the amendment?

That is not the case.

What is the opinion of the committee?

Mr WILKINSON (*United Kingdom*). – We voted in favour.

THE PRESIDENT. – The vote is open.

Amendment No. 2 is adopted.

We come to Amendment No. 3, tabled by Ms Tana de Zulueta, Ms Carina Hägg, Ms Majléne Westerlund Panke, Ms Ruth-Gaby Vermot-Mangold, Lord Frank Judd, Ms Josette Durrieu, Mr Franco Danieli and Ms Carina Ohlsson, which is in the draft resolution, paragraph 4, after the word “accept”, insert the words: “the laws and”.

I call Ms Vermot-Mangold to support the amendment.

Ms VERMOT-MANGOLD (*Switzerland*) said values were elastic and the amendment sought to include a legal perspective.

THE PRESIDENT. – Does anyone wish to speak against the amendment?

That is not the case.

What is the opinion of the committee?

Mr WILKINSON (*United Kingdom*). – We voted in favour.

THE PRESIDENT. – The vote is open.

Amendment No. 3 is adopted.

We come to Amendment No. 4, tabled by Ms Tana de Zulueta, Ms Carina Hägg, Ms Majléne Westerlund Panke, Ms Ruth-Gaby Vermot-Mangold, Lord Frank Judd, Ms Josette Durrieu, Mr Franco Danieli and Ms Carina Ohlsson, which is in the draft resolution, paragraph 6, replace the words “Those obligations” with the following words: “The Assembly has emphasized the importance, within the context of national integration strategies, of extending voting rights to legal immigrants, in compliance with the 1992 Convention of the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level. The above obligations”.

I call Ms Vermot-Mangold to support the amendment.

Ms VERMOT-MANGOLD (*Switzerland*) said that the amendment was necessary to ensure that migrants could be integrated into the host countries’ political systems and everyday way of life.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – Does anyone wish to speak against the amendment?

That is not the case.

What is the opinion of the committee?

Mr WILKINSON (*United Kingdom*). – In favour.

THE PRESIDENT (Translation). – The vote is open.

Amendment No. 4 is adopted.

We come to Amendment No. 8, tabled by Mr Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Mr Ali Rıza Gülçiçek, Ms Tana de Zulueta, Lord Frank Judd and Ms Ruth-Gaby Vermot-Mangold, which is in the draft resolution, after paragraph 9.i.b, insert the following sub-paragraph: “recognise immigrants as persons with fundamental human rights, the respect of which must be ensured in full conformity with international and regional human rights instruments including the provisions of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families which Member States are urged to ratify and implement;”.

I call Mr Çavuşoğlu to support the amendment.

Mr ÇAVUŞOĞLU (*Turkey*). – The amendment aims at recognising the fundamental human rights of immigrants. It makes specific reference to the convention on the protection of migrants and their

families and calls on all member states of the Council of Europe to ratify that convention and implement fully its provisions.

THE PRESIDENT. - Does anyone wish to speak against the amendment?

That is not the case.

What is the opinion of the committee?

Mr WILKINSON (*United Kingdom*). – The committee voted in favour.

THE PRESIDENT. – The vote is open.

Amendment No. 8 is adopted.

We come to Amendment No. 5, tabled by Ms Tana de Zulueta, Ms Carina Hägg, Ms Majléne Westerlund Panke, Ms Ruth-Gaby Vermot-Mangold, Lord Frank Judd, Ms Josette Durrieu, Mr Franco Danieli and Ms Carina Ohlsson, which is in the draft resolution, paragraph 9.iii, replace the words “on the basis of a selection on objective criteria which take account of” with the following words: “taking into account”.

I call Ms Vermot-Mangold to support the amendment.

Ms VERMOT-MANGOLD (*Switzerland*) said that this was merely a slight correction to the text for the purposes of clarification.

THE PRESIDENT. – Does anyone wish to speak against the amendment?

That is not the case.

What is the opinion of the committee?

Mr WILKINSON (*United Kingdom*). – We voted in favour.

THE PRESIDENT. – The vote is open.

Amendment No. 5 is adopted.

We come to Amendment No. 6, tabled by Ms Tana De Zulueta, Ms Carina Hägg, Ms Majléne Westerlund Panke, Ms Ruth-Gaby Vermot-Mangold, Lord Frank Judd, Ms Josette Durrieu, Mr Franco Danieli and Ms Carina Ohlsson, which is, in the draft resolution, paragraph 9.v, replace the words “culture, traditions and integration objectives” with the words:

“culture and traditions”.

I call Ms Vermot-Mangold to support the amendment.

Ms VERMOT-MANGOLD (*Switzerland*) said that the amendment sought to clarify the phrase “integration objectives” which she felt was ambiguous in meaning.

THE PRESIDENT. – Does anyone wish to speak against the amendment?

That is not the case.

What is the opinion of the committee?

Mr WILKINSON (*United Kingdom*). – We voted in favour of the amendment.

THE PRESIDENT. – The vote is open.

Amendment No. 6 is adopted.

We come to Amendment No. 7, tabled by Ms Tana De Zulueta, Ms Carina Hägg, Ms Majléne Westerlund Panke, Ms Ruth-Gaby Vermot-Mangold, Lord Frank Judd, Ms Josette Durrieu, Mr Franco Danieli and Ms Carina Ohlsson, which is, in the draft resolution, after paragraph 9.v, insert the following sub-paragraph:

"sign and ratify the 1992 Council of Europe Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level;"

I call Ms Vermot-Mangold to support the amendment.

Ms VERMOT-MANGOLD (*Switzerland*) said that the amendment was necessary as it inserted a new sub-paragraph to ensure the integration of migrants into public life at local level.

THE PRESIDENT. – Does anyone wish to speak against the amendment?

That is not the case.

What is the opinion of the committee?

Mr WILKINSON (*United Kingdom*). – We voted in favour of the amendment.

THE PRESIDENT. – The vote is open.

Amendment No. 7 is adopted.

We will now proceed to vote on the whole of the draft resolution contained in Document 10453, as amended.

The vote is open.

The draft resolution in Document 10453, as amended, is adopted unanimously.

7. Date, time and orders of the day of the next sitting

THE PRESIDENT. – I propose that the Assembly hold its next public sitting tomorrow at 10 a.m. with the orders of the day which were approved on Monday.

Are there any objections?

That is not the case.

The sitting is closed.

(The sitting was closed at 7.40 p.m.)

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Presentation by Ms Cliveti of report, Document 10483, on behalf of the Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men

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Ms Zapfl-Helbling (Switzerland)
Ms Pericleous Papadopoulos (Cyprus)
Mr Platvoet (Netherlands)
Ms Vermot-Mangold (Switzerland)
Ms Hurskainen (Finland)
Ms Grosskost (France)
Mr Branger (France)
Ms Pasternak (Poland)
Mr Schneider (France)
Ms Bilgehan (Turkey)
Ms Ahlquist (Sweden)
Mr Damanaki (Greece)
Ms Losier-Cool (Observer from Canada)

Draft recommendation contained in Document 10484 adopted

Amendments Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4, as amended, adopted

Draft recommendation contained in Document 10483, as amended, adopted

6. Migration and integration: a challenge and an opportunity for Europe
Presentation by Mr Branger of report, Document 10453, on behalf of the Committee on Migration, Refugees and Population

Speakers:

Mr Çavuşoğlu (Turkey)
Mr Cilevičs (Latvia)
Ms Zapfl-Helbling (Switzerland)
Lord Judd (United Kingdom)
Mr Reyman (France)
Mr Hadžiahmetović (Bosnia and Herzegovina)
Mr Schneider (France)
Mr Mirzazada (Azerbaijan)
Mr Gülçiçek (Turkey)
Mr Geghamyan (Armenia)
Ms Hoffmann (Germany)
Mr Banac (Croatia)
Ms Vermot-Mangold (Switzerland)
Mr Sánchez Carreno (Observer from Mexico)
Mr Stuligrosz (Poland)
Mr Lindblad (Sweden)
Mr Gubert (Italy)
Mr van Thijn (Netherlands)
Ms Bacon (Observer from Canada)
Mr Wilkinson (United Kingdom)

*Amendments Nos. 1 to 4, 8 and 5 to 7 adopted
Draft resolution contained in Document 10453, as amended, adopted*

7. Date, time and order of the day of the next sitting