

## ALDE COLLOQUE 9 NOVEMBER 2006

Organised by MEPs Cavada and Gibault

(transcript based on note-taking)

GIBAULT We met to discuss about possible European adoption policy, to find families for children which should be their right.

Gibault involved Cavada in this. We have personal reasons to be aware of what is going on. We had opponents when we started this.

The European institutions should realize we will not abandon this struggle. An iron curtain has now been put (children can no longer leave the country).

We have here an independent journalist who made his independent film, nothing to do with us. (Chris Rogers)

GIBAULT ICA is at risk in Europe. They call it export of children. We fight with sincerity, freedom of expression. They pretend we belong to different lobbies. I am angry and fed up with these people. People adopt for good reasons too, not always selfish.

Families cannot claim the right to have a child. No country has the right to tell another country what to do. (*this was said with regret*).

Some countries banned ICA because of criminal gangs doing profit but this can't be a pretext to stop ica. Corruption should be combated but this should not affect generations of children. Autistic children in institutions don't know what it means to be caressed and loved.

The right to family from the European Convention is ignored. Recently, ICA is seen as last resort and children should be kept in the country of origin but we think this should be studied. Art 27 of UNCRC speaks about welfare of the child which must be a priority for the state: all MSs must think of this.

Tariceanu said that Gibault and Cavada are wrong. ICA means a country is incapable. This shows lack of humility. He claims to be able to deal with abandoned babies. Traffic happens. Children should be above the pride.

CLAIRE BRISSET

- history of adoption in the world, Moses etc
- In Africa a whole village brings up a child, so not just his family. We focus too much on biological ties.
- 2006 Unicef Report "Invisible Children" says there are 43 million orphans (one parent orphans included) in the world and only 35000 ICA/year. Adoption is an individual solution we must think of it at European level.
- UNCRC regulates adoption:
  - 1- domestic adoption is a priority
  - 2- Profit is banned

### 3- Best interest of the child

20 November should be the European day. It is a national day in France and Belgium.

Cavada: Our friend, Mr Frattini has just arrived.

*(Bob Graham is in the room, too)*

Cavada to Frattini: if necessary we'll do another resolution that 20 Nov will be the European Child Day. Italy is the exporter of vision on fundamental rights.

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FRATTINI

Thanks Mr Cavada, great pleasure to join on a sensitive subject that affects the every day life of European citizens.

EU promotes and protects children rights. This is a priority for EC: combat trafficking, poverty, cooperation on family rights. July- EC adopted strategy on children rights. Adoption is most important and sensitive. UNCRC and Hague set common criteria for adoption.

Hague Convention was ratified by all MSs but Greece. We encourage Greece to do that. Ratification should not create a pool of children for ICA, this is not the aim but the aim is to protect children. Only if children cannot be fostered in the home country. Signatories must ensure there is no financial gain. State must protect children w/o families (foster homes or adoption) and must respect ethnic and cultural background and continuity.

Romania – was supported by EC in applying legislation + UNCRC. EP called on Romania to change legislation. ICA limited to grandparents is unusual but this is the choice of Romania and it is up to Romania and the measure must be seen in the context of that country. Children in institutions decreased from 100000 to 28000. The no of abandoned children in Jan-Jul 2006 was 1054. They are not orphan, they have parents. The government guaranteed family type measures.

However, there are cases that are not satisfied; applicant families must be replied as mentioned in the 2005 Regular Report on Romania.

I told the minister of justice and the Prime Minister that families must receive immediately an answer, positive or negative, that is in the best interest of the child.

EC supported the restructuring process with 160 MEuro.

In Europe adoption is excluded from the 2003 Regulation on parental Responsibility deliberately and there is no study about adoption laws. European network of Observatories – study in 2006- very interesting report. Adoption is not mentioned.

I intend to consult with MSs to have a political discussion about this subject. The European juridical network should be the territory for discussion amongst MSs. A legal response should include a judicial authority. Mr Cavada, I can't deny that the right to family is not satisfactory within EU and that foster is legally acceptable but socially it is not entirely satisfactory. There are no rules and common guidelines. If the Hague plan can be reviewed, adoption should be included.

Children are a priority but every day we hear about abuses in children homes, I'm talking about MSs not about Romania. We need agreement in the EP and the European Council. I would like your support.

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PATRESCU, UK adoptee from Romania

INTRO: FILM done by Chris Roger: youngster adopted in UK from a Romanian institution for disabled children about his return to Romania. Visiting with adoptive mother recently the institution for disabled (but there are no longer disabled children there, only adults). His visited grandmother and learned that his mother had died and that she suffered for him every day after he left. He was crying he could not meet her alive.

This young man (speaks English and Greek but no Romanian) is now a cameraman in UK. He came with his adoptive mother. He said why these children are still there, how unlucky they were. I was tied up in Ungureni. Children should have a 2<sup>nd</sup> chance to be adopted by foreigners.

He said he goes there every year as a volunteer to do knitting, barbecue, sports with the disabled. *(strange is this is not the 1<sup>st</sup> year he goes to Romania that he did not look for his mother before when she was still alive; adoptive mother says in Roger's film she was afraid he'd love his mother but in the end decide not to be selfish and take him there- too late).* We have this movie shown in the conference.

Cosmetically the institution looks better but they have .no socks, no shoes, no occupation.

CAVADA provoking the audience: Does anyone in the room think that what they said is not true? Nobody.

ROELIE: I found the girl crying in the hall. She felt horrible...

CAVADA: Please leave the room

ROELIE: I have worked for 8 yrs in the Commission on the Romanian children

CAVADA: Please leave the room.

*Roelie goes to Frattini to say who she is.*

Patrescu: they live and die in misery, central heating does not work. If people wish to adopt, why not?

*Frattini left.*

GIBAULT: Larissa, 18 yo, she wrote to us. She was abandoned at 2yo and was not adopted which was her dearest wish. She is very brave as she had to walk 15 km at 4 am to get to the airport in time.

LARISA

Thank you for inviting. I was in a private orphanage in very good conditions because it is funded by Mr Tiriach. I am sorry about the film I saw and I know that in Romania there are still children who live in such bad conditions. I was born in Alba Iulia, at the age of 4 I was brought to Brasov. When I was 7 I was put in an institution, I went to the music school and for this I thank enormously to Mr Tiriach. But I did not agree that the staff of the orphanage came only for the money. Children or physically and psychologically maltreated although they had all conditions. It's better to be in a poor family. A was beaten they hit my head to the radiator, I still have the scar, I was kicked out in socks. If they wanted, the staff did not feed us. If they received gifts for us, they gave us only what their children did not want.

When I was in secondary school, I requested to go to Bucharest because nobody trusted me.

GIBAULT: Anything you want to ask, Larisa?

LARISA: I felt the need to speak to somebody to ask you to obtain a scholarship abroad.

CAVADA: Could you get this from Romania?

LARISA: I don't know.

CAVADA

We're not against Romania, of course, we voted for accession but we can't let a country get away with anything. We shall be careful that our witnesses who came here today are protected. If you love your country you try to improve it.

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ANNE CARINE- French adoptee from Romania, approx +20 y.o.

The problem of the two cultures is not a problem but a benefit. Lots of children are doing well. My parents always answered my questions about Romania. I never had a problem with being adopted. I don't think it's any problem.

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JANICE PEYRE – President of adoptive parents association Enfance et Familles d'adoption ( 11 thousand adoptive parents).

Sometimes adoption fails but this is the exception and not the rule. There are children in foster care in France but what will they do when they become adults? Sometimes they don't have nationality etc.

If natural parents have rights, children have rights too. We admit failures. Families must be supported. Adoption must be prepared case by case, should not be fast.

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Anne Decerf – dr. in Psychology at the Univ. of Liege.

She explained about children rebirth imagination in adoption and identity problems, emotions of adoption. Narcissistic reconstruction. Adopted children caress their skin. They must feel wanted.

Children create rebirth in their mind and this is how they manage to survive.

*(de Combret arrived at 11.55)*

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CAVADA: Very interesting presentation, the universe of reality is different. Laws rarely achieve what lawmakers mean. We can see people are reticent. Let's have a debate. We need laws to change the thinking.

PANAIT: Thanks to Gibault and Cavada for the invitation. I hope to find out more about the policies in the Member States, because the main discussion is about adoption, which is not my area. Mr. Frattini mentioned the progress in Romania and gave figures, starting from the success of Patrescu, I would like that all children are successful and I can give the example of Sorin Scaunasu who went to study in France. There are many Romania children who go to study abroad. The images from Ungureni are not up to date images, it is only adults there nowadays. Those are images from another system. The fact that children are not dressed, is absolutely incorrect. You visited Romania and we met. You may present your own views, Larissa has a future, she is in the best music school in Bucharest, she was offered this possibility. Romania should no longer be given as a negative example. Francois de Combret has great merit in child protection in Romania. I greet him. It is a young system and it is not perfect, but which system is perfect? Is the French, the British, the Italian system perfect?

CAVADA: Thank you for what you said. Here we say the truth, progress had been made – we all agree – but we are not interested in that. But you with or the European Union, you must

continue. I cannot understand this nationalism. We MEPs, can we look in the mirror if we know problems exist and money does not exist. We want to put an end. We are not against you or your country, we are not criticizing you, but trying to help you. You do not want us. We will not give up to help you. It is your responsibility, not my responsibility. You can speak later and I know the linguistic problem that you got.

POUPARD: Thanks to the three youngsters who came to this colloque. The voice of the children is very important. Romanian children were victims of a horrible system for years, due to lack of profound link with their mothers. This is a problem all over the world, homage to the families who adopted. There are hundreds of thousands of happy cases and we should not criticise intercountry adoption for a few thousand cases, which are not happy cases. The traffic and the money paid for intercountry adoption is a scandal. The Unicef position on ICA is based on the CRC and the Hague Convention. ICA can only be a solution if there are no solutions in the country. There should be no financial gain. Children should be brought up by their families. Unicef promotes domestic solutions. Sometimes ICA can become a better solution for children. Unicef cannot promote ICA per se. We prevent ICA in national disaster situations, for example the Tsunami. ICA is not the right response. ICA is a possible solution as the last legal resort when we are sure the other solutions are not possible.

For the UN, national sovereignty is important. Restricting ICA is not against the CRC or the Hague Convention. It is neither an obligation nor an option.

General remarks: abandonment and adoption. Thirty years ago, in France, there were 30.000 adoptable children, out of which 10.000 were adoptable.

Nowadays in France there are less than 3.000 adoptable children. Romania is at the beginning of a new phase. It must ensure that the number of abandonments goes down. ICA must remain an exception. The first generation of adopted children are now adult, they are part of the world landscape. Adoption is positive solution especially for young children.

Foster families are an alternative, but often there are problems. According to information about the UK, which has a long tradition, there is a shortage of 7 to 10.000 foster families. And children are being sent far away from their biological families.

I have been in Romania for 4 years, and I have seen the progress over the last 5, 6 years. It is undeniable. Institutions have been closed. There is foster care, there is now legislation which is in line with the CRC. This legislation is effective. Abandonment of children exists and according to the report made 2003/2004, and which was backed up by info from the Romanian government this year, abandonment is linked with behaviour of social workers and staff. Children up to two years old cannot be placed in an institution, instead they stay in hospital. That is something that has to be dealt with. The Romanian legal system is not ready to apply the new law. The files are pending because judges are reluctant to declare children adoptable, because they cannot be sure effort of reintegration were seriously applied by the social workers. We supported the moratorium, due to the signals we had that adoption NGOs were not respecting the standards. But there were files, and although I hate the word, there were 1000 pipeline cases. They should have been reviewed. Now we wonder, it is not adequate that after five years one says they were solved in the best interest of the child and no child can be send into intercountry adoption. There were strong links between children and the families who promised to adopt them. Romania's contribution in this debate should be essential because they know about intercountry adoption. We should stop pointing the finger to Romania, but also to Bulgaria. Unicef has a great task regarding abandoned children, institutionalised children, and adoption of children.

XXX Bulgaria: The Bulgarian situation is very similar to the Romanian situation. The Hague speaks about receiving countries and states of origin. You know why. In Bulgaria, like in

Romania there are hundreds of thousands of children in institutions who have never eaten a banana, or they have a fruit once per year. No toys, no family. So why states as Romanian and Bulgaria cannot provide basic needs and promote ICA as the children cannot have a normal life in their own country. ICA should not be a priority, international law must apply. In 2003 the family law was amended and the new laws said ICA was the last resort. If a child cannot be adopted in Bulgaria then it is put on a list for ICA. The situation was 1000 per year, afterwards 500, and in 2003 it reduced drastically to maximum 100 per year. And according to our information there are 30.000 children in institutions. They say the EU is against ICA. But Hague supports the best interest of the child. And the CRC says the best interest of the child is a priority. We do not care if they tell us we export children. If there is not enough domestic adoption, ICA is in the best interest of the child. If there are no borders, what does it matter the child is in Italy. I suggest that a declaration is adopted here, to counter these arguments. Is Europe pro or against ICA. If we do not promote ICA, then we promote trafficking.

CHRIS ROGERS: I was not scheduled to speak, but this is communist propaganda (the Panait speech). I was in Romania eight years ago the first time. Now I expected better conditions than twenty years ago. I spoke to Romanian, British, American, German and Dutch NGOs. They did not want to be taped, because there is a blatant breach of human rights in Romania. Children have scars from neglect. I saw one good institution in Bacau, but for the rest I am sorry to disappoint you: it are bad conditions. It is fantastic that Romania will be a member state. We are here to help Romania and her children.

ROZALINA PETROVA (BG Ministry) gave short introduction on progress in Bulgaria. Strict control on adoptions. Drop of children in institutions of 10% in four years. Less children for ICA.

CAVADA: Please do not get the feeling this is a court. We are not talking about defending national pride, we are here to help.

If you think differently, you are wrong and you have no place here.

BREAK – TWO CHRIS ROGER DOCUMENTARIES (ITV – SEPTEMBER BABY SELLING AND DISABLED CHILDREN

PRESS Conference – Secretary of State Bertzi was not allowed to participate.

CAVADA/GIBAULT Summary:

We talk about Romania as well as Member States. Adoption is not easy in UK, France, Finland, or Greece. In the EU, adults have freedom of movement and children should have the same. We look at all Europe, not just Romania and Bulgaria. We speak on the basis of experience. The EC welcomed the moratorium, but what about the children. We are willing to go to court.

There are people being accused of doing paid adverts against Romania in British newspaper. You can see Chris Rogers films, what we say here is moderate. We cannot leave children in those appalling conditions.

HELEN JONES: Framework of permanence to ensure children have a connection to family life. England has a highly regulated system. Ninety thousand placements, out of a population of 11 million children. History of adoption etc. Now also special guardianship.

CAVADA: What do we need in Europe. We need provisions to meet children's need when adopted nationally or internationally – legal, physical and emotional permanence. What should be changed to have a European adoption policy. I propose we work together on common standards.

HELEN JONES: There are different legal processes in Western Europe. There is lots of learning to be done. We have significant differences between UK and other countries. A month ago we issued a Green Paper and we have a lot to do.

CAVADA: Would you be in favour to start with a common text?

HELEN JONES: I do not think this would be possible on short term, because we start from such different places.

OMBUDSMAN LITHUANIA presented the progress in Lithuania. CAVADA asked what her opinion was about EU texts. Should they be revised?

She replied: first we must consider them from the perspective of domestic legislation. There is no research about the situation in Member States. Every Member State have to think their own ways to protect children. Maybe some of them will choose ICA.

ISABELL LAMMERANT (Louvain University); There is a co-responsibility between sending and receiving countries. Institutions do not give proper stability to a child. Jurisprudence in European Human Rights court is about the right to family life and we should try to force reintegration of children and to prevent abandonment. Every child should have a permanent planning. There are less children than families who want to adopt. The countries of origin said in The Hague that they cannot meet the demand of receiving countries, but there are special need children, or groups of siblings, waiting for adoption, many in vain. This affects Western European countries. There are too many forgotten children. As regards ICA, there is pressure on countries of origin that can lead to abuse. That is why some countries close their door, and you cannot ignore this. Even if pressure comes from families and is based on generosity, it still has an effect on the country of origin.

ICA becomes more sensitive. There are more and more special need children. Prospective adopters need to be trained. I am not sure Europe can mean something in this.

Most countries compete because they cannot get enough children and they put pressure on the countries of origin.

CAVADA: Can children look for parents in other countries. Now we have over protection and over regulation. If in Europe adults can travel, how can we explain that children cannot. There are children abandoned, what is their future? We are all mortal, we spent lots of money to come over here, and time is passing.

LAMMERANT I cannot reply for ever.

Belgian women from audience: There are children to be adopted in Belgium and they are not adopted. We have waiting lists for children. The problem of Romania started here. We are partly responsible for adopting all these children. We must see that children have decent families.. **(THEN HER MICROPHONE WAS SHUT DOWN)**

CAVADA: Yes, but if the child is abandoned and not adopted, what happens in other countries?

LAMMERANT We should improve adoption services.

Question from Audience: when is a child declared abandoned and becomes adoptable?

CAVADA: This is a debate in itself.

DE COMBRET (arrived) I have been saving Romanian orphans. We have to respect the right to a family. Romania is a second home for me. According to the Hague Convention ICA gives a permanent family, and according to the CRC also children should grow up in a families. Article 39 of the 2004 Romanian adoption law runs against the CRC and The Hague Convention. These laws are not Romanian laws, but experts paid by the EU made them. DCP directors were not consulted, they know better. The number of adoptable children is bigger than the number of families allowed to adopt.

(Here Van Loon - Hague Convention - arrived)

DE COMBRET: I have been in Romania 56 times since 1990. I saw progress and I congratulate the two Romanian colleagues. Together we must deal with the massive abandonment. How can we guarantee them a family? DCP directors do not have resources for this. They regret they do not have social aid to prevent abandonment. Should they not help these families instead of foster care. There are 20.000 children and the number is increasing. This not acceptable, it is very costly and alarming. The cost of a child in foster care is 200 euros per month. Would it not be better to help the family of the child. The right to family is not respected. First it must be national adoption, according to Bertzi there are 1.000 adoption per year, while 20.000 children are in foster care. We must continue ICA.

The paradox is: Romania is the country with most abandoned children and the only country that banned ICA.

Dostoevski talked about the sacrifice of children. Opponents speak about child trafficking, but there are rules to prevent trafficking.

Moratorium means provisional. Gunter Verheugen wrote to me, I can show you copies of the letter, and promised that the moratorium would last until the new legislation is adoption. And he did not say it would be a permanent moratorium. As Mr. Rogers shows, a ban of ICA leads to trafficking. Another argument of the opponent MEP: it encourages people to abandon. It means ICA should be prevented. Again this argument is refuted by facts.

Next year there will be free movement of people, goods and services. If ICA is not allowed it means children cannot travel. It is like an iron curtain.

*(De Combret left, arm in arm with Panait)*

I HAVE A DREAM. I see children with their arms lifted looking for love. And far away I see families with their arms wide open.

We must have a European adoption agency.

VAN LOON (Hague Convention) : We should look at the need of the child, not the need of families. Institutionalisation is not good for a child. There should be cooperation to avoid situations where children end up in void. Example Romania, where children were taken to the UK clandestine, they lost Romanian citizenship. Adoption decisions need to be taken in the country of origin.

The US will ratify the Hague Convention next year.



MELITA CAVALLLO (Italy) We have seen flows of adoption from Eastern Europe. Now we see restrictions due to strategies in these countries: Romanian and Bulgaria. The number of children in institutions decreased, but adoptions decreased also, so where did the children went. I have information that children are exploited and badly treated in the family. In Italy very few children are adopted, because people don't give children for adoption. Something should be done. When a child becomes adoptable we must go over nationality and language. All EU countries are part of the same edifice. It is not losing a child, but educating a child. We must ensure the UN Charter on Fundamental Rights.

MEP TANNOCK I am not an expert on ICA, and I came across this by accident because I was close to the US and Israel Mission, as they had no MEPs and they asked me to support them. When Romania's accession was discussed, we talked about corruption, relations with Hungary and Ukraine, but not child protection – a serious issue on which Romania failed to progress. I was informed by experts.

Is this acquis, is it part of the Copenhagen criteria, or a Member State issue?

I was accused of intervening in Romania's affairs. But the same colleague who accused me, told Romania what to do. Now there seems to be confusion if Romanian legislation is compliant with The Hague.

Children stay in hospitals instead of institutions; they don't go to school but they work. A Romanian doctor shared my concern about the moratorium.

In my view not much has changed, my intervention was a humanitarian one, regarding the pipeline cases. ICA should not be the first solution, but the last resort. It is a very delicate matter. We found children brought into the UK by their fathers, and they end up in foster care. I do not know, can they be challenged by the mother in Romania? If children are not registered, they can be sold on the black market? I don't know, but not much progress has been made since the Declaration. I regret Commissioner Rehn did not answer my letter of 28 September.

The Romanian government did not answer to the Declaration.

I will raise this with Romania and Bulgaria. I heard Serbia Montenegro wants the same. I do not want to be accused that I refer only to one country.

**I think the Structural Funds should be frozen until we are satisfied with the child protection system in Romania.**

CAVADA Tannock and Baron Crespo encouraged me that I would be able to get enough signatures for the Declaration.

Ms GRANET (CoE) - overview of CoE conventions etc –

There are blood rights, even when the child is adopted. There is jurisprudence of the Strasbourg Court (right to private and family life – example Pini/Bertrani case where the child did not want to leave Romania. CoE is developing a new paper to take on board changes in society and jurisprudence in Strasbourg court.

Consent for adoption should not only be given by the birth mother, but also by the father if he is knows.

Consent may be given only six weeks after birth to avoid pressure when the mother is fragile. Children have the right to know their identity and authorities the obligation to keep papers for fifty years. Agencies are bound to provide this to the child, if the state in question allows this.

Article 24 of the UN Charter on Fundamental Rights speaks about basic needs, but that is no binding stipulation.

CAVADA Is it good to develop European legislation, should we make it more flexible. Could we impose a single standard for adoptions or ICA. Is it useful? Perhaps we need a Green Paper. This is the question to reply to today.

KEVIN BROWNE: SPEECH see Annex

KEVIN BROWNE For the future there is a plan to set up an office to monitor child rights in the European Commission.

CAVADA Thank you for balancing the discussion with your presentation. I was not going to invite you because I did not know you. But Ms Nicholson it would be useful to benefit from your expertise. If I remember well, you lobbied for her to become Doctor Honoris causa, but we talk about policies here, not persons. We don't criticise countries, but policy. We don't attack anybody.

THEODORA BERTZI I have been working for ten years in child protection and consider myself a specialist. I am sad to hear this discussions, after we made every single effort for our children, before entering the EU. As if we do not love our children. I am a sensitive person, and I don't think somebody loves Romania's children more then the children in the system. I often wondered why this pre-occupation on Romania's children. And I still don't have an answer to this question. In the past mothers were not supported, they were separated from their children. The Unicef Manual for Members of Parliament explains clearly in chapter 12 what should be done. Between 1998 and 2001 the number of ICA was more than double the number of national adoptions in Romania. There were families who put requests for children who were not adoptable, or for several children. The new legislation was done with European expertise. They worked together with the Romanian technical team at European standards. One cannot expect that a law is fully operational in 1,5 years, because mentalities need to change.

There are 1.300 children for whom we have no post-adoption report, 48 children without identities left in Romania, 12 of them had their identities taken by adopted children.

I am working on this with Interpol and I took my responsibility to speak about this.

In Romania there are no twice more families wishing to adopt than adoptable children. ICA is not a necessity.

PANAIT I consult periodically with Kevin Browne and Francois de Combret. ICA is not my speciality. In Romania we have individual protection plans. There are standards for services which other countries in Europe don't even have. There were 80.000 children in institutions when ICA was possible; and now when ICA is not possible we have 25.000 children in residential care.

I advice Chris Rogers to go and film with a non-hidden camera, perhaps he will see more good services like the one he saw in Bacau.

CAVADA announced the Romanian children have something to say

LARISSA I was happy to be here and the discussion about children from orphanages. I believe you know the case of Florentina Pini. I visited her in summer, for two weeks and three days. It was very beautiful. Her parents ask her "how are you, are you ok?" She plays the violin, she has a piano. I have no idea about the other adoptions.

As regards the orphanages in Romania, there should be at least more domestic adoptions if it is not possible to have intercountry adoptions.

THEODORA BERTZI intervened: You signed a letter that you could be adopted and that this was refused to you. But unfortunately no family submitted an application for you.

LARISSA I signed the letter, because the staff comes only for the money and not for the children, the staff of the institution. A child has to call somebody Mum and Dad.

PATRASCU Children left behind must be helped. They should have central heating, please help these children. In 2003 I saw conditions like 16 years ago.

VAN LOON The EU must be interested in children in care, and membership of Romania and Bulgaria. We must stick to international standards. We must keep the link with the natural family, be it in domestic or intercountry adoption. Placing children in institutions is not ideal. ICA is regulated by CRC and The Hague. ICA can be a fall-back, a possibility. For the modalities and conditions The Hague is the reference point. We need a better definition for adoption – Council of Europe works on it. We must set up a database. We must enable single mothers to keep their children.

CAVADA We shall circulate to everyone the discussions of today. We shall have another meeting in six months with a constructive proposal. We will not abandon this fight, this is just the beginning.