EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Round Table on Social Administration

Lisbon (Portugal)
20-24 January 1975

REPORT

UNITED NATIONS

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*Organized by the Division of Social Affairs
of the United Nations Office at Geneva,
in collaboration with
the Portuguese Ministry of Social Affairs*

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INTRODUCTION

The Round Table on Social Administration was the outcome of a request formulated shortly after the revolutionary events of April 1974, by representatives of the First Provisional Government of Portugal. Responsibilities for matters of health, social security and various social welfare programmes had by then been centralized in a newly-created Ministry of Social Affairs and the need was felt for international assistance in the various and complex tasks of establishing an efficient central administration in an area that was seen as crucial to the attainment of the objectives of the new Government - democratization, social justice and socio-economic growth and stability.

Following a series of consultations between the Division of Social Affairs and representatives of the First and the Second Provisional Governments, it was agreed to convene a small meeting composed of highly competent European experts in matters of social administration, public health and social security, together with a group of Portuguese officials and specialists, in order to exchange views on the ways and means by which the new Ministry could best contribute towards these objectives. The meeting would be organized as a "policy consultation", within the framework of the European Social Development Programme - a formula devised to provide ad hoc assistance and advice with the help of outside experts to a governmental or other institution faced with a well-defined problem of social policy, legislation or programming. It was obvious from the beginning that, in this particular case, such a consultation would amount to more than a form of direct assistance to the new Government: it promised to be of relevance to all countries engaged in the effort to achieve more far-reaching, just and efficient social policies.

A series of internal political events in the latter half of 1974 called for a postponement of the Round Table, which eventually met at Lisbon in January 1975. In the meantime, a task force under the guidance of the Minister of Social Affairs in the Second Provisional Government, H.E. Mrs. Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo, had been preparing an overall plan for the structuring, organization and programmatic objectives of the Ministry; this was summarized in the paper "Current plans" which was before the Round Table and which is reproduced here as Part III.2. Contemporaneously, a background paper (included here as Part III.1) was prepared by the Division of Social Affairs, based on the previous consultations with the Minister and members of the

ministerial task force. These two papers, together with the opening statement by the Minister (Part I) and a series of oral explanations by the Portuguese experts attending, constituted the substantive input on which the Round Table based its discussions.

The Agenda of the meeting (reproduced here in Annex I) contains three "core" elements on which the Round Table concentrated its attention (items 5, 6 and 7): the "horizontal" dimension of co-ordination and interaction of social policies at the central (inter-ministerial) level; the "vertical" dimension of central versus regional and local competences for the planning and implementation of social policies and programmes; and thirdly, what may be called the "diagonal" dimension as between the tasks of the statutory bodies (whether central or local) and the various non-governmental organizations concerned with matters of heatlh, social welfare and social security. The definition of the terms of reference of the meeting and the review of main data and trends in the general social situation of the country (items 3 and 4) also required a substantial part of the time of discussions.

In addition, as the internal work towards the structuring and organization of the Ministry had proceeded considerably during the preparation period, a number of more operational issues had come to the fore and had to be included in the agenda. These included such important items as popular participation (8), personnel require-ments (9), financial arrangements (10), research and monitoring of social progress (11) and further international co-operation towards these objectives (12).

* * *

The Round Table was chaired by the Minister of Social Affairs, H.E. Mrs. M. de Lourdes Pintasilgo, with Miss Teresa Santa Clara Gomes and Dr. J.C. Ferreira de Almeida as vice-chairmen. At the invitation of the United Nations, four individual experts from France, Norway, Romania and the United Kingdom attended the meeting, together with 14 Portuguese participants and observers nominated by the Ministry. The World Health Organization and the International Social Security Association were also represented. Mr. Eyvind Hytten, Chief of the European Social Development Programme, attended on behalf of the United Nations (cfr. list of participants in Annex II).

The closing session of the Round Table, attended also by a number of other high Government officials, experts and members of the press, was presented with a summary

of the findings and recommendations previously adopted by the meeting itself. In addition to the summary as reproduced here in Part II, written and oral comments and suggestions on the specific items of the Agenda were submitted to the Minister and to the members of the ministerial task force by several foreign and Portuguese participants.

The Round Table met on the premises of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, which was of great help to the organizers in providing secretarial services and facilities for simultaneous interpretation.

I. OPENING STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER FOR SOCIAL AFFAIRS

H.E. Mrs. Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo

First of all, I should like to welcome everyone, and particularly our guests from various European countries who have taken time off from their duties to reflect and work here for a week with their Portuguese colleagues.

I hope that the exchanges of view which will take place both at the meetings and outside will lead to effective collaboration and the establishment of cordial relations.

I should like to say that some years ago, in 1971, I had the opportunity of establishing a "dialogue" with the United Nations on questions relating to social development at the time the report on the world social situation was submitted to the General Assembly.

On that occasion, I raised three questions that reflected, respectively, the desirability of greater integration of economic and social questions, the conviction that there are no sectoral policies in social matters or, at most, that sectoral policies overlap and complement each other and, finally, the very keen awareness that there are no longer national problems, but problems at the world level in which we are all equally involved.

Four years have gone by, and as I have now been entrusted with the task of defining and implementing a social policy in a context where freedom of action and creativeness have been made possible by the April revolution, I am turning once more to the United Nations in order to continue this dialogue.

At the beginning of this Round Table, I think I should say that we all believe in the historical originality of each situation, and that we consider this belief to be very important. It is true that there are elements in the Portuguese revolution which may be found in other revolutions and liberation processes. However, I should warn our friends from abroad that we in Portugal are all convinced that we are living through a unique experience.

Distances have shrunk, making events which take place outside the town in which we live real and important, whereas time seems to have expanded into working days of 12 and 14 hours, into unending weeks and into months during which everything changes rapidly. The overall impact of this revolution may be seen everywhere and yet is

elusive and defies description. To analyse this revolution is a fascinating task... and one that I shall leave to you as offering the back-drop on which you will inevitably have to work in the course of this week if you are to reach conclusions applicable to the situation in Portugal.

The crucial aspect of this revolution is that it continues to look to the future... We are not in search of a model; we define our social policy, as you have seen, as a "coherent set of objectives" rather than as an attachment to a specific ideology. However, we feel we have much in common with other peoples and other experiments, and we believe that this interaction will generate new projects and new opportunities. We need them. In this forward-looking process we are seeking our own way, which must continue to be the right way, reflecting the collective will of the people, true to what we believe ourselves to be as a nation, and capable of uniting all Portuguese in a common desire for change and freedom so as to create new life styles as a society.

Nevertheless, this situation has, at the outset, certain points of reference: (a) our way must be a socialist one in which the have-nots of yesterday will have equal access to the most basic goods and services, and in which the profit margins of the haves of yesterday and today will inevitably decline; (b) it must aim at decentralization in which the lucid and unified central guidance provided by the Government goes hand in hand with independent initiative and management and deep respect for all levels of decision-making; (c) it is patterned on the path already travelled and on a continuing dialectical process of action and reflection rather than on one that is ready made and clear from the beginning; it is inevitably a way of detours and wrong turnings, calling for forced marches, the scaling of obstacles and sallies into the unknown.

All this naturally has major repercussions on social policy and social administration because, while political problems are already sufficiently complex in countries which have experienced normal development in the post-war era, they assume such proportions in a situation such as ours that the only course is to view them as a basic challenge.

We have a very clear idea of what we do not want. The complete failure of the First United Nations Development Decade and the almost total inability of the United Nations to appraise, at mid-point, the Second Decade, dissuade us from any social

policy which is based on a mythical belief in the virtues of increasing the gross
national product, and which is conceived as an attempt to develop the human potential
necessary for effective economic progress or - a hypothesis which exists only in
theory for us - as a stop-gap solution to the problems raised by economic growth.
We reject all policies which have made the rich countries richer and the poor countries
poorer.

We are also disillusioned with our four development plans which succeeded one
another in the 1950s and 1960s (as did similar plans almost everywhere in the world)
and with the social policy patterned on the models of that time, that is to say in
terms of investment, construction, State planning and the creation of an administra-
tive machinery so cumbersome that it was difficult to quote properly in the interests
of the population. The challenge leads us not only to reject such ineffective plans,
but to look to feedback systems which enable minimum planning to be associated with
maximum social intervention.

Neither do we want a system of social administration which functions in isolation,
with each sector very clearly assigned to a specific person or department. If we
try to go beyond capitalism, it is even more important for us to reject feudalism,
which is not confined to individuals who wield most power. The all-absorbing power
of feudalism which was a way of life for so long, and perhaps more universal than
capitalism, still holds many services in thrall. Here we are already touching upon
something which falls within the personal domain of institutionalized egotism: the
master and slave, the lord and his land (his services, his offices, his officials,
his employees). The dominating and captivating power of feudalism is very costly to
the State, and makes any genuine social policy impossible. In a period of revolution,
feudalism can be explained only as a need for security on the part of both the master
and the slave. It constitutes a challenge to teamwork, multidisciplinary effort and
collective mobilization directed towards specific and desirable goals.

The basic challenge exists. Everything has to be done, but from the standpoint
of the political context everything is in our favour. The old order and its structures
must be overthrown. Its structures must be transformed in order to establish new
relationships and the basic aspirations of the people must be satisfied.

Two specific difficulties, however, arise here. One concerns the individual,
habits, turns of mind - what we usually call "attitudes", as opposed to structures.

The revolution which is intended to be comprehensive and ever-innovatory may for some become a comfortable and familiar situation in which they are free to do everything they had ever wanted. This would deprive the revolution of the aspect of a rupture as a result of which new energies are released and, worse, of the dynamic imagination by which it can produce innovations. We encounter this difficulty every day and it is one of the elements impeding social change which should be studied.

The general social policy aspects of the action programme of the Ministry of Social Affairs and the collegial character of the Provisional Government offer, as Mr. Hytten has very rightly observed, possible ways of breaking down this system that has come to pervade human thinking.

The other difficulty, of a political nature, concerns the structure of State machinery and of political organizations. On one hand, there is the State machinery which, having been subjected to ideological domination over a very long period, finds it difficult to adapt to new circumstances and frequently finds its activities limited to asserting its own rights and prerogatives: and on the other, there are the political democracy and economic democracy.

What can be said of social democracy as such, which unquestionably remains the fundamental goal for all of us?

According to our constitutional law of 26 April, the essential objective of social policy must be "the defence of the interests of the working classes" and "a gradual but at the same time more rapid improvement in the quality of life of all Portuguese".

In this context it is important to stress that what is at stake are the specific needs of the people, and that this policy is aimed at the betterment of the individual. The concept of an omnipotent State from which everything emanates and to which everything returns, in an infernal round of paperwork and anonymity, is out of date.

Although the labouring classes are the human aspect of the current struggle, we are bound to recognize the primacy of qualitative factors because, to cite merely one single fact, in the month of July more than half of our workers drew the minimum salary which is so low that, owing to the rate of inflation, it is no longer reasonable.

Equality of opportunity, which is the linchpin of social democracy, is also continually shelved because of the need to meet urgent needs which are being intensified by the world crisis.

The question of the quality of life and the formulation of qualitative goals is evoked in this context with a certain degree of ambiguity. A host of specific questions come to mind: what is the content of the quality of life when a certain quantitative level has not yet been attained by all? How can what seem to be palliatives or half-measures be introduced in a society which is in the process of formulating quantitative claims endorsed by the major political organizations? How can our technicians be induced to come up with quite simple and specific inventions satisfying basic human wants and to abandon the impersonal projects of certain sciences whose vacuity is demonstrated by the current crisis?

We have no doubt that, in our situation, social democracy and the radical transformation of the social order can be attained by the establishment of clearly social goals, to which a production process, its organization and financing, as well as the restructuring of services, will be subordinated. This is tantamount to saying that, in our view, to give collective social needs primacy in social policy is a radical political option which affects the roots of the economic process and the very division of political power.

As regards the specific course that the country is pursuing, we can state unequivocally that the real priorities are food, health, employment, social security and understanding. This is why we are meeting here, and these priorities must above all and without hesitation be acted upon.

These goals may seem obvious, but they continue to offer a basic challenge, for how are we to achieve them? How are we to transcend the passion for the quantitative – the legacy of a competitive society – which is appearing on all sides? How are we to use the meagre financial resources available to us for the implementation of specific, positive and effective goals? Mr. Hytten has clearly indicated in his report that effectiveness is an intrinsic element of social policy. I could not fail to stress that here. An extended social security system, perfect in theory, which could be said to cover the entire population but which would prolong indefinitely a situation in which people wait months for the benefits to which they are entitled, would lead us nowhere. Similarly, a hospital network which would be perfect in ten years whilst emergency patients wait for hours in inhuman conditions would be a technocratic temptation. The Portuguese Government considers that the present situation requires positive solutions to problems rather than the elaboration of

perfect laws and schemes. Moreover, modern methods of operational analysis can help us to determine the configuration of sub-systems and to outline solutions for these sub-systems while comprehensive and integrated plans are being formulated by the system of successive approximations. It is in this context that I request the participants in this Round Table to specify their questions and contribute to the discussion so that the possible options become clear.

This Round Table should enable us to take stock of the implementation of our programme. Modifications are certainly necessary, and a long-term view will help us to see the specific implications of what we have begun.

The study of this particular case, in which everything is magnified and intensified by the revolutionary situation in which we find ourselves, may, I hope, be used in connexion with other analyses and other situations and thus help to trace new paths that can be followed by the have-nots of the world who want to live today and survive tomorrow.

II. SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS OF THE ROUND TABLE

1. Throughout its deliberations, the Round Table was faced with the dilemma of how to reconcile the urgent need for decisions and practical action in the fields of health, social security and the overall social development of objectives of the Government, with the prevailing scarcity of material and personnel resources, the uncertainty about future developments and the persistence of traditional interests and ingrained habits opposed to the innovative social aims of the Government. It was agreed that, although a great number of these problems may bear comparison with similar issues in other European countries, discussion of how to approach these problems must be based on a clear understanding of the uniqueness of the current situation in Portugal, and any solution proposed must take account of the special situation and potentialities of the country.

2. The dedication and sense of purpose with which the responsible authorities and officials were pursuing the newly defined objectives of social development were, however, clearly illustrated throughout the meeting. In the interchange of experience and ideas between the Portuguese and the foreign participants, it emerged clearly that the above-mentioned difficulties have to be faced with the determination to "hasten slowly"; that is, to make quick decisions on the more urgent needs to be satisfied, with imaginative use of the limited resources now available, while at the same time keeping in mind the need for radical and far-reaching reforms that will be necessary in order to attain the final objectives of the social policy established. This is something that can be achieved only in the long-term perspective and which will require changes and readjustments of the whole society and its productive, administrative, educational and other structures. There was agreement on the prime urgency of rationalizing and modernizing the institutions for medical and social care, and that this could, to a large extent, be done through the more efficient utilization of existing resources and without the introduction of costly and complicated new systems or equipment.

3. It was appreciated that a democratization of public life and the participation of popular forces in the shaping and execution of social policies were essentials that had at the same time inspired the formulation of the Ministry's plans and will be crucial to their implementation. In discussing this issue, it was considered important to take into account the recent political and economic history of the

country, with its legacy of ignorance, resignation, and passivity among certain
sections of the population, and the concomitant tradition of paternalism and arrogance
in the processes of decision-making and administration. In this situation it was
seen necessary to ensure that the content and objectives of any social programme, the
policy choices to be made and the modes of implementation, all be conditioned by a
continuous process of consultations, information and other efforts to stimulate public
insight and influence on social policies and programmes. Although a number of basic
objectives, such as the creation of an effective system of health and social security
based on human rights, obviously correspond to an objective and generally recognized
need of the population, it was felt that great attention should be paid to how the
implementation of these objectives corresponds to the needs and expectations of the
population, and to their relation to other national priorities.

4.   Similar considerations were formulated with regard to other principal items of
discussion, such as the problem of inter-ministerial co-operation to achieve the
nation's social objectives; the need for an increasing decentralization of decision-
making and execution of social programmes; and the role of non-governmental agencies
in the social field, whose functions will inevitably be modified as the Government
recognizes its growing responsibility for the health, security and social well-being
of all citizens. The Round Table considered that all these issues, equally crucial
to the ultimate success of the current effort to build a democratic society, entail
not only practical problems that will require the joint efforts of the whole country
to be overcome, but also a number of dilemmas whose complexity may need time to be
fully appreciated. One main dilemma was again that of the need for swift and efficien
action to meet present needs and injustices in the social and health field, whose
urgency may require centralized decision-making and executions, while claims for
participation and decentralization of power may, at the present stage, be even more
deeply felt than the need for efficient reform. The discussion confirmed that in
most modern societies a just and efficient social policy requires as much attention
to _how_ it is carried out, as to its specific content and objectives.

5.   At the same time, the Round Table found that the importance given by the Governmen
to social reform is an essential element in its overall policy, and the support of
the institutions and the population directly concerned constitutes a basis on which
these and other related difficulties will gradually be overcome. On many points there

were serious objective and subjective obstacles to the socializing aims of the new programmes in health, social security and related matter and it was seen as an urgent necessity to identify which of these objstacles can be overcome by a re-ordering of national objectives, by a re-allocation of resources, by administrative and organizational reform, or - in the case of conscious resistance by identifiable groups or social forces - by a determined intervention to eliminate anti-social privileges and vested interests. In all these cases it was seen to be basically a question of political will in finding the means to execute social policies and programmes to meet the needs and expectations of the population.

6.   There was agreement on the fact that the social aims as formulated by the Government will require a major national effort to be achieved, and may depend for their success on a climate of political and economic stability and increasing overall prosperity, in view of the vast material resources that are needed to ensure higher standards of health and social security for the population. However, it was considered that, while further economic growth would be required to reach optimal levels and to enlarge the sphere of social development efforts, great improvements can already be made through more just and efficient use of whatever resources are available; by providing services and benefits to those who most need them; and by starting the process of re-distribution of resources and opportunities. Social development, in this conception, is more than the creation of services and institutions; it is an instrument of social justice and equality - objectives that can be reached independently of material growth. In this perspective the Round Table concluded that, as long as these objectives prevail and remain a primary concern of the nation, there will be the motivation and the resources necessary to overcome any obstacles and to create a just and efficient system of health care, of social security, of social welfare and protection of those in need, and other measures to stimulate the further social development of the country.

III. WORKING PAPERS

1. Paper prepared by the
Division of Social Affairs, on the basis of information provided by the
Portuguese Ministry of Social Affairs, and from other sources

1. SCOPE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE ROUND TABLE

The Round Table on Social Administration has been convened as and ad hoc meeting under the United Nations European Social Development Programme, at the request of the Minister of Social Affairs in the Provisional Government of Portugal. Its objectives, as defined in various consultations between the Ministry and the Division of Social Affairs, are to consider the overall goals and the specific targets and work programmes of the national authorities in charge of the implementation of the social policy aspects of the Programme of the Provisional Government, as outlined in paragraph 5 of Decree-Law No. 203/74. More specifically, the Round Table will provide an opportunity for the responsible national authorities to consult with a number of European experts and representatives of international organizations on the problems and prospectives of the nation's current efforts to create a more equitable and rational system of social administration at all levels. The meeting should therefore help the Government to draw upon the knowledge and experience of other countries in its endeavour to "Adopt a new social policy that will have as its goal in all spheres the defence of the working classes, and a progressive but accelerated improvement in the quality of life for all Portuguese" (point b) of the preamble to the Programme of the Provisional Government).

To this end, the Round Table will be invited to pay particular attention to the paper Ministry of Social Affairs - Current Plans, of October 1974* which outlines both the general principles and objectives of the new Ministry, and the more specific projects with regard to the creation of an integrated system of social security, a national health service, and other measures relating to overall social policy goals.

The social policy objectives of the Programme of the Provisional Government and the paper by the Ministry of Social Affairs may be considered as successive approximations to the formulation of an innovative and realistic approach to the social development problems of a country like Portugal. They both illustrate the growing predominance of social development objectives in the programmes of progressive and development-oriented nations. The stated goals are ambitious and may raise questions as to their realism in the present socio-economic situation of the country. But

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* Reproduced here as Part III, 2.

similar questions may be raised about any governmental project in any country faced
with a revolutionary situation and the prospect of new approaches to old problems.
It is basically a question of preferences and priorities, by which such objectives
as the distribution of limited resources in order to ensure minimum levels of social
security and health standards may prevail over more traditional goals such as the
increase of aggregate wealth and material progress. The distributive aims of the
Provisional Government, as expressed in the programme of the Ministry of Social Affairs,
amount to a concrete illustration of the so-called unified approach to development,
by which economic, social and other aspects of national development are seen as inter-
dependent and interrelated aspects of overall national development goals.

The subject before the Round Table can be seen schematically in terms of two main
parameters: the ideological and theoretical one of an integrated and unified approach
to socio-economic development; and the empirical parameter which is the actual situation
of the Portuguese society. This situation should be conceived of both in view of the
conditions prevailing for a long time before the revolutionary events of 25 April 1974,
and which may still have an impact on social policies and programmes, and of the
changes brought about by that event; and with regard to the conditions and constraints
in which a new approach to social problems has to be implemented, in the context of
overall national adjustment to a new situation and new challenges.

The terms of reference of the Round Table should therefore be defined as a task
of advising the Government of Portugal on the ways and means of implementing the
social policy objectives such as they are formulated in the programme of the Provisional
Government and further explained in the Plans of the Ministry of Social Affairs. It
is in the nature of the case that an international group of experts in this field will
find it difficult to distinguish between the political, administrative and methodo-
logical aspects of such an assignment. The "Objectives" and "Principles" set forth
in Chapters I and II of the Ministry's Plans at the same time reflect broad political
objectives of national progress and contain a number of specific implications of an
administrative and methodological nature: its message is as much addressed to all
the public powers and the Portuguese community at large, as to the particular agencies
and professionals responsible for the implementation of the social programmes
proposed. It would therefore be inappropriate to try to operate a neat distinction
between the policy aspects of the theme before the Round Table and their implications

for practical action in administrative and methodological terms. In other words, the concept of "social administration" should not be taken in a too limitative sense.

On the other hand, it should be needless to underline that the existing governmental plans and programmes constitute the framework within which a useful debate on the problems of social policy and administration in Portugal can be conducted. The principles and objectives set out in the plans of the Ministry, and the overall guidelines for the creation of new systems of social security, a national health service and other measures to stimulate social progress, should be seen as the coordinates within which the Round Table can contribute to the efforts of the national authorities towards realizing their programmes, an important aspect of which is the social policy outlined.

Throughout the discussion concerning the organization of this meeting, there has been full agreement between the Ministry and the United Nations that its potential value and interest should not be conceived of only in terms of what the Round Table can contribute to the reorganization of social policies and programmes in Portugal, but also in a much wider context of professional and intellectual interest. There should be no doubt that the opportunity offered by this meeting to discuss crucial aspects of social policy and administration with some responsible officials of an emerging democratic society, will be a challenge and an interesting experience also to those called upon to give advice and guidance. Social matters are by their very nature an object of conflict and uncertainty even in those countries which have had the fortune of leading the way in this area, and every country and every expert can therefore learn something new from an exercise such as this. There can be no question, either with regard to general social policy issues or on administrative and methodological matters, of a unilateral "transfer" of knowledge and ideas. The Round Table should rather be the occasion for a frank and constructive exchange of opinions and advice between people engaged in similar problems although in different objective settings, and who all may have something to learn from each other and from the analysis of the particular problems of social policy and administration in Portugal.

2. SOME BASIC INFORMATION

a) Population

According to the population census of 1970, continental Portugal then had a population of 8.61 millions; by the middle of 1973 it was estimated at 8.56 millions.

With an area of 91,600 sq.km., average population density would be around 95 inhabitants per sq.km. However, the territorial distribution of the population is increasingly unbalanced because of the continuing exodus of people from the rural areas and the concentration of the population in and around the major cities. In 1970, as much as 40% of the total population lived in the areas of Lisbon and Porto, with respectively 1.8 and 1.6 million inhabitants - up from 33.5% of the total in 1960 and 30% in 1950.

Of the 1970 population, some 47% were men and 53% women. Distribution by age classes were as follows: 28.5% between 0 and 14 years (29.1% in 1960); 61.8% between 15 and 64 (62.9%); and 9.7% 65 years and over (8% in 1960). Data for 1973 show a birth rate of 20.1 per 1,000 inhabitants and a mortality rate of 11.1 per thousand (as against 10.4 in 1970). Infant mortality was still at 44.8 per 1,000 live births; down from 58.0 in 1970. The regional breakdown of the latter data shows a significant difference according to the position and standards of living of the various administrative districts of the country.

According to OECD data for 1973, the total number of people in civilian employment was 3.03 millions, with 31.1% in the primary sector, 36.3 in industry and 32.6% in other forms of employment. From another source, based on a sample of information from the 1970 census, it appears that 35.1% of the employed males and 21% of females were active in agriculture and realted sectors; 32 and 31.8% respectively in industry, 29.3 and 42.7% in other activities, and 3.6% men and 4.5% women in "undefined activities." As recently as in 1950, 53.8% of the male labour force and 33% of the active women were employed in agriculture; in 1960 the figures were 49.3 and 17.7% respectively.

Labour emigration continues to be one of the most serious problems with which the country is faced. In addition to internal rural-urban movements to which reference has just been made, total net emigration to other countries is estimated at about 1 million people during the decade 1961-1970, with about a doubling of the rate in the second half of the decade as against the first. Legal migration from 1971 to 1973 increased from 50,000 to 79,500 persons; of the latter, the great majority went to other European countries, while 22,000 chose extra-European destinations and therefore probably a more permanent settlement abroad. In addition, uncontrolled migration movements, mainly to France, involved around 100,000 persons in 1970 and 1971, 50 thousand in 1972 and 40 thousand in 1973.

b) The economy

Only a few basic data, gleaned from available and relatively up-to-date sources, may deserve mention under this heading. Information on economic data was sparse and often unreliable under the previous regime, owing, among other things, to the heavy and largely unpublicized costs of maintaining the overseas colonies, and the compilation of new and more realistic information - in connexion with the re-formulation of the five-year development plan which was abrogated following the events of April 1974 - is still under way.

According to OECD information for 1971, the Gross National Product for that year was equal to 6,860 million US dollars at current prices and rates. This would amount (in 1971 terms) to a per capita share of $770 - superior only to that of Turkey ($360) among the 23 OECD countries. As a contrast, the same source indicates a per capita share of the GNP of $4,400 for Sweden, $3,180 for France, $1,880 for Italy, $1,220 for Greece and $1,070 for Spain. The structure of the gross domestic output at factor cost was 16.2% for agriculture, 44.3% for industry and 39.5% for other activities. Private consumption amounted to 74.8% of the GNP, while no information is listed on the share of government expenditure out of the total.

Total imports were valued at $1.7 billion against total exports of 1.03 billion (both figures for goods only), while receipts from tourism amounted to $305 million. No reliable data are available on the volume of emigrants' remittances, but it is reasonable to assume that their role in the national economy has been and continues to be an important one.

With a traditionally uneven distribution of wealth and income, general private revenue lies much below prevailing European standards, but no significant data seem available for the time being and the austerity measures introduced by the Provisional Government, influencing both prices and salaries, make for further uncertainty as to the real standards of living of the population. What seems obvious, however, is that it will take some time before the benefits of de-colonialization (e.g. in terms of reduced military spending) and other material advantages of the new-situation will outweigh the new material burdens entailed by readjustment to an economic system relying only on the resources of continental Portugal, with the potentially massive return of skilled manpower from the former colonies and maybe of less skilled migrants from other European countries to compound the problems. These factors may also

offset the small advantages which the country might have over other European countries
in the present economic recession by being somewhat less dependent on modern techno-
logies and higher-priced industrial inputs for its sustenance.

Thus, while the overall social objectives of the new Government may help to
overcome some of the most blatant inequalities by a more equitable distribution of
resources and opportunities, e.g. in the fields of health, social security and
related matters, it will probably be a question of sharing scarcity in a more tolerable
manner than before, rather than the overall improvement of living conditions through
a more just distribution of growing resources. The possibilities and constraints of
the new approaches to social programmes should be seen in this context.

c) **Administrative structure**

At present, the national territory is divided into 18 districts which represent
the main secondary units of administration between the central Government and some
400 municipalities. In addition, the adjacent islands comprise 4 districts. For
some purposes, 12 provinces of continental Portugal are identified, comprising one
or more districts, and the national development plans have operated with a distinction
between four broad areas of the national territory with comparable physical and
other characteristics. All of this may, however, turn out to be of a mainly historical
interest, as the political and administrative structure of the country is due to be
one of the main objects of reform by the constitutional assembly to be elected in
April 1975. At this point, it may be sufficient to point out that the present system
goes far back to a Napoleonic conception of national administration, with a heavy
concentration of duties and responsibilities at the centre of national power and
only a semblance of autonomy and democratic representation at the intermediate
(district) and local levels, where key officials were either detached from or
nominated by the central authorities. In this intermediate period, the revival of
local and regional autonomies is one of the most important consequences of the
revolution of April 1974, but it is difficult to foresee how the new administrative
structure of the country will be shaped in the work of the constitutional assembly
to be elected.

At any rate, it is reasonable to assume that a much larger degree of regional
and local autonomy will be introduced, and also possibly that a new criterion for
the subdivision of primary and secondary administrative units will be adopted, in view

of objective physical and socio-economic factors and development potentials – in line
with the recent reforms of sub-national administrative units in a number of European
countries. It would be premature to speculate further on these reforms, but the
obvious trend is towards decentralization of powers and responsibilities, and the
institution of elected administrations at all levels. The implications of these
trends for the future of social policies and the implementation of social programmes
in the country, are too evident to be further underlined. But it is equally obvious
that a consideration of social administration and social policy cannot fail to reveal
the crucial importance which administrative reforms have with regard to the impact
of social measures; a realistic definition of administrative boundaries, responsibi-
lities and competences is decisive to the just and efficient implementation of any
social programme.

At the central level, the governmental structure and the division of departmental
authority is clearly explained in Decree-Law No. 203/74. Some changes have however,
taken place, especially in the sphere of economic policy, since the events of September
1974. Barring any further changes that may be introduced by the Constitutional
Assembly to be elected, it should be noted that the present set-up represents a signi-
ficant effort towards the rationalization and simplification of the central admini-
stration of the State, both at the level of ministerial responsibilities and further
down in the central administrative apparatus. This is already a conscious effort to
move away from the basically fascistic heritage of a corporative structure of public
administration which characterized the previous regime.

Within the framework of the central administrative units – the Ministries and
Secretariats of State – a number of reforms and readjustments are already taking
place, in view of the necessities of adapting to the emerging needs of the country
and their implications for the central authorities.

3. PROPOSED GUIDELINES FOR THE DISCUSSIONS

The information provided in the various official documents that have been put
before the Round Table, plus the few supplementary data contained in the previous
part of this paper, would in themselves suffice to nurture an interesting debate on
the future of social policies and programmes in Portugal. However, in order to use the
short time available as rationally as possible, it has been thought useful to add a

few remarks on each of the main substantive items proposed for discussion - corresponding to items 5 to 8 inclusive on the Provisional Agenda. These remarks are only intended to guide and possibly stimulate the debate, not to direct or put constraints upon it.

a) The formulation and implementation of social policies at the level of central governmental action

The three main areas of competence of the newly created Ministry of Social Affairs, as outlined in the Ministry's current plans, are largely the result of an amalgamation of the functions of the Ministries of Health and of Corporations and Social Security. However, any comparison between the distribution of ministerial responsibilities before and after the revolution of April 1974 would be a largely irrelevant exercise, inasmuch as the very concepts of public health and social security, and the ensuing policy orientations as expressed in the Plans of the new Ministry, differ radically from the concepts and orientations which defined the competences and functions of the previous Ministries. In addition, the assumption of new responsibilities towards overall objectives of social development - sociocultural promotion, population policies and measures regarding the status of women - represents an enlargement into areas which previously were not the objects of governmental attention, or were not approached in the same development-oriented perspective. To a large extent, therefore, the scope and objectives of the new Ministry represent a radical departure from previous structures. This can at least be said with certainty about the formulation of policies and organizational decisions at the highest level. Needless to say, it may take some time for the whole administrative apparatus to adapt to a new situation where traditional concepts of social policy are being challenged and customary delimitations of competences and responsibilities are being modified.

A problem - maybe even a paradox - of this new situation is that while governmental responsibility for the health, security and well-being of all citizens is now more forcefully stated than ever before, the very scope and breadth of the new tasks undertaken make it more difficult to assign exact and operational responsibilities. "Social affairs" in the enlarged sense of integrated and unified social policies based on the citizens' right to protection and promotion, becomes an overriding responsibility of the State as such, rather than of a sectorally defined administration.

This is underlined in the preamble to the chapter "Social Policy Measures" in the Ministry's Plans (p. 35), which mentions the necessary sharing of ministerial responsibilities for the implementation of national social policies, involving the areas of economic policy and finance, education, labour policy and other areas of sectoral competence.

In this context, the essentially <u>collective</u> nature of the work of the Provisional Government - as laid down in Law No. 3/74 - is a factor of the utmost significance. It manifests the recognition of a quite peculiar form of governmental responsibility during this transitional period, in view of the extraordinary tasks and difficulties with which the country is faced. Whether the new constitution will retain this system of joint ministerial responsibilities or adopt a more sectoral criterion of competences, appears to be an open question. In any case, there is no doubt that both in the present situation and under the new constitution to be prepared in 1975, the basic problem will remain one of reconciling the need for centralized, overall policy-making in view of national progress with the equally urgent necessity of clearly defined ministerial areas of responsibility and executive competences. Social policies, as formulated at present will almost by definition continue to represent an inter-ministerial concern, and some shadow areas of vaguely defined competences with the concomitant risks of overlapping, e.g. with regard to educational and labour policies, can hardly be fully avoided.

In this as in several other aspects, this may only imply that developments will more closely follow those in a number of other European countries, where similar problems and necessities have been a matter of concern throughout the last decades. The seemingly inevitable expansion of governmental responsibilities for social matters - as repeatedly underlined by the United Nations Conferences of Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare - is one such common trend; the search for new ways of ministerial co-ordination and definition of specific tasks is another. Yet another is the ensuing problems of how increasing governmental responsibility for social matters can be reconciled with a democratic and decentralized system of social administration.

b) <u>The relation between centrally-formulated social policies and their implement-ation at the regional and local levels</u>

On this point again, it would be useless to speculate on how the vertical structure of the State administration will take shape in the new constitution, and

on the future relations between the central, intermediate and local authorities of
the country. The only thing that appears certain is that the process towards
increasing local and sub-national autonomy - one of the first and most spontaneous
manifestations of the period following April 1974 - is going to gain further momentum.
Concentration of practically all power at the governmental level was, here as else-
where, among the most essential - and least tolerable - aspects of the autocratic
nature of the previous regime. The institution of a more decentralized system of
administration, together with the renascence of a political life in the districts
and communes, is bound to remain a determining feature of the new situation, with
all the problems and potentialities that such a process entails.

As illustrated by recent events in other countries with a very strong tradition
of local autonomy, it is especially in the sphere of social policies and programmes
that the conflicting requirements of centralization versus decentralization come to
the fore. Participation in decision-making, the autonomy and self-determination of
the primary social units, indeed almost everything that can be subsumed under the
broad concept of "democracy", are crucial to any social policy and administration
system based on the equality and dignity of the individual. In this sense, partici-
pation is often looked upon both as an indispensable means to more just and efficient
social action - only close attention to the "real needs" of the people can ensure
the success of any intervention - and at the same time as an end in itself. By
involving citizens directly and indirectly in decision-making, one does away with
paternalism and the degrading passivism to which beneficiaries of social provisions
have often been condemned. Decentralization makes for a degree of "immediacy" and
attentiveness to realities and needs which appear as essential to a modern system of
social welfare.

On the other hand, almost similar considerations may as well lead to a plea for
increased centralization of social policy and social administration. This has mostly
been made in terms of such values as efficiency, savings in time and costs, etc.,
but can equally well be based on the same human values of equality, dignity and the
like. The proliferation of decision-making instances - except in a hypothetical
situation of unlimited resources and general consensus on their use - cannot fail to
open the gate for a number of conflicting, arbitrary and unpredictable influences.
And such influences by their very nature go against the criteria of equality and

personal dignity which should characterize a progressive system of social policy and administration. It should not be forgotten that the force of these influences does not necessarily vary with the "size" of the decision-making unit; an individual may be at the mercy of unknown and uncontrollable forces in his own immediate community as well as on the State level. The argument for centralization in the social sphere, implying generality of rights and duties, depersonalization of services and forms of decision-making which do away with all kinds of "immediacy" or attention to particular situations, can therefore also be seen as an attempt to safeguard the equality and dignity of the individuals, by liberating them from the yoke of discretion and subjectivity among the decision-makers. The rigid standardization of social security provisions in most countries - in a way on the model of the administration of justice - may be the most relevant illustration of this.

It would therefore be a mistake to construe the problem of centralization versus decentralization of social administration as a conflict between "hard" and "soft" approaches to social issues. For both tendencies, arguments can be proffered both in terms of efficiency and in terms of acknowledged human values. As a further complication of the picture, it may also be remembered that "efficiency" in the field of social administration is in itself conducive to the safeguard of important human values.

In the normal run of discussions on this problem, the customary outcome is an agreement to the effect that the structure and functioning of modern democratic societies do allow for a reasonable compromise in the form of a division of responsibilities between the central and the regional and local authorities. The national authorities have the task of formulating overall policies and objectives and establish standards for their implementation and attainment; the sub-national authorities have the equally important function of translating these propositions into action and of guaranteeing the validity and efficiency of actions undertaken to such ends. There would thus be no real conflict between the claims for centralization versus decentralization of social administration system: both are functional devices serving the joint purpose of just and efficient management.

This is, however, a restatement of the problem in more subtle terms, not a solution. It immediately raises the futher questions of how to distinguish between means and ends, or between principles and practice, or between short- and long-term

objectives of social policy. As suggested above, the much-debated concept of "participation" seems to denote at the same time an instrumental and an intrinsic value; this may be taken as a case in point. If a given policy and the guidelines for its implementation are being fixed at the central level of decision, will the executive agencies at the local level and the individuals involved be satisfied with the task of implementing decisions that have been taken from above and within the standards of implementation established? Or will they claim for participation at the higher level, up to the point where they actually participate in decisions on what they themselves have to participate in? Further, how to distinguish clearly between the "policy" and "implementation" phases of social policies and systems of social administration in the broad sense considered here? For instance, some of the most innovative ideas in the "Current Plans" of the Ministry of Social Affairs concern the <u>modalities</u> of implementation of the new policies of health, social security and general social development, modalities relating to the detection of needs, ways of meeting them, methods of administration of programmes and corrective measures to keep abreast of developing needs and situations, criteria for the good management of limited resources, which in a way are more "socially" important than the substantive and material propositions of the document.

In other words, the situation is complicated by the fact that objectives and modalities are inextricably mixed in the social sphere, and none can be said to be more important than the other. Thus it would be an intolerable simplification to hold that the problem can be resolved by saying that the central authorities should decide "what" to do and the regional and local authorities should decide on "how" to do it. In all modern countries, the increasing attention to matters of health, social security, social welfare and any related matter – in short, the tendency towards integrated and comprehensive social policies – is only partly an issue of what to do and largely a question of just how to do it. An the growing responsibilities of the State governments in social matters is also to a large extent a concern with modalities, because the question of "what" is delimited by material resources and the question of "why" is no more an object of serious questioning.

This is in no way intended to suggest that the issue of centralization versus decentralization in the field of social administration does not allow for a reasonable solution, and even less to plead for one or the other of these extremities. But in

the attempt to analyse the problems of instituting a functional system of social administration in a newly emerging democratic society, it may be of use to discard some of the simplifications which have marred the debate on similar issues in other countries, and to go to some length in exposing the many ambivalences in this area. It may be added that many of the above-mentioned problems will eventually find their solution in the context of the continuous re-consideration of problems and policies which is inherent to the working of an "open society" where a number of interacting forces, not the least the electoral process and the interplay of freely operating representative bodies, will help to find reasonable compromises on this and other national problems.

c) <u>New approaches to co-operation between statutory and non-governmental bodies in the social field</u>

This item is, of course, intimately linked to the two previous ones. With a graphical picture, one might say that it is here a question of a "diagonal" relationship between the official administration at various levels and the non-governmental agencies under various sponsorships, as opposed to the "horizontal" relationships between various central governmental agencies and the "vertical" dimension of central versus regional or local authorities, as discussed above. In a country like Portugal, where non-governmental agencies have been and continue to be even more heavily involved in matters of social interest than in other countries, the item under consideration is of particular interest. In some respects, it comes close to the above-mentioned issue of centralization versus decentralization of social administration, because the specific functions and <u>raison d'être</u> of non-governmental agencies in the social field tend to be conceived of in the same terms as that of local bodies versus the central government. They are generally considered to be closer to the social reality and more able to cope with specific situations of need; more elastic and "human" in their approach than the impersonal central authorities and thus closer to the ways of operation of the local administrative bodies. They are also, in virtue of their independent status, considered to be more independent than the statutory agencies of external influences.

The actual position of non-governmental agencies with social aims, both in Portugal and in many other countries, may give rise to a serious scrutiny of all these presuppositions. In the first place, the internal structure and power

relationships in such bodies may often turn out to be even more centralized and autocratic than those of governmental agencies. Especially where it is a question of long-established organizations with particular ideological affiliations, their original aims and modes of operation, e.g. their supposedly closer contact with social realities and needs, may well have succumbed to other and more powerful influences. This is not to suggest any general trend, only to question the frequent supposition that the non-governmental status of an agency in some way guarantees it from the sclerotization and alienation from reality that often characterize official bodies. Nor does there seem to be anything peculiarly "local" about non-governmental agencies; although they often grow from the grass roots, their long-term survival mostly entails the same form of centralization as that of many official bodies.

Finally, while the ideological origin and orientations of many non-governmental agencies may have insulated them from the shifting influences of national politics, to which the statutory agencies are necessarily exposed, this is not necessarily the case in a modern society. For one thing, the ideological heritage which once may have represented a more human and progressive alternative to official policies, may no more be the monopoly of a non-governmental agency, and in not a few cases the progressive stance of yesterday has turned into a conservative position today, even in relation to officially sponsored policies. Furthermore, the increasing dependence on governmental subventions and thus, implicitly, on governmental blessing - which is notably the case with many non-governmental social agencies in Portugal - is gradually effacing their potential nature of alternatives to statutory bodies and rather turning them into a kind of extension of the latter.

Nevertheless, as may be seen from the remaining strength and influence of non-governmental agencies in the social field, even in those countries where overall responsibility for social and related matters has for long been established at the governmental level, there are a number of useful functions which such agencies can fulfil in a modern society. It is frequently said that this should be a role of supplementing and supporting official programmes rather than repeating them or competing with them - another example of a problem restated rather than resolved. The basic problem is of course how, in a country which has opted for collective responsibility for the well-being of all citizens and created statutory institutions to ensure this goal, non-governmental agencies can still perform a useful function within the context of overall official responsibility for social progress.

This problem can either be approached in terms of specific tasks and functions
which non-governmental agencies may be more able to perform than official bodies,
such as public information, mobilization for particular purposes, grass-root actions
of various kinds for which the official agencies may lack the time and personnel
resources. Or else, and perhaps more significantly, the problem may be seen in
structural terms, which for the purpose of discussion might be simplified as follows:
should the action of non-governmental agencies in the social field take place "before"
or "after" that which pertains to the official institutions? More clearly: would
there be a function for non-governmental agencies as the pioneers and forerunners of
new developments in national social policies; or would their proper function rather
be that of bodies ensuring the more efficient implementation of officially accepted
policies, with their ability to adapt more easily to emerging needs than the official
bureaucracy can?

On both alternatives, the function of non-governmental bodies would enhance
their position as being more close to the grass roots and to the real and shifting
needs of the population than the official administration usually is, either to gauge
new needs and perceive new approaches, or to help in bringing official provisions
down to the level of those who most need them. Ideally, non-governmental agencies
should be able to fulfil both these functions positioned "before" and "after" those
of official agencies. This would be a real way of supplementing and enlarging the
activities of statutory bodies, be they central or local, which may fail as much in
new thinking as they may lack the resources to put new ideas into practice. More
often than not, however - and this applies not only to the Portuguese situation but
also to that of non-governmental agencies in many other countries and even on the
international level - there is little willingness to choose between these two options
or to try and combine the alternatives, and a much stronger tendency to establish a
position in the middle.

It hardly needs underlining that the formidable task of creating new systems of
social security, health, welfare and overall social development in Portugal, will
require the active participation also of the many non-governmental agencies that for
centuries have been the only ones to provide some form of social assistance and
protection to those in need. Nor is it necessary to stress the opportunity of
co-ordination between their continued activities and the new programmes of the central

government and its ministries, especially the Ministry of Social Affairs. But the forms and modalities of this new co-operative effort represent another and equally decisive aspect of the problems before the Round Table.

d) The mobilization of public involvement

It is quite natural that in the present situation, shortly after the fall of a regime that for generations had repressed any attempts towards the democratization of public life, there has been a spontaneous upsurge of new forms of participatory government at all levels and within all public and private institutions. Autocracy and the rule by privileged minorities has been replaced by a form of rule by assembly, discarding any kind of delegation of authority and claiming for a direct share in decision-making by all those concerned. While this system may turn out to be too cumbersome and time-consuming in the long run – a modern society and modern institutio[n] can hardly be run efficiently by a system of direct democracy without any form of delegation and representation – it is an extremely significant aspect of the transitional character of this historical period of the country. The search for new ways of government and administration of public matters in society at large and within its institutions, and the questioning of any previous method and criteria, can in the best case be seen as an effort which will eventually result in new ways of government that are democratic and efficient at the same time. In this sense, it would be a form of participation in decisions on how participation should be ensured and how it should express itself.

Only the normalization of the political and administrative system, following the promulgation of the new constitution and other legal and institutional reforms, can eventually bring this about. But in the meantime, it may be worth while to consider in what forms and through what channels one can ensure a permanent public involvement in the elaboration of social policies and in their implementation. It may be said that, at least for the time being, a number of basic social policy measures – such as those considered in the Ministry's Current Plans – are so obviously the expressions of the general social needs of the whole population that no further control of their validity is called for. This certainly applies to the highest principles of the new policy, such as the need to institute systems of health care and social security based on the citizens' right to safety and well-being. But a consensus on first principles does not necessarily guarantee a permanent agreement

on the ways of achieving them, nor on such important problems as what priority should be given to these objectives in relation to other and equally urgent national goals.

The Ministry's position as the main executive agency for the new social policies of the country, means that in the long run the political process itself will be the prime channel through which the electorate can have a say in the formulation of social policies. At the same time, the Ministry's programme itself considers specific actions at the grass-roots level to stimulate popular participation and various forms of active public involvement in social and related programmes, in the form of socio-cultural "animation" and programmes to improve the situation of women. The role of the mass media will probably also remain an important factor in mobilizing public interest in social matters and in detecting new needs and possibilities of social intervention.

In addition to these various "channels" of participation and influence, it may be especially worth while to consider the potential role of the whole network of non-governmental organizations with social aims, interest groups of various kinds, the trade unions, political parties and other forms of collective structures that operate parallelly with the State administrative apparatus. Their importance both as pressure groups and channels of communication and participation in the social sphere can hardly be over-estimated. But it may take some time before they will be able to establish their specific identities and functions, both with regard to the collective interest they represent and towards the statutory organs of the State, in other words, until the negative reminiscences of the corporative system, with its spurious and anti-democratic forms of representativity, are fully overcome.

2. Current Plans - Paper prepared by
The Portuguese Ministry of Social Affairs
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I.   OBJECTIVES OF THE SOCIAL POLICY OF THE MINISTRY OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS

The new social policy can basically be defined by the objectives that the
Provisional Government has set itself, as an answer to the collective needs expressed
in the Programme of the Movement of the Armed Forces. This social policy is not,
thus, the instrument of an "ideology" nor is it the result of "planning". It is the
coherent result of the targets and measures that such objectives require.

The internal structure of the new social policy depends on some clear-cut technical-
political requirements. Such requirements are a consequence of the socializing aims
of the Programme of the Provisional Government. Moreover, this structure has to be
continually tested and checked in accordance with the will of the people, expressed
by means of the multiple evidence of their struggles. An underlying factor is evoked
throughout the Programme: the certainty that a specifically Portuguese revolution
in under way and that its landmarks will be set up by the collective talent put into
the construction of Portugal's own destiny.

The specific objectives of the social policy of the Provisional Government can
be summed up under three main headings: the first two are indicated in Decree 203/74
and the third is implied by the very creation of a Ministry of Social Affairs within
the framework of the Revolution of 25 April 1974. These objectives are as follows:

1.   Gradual establishment of an Integrated System of Social Security which will bring
about the transition from a system based on production capacity to a scheme based on
the dignity of the individual and on his inherent fundamental social rights;

2.   Laying of the foundations of a National Health Service which will bring about
the transition from a centralized public system of reduced scope, and from a liberal-
istic system based on economic discrimination, to a system based on the institutional-
ized answer to the right of all citizens to good health;

3.   Progressive achievement of an Overall Policy of Social Action aimed at improving
the quality of life in all sectors of the population, and the conscious and critical
participation of all in the construction of the collective project of a new society.

II. PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIAL POLICY OF THE MINISTRY OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS

1. Social policy must be both global and sectoral. It is a global policy because it influences all sectoral social policies, for these policies have to subject their specific objectives to the collective social needs.

It is a sectoral policy when it expresses itself in a specific action, in a given field or when it intervenes in special sectors.

This principle does away with:

- a system based on answers to fragmented needs, considered independently of their economic and political context;

- putting "social policy" on an equal footing with any other sectoral policy and making it into a residual factor of policies in other fields;

- social policy being considered merely as a response to the problems provoked by variations in the economy (for instance inflation, unemployment, etc.).

This principle implies:

- the setting-up of a global and intersectoral project for Portuguese society;

- a constant re-evaluation of the definition of the various sectoral policies so that their effective interdependence can be guaranteed and in order to adjust the specific instruments of social policy;

- the recognition of economic progress not as an end in itself but as a necessary means to achieve the objectives of social policy.

2. Social policy must be both unified and decentralized. It is unified when it defines basic objectives, when it plans national priorities in the progressive construction of the levels of social benefits that correspond to the rights and needs of each social group. It is decentralized in so far as it must place the power of decision and the practival assessment of priorities in the hands of the people and of the social groups who have commited themselves to the improvement of their own situation.

This principle does away with:

- any "minority" status that the economic conditions of a population may suggest;

- the expression and consequent fulfilment of needs in merely individual terms, with no organic or operational organization;

- the administration of social policy by centralized bodies, and through channels of decision-making by which the concrete and immediate responsibility of local communities is being denied.

This principle implies:

- practical priority (and higher standards for personnel and the means at their disposal) to the local bodies of social security and health, in relation to central bodies which should be reduced to a minimum;

- centralization of the overall ruling and decentralization of practical management;

- subjection of technical solutions to the human and cultural context of the groups in question;

- autonomy of each local group and its responsibility in working out its own solutions for social action.

3. Social policy is achieved through close co-operation between public bodies and private institutions. It is up to public bodies to ensure the fundamental support of social policy, in terms of collective projects, objectives, norms, finance, model institutions, etc. It is up to private institutions to contribute to the ever insufficient means of public bodies, to ensure greater participation of the population in saying what has to be done to answer their needs, to introduce a factor of flexibility and originality in the general machinery of social action.

This principle does away with:

- State paternalism and consequent manipulation of private institutions by public bodies;

- the paternalism of private institutions, with the inherent risk of their becoming all powerful and manipulating populations;

- the ambiguity of relations between the State and private institutions;

- the existence of so-called private institutions but which, in practice, are totally subsidized by the State.

<u>This principle implies</u>:

- permanent definition of social policy by public bodies;

- the acceptance by private institutions of the objectives of the social policy adopted, of schedules and minimum standards, both of a technical nature and from the point of view of quality of the services rendered;

- the responsibility of the State in safeguarding the non-governmental character of institutions, which by their very nature are beyond the scope of public bodies, provided that they effectively benefit the community.

4. Social policy is expressed through social benefits, social services, social action, which the State owes to all its citizens. All these means of exercising social policy are an answer to <u>fundamental social rights</u> which are inherent in human existence. They are therefore independent of conditions of employment and do not require the accumulation of individual contributions in order to be satisfied. They are determined by <u>collective social needs</u>, which therefore define both the conditions to which they are subject and the limits of the response to individual social rights.

<u>This principle does away with</u>:

- the concept of public assistance as an institutionalized form of charity;

- the individual relation between the taxes paid by workers to the "Previdência"[1] and the corresponding social benefit, traditionally considered as an "insurance";

- the connexion between "work and social protection" as the basis of the whole social security system.

<u>This principle implies</u>:

- the right to social protection, even if the individual in question is either totally or partially outside the labour market;

- the progressive separation between social rights received and the type of activity carried out by the individual (agricultural, industrial, etc.);

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[1] In order to avoid confusion, the Portuguese expression "Previdência" has been kept throughout the text as it cannot be translated exactly by either "Social Security" or "Social Welfare" or "Public Relief Services".

- the imperative character of collective social needs in the programming of
  public bodies. This will not require the "sounding-out" of the population
  in sectors where their fundamental social rights are at stake (preventive
  health coverage, maternity and child protection, etc.).

5. Social policy can only be fully put into practice when it corresponds to effective
collective responsibility towards each individual and each social group. Although
this responsibility is based on the compulsive redistribution of wealth, it does
presuppose the participation, in a variety of ways, of all the community, not only
in methods of financing but also in the establishment and management of social
benefits.

This principle does away with:

- the struggle for survival and resulting competition between individuals or
  groups whenever society does not offer the necessary security;

- the dependence of workers on their employers, because of contributions paid
  by the latter towards social security;

- the character of favouritism in the concession of the various social benefits
  - a vestige of the official system of health coverage which was aimed at those
  who had no money.

This principle implies:

- the guarantee of a minimum income that ensure survival;

- a just distribution of wealth;

- a priority to the more needy sections of society and to the working classes;

- the establishment of limits to social benefits for groups of higher income;

- the commitment of the professional groups that supply social benefits
  (medical, para-medical, public relief management, etc) to assume collective
  responsibility towards each citizen;

- the responsibility of the State in covering deficits.

III. SOCIAL POLICY MEASURES

1. <u>Measures relating to the Integrated System of Social Security</u>

By proposing the gradual replacement of the current systems of assistance and "Previdência" by an Integrated System of Social Security, the programme of the Provisional Government clearly expresses that it is <u>the right to live</u> and not the <u>capacity of production</u> which is the fundamental concept of the new system. Indeed, although "Previdência" was gradually being spread to ever greater sections of the population, it was always inexorably linked to professional status and was even split up into different types, depending on the sort of work carried out. Thus – and although the previous system of assistance had incorporated social promotion tendencies which had in them a new meaning – it was practically inevitable that this assistance should cover that part of the population, necessarily of a marginal type, which did not benefit from any "Previdência". The attempts at modernization of these sectors, in terms of social policy, frequently resulted in a duplication of efforts and of services, as well as forgotten situations which failed to answer definite needs.

At the very basis of the Integrated System of Social Security, with the right to live as the framework of the whole system, the following three processes which have already been put in motion must be mentioned:

i) All workers not covered by "Previdência" are to be integrated in Social Security;

ii) Uniformization of the types of "Previdência" applicable to workers in private enterprise and in the civil service;

iii) Progressive equality of the situation of rural workers in relation to other workers.

The setting-up of new structure of Social Security is thus a fundamental part of the Integrated System of Social Security. In that structure, <u>based on the right to live</u>, all the stages of human life are considered:

i) infancy with all its social implications, requiring special protection;

ii) childhood and youth, guaranteeing the interchange of the values and experiences of different social groups, in order to avoid socio-economic segregation;

iii) adulthood with its double responsibility of family and profession, ensuring
      that the right to work is on par with the right to social intercourse;

iv)   the aged, allowing for social usefulness and individual fulfilment in the
      final stage of life;

v)   parallel to each of these stages, the right to live of the "special sectors"
      of the population, whose status is temporarily or permanently "marginal".

In the development of the first stages of this system, a constant balance will
have to be maintained between a type of social "protection" that will effectively
protect both people and groups, freeing their energies from daily work towards
creative activities, and personal initiative, by encouraging greater responsibility
in savings and foresight, in austerity and sobriety of customs.

As the Integrated System of Social Security is based on the right to live, it
excludes, in principle, all types of privileges, and will try to give all Portuguese
people truly equal opportunities in every phase of their lives. However, considering
that it will be extremely difficult to put this into action, and that in practice there
will continue to be inequality, the Integrated System of Social Security will have to
create methods of intervention and establish means of compensation which will enable
all sections of the population to benefit equally from the human, financial and social
benefits to which they are entitled. Thus, the Integrated System of Social Security
must not just increase the number of social benefits of the population: the population
must understand the whole meaning of the new system and be assured that the social
services and benefits will be quite different in quality from those received previously.
Only then can the Integrated System of Social Security contribute to the transformation
of the life-quality of the Portuguese people.

a) Protection of infancy

In the setting-up of a democratic society, equality of opportunity for each
human being from birth onwards is of fundamental importance. Thus, and as a starting
point, our society aims at a socio-economic context for each child which must be, as
far as possible, determined by its right to live and not by the conditions of the
family to which it belongs. In the medium- and long-term perspective, the need to
create conditions that establish an identical socio-cultural context is stressed,
giving equal opportunities from the first months of life. The current situation is
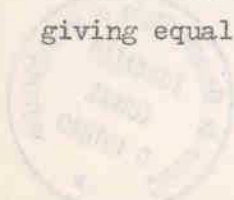
very far from corresponding to this equality of opportunity. Indeed, the services
provided for children vary greatly according to the living conditions of the family.

On the one hand, children belonging to families with above-average incomes are
frequently placed in privately-owned crèches with profit-making aims, to which the
"Previdência" in some cases contributes as much as 1,000 $ per child per month. On
the other hand, children from the working classes are either put in company crèches,
given to women who look after them at home, or left with some member of the family.

We do not consider it viable to cover the whole country with crèches. This is
a collective equipment which, in its traditional form, involves great expenses
because qualified staff and adequate installations are needed to ensure the minimum
conditions required for the psychic development of the children. As, on the other
hand, the link between mother and child is considered of fundamental importance, a
scheme is proposed by which working mothers could remain with their babies until these
are three months old, and an attempt is being made to widen the advantage of the
affective link to the mother figure through the "family-type of crèche".

In this context, once new conditions of an affective and social nature are
assured, it will be possible to spread the benefits of this type of protection to
every child. The following are considered in the planning of these benefits: the
family as an institution existing for the community, private bodies (companies and
non-lucrative associations such as foundations and parents' associations) and, of
course, the essential official institutions.

Measures to be taken:

1) Compliance with international regulations (Conventions of the ILO, No 3,
1919, and No 102, 1952) as to a compulsory 90-day leave after giving birth, for all
working mothers, with the State paying their salaries;

2) Families will be chosen to act as the natural framework of early infancy,
through the selection, training and payment of salaries to mothers who, with a child
of their own, aged between 0 and 3, are willing to look after it together with 3 or
4 other children of the same age;

3) Encouragement in the setting-up of parent co-operatives, with the perma-
nent support of local bodies;

4)   Central plan for the minimum coverage of the country with crèches, using available locations installed in residential areas, or opening up company or foundation crèches to the children of the community with the support of local authorities, thereby preventing the formation of ghettos (in co-operation with the Secretaria de Estado da Habitação e Urbanismo (Department of State for Housing and Urban Planning), and with the Ministério da Administração Interna (Ministry of Internal Administration))

5)   Evaluation and transformation of existing institutions either through complete remodelling of institutions run by the State or by the establishment of regulations for crèches created by private bodies, and support of these organizations so that the responsibility of supervision and inspection by the State be safeguarded.

b)   Special support for children and young people

Every society should provide children and young people with proper conditions for a balanced and healthy development, both in economic terms and in their socio-cultural context. It is essential to guarantee for each child and for each young person the right to a minimum of protection, which is entirely owed to them and which must be independent from the economic status of their family. At present, children and young people have a right to a family allowance only when one of the adults in the family contributes financially to the "Previdência".

Other aspects of social protection are assured through their links with schooling, namely School Health and School Social Action (the first included in the Ministry of Social Affairs and the second in the Ministry of Education and Culture). The question here is to provide special services for these age groups. However, the question of the relationship between school and social life as a whole must be put. Indeed, the fact that School Social Action is at present integrated in the educational system allows for ideological manipulation, as well as giving a "school character" to activities that should be quite different from those held at school. That is why it is important to establish a system of social action that is turned towards the child and of the young person in the social community.

These demands are particularly pressing in the case of children and young people who lack a normal family atmosphere. Official institutions in charge of children must be totally remodelled, and as far as possible a move must be made towards small units which would depend closely on the collaboration of private bodies or on voluntary groups.

Measures to be taken:

    1)   Change the existing conditions for the concession of family allowances to children and young people, making these independent from the professional status of their parents;

    2)   Improve the situation of minors with no social protection whatsoever;

    3)   Complete rethinking of the relationship between school and the social context;

    4)   To standardize the norms of management and orientation of kindergartens, in terms of integration in and adoption to the existing social context and change the syllabus given in those Infant Teacher's Training Colleges depending on the Ministry of Social Affairs;

    5)   To make changes in boarding schools for orphans and young people, or for those coming from deprived families; making them go to ordinary schools, to be trained in proper conditions and live in a family atmosphere in small units of family size;

    6)   Establishment of regulations for the functioning of private institutions set up to look after young people, and review of the concession of permits allocated to these institutions; those not up to standard will be closed down.

    7)   Co-ordination of leisure-time occupations through the full use of existing public facilities.

c)   <u>Creation of new family allowance schemes</u>

    Society must consider that a great share of its responsibility in social protection lies in the family as an institution. It is not a question of plain "family assistance" schemes aimed at needy families, but rather of the establishment of <u>ample structures of financial and social guarantees for the family</u>, so as to ensure for all its members the necessary conditions for an improvement in the quality of life.

    In this context, it is essential to adopt new measures that will enlarge the scope of family allowances which up to now in Portugal, have been limited and used in an erratic manner. Thus, new family allowance schemes must be created. Priority will also be given to the possibility of supplying corrective means as protection

against inflation, independently from changes in salary. The following will thus be taken into account: housing, the number of members in the family, the existence of chronic sick in the family group, whether the family lives in a town or in the country, etc.

Measures to be taken:

1) Housing allowance for families with less than $ 6,000 monthly (this will depend on financial possibilities);

2) Establishment of other forms of contribution to the family income in the case of families employed in seasonal work;

3) Ways of acquiring electric domestic equipment to be used collectively in the suburbs of large towns and of collective refrigeration units and washing arrangements in rural areas;

4) Study and elaboration of a variety of housing allowance schemes for families in the lowest income groups;

5) Incorporation of the income of the Fundo Nacional de Abono de Família (National Fund of Family Allowances) in the Caixa Nacional de Pensões (National Pension Fund) in order to allow for new schemes of family allowances.

d) Social protection against accidents at work and professional illnesses

The right to work goes together with the social rights that must subject work to man. Social protection of workers as such must therefore concentrate on their working conditions.

Industrial production has created a situation in which man is dominated by technology to such an extent that he runs a permanent risk of illness or accident. Existing social protection covers various forms of medical assistance, compensation, pensions. It is of fundamental importance in order to protect the worker in relation to his work.

However, it is necessary to make this protection fully effective, and not leave it to the arbitrary measures of institutions with lucrative aims, but rather ensure total coverage of accidents and illnesses due to work through the official system of social security.

Apart from this, social protection must go together with the establishment of measures to prevent risks inherent to industrial production. The conditions of industrial work require a concentrated action on behalf of workers, employers and public authorities in order to safeguard the minimum conditions in the quality of life. It is not a question of class relations within the means of production, but the actual productive process. It is a long-term task, but to start with, all the types and forms of the production process which are quite clearly contemptuous of human life must be denounced.

Measures to be taken:

1) Revision of the legislation pertaining to the present system, thus guaranteeing that the rights of injured workers be ensured;

2) Analysis of the consequences of doing away with the lucrative activity of insurance companies in this sector, through the inclusion in the Integrated System of Social Security of the social protection of workers who have suffered accidents at work;

3) Detection of those aspects of the productive process that are in the medium- and short-term range menacing the quality of life;

4) Finding ways and means that will enable social policy to exercise a corrective effect in the creation of new industries and in the production process in general (to be carried out in collaboration with the Ministry of Economy).

e) Social protection for those temporarily unemployed

In the present socio-economic organization, the specific responsibility of the Ministry of Social Affairs, regarding social protection to be given to workers who have had to stop work owing to accident is limited to an unemployment subsidy or pension.

The right to work is equivalent to the social right to employment: that is why this must be protected by a group of measures, among them an unemployment benefit whenever there is involuntary interruption of work. Although the psycho-sociological effects of this protection on the behaviour of the workers are not known, it is not justified, considering the high reputation enjoyed by the institution of such a measure.

Measures to be taken:

   1)   Termination (in conjunction with the Ministries of Labour, of Social
Facilities and Environment, and of Finance) of the project of Decree Law on unemploy-
ment benefits;

   2)   Study of reasonable measures for unemployment benefits in which various
factors will be taken into account, such as family responsibility, housing conditions,
etc.

f)   Adoption of new measures of protection in cases of sickness or old age

   The right of the aged to be supported by the community is the final consequence
of the right to live and of its protection on the part of society. Considering the
high proportion of elderly people in the population structure of Portugal, new forms
of protection are an immediate requirement.

   The present position of elderly people can be summed up briefly as follows:
either insignificant old-age pensions or complete absence of any sort of regular
income; hundreds of elderly people living in huge institutions in sub-human
conditions; almost total abandonment in urban areas where the nuclear family tends
to expel its aged members, both owing to imported sociological models and to the
critical situation of housing conditions.

   A complete change in the policy adopted for the aged is imperative and must be
as far as possible characterized by the integration of elderly people in their family
group (this will be made easier by the social pensions already planned), by the setting-
up of institutions for elderly people that will house couples, and be of such a size
that they will guarantee human conditions; insertion of these institutions in housing
and urban planning as part of the essential facilities offered to any population
group.

Measures to be taken:

   1)   Raising of old-age pensions in rural areas;

   2)   Raising of pensions attributed before 1/1/74 by at least 15%, as of
1/1/75 (there are 250,000 people receiving old-age pensions from the "Previdência"
and it must be remembered that the rate of inflation in the cost of living for 1974
may be as much as 40%);

3)   Granting of a yearly 13th pension which at present is already perceived by Civil Service pensioners;

4)   Granting a supplement to sickness and old age pensions allocated before 1/1/1974, whenever the pensioner has a spouse at his or her charge;

5)   Creation of small residential units that will take in elderly people who have no family;

6)   Total reorganization of existing institutions for elderly people;

7)   Increase of 20% in pension for those invalids who need the almost constant presence of another person.

g)   Social integration of marginal groups

Marginal groups have a right to special protection, tending towards their complete integration in society and therefore to the elimination of their situation. While physical, psychic or social conditions exist that set apart people or groups of people, society cannot consider itself free from discriminatory or unjust practices.

The rehabilitation of the so-called "special groups" requires specific action aimed at the natural integration of these groups in the community. The social integration of the physically handicapped (particularly war cripples and invalids), of the mentally handicapped (particularly those who after psychic or manual rehabilitation are able to carry out a normal activity), of the socially malajusted (particularly those who have been the victims of extreme poverty, such as prostitutes - and those who have reacted against the consumer society - the "drop-outs" and the drug-addicts) require both technical rehabilitation and human and social support. As the country is at present very sensitive to the problems of disabled servicemen, it is the right moment to start intensive rehabilitation and social integration action.

Measures to be taken:

1)   Analysis of the possibility of transforming municipal hospitals into small rehabilitation units for the physically handicapped, in close collaboration with the Misericórdias (Local Relief Centres) and other local institutions;

2)   Complete inventory of existing large rehabilitation units (civil and military);

3) Renewal of the structures covering the mentally handicapped, in collaboration with voluntary organizations and with those sectors of production that can be used for their professional integration;

4) Evaluation and orientation of existing voluntary action in relation to the socially maladjusted.

h) Administrative and financial management of the "Previdência"

The sums of money controlled by the "Previdência" (about 40 billion escudos, of which about 22 billion make up the annual budget) make it absolutely essential to reorganize and simplify the control and compensation circuits between the various social security institutions.

Secondly, due to the fact that the workers contribute financially to a great variety of different funds, they are not inclined towards collective co-operation in community charges. Thus, the advantages and disadvantages of a unified system of financial transferences in which taxes and contributions for social security will be taken as a whole, are being considered in collaboration with the Ministry of Finance.

The use of computers in the administrative management is an urgent requirement. The administrative staff that will thus be freed will be reabsorbed when small units dealing with social security benefits will have been established in integrated service centres of local communities (villages or urban areas).

Finally, the renewal of the administrative structures of social security institutions, particularly at the management level, is also a necessity which must comply with technical efficiency, proper standards and close collaboration of representatives of the public and the State.

Measures to be taken:

1) Reduction of requirements (which up to now have been based on the span of time during which a person has been working) in determining social benefits (for instance, family allowances will be given independently of the number of working hours of the beneficiary during the previous month);

2) Setting-up of computer systems conducive to greater efficiency of services rendered and to a reduction in administrative expenses;

3) Administration of the "Previdência" through Caixas Distritais (District Public Relief Funds) and financial management through the Caixa Nacional de Segurança Social (National Funds for Social Security) resulting from the reconversion of the Caixa Nacional de Pensões (National Pension Fund);

4) Definition of the status of social security staff;

5) Analysis of the advantages and viability of integrating the coverage of accidents at work in the Social Security System, as well as the establishment of supplementary schemes by using either existing institutions or by setting up an insurance organization.

2. Measures relating to the National Health Service

Contrary to the current system of social security, it is health and not illness that is the integrating factor of the National Health Service. Thus, within the framework of the measures proposed below, the various services will mainly be aimed at prevention. The following basic principles are implied:

i) Universality: all Portuguese citizens residing in Portugal will be covered;

ii) Continuity and permanence of health services;

iii) Totality: every citizen must have a right to benefit from all the skills and scientific knowledge at the disposal of the community.

The organization of a National Health Service implies a unified policy with a view to:

i) Creating schemes for training preventive health services personnel, ensuring them good working conditions and professional careers at the national levels;

ii) Widening the scope of preventive health services and improving the quality of medical services, hospitals, rehabilitation centres and also of pharmaceutical products.

iii) Coverage of the entire country with efficient preventive health services, so that every citizen, independently of his geographical and social position, can effectively exercise his right to good health;

iv)   Placing all existing preventive health services, as well as those which are to be set up, under the direct control of the State Secretariat for Health of the Ministry of Social Affairs.

These initial aims do not fit in with the present organization of the State Secretariat for Health because some important services in the field of medicine do not come under its control, while others that depend on this Secretariat should be included in other State Departments. Therefore, the first task is to organize this Secretariat (central, regional and local services) so as to achieve a rational usage of the human and material means which are already available, and to proceed with the socialization of health services.

a)   Development of medical units at the base

Theoretically about 90% of the Portuguese population is covered by health services, by means of a complex network of medical centres run by the Social Security Funds, health centres or hospitals. However, in practice it has been proven impossible to guarantee the proper treatment of illnesses and with rare and isolated exceptions, very little has been done to improve the situation.

In a country where there is no tradition of preventive medicine, because it did not produce short-term spectacular results, medical centres have been reduced to automatic observation centres of the sick, where health certificates are distributed, where prescriptions are handed out in large numbers and where a few supplementary examinations are carried out. Instead of proper medical observation, the sick are actually examined "on paper".

The health centres are of recent foundation, very few in number, and have there-fore not been able to alter the overall situation in the country. However, they are very much needed and it is important to set them up in well chosen residential areas where the inhabitants can regularly control their state of health and where they can go when they are ill. From the administrative point of view, these centres are on the border line between the Health Departments and Social Security. Up to now they were part of an organization that, grouped or dispersed, existed but which functioned in an unco-ordinated manner. The following would be included in the projected centres: the medico-social services of social security, existing health centres, the

delegations of certain institutions such as the ones covering TB patients and mental health, some small internment units. In other words, all existing institutions would be co-ordinated and made to work together and would thus be open daily for as long a period as possible.

Measures to be taken:

1) Implementation of the Decree Law establishing that all medico-social services of the State Secretariat for Social Security should come under the State Secretariat for Health;

2) Reorganization of health centres and other local resources, so that preventive health services in the most important sectors can be set up;

3) Launching of a public health campaign with special emphasis on the most needy areas;

4) Definition of the roles of these health centres and their integration in the National Health Service.

b) Planning for equality of access to the auxiliary means of diagnosis

One of the greatest difficulties encountered by the population is the geographical dispersion of the auxiliary means of diagnosis, leading to great waste of time as these services are not efficiently organized. On the other hand, the reduced scope of the means of diagnosis within the network of the medical centres of the social services has created a situation where explicit or tacit solutions have been arranged, which cost a lot of money and which contribute to an unjust distribution of financial resources.

It is therefore imperative to constitute small integrated units covering all the auxiliary means of diagnosis (X-rays, E.C.G., routine analysis, etc.) located in densely populated areas so that they will be fully used. A first step towards the solution of this problem will be the use of some medical centres of the "Previdência" as well as the installation of some municipal hospitals.

It does not seem viable to launch the foundations of a National Health Service without ensuring the existence of such units within its network.

Measures to be taken:

1) Fixing the size of the geographical areas to be covered by each centre of diagnosis;

2) Definition of the needs and possibilities at the various levels, in order to avoid duplication of efforts;

3) Co-operation with other types of health centres.

c) Simplification of the pharmaceutical scheme

In the present situation, the provisions of the pharmaceutical scheme obey the laws of the free market, at the almost total expense of the social security system.

A vicious circle has been established between an appointment at the medical centre and the purchase of the medicines prescribed. The doctor "compensates" the short time he spends on clinical observation with a very long prescription, which increases his credibility in the opinion of the patient. And here, to start with, a reduction in expenses can be achieved.

Then, the medical prescription enters the pharmaceutical network, where two problems arise. On the one hand, in our society and with the number of medicines existing in Portugal, chemists have become mere suppliers of "medical merchandise". On the other hand, the variety of pharmaceutical products on the market, as compared to the situation existing in the majority of highly industrialized countries, reveals a total absence of control and inspection in this field. Therefore, the first thing to be done is to reduce the number of products on the market without reducing the number of pharmaceutical products which are in fact needed for the treatment of all illnesses. This drastic reduction must go together with an intensive information campaign so that the public will trust the medicines that, in fact, will be exactly the same as the ones previously on sale.

In addition to all this, in private medical consultations and in hospitals, the medicines prescribed are generally more expensive than the actual fees and that expense is supported in full either by the patient or by the patient and the State in a pre-arranged proportion. This situation requires a complete review of the system used, in order to reduce the financial deficit, considering that the very state of health of the patient makes it more difficult for him to afford the expense.

Measures to be taken:

1) Elaboration of legislative measures which will reduce the margin of profits on the sale of medicines and the purchase by the State of those factories which are the main suppliers of public services;

2) Drastic reduction in the manufacture and import of medicines with different names, but which are based on the same chemical products;

3) Adoption of an Official Listing of Pharmaceutical Products.

d) Improvement of hospital services and of their geographical distribution

At present there are medium and small hospital units spread throughout the country that depend on the Misericórdias (Local Relief Bodies). A few dozen of these units have only limited technical means, but they are capable of dealing with every-day cases of general medicine, in close co-operation with large hospitals. The technical standards of these hospitals must be established, depending on the conditions of access to the nearest central or district hospital. Their local influence should also be well implanted and the viability of equipping them in a uniform manner must also be considered, as well as establishing similar conditions for the admittance of patients.

As a complement to central hospitals, a whole network of convalescence and cure centres must be considered. Taking into account the socio-economic level of the majority of the population, such a network would be of great importance to ensure an effective cure. Existing units are few in number, and some existing institutions must be reconverted to that effect.

The need for a considerable number of suitable staff may possibly require the training or transfer of workers from production sectors to the health services.

Measures to be taken:

1) Inventory of local hospitals must be carried out. This has already been established by Decree Law. The respective functions of these hospitals, depending on their geographical situation, must also be determined;

2) Study of the types of agreements to be made with private clinics as well as with local doctors;

3)   Inventory of the needs of convalescence and cure establishments and possibility of using existing buildings for that purpose.

4)   Immediate enlargement of rehabilitation centres.

e)   Establishment of an overall plan for central and specialized hospitals

These hospitals are at present being used for all and every illness. That is one reason why they are in such a chaotic state and are so non-operational. They must be transformed into centres with a high level in technology and the very highest standards must be set for the medical and para-medical staff.

Some of these hospitals will be chosen as centres for medical training, while others, which are already properly equipped, will have to cover the full needs of the areas in which they are located. Whatever the case, there are minimum standards of equipment that must be complied with and a full team of doctors must be available.

Within this plan, and complementary to general hospitals, the need for specialized hospitals in fields such as psychiatry, cancerology, etc., must be determined.

Measures to be taken:

1)   Analysis of the survey that has already been carried out, in respect of existing central hospitals;

2)   Debate (now going on) on hospital organization, which will indicate the possibility of achieving the aims of the National Health Service;

3)   Analysis of what is really lacking in specialized hospitals and transformation of some existing ones (sanatoriums, Instituto Gama Pinto, etc.).

f)   Making emergency departments efficient and humane

The situation of emergency departments is one of the most scandalous in the country. Basically what happens is that a very large and totally indiscriminate number of all types of cases arrive at emergency departments; there is a complete lack of organization at all levels of reception in those wards; the staff working in these services has become hardened to the situation and in general there is no co-ordination between the various sections that should be part of an emergency ward. The more remote reasons for this situation lie in the inadequate structure and management of hospitals. Small ghettos are formed with no communication with the rest of

the hospital and the emergency departments never seem to benefit from improvements that touch other hospital sections, while the system of rotation of work does not seem to apply to them.

There are, of course, specific causes for this situation which must be dealt with immediately. Among them, are a total absence of rational management capable of establishing the various circuits that the patient has to go through in each case, the physical disproportion between the arrival sections and the observation departments, the indiscriminate types of accidents that are dealt with, the primitive way in which the patients are treated and the amount of time that the whole process takes.

Therefore, the first task is to work out concrete and easily enforced measures to solve the above-mentioned situation; this will encourage and give a sense of responsibility to the medical and para-medical staff working in these departments from the point of view of quality as well as humanity of the services rendered.

Measures to be taken:

1) Creation of new emergency wards in hospitals which already have the necessary equipment or which can be quickly equipped;

2) Analysis of the overall situation in the country, in respect of access to the various existing emergency departments;

3) Intensive campaigns in order to inform the public about existing emergency departments and how and when these services should be used;

4) Constitution of an "ad hoc" committee for immediate improvement of the conditions existing in emergency departments;

5) Greater powers given to the inspection services of emergency departments.

g) New forms of democratization of medicine

It is not possible to establish coverage by the National Health Service, while the bureaucratic image of "going to the doctor" is maintained. Access to a doctor is difficult for people who do not have their own cars or who live in places that have little public transport. The "Previdência" Services have contributed to making the medical function both bureaucratic and inhuman.

The public cannot be expected to go on waiting for such an urgent reorganization. Therefore, and parallel to medical centres of easy access, it is important to accept the traditional image of the doctor visiting the home, within the socio-economic structure of Portuguese life. Once the main areas of assistance and hospital internment are defined, it will be necessary to establish secondary areas of intervention using home visits by the Doctor. If the family is able to keep the patient at home, this will represent a substantial economy for the State.

Therefore the creation of mobile teams of doctors and auxiliary staff will be considered. Based in specified places, those teams would cover the whole territory and therefore work towards curative medicine. This is the same as saying that the family may, in certain cases, act itself as an internment unit but that, when this happens, the medical network must also cover them.

In addition, basic medical training in "preventive medicine" which is usually described as first-aid should be spread as much as possible, so that everyone may actively take part in the collective health effort. Thus, while health centres would become offshoots of the hospitals, individual homes would also become extensions of health centres.

Measures to be taken:

1) Definition of the areas in need of coverage and of the access of the doctor to the potential cases;

2) Constitution of mobile teams of doctors and auxiliary staff, so as to assure permanent health care.

3) Development of first-aid courses and practice with supporting public campaigns.

h) Teaching and training of medical and para-medical professions

The National Health Service depends, in a large measure, on the number and quality of its agents. In the specific case of medical practice and complementary care, the danger of training that is divorced from practical life has been stressed over and over again. After the recent experiences effected in the Lisbon Civil Hospitals, it is now accepted that the teaching of medicine should be carried out preferably in

hospitals or in multiple health centres, and it is up to the University to supply extra support i the way of scientific knowledge and research practice.

The case of nursing must also be stressed; when it has become obvious that the teaching of medicine must be linked closely to the health network, the teaching of nursing must be reorganized within the context of hospitals to which, in any case, it is already linked.

The management of hospitals and health centres is a separate factor, which again is going to require much thought during the next few months and years. The proper functioning of the variety of units that supply health care depends of the efficiency of management. In addition, it is essential to consider the training of the staff that will be employed in preventive health care, guaranteeing proper standards of technical competence and social status, so that patients may be treated as human beings.

<u>Measures to be taken:</u>

1) Legislative measures, in co-operation with the Ministry of Education and Culture, with a view to establishing the teaching of medicine in civil hospitals;

2) Establishment of uniform criteria in the training of nurses through the National Institute of Health, and in close co-operation with the representatives of the nursing colleges and professional groups of this sector.

3) Elaboration of the structure of hospital management at various levels of training qualification and programming, making use of the administrative personnel presently employed in the "Previdência" Services;

4) Establishment of conditions of recruitment and quick training for preventive health staff.

III. SOCIAL POLICY MEASURES

A fundamental factor of overall social policy is its integration in other State departments, in relation to the economic and financial basis of the new society that we wish to build. It must also be linked to education and labour policies, implying a new concept of man and history (which he will have to take into his own hands), as well as new structures that will guarantee the effective exercise of individual freedom

and the true expression of collective will. This interaction is the reflection, in operational terms and in the context of social policy, of the constitutional collegiality of the Government itself.

Parallel to this interaction there are, however, certain aspects of an overall type that have a definite significance in the construction of a new society and must be encouraged in the context of social policy. These are the aspects that lead us towards <u>an integrated and unified social policy.</u>

On the road towards socialism now being undertaken in Portugal, no ready-made model is going to be followed. That is why it is imperative to encourage collective creativity so that at all levels and in all forms of the community, the new road which the country is to follow may be worked out.

To begin with, all human resources must be used in this process of awakening of the people. It is during revolutionary periods that the people can be the masters of their own history, rather than the object of any sort of "mental conditioning" or "social promotion". Therefore, one of the tasks of the new social policy is to give back to the people their power of decision during these decisive months of their history.

In order to ensure that this overall policy is permanently absorbing the ideas that will determine a better quality of life, it is essential that it should face at all times the challenges that are launched by large social groups which, through their way of life and their potentialities, are the bearers of new types of life and different human relations. That is why the specific intervention of the Ministry of Social Affairs in the following three essentially inter-sectoral areas of social policy is justified: socio-cultural "animation", population policy and the situation of women.

a)   Socio-cultural "animation"

Portuguese society is still composed of various types of co-existent "societies". If, on the one hand, this situation corresponds to economic discrimination it has to be done away with, on the other, in this variety of societies new and potentially creative choices may exist.

The recognition of specific ways of life of the Portuguese people, which are particularly obvious in rural areas, will lead to a reappraisal of these tendencies, so that new and natural structures of social intercourse can be found. These structures involve limited nuclei, such as the family, and wider sectors, such as the local community nucleus. It is thought possible to introduce into Portuguese life, and on the basis of its truly genuine traditions, a collectivization of responsibilities, of goods and of services, that, although they may be individually felt, can nevertheless be answered collectively.

The encouragement of new manners of living and of participation implies, however, that old habits of passiveness and dependance are put aside, as they are incompatible with the essence of a "cultural revolution". The solution of this contradiction will certainly lead to a new historical epoch that will be a democratic way of life, corresponding to the socio-cultural will of the people and not only to their "electoral will".

The State cannot stand by and just watch this process, leaving individuals in the hands of a variety of pressure groups. The State itself must act in the sense of favouring a critical opinion on the part of the population in relation to events, and encourage their participation in the decisions to be taken on a local, regional or national level. Socio-cultural "animation" is the instrument that the State holds in its hands in order to collaborate with the people in the process of their own awakening.

Measures to be taken:

1) Organization of the Interministerial Commission for Socio-cultural "animation";

2) Transformation of the Casas do Povo (Rural Associations) and Casas dos Pescadores (Fishermen's Associations) into multiple community action centres;

3) Formation of mobile teams of experts in socio-cultural "animation" to support local and regional initiatives, and projects of a private character that have the same aims;

4) Organization of voluntary workers ready to collaborate in socio-cultural "animation" within the plans of the Government;

5) Efforts to change the quality of life in society, particularly of "life styles" by means of intensive campaigns.

6) Encouragement towards collective use of certain domestic services and equipment, as well as of any other forms of co-operation at family and neighbourhood level, especially by means of consumer co-operatives;

7) Taking part in the mixed committee, created by the Department of State for Tourism, for the definition and execution of a policy of social tourism;

8) Organization of leisure-time social activities, using in a multiple and permanent manner all existing equipment, within the framework of the ex-Instituto de Obras Sociais (Institute for Social Projects).

b) Population policy

It is essential to have a coherent population policy when defining social policy. Indeed, when talking about social policy, one has first to know what the people are like. The people become the subject of their history not only because of the way they set the course of that history, but also when their way of living and their customs are properly understood. The definition of this population policy implies two factors: to begin with, the very factor that there must be a population policy.

Some of the points included in the Programme of the Provisional Government (namely the protection of maternity and infancy and the creation of new schemes of family allowances) make it clear that the population question must be put. The return of thousands of soldiers from the wars in Africa, as well as the potential arrival of sections of the population of the former colonies and of emigrants now working in various countries in Europe, will alter, in a sudden manner, the existing age structure of the population. It is because of this new structure, which is as yet far from being definite, that a responsible demographic policy must be worked out. Considering the possibility of the return of thousands of Portuguese people, a balance must be created between a policy of family planning and the proper distribution of the population in the geographical areas available.

On the other hand, population is a social reality of human character. It cannot be controlled by the statistics that define it. It cannot be reduced to the fluctuation of numbers. Population is, above all, an anthropological and sociological reality

and its social and cultural aspects are decisive. However, there is little data at hand to help us towards the definition of its characteristics. The times we are living in, making feelings more acute and stressing certain aspects in a way that is natural to revolutionary periods, make for a unique opportunity in determining these characteristics. As has been stressed, it is essential to study the population when determining all the social policy outlined in these plans. Only this knowledge will guarantee that this policy will in fact answer the aspirations and way of life of the Portuguese people.

Measures to be taken:

1) Creation, within the framework of the Ministry of Social Affairs, of an Interministerial Commission on population policy;

2) Development of information campaigns aimed at the population as to the objectives and aspects of family planning, within the framework of the Directorate-General for Health and with the support of existing private institutions;

3) Study of the demographic consequences of the process of independence of the former colonies, with a view to establishing adequate social protection schemes, that will make for the gradual integration of these groups in the community.

c) Situation of women

A fundamental aspect of the development of populations in the last quarter of the 20th century is the whole question of the situation of women. The seventies, which sociologists and anthropologists had foretold as the "decade of women", have in fact begun to face in every society the question put by the situation of women. In various countries there are interministerial commissions to deal with this situation - and they are considered so important that in some cases they depend directly on the Head of Government (for instance, in the United States of America and in Great Britain). France has even gone further and created a Ministry of the "Situation of Women". Why this interest? What does it mean in the context of the 25 April Revolution?

To begin with, let us see what are the actual problems involved. The existing situation is as follows: married women have a second-class citizen status; female labour is used as reserve labour (cf. dismissals in clothing and electronic industries

etc.); there are great differences in salaries between men and women at all levels of the hierarchic scale; the double task of family responsibility and professional responsibility is accumulated; there is limited participation of women in the labour world; there is a general depreciation of work done by women; there is a great absence of a sufficient number of women in key posts. Therefore, it seems important to take advantage of 1975 as "International Women's Year", in order to implement concrete measures, with a view to eliminating the discrimination against women, and towards their full participation in the process of rebuilding the country.

It must be remembered that, for the first time in Portugal, vast numbers of women are feeling the challenge of a new situation. As they have to face a great number of problems at various levels, women are being hit by society itself, covering the most varied aspects of life. The situation can become so dramatic, that it enables a rupture with the "status quo" and therefore opens up new possibilities for society. That is why, within the Revolution, women can form a "new Left" that will point the way to a different attitude towards reality. They can thus become dynamic elements in the reconstruction of the country, not only by just following the road that men have begun, but rather by breaking entirely new ground.

Measures to be taken:

1) Revision of the international conventions relative to the situation of women (in the ILO Programme for 1975 and in the General Assembly of the UNO for 1975) and participation in the ones that will contribute towards projected Portuguese laws;

2) Elaboration of a law on the situation of women that, in its main points, with regard to social status, (legal capacity, equality of opportunities in education, professional training and political participation, etc., organization of timetables, elimination of salary discrimination, etc.) will put into effect a "preferential legal status" which is only possible in revolutionary times;

3) Research and consequent action aimed particularly at women from the working classes, and prompt intervention whenever needed;

4) In co-operation with the Ministry of Education and Culture, study the possibility of introducing in Universities courses and research projects concerning the situation of women.

IV. ORGANIZATION OF THE MINISTRY OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS

The organization of new structures for the Ministry of Social Affairs is of fundamental importance. Revolutionary periods are by definition the times when old structures should collapse to make way for new ones within the framework of a democratic society.

All the departments of the Ministry have been asked to suggest short- and medium-term solutions as to the reorganization and improvement of their own management this has created a continuous feed-back process which is now entering its decisive phase. Within this reorganization, some fundamental concepts are being considered, such as social policy, public administration and new projects for society as a whole. That is why the Ministry of Social Affairs has tried to balance the elaboration of objectives and measures with a relfexion on those structures themselves. This process has not yet ended. Current times stimulate creativity in some, but it seems to paralyse others who are afraid of losing their status.

The clear option of the Ministry of Social Affairs is to pull down existing structures and to replace them with simpler ones that are better adapted to real life. Indeed, the principles of social policy that were outlined in the previous sections require, in order to become operational, a flexible and dynamic structure.

For one thing, the Ministry of Social Affairs is a "new" Ministry and from that point of view one might imagine that it is entirely open to a suitable organization, that would simply be the consequence of the objectives and of the means necessary to execute them. But, in fact, the Ministry of Social Affairs has inherited (Decree Law No 203/74) an almost innumerable amount of departments, where there are many voids, superpositions, hiatuses, etc.

The structures of the Ministry of Social Affairs must therefore be, at the same time, the result of the "free" execution of the proposed social policy and of the adjustments, coalition, reconversion or elimination of existing departments. The main lines of this new structure will follow a certain number of principles of public administration that have to be stressed:

1. The public sector must become an instrument capable of executing governmental decisions. It must be sufficiently autonomous to enable the Government to act freely with a greater capacity of renewal.

2. The very size of the public sector requires a type of management that can be compared to that of a large private company. Therefore, it is important to separate <u>personnel management from the technical execution of tasks</u>, as well as from the <u>political options adopted</u>.

3. The hierarchy of functions must be determined by practical efficiency, notwithstanding the possibility of the existence of task-forces for specific aims or of "ad hoc" committees which are required by specific circumstances.

4. All tasks that are begun must lead to concrete results in terms of benefits for the population, and the proliferation of committees that duplicate work must be eliminated.

5. The functioning of top-level departments must be simplified and reduced to a minimum, while the ones at the base, which are in direct contact with the population, must be enlarged so as to become really efficient.

6. The supporting infrastructures must have as much scope as possible so that they can be fully operational, avoiding a possessive personalization of functions.

7. In revolutionary times, planning tends to be put aside and be replaced by "ideas - action - reflexion", by successive interactions and as an essential part of departments that have well-defined objectives.

<u>Measures to be taken:</u>

1) Definition of the <u>nuclear sections</u> of each Department of State. These departments will do away with existing Directorates-General, both by their very nature and by the fact that each Department of State will be one integrated whole. Each nuclear department will constitute the institutionalized answer to individual and collective social rights.

2) Reformulation, on new principles, of the <u>bodies of financial and technical administration</u> that must support the action of the nuclear departments as well as of the <u>supervision and inspection services</u> that will guarantee the proper compliance with established norms.

3) Creation of <u>careers</u> at the national level for the various sectors of Health and Social Security. Whenever necessary, <u>intensive training courses</u> will be organized for the staff chosen for specific tasks.

4) Decentralization and regionalization of the action of the Ministry of Social Affairs. To this end, the number of <u>multiple and/or specialized</u> centres, by <u>districts and municipal areas</u>, where the departments of the Ministry of Social Affairs will be set up, will have to be worked out.

5) Elaboration by successive approximations of the main structure of the Ministry of Social Affairs.

IV. CLOSING ADDRESS BY THE MINISTER FOR SOCIAL AFFAIRS

H.E. Mrs. Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo

Today in Portugal everything is being carried out in a climate of apparent improvisation. Everything seems to be decided at the last moment. What is happening, in fact, is that everything is brought into play in the revolutionary process which multiplies to infinity the number of decisions required. Indeed, revolution allows neither long consideration nor detailed studies – it has to capitalize on all that has been matured by deep reflection right up to the moment of the great change. The revolutionary period is thus, by nature, spontaneous. This ad hoc feature is more distinct in a nation such as Portugal where one encounters the benefits and difficulties which characterize a rapid response to events, and where the present felt and lived has much more meaning than the future planned on a long-term basis.

The theme which we have examined during this Round Table is of vital importance to my country. I believe that, in this period of transition, public administration – and especially in the field of social policy – plays an essential role in trying to guide as efficiently and as rapidly as possible the revolution set in motion by the armed forces. For this revolution cannot become completely real until the whole population is truly the agent, the author and the builder of that revolution.

Through all the processes of restructuring the public administration, a radical change needs to be effected by the officials themselves. From being "servants of the State", it is necessary for them to become "servants of the people". Indeed, what is the State? Is it that vague, abstract form, without a shape, without a human face, which produced loyalties such that now some are sacrificed to past loyalties? Is it an all-powerful apparatus absorbing all energies, rendering all initiatives uniform, making it necessary to pass through its whole system of administration to make even the most ordinary decisions valid? We have experienced only too well the gigantism of the State (it should be recalled that Portugal has more than 300,000 civil servants and that more than 15 per cent of the national budget is spent on maintaining them) to want to keep or extend it indefinitely. For no matter whether it carries out continual reforms or stirs up rebellions, the State machinery always becomes the devoted instrument of the established powers. Now the Portuguese revolution has been undertaken to hand back to the people its decision-making powers at all levels affecting everyday life.

The future which is before us is a future where everyone of us (and certainly those in social administration) elects above all to serve the people. This affirmation gives rise to important consequences, which are present in our resolutions and not the least of which is that which considers, in fact, that the administration only has a meaning in so far as it produces services, and in so far as, immediately, as rapidly as possible, it produces not papers but direct benefits for the population. Any structural or institutional reform which is necessary at the moment - and in which we are wholly engaged - must be subordinated to this first obligation: to give back to the people the means to satisfy their social rights within normal time limits. This will be a real revolution! I hope that in all fields, and particularly in the field of social policy, we shall soon arrive at the point where we can all agree as to the methods to be used in this respect: either the benefits will be felt immediately or they do not exist. This is the point: either one opts to serve the people, rather than serve the State or whatever other powers, or one is in a decoy and one lures others into that decoy.

Naturally this way of looking at things entails a new definition of the professional bodies involved in implementing social policy: at the social service level, at the level of the medical staff, of the technicians, of the economists, in short of all the professional staff connected with the provision of social services. It is necessary to re-orient their entire outlook. It is all very well to talk of interdisciplinary efforts, they are only real in so far as everyone goes over again the ground that he has himself covered, namely that, from one's own appreciation of the situation, it is possible to arrive at that fundamental "magma" where we can all draw on the same resources and enter into a dialogue which is beyond our specific competence here. I believe that the presence of foreign guests has helped us considerably to recognize that from a very concrete, specific and well-defined field, one can "travel" into many fields and find lanes and crossroads, making encounters thus possible.

A second question claims the attention of public administration and, in particular, social administration. When the Government is snowed under with work of legislative import, imposed by the absence of a real seat of legislative power, at that moment it is necessary for the very people, with distinct anthropological and sociological characteristics, to have a priority say in these decisions. And how? By being very clear about the distinction to be made between real country and legal country. There

are these two realities and we need to know if the administration, if we all, are serving the real country, namely if we are setting up administrative machinery and if we are taking decisions clearly for the <u>benefit of man</u>, thus the <u>real country</u>, or whether they are for the benefit of an idea, of an ideology of something which soars high over men and which sometimes has nothing to do with reality.

Thus and at one and the same time we go beyond the concepts of more or less revolutionary legislation. The legislation which Portugal needs is one which is able to take legal cognizance of reality by making that reality the standard of its own gradual development. In view of the changes which we are currently going through, any legislation becomes rapidly out of date, legal decrees seeming to contradict those which preceded them. This explains the concern of the Government to adapt the legal country to subordinate laws to the will of the people.

One feature seems very important to me in this real country and, if I talk about it, it is because it appears an essential support for any new social policy. I am thinking of what Ivan Illich called "conviviability" and which corresponds to a very genuine expression of the Portuguese language and thus of its anthropology. This "conviviability" cannot suddenly be removed by ruthless forces which might come to destroy it. It cannot, nor must it, be replaced by the triggering-off of ready-made ideologies, or by easy and dull formulas relating to already familiar experiences. On the contrary, in my opinion, this "conviviability" remains the only truly socio-logical basis on which to graft the laws and movements, efforts and changes which the revolutionary process requires. The success or failure of this grafting will tell, more than any elaborate analyses, what is genuinely "received" by the Portuguese people and what is not.

If Portugal succeeds in maintaining and reinforcing this conviviability, I believe it might open up an original channel in social policy. I do not want to make a country a special "reserve" from which others come to extract something, but I venture to say that this country should be capable of developing its technical abilities within its conviviability capacity, which exists above all in the most popular quarters. If it is always from the roots of the people that the truth of each nation is extracted, then our social policy should also spring from these fundamental roots.

In speaking of a legal country in comparison with a real country, I believe we can draw further conclusions, one of which seems particularly important to me. What

matters is not so much making laws but stating <u>where decisions are made</u>. In the
immense complexity of the present situation, it is not a question of putting on to
paper normative aspects relating to everything, but a question above all of setting
down on paper some basic aims in time and space: <u>where should they be put into effect?</u>
<u>Where are the moral ties of the power of decision?</u> <u>Where are decisions taken?</u> What
are the <u>time limits fixed</u> for each goal? This seems far from social policy, but it
concerns in fact key points for social policy which aims at efficiency.

I would like to take up another aspect which I noticed during the Round Table.
I believe the whole time we fluctuated between, on the one hand, global approaches
and, on the other, very specific and very concrete approaches. Naturally, social
policy has very, very specific aims - it is one sector just like another. But it is
also the envelope of social reality. Hence this balancing movement between what is
specific and concrete, on the one hand, and what is global and enveloping, on the
other. It concerns a tension, a dialectic which one always meets, not only in a
Round Table such as this, but in everyday experience.

It may be said that in a Latin and Portuguese context there is a cultural
feature which incurs the risk of taking for globality what is abstract, vague,
undefined - which would take away from the dialectic I mentioned its creative
possibilities. It seems to me, however, that one can distinguish between hazy
globality - thus empty and without any real contents - and globality which has a hold
on reality and which is nourished by the very fibres of life. That is why I think
it is very important that at this Round Table we have had both introductions that
were clearly of a qualitative or of a quantitative nature. It is curious (within
the context I am analysing at present) that one of the most quantitative introductions
took us straight to qualitative questions. I only repeat what is evident throughout
the world: there is nothing really social which is not affected by economic
coefficients, and there is nothing economic which does not have social consequences,
motivations and means. It is thus a question of a continual interpenetration of
these two elements.

After all, why? Because everything is linked, life is not made up of diffe-
rentiated sectors. One may speak of social policy in very technical terms, but
finally one may also speak of an economic and social plan in very simple terms, in
terms of daily bread, in terms of health, in terms of that fundamental security
without which we have no freedom, because we are always preoccupied by the morrow,

in terms of shaping culture, of having one's say, of making a gesture. These are
very everyday things but which are in fact very, very simple - one can therefore
transform technical language into a living language.

I believe that the European moment we are living is a very special moment which
makes the exchanges of view we have had here in the Round Table especially important.
Indeed, European co-operation is very important for the revolutionary process in
which we are engaged. We do not want to follow the same path taken before us by the
highly industrialized countries of Eastern and Western Europe. It is not that we
scorn this path; on the contrary, we recognize the value of the efforts made before
us. However, we realize that other countries have already undertaken a critical
evaluation of their own achievements and we would be naive not to take such appraisal
into account. But we do not want to jump stages either. There are some stages which
are essential. If one takes the atom, it cannot really become a source of energy
until it reaches a certain critical mass. And at the point where this critical mass
is reached, there is a leap forward which is both quantitative, through the release
of energy, and qualitative, because a new physical reality has been attained. With
this analogy I would like to stress that we want to continue efforts by passing
through the different stages which may all be a means of liberating new energies.

Besides, the radical economic crisis in Europe - which led an important political
leader to say recently that it "challenges economics as a science" - compels us to
"re-think" all known economic and political systems. Perhaps this crisis will help
us - some to look closer at the corrosive power of their consumer societies, others
to make a deeper study of the stifling gigantism of their State organizations, and
all of us to turn our heads towards our neighbours to discover that we are responsible
beings and capable of true interdependence. Perhaps we are facing a re-birth of
Europe, dreamt of for so long and whose failure cannot be separated, I believe, from
the pursuit of strictly economic aims of co-operation.

I felt very strongly during this Round Table that the contacts established
between each of the participants sprang from concrete situations, but that they could
be immediately translated into something real in quite a different situation. That
is what we all need. I believe that, as European citizens, we have the possibility
not only of reconstructing the continent, but also of "renewing ourselves" by rapidly
crossing our frontiers - both the geographical frontiers and the mental frontiers

have long protected, either at the level of temperaments or that of political clichés. I believe that we have in fact been able to "travel" across these frontiers during the entire Round Table.

In closing, I would like to say how happy I am that this meeting - the first United Nations-sponsored European meeting in Portugal since 25 April 1974 - has achieved, in fact, not only all its technical aims but also its human and international goals.

I would like to ask Mr. Hytten, as representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to transmit to him our gratitude and our desire for a truly new collaboration. I found a rather interesting coincidence in learning that the United Nations special committee relating to questions of decolonization, which for a number of years was concerned with Portugal, has decided to hold its annual meeting in June in Lisbon. I believe that this decision is the most striking approval by the United Nations of the decolonization policy already put into effect in Portugal.

May I be permitted, in this United Nations context, to express a hope - that the decolonization of our people, within our country, may take place just as quickly and in as original a way as the process of decolonization. To reach this goal we count on the collaboration of our friends in all countries, of the United Nations and in a special way of the countries and organizations within Europe.

Thank you therefore for this fruitful start to collaboration. The Round Table is adjourned - to be resumed, at another moment, on another theme, in Lisbon or elsewhere. Therefore, _au revoir_...

V. OBSERVATIONS BY THE UNITED NATIONS DIVISION OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS

The formula of "policy consultations", organized by the European Social Development Programme, was introduced by the Fourth Planning Conference on the Programme in 1974. The intention was to provide, at the specific request of governments and other official institutions within the European region, a new form of service which would combine the advantages of two of the main instruments through which the European Programme is operating: the scheme for short-term expert assignments and the regional meetings on topical problems in the field of social development. Under this new formula, individually selected experts would be recruited to meet with officials and specialists of an inviting government or institution, to give advice on specific problems with which the host authority would be faced, and related to practical issues such as the preparation of new laws and regulations or the launching of operational programmes in the social field.

In this way, it was considered, a new form of service could be provided to associated countries which would go beyond that of seminars, expert groups and other regional meetings. The latter are, by their very nature, occasions to discuss and scrutinize a variety of social development themes on a European-wide basis; they serve to illustrate and sometimes to confront policies, methods and experiences of common interest. Their main value lies in the opportunity they provide for the international and inter-professional exchange of ideas and knowledge in this complex field. Only occasionally, and in more or less indirect ways, can they be of direct guidance either to the host country or to those represented by experts and individual participants.

Under the formula of "policy consultations", on the other hand, foreign specialists recruited by the United Nations would have the specific mandate of assisting a host authority in the consideration of a particular issue of immediate concern to that country. Their findings and recommendations would be directly related to the problems as defined by the inviting country or institution, and utilized by the latter at their own discretion. Therefore, unlike the findings of region-wide seminars or expert groups, the proceedings and results of policy consultations would not normally be published for general distribution.

The Fourth Planning Conference on the European Social Development Programme, in endorsing the proposal for the introduction of this new formula, made the following comments on the organization of policy consultations:

"Experience had shown that, besides the benefits that may accrue from the availability of outside expertise, the presence of experts devoid of any vested interest in the matter under consideration might play a catalytic role in furthering inter-ministerial discussions on a national project. Although the proposed consult-ations would have to take place in an informal round-table atmosphere, experience also pointed to the need for careful planning and for effective reporting procedures. It was understood, of course, that the record of such consultations should be kept confidential. However, there would be merits in the possibility of releasing a brief report of the discussions and findings for the use of interested specialists in Europe, with the approval of the national authorities concerned."*

As it emerges clearly from the closing remarks by the Minister who chaired the Round Table (cfr. Part IV above), its scope and findings did in fact transcend the specific interests and concerns of the host country and the contingent preoccupations of Portuguese society at that early stage of its new phase of socio-political deve-lopment. The role of governmental authorities in the provision of health, social security and other social services has been a matter of contention and the subject of successive reforms over the years in several other countries of Europe, as has the problem of co-ordinating central and regional or local tasks and responsibilities in these areas, and also the relationships between statutory agencies and various non-governmental bodies providing for health care, social insurance and personal social services. Many of the other items on the agenda of the Round Table - questions of the financing of services, of personnel requirements, etc. - were also clearly related to similar concerns of other countries, in Europe as well as in other regions.

And above all, as underlined in the closing speech of H.E. Mrs. Pintasilgo, the moral objectives and responsibilities underlying any attempt to provide for the health, security and welfare of the whole population, are everywhere the same, independently of particular political orientations and administrative structures. From this point of view, the Round Table did certainly explore basic issues and requirements that are of relevance well beyond its limited mandate in providing guidance to the Ministry of Social Affairs.

The extent to which this policy consultation also achieved its basic objective of providing useful advice to the host authority, and how far its proposals have responded to the needs and possibilities of the Portuguese Government, remain open

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*   Report on the Fourth Planning Conference on the European Social Development Programme, (SOA/ESDP/1970/5), paragraph 68.

questions. As with any international and inter-professional discussion, the ideas
and recommendations that emerge, take on a life of their own and may remain, in more
or less recognizable forms, as elements that determine actions and policies. It is
seldom possible to trace the exact lineage from idea to action, and in most cases
one has to trust that, in one way or another, a valuable input of proposals and ideas
will eventually seep through to the policy-making level, or at least have an impact
on social policies in the long run.

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AGENDA

1. Opening statements by the Minister of Social Affairs of Portugal and by the representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

2. Presentation of participants.

3. Terms of reference of the meeting: definition of scope and objectives, and adoption of substantive points of the agenda.

4. Review of main data and trends in the present social situation of Portugal, and of official programmes and policies in the social field.

5. The formulation and implementation of social policies at the level of central governmental action: problems of interministerial co-ordination and interaction.

6. The relation between centrally formulated social policies and their implementation at the regional and local levels: the balance between centralization and decentralization of services.

7. New approaches to the co-operation between statutory and non-governmental agencies in the social field.

8. The mobilization of public involvement in the implementation of national social development objectives.

9. Personnel requirements for the implementation of social policies and programmes.

10. Financial and material implications.

11. Methods of monitoring social progress according to the aims and objectives established.

12. Means of European co-operation under United Nations auspices to promote the social development objectives discussed.

ANNEX II

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Chairman of the meeting

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