



Democracy was referred to in the Preamble of the Treaty of Rome. Many countries (including my own) were then outside the scope of the Treaty. ^{And yet,} Throughout the whole continent the dream + the desire for full citizenship made its way to a true democratic life. The European Communities and then the European Union became the symbolic promised land of such dreams + desires. Did they hold ~~it~~ ^{their} promises?

Two difficulties ~~were~~ ~~on~~ had to be faced:

— one the limited concept of citizenship which is alienating the attachment of Europeans to a common ideal;

— the other the concentration of the building up ~~first~~ of the Common Market, then of the Single Market, of the European



Monetary System, + finally of the Economic + Monetary Union.

Let me refer to the first, to citizenship.

Indeed, plunged in the Cold War and in the wake of the battle conducted at UN about the translation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights into a Convention binding ^{for} all States, the Western countries remained attached mostly to civic + political rights in their ~~most~~ elementary components.

The Maastricht Treaty seemed at first to improve the situation ~~by~~ giving shape to citizenship to Europeans, but its steps were timid + limited:

- the right to elect the EP
- the right of ~~via~~ freedom of movement
- the right to vote in local elections of the country of residence
- the right to be defended protected by the representatives of another Member of the EU in a Third Country



At the same time, the tremendous transformations that took place in Central + Eastern Europe led the Western countries to formulate strict conditionality on the civic + political front, forgetting that the other Europe had a universal culture of social rights (whatever may be the misgivings about their quality). ~~Indeed~~ The Berlin wall fell on one side ^{while} ~~but~~ the other side remained standing in ^{the} self-righteousness of its democratic life. And yet, in the United Nations, all Western countries ^{from Europe} had ratified the two International Covenants ~~and~~ on civic + political rights, ^{on one side} and on social, economic + cultural rights, ^{on the other side,} whose preambles were identical. They said:

"The civic, political, social, economic + cultural rights are interdependent and indivisible." — How to give shape, among the 15, to what we agreed long ago and of the community of all nations?



~~There are many reasons to support
the A'dam declaration.~~

In the last 5 months I had the
chance to participate in ~~the~~ National
Conferences of Non-governmental organizations
in 10 countries of Member-States of the EU.
Everywhere the ~~same~~ concern for a Europe
of civic + social rights was affirmed and
suggestions proposed for the TGC, ~~in the press~~
If those thousands of activities were heard
today I would feel, as I do, that the
Amsterdam Declaration added momentum
and brilliance
~~to what and promise to a program~~
process that cannot be stopped.

Indeed, there are many ~~off~~ reasons
to support the A'dam declaration.



Adam Del-rand



Social Quality 8/4
in Europe

The A'dam declaration comes at the right moment.

(A) ~~It produces concepts that~~ overcome the fallacy of mere "quantity" that characterized policies of past decades. ^{They show} ~~It shows~~ that, if it is true, that a critical mass is necessary for those who are deprived of the most essential rights and that than the quantity is needed in order to reach quality, ^{they show} ~~it shows~~ also that there is in human values a precedence of quality over quantity.

~~It~~ raised the social from a mere correction ^{of} or adjustment ^{to} of the hazards of economics to where it should stand: a category of thought bound to life and to the right ^{for everyone} to lead a ~~decent~~ life worth living.



unemployed,
homeless.

I am ~~we are~~ not referring only to the
many who are ~~a~~ utterly destituted,
— ~~we we~~. I am thinking ^{also} of the
unmet needs of the overstressed
manual workers and of their
executives, of the young without horizon,
of the old ~~feeling as being~~ ^{exiled} disposed of,
of the impossible dual task of the
generation of women between 30 and
45, coming out of the care for their
children ~~just to face~~ a life of care
for their elder relatives.

~~Either we are able to~~

Citizen's rights are needed for
~~the~~ millions of Europeans to face
with dignity, hope + joy their
lives. ~~But~~ the old concept of rights
was an abstract one, which
presumed as its subject

a man
of course white
in good health
and able to defend himself in all
situations.



In the last years,
Our societies in Europe are discovering that their composition is diversified and that ~~all~~ ^{every} individual human being is at the same time a subject of rights and of vulnerabilities.

The more vulnerable we are the more our rights have to be safeguarded. It is the role of the State to ensure that ~~that~~ protection, promotion and safeguard are there, whatever ~~one~~ the agents may be in different societies with different cultural traditions.

In this regard,
Citizenship in the Europe Union cannot lag behind. π

The A'dam declaration enumerates the most important elements of that citizenship, enhanced and strengthened by the social quality in all its territory and geared towards all those who live in this territory.



One of the ^{greatest} ~~most important~~ ~~task~~ ²⁰ difficulties ~~for~~ for politicians, rather for governance.

There is a short-term and a long-term task. In the short-term, governments and non-governmental organizations have the ~~the~~ responsibility to make that social quality a reality. //

NGO in legal framework of the OPS

But in the long-time a great deal of research is needed to ^{find answers} cope with to the many difficult questions at stake. // This is why NGO's and research ^{academic} institutes have to become social partners both at national and at European level.

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② It is in these \neq interfaces of different actors, working within different time frames that we can find the solutions for equity and fairness to all.

∨ The good thing of being in political office is to discover what we don't know and what others around you don't know. Advisors are often Cardinal Richelieu, leading their own way.



Let me just briefly ~~recall~~ ^{underline} some of those tasks which appear of paramount importance to the Comité des Sages.

First of all, we need a redefinition of work. The ~~production schemes~~ unemployment cannot be addressed adequately within the boundaries of the nation-state. Neither can it remain to be seen as in the beginning of industrialization. In a time of globalisation, ~~terciarisation~~, ~~and~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~always~~ ~~new~~ ~~technologies~~, ~~fuel~~, ~~production~~ ~~schemes~~ ~~of~~ ~~goods~~ ~~+~~ ~~services~~ have to be revisited. "Transitional labour markets" will enrich the mobility, if social quality is the ~~dominant~~ ^{guiding} factor.

Tasks now fulfilled within the home have to be acknowledged and made part of the wide gamut of work in an active society.



To this redefinition of work we have to add the demographic change in the continent which made obsolete the old sequence of learning/employment/retirement. ~~Thus, and have~~ ^{the} it is ~~only~~ ^{the} second long-term task; to review the goals of education as through the learning of what a representative of a NGO in Birmingham called a few weeks ago "transferable talents + skills", enabling individuals to target specifically their talents at diversified activities in different periods of their lives.

A third + fundamental task is needed: the one that internalizes environmental costs and obliges economy to follow new + unknown paths.



By giving rights a dynamic dimension and ~~by~~ being sustained by diverse social partners, social quality ~~of~~ indicates clearly that participation + empowerment of every European are fundamental ingredients of a political entity. It is there that citizenship and democracy cross-fertilize each other.

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This cannot be, however, a mere result of good will. It requires a translation of the political identity of the E.U. into a ~~law~~ Bill of Rights. We need to move hand in hand civil + social rights as a common basis, without making our cultures + traditions uniform. The more political our unity will be, the freer each one of ~~us~~ us will be to express + to enhance our own social + cultural traditions.



* We don't know to which form of political entity such a Bill of Rights ~~would~~ ~~not~~ lead us. But such is the ~~entire~~ excitement of this adventure — to go into a new ~~state~~ ^{European} of ^{unity and} solidarity while remaining ourselves. It is a challenge to our imagination as it is to our skills.

Moreover, a ~~Bill of Rights~~ ^{Bill of Rights} ~~Constitution~~ ~~will~~ ~~give us the moral power~~ ~~by~~ strengthening our unity, will give us the moral power to defend in the international arena the universal rights of the 1,5 billion people who live in destitution and in infra-human conditions.

We cannot sacrifice our farmers with a so-called common Agric. Policy and at the same time go on playing each one our own ~~both~~ trade battles in an international scene, giving the ~~pitiful~~ ^{paradoxical} image of a non-united European Union.

~~We have to~~ ~~we moved into a monopolar~~ ~~world,~~ but — A political unity of Europe, will ~~and~~ contribute decisively to a multipolar world.

Such is the understanding ^{we} have among the ~~as a~~ members of the CdS. So much so that, having failed to be heard ^{by the IGC} as we had expected ~~by~~ when, more than a year ago, I handed our report to Pres. Santer, we are going to present ~~to the European Commission and to the European Parliament~~ a plan for what we called in our report a II phase of consultation.

However, ~~blurred~~ ^{Fundação Cuidar o Futuro} ~~the~~ long-term ~~of those~~ vision of those who have to decide in the short-term, we think that ^{the} European citizens are ready to work together ⁱⁿ with their national parliaments, trade-unions, NGO's, universities, and ~~add that~~ ^{They will be} ~~the~~ ^{to which belongs the duty} civil society to define together at what level ~~we~~ and with what contents ^{it} ~~they~~ want to see social quality ⁺ be put into practice ~~and~~ and what will be the form of our Common Bill of Rights.



Prof. Townsend... "desperately serious"



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Is it worthwhile?

Is it not?

Everything is worthwhile
if the soul is not small.

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1) prof. training $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vocational} \\ \text{acad} \end{array} \right.$
↓
for the unknown



Life-long learning



divergence of $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{those who master the knowledge (education degrees to be} \\ \text{reimbursed during one's} \\ \text{life)} \\ \text{"don't"} \\ \text{"reimbursed during one's} \\ \text{life)} \end{array} \right.$

- 2) - priorities for structural funds
- access to tech from services
- to build a Europe learning society

3) Nation - states small for the global problems

4) SQ built on \neq values $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{some like Univ. Tech. + RISLS} \\ \text{what types of political values are} \end{array} \right.$

5) "social market economy" \rightarrow to bring about SQ

6) by asking E. to be a learning society

a) role of EU \rightarrow to make E. fit for enlargement

b \rightarrow the transformation of E. society into learning society

a) how to organize E. (Ukraine)

a2) technology + globalisation
societies define political form of organization

b2) countervailing powers
vs. to be competitive

b3) centrality of training + educat for future (PHARE + TACIS)

c) leadership functions of EU in educat + training
apply subsidiarity \rightarrow to look carefully at
distribution of powers in this field

d) responsible E. citizenship $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{rights} \\ \text{loyalties/respons. to the E.U.} \end{array} \right.$

EU is not integrated "plebisците de tous les jours" (Renan)

enforceable rights

loyalties to become a responsible E. citizen



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Role of E. culture



individuals
prior to states

↓ existed before the integrat
↓ sensitive attraction to diversity Kept together
↓ what unites E. is only economics, no ideologies bind it

E. owes its success to respect diversity
to love people in their uniqueness

E. a community of values, a great treasure
pluralism



— phys / spiri.
— state / cu
↓ liberal of all rules

E. united by a community of reflection
a family of artists

E. a collective past: which values?

Every person is a whole universe.

The era of reductionism is past.

We must not consider each pole of opposition.

... the world of immaterial

Sovereignty of culture

Soul art information's consecration

Freedom is not uncontrolled vulgarity.

Eur. self-restrain; if we don't make war, we are compelled to understand each other.

Ambivalences not as a sign of new cohesion

Book circula/was never so great.

Culture is the least expensive

Mushrooming of newspapers + TV

1. 9

Objectives of intelligence are compatible with market
If there must be competition let it be!



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