

I The modern state, a place of A equality

The modern state has been shaped by the socio-cultural ~~real~~ factors existing in Europe. Democracy as we live it today is a ~~result~~ ^{political} expression of the modern state. It is

~~The modern state~~ is anchored on the concept of citizenship. For each individual, citizenship is a status. It flows from the awareness that the sovereignty of the state has its foundation in the people taken as a whole.

Being a status, citizenship conveys also a legal position: it expresses the equality of



men + women before the law. B
But let us look, for instance, at
~~the situation of w.~~ ~~that~~ ~~for~~ ~~many~~
decades in the modern state
50% of its population was kept
outside ~~the~~ equality! ~~It~~ ~~did~~ ~~it~~
have the basic rights of
citizenship.

This case points out to the
fact that in the evolution of
democracy, the social +
cultural values dominant
in each epoch conditioned
its expression. So much so that
in the case of ~~the~~ ^w there was
contradiction between the
principle of universality of
rights of democracy and
~~their~~ ^{its} practical application.



Such factors belong to a ^c ~~given~~ ~~period~~ ~~in~~ ~~history~~. They can change but are often perceived for a long time as being part + parcel of democracy as a concept.

The case about w's citizenship raises also another question. In many constitutions one article refuses the idea of any discrimination and states the equality before the law.

But, at every ~~point~~ ^{period} of history, we have to ask ourselves: which law?



The law follows, to some extent, D
the evolution of social life. —
It doesn't elaborate principles,
guarantees or freedoms
alien to the experience of
collective life of people, of
their relations + mutual
accountability.



This means that the
equality before the law is
subject to the way
society sees itself: self-under-
standing of society in each
period gives to the equality
before the law renewed
contents.

Again, the socio-cultural
realities precede + shape the
law.

Those socio-cultural E realities which give shape to democracy are not ~~analyzed~~ and with sufficiently analyzed.

In the last 100 years, there have ^{took place} ~~been~~ in Europe spectacular ~~changes~~ ^{events} in the social + economic ~~order~~ realities. They influenced the identity of the modern state and contributed decisively to the geo-political position of each State.

~~How~~ ~~In spite of all this,~~ And yet, Europe has kept with obstinacy its democracies at the level of the first rights + jus_



tutions and within F
the framework of the socio-
-cultural realities of the
beginning of democracy in
the modern state.



Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

Democracy + develop/ - two sides of the same reality

• Civic + political rights as a basis for democracy

Civic + political rights were, for many decades, the expression of citizenship.

Thus, for a long time, democracy in Europe was divorced from other rights which were gaining shape as a result of the socio-cultural transformations which took place in many countries.

There are in the modern state 2 parallel currents.



One covenant is concerned with the fundamental guarantees + freedoms, is ~~not~~ spelled out in all Constitutions and remains the measure of a democratic regime.

The other covenant appears often at a second level, within the frame of another logic. Its components are not called upon ~~to~~ for the definition of the democratic ideal. I am speaking of the rights which are demanded by the new organization of individual + social life as brought ~~by~~ about by industrialization + correlated phenomena.



It is a perplexing fact that I
such a covenant has not been
incorporated in the foundation
of democracy. (Related to the
fact that only now the "public
policies", the performance of
governments are the object of
political science.)

Together with industrialization
came uncontrolled urbanization,
literacy of ~~popular~~^{the} masses,
mass-media as part of cultural
life, need of protection against
work accidents, etc. However,
European democracies have
marginalised those facts which,
paradoxically, were at the basis
of its strength in the world.

(2 Pachs)



Taken by a rigid concept, Europe evolved a concept of democracy (for itself + for countries in other continents) in which democracy is equated with the respect for all civic + political rights + with the institutionalization of the mechanisms needed to safeguard such rights. J

The political discourse of Europeans - at the level of the State + its organs as at the level of great party-groups - shows clearly that philosophy.
(answer of EEC to P. n. 76)



Emergence of social, economic + cultural rights K

With industrialization the modern state is linked with technology. This leads to new demands for the individual, the society + the State.

Industrialization was ~~dis~~ looked upon as an extension of man's capacity to master nature.

Gradually it became clear that the macro-social effects of industrialization meant, in their turn, the rights of man as individual.

Hence the beginning of the formulation of social + economic + ^{cultural} rights. They are an expression of the demand put before the State by the individuals to protect them in the new conditions created by the ~~new~~ industrialization.



Economic rights appear as the ↳
demand made by fertile populations
fleeing the countryside + deprived
of their traditional agricultural
resources. They aim at regulating
the economic activity. (USA)

Social rights are a typical European
phenomenon. They are the aftermath
of the economic situation. Thus we
see successively, protection of mother-
hood, night-work, paid ^{regular} holidays,
today they cover all the ~~dis~~ contributions
of ~~the~~ the work-life cycle of each
individual person. This ^{justit.} security
is what we know today as the welfare



Cultural rights is their complete
form are recent (though the right of
compulsory education existed in
most European countries). They
express the priority of spiritual values
over the material values of existence.

The existence of this type of rights ^H
+ the institutionalized answer to them
created what is called as welfare Stt.

It is not only the exponential ex-
penses which are at stake. It is
the very concept of the social rights
which is challenged. ~~to~~ They

have appeared as a corrective of
the difficulties encountered in the
work pattern of the industrialized
world. Though fulfilling a role

of security for people, it is not any
more in the linkage to work that
social rights find their legitimacy.

They tend to be seen as an auto-
nomous category, springing forth
from the right to live. New

structures are needed which have
to be thought away from the link
to work. Let us then be clear that
the welfare Stt is at stake not only



for budgetary reasons but because^N
of the new phase of the relation
industrialization to Society.

A // difficulty is found in
what concerns cultural rights.

The linear rationality of economies
tends to put cultural rights at
the end of the ^{State} public budget. Again
new forms are needed.

We have to state that citizenship
has been enlarged in these last
50 to 100 years. The social/econ/cult
rights of the individual are,
together with civic + political rights
part + parcel of democracy.

M 4 francs



All the conceptual work needed remains to be done. Europe has to think its own development, has to give societal goals to its political process.

Though ~~incorporation~~ taking into account a geo-strategic factor, former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt states clearly in his book -- that it is imperative for Europe to think its goals + to create the necessary mechanisms. A strategy is needed of actors of the future + corresponding actors is imperative.

This is today the great challenge Europe is facing. Otherwise, speaking of employment, will remain a vague utopia. Such a massive problem can only be faced in the context of a global strategy for Europe.



Political system where delegation^e
of power passes through soc via
technology + media.

A second challenge is ~~being~~ ^{before}
Europe + encompasses some of the
new issues that have come up
sharply on this continent.

Let us be honest from the
outset: we are looking towards
the xxi century with the same
frame of reference of the best rep
of industrialization (from xviii cent.
to the end of ii ww).

The ~~represent~~ delegation of power
of the representative democracy
didn't go much further than
widening the scope of the tradi-
tional participation of the peasant
in the decisions concerning his
village. One man is chosen to
represent the interests at state
and life goes on.



The industrial era left, in the representative system, the consequences of opposing economic interests in the production cycle. There was enough potential in the technical process to answer to such conflicts. However, such clashes were transformed into ideologies. From the technical process + from the industrial world, these ideologies went overboard & as to encompass all aspects of society and the behaviour of all social groups.



Hence the perplexity before the decisions of the electoral body:
- the proletarians of yesterday are the petite bourgeoisie of today;
- the poor, in name of their rights, reject in many European countries, the foreigners who came to do the work they don't want to do anymore;

— the very goals defined by R
the political leaders are almost
irrelevant in electoral sociology

~~it is we can see there that it is~~
the match struggle which counts.

Several factors contribute to
this paradoxical behaviour.

Opinion polls, face-to-face debate
on TV ~~among~~ between political
candidates make of politics another
show in a time of mass-media
events.

Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

At every stage, the political
project of the candidates,
as well as the decision-making
of the electorate

are conveyed by the media
through technological means.



Of course, technical means + tools represent evolution + progress in the understanding of the masses' behaviour.

But we can ask:

- is there still any possibility for the individuals to choose or ~~this~~ is their thinking totally conditioned by the technical means geared to the masses?
- have the masses a will?

Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

Modern culture has been unable to encompass science + technology. There are no cultural codes to enable the individual to face the new language of technology.

This is the huge phenomenon of modern illiteracy expressing itself in new forms of ignorance.



In such a context, the citizen I loses the root of his freedom in the exercise of civic + political rights.

Therefore, one of the main tasks of today is the capacity to encompass, in the general movement of culture, science + technology. It is up to culture totally of our time, having understood the new tools we are working with or which are working on us, to help men + w to become again subject in the process of social + political evolution.

It is the complexity of modern time which is at stake here.



We may even consider that 4
Europe needs to assume fully the
logics of automation of all infra-
-structures of society. The more
basic infra-structures will acquire
a required degree of automation,
the freer the citizens will be for
imaginative tasks of innovation &
full exercise of responsibility.

It is why Europe is facing
new ways of structuring the
basic forms of citizenship.
New forms of social organization
won't fail to have consequences
on the political level.

