

Committed to Making a Difference

Racism, antisemitism, xenophobia, and intolerance and
their impact on young people in Europe

SYMPOSIUM REPORT

Ingrid Ramberg

European Youth Centre, Strasbourg
26-30 October 2005

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Foreword

IT WAS INDEED an overwhelming experience to meet and listen to the 120 participants who had gathered to infuse their energy and experience into the 2006–7 version of the All Different – All Equal Campaign.

‘Overwhelming’ because of the many urgent and serious needs the Campaign has to meet; overwhelming, also, because of the strength and self-esteem of the participants. They had come to share not only their problems, but also their pride in being who they are.

Viewed in this way, the widening of the scope of dimensions taken into account in the new Campaign (from Racism, Antisemitism, Xenophobia and Intolerance to include also Romaphobia, Islamophobia, Homophobia and Disablism) conveys two important messages. One is about the multitude of phenomena to be fought against, serious problems to which no individual or society has the right to close its eyes. But if this is clearly negative, the same long list also contains a positive message about an increased, lived diversity. The inclusion of new forms of discrimination does not mean that they are by necessity new to those hit or hurt by them. ‘New’, instead, means that the rights of formerly invisible groups are slowly becoming recognised.

The self-confidence among people in different living conditions and of different backgrounds to speak for themselves and to claim their undisputable right to be what they are and to be respected for that, has increased

in many parts of Europe over the last decade. In some areas this has coincided with positive changes in legislation and/or attitudes; in others it has occurred in spite of harsher attitudes and a more discriminatory legislation. To the Symposium as well as for the future of the Campaign, this lived diversity is an asset of major importance in that all participants were also contributors to the working process on equal terms.

Here I believe tribute should also be paid to the working processes of the Symposium and of the European Youth Centres in general. The significance attributed to dialogue, both through the development of communication methods and (of) educational materials, as well as the facilitating of direct interaction between young people, is of vital importance to the outcome of the All Different – All Equal Campaign.

The Symposium took place in Strasbourg, France, at around the same time that urban violence broke out in many French suburbs. While the report was still being prepared, the position of young people in the French labour market was another issue to top the news. What is striking, and highly relevant to the cause of the Campaign, is the tendency to interpret the unruly suburbs as a problem caused by “them / the others / the non-belongers” who should be duly taught a lesson, whereas the situation of young people looking for a steady job is interpreted as a shared problem, demanding solidarity and demonstrations.

What the Campaign aims at is to break away from this dead-end-street division between issues concerning either “us” or “them”. Problems that we close our eyes to, as being none of our business, have a tendency to grow before they eventually land on top of our own heads. In the end, there is nothing beyond one, big inclusive “us”. To this end the Symposium was a good starting point. All different, but not indifferent!

Ingrid Ramberg
General Rapporteur

The Difference that Matters

Conclusions of the General Rapporteur

FROM 26TH TO 30TH OCTOBER 2005, the European Youth Centres in Budapest and Strasbourg organised a symposium in Strasbourg under the heading 'All different – All equal'. The symposium, part of the Human Rights Education Youth Programme 2005, celebrated the 10th anniversary of the European Youth Campaign against racism, antisemitism, xenophobia and intolerance by marking its continuation and restart. The present campaign has been approved by the Summit of the Council of Europe and by the Youth Summit held in Warsaw in May 2005.

The aim of the European Campaign, with its three keywords Diversity, Human Rights and Participation, is to encourage and enable young people to participate in building peaceful societies based on diversity and inclusion, in a spirit of respect, tolerance and mutual understanding.

The links with the 1995 Campaign are definite and strong and they go far beyond just sharing the same slogan, All different – All equal. The problems of discrimination and intolerance addressed in 1995 remain as acute as they were ten years back. Social, political and technological change has opened the way for improvement in some areas, but also for an aggravated situation in many others. Today there are forms and manifestations of discrimination that were less acute or visible a decade ago. Parallel to this, however, on the positive side, there are also new

means available for the fight against discrimination and intolerance. The new Campaign is therefore characterised by both continuity and change. One important feature of the new Campaign is that it does not limit itself to focusing only a few selected dimensions of discrimination. Contemporary society, with its complex, multifaceted web of interacting relations needs a response that corresponds with preconditions that include, for instance, multiple discrimination or discrimination that changes arguments according to how the wind blows.

The partners organising this Campaign are the Council of Europe, mainly the Directorate of Youth and Sport (DYS), the European Youth Forum and the European Commission. Its activities will be undertaken mainly by young people in partnership with public authorities. The target group of the Campaign is the civil society, both at European and national levels. The Campaign should reach out to as many young people in Europe as possible, with a particular focus on those who are victims of discrimination, and in particular through activities involving schools.

The main activities of the Campaign will take place between June 2006 and September 2007.

The Symposium in the planning process

The role of the Symposium in the planning process is a very prominent one. Four intense days in Strasbourg constituted an opportunity to exchange and make proposals to develop the campaign in a spirit of creativity and cooperation, at a stage when the Campaign was actually being given its shape and form.

A European Steering Group, comprising essentially members of the Joint Council on Youth and the European Youth Forum, has been established to oversee the implementation of the Campaign. Still, the analysis of experiences and needs as well as the discussion of priorities was

a key component of the symposium. To serve this purpose the aim of the symposium was:

1 – to analyse and exchange ideas on the realities of racism, antisemitism, romaphobia/anti-gypsyism, islamophobia, homophobia, xenophobia, disablism, globalisation, terrorism, nationalism and fascism

- ♦ to see how they affect young people;
- ♦ to consider the results, weaknesses, strengths and follow-up of the campaign 10 years after;
- ♦ to develop a common understanding of the challenges and priorities for youth action in the field of anti-racism and intercultural learning;
- ♦ to celebrate actions and achievements of European youth activities resulting from the campaign.

2 – to plan and develop the key concepts and contents for the new ‘All different – All equal’ campaign

- ♦ to prepare the main European elements and core objectives and issues of the campaign;
- ♦ to develop a programme of European activities for the campaign and to initiate its preparation;
- ♦ to make proposals for activities and approaches to be developed at national level;
- ♦ to discuss and define the structural, administrative, financial and management conditions for the preparation and implementation of the campaign;
- ♦ to bring together and mobilise people with experience in the campaign issues and national/European networks and institutions interested in the European campaign. (Source: Information and application form).

This report contains the symposium’s input, compiled and given by various experts, by members and representatives from different organisations, as well as by civil servants and researchers. It contains both individual presentations and the outcome of working group discussions that

took place during the Symposium. The proceedings of the second phase of the working process, namely the outcome of the work of the 'production units' has already been presented in a separate report that has been forwarded to the Joint Council and to the European Steering Group of the Campaign ('*The struggle goes on ...*' DJS/EYCB/HRE-RAXI/2005/084).

120 participants from 41 countries

The symposium brought together a total of 120 participants from 41 countries, consisting of representatives of non-governmental organisations and institutions, including youth organisations, and of governmental representatives involved in youth policy who are concerned with the campaign issues, and who intend to be involved in the campaign at national or European levels, in particular:

- ♦ members of already established national campaign committees;
- ♦ European organisations involved in or resulting from the 1995 campaign;
- ♦ initiators or members of potential national committees;
- ♦ activists and experts in NGOs with a strong background in campaigning on the issues of the campaign;
- ♦ European/international NGOs active in the human rights field or antiracism work who are interested in contributing to the campaign.

The institutional background

The First Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Council of Europe, held in Vienna in 1993, decided on a plan of action to fight racism, antisemitism, xenophobia and intolerance. This decision reflected the concern that European cooperation and integration could not succeed without a commitment to human rights and democracy, without respect for the rights of minorities or without a

refusal to the manifestations of racism, xenophobia, anti-semitism and intolerance.

One outcome of the Vienna Declaration and action plan was the launching of “a broad European Youth Campaign to mobilise the public in favour of a tolerant society based on the equal dignity of all its members and against manifestations of racism, xenophobia, anti-semitism and intolerance.”

The ‘All different – All equal’ campaign, as it became better known, was run mostly in 1995, based on the work of national campaign committees in the member states, supported by a European Steering Committee. The campaign had several European highlights that culminated in the European Youth Trains and in the European Youth Week, organised in Strasbourg in 1995. In addition to the invaluable work of the national campaign committees at national and local level, the campaign sought to achieve an impact at local level, through pilot projects and activities focusing on exchanges of experience and practices.

The *Education Pack ‘All different - All equal’* and *‘Domino’ – a manual to use peer group education as a means to fight racism, xenophobia, antisemitism and intolerance* – were the two main tools for intercultural and anti-racist education. Ten years after, both remain fully relevant and widely used across Europe.

Involving young people from minorities and youth organisations working closely with minority groups was one of the permanent concerns of the campaign; a series of training courses for minority youth leaders and youth workers was organised to this end. In the long-term, these courses led to the creation of European minority youth organisations and networks that remain active today.

The point of departure for the launching of the new Campaign benefits very substantially from the legacy of the 1995 Campaign. There is a collective memory to follow, there is a good mix of continuity and change among individuals, and there are new partners and networks that came into being as a result of the last campaign. There

are educational materials and methodologies already available and there is the philosophical and pedagogical basis represented by the Human Rights Education Youth Programme. Within the framework of Human Rights education all the different, simultaneous and multidimensional forms of exclusion, be they ethnic, territorial, spiritual, societal, physical or economic, can be tackled without the result of further disintegration. This very basic interpretation is also what lies at the heart of the statement of the ‘All different – All equal’ slogan: All human beings are different as to their individuality, their talents, their gifts and their potential. At the same time they are all equal in dignity, before the law as citizens, and with regard to their rights as enshrined in the International Bill of Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights.

In her introduction to the work done so far, Ms Anca Sirbu from the European Steering Group summarised as follows: We need an antiracist campaign, because it is inclusive of all groups of young people hit by discrimination; we need a Human Rights campaign, because it is based on the respect of human dignity and because it calls on public authorities, the media and the population at large to stand up and support it; we need a participation campaign because it promotes a fair and just policy for and with young people as a result of social co-production between civil society and public authority.

The Human Rights Education framework

The Human Rights Education Youth Programme was launched in 2000 by the Directorate of Youth and Sport with the principal aim of mainstreaming human rights education into youth work practice; it has been running ever since. The programme seeks to capitalise on the experiences of the campaign, notably by placing an emphasis on the role of national partners to act as multipliers, and in supporting them by providing educational resources and support for pilot projects.

'Compass, the manual of human rights education with young people' is central to the programme. Its translation and availability in different languages secures an experiential and easy to use approach that places the young person at the centre of the learning, in the best traditions of non-formal education where most youth work is based. It also ensures wide application in Council of Europe member states with its connected training courses and pilot projects.

The broad definition of human rights education adopted by the programme – educational programmes and activities that focus on promoting equality in human dignity in conjunction with other programmes, such as intercultural learning and participation of minority youth – is a recognition of the need to promote equality in dignity while recognising the fundamental need to respect diversity and address inequalities resulting from structural forms of discrimination and prejudice that affect many young people and put at risk the cohesion of societies.

The Human Rights Education Youth Programme places discrimination and xenophobia among the most common forms of violations of fundamental human rights in Europe today. The organisation of the symposium in the framework of this programme follows on from the previous work undertaken with the Long Term Training Course Diversity and Cohesion, the activities on Islamophobia and the training of Roma youth leaders and activists.

To fight systematic oppression systematically

It is a strength of the new campaign that it has chosen to include, confront and counteract all forms of Human Rights violations, thus addressing a wide number of manifestations. In today's world where different forms of discrimination interact with and reinforce one another, it is not always easy to tell whether it is, for example, religion,

immigrant background, or socioeconomic factors that causes the marginalisation of a certain group in a certain situation. The simple recognising of the Human Rights of X (individual or group) being violated, needs to precede the analysis of causes. To say this does not, however, imply that the deep understanding of the process should be of less interest. On the contrary: in order to be successful in the fight against discrimination and prejudices a thorough analysis of the situation in question is a prerequisite. This was made crystal clear in the presentations of both Ms Daniela Berti and Ms Svetlana Rubashkina, in which they focused on different dimensions of social campaigning.

A shared experience from the working group discussions is the persistence of the phenomena addressed ten years ago. They may have acquired new forms, manifestations and dimensions, but they all remain important problems to tackle. At the bottom of all manifestations of discrimination, regardless of how we choose to label them, there is a lack of respect – for other human beings and for diversity – and an unwillingness to see oneself in the other – as the other. Below follow some of the key points stressed by the different working groups:

- ♦ *Racism* has changed in that it has acquired more subtle forms, building on a variety of alleged differences. At the same time it is also expressed more openly and bluntly.
- ♦ *Antisemitism* is not something related to history and the Shoah only; it is not something that can be excused with reference to the situation in the Middle East. It is very present and needs attention today.
- ♦ *Romaphobia* and anti-gypsyism are a long story of discrimination, racism and exclusion at all levels, of marginalisation and scapegoating. The fact that these problems exist on a pan-European level, as Roma are arguably the largest ethnic minority in Europe, only make the need to act much stronger.

- ♦ *Islamophobia*. The fact that Islam as an integral part of European history is very often neglected. There is also persisting confusion between Islam, Muslims and Terrorism.
- ♦ *Homophobia*. Within the last ten years there have been obvious developments in terms of the rights of LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender) people. Still, when it comes to different country realities, one can find many disparities and problems including violence, hate-speech and other forms of discrimination.
- ♦ *Xenophobia* is manifested through inaccurate use of terminology, e.g. mixing up the concepts of asylum seekers, refugees, migrants and immigrants. It is also visible in the shape of scapegoating: holding foreigners responsible for social difficulties.
- ♦ *Disablism*. Discrimination against people with disabilities is not a matter of individual incidents. It is of a systematic nature and needs to be counteracted accordingly.
- ♦ *Globalisation* is paradoxical in the way it offers a free flow of finances, goods and services across international borders, but restricts the free migration of people. It can contribute positively to the lives of young people in Europe, providing an open and inclusive society.
- ♦ *Terrorism* comforts and strengthens existing stereotyping, prejudice and phobias; it does not really create them but makes it more difficult to work with them. There is a perception of 'internalisation of fear', at some moments leading to states close to 'collective paranoia'.
- ♦ *Nationalism* and *Fascism*. Nationalistic arguments have again become mainstream in political discourse

(which is more accepted by society). It represents a threat to cohesion if very young people are socialized in authoritarian, violent and nationalistic discourse.

An overview of all the group reports shows both resemblances and divergences. In some areas problems have deepened and become more complex, such as with the association of Muslims with terrorism. In other areas improvement may be noted, such as with the legal recognition of homosexual couples in several countries. The exchange of experiences, ideas and views between the different working groups shows this dynamic of change: that there is always hope, but never a situation secure enough to let us remain passive.

The multifaceted focus also serves as an important reminder of the systematic nature of discrimination, whatever the kind. Screening the whole picture helps argue against any attempt to reduce discrimination to individual shortcomings or unintended ‘accidents’. Even if these kinds of excuses should happen to be true on the side of the wrongdoer, it does not diminish the pain of the victim. The new word that was coined by the working group on disablism can serve as a living example of the need to see things in context, not as isolated incidents.

In relation to the wide scope of the Campaign, the role of Human Rights Education cannot be overestimated. With its systematic focus on equality in dignity and respect for diversity it constitutes a solid platform for all further analysis and action.

In living memory

When declaring the Symposium open, Mr Ralf-René Weingärtner, started by sharing with the participants the origin of his own personal engagement in Human Rights issues. One generation back, his father’s political fight against fascism brought him to a concentration camp.

“As a young man”, said Mr Weingärtner, “I could never rebel against my father, because I always admired what he fought for and represented. To fight evil has remained my main dedication. I see this campaign as a contribution to this fight.”

“People who do not know their history can not learn for their future”, said Mr Rui Gomes as he invited the Symposium to share some of their experiences from the 1995 Campaign. “I invite you to look back”, he continued, “not for a retrospect as such, but in order to look at the relevance of earlier experiences. In what way are they still important? From there we can move on to the second step and ask ourselves: ‘What should be done?’ “

One plenary session, a round table discussion about experiences chaired by Ms Antje Rothmund, was specifically devoted to the different memories and life stories of three people who were active during the 1995 Campaign. Many participants were active in the campaign ten years ago, but the majority of participants, however, did not take part in the ‘All different – All equal campaign’ of 1995. Why? This is what some of them answered:

Ten years ago times were very different. The collapse of the Soviet Union was only a few years back, and there was a war going on in Azerbaijan. I did not know of any campaign then.

Ten years ago I was a young scout. I don’t remember any activities but I do remember the badges and the slogan of the campaign.

Ten years ago I was facing a fake execution.

Ten years ago I was only eleven, I was a schoolgirl and I didn’t know anything about what was going on in the Council of Europe.

Ten years ago I was still at school in China.

A reason for asking people for this kind of personal reflection is that it can be one way to start thinking about target groups and on how to reach them. What was it that caught your interest? Why did you or did you not become involved? Questions like these link back to the examples of Ms Svetlana Rubashkina, on how to attract interest and attention.

When we speak of ten years in relation to youth work it is quite a long time, two or three generations. Still, for the new European Youth Campaign, there are both experienced people around to secure continuity, and new people around to open up for change. Both these groups are needed; between them experience and new ideas can be exchanged in a very fruitful way.

Not only can individuals remember, but institutions too, at least in some sense of the word. What, then, of the Council of Europe itself? Mr Peter Lauritzen raised an important topic when he urged all participants to come up with what he labelled “campaign products at the European level”. With this plea he asked for more than just an institutional archive. He asked for the means for the institution as such to deepen its knowledge, and, in short, to develop and become ever more competent as an institution.

For the new campaign, what can be learned from the experiences of 1995? Rui Gomes gave some input from the evaluation report ‘The struggle must continue’, or, as he asked rhetorically, is it ‘Never again ...’? The campaign was a huge mobilisation, with 2000 activities in 35 countries, to single out just one figure. It was also a huge mobilisation of knowledge and experience. It was a campaign characterised by great diversity, much of which was necessary, unproblematic and also intrinsic to the whole idea. Some things, however, were more challenging: among these was the (in)consistency between European campaign and actions of governments that took place during the same period, and the sometimes insufficient consideration of human rights issues.

All different – not indifferent

When summarising his keynote speech on racism in Europe, Mr Bashy Quraishy underlined how badly the participation of youth is needed. Young people bear the responsibility for the future! “My generation”, Mr Quraishy said, “has been fed with words for thirty years, words only. Now the time for action has come.”

But how do you make young people make a move? What is it that reaches young people? What triggers them? Not surprisingly, the answers from participants to the question, “where do you expect to be in ten years time?”, showed great variety, and great engagement in many different directions.

If I am still a teacher in ten years time, I very much hope that the Council of Europe and this campaign will continue to produce good education material.

I think I will still be involved in voluntary work in ten years. But I will be older and young people will be less interested in having contact with me.

I am positive that I will still be in this field ten years from now. I have had such a good introduction to the Council of Europe Youth work. It became like an addiction to stay in touch, and to go on working and learning.

In ten years time I hope we will all have more awareness. I wish that everybody could be more aware of each other and that we should have more of a common language.

I hope that the institutions running this campaign will show responsibility in ensuring the follow-up to the campaign, and use the newly created networks

‘All different – not indifferent’ was at one stage during the

preparation process the proposed new name for the new campaign. Even if the title eventually changed, it is still an issue worthy of some reflection. For one thing there is the difference between acts and omissions, as the late Dr Martin Luther King said when he described the ultimate tragedy not being the brutality of the bad people, but the silence of the good people.

Mr Peter Lauritzen, whose input served to give an overview of the whole of the Campaign, its origin and development this far, opened his presentation with a quote from a novel, saying “This is my target person”. A person who is not waiting for the campaign, but has to be won for it ... It is probably very wise to have a discussion on how to attract the many that remain passive towards the work and aim of the Campaign, without being necessarily hostile to it.

Resistance without a face

In her keynote speech, Ms Alana Lentin took the opportunity to challenge a commonly held view: “We tend to limit racism to psychology: thinking and talking about the odd few bad apples”, she started. “But what I want to draw your attention to is state racism, institutionalised racism. Our belief that we live in a colour-blind society makes us unable to see the existing racism and discrimination, the paradox of the state that is at one and the same time giving and taking, being both racist and anti-racist.”

The topic of institutionalised racism, of institutionalised discrimination is a topic of great relevance to the Campaign, both because it has such big impact, and because it is so difficult to identify and fight an enemy that has no face. Still, it remains the case that many people struggle on a daily basis with different forms of vague and plastic resistance, in situations where there is no-one to hold personally responsible.

Even argumentation seems to adopt the same plastic shape. Mr Bashy Quraishy talked about an ongoing proc-

ess of demonizing that is not just about Black and White. “Race and ethnicity arguments”, he said, “have been replaced by the presence of cultures, civilisations and religions from outside Europe.”

“Having said that”, Mr Quraishi continued, “it is also worth remembering that those forces that have set this agenda in motion are not ignorant, stupid or even evil. They know that to uphold a ‘Fortress Europe’, one cannot play the race card as they once did. That is why the threat from a coloured immigrant has been redefined as the threat of the bogus asylum seeker, an economic refugee, a culturally backward immigrant and of course, the Islamic terrorist who hates the Western way of life and wants to destroy it.”

What is needed?

With all the above said, what were the important shared points of departure during this symposium?

- ♦ Firstly: *There is need for action.* Racism and discrimination do not belong to the past. This was a very clear message in the presentation of Ms Alana Lentin. On the last day of the Symposium all participants shared one minute’s silence in remembrance of those who suffered in the fire at the detention centre at Schiphol airport, and the victims of Europe’s inhuman and non-functional laws on matters of immigration.
- ♦ Secondly: *There is need for active involvement.* The role of volunteers cannot be overestimated. This was something Mr Bashy Quraishy took up in his speech. He also underlined the need to address non-organised youth, ordinary young people. Furthermore, he spoke about the very strong, and very harmful tendency to reduce individuals to become instead the presumed representatives of groups. Many categories that are brought forward in public debate do not have their

connection in real life: there is no uniform Muslim culture, to pick one example.

- ♦ Thirdly: *Live what you preach – a plea for consistency*. This is a message directed both to the campaign itself, but also to institutional partners and sponsors or donors. Throughout the discussions there were many references to Ms Alana Lentin's picture of the dual face of states, practising both anti-racism and racism simultaneously.
- ♦ Fourthly: *Take into account new conditions for acting and communicating*. The Internet and SMS are both essential means of communication, and they are part of the life style of young people. They must be used. Other assets in the 'Toolkit' of the new campaign are the publications of the Council of Europe itself. With *Compass* (and *Domino*, and the *Education Pack*) already at hand, everybody involved has very substantial means to start working with and to refer to for support. We should also not let go of the successful visible identification of the 1995 campaign. People that were ten at the time still remember the badges!

TO SUM UP these points: There are many achievements, and a lot of experience to draw on, as is said in the final declaration from the 7th conference of European Ministers responsible for Youth (held in September 2005 in Budapest), where the ministers encouraged the Council of Europe to actively support this campaign.

A shared view for joint action

When joining forces to start acting, it is essential that all involved can understand and embrace the same view on both which values should be promoted, and how. Despite having very different backgrounds, lives and working

conditions, the participants spoke unanimously about the following points, vital for a successful continuation of this undertaking, and to bring the new 'All different – All equal' Campaign into being. As Mr Renaldas Vaisbrodas said, "This campaign is about giving access to everyone to the society that belongs to its citizens."

We all share a multifaceted cultural heritage. The different components of this heritage should be acknowledged and mainstreamed, not forgotten or denied, as is the case with, for instance, Islam in Europe.

We need to resist simple labelling, resist putting people in easily and carelessly defined boxes. "Language has been, is and will always remain a very important tool in defining ourselves and how we interact with each other", it says in the handout '74 ways of upsetting a disabled person', by Simon Stevens. Likewise, Mr Giuseppe Porcaro from the Joint Council on Youth, defended what he called a "culture of connection" rather than seeing the world fragmented and divided in blocks.

We all have multiple identities. Many groups draw attention to the consequences of reducing people's identity. We cannot approve of a social system where you must fit into pre-set categories, or a society that cannot, or will not, differentiate between concepts such as Islam, Muslims and Terrorism. We cannot tolerate that young people (or anybody else) should fear to express their identity because of antisemitism, islamophobia, homophobia or other phobias. The result of this may actually be that young people take on guilt for being who they are.

The persistence of a climate of fear and suspicion has a particular relevance to the discussions on terrorism. The guidelines of the Council of Europe on human rights and the fight against terrorism state clearly that terrorism must be fought in the full respect of Human Rights. The campaign, we believe, is a tool against the effects and consequences of terrorism on our societies.

Human rights and human rights education is the common ground on which this campaign should grow. They

are the most important and the most valuable assets that we have. In the whole process of the campaign education plays an absolutely central role: Education about, through and for Human Rights. In parallel to this philosophy, young people are at one and the same time the agents and the target group of the campaign. For this reason, great effort needs to be put into reaching out to young people who are not here today.

Opening of the Symposium

Mr Ralf-René Weingärtner,

Director of Youth and Sport of the Council of Europe

I AM HAPPY to see so many of you here because we count on you and your active participation. This symposium is not only a celebration of the 1995 campaign; it is also the kick-off for a new campaign. It is not, however, a launching event but a kick-off in the sense that you are here to define the main objectives, to discuss the implementation and to set the agenda.

Ten years ago most of you were too young to be involved in the campaign. I, on the other hand, was already too old then, and I was also in a different field of work. But I do have a special and personal motivation to be involved. The core values that the campaign will work with have a special relation to my family history. My father was in a concentration camp during the war; he was there for political reasons, for having fought fascism. As a young man, I could never rebel against my father because I always admired what he fought for and represented.

To fight evil has remained my main dedication. I see this campaign as a contribution to this fight. I also believe that it can be successful. It is a campaign worth being enthusiastic about. When talking about this issue, I cannot separate brain from heart. It might not be a very elegant speech, but it is a very honest one.

One might ask if there is really anything to celebrate. What can we leave as a heritage to this first decade of the third millennium? Universal rights are still under threat and Europe is becoming more and more self-centred. In

reaction to this development we often hear comments such as, “Well, there might be some discrimination, but ...” It is precisely this “but” which is one of the things that we need to fight. “But” means the first compromise and this we need to combat.

Still, we also do have a lot of positive development to really celebrate. We have the war criminals that are being brought to court. We have the European Union, which now comprises 25 member states. We have the Council of Europe, which has become a truly pan-European organisation. We have the work of the ECRI (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance) and we have new directives against discrimination. I believe that there is a lot of sustainability in this development.

This Symposium presents a good opportunity for all of you to fly the flag, and to commit yourselves. If you can be clear about what you want to do and what you want to achieve, then you can also ask for the support needed to ensure this campaign is a success.

Racism, Antisemitism, Xenophobia and Intolerance Today

Ms Alana Lentin

Researcher

OVER TEN YEARS ago my friend Yael Ohana and I, for what must have seemed like very good reasons at the time, had an idea for the European Youth Campaign against racism: a lorry that would travel around Europe carrying the campaign's message to the people. Strangely and through a process that we have yet to fathom, this idea was transformed into the European Youth Train event: six trains originating from six points throughout Europe carrying some 800 participants on an anti-racist voyage ending here in Strasbourg in July 1995.

This Symposium celebrates and analyses the effects of the Campaign ten years on. It also sows the seeds for a future campaign which recognises that, despite our best efforts as idealistic twenty-somethings, racism is still around and available at a police station, school, university, employment office, night club, airport, prison or detention centre near you.

Working on the Campaign has had an indelible effect on my life ever since. My decision to study anti-racism, which led to my book on the subject, is directly linked to the lessons I learned from the Campaign.

My experience led me to ask what a campaign against racism really means. I wanted to question how states that both actively and unwittingly practise racism can also participate in calling for an end to racist discrimination. There was an apparent contradiction there which I needed to uncover.

I was asked to come here today to speak about the ways in which racism and anti-racism have changed since the first campaign ten years ago. Depending on which way you look at it, I have either some good news or some bad news.

In fact, racism has not changed very much. The experience of racism for many people all over the world is still both brutal and banal: brutal in its shocking injustice; banal in the everyday, almost predictable way it shapes people's lives.

I think what *has* changed over the last ten years is the blatancy with which Western states now practise racist discrimination. Let me say something about how I think that has come about before talking about how racism manifests itself today, and what anti-racists can try to do about it.

In Europe after the Shoah, those in power set about denying the idea that human beings could be divided into superior and inferior racial groups. That notion was rightly seen as being behind the extermination of millions of Jews, Roma, homosexuals and non-white people in the 1940s in the name of 'racial purity'.

Racist ideas embedded in the political culture

What Western states refused to accept is the extent to which these racist ideas are embedded in the political culture of the West. Racial superiority was not invented by Hitler. It is, as the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman has said, a fundamental feature of modernity. 'Race' was first theorised in 1684 by the Frenchman Francois Bernier. By the so-called 'Golden Age of Racism', at the end of 19th century, the UK Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, was able to say 'Race is all. There is no other truth.'

Colonialism, imperialism, slavery, genocide as well as modern-day immigration policies were made possible because racist and nationalist ideologies combined to sus-

tain the idea that the West has a natural right to dominate 'the rest'.

In the aftermath of the Shoah, how 'natural' this right is has of course been denied. It is almost impossible to talk about 'races' because we all agree that there is only one race: the human one. To say anything else is tantamount to being a neo-Nazi, and a racist fanatic.

But this is the precise problem that we are faced with today: because we have been so successful in banishing 'race' to the madhouse of ideas, it has become impossible to deal with the fact that *state* racism has not gone away. We tend to think of racism as a sort of psychological problem: a frustrated reaction to poverty or the result of the ignorance of a few 'bad eggs'.

This attitude is exactly what enables governments to fund anti-racist or multiculturalist activities (or participate in European youth campaigns) *while at the same time* promoting actively racist policies.

The American theorist of 'race', David Goldberg, explains that we are today living in an age of 'racelessness'. This means that governments and institutions (such as schools and workplaces) promote the idea that we live in a colour-blind world where the colour of one's skin, one's religion, ethnic or national background does not matter: we are all just human beings.

This is a commendable idea in itself. But it means that when people *are* actually discriminated against because of their colour, religion or ethnicity, we do not call it racism because, after all, 'race' does not exist.

It is useful to recall Frantz Fanon who taught us that it is not 'race' that is real but the lived-experience of racism that is. And it is for this unfortunate reason alone that we cannot just ignore difference: discriminating against certain people for the simple fact that they are different to us is still as unjust whether we name those differences 'race' or anything else.

A paradox in need of questioning

Ten years after the first campaign, Europe is still as much concerned with racism as it was then. But the last decade has also seen the development of an international politics that has firmly institutionalised the idea that Western states are non-racist.

The peace-keeping missions in various conflict torn societies, the intervention into Kosovo and even the war in Iraq have been portrayed as humanitarian operations, carried out for the good of local people. At the domestic level, governments have been able to completely separate the stringent policies of control that target migrants, asylum seekers and minorities. and those policies that seek to enhance integration and encourage diversity.

In other words, we are told that strictly controlling immigration will bring about the fairer treatment of so-called 'real' refugees or legal migrant workers. In the same line, we are told that policing Muslim communities for suspected terrorists will enable the Muslim community *itself* to feel that it is being protected from its 'enemies within'. Anti-racists need to question this paradox. We need to ask ourselves what it means for a government to fund a campaign about racism in the workplace, for example, while at the same time tacitly enabling a system in which neighbourhoods with high numbers of ethnic minorities often have the worst educational facilities, resulting in low paid work or unemployment.

We also should ask what a government's intention is when it establishes dialogue with the Muslim community and at the same time holds young Muslim men *without charge* on suspicion of terrorism for up to three months, as could soon be the case in the UK.

Today, personal security has been put so high on the agenda that we are being told that it is reasonable and acceptable to discriminate for our own good, or in the interests of national security. We are also asked to believe

that this is all right if it is balanced by better policies of 'integration'. I think it is now important to ask what it means to demand that immigrants and minorities integrate into societies that see them as potential threats to their people's security.

I WOULD NOW like to talk about what I see as being the main challenges set by racism today. Before doing so I would like to summarise the main points I have made so far so that we can see how the issues I have raised are relevant for the way we approach these challenges.

- ♦ Racism has not changed dramatically. It has always been about discriminating against others because of their difference.
- ♦ Racism, however, is different from other forms of discrimination because it is based on racialisation, that is making the difference of others integral to their character, or part of their essence. In theory, this can be changed only if the racialised conform to such a degree that their differences eventually disappear. In reality, racism still affects third and fourth generation descendents of immigrants who no longer speak their grandparents' language and have completely adopted the national way of life. So, we must ask ourselves whether the belief in the essential difference of others can ever be totally effaced.
- ♦ Racism is not an aberration from the normal practice of states. It is not just about the extremities of Nazism or fascism. It has become institutionalised in the political culture of the West. It therefore often takes on subtle, barely visible forms.
- ♦ Racism is, therefore, not only about individual prejudice or ignorance. The racism of individuals emerges from a culture of racism that is anyway present in so-

ciety and politics. In other words, it should not be surprising to hear individuals say that immigrants should be deported back to where they came from when this is indeed the practice of many governments today.

- ♦ States practice both racism *and* anti-racism. The governments of most western states increasingly want to divide between ‘good’ and ‘threatening’ minorities or ‘legal’ and ‘clandestine’ immigrants. They have proactive policies for the former and repressive policies for the latter.
- ♦ The concept of integration should be questioned when states demand that minorities conform to a pre-existing system in which the minorities themselves have not participated in building. It is doubtful whether we can achieve greater social cohesion if we do not have a truly open political system based on true equality of opportunity at all levels.

Keeping these points in mind, I would like now to focus on the two main challenges we face in terms of racism today.

Two main challenges

Although racism has not really changed profoundly, since the late 1990s it has become more acute, particularly in two main areas: immigration and security/terrorism. The two are also increasingly combined in both political discourse and policy-making and have direct effects on individuals’ lives.

The severity of control over immigrants and minorities today is made possible by convincing us that our personal security is at risk if measures are not taken to reduce the threat posed to us by outsiders. We are also reassured by being told that these policies only concern a small

dangerous element and that minorities themselves will be protected if it is weeded out.

What precisely is the nature of racism in these two areas today? It is impossible for me to go into historical detail and do justice to these complex subjects. Let me point out a few key issues.

Immigration

Since the introduction of immigration laws in the early 20th Century, the spectre of so-called ‘alien immigration’ has always been the trusted friend of politicians. It seems there is no easier way to win votes than to promise to protect society from outsiders who are coming to steal our jobs and overturn the traditional nature of our societies.

However, at least since the end of the Second World War, Western European states have relied on immigrant labour. As our populations grow richer and older, there will be a constantly growing need for migrants to work for us. Although governments know this and continue to enable labour migration, they continue to play the ‘immigration card’ because they believe that it is the best way to show that the national interest is the number one priority.

Also, since the end of World War II, Western states have engaged in opening their societies to displaced persons and refugees. This category of immigrant was, until recently, seen as being separate from migrant workers. In many countries, such as France, it was assumed that migrant workers – most of them men – would return to their countries after a few years. On the contrary, refugees would be allowed to settle in their countries of ‘safe haven’.

In the end, both groups of immigrants settled in their so-called ‘host countries’, raising families that make up the multicultural societies most of us live in today.

Since the 1990s, two parallel phenomena have been developing in European immigration politics.

On the one hand, there has been a crack down on asylum seekers based on an assumption that the majority of them are actually economic migrants ‘in disguise’. It has become harder and harder for asylum seekers to have their cases heard and be granted refugee status.

Since the late 1990s, detention centres have been built in most European countries. These were originally conceived as centres to house asylum seekers while their appeals for refugee status were being heard by the courts.

Today, they are often used as prisons for ‘clandestine’ immigrants picked up by the police or as holding pens for failed asylum seekers facing deportation to their countries of origin.

We must remember that detention centres are not new. They date back to the transit camps used by the Nazis and their allies to hold Jews and other ‘undesirables’ before transferring them to concentration and death camps.

Nevertheless, governments across Europe are introducing tougher laws on asylum. This is despite the fact that the last decade has seen an unprecedented amount of conflict in the developing world, which has created millions of refugees worldwide.

The policies of detention and deportation of both refused asylum seekers and ‘illegal immigrants’ contravene the Geneva Convention. However, governments have successfully used the argument of personal security to convince citizens that these violations of human rights are justifiable when foreigners try to trick the system.

More and more detention centres are being opened despite the growing number of suicides and violence, as well as the often appalling conditions in which detainees are housed. Deportations also continue although they involve violent treatment and may result in deportees being sent back to countries where they face torture, imprisonment or even death.

On the other hand, Western governments are revising their policies on labour migration. It has long been recognised that we need migrant labour. But our governments

want to find a way of controlling economic migration so that it does not lead to long-term immigration.

A new system known as ‘managed migration’ is being introduced in most of Western Europe. Migrants are divided into different categories: highly skilled workers, such as doctors, are allowed to immigrate as they can provide a valued service; lower skilled workers are permitted to enter the country only for the duration of their work contracts. Once these contracts are over they must return to their home countries. In Italy the duration of these contracts is 3 months, 6 months or one year. Under Italian law, each individual has the right to return a maximum of three times before being barred from re-entering the country.

Managed migration is bringing about more chaos than organisation. Many workers disappear after their contracts are over and become illegal, often ending up in the black economy at risk of detention and deportation. Many employers prefer to hire cheap illegal labour than pay the contributions that must be paid for a legal worker.

The result of both the clamp down on the asylum system and the introduction of managed migration is the criminalisation of immigrants. Everyone who is not deemed to be in the country legally is at risk of being arrested and expelled.

While European citizens are free to move around the Schengen area and settle where they see fit, non-white and East European migrants are faced with higher walls and fortified borders. Despite this, would-be migrants continue to try to get into Europe, many of them dying in the effort. The seas of Southern Italy and the desert of Morocco have become veritable graveyards for those who failed to make it on to dry land or over the fence.

Security/Terrorism

Since 11th September 2001, there has been a US-led clamp-down on terrorist activities and a growing emphasis on national security as the top political priority.

The idea that there is a Muslim-led conspiracy against the security of the West has entered into political consciousness. The actions of a few are blamed upon an entire culture. Islamophobia, which is not a new phenomenon in itself, has taken on unprecedented dimensions. The scapegoating of Muslims today follows a similar pattern to the language used to vilify Jews in the 19th and 20th centuries in Europe. Anti-terrorist measures are racialised because they single out the members of a specific religious group. It is implied that there is something within Islam and in the nature of Muslim people that makes them more likely to carry out attacks against civilians.

The 'War on Terror' is also based on the idea that there is a clash of civilizations, of West against East. The notion of civilization is very similar to that of 'race' because it assumes that civilizations are made up of one type of people who are inherently different to the members of another civilization.

Today, we are seeing the effects of these ideas upon our societies. It is increasingly common for Muslim citizens to be said to have a different way of life, which makes it impossible for them to integrate. More and more Muslims are being controlled under suspicion of being involved in terrorism, although often charges against them are dropped for lack of evidence. In the UK, for example, Muslim areas and mosques are often raided by the police. Hindus, Sikhs and other brown-skinned people have also been targeted as part of a general fear that people who 'look' Arab or Muslim pose a fundamental threat to our safety.

There is also a link made between immigration and security. Migrants from countries that are seen as posing a threat are stopped from applying for asylum. People from the Middle East and North Africa residing legally in European countries have been deported because they may pose a security risk. It has been made possible to take these measures because the idea of the clash of civilizations has been so successful. We do not appear to think that it is necessary to apply the same rule of law we use

for ourselves when it comes to our enemies. But our so-called enemies are often our fellow citizens whose ideas about life are not really that different to our own than is made out.

Conclusion

I have managed to paint quite a gloomy picture of challenges we face in fighting racism. Racism appears to be bolder now than it has been over the last half century. It is not only about far right-wing parties or ignorant hooligans. Racism has gained a new respect as a commonsense solution to pressing political problems. Of course we don't call it racism. We call it anti-terrorism or immigration policy.

Today I have focused mainly on the racism that has hit the headlines. But the racism that has been faced by minorities living in Europe for centuries has not gone away either. We continue to see young people facing worse educational opportunities, poorer employment prospects and a greater exposure to poverty and violence.

We cannot blame these problems on minorities' failure to integrate or a lack of intercultural learning. We have to gain a deeper understanding that would enable us to change society so that it is no longer based on such structural injustices. The more we live together, the deeper our understanding will be. We may then realise that although the differences between human beings cannot and should not be wiped out, the similarities between us are clearly there in front of us. In order to see them, we need to ignore the fear that we are told we must have of others. Once that fear is gone, the fiction upon which racism is based could just fall apart.

Racism in Europe; The NGO Perspective

Mr Bashy Quraishy,

President of ENAR (European Network Against Racism)

THANK YOU FOR inviting me to speak at your Symposium. I sincerely believe that at this very particular moment in the history of the European continent, the antiracist movement badly needs the help of youth who could and should help to combine grassroots activism with vigour, strength and new blood. Young people are the custodians of the future and on their shoulders rest the responsibility for the creation of a humane and inclusive Europe.

I have been asked to talk about racism, antisemitism, xenophobia and intolerance in Europe today and what the NGO's perspective on this issue is. I wish to add to this topic another issue, which in my opinion requires our urgent attention, namely the increasing Islamophobia in the West. I would also like to use this opportunity to go a bit further and include another topic which needs our attention: "What has the EU's own anti-discrimination policy achieved until now, and in which direction are we all heading?"

Since ENAR (European Network Against Racism) is the largest network of antiracist NGOs in the European Union, I would also like to elaborate on the aim and purpose of my organization and how it is helping to protect minorities in the European Union.

To do so, it is imperative that we look at the situation of racism and discrimination across this continent, which takes pride in calling itself humanist, tolerant and

democratic. An overview of the situation would help to put things in the right perspective. To do so would require that I am honest and straight forward, and that I bring to you the worries and difficulties which diverse ethnic and religious groups are experiencing nowadays. You may not agree with my assessments but please, let it be the basis of our dialogue.

As far as racism in Europe is concerned, we are definitely heading in the wrong direction. This is even more alarming when it comes to the treatment of non-European minorities, especially those with Islamic background. On top of this, we are facing a revival in antisemitism, and more information is also surfacing regarding an age-old phenomenon, namely the exclusion of Roma people.

Whichever way one looks at the present European continent, one can hear, see and read a very frightening trend emerging in political, social, legal and public fields. To top it all, the media is playing a special role, not only in spreading prejudices but also fuelling the fire of racism with its irresponsible coverage focusing on group ethnicity, cultures, religions and traditions of minorities. Every individual of a non-European background is considered as a representative of its group.

An example is the use of the word 'Muslim' in front of or after an individual or a negative action, for example, Islamic terrorism, Islamic militant, a Muslim Turk or Moroccan or Muslim dress, etc. The list is long. And this rhetoric is ever escalating. Public opinion polls confirm the dire consequences of such mass hysteria and the significant shift in political trends. There are very few voices of reason being raised to counter this development.

EU and racism

Looking at racism in a wider historical context, we can see that from the 1957 Rome Treaty until the signing of Amsterdam Treaty of 1997, there was not a single word

in any agreement, treaty or directive concerning racial discrimination in the labour market, in social and health services, in housing, in education or violence against immigrants and refugees.

It was not until June 1997 that the Head of States in the EU gave in to the demands of NGOs and inserted an anti-discrimination clause, commonly known as Article 13, in the Amsterdam Treaty, thus paving the way for Anti-Discrimination Directives. That happened largely due to the efforts of some very committed Irish NGOs who in 1996 convinced their politicians that an anti-discrimination clause was a must in the treaty which was being drafted and which latter came to be known as the Amsterdam Treaty.

The result of this dramatic development was that for the first time, non-Europeans were to receive some legal protection – some justice for all the taxes they had paid, all the labour they had offered and all the injustices they had experienced in the many previous decades.

But what European systems gave with one hand, they are taking away with the other. Well, what does it mean? It simply means that while the EU is making efforts to curb racial discrimination, Europe is becoming safe haven for cultural and religious racism.

Once again, we see all over Europe, a process of demonizing taking hold, and one that is not just about 'black' and 'white'. Today it is not the colour of one's skin which is the main reference for discrimination. Even Swedish Skinheads, Danish Nazis, Italian Fascists and French Nationalists have toned down their insistence about a hierarchy of races and scientific racism. Now race and ethnicity arguments have been replaced by the presence of cultures, civilisations and religions from outside Europe.

Having said that, it is also worth remembering that those forces that have set this agenda in motion are not ignorant, stupid or even evil. They know that to uphold a 'Fortress Europe', one cannot play the race card as they

once did. That is why the threat from a coloured immigrant has been redefined as the threat of the bogus asylum seeker, an economic refugee, a culturally backward immigrant and, of course, the Islamic terrorist who hates the Western way of life and wants to destroy it.

The rising tides of Islamophobia and Antisemitism in Europe are clear signs that racism is taking a different course.

In many countries it is now an officially sanctioned, media advanced and publicly accepted reality. Unfortunately, anti-racist movements in Europe are not taking this shift in attitudes and practices seriously because they are not thinking about or looking at the bigger picture. They, or at least most of them, still hold firmly to the notion of arranging demonstrations, printing posters and shouting slogans. Not that there is any thing wrong with this old fashion antiracist work, but it is high time to restructure the battle plan because the emails, Internet and 24-hour TV have changed the rules of engagement.

A common European identity?

In the post war manufacturing of a European identity, there is no space for non-Anglo-Saxon values. In the repeated arguments of ‘The Clash of Civilisations’, it does not matter so much whether ethnic minorities look like the native Europeans, think like them and follow what they believe.

The bottom line is that the ‘Enemy’ has been identified and this is Muslim, the Islamic World and Islam. In old days, street shouts were “Paki, go home!” or “Niggers, go to Africa”. Today, one often hears, “Muslims, leave our Christian lands” or “Jews, go to Israel.”

Very few people in Europe question this simple discourse, which in fact is based on present day media suppositions as well as ignorance of the world history. The Western argument is simple: “Islamic countries en masse

have failed to conform to the Western political and economic agenda and thus the map must be re-arranged and democracy should be introduced by liberating the poor Muslim masses, by force if necessary”.

This line of thinking is successfully advanced by most politicians and the media by exploiting the events of 11th September, 2001. This way of reasoning helps to scare people, and justify even more restrictive asylum laws and laws against family reunion, against civil liberties and human rights.

Even if the new anti-terrorism laws are justified by provoking the name of Al-Qaeda, and in the process make every Muslim a potential enemy of the State, these laws are also going to suppress internal dissent, discredit political opponents and abuse the human rights of all citizens.

A truly frightening example of such policies is that at the end of January 2005, the British Home Minister, Charles Clarke, proposed some drastic anti-terrorism measures in Parliament which would give authorities the power to put people under unlimited house arrest, impose a time curfew on them, deny them the use of the Internet and telephone and use electronic tagging devices on the bodies of the suspected criminals to keep an eye on their movements. These measures can be undertaken on behalf of the Home Secretary and not by court order. Civil society in the UK has warned that the removal of civil rights and enormous police powers is turning the country into a fascist state.

Sadly, this negative trend does not fit well with the historical, cultural, social, political and until recently economic mindset of the majority of Europeans or with the spirit of a blessed continent, with a unique civilisation and democratic roots.

Unfortunately, behind the beautiful democratic face of Europe, hides another reality, and one which is ugly, racist and inhumane. In fact, EU leaders seem to be hell-bent on creating a United States of Europe, a white, Christian, economic giant, powerful enough to take on the USA and

Japan as well as China and India, both politically and financially.

It is in this Europe that nearly 23 million non-European, developing world people (mostly dark coloured and Muslim) live in poor housing conditions, do dirty and low paid jobs, and feel the arrows of racism every day. Respected politicians, experts, lawyers, priests and authorities are busy accusing immigrants and refugees of threatening European culture and social welfare. Europe is busy building new barricades around it, making it a 'Fort Europa'. If that was not enough, the political landscape has also changed dramatically.

Today most European countries have rightwing governments. This domination has been reinforced by 10 new member states from East and Central Europe, which have a very poor record as far as abuses of human rights and racism is concerned. The treatment of Roma people in these countries is well documented.

What now?

With this gloomy picture in sight, the ethnic minorities and the progressive forces are asking themselves, "What now? Would this changing political landscape in the EU, result in personal and multilevel oppression? Does this mean a further tightening of an already very restrictive family re-unions and asylum policy in the EU?"

The answers are on the immediate horizon. The new Europe is turning towards populism with full force. It appears that this right turn in political circles is not stopping at public debate forums but is also having civil and legal consequences as described earlier. Since such political observation may seem unfounded, it can be crosschecked by looking at some data.

Europeans prefer immigrants from other European countries. Another dire consequence of this non-stop focus on non-European minorities was discovered and

measured by an opinion poll carried out by the American Research Centre, PEW, on June 4th, 2003. The survey points out some very disturbing trends: 67% of Italians, 60% of Germans and 50% of the French did not want immigration from Africa, the Middle East or Eastern Europe. Only 47% of the British had the same opinion. In the East European countries, the survey found xenophobia to be much greater.

Most Europeans want stricter entry controls on foreigners. According to another opinion poll conducted by Euro-barometer for the European Commission (New Europe Magazine 14.03.04), 80% of EU citizens favoured stricter entry restrictions on foreigners from non-EU countries. At the same time, 56% of Europeans recognized the economic need for immigrants and 34% did not want to give equal rights to the legal immigrants.

The present socio-economic situation

In most EU-countries now, unemployment is between 6-12%, but among ethnic minorities, it is four or five times higher. In my own adopted country, Denmark, unemployment among large ethnic groups is over 50%. In some groups, such as Somalis, Iraqis, Palestinians and Roma people, it is nearly 90%.

Authorities and politicians are aware of the situation, but are afraid to initiate the necessary measures to solve the problem of this high unemployment among ethnic minorities. One explanation is that the politicians fear the reactions of their voters. This has led to a situation where the issue of immigration is, intentionally, included in every election campaign, media debate and even in Parliamentary discussions.

I fervently believe that this tactic is a political ploy, to avoid the painful restructuring of the job situation so that ethnic minorities can get a foothold in the labour market. The interesting aspect of the whole immigration

debate is that all European countries have, for a long time now, officially stopped letting migrant workers enter. Nevertheless, people who are actually asylum seekers or those who come through family reunions are cynically being presented as immigrants or, at worst, economic immigrants.

On the social level, many white Europeans are reluctant to have Ethnic Minorities as their neighbours, co-workers or have their children go to schools with a large ethnic percentage. The Ethnic Minorities are now viewed as a cultural, social and economic menace – a development which has been created largely by the mainstream political establishment through the media.

Legal status is under threat

In every EU country, the government is tightening asylum, visa and family reunion laws. Bad practices from one country are quickly copied in other countries under the banner, ‘If it is possible in Denmark, why not in Holland?’

Many EU countries are linking citizenship to good behaviour, pledges of loyalty, and the adoption of Western customs and culture. The French ban on the wearing of religious symbols in schools and government offices is now being debated in most European countries. Some are even considering following suit. An increasing wave of Antisemitism and Islamophobia is changing the way Europeans perceive Jews and Muslims in their societies. In this climate of mistrust one can rightfully ask, “Is the EU especially damaging for the Ethnic Minorities who live in Europe?”

Right now, it is difficult to answer. Only time will tell. But if history and experience is the key to understanding, then there is not much cause for optimism. Most EU countries have a history which no democratic or civilised society should be proud of. Most Ethnic Minorities in the

EU come from developing countries which do not have the political clout to protect their citizens within the EU. For the ethnic minorities, the writing on the wall is clear. It reads, “Those of you who want to live here – be prepared to live as second-class citizens, without equal rights and without equal opportunities; otherwise, pack your bags and leave. And those of you who are planning to come here – don’t try; stay where you are!”

Although there are a huge number of concrete examples available to illustrate the accelerating official trend, here are some examples of the tightening of the rope.

Most countries in the EU, such as Austria, Denmark, Holland, the UK, Germany and Spain have passed draconian laws in the last three or four years which require that foreigners must not only learn the native language but sit through tough exams which even local people would be unable to pass. Failure can result in an individual being unable to get permanent residence, or in some countries, being kicked out of the land.

The situation is even worse in eastern and central European countries where large linguistic minorities live. The Baltic states of Estonia and Latvia have denied citizenship to many people who could not master the national language because, under Soviet rule, they only spoke Russian. These people have lived all their lives in these countries.

This law is called ‘Integration Contract’ and is applicable to all foreigners who come to the country now. The laws do not apply to EU citizens, people who can prove a certain level of language proficiency or to those high-ranking professional who stay less than 2 years. The law also requires that foreigners entering some of these countries to live must produce a health certificate and undergo DNA and HIV tests.

The number of people asking for asylum from Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia has fallen drastically. The same trend is taking hold in Holland, the UK and many other EU countries. Besides the drop in asylum seekers,

the ratio of those who obtain refugee status in the EU has also dropped sharply. For example, in Denmark many new restrictions have been introduced with the result that in 2004, only 167 people out of nearly 3000 were granted asylum.

What is the EU doing to stop racism?

When it comes to fighting racism, we have to look at two different levels and approaches. Let's look first at the official response, and then the NGO activities.

In the past, key dates have marked the EU's genuine political commitment to combat racism and xenophobia, and highlighted the dynamic development of a coherent EU policy on these key issues.

- ♦ In 1995, the Commission published a communication on racism, xenophobia and Antisemitism.
- ♦ In 1996, the institutions adopted a joint action to combat racism and xenophobia.
- ♦ In 1997, the EU Monitoring Centre on Xenophobia and Racism (EUMC) was established following the European Year Against Racism.
- ♦ In 1998 the action plan against racism was adopted.
- ♦ In 1999, at the Tampere Summit, the European Council called "for the fight against racism and xenophobia to be stepped up."
- ♦ In 2000, two Equality Directives were adopted to fight discrimination.
- ♦ In 2001, a framework decision on combating racism and xenophobia was proposed, tackling the issue of racism as a crime.

On the surface, all these efforts should have made a significant dent in the wall of racism. The EU institutions, especially the Commission, have tried to persuade national governments not only to abide by the directives they have sent, but also to use the maximum standards to implement these.

Implementing a coherent European anti-discrimination policy is indeed a long-term project, and one that will need permanent corrective mechanisms to address in depth the root causes of prejudice and exclusion and ultimately to create a Europe where everyone enjoys equal rights.

The situation is so acute that the European Commission has taken legal steps against six member states – Austria, Germany, Finland, Greece, Belgium and Luxembourg – by suing in the Court of Justice. These states have failed to adopt two key EU anti-discrimination laws.

*The general public and governments
should be aware*

Civil society continues to draw the attention of the general public and governments to the fact that racism is on the rise. Racist and xenophobic crimes continue to be reported daily. In fact, political parties openly developing a political programme based on racist and xenophobic propaganda have even become members of a number of governments in Europe.

Right wing political parties are co-operating with each other across the EU. In December 2004, the UK's *Guardian* newspaper reported that the Belgian politician and leader of Vlaams Belang Party, Filip De Winter, had asked Austrian politician Jörg Haider to lead a united front of anti-immigrant European parties such as Austria's Freedom Party, France's National Front, Lega Nord from Italy and the Dutch New Right Party. De Winter also said that the purpose of this coalition would be to fight the 'Islamisation of Europe'.

International organisations are taking notice and raising their voices. That is where antiracist and humanist groups should increasingly set their focus if they wish to stop the march of the right. As mentioned before, we have also established an Intergroup on antiracism and diversity

in the EU Parliament, which will help to lobby politicians in the EU and in individual countries.

But all these actions are a drop in the ocean. We need a true people's movement. The ethnic minorities and the progressive anti-racist forces must join force. This co-operation must be above party politics, political ideologies and without any patronising arrogance.

We must work to build up Europe, a new Europe without prejudices, bubbling with a deeply felt openness. Europe can create peace and welfare for all, and an environment where ethnic minorities are not tolerated but respected as fellow human beings. Racism not only hurts minorities but it also eats the soul of the majority. It is like a boomerang: sooner or later it is going to hit all of us in the face.

The role of the Council of Europe

In the fight against all types of discrimination – day-to-day, institutional, cultural or increasingly religious – the Council of Europe has, over the years, sent many recommendations, guidelines and proposals. Some are formulated in general terms while others are more specific and issue-orientated. Seen from the perspective of victims of discrimination, these gestures are vital and helpful. After all, the Council of Europe in their eyes represents all European countries on a high level. For them, the Council's advice should be heard and followed.

But the reality is quite different from this. The Council of Europe's guidelines only have a moral authority, and each member state has the right to implement or ignore what the Council says. In this poisonous atmosphere of the rightwing political march and disregard for human rights, most politicians do not dare to go against the populist current. Thus, good initiatives by the Council of Europe remain without visible results. This is an inherent weakness.

I believe that the Council of Europe must put some punch behind its antiracist work with the following:

- ♦ Name and shame countries who do not respect human rights conventions and guidelines from the Council of Europe. Experience has shown that many West European governments are sensitive to a bad image.
- ♦ The Council of Europe should develop its contacts with antiracist NGOs in each country on a regular basis and not only every 5 years, when the ECRI writes its country reports.
- ♦ The Council of Europe can also ask NGOs to prepare Annual Reports in each country as to how the racism is being practised and what the government is doing to eradicate it.
- ♦ The Council of Europe should establish a permanent Committee with members from NGOs who can inform on a regular basis. At present, each government appoints its representatives as it wishes.
- ♦ The Council of Europe can establish a fund to which NGOs can apply for resources to carry out local projects. Many countries have removed all funding from NGOs so that no antiracist work is done on a professional basis. Countries such as Denmark and Holland are examples for this practice.
- ♦ Youth Organisations are very important in the fight against racism. Young people are idealist, energetic and the guardians of the future. Youth involvement is a must.
- ♦ The Council of Europe should establish a monitoring system which can keep an eye on the work being done in each country. This should be done on a regular basis.

I KNOW THAT these proposals need acceptance from higher authorities and member states before they can be put in place. But time is running out. There are forces on the European continent who stand in the way of humanism and solidarity. We have a choice to make: close our eyes and let history take its course with devastating results, or be visionaries and mould the events in the right direction. The Council of Europe too has to make a choice: either it becomes a tool for a positive change, or it remains on the sidelines.

Youth can play a very vital role in this respect. They can use their votes to choose those politicians who stay close to the wishes of young people. Young people can also take part in antiracist work at a local level, by taking an interest in media discussions, organising inter-cultural discussion forums and, most important of all, being a bridge between ethnic minorities and the majority societies.

The late great American writer, Susan Sontag once said,

Some people claim that Europe is dead. Maybe it will be right to say, that Europe is yet to be born. A Europe that takes care of its defenceless minorities is badly needed. It is necessary that Europe is multi-cultural, otherwise it will cease to exist.

Only fools would argue against that.

The Struggle Must Continue ... or Never Again? ...

Learning from the 'All Different – All Equal' campaign

Mr Rui Gomes,
Head of Education and Training unit,
European Youth Centre

What were the experiences of the Campaign of 1995? In order to offer a framework to individual experiences and memories, as well as a general overview to those who did not participate in the earlier Campaign, Mr Rui Gomes introduced the participants to the contents of the *Report of the Evaluation Conference*, which took place in Budapest, 1st–4th February, 1996.

THE DECISION TO launch the European Youth Campaign was taken by the Heads of State and Government of the member States of the Council of Europe at the Vienna Summit in 1993. The Vienna Declaration includes the decision to:

Launch a broad European Youth campaign to mobilise the public in favour of a tolerant society based on the equal dignity of all its members and against manifestations of racism, xenophobia, antisemitism and intolerance. This campaign, coordinated by the Council of Europe in co-operation with the European Youth Organisations, will have a national and local dimension through the creation of national committees. It will aim in particular at stimulating pilot projects involving all sections of society.

Some figures describing the 1995 campaign

- 35 countries
- More than 2,000 activities
- 94 European pilot projects in 26 countries
- an International network of 10,000 contacts
- More than €15 Million mobilised

Bearing these figures in mind, it was no wonder that the campaign of 1995 was characterised by diversity in many respects: diversity of timetables, of budgets, and of activities at all levels, local, national and European.

Strong points of the 1995 campaign include

- ♦ Networking with new partners, creating new alliances
- ♦ Reaching ‘non-organised’ youth
- ♦ Stimulation of pilot projects
- ♦ Strong national campaigns (committees) contributing to both stability and a positive ‘status’
- ♦ Cooperation between NGOs, governments and Council of Europe structures
- ♦ Interaction with local authorities and partners
- ♦ Synergies with other initiatives
- ♦ European ‘mobilising’ activities that created an atmosphere of togetherness and that also increased interest from the media
- ♦ The Council of Europe ‘label’ and the powerful slogan ‘All Different – All Equal’
- ♦ Decentralised activities
- ♦ Education and training materials produced and put into use during the Campaign.
- ♦ Training courses and educational activities for multipliers, securing that the Campaign reached out to many people with a lasting effect
- ♦ Youth week and youth trains
- ♦ Media activities
- ♦ Coordination with national committees.

Challenges

- ♦ (in)Consistency between European campaign and actions of governments, for instance, through insufficient consideration of human rights issues
- ♦ Campaign as a cover for ‘tough’ policies ... in relation to, for instance, asylum seekers
- ♦ Lack of an evaluative structure built into the campaign itself
- ♦ Broad target group
- ♦ Significant differences between countries and regions in Europe
- ♦ Insufficient definition of objectives at national level
- ♦ Not enough time: when the Campaign was almost over on the European level, it had only just started in some of the participating countries.
- ♦ Uncoordinated timing, including too little time for preparation; information arriving late, and different activities overlapping in time
- ♦ Lack of commitment from some governments.

Already in the Evaluation Report of 1996 the idea of a recurring campaign is mentioned, motivated both by the success of the original campaign and by the need to continue the never-ending struggle for decent living conditions and dignity for all. This need for a continuation was later also confirmed in the Declaration of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in the follow-up of the campaign (1996).

The Committee of Ministers ...

... is concerned about the persistence of racism and intolerance and the resurgence of xenophobic behaviour which has even become more commonplace ...

... takes the view that the best response (...) is to continue the efforts already made, which need to be expanded (...)

Working Group Reports

THE SYMPOSIUM BROUGHT together a great number of participants, representing youth and other non-governmental organisations and governmental institutions concerned by the themes of the symposium and by the future youth campaign on Diversity, Human Rights and Participation. As is the case with similar events, the work in smaller groups is one of the richest and most fruitful forms of participation in the symposium. The programme included two main types of working groups, corresponding to the two key aims of the symposium.

The Working Groups on Thursday 27 October were intended to examine the different forms of discrimination and its effect on young people today. These groups were based on:

- ♦ the sharing of realities in the member states, as perceived by the participants
- ♦ analysing and examining the issues in more depth
- ♦ proposing priorities / guidelines for follow-up on the theme within the future campaign.

The other kind of small group sessions were the Production Units, aiming at forwarding the priorities and practical work of the Campaign within different areas. The outcome of these groups was presented in a special report immediately after the Symposium. An abstract is also given in this report, on page 102.

Racism ♦ Working group report

Task: The group looked into the manifestations and forms of racism today, and how racist ideas, attitudes and expressions are present in Europe today and how they affect young people.

Facilitator: *Ms Anca Sirbu*

Rapporteur: *Ms Vera Turcanu*

TODAY, RACISM MANIFESTS itself and is mediated in different ways. The following features were discussed in the group:

- ♦ Open manifestations. People are not afraid to express their feelings of racism against different groups. Hostile feelings and/or acts cannot be explained with lack of information.
- ♦ Hidden manifestations. Racism is manifested in a passive and hidden way, as mental structures, which many people on the conscious level actually try to combat.
- ♦ Individual racism versus group racism (I am not racist towards a friend of mine, even if s/he belongs to a minority group, but I am racist towards that minority group in general).
- ♦ Institutionalized racism (in schools, police, labour market, etc.) Many racist policies are promoted by governments.
- ♦ Racism may be reinforced by mass media in different discriminative articles or other reporting about ethnic minority groups.
- ♦ Racism exists in schools and is sometimes promoted by the educational programmes themselves. Very often there are no courses or lessons in the history of ethnic minority groups.
- ♦ Intolerance, as well as tolerance, starts in the family and grows from the individual to the community. Young people are significantly influenced by their

surrounding environment. In a community where racism is tolerated, the principals of racism are very easy learnt.

- ◆ There is a huge difference between the Eastern and Western European countries. In the first group of countries, there were no discussions about racism until 1990. Since then, discrimination and racism have become big issues in these countries as well.

Conclusions / recommendations for the campaign

- ◆ Raise awareness that populism is racism.
- ◆ Sensitize the public to the issue of racism: bring it to the agendas of different players.
- ◆ Clarify and visualize institutionalized racism: in history lessons, in the media (such as MTV), fashion, sport, etc.
- ◆ React to institutionalized racism (in the media, police, etc.); submit complaints, for example, in a coordinated way.
- ◆ Involve formal and non-formal leaders of young people and of communities as a whole. Try to make use of their social / moral influence.
- ◆ Learn from and about each other (communities), for example, through joint events, cultural activities. Make use of combinations of message, music, drama, fashion and theatre in order to promote knowledge about the cultural diversity of different ethnic minority groups.
- ◆ Involve inter-governmental organizations (e.g. ECRI, European Commission against Racism and Intolerance) in monitoring legislation and implementation of laws; involve ('wake up') national structures for combating discrimination (if established).
- ◆ Propose / provide 'ready-made' stories for the media, in line with the issues we are working on.
- ◆ Make sure you know what NGOs can do, what ministries and other institutions can do, and ask the right things from each of them.

- ♦ Adapt materials to the reality of the community.
- ♦ Define target group with great care.
- ♦ Take into consideration all the documents (Treaties, Charters, etc.) adopted at national or European levels, in order to raise awareness.
- ♦ In learning from one another, promote the principles of sensitization, visibility and credibility. We have to know the limits of the policies in the country.

If racism says that whoever is different from what we are should be discriminated against and eliminated, then all human beings on earth would be eliminated.

Antisemitism ♦ Working group report

Task: The group looked into the manifestations and forms of antisemitism in Europe today, and how antisemitic ideas, attitudes and expressions prevail in Europe today and how they affect young people.

Facilitator: *Mr Dariusz Grzemny*

In some cases, anti-Semitism appears to be a by-product of the Israel-Palestine conflict, particularly with the escalation of hostilities in the past several years. Criticism of Israeli policies is one thing. But it is quite another when such critiques take the form of attacks, physical or verbal, on Jewish individuals and the symbols of their heritage and faith. The situation is painful and complex enough as a political matter, without adding religion and race to the debate. No one should be allowed to use criticism of Israel's actions as a mask for anti-Semitism. Nor, on the other side, should Israel's supporters use the charge of anti-Semitism to stifle legitimate discussion. The United Nations, for its part, must reject all forms of racism and discrimination. Only in so doing, clearly and consistently, will it be true to its Charter and to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and to people of all creeds and colours striving for their dignity.

Kofi Annan 2004

THE WORK STARTED with the definition of Antisemitism by recalling the one presented in the working paper of The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, which states that

Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which can be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of Antisemitism are directed toward Jews or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, towards Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.

Manifestations of Antisemitism in Europe today

The manifestations of Antisemitism are predominant in all European countries and take different forms; however it is difficult to state what manifestations are characteristic for certain parts of Europe. They can include:

- ♦ desecrations of cemeteries
- ♦ arson, destroying synagogues
- ♦ destroying monuments of the Holocaust
- ♦ hate rhetoric and hate speech
- ♦ antisemitic graffiti
- ♦ stereotypical images of Jews present in the media
- ♦ bashing, physical attacks, beatings
- ♦ window-breaking
- ♦ fire-bombings
- ♦ killings

The list is not exhaustive and could include many other things, such as discrimination in the workplace, blaming Jewish people for all the bad in the world, and so. Young people are both the victims and the perpetrators of antisemitic attitudes and attacks.

Effects on young people

- ♦ fear of expressing identity
- ♦ feeling ashamed of one's own identity. Young Jewish people do not want to be recognised in schools or clubs as being Jewish; they prefer to hide their own identity
- ♦ fear of wearing / using religious symbols
- ♦ 'closure' of the community
- ♦ fear and the feeling of lack of personal safety creates a situation where young people close themselves within a group of people who are 'the same', limiting the contact with other peers that can ultimately lead to isolation
- ♦ defensiveness
- ♦ emigration (especially of young people to the us,

Germany and Israel)

- ◆ feeling 'not at home', feeling foreign in their own country
- ◆ lack of feeling of personal safety
- ◆ imposed role image

What do we want young people to get from the campaign?

- ◆ to be aware that Antisemitism is a phenomenon of today, it is alive and takes different forms
- ◆ to be clear about the distinction between 'Jewish' and 'Israel'
- ◆ to get to know the diversity of Jewish communities around Europe
- ◆ to learn how Judaism and the Jews contribute(d) to Europe and European history (local aspect), without stereotyping, as some members of the group stressed
- ◆ not to be indifferent towards different manifestations of Antisemitism
- ◆ to be provided with human rights education in formal and non-formal settings, education that addresses the issue of Antisemitism
- ◆ to become familiar with the challenges that Jewish people face nowadays and to be provided with tools on how to respond to Antisemitism (intercultural dialogue)
- ◆ to develop consciousness and understanding on the effects of Antisemitism on young (Jewish) people.

Campaign responses to Antisemitism

The campaign should be organised and run for and by young people and should raise awareness of the role of Jewish communities and the activities organized by Jews for the larger community. It should not focus on Shoah, but on the current situation of Antisemitism: stereotypes alive today and acts committed now. Therefore the responses should include:

- ♦ Challenging stereotypes – the campaign should provide space for discussing stereotypes predominant in society. This can be done by educational materials, information and a media campaign. This could include providing concrete examples of Antisemitism.
- ♦ Joint action against discrimination (being proactive and reactive) – the campaign should prioritise the issue of Antisemitism when discussing discrimination in general.
- ♦ Space for meetings, gatherings, exchanges and discussions – this can be very valuable in terms of facilitating contact with different groups of society where Antisemitism and responses to it can be discussed.
- ♦ Information on what Judaism is
- ♦ Oral history programmes – in formal and non-formal settings.
- ♦ Poster awareness raising campaign
- ♦ Using the media as a powerful tool to address the issue of Antisemitism
- ♦ Making Jewish festivals more well known, facilitating the participation of young people who do not come from the Jewish community
- ♦ Promoting / producing educational materials on Antisemitism, and clarifying its different concepts
- ♦ Trying to reach governments.

DURING THE DISCUSSION the group raised the following questions, which still remain unanswered:

Is there a mental saturation concerning Antisemitism? (There is so much talk about Antisemitism that young people feel they cannot take in any more information or discuss the issue) If yes, how should we deal with this?

Is there an evolution of racism, new forms of Antisemitism, linked to the Middle East conflict?

What should be done if Antisemitism is present, but not recognized?

How can children who refuse to receive Holocaust education be dealt with?

How can the Holocaust be taught without guilt?
(Germany)

How can formal education be used in combating
Antisemitism?

How can different views of the Holocaust be dealt with
(especially concerning Eastern European countries)?

Can we allow the writing of a revisionist Master thesis?

Romaphobia / Anti-Gypsyism ♦ Working group report

Task: The group looked into the manifestations and forms of Romaphobia and Anti-Gypsyism today, and how romaphobic ideas, attitudes and expressions are present in Europe today and how they affect young people, Roma or not.

Facilitator: *Ms Beáta Agnes Petes*

AS A POINT of departure the group noted that

- ♦ Anti-Gypsyism in Europe is increasing with manifestations at the political level, in terms of attitudes, practices and in the media.
- ♦ The specificity of the Anti-Gypsyism as a form of racism lies in the perception of the Roma people as ‘non-humans’ or as ‘racially inferior’.
- ♦ There is a need to analyze causes and mechanisms, to see what is old and what is new, and to identify new challenges that should be addressed.

Expression and manifestations

The group defined different areas of problems:

- ♦ segregation of the Roma communities (residential, segregation of education)
- ♦ discrimination on a daily basis on ethnic grounds
- ♦ violation of human rights including access to health care, employment, housing and education
- ♦ increasing anti-Roma attitudes supported by the rise of nationalistic political movements
- ♦ the contribution of media: the anti-Roma images are manipulating / influencing public opinion, perceptions and attitudes towards the Roma
- ♦ lack of interaction between non-Roma and Roma.

Effects on young people

- ♦ passivity
- ♦ mutual stereotyping and fear to interact with others due to the segregation and the wrong perceptions of the 'others' and the lack of possibilities to interact
- ♦ frustration
- ♦ marginalisation.

Campaign activities, general

- ♦ The campaigns / activities have to be organized not 'for' but 'with' the young Roma.
- ♦ Young people should be involved in the various steering groups for the preparation of the campaign.
- ♦ Campaigning skills should be developed.
- ♦ The political participation of the young Roma is a topic that should be addressed on a long-term basis.
- ♦ Activities aiming at bringing the young Roma and the young non-Roma together should be supported.
- ♦ Development of local structures for the young Roma should be supported.

Some further proposals

Local level

- ♦ Run training Courses for Roma / non-Roma youth social leaders.
- ♦ Create personal links not about 'the Roma issue', but something that young people have or do together, for example English courses.
- ♦ Encourage self-organised youth centres and youth clubs.

National level

- ♦ Youth policy makers should consider the Roma youth issue
- ♦ Roma youth organisations / the young Roma should be involved in National Campaign Committees.

- ♦ The role of the media at national level and the images / messages it is spreading for the Roma communities should be reflected. The media should be used.
- ♦ Non-formal education should be given equal importance as formal education.
- ♦ Young Roma and young non-Roma should be brought together.

European level

- ♦ 'Anti-Gypsyism and Romaphobia – old phenomenon and new challenges in Europe', an activity planned by FERYP (Forum of European Roma Young People) for 2006 will be one specific activity within the framework of the campaign.
- ♦ The Council of Europe is still lacking a monitoring mechanism able to react from an institutional perspective on a daily basis to the manifestations of Romaphobia or other forms of racism in the member states. The institution should reflect upon the need of such mechanism as the number of the manifestations of anti-Gypsyism in Europe is increasing.
- ♦ Some kind of clip / short film should be prepared, and presented in all countries.

Islamophobia ♦ Working group report

Task: The group looked into the manifestations and forms of Islamophobia and discrimination against Muslims and how they affect young people.

Facilitators: Ms *Sunduss Al-Hassani* & Ms *Inge Stuer*

Rapporteurs: *Nahid Aslam* & *Mr Ozgehan Senyuva*

THE WORKING GROUP started with a short introduction to Islamophobia. The seminar on 'Islamophobia and its consequences on young people' that took place in the Directorate of Youth and Sport (DYS) was presented and a very brief discussion on the outcomes of the Seminar took place. It was noted that the recommendations have not yet been adopted by the Joint Council on Youth of the DYS.

The group spoke about the fear and misunderstandings found in Europe regarding Islam. There is confusion between Islam, Muslims and Terrorism; an example was given of the media portraying a particularly bad image when it highlighted the killing of the Dutch filmmaker, Theo Van Gogh.

There is also confusion between European identity and religion. Islam as an integral part of European history is very often not referred to, nor is there often mention of Islamic contributions to Science and Philosophy.

There were discussions on the different expressions and manifestations of Islam across Europe. It was noted that there are indigenous Muslims in Europe as well as Muslim migrants coming from other continents. All these need to be taken into consideration. The point was also made that Muslims who have their home in Europe often feel that they have an allegiance to that homeland. The question of different identities was discussed.

The group further discussed the campaign on different levels from local, through national to international.

Here you find an overview of possible action that could be taken.

Local level

- ♦ Awareness-raising for the public / grassroots level should take place to reach out to young people who have 'not been involved' so far.
- ♦ This message of 'Islamophobia as a Human Rights issue' can be transmitted in different forms; we should 'think out of the box', for instance through music and drama. One example given was the educational material that was shown during the Make Poverty History Campaign Music concert organised by Bob Geldof in Edinburgh.
- ♦ Young Muslims specifically should be approached to work on issues such as self-esteem, human rights education and anti-Semitism. The use of Invisible Theatre / Theatre of the Oppressed was suggested as an effective campaign tool to educate people.
- ♦ Spaces for interpersonal dialogue should be created; the method of the Living Library could be used as an example for this.

National level

- ♦ A holistic approach could be used in the work on fighting Islamophobia and other forms of discrimination. Projects with education ministries and schools should be encouraged to promote CoE materials; those institutions should then be supported in to promote and use the materials.
- ♦ Education materials should be adapted to different realities.
- ♦ The setting up of, or the further use of the Islamic awareness week should be used to get the message across with the help of local authorities; employers and employers' organisations could be targeted in

the improved understanding of young people from Muslim backgrounds.

- ♦ Co-operation with the media is very important. This is a two way process: there should be positive reporting on the issue from the media, but young people should also take part in the media and public debates. Young people should (be encouraged and supported to) take action when there is wrong or islamophobic reporting in the media. Educate young people to use their citizenship rights.

European level

- ♦ The recommendations made by the Seminar on Islamophobia should be adopted and be a basis for policies.
- ♦ Best practices between member states and NGOs working on the issue should be exchanged.
- ♦ Everyone should be mobilised, not just Muslims. Young journalists' organisations could be involved in the work of the campaign: young people could create new media to challenge current media sources, and this give an alternative voice; young people should be encouraged to take part in Media Watch. Co-operation with media that reach a lot of young people should be set-up (e.g. awareness raising spots on MTV or similar channels).
- ♦ Training and education materials for youth leaders working with Muslim young people should be developed.
- ♦ Islamic history and Muslim contributions (in Europe) within education (curricula) and activities of (youth) NGOs should be mainstreamed.
- ♦ Awareness should be raised on the diversity within Islam and the Muslim communities – particularly in the media, the education system and among politicians.
- ♦ The capacity of Muslim youth to participate in public life should be strengthened, for example, the use of the

Charter on participation of young people in local and regional life.

- ◆ Clear links to the Human Rights agenda, particularly using the HRE programme should be developed.
- ◆ Good practises in working against and overcoming Islamophobia should be collected, and reflections should be made on how to adapt them to different local realities in Europe.
- ◆ Already existing educational material should be built on to create specific material on overcoming Islamophobia and working on inter-religious dialogue. Already existing (educational) materials should be further promoted and spread among the partners and to new audiences, for example *Compass*, the revised charter on the participation of young people in local and regional life, the *Living Library*, *Domino* and the *Education Pack*.
- ◆ A sociological / photo book on migrant journeys into Europe could be created, showing differences as well as similarities.

Homophobia ♦ Working group report

Task: The group looked into the manifestations and forms of homophobia today, and how homophobic and heterosexist ideas, attitudes and expressions are present in Europe today and how they affect young people.

Facilitator: *Ms Bettina Schwartzmayer*

OVER THE LAST ten years there have been obvious developments in terms of the rights of LGBT people (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender), with the legal recognition of couples, and the decriminalisation of homosexuality. In the media today there is also a greater representation of LGBT people. Contrary to this, however, in some countries homophobia has become a punishable offence.

When it comes to different country realities, one can find many disparities but at the same time many common struggles. In terms of the legal protection of LGBT rights, there is still a wide gulf between the countries represented in the group. At one extreme, we find countries that practise laws preventing discrimination in the workplace (the UK) or that recognize gay couples (France). At the other, we find countries where there is no visible LGBT movement, activism or political representation (Belarus) or where there is a rise of extreme-right parties in power associating homosexuality with perversion and banning any type of organised gatherings defending LGBT rights (Poland). Common themes discussed included homophobic violence, hate-speech, negative or lack of media portrayal, and structural discrimination. Discrimination can take place on four inter-connected levels: ideological, institutional, inter-personal and internalised.

All diversity should be named in order to be recognized and included by society. Most of the challenges the LGBT community faces today have been generated by a lack of visibility or misrepresentation, specially in

the media. Visibility ranges from personal awareness to public awareness. Visibility should go beyond populism. Visibility of the LGBT community should include a revision of history, art, science and culture, reflecting how sexual identity has affected the life and work of important figures in human history.

Some ideas about how the ‘All Different – All Equal’ Campaign could address the issue of homophobia are as follows:

Partnerships with the formal education sector

- ♦ working with schools
- ♦ promoting anti-bullying policies
- ♦ creating educational materials and events on LGBT issues
- ♦ training teachers on LGBT issues

Youth work

- ♦ promoting diversity training (which includes LGBT issues)
- ♦ training for trainers and youth workers

Public authorities

- ♦ offering diversity management training to politicians and administrators
- ♦ including an LGBT advisor in the Council of Europe’s Advisory Council and the national committees for the Campaign
- ♦ lobbying the European national governments on LGBT issues and sexual education programmes
- ♦ mainstreaming different expressions of sexuality in educational systems

Content of campaign

- ♦ gender roles: Different ways of being a ‘man’ or ‘woman’
- ♦ multiple identities on the spot, not in separate boxes

- ♦ multiple discrimination: being young and gay, being a woman and lesbian
- ♦ monitoring youth and diversity in different countries

Campaign strategy

- ♦ LGBT campaign within the campaign, with brochures and tips for action, and activities
- ♦ adding sexual and gender identity as a transversal issue
- ♦ creating an internet resource on diversity with focus on content and ideas, and also educational approaches
- ♦ encouraging dialogue between LGBT groups and those from other minorities
- ♦ lobbying for laws guaranteeing non-discrimination in the workplace, in schools, and so on.

Xenophobia ♦ Working group report

Task: The group looked into the manifestations and forms of xenophobia today, and how racist and xenophobic ideas, attitudes and expressions are present in Europe today and how they affect young people.

Facilitator: *Ms Maryam Yassin*

DEFINITION: FEAR OF the unknown or of the different. Having discussed various words / expressions attached to xenophobia, the group adopted this definition for its encompassing scope.

The group also made a distinction between two forms of xenophobia:

- ♦ explicit – clear statements / practice; this form at least being easier to identify and address
- ♦ implicit – behaviour and attitudes; this being more covert and thus more difficult to address.

Xenophobia is usually the source behind the increase of nationalism and racism, i.e. of turning fear of the unknown into feelings of hatred and superiority. Xenophobia is promoted by certain political parties for electoral purposes.

Reasons

- ♦ fear
- ♦ misconceptions
- ♦ ignorance
- ♦ misinformation
- ♦ scarce economic and social opportunities: the perception that minority groups and foreigners are being prioritised to benefits.

Manifestations

- ♦ Discrimination

- ♦ Legislation: restrictive laws on migrations and asylum
- ♦ Imbalanced and confusing media coverage. Inaccurate use of terminology, e.g. mixing up the concepts of asylum seekers, refugees, migrants and immigrants.
- ♦ Scapegoating: holding foreigners responsible for social difficulties, e.g. taking employment opportunities away from the host population.
- ♦ New nazi / fascist pockets / organisations.

How xenophobia affects young people

- ♦ victimisation: young people lacking the knowledge / education to assert their rights.
- ♦ seclusion, marginalisation
- ♦ given the vulnerability and special needs of young people, they are even more affected by xenophobia in the various fields of society, e.g. first-time employment.
- ♦ xenophobia compartmentalises young people in the sense of exacerbating cultural, religious and ethnical divisions, each forming separate groups.
- ♦ young people are not merely victims of xenophobia, but they could equally well be the perpetrators thereof.
- ♦ young people are more easily influenced. This itself could be used for both good and bad purposes: bad, because they could assimilate the xenophobic attitudes and accept them as being normal; good, because they might find it easier to adapt and integrate.
- ♦ by placing too much emphasis on, for example, minority issues, the majority might start to feel that they are giving too many concessions, i.e. for their culture, beliefs and way of life.

The Campaign

How should xenophobia be reflected in the campaign in terms of Diversity, Human Rights and Participation? To change the future, young people should be prioritised

(in the campaign) as they represent the future. Diversity should not merely be tolerated but even celebrated.

Media

- ♦ develop cooperation with, and training of the media
- ♦ promote accurate terminology (for example, the distinction between refugee / migrant) and information concerning foreigners
- ♦ pressurize the state to regulate the media, either through law or through a code of conduct, while not encroaching on their editorial independence.

Education

- ♦ lobby for compulsory Human Rights Education in schools.
- ♦ develop exchange programmes to experience different social, religious and ethnic groups – so to make the ‘unknown’ ‘known’ – thus addressing the misconceptions that fuel xenophobic attitudes.
- ♦ train teachers in Human Rights Education and the aspects of xenophobia.

General

- ♦ Increase the monitoring capacity of the NGOs to fulfil their complimentary role as a ‘watch dog’ check on the Government.
- ♦ Involve the victims of xenophobia, in particular migrants, refugees, asylum seekers and minorities, in the campaign. Possibly involve them in the design, implementation and evaluation of the campaign.
- ♦ Establish a dialogue with people who are against diversity.
- ♦ Multiply the existing know-how, resources, and networks in issues of HRE.
- ♦ Build on the existing materials / reports of the ECRI (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance).
- ♦ Encourage cultural dialogue.

- ♦ Address language barriers.
- ♦ Call upon the member states to sign and ratify protocol 12 to the ECHR (Discrimination).
- ♦ Set up an international committee / commission to help those at a local level affected by xenophobia, for example, to help seek legal remedies before competent courts, including national courts and the European Court for Human Rights.

Disablism ♦ Working group report

Task: The group looked into the manifestations and forms discrimination against people with disabilities, and how they affect young people.

Rapporteur: *Ms Marta Medlinska*

INSTEAD OF A descriptive phrase ('discrimination against people with disabilities'), the group decided to coin a new noun: disablism. Its definition reads as follows: discriminatory, oppressive or abusive behaviour arising from the belief that disabled people are inferior to others.

The most important and problematic barriers are created in the minds of people who are not used to dealing with disabled people or who have difficulties with accepting disabilities.

The situation today is different in every country, but the group were able to find some common threads:

- ♦ Some countries have laws and legislations protecting the rights of disabled people, giving them access, for example, to education, employment and transport.
- ♦ In other countries disabled people have no rights, and are socially excluded. Special structures such as schools and homes are made.

The group wants to achieve total inclusion of disabled people. In order to do this we first need to offer support to disabled people. Secondly, it is important to change the attitude of society in order for disabled people to be accepted as equal parts of society.

With the right means available, the young generation is the most active. But being young is also a very vulnerable phase of life; hence they might not dare to speak out. In some cases families can be discouraging.

Main goals of the campaign

- ♦ To make people aware of the real life of young disabled people and the discrimination they face every day; to show the impact of impairments and the resulting disability faced by young people. Young disabled people should be empowered to represent themselves and their culture in the media.
- ♦ To promote the inclusion of young disabled people as equal and active citizens; the campaign activities must ensure a broad change in the behaviour and attitude of society towards young disabled people. This could be done by organizing events accessible to everyone, publishing material accessible to everyone and using the media actively: it is important that young disabled people are visible in society.

Some keywords

- ♦ Impairment and disability. Impairment is something you are born with; a disability is created by society.
- ♦ Integration and inclusion. Inclusion is about letting the young disabled person be disabled!

Some final points that one should have in mind

- ♦ disabled people have the right to be disabled
- ♦ disabled people have a life to live
- ♦ a person is more than its disability!

Terrorism ♦ Working group report

Task: The group looked into the phenomena associated with terrorism and its relation to or impact on diversity, human rights and the participation of young people.

Rapporteur: *Mr Rui Gomes & Ms Kseniya Orlovskaya*

How terrorism affects our own work

- ♦ Obstacles are visible and present in our daily youth work, the most obvious being the obstacles to the mobility of young people (visa restrictions, administrative harassment, etc.).
- ♦ Amalgamation between terrorism, immigration and Islam / Arabic countries is harmful to intercultural youth work and exchanges.
- ♦ There is a generally increased fear (phobia) of people who simply look different.
- ♦ There is increased tolerance to the abuse of rights (by police and border controls, for example).
- ♦ There may be a fear of travelling and being exposed to dangerous situations, for example, of being mistaken or labelled as a terrorist.
- ♦ Youth exchanges are cancelled, for example parents not letting their children travel on an exchange to a country that suffered a terrorist attack.
- ♦ The persistence of a climate of fear and suspicion.
- ♦ There is a general increase in islamophobia, racism and xenophobia, with terrorism appearing as a factor that would 'explain' this increase, or would make them more acceptable because they are 'inevitable'.
- ♦ Terrorism comforts and strengthens existing stereotyping, prejudice and phobias; it does not really create them but makes it more difficult to work with them.
- ♦ There is a perception of 'internalisation of fear', at some moments leading to 'collective paranoia'.

- ♦ Youth workers and educators finding it difficult to deal with terrorism and to address it in a constructive way with young people (also because they are subject to the same climate of prejudice and fear).
- ♦ Many people feel powerless about terrorism and the fight against it. This is not just dangerous to democracy; it also leads to fatalism and to resignation.
- ♦ Terrorism also contributes to the normalization of racism and exclusion of young people, in many cases of whole communities and groups.

Guidelines and proposals for the campaign

- ♦ Terrorism needs to be addressed from a broad perspective: terrorism is a very old form of fighting for power and exerting pressure. Although it has been more present in the media since 2001, it existed before and, in Europe it is, and has been practiced in many areas, including, for example, the Basque country, Corsica and Ireland.
- ♦ The campaign should notice and denounce the political instrumentalisation of terrorism, including the fact that heroes of freedoms and human rights were sometimes sentenced as terrorists (e.g. Nelson Mandela). We should also be aware of state-sponsored forms of terrorism and of the negative effect that these have on the credibility of the fight against terrorism. Member states of the Council of Europe should, during the campaign, adhere to the guidelines of the Committee of Ministers and strictly respect the rule of law.
- ♦ Terrorism needs to be addressed in the campaign in an explicit and non-shy manner. The inability to adequately address it and the concerns about it can reduce the effectiveness of the campaign.
- ♦ Terrorism, the fight against terrorism and its consequences need to be addressed from a human rights perspective and framework. Terrorism is an unacceptable threat to human rights. The campaign should

highlight the need and importance of the respect of all human rights for all and by all.

- In this context, the group recommends that the principles of the guidelines of the Council of Europe on human rights and the fight against terrorism be promoted and used during the campaign, notably that: *it is absolutely necessary to fight terrorism while respecting human rights and the rule of law (...)*

and

the fight against terrorism implies long-term measures with a view to preventing the causes of terrorism by promoting, in particular, cohesion in our societies, and a multicultural and multi-religious dialogue.

Source: Preamble of the Guidelines of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on human rights and the fight against terrorism (ISBN 92-871-5021-4)

- In relation to terrorism, the campaign should focus on combating the negative effects of terrorism, namely those related to fear, exclusion, xenophobia, islamophobia and prejudice.
- Education is the key for work against the consequences of terrorism; education should be addressed to the society at large, in particular, aiming to reach young people who are less active, but also at specific groups that may be more exposed to terrorism or attracted to violence. We should seek to involve and reach young people in the schools: education is the key to the prevention of terrorism (and terrorism is the antithesis of education).
- A particular priority must be given to involve young people who are particularly at risk of social exclusion and who could become tempted by extremist ideologies.
- The member states are obviously taking seriously the threats of terrorism but exclusively from the perspective of security. Other dimensions for terrorism prevention need to be considered and promoted as

well; these include intercultural and inter-religious dialogue.

- The media are an important vehicle and target group for the campaign. Ways to engage the media and media professionals in the campaign should be envisaged.
- The campaign should give visibility to groups and communities at greater risk of xenophobia and exclusion due to the consequences of terrorism (e.g. Muslim communities from the Caucasus). The campaign should promote and call for increased opportunities for Euro-Mediterranean and Euro-Arab youth work.
- The campaign should ask for 50% of the budgets devoted to security related measures for fighting terrorism to be allocated for long-term prevention measures, such as pilot projects with young people.

Nationalism and Fascism ♦ Working group report

Task: The group looked into the manifestations and forms of nationalism and fascism today, how they prevail and influence young people in Europe today.

Facilitator: *Ms Yael Ohana*

THE GROUP DESCRIBED the nation as an imagined community. A discussion of the question “Do we need this belonging to the specific nation, and why?” brought up different approaches, but at the end the group concluded that nationalism has two sides: a positive and a negative.

Positive

- ♦ Pride in country and culture
- ♦ Self-determination, differentiation
- ♦ Identity, affirmation

Negative

- ♦ Final stage on the way to fascism
- ♦ Threat
- ♦ Wars motivated by nationality

Manifestations of nationalism and fascism

After an exchange of stories from real life, the group extracted key expressions visible today. States and government were seen as very ‘active’ structures in this field. Special attention was given the misuse of ‘security of the country and nation’ as an excuse for the violation of human rights. Governments convince citizens that it is normal that people are supervised by cameras, or that they are stopped on the street, or that they have their luggage checked, just because they ‘look suspicious’.

The group discussed problems that specific groups such as immigrants have and the problem with mobility in general, especially from non EU-members, and the way people are treated by structures in order to get visas and resident permits. Somehow, people have forgotten about basic human rights: they should be reminded of them.

Effects on youth

- ♦ Young people feel ashamed to be who they are.
- ♦ Young people are afraid of difference, and of contact with 'otherness'.
- ♦ The worldview of youth becomes narrower.
- ♦ There is anger and frustration of youth at the injustices, and a reaction to rejection.
- ♦ Hopelessness and apathy.
- ♦ Young people feel they may be in danger (i.e. stigmatization of youth who speak out as enemies) if they 'speak out' and they are afraid or cannot be motivated to take a stand.
- ♦ Politically active youth are often involved in 'right-wing' politics.
- ♦ Very young people become socialized in authoritarian, violent and nationalistic discourse.
- ♦ The use of violence increases, and becomes accepted as a solution to one's problems.
- ♦ Nationalistically motivated laws affect the life chances of young people in terms of employment, safety, mobility, and economic rights.

Proposals for the campaign

How can the campaign address problems relating to nationalism and fascism that affect young people?

- ♦ Awareness should be raised and knowledge improved among the majority regarding the situation and life of minorities.

- ♦ The Campaign should broaden the world view of young people – beyond national boundaries and within national boundaries.
- ♦ Diversity should be seen as ‘cool’.
- ♦ Diversity should characterize the campaign, not only be preached.
- ♦ The campaign should demonstrate alternatives to nationalism.

Giving the campaign ‘teeth’

- ♦ Directly criticising concrete policies,
- ♦ taking a stand on the ‘unacceptable actions’ of governments (including those participating in the campaign),
- ♦ mobilizing around key value issues, according to the actual situation in individual countries,
- ♦ naming and shaming nationalistic politicians (monitoring political rhetoric and exposing politicians),
- ♦ mobilizing credible and respected political / social coalitions to support anti-nationalistic standpoints at a national level in public,
- ♦ raising the profile of the contents of the Universal and European Declarations of Human Rights among youth, while also pointing out the discrepancies between ideals and reality,
- ♦ demonstrating the link between the increase in nationalism and the threat to Human Rights,
- ♦ holding governments accountable for Human Rights commitments.

Experiences from the Campaign of 1995. Round Table Discussion

moderated by *Ms Antje Rothemund*,
Executive Director, European Youth Centre Budapest

The round table was used as a tool to integrate the heritage of the 1995 Campaign, and to inspire the upcoming Campaign with both concrete experiences and with the spirit of the process. Both the round table and the slide show that preceded it served to amalgamate the two different generations present – those who participated in the first Campaign, and those for whom the upcoming Campaign is their first. In line with this, Ms Antje Rothemund opened the session by saying that she hoped the round table could form a bridge between the working groups and the production units.

Participants in the discussion were *Ms Yael Ohana*, *Ms Alexandra Raykova* and *Mr Christian Scharf*.

Antje: IF WE LOOK back to the positions and roles of these three people in 1995, you will find that there has been a lot of change. My three guests around the table all represent different experiences.

First we have Christian, who was the classic youth worker. He learned about the campaign, was inspired and became a grassroots youth work multiplier.

Then we have Alexandra, who I would call a real success story. Why? In 1995 the youth sector was very different from today, much more homogeneous. One aim of the campaign was to get young people from minorities

involved. At that time we were very far from today's cross-cultural crowd – minorities were not present. Alexandra lived in Bulgaria and heard about the campaign, without belonging to any organisation.

Finally, there is Yael, who at the time was a member of the European Union of Jewish students. She came to a training course as a volunteer worker, and ended up being responsible for parts of the campaign, the trains. Could you tell us a bit more about how this engagement started?

Alexandra: For me this engagement influenced both my personal and professional life. Ten years ago the Roma issue was still very new on the European agenda. I was working as a coordinator in the first Roma organisation in Bulgaria when we received an invitation from the national committee. I remember how impressed I was by the slogan. It has remained very near to my heart and also to my ideology. I applied for a training course and I was happy to be among the selected participants.

This was my first journey abroad ever. I remember how impressed I was when I did not have to wait for my visa, because the embassy had been informed of my application. Otherwise, I knew from having seen people queuing all night long what it meant to try to get a visa. In that first course I was not so confident, my English was very basic, and the Romani too was difficult to follow. I was not able to fully understand everything. Still, I was very impressed by the Council of Europe bringing in 35 young Roma people from all over Europe.

This was really the first opportunity for young Roma to get to know each other and to start interacting. We were all very motivated, we felt that we belonged together and we also learned that we shared the same problems.

Yael: Well, I was sent by my organisation, you could say, by accident. At the preceding meeting in 1993 the head of my NGO was sick with 'flu and I went as his replacement. Then in 1995, while I was working in Budapest for the

same organisation, we received the application forms for a training course. Together with my friend, Alana Lentin, we already had the outlines for a project plan involving a lorry travelling across Europe, and we applied with this idea. So already at this stage we were aware of the campaign. But then we received the message that somebody in the Council of Europe liked the project idea, and asked us if we would like to develop it further.

The idea was to convert the lorry into a train, and use this as both a practical and symbolic transport mechanism for getting young people from all over Europe to the launching of the campaign. Our idea was to link the trains to the route, to use them as an educational tool. We were also aware of the symbolism of trains, the same means of transportation that had been used for very opposite purposes earlier in European history. So for us, personally, the LTTC became the context to receive support and manage the whole thing.

Antje: 1995 was only five years after the fall of the Berlin wall. The Council of Europe counted only 35 member states. This must have been a very special time in history in Saxen-Anhalt in the eastern part of Germany, Christian, where you worked.

Christian: Yes, the situation was not easy. I remember Peter Lauritzen saying to us during the plenary of our training course that, “your participation here is your mission”. Right after, when I got home, there were all the events that called for action: skinheads hunting ‘foreigners’ in the streets of Magdeburg, and the burning of houses where asylum seekers lived.

When I presented the idea that we would join the campaign I got immediate support. At the age of 22 I found myself responsible for a budget of € 200,000. We founded what became known as ‘Network Courage’. The aim of this organisation was to stand up, and to show courage towards racism, discrimination and violence. We man-

aged to get different partners, players and regions to join forces with us.

Antje: Antisemitism was a specifically mentioned part of the agenda. It was given a high priority. How did that meet the expectations of your organisation, Yael?

Yael: At the time there were very few people from my organisation actively involved in Council of Europe activities. And the organisation was not so interested in the campaign.

I think you could interpret that they were not ready for intercommunity relations. At the time it was not yet possible to say that we should work together with young Muslims on a certain project, or that we should have anything to do as an organisation with the organisations of lesbians and gay people. As an individual you were in a situation where you would lose credibility in relation to either your own group, or in relation to the group you were invited to collaborate with. You could still engage, on a personal level, but for the organisation it took a very long time to change. Personally I believe that the idea of working together with others is an important dimension.

Antje: What about you, Alexandra, when you wanted to set up your youth organisation? Since you were the pioneers, you had no network to lean on, and you even up against the adults around you. What were their arguments?

Alexandra: It is true that we met with resistance from our own group, since it is a patriarchal community where young people have specific roles to play. They are not expected to be active or to work for change. So what we wanted to do went against Roma tradition. Today this conflict has been overcome. We are recognized by all Roma organisations. We are able to voice the concerns of young people. But I would like to mention that there are two other organisations, alongside us, that came

into being during the same period: Young Women from Minorities, and Minorities of Europe. They also faced similar challenges. Apart from the reactions from the others the first thing we had to do was to structure ourselves and become more competent. Only in 1997–1998 did we become more formalised. Today we number over 5000 members.

Antje: Can you also say something about the impact that this European dimension had on your work?

Christian: The Network came into being altogether thanks to the European campaign. It was very important that the young people that got involved could be part of something bigger, and that they have the chance to travel to Strasbourg. There they could see for themselves that ‘there are others like us; we are Europeans!’ On the way we collaborated with another team, from Great Britain, and came up with a song for the campaign, so I think there is reason to see a process of give and take.

Antje: Yes, people were inspired, and they felt that they were not alone. In this the trains filled an important role. But the trains also had an educational mission?

Yael: Yes, and that was the essence of our idea. One of the trains for instance, did not carry people, but an exhibition on Auschwitz. We had felt very strongly that working against racism demanded more than a PR campaign. We wanted to reach deeper, and to have young people learn something together with others. Each train, therefore, had a theme (e.g. solidarity) and at every stop we had planned activities so that we could build a momentum of understanding. But in the end, the technical dimensions ended up determining what we could do education-wise. So my conclusion is that we should avoid doing a campaign for the sake of doing a campaign. And whatever you do, your message must remain the most important thing.

Antje: At the opening, when all the trains had arrived and when 1,300 young people had gathered, we crossed the bridge to get to the neighbouring town of Kehl, in Germany. As a result of an agreement between the French and German border control authorities, nobody had to show any passport or other document. For many people this was the first time ever that they were able to cross a border that easily.

But to bring you back to today's situation, what are the challenges today? And what could the message of a new campaign be?

Alexandra: The campaign of 1995 had a clear message that was easy to understand. It had clear objectives and good working methods. But it also generated hopes that were not always met. There was a lack of institutional support. However, this can also be put in the positive, in that it allowed us to develop ourselves. For today, I think we have a great opportunity: a campaign is still adequate, but we need to formulate a few, very specific objectives.

Christian: The changes in Europe are a big challenge. We need to think about what kind of a campaign we need. Should it focus on young people? Should it focus on structures? Depending on what we want it to be will demand different tools. We also have a different situation technically speaking: last time we worked through fax and phones, whereas today we have e-mail and the Internet.

Yael: I think some things are worse today. The European reality has changed. We have more integration in an enlarged Europe. We have more recognition of minorities. At the same time, violence against people who are 'different' has become accepted. Talking about immigrants as criminals has become accepted. Shrinking economic opportunities means more competing. This whole shift has got to be addressed.

Antje: I would like to ask you one last question: How did the campaign of 1995 affect you personally and professionally?

Yael: Well, I was thrown out of my organisation but I was picked up by the Council of Europe. This influenced my professional life very much, in that I have spent the last 12 years working for the Council of Europe. My experiences also changed my perspectives on what Europe is, and on who I am as an activist. In short, I came out of my community to discover a bigger world.

Alexandra: I have worked a lot. But I have also received a lot of support. And today I am very happy about the existence of an organisation of young Roma people.

Antje: I think we can all go on thinking about what it takes to make a campaign sustainable, the investment it needs, and the confidence building and the structures it takes. Around this table we have been able to share the thoughts and experiences of three people out of many thousands.

AFTER HAVING SHARED all kinds of problems and needs related to the overall theme of the symposium, and after having been infused with the spirit of the 1995 Campaign and with the hope that things can happen, projects can be realised and the course of events can be changed, we came to a session devoted to some reflection.

For those that make up an in-group, who share an analysis and a common goal, communication is not so complicated, at least it may appear this way. But since the Campaign aims at involving *other* people – the young people of Europe, the general public, politicians or the media, depending on the particular issue – the question of reaching out to the target group(s) becomes an extremely urgent one. It is an ever-present risk that the energy put into *the message sent* overshadows the interest spent on *the message received*. Independently of what we want to say, what is it that other people actually hear?

The art of making a message come through involves both a thorough analysis of who the target group(s) is (are) and tools for optimizing communication. The presentations from both *Ms Svetlana Rubashkina* and *Ms Daniela Berti* offered the possibility for the participants to step back and reflect on, even identify with, the receiver of messages.

Identifying – and Identifying with – the Receiver of Messages

Communication with the target group

Ms Svetlana Rubashkina, Consultant

THE ESSENCE OF Ms Rubashkina's presentation can be described as a plea for the creation of creative links between analysis and action. One such example is what she said about stereotypes: "Think of how you can use them because you cannot take them away!"

Ms Rubashkina shared with the participants several concrete examples of how to make use of existing images and stereotypes when launching a campaign and attracting an audience.

We must understand and use the perceptions of the target group, she underlined, in order to get through to and influence them. Hence, understanding the target group is essential. The process can be described in three stages:

- ♦ first, raise awareness about the target group;
- ♦ secondly, provide competence;
- ♦ and thirdly, get people involved and see to it that people want to participate.

Communication is central

Communication is central to every campaign, but in order to communicate successfully the planning process should include an analysis of the target group. This can be done with the help of the following questions:

- ♦ What is the degree of awareness among the target group? What do they know and how deep is their knowledge?
- ♦ How do we relate to their situation, their attitudes, etc?
- ♦ How do we make use of existing interests, values and stereotypes (since we cannot expect to change them)?

Ms Rubashkina gave one example from Latvia, where the problem addressed concerned parking spaces for disabled people wrongfully being used by non-disabled owners of smart cars. A poster campaign had been undertaken with no result. But when an advertising agency took on this project (for free, as part of their social programme) things started to change.

The key word for this campaign was ‘privileges’ – thus making use of the stereotype that people with good status are very important people. Media covering was secured when disabled people on a chosen day invited the owners of the wrongly parked smart cars to get into a wheelchair for a day. ‘Parking in a reserved space you should of course have all the other privileges of a disabled person as well’. The message conveyed was not the negative ‘you must not do this’, but rather the open question ‘do you want to be in a wheelchair?’ The campaign proved successful in that behaviour actually changed.

Another example mentioned by Ms Rubashkina was a project that was carried out in Russia and that concerned social leadership, in particular tolerance. Her example, a project called ‘Cry and be happy’, illustrated the importance of a well-defined focus.

The campaign in this case focused entirely on men crying – a phenomenon that is not approved of in society. The goals of the project were to build a positive image of a ‘sad man’s tear’, and to struggle against stereotypes (that men are not allowed to cry and that tears are an expression of weakness).

Ms RUBASHKINA LISTED a few questions that can be used when structuring a campaign.

- ♦ What is the main idea?
- ♦ What form must it take?
- ♦ Is the aim to inform or encourage?
- ♦ What arguments are there?

She also made the following remarks:

- ♦ Use a language close to the target group.
- ♦ Use methods of communication relevant to the target group, such as the Internet and SMS when addressing young people.
- ♦ Remember that the most important people are peers and classmates.
- ♦ Take care to get feedback!
What was the extent of the impact?
How was the message understood?

How to Campaign Today: Key Elements for Successful Campaigning

Ms Daniela Berti, Consultant

DANIELA BERTI, WHO was active in the campaign of 1995, shared with the participants her checklist on how to organise and prioritize a campaign. This list is probably familiar to many people. Nevertheless, maybe by virtue of being precisely so self-evident, it is very easy to overlook the need for it to be well structured and to have solid ground to stand on for every next step. Not least is this a very good basis for later evaluation of the whole process. Below follow key points from Daniela Berti's presentation.

Analysis

- ◆ Focus on aims / goals

Pay attention to the key concepts: diversity, human rights and participation.

Involve young people.

Ensure high visibility.

- ◆ Focus on actors

Involve young people and youth organisations.

Include the Council of Europe member states.

- ◆ Focus on the public

Target young people, organised as well as non-organised.

Involve institutions at all levels.

Invite opinion leaders – decision makers – stakeholders.

Include media relations: international, national, local.

- ◆ Focus on means at disposal

Clarify the budget.

Draw up a list of human resources (volunteers...).

Remember to include professional resources.

Strategy

In order to form an efficient strategy the following key questions can be used:

- ◆ *What?* What kind of actions, contacts / relations, events and lobbying can be made use of.
- ◆ *When?* Decide on an action plan including a timing strategy
- ◆ *Who?* Who can be involved, ranging from NGOs and institutions to individuals?
- ◆ *How?* Ensure coherence between speeches, actions / activities, behaviours. Focus on style of communication Adopt an original and creative approach to increase the appeal

Areas of competence

In order to manage a campaign you need work parallel with different perspectives and different responsibilities.

Strategy unit

Providing guidelines
Supervising
Lobbying

Organisation unit

Coordination within and between the different levels (local, national, international)

Communication unit

Communication material
Internet unit
Press Office
Public relations

Finance unit

Build the budget
Budget management
Fund raising activities

Focus on communication

The role of communication is to simplify the complexity of the concepts and to make sure everyone understand the message.

The approach to communication should always be positive and constructive. It should give and ask respect to / from the interlocutor. It should use simple words to explain difficult concepts. It should avoid being polemic and it should not take things for granted.

The ten years that have gone by since the last campaign have brought about important change in communication technology. Today an interactive approach is fundamental to all work. The new campaign should count on and make use of internet and sms. One dimension of this would be to create a campaign web site, (e.g. [www.alldifferentallequal ...](http://www.alldifferentallequal...))

The campaign website should contain everything on the European campaign. It could have a webclub: Friends of the campaign (newsletter / mailing list). It could offer up-dated live report on the ongoing European campaign (photos, comments of participants, open forum etc.) and it could have an intranet section as a working area for people active in the campaign.

Media relations

When organising media relations it is vital to choose the priorities. You have to choose the contents: one, clearly defined message is sufficient, two messages are too much. Prioritizing is equally important when it comes to which media to address. Which media are strategic for your campaign?

The media are attracted by original messages and approaches. Creativity will make the difference (in quantity and in quality). Some practical keywords on how to work the most efficiently with the media could include:

- ♦ Select media on a strategic basis.
- ♦ Select potentially interested journalists and involve them in some activities, give them the possibility to write something *new*, and give them the possibility of offering a good story to their public.
- ♦ Work on media partnerships: co-marketing actions are useful for both.
- ♦ If you have celebrities, use them strategically.

Production Units

The planning and developing of key concepts and contents for the Campaign

ALMOST THE WHOLE of Friday 28th October, the third day of the Symposium, was devoted to the planning and developing of key concepts and contents for the new 'All Different – All Equal' campaign.

A shared experience from the working group discussions was the persistence of the phenomena addressed ten years ago. They may have acquired new forms, manifestations and dimensions, but they all remain important problems to tackle. Other factors of importance for the planning process were:

- ♦ the ongoing geographical and social changes in Europe that have created, simultaneously, new forms of both dependence and independence
- ♦ the need to address, specifically, a wider range of forms and dimensions to discrimination in comparison with ten years back
- ♦ the new technology available, such as the Internet and the widespread use of mobile phones for a wide range of purposes
- ♦ the concrete legacy from the preceding Campaign in forms of educational material and experience on how to use informal education.

These changes were reflected both in the way that the Production Units were organized and in the outcome of their work as reflected in their suggestions.

BASED ON THE earlier exchange in the Working Groups and on other input from the Programme, eight different Production Units were invited to share the responsibility to plan and develop the key concepts and contents for the new 'All Different – All Equal' campaign:

- ♦ to prepare the main European elements and core objectives and issues of the campaign
- ♦ to develop a/the programme of European activities for the campaign and to initiate its preparation
- ♦ to make proposals for activities and approaches to be developed at national level
- ♦ to define the structural, administrative, financial and management conditions for the preparation and implementation of the campaign
- ♦ to bring together and mobilise people with experience in the campaign issues, and national / European networks and institutions interested in the European campaign.

With the above questions as a grid, the groups were focused on the following dimensions of the new Campaign:

1 – *European activities*: a group that focused on shared opening and closing pan-European activities, while at the same time stressing the need for the main focus to be on national / local activities

2 – *Guidelines for National Campaigns and activities*: this group proposed organisational and content-related responses to the following three issues: How to manage the representation; How to keep the spirit; and How to combine the broad interests of the people involved in the campaign.

3 – *Objectives of the campaign, quality criteria and evaluation*: the aim of the campaign is action. It is about empowering young people to promote Human Rights, Diversity and Participation. Among the keywords for good objectives the group mentioned ‘realistic’, ‘ambitious’ and ‘measurable’.

4 – *Communication*: the group focused on both internal and external communication with particular regard to the ‘pan-European’ level and the following objectives. They also discussed the core of two possible action plans, one for the ‘classic media’ and one for the ‘new media’.

5 – *Educational materials*: the Campaign should promote and mainstream human rights education, on the one hand by using already available toolkits, on the other through collecting and consolidating new material, hence extending and updating the variety of educational materials available.

6 – *Educational approaches and activities*: this group underlined the need for consistency, quality and respect for the time factor in that education and training need time to have any visible and sustainable effect. For instance, attention should be given to the education and training activities initiated in and through the campaign which are to be continued beyond the campaign.

7 – *Coordination and fundraising*: this group underlined the need for flexible structures which are adapted to the national realities, and based and composed on practice. They also described as a pre-condition to the campaign, that if something is wanted by a structure, then the structure itself should provide start-up capital (human and financial) from within its own resources.

8 – *Coordination with other Council of Europe services*: the Parliamentary Assembly should be encouraged to partici-

pate in the campaign. The group also mentioned collaboration with the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, with the European Roma Forum, and with the Conference of International NGOs, to name a few.

A report containing The Production unit reports in full was published by the Council of Europe, November 2005.

We Must Respond to The Challenges

Introduction to the Youth Campaign on Diversity, Human Rights and Participation

Ms Anca Sirbu

Co-Chair of the Joint Council on Youth

AS WE HAVE seen in the expert-presentations and identified during the working groups, racism, antisemitism, islamophobia, homophobia, fascism, nationalism, xenophobia and all kinds of discrimination still exist today – even if in a slightly changed shape – but still threatening our society, our peers, and especially the young people belonging to minorities, to migrant and refugees groups. We need to respond to these challenges. One way is to campaign.

We need an antiracist campaign because it is inclusive of all groups of young people hit by discrimination; we need a Human Rights campaign because it is based on the respect of human dignity and because it calls on public authorities, the media and the population at large to stand up and support it; we need a participation campaign because it promotes a fair and just policy for and with young people as a result of social co-production between civil society and public authority.

A positive message

The message chosen is a positive one: All Different – All Equal: European Youth Campaign for Diversity, Human Rights and Participation. Diversity as a condition for cultural and social life, the promotion of Human Rights and

Participation as the concept of active democratic citizenship.

Aim of the campaign

To encourage and enable young people to participate in building peaceful societies based on diversity and inclusion, in a spirit of respect, tolerance and mutual understanding.

Target group of the campaign

Civil society, both at European and national levels. However, the campaign should, of course, reach out to as many young people in Europe as possible, with a particular focus on those who are victims of discrimination, and in particular through activities involving schools.

Partners

- ♦ Directorate of Youth and Sport
- ♦ European Youth Forum
- ♦ European Commission

Calendar

- ♦ early 2004: proposal submitted initially by the European Youth Forum, discussions for a public campaign
- ♦ 8 February 2005: Joint Council (12th Meeting) approved the concept
- ♦ 30 March 2005: (921st meeting), the Ministers' Deputies adopted the Terms of Reference of the European Steering Group
- ♦ 11–12 April 2005: First meeting of the European Steering Group

Composition of the European Steering Group

- ♦ 4 members of the European Steering Committee on Youth (CDEJ)
- ♦ 4 members of the Advisory Council on Youth (AC)
- ♦ representatives of the European Youth Forum
- ♦ representatives of the European Commission.

Co-operation will be established also with

- ♦ representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly
- ♦ representatives of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe
- ♦ representatives of other sectors of the CoE
- ♦ relevant experts.

National Campaign Committees (NCCs)

NCCs are currently being established in 48 state signatories of the European Cultural Convention of the Council of Europe. The exact composition of NCCs will be decided upon according to the specific situation in each country – for example, youth and other relevant (minority) NGOs, local and national authorities, government institutions and the media. Nevertheless, they should all reflect the co-management principles of the DYS. The NCCs should be established jointly by National Youth Council (or another appropriate structure in the member country), together with CDEJ members.

In many countries there are already well established structures (having held several meetings); in other countries there is an incipient structure in place waiting for instructions (from us); and in some other countries we hope that initial steps will be taken once those responsible have a clearer picture about the campaign.

Secretariat

Human resources will be made available for ensuring Secretarial tasks for the preparation and implementation of the Campaign.

General context in the Council of Europe

In the Plan of Action adopted at the 3rd Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Council of Europe (Warsaw 16–17 May 2005) section III.4 ‘Developing Youth Co-operation’, the Heads of State and Government decided

to promote diversity, inclusion and participation in society, ... to launch a European-wide youth campaign, in the spirit of the European Youth Campaign against racism, antisemitism and intolerance (1995).

In the Final Declaration from the 7th Conference of European Ministers responsible for Youth (Budapest, 23–24 September 2005) point 20 reads:

[encourage the Council of Europe] *To actively support the organization, in 2006–2007, in a European Youth Campaign on Diversity, Human Rights and Participation in the spirit of the 1995 youth Campaign ‘All Different–All Equal’, whilst making use of the experience and achievements of the Directorate of Youth and Sport in the fields of intercultural dialogue, conflict prevention and the promotion of peace, the fight against racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, islamophobia and intolerance and human rights education.”*

Activities

Activities will be undertaken at a local, national and international level, bearing in mind that the most activities should focus on involving populations at the local level. As regards the national activities, each NCC will decide on its own programme of activities, according to its facilities and options available.

There will be European activities, which the European Steering Group (with the support of the Production unit) will plan, prepare and implement. The European level events will either constitute the basis for local or national activities, or will serve to present their outcomes.

Assets, Obstacles, Needs and Tools ...

Introduction to the Youth Campaign on Diversity, Human Rights and Participation

Mr Peter Lauritzen, Head of Youth Department,
Directorate of Youth and Sport

MR LAURITZEN GAVE an overview of the whole of the Campaign, its origin and development so far. He opened his presentation with a quote from a novel, saying that, “This is my target person”: a person who is not waiting for the campaign, but has to be won for it ...

In Esther’s generation there was not even a debate about capitalism; this was a normal milieu for her, which she used with the kind of elegance typical for her in all situations of life; a demonstration against mass sacking of workers would have been as absurd to her as a demonstration against global warming or an invasion of locusts in north Africa. The whole idea of collective recommendations was alien to her; she had always believed that everybody should care for himself and live without outside help, both in financial respect as with regard to all other aspects of life.

Michel Houellebecq, ‘Opportunities of an island’

The decision to launch a campaign originates from the Warsaw Summit, 16-17 May, 2005. Responsible body is the European Steering Group. The work will be coordinated by the Directorate of Youth and Sport of which the tasks will be to

- ♦ prepare the European activities
- ♦ connect, guide and service national committees

- ♦ prepare campaign materials
- ♦ oversee all activities in terms of quality and their coherence with campaign objectives
- ♦ organise the budget and finance
- ♦ create synergies with other Council of Europe services, the European Union and United Nations organisations
- ♦ document and evaluate the campaign.

Budget 2006

Roughly €500,000 (€250,000 from the European Union, approximately €250,000 from the Council of Europe). On top of this will come voluntary contributions from member countries and a programme budget of the EYC's and the EYF within the existing rules of the co-management, i.e. through labelling activities or priority setting.

The budget for 2007 is still to be developed, based on a similar structure as above.

European activities will have to be covered by European funds; national activities will have to find national funding.

Campaign products at European level

- ♦ Shaping of the essentials of European Youth policy 2007 onwards: make it human rights based and diversity focussed, leading to a full participative democracy
- ♦ A link to ongoing discussions on a European framework convention on youth policy and a Council of Europe white paper on youth
- ♦ Continuity of campaign issues within the work priorities
- ♦ Production of specific educational materials
- ♦ Recommendations of the committee of ministers and the parliamentary assembly on campaign results
- ♦ Council of Europe youth award to be attributed to campaign projects
- ♦ Mainstream campaign results in DG IV and the Council at large

- ♦ Mainstream campaign results in the European Commission
- ♦ Mainstream results in regional youth co-operation
- ♦ Submission of a final declaration to the 8th European Conference of Youth Ministers in Kiev.

Campaign obstacles that need to be tackled

- ♦ Modernity differences between member countries
- ♦ Conceptual difference as to racism and discrimination
- ♦ Unclear campaign message
- ♦ Many specific target groups – what unites them?
- ♦ Limited budget
- ♦ Weak logistics and infrastructure

Assets for the campaign to make use of

- ♦ *Texts* such as
the European Convention on Human Rights,
the Convention for the prevention of torture and in-
human or degrading treatment or punishment,
the European Social Charta,
the Geneva convention and
National constitutions
- ♦ *Courts*, namely
the European Court of Human Rights,
the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg,
International courts, The Hague and Rome, and
National constitutional courts
- ♦ *Other* such as
the Press (Public radio and TV and ‘serious’ papers),
the Research community,
Civil society, NGOs,
some governments and some European and interna-
tional institutions and, finally,
films, books, music, theatre, artistic production ...

Things needed for a successful campaign

- ♦ Courage
- ♦ Networking capacity
- ♦ Creativity
- ♦ Curiosity
- ♦ Focus and concentration
- ♦ Organisational skill
- ♦ Tenacity
- ♦ Motivation
- ♦ Empowerment and advocacy
- ♦ Funds
- ♦ Initiative
- ♦ Empathy
- ♦ Teambuilding capacity
- ♦ Knowledge
- ♦ Communication and co-operation skills
- ♦ Awareness
- ♦ Sense of humour

Tools

Education and training

Research

Symposia and European Youth Week

Internet actions and communication

Blogs and e-learning

Cultural action and events

Lobbying and influencing the political process

Youth and community work

A symposium ...

- ♦ is a meeting point of young people, NGOs and agencies, governments and experts
- ♦ is a space of freedom of expression
- ♦ may pass recommendations which bind nobody else but the participants of the symposium
- ♦ may address its recommendations to the Joint Council on Youth and thus give the results status.

This symposium will also address itself to the European Steering Group of the Campaign, which will study the feasibility of results with regard to implementation at European level at the occasion of their next meeting on 15-16, December 2005.

The Council of Europe – Coordinator But Not a Funder

Mr Terry Davis,
Secretary General of the Council of Europe

THE SECRETARY GENERAL attended only the last session of the symposium in which the work of the production units was reported.

Regarding the question on budget and funding for the campaign, the Secretary General commented that, “the Council of Europe has no money of its own. All money comes from the member countries. A limited number of countries contribute a big proportion of the total budget – 60 % comes from France, Germany, Italy, Russia and Great Britain. I do not think it is possible to ask for more. Not all countries are willing to compensate for inflation even in their contributions.”

The Secretary General emphasized the importance of raising money at national and local levels. Partly because of budget restraints, but also because in his view, an ‘All Different – All Equal Campaign’ should start at home.

However short of resources, the Council of Europe is not short of ambitions, the Secretary General underlined. However, the Council of Europe should be seen as a coordinator more than a funder of the campaign, the Secretary General suggested.

Finally, the Secretary General voiced a personal reflection regarding the overall priorities of the campaign, suggesting a narrowing of its scope. This view did not correspond with the outcome of several days of formal and informal work and interaction of the Symposium. In their comments to the Secretary General, several participants

underlined the important role of the international community, and most particularly the support of the Council of Europe, for the general defence of Human Rights, not the least the Human Rights of sexual minorities. “We do not have anyone else but the Council of Europe to stand up for our Human Rights”, someone commented. “Not all questions can be dealt with at national level alone”.

Transforming Ideas into Actions

Closing Address

Mr Giuseppe Porcaro,

Chair of the Joint Council on Youth

FIRST OF ALL, I am impressed by the work that has been done in those few days!

It has been now almost two years that I've been involved in the discussions on the campaign; we spent many nights discussing the ideas behind this, and what we would like to achieve, and those discussions were still going on a few weeks ago when we had a meeting of the Statutory Bodies of the DYS.

You had the capacity of transforming those ideas into tangible actions that will be taken all over Europe between June 2006 and September 2007, bringing here your expertise and the ongoing work you are pursuing at all levels. I am happy to confirm the strong commitment from the Joint Council on Youth to support the campaign from the political point of view of representing both governments and youth organizations in the Council of Europe and, through the European Campaign Steering Group, ensuring that the outcomes of this event will constitute the backbone of the implementation of the Campaign.

Our mission is to act as a 'gateway' between young people and the Institution, between National and European level, and between the Council of Europe and European youth. For this reason we are, in a way, in the middle between the Institution here represented by the Secretary General and youth organizations and youth workers.

I think that the 'All Different – All Equal' campaign will open a lot of new perspectives on the contribu-

tion of young people and youth policy to the future of European societies and will promote new approaches to build a Europe of Peace. Rethinking difference through connection: this is the basic challenge of this campaign in promoting diversity, human rights and participation. And this is the exercise you have been doing here those days. But why is this a challenge? It is more and more common to learn about other cultures in schools or through the media, but we usually consider them separate from each other and too little time is spent learning about the interactions that occur on a day-by-day and even a minute-by-minute basis among states, societies, groups and identities. This 'culture of connection' that we share is opposed to a vision that sees the world fragmented and divided in blocks. It is crucial that the discourses of interactions and participation prevail over the common discourses of division and fight. It is crucial that it is the Council of Europe who promote this approach together with youth organizations. This is a hot topic for the institution. I'd just like to remind you that a few weeks ago at the last session of the Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe, the Spanish minister of Foreign affairs was reminding us precisely how the cause of peace and global security should emphasize dialogue and co-operation between different cultures, and Mr Moratinos invited the Council of Europe to play a major role in promoting intercultural and inter-faith dialogue.

With the work you have done in those four days you are giving a unique opportunity to this institution to really play a major role to take onboard this challenge with an inclusive and participatory approach, one that should reach out beyond the institutions to youth organizations, to young people and to the 800,000,000 European citizens. The task is not easy, but we are going in the right direction. Young people are investing a lot into it, and the Council of Europe should invest more now in order for the Campaign to meet all the conditions necessary to be a real success.

An Organized Effort to Promote the Values We Share

Closing address

Mr Renaldas Vaisbrodas,

European Youth Forum

THIS SYMPOSIUM BROUGHT together great minds and hearts. The feeling of excitement is here and results of the working units are inspiring offers ready to be implemented in the very near future.

Ten years ago Campaign 'All Different – All Equal' made a huge difference, and raised awareness of the multiple forms of discrimination, racism and xenophobia. The campaign gave the Council of Europe the face and the slogan that is still alive today.

Today the campaign has a face; it is all around us in this room. These are the people that believe that today, more than ever before, we need an organized effort to promote the values we share around this European continent: human rights, diversity and participation.

IN SOME WORKING groups it was mentioned that campaign now has 'teeth', and suggests:

- ♦ monitoring the way current policies on diversity, human rights and participation are being implemented
- ♦ mobilizing around the pressing matters of the campaign at all levels
- ♦ naming and shaming those that do not live up to the commitments and standards set by the Council of Europe
- ♦ building a broader coalition within the institution and member states to unite for diversity, human rights and greater participation of youth.

THIS CAMPAIGN IS about giving access to everyone to the society that belongs to its citizens.

The Council of Europe is about Human Rights, Democracy and Rule of Law. The campaign follows exactly the same lines. We want to make the Council of Europe message even more understandable and close to its youth. The proposal for the campaign is giving this opportunity. We, in the European Youth Forum, are:

- ♦ fully behind the current proposal for the campaign
- ♦ committed to engaging through our member organisation (national / international) and supporting the implementation of the campaign in both NCC's and the European Steering Group.
- ♦ ready to serve as a multiplier of campaign related information
- ♦ keen to actively follow-up on the conclusions of the Campaign and lobby for their implementation at all levels.

We, in the European Youth Forum, believe that campaign steering structures should be:

- ♦ accessible
- ♦ transparent in their work
- ♦ inclusive in their nature.

DEAR SECRETARY GENERAL, this campaign is a great opportunity for the Council of Europe.

However this campaign is impossible without appropriate resources. The Directorate of Youth and Sports needs human resources from outside, and we require financial resources complementary to the existing programme funding.

Without these conditions the campaign will be very different to the expectations and much less equal with regard to the quality of social co-production and impact.

I am convinced that our contributions will not go in vain and that our vision will be embraced by the Council of Europe.

Programme

WEDNESDAY, 26 OCTOBER 2005

- Arrival of the participants
- 15:00 Opening of the Symposium
by Mr. Ralf-René Weingärtner, Director of Youth and Sport of the Council of Europe
- Presentation of the participants
- 15:30 Introduction of the programme and methodology of the Symposium
- 15:45 Recall of the “all different-all equal”
1995 Youth Campaign – visual presentation
- 16:00 Break
- 16:30 Keynote speeches on “Racism, Antisemitism, Xenophobia and Intolerance today” *with*
Dr. Alana Lentin, researcher
Mr Bashy Quraishy, President of the European Network Against Racism
- Questions and debate
- 18:30 Reception offered by the Director of Youth and Sport
- 19:00 Dinner
- 21:00 Opening of Diversity Café

THURSDAY, 27 OCTOBER 2005

- 09:15 Introduction to the programme of the day
- 09:30 Input on the report “The Struggle Must Go On”,
by Mr Rui Gomes, Directorate of Youth and Sport

- 10:15 Working groups on different forms of discrimination, its manifestations and challenges for young people today. What should the new Campaign address and claim for?
- ♦ Racism
 - ♦ Antisemitism
 - ♦ Romaphobia/Anti-gypsyism
 - ♦ Islamophobia
 - ♦ Homophobia
 - ♦ Xenophobia
 - ♦ Disablism
- In parallel, working groups on new factors influencing the above themes:
- ♦ Globalisation
 - ♦ Terrorism
 - ♦ Nationalism and Fascism
- 13:00 Lunch
- 14:30 Working groups continue
- 15:30 Presentation of the results of the working groups
- 16:00 Break
- 16:30 Round-table on the experiences from the Campaign of 1995, moderated by *Ms Antje Rothmund*, Directorate of Youth and Sport, with the participation of youth workers active in the campaign:
- Ms Yael Ohana*
Mr Christian Scharf
Ms Alexandra Raykova
- 19:00 Dinner
- 21:00 Opening of Diversity Café

FRIDAY, 28 OCTOBER 2005

- 09:15 Introduction to the programme of the day
- 09:30 “How to campaign today” – key elements for successful social campaigning, with:
- Ms Daniela Berti*, consultant
Ms Svetlana Rubashkina, consultant

- 10:15 Introduction to the Youth Campaign on Diversity, Human Rights and Participation, by Ms *Anca Sirbu*, co-chair of the European Steering Group of the campaign, and Mr *Peter Lauritzen*, Directorate of Youth and Sport
- 11:00 Break
- 11:30 Introduction to Production Units on the Youth Campaign on Diversity; Human Rights and Participation:
1. European campaign activities
 2. Guidelines for national campaigns and activities
 3. Objectives of the campaign, quality criteria and evaluation
 4. Communication
 5. Educational materials
 6. Educational approaches; education and training activities
 7. Coordination and fund-raising
 8. Coordination with other Council of Europe services
- 11:45 Working in the Production Units
- 13:00 Lunch
Reimbursement of the travel expenses
- 15:00 Working in Production Units continues
- 18: 30 Closing of the day
- 19:00 Dinner
- 21:00 Opening of Diversity Café

SATURDAY, 29 OCTOBER 2005

- 09:15 Introduction to the programme of the day
- 09:30 Working in the Production Units continues
- 12:30 Lunch
- 14:30 Presentation of the conclusions of the Production Units

- 16:00 Conclusions by *Ms Ingrid Ramberg*,
General Rapporteur
- 16:30 Break
- 17:00 Closing session with:
Mr Terry Davis,
Secretary General of the Council of Europe
Mr Giuseppe Porcaro,
Chairperson of the Joint Council on Youth, and
Mr Renaldas Vaisbrodas,
European Youth Forum,
- 18:30 End of the Symposium.
- 19:00 Dinner
- 21:00 Music and dance at the Diversity Café

SUNDAY, 30 OCTOBER 2005

Departure of the participants

List of Participants

Representatives of governmental and non-governmental (youth) organisations

Albania

Marsela Dhimitri ♦ Window, Tirana
uopenawindow@yahoo.com

Taulant Naço ♦ Association for Youngsters with Disabilities “Beyond Barriers”, Tirana
beyondthebarriers@shqiperia.com

Anjeza Xhaferaj ♦ Islamic Relief Worldwide, Tirana
islamicrelief@abissnet.com.al www.islamic-relief.com

Armenia

Varditer Dadunts ♦ Goris Youth Union, Goris Syuni+K region
vard@freenet.am
www.youthunion.am

Edmon Marukyan ♦ “Youth Centre For Democratic Initiatives” NGO,
Vanadzor
ycdi@democracy.am www.democracy.am

Austria

Gregor Hinker ♦ World Esperanto Youth Organisation
officejo@tejo.org www.tejo.org

Sabine Klocker ♦ Rural Youth Europe, Vienna
office@ruralyoutheuropa.com www.ruralyoutheuropa.com

Azerbaijan

Arzu Hasanli ♦ Journalists’ Trade Union, Baku
soltana@mail.ru www.juhiaz.org

Pervana Mammadova ♦ YUVA Youth Centre, Baku

Belarus

Irina Belous ♦ Belarusian Union of Youth and Children’s Public
Association “RADA”, Minsk
rada@rada.by www.rada.by

Belgium

Tine Cornillie ♦ Fimcap, Antwerpen
info@fimcap.org www.fimcap.org

Tinneke De Maeyer ♦ Flemish Youth Council and Steupunt Jeugd,
Brussels
info@steupuntjeugd.be
www.vlaamsejeugdraad.be www.steupuntjeugd.be

Luis Manuel Pinto ♦ European Peer Training Organisation (EPTO) Youth
Department of CEJI (Centre Europeen Juif d'Information), Brussels
epto@ceji.org www.epto.org

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Armel Sukovic ♦ The Builders of Peace, Mostar
office@graditeljimira.org www.graditeljimira.org

Bulgaria

Veselin Iliev ♦ European Bureau for Conscientious Objection,
Stobbaerts, Belgium
ebco@ebco-beoc.org www.ebco-beoc.org

Tania Tisheva ♦ Bulgarian gender Research Foundation, Sofia
bgrf@fastbg.net www.bgrf.org

Croatia

Svjjetlana Jankovic-Paus ♦ City Council of Serb National Minority in
Rijeka
vsnm-ri@net.hr www.vsnm-ri.org

Iva Vukusic ♦ Volunteer's centre Zagreb
vc@zamir.net www.vcz.hr

Czech Republic

Miloš Kusý ♦ Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of Czech
Republic, Praha
www.msmt.cz

Jana Tikalová ♦ Human Rights Education Youth Network, Pisek
info@opim.cz www.opim.cz

Estonia

Igor Ivanov ♦ Youth Union Siin, Tallinn
org@siin.ee www.siin.ee

Finland

Markus Drake ♦ Federation of Young European Greens
fyeg@europarl.eu.int www.fyeg.org

Hasan Habib ♦ The Department of Youth Affairs, Turku
www.turku.fi/nuoriso

Katri Söder ♦ Finnish Youth Council Allianssi, Helsinki
www.alli.fi

France

Maxence de Barros ♦ Moules Frites
moules.frites@gmail.com

Fabien Pavy ♦ Le Bastion de la Jeunesse et des Actions Solidaires
(BJAS), Wasquehal
sarjpp1@free.fr

Noureddine Farssi ♦ FEMYSO
info@femyso.org www.femyso.org

Hamedy-Weya Nean ♦ Solidarites Jeunesses - YAP France, Montendre
secretariat@solidaritesjeunesses.org www.solidaritesjeunesses.org

Marie Lazaridis ♦ Ministère de l'Education nationale, Paris

Djilali Kabeche ♦ Association AMSÉD, Strasbourg
amsed@wanadoo.fr

Sophie Luttmann ♦ Marc Bloch University, Strasbourg

Georgia

Agit Mirzoev ♦ Union "Youth of Nationalities of Georgia", Tbilisi
yng@caucasus.net

Germany

Andreas Koth ♦ European Federation of Youth Service Organisations,
Frankfurt/Main
office@efyso.org www.efyso.org

Greece

Tsironis Christos ♦ ARSIS, Association for the Social Support of Youth,
Thessaloniki
infothes@arsis.gr
www.arsis.gr

Grigorios Mouladoudis ♦ "Elpida" Prevention Centre In The Eastern
Sector Of Thessaloniki
info@kpelpida.gr

Hungary

Ramiza Sakić ♦ Forum of European Roma Young People, Strasbourg,
France
feryp2003@yahoo.com

Alexandra Sipos ♦ Eurodesk Hungary. Mobilitas Information Service,
Budapest
www.mobilitas.hu

Iceland

Rosa Bjorg Thorsteinsdottir ♦ Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Reykjavik

Jón Hjalti Sigurðsson ♦ Landsamband æskulýðsfélaga (LÆF)-
Icelandic Youth Council, Reykjavik
youth@youth.is www.youth.is

Italy

Emilia Astore ♦ WFM – Young Women from Minorities, Torino
info@ywfm.org www.ywfm.org

Elvira Corona ♦ Xanadu, Maracalagonis
xanadu_cagliari@yahoo.it

Matteo Fornaca ♦ Associazione Giosef Unito, Torino
unito@giosef.it www.giosef.it

Daniele Rossini ♦ Italian National Youth Forum
info@forumnazionalegiovani.it www.forumnazionalegiovani.it

Fabio Saccà ♦ ARCIGAY - Italian Lesbian and Gay Association, Bologna
info@arcigay.it www.arcigay.it

Aboubakar Soumahoro ♦ Association Socioculturelle et Sportive
MIGRAMUNN, Napoli
migramunn@libero.it

Latvia

Nataly Kostrikova ♦ The Latvian National Youth Council (LJP), Riga
pr@ljp.lv www.ljp.lv

Irina Vasiljeva ♦ United for Intercultural Action /Youth National
Minority Programme "Golden Ball", Riga
golden_ball@inbox.lv

Lebanon

Maya Mansour ♦ Lebanese Human Rights Association, Beirut
info@aldhom.org www.aldhom.org

Lithuania

Laura Bacinskiene ♦ State Council of Youth Affairs of the Republic of
Lithuania, Vilnius
info@ujet.lt www.vjrt.lt

Saule Vidrinskaite ♦ Lithuanian Centre for Human Rights, Vilnius
info@lchr.lt www.lchr.lt

Luxembourg

Claude Bodeving ♦ Service National de la Jeunesse/ministere de la
Familie et de l'Integration, Luxembourg
secretariat@snj.stat.lu www.snj.lu

Sheila Ewen ♦ Conférence générale de la Jeunesse Luxembourgeoise
(CGJL) National Youth Council of Luxemburg
cgjl@cgjl.lu www.cgjl.lu

Malta

Glorianne Grima ♦ Youth Section, Ministry of Education, Youth and
Employment, Floriana
www.youthnet.org.mt

Moldova

Natalia-Maria-Vlada Buga ♦ Association of Disabled Students
"Gaudeamus" from Moldova, Chisinau
bvlada@moldnet.md www.asd-gaudeamus.org

Tatiana Sirbu ♦ Youth Helsinki Citizens' Assembly of Moldova, Chisinau
yhca_moldova@yahoo.com

Vera Turcanu ♦ National Youth Council of Moldova, Chisinau
info@cntm.md www.cntm.md

Netherlands

Francis Mwami ♦ United for Intercultural Action / Home on Earth,
Leeuwarden
info@homeonearth.nl www.homeonearth.nl

Lionel Schreiber ♦ The European Union of Jewish Students, Brussels
info@eujs.org www.eujs.org

Jose Spierts ♦ Dutch National Youth Council
info@jeugdraad.nl www.jeugdraad.nl

Ydwine Willemsma ♦ Youth of European Nationalities (YEN)
office@yeni.org www.yeni.org

Norway

Khanh Bui ♦ Antirasistisk Senter, Oslo
epost@antirasistisk-senter.no www.antirasistisk-senter.no

Tove Iren Lea ♦ Waggs, Brussels
www.europe.waggsworld.org

Mari Markman ♦ The national unions of students in Europe, Brussels
secretariat@esib.org www.esib.org

Poland

Ieva Grundsteine ♦ The Polish Robert Schuman Foundation, Warsaw
poczta@schuman.org.pl www.schuman.org.pl

Portugal

Ana Isabel Vieira Fernandes ♦ Laços de Rua Youth Organisation, S.
Domingos de Rana
lacos_de_rua@mail.pt

Jorge Orlando Queirós ♦ Instituto Português da Juventude, Lisbon
www.juventude.gov.pt

Henrique Ramos ♦ Conselho Nacional de Juvetntude, Lisbon
www.cnj.pt

Romania

Roxana Andrei ♦ Initiative Group Alpbach Brasov, Brasov
igalpbach_brasov@yahoo.com

Camelia Anca Nistor ♦ United for Intercultural Action / M.T.P. Oradea
info@unitedagainstracism.org www.unitedagainstracism.org

Russian Federation

Kirill Babichenko ♦ Human Rights Centre “Memorial”, Network
“Migration and Law”, Moscow
info@memo.ru http://www.memo.ru

Dmitri Makarov ♦ United for Intercultural Action
info@unitedagainstracism.org www.unitedagainstracism.org

Liana Melchenko ♦ Ombudsman Authority of the Kaliningrad region,
the Russian Federation, Kaliningrad
ombudsman_kaliningrad@gazinter.net www.ombudsman.nm.ru

Andrey Yurov ♦ Free University of Human Rights/Youth Human
Rights Movement, Voronezh
freeun@hrworld.ru www.freeun-hr.ynnet.org

Serbia and Montenegro

Ivana Cirkovic ♦ Ministry of Education and Sports of Republic of
Serbia, Belgrade
cirkovic@eunet.yu www.mps.sr.gov.yu

Aleksandra Zekovic ♦ Association for Democratic Prosperity - Zid
(ADP - Zid), Podgorica
voc@cg.yu; zid@cg.yu www.zid.cg.yu

Slovakia

Mária Bónová ♦ Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic,
Bratislava

Andrea Stránska ♦ The Youth Council of Slovakia, Bratislava
rms@rms.mladez.sk www.mladez.sk

Spain

Stephen Devisme ♦ Kalahari, Cadiz
info@mundokalahari.org www.mundokalahari.org

Faudhil Moussi ♦ Xarxa, Llíria
xarxafor@infonegocio.com

Sweden

Josefin Lindberg ♦ National Council of Swedish youth organisations
(LSU)
info@lsu.se www.lsu.se; www.streets.se

Switzerland

Catherine Pfeifer ♦ Sajv, Bern
www.sajv.ch

“The former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia“

Ilir Iseni ♦ NGO “Youth tolerance”, Debar
rinitolerante@hotmail.com

Daniela Rizevska ♦ Centre for Human Rights “Amos” Bitola
amos@amos.org.mk www.amos.org.mk

Turkey

Ali Sinan Bektas ♦ G.S.M.(Youth Services Centre), Ankara
gsm@gsm-youth.org www.gsm-youth.org

Ozgehan Senyuva ♦ Youth Express Network/ Réseau Express Jeunes
y-e-n@wanadoo.fr www.y-e-n.net

United States of America

Marius Jitea ♦ Department For Interethnic Relations, Bucharest, Romania
www.dri.gov.ro

Ukraine

Kseniya Orlovskaya ♦ European Confederation of Youth Clubs
info@ecyc.org www.ecyc.org

Viktoriya Shaban ♦ International Youth NGO “European Youth
Parliament-Ukraine”, Kiev
Oksana.Andrusyak@eyp-ua.org http://eyp-ua.org

United Kingdom

Sammy Amareh ♦ European Law Students’ Association (ELSA)
elsa@brutele.be www.elsa.org

Nahid Aslam ♦ YWCA Roundabout, Edinburgh, Scotland
www.ywcascotland.org

Beverley Craig ♦ The Queer Youth Alliance, Manchester
info@queeryouth.org.uk www.queeryouth.org.uk

Maksymilian Fras ♦ Minorities of Europe, Coventry
admin@moe-online.com www.moe-online.com

Hazel Malcolm ♦ National Youth Agency of England (NYA), Leicester
www.nya.org.uk

Wei Shen ♦ Charnwood Borough Racial Equality Council,
Loughborough
CREC@btconnect.com www.charnwoodrec.org

Simon Stevens ♦ Enable Enterprises – European Human Bridges, Coventry
www.enableenterprises.com

European Youth Forum

Renaldas Vaisbrodas
Jaakko Weuro
Hiroshima Mandee
Laura Alcoverro

International organisations

UNHCR Representation to the European Institutions in Strasbourg

Gunther Scheske; Representative
Samuel Boutruche; Legal Assistant
Hermine Masmeyer; Intern
Christel Scheske; Intern

ALECSO (Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization)

Saida Charfeddine, Permanent Observer to UNESCO

Key-note speakers and resource persons

Alana Lentin
Bashy Quraishy (European Network Against Racism)
Daniela Berti
Svetlana Rubashkina
Alexandra Raykova
Yael Ohana
Christian Scharf
Michael Raphael
Chloe Vaughan

Joint Council On Youth

Giuseppe Porcaro; Chairperson

European Steering Group For The Campaign

Sunduss Al-Hassani

Dietrich Baenziger

Preparatory group

Anca Sirbu, Advisory Council on Youth

Co-Chair of European Steering Group for the Campaign

Mariam Yassin, Advisory Council on Youth

European Steering Group for the Campaign

Beata Petes, Chairperson of the CDEJ

Bettina Schwarzmayr, European Youth Forum

Peter Lauritzen, Directorate of Youth and Sport of the Council of Europe

Antje Rothemund, Directorate of Youth and Sport of the Council of
Europe

Rui Gomes, Directorate of Youth and Sport of the Council of Europe

General rapporteur

Ingrid Ramberg, consultant

Council of Europe secretariat

Terry Davis, Secretary General

Ralf-René Weingärtner, Director of Youth and Sport

Peter Lauritzen, Head of Youth Department,
Directorate of Youth and Sport

Antje Rothemund, Executive Director, European Youth Centre Budapest

Rui Gomes, Head of Education and Training Unit,
Directorate of Youth and Sport

Dariusz Grzemny, Educational Advisor at the European Youth Centre
Budapest, Directorate of Youth and Sport

Giulio “Mac” Maistrelli, Educational Advisor, European Youth Centre
Strasbourg, Directorate of Youth and Sport

Inge Stuer, Educational Advisor, European Youth Centre Strasbourg,
Directorate of Youth and Sport

Marta Medlinska, Educational Advisor, European Youth Centre
Strasbourg, Directorate of Youth and Sport

Hans-Joachim Schild, Coordinator of Youth Partnership with the European Commission, Directorate of Youth and Sport

Michael Ingledow; Administrator, European Youth Centre Strasbourg, Directorate of Youth and Sport

Jean-Philippe Restoueix, Head of Publications, Communication and Public Relations Unit and responsible for field activities, Directorate of Youth and Sport

Jean-Claude Lazaro, Head of Division, European Youth Foundation – Solidarity Fund for Youth Mobility, Directorate of Youth and Sport

Nina Kapoor, Assistant, European Youth Centre Strasbourg, Directorate of Youth and Sport

Viktoria Karpatska, Assistant, European Youth Centre Budapest, Directorate of Youth and Sport

Erika Komon, Assistant, European Youth Centre Strasbourg, Directorate of Youth and Sport

Vincenza Quattrone-Butler, Administrative Assistant, European Youth Centre Strasbourg, Directorate of Youth and Sport

Christopher Grayson, Head of the Secretariat of the Committee on Culture, Science and Education, Secretariat of the Committee of Ministers

Heike Klempa, Secretariat of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance

Gaëlle Mamann, Secretariat of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance

Ivana D'Alessandro, Migration and Roma department / Service des Migrations et Roms

Henry Scicluna, Migration and Roma department / Service des Migrations et Roms

Agneta Derrien, Division for Citizenship and Human Rights Education

Ana Mileska, Division for Citizenship and Human Rights Education

Julia Pererva, Division for Citizenship and Human Rights Education

Paola Castellani, Division for the European Dimension of Education

Nilsy Desaint, Division for the European Dimension of Education

Arja Kifer, Division 11 Registry of the Court of Human Rights

Biljana Zasova, Division of NGOs and Civil Society, Directorate of Political Affairs