



CATÓLICA  
INSTITUTO DE ESTUDOS POLÍTICOS

LISBOA



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## About Estoril Political Forum 2018

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*Estoril Political Forum 2018 – Opening Session*

### **Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Democracy**

The 26th annual edition of the Estoril Political Forum, on 25-27 June 2018, focused on the relationship between the national sentiment and cosmopolitan views — a crucial question that has recently returned to the centre of political and academic debates. Refusing the unfortunate dichotomy between nationalism and internationalism, we have encouraged a civilized conversation between different views on patriotism and cosmopolitanism, as well as on the contribution of both to modern democracies.

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### Estoril Political Forum 2018 numbers

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International Speakers	55
Portuguese Speakers	54
Students with ECTS	266
Students without ECTS	45
Opening Session	350
Participants per session	280
Meals	152
<i>June 26, IEP Alumni Dinner</i>	
<i>June 27, Luigi Einaudi Memorial Luncheon</i>	153
<i>June 27, Winston Churchill Memorial Dinner</i>	180
<i>June 28, George Washington Memorial Luncheon</i>	142
<i>June 28, Konrad Adenauer Memorial Dinner</i>	348
	632
<b><u>Total of Participants</u></b>	

## Previous Editions

	2018	2017	2016	2015	2014	2013	2012	2011
International Speakers	55	45	40	43	36	47	42	26
Portuguese Speakers	54	52	55	60	61	31	39	38
Students with ECTS	266	231	188	188	156	163	152	160
Students without ECTS	45	28	23	12	26	N/A	15	25
Opening Session	350	340	333	280	280	305	260	200
Participants per session	280	280	280	250	200	200	200	175
Meals <i>1<sup>st</sup> Dinner</i>	152	179	157	113	104	105	111	139
<i>1<sup>st</sup> Lunch</i>	153	135	115	102	99	114	122	115
<i>2<sup>nd</sup> Dinner</i>	180	185	111	140	135	107	132	110
<i>2<sup>nd</sup> Lunch</i>	142	131	116	111	103	94	90	106
<i>3<sup>th</sup> Dinner</i>	348	285	270	256	275	220	203	265
<b>Total of Participants</b>	<b>632</b>	<b>695</b>	<b>570</b>	<b>587</b>	<b>625</b>	<b>472</b>	<b>452</b>	<b>390</b>

### Sponsors

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 International Forum for Democratic  
 Studies  
 European Partnership for Democracy  
 International Republican Institute  
 Instituto Atlântico de Gobierno  
 International Coalition for Democratic  
 Renewal – The Prague Appeal  
 Forum 2000

**Sessions in association with other institutions:**

- **Brazil and Latin America-** Instituto Estudos Avançados, PUC, S. Paulo and Universidad Francisco Marroquin, Guatemala and Madrid
- **Illiberal Liberalism and Democracy-** EU Office of the IRI- International Republican Institute, Brussels
- **Europe and the US-** Forum 2000 and International Coalition for Democratic Renewal- The Prague Appeal
- **Louder than Words? Reviewing European Support to Democracy**
- EPD- European Partnership for Democracy
- **Africa: The Rising Continent-** Instituto Democracia e Desenvolvimento, Cape Verde and UCM- Universidade Católica de Moçambique
- **What is a Nation?-** The Abigail Adams Institute, Boston
- **Adolfo Suarez Memorial Debate-** Real Instituto Elcano, Madrid and Instituto Atlântico de Gobierno



## Photo Gallery



*June 25, Opening Session – In Remembrance of Ambassador Frank Carlucci*

(left to right): **Carlos Carreiras** – Mayor, Cascais; **Isabel Capelo Gil** – Rector Universidade Católica Portuguesa; **Pedro Norton** – President, Strategic Council, IEP-UCP; **Rita Seabra Brito** – Director EPF, IEP-UCP  
**João Carlos Espada** – Director, IEP-UCP and Editor, Nova Cidadania



*June 25, Opening Session – In Remembrance of Ambassador Frank Carlucci*  
**Isabel Capelo Gil** – Rector, Universidade Católica Portuguesa



*June 25, Opening Session – In Remembrance of Ambassador Frank Carlucci  
Carlos Carreiras – Mayor, Cascais*



*June 25, Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Democracy*

(left to right): **Christopher Walker**, Vice-President for Studies and Analysis, National Endowment for Democracy, Washington D.C. ; **Luísa Leal de Faria**, FCH-UCP, Lisbon; **Amichai Magen**, Interdisciplinary Centre, IDC, Herzliya  
**David Goodhart**, Founder, *Prospect* and Head of Demography, Immigration and Integration Unit, Policy Exchange, London  
**Ghia Nodia**, Director, International School of Caucasus Studies, Tbilisi  
**Daniel Johnson**, Editor, *Standpoint*, London;



**June 25, The Dahrendorf Memorial Lecture “Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Democracy”**

(left to right): **Susan Shell**, Boston College; IAB, IEP-UCP, Lisbon; **Marc Plattner**, Co-Editor, Journal of Democracy, Washington D.C.; Chairman International; Advisory Board (IAB); **Jaime Gama**, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Former Speaker of the Portuguese Parliament; Member, SC, IEP-UCP, Lisbon; **William Galston**, The Brookings Institution, Columnist, Wall Street Journal, Washington D.C.; **Anthony O’Hear**, Director, Royal Institute of Philosophy; editor, Philosophy, London



**June 26, Brazil and Latin America: The Challenges Ahead**

(left to right): **Paulo Neves**, MP and President, IPDAL, Lisbon; **Javier Fernández-Lazquetty**, Vice-president, UFM, Guatemala; **Adriano Moreira**, President, International Academy of Portuguese Culture and IEP-UCP, Lisbon; **João Pereira Coutinho**, Folha de S. Paulo, Brazil; IEP-UCP, Lisbon; **Bruno Garschagen**, IEP-UCP **Luiz Felipe Pondé**, Director, IEA, PUC, S. Paulo; Folha de S. Paulo **Paulo Roberto de Almeida**, Director, IPRI-FUNAG, Brasília



June 26, *Illiberal Liberalism And Conservatism in 21st Century: Addressing Social Fissures and Bridging Differences* (left to right): **Robert Royal**, Founder and President, Faith & Reason Institute; **Gary J. Schmitt**, Co-Director of the Marilyn Ware Centre for Security Studies, American Enterprise Institute; **Jeffrey Gedmin**, Georgetown University, Washington D.C. **Nuno Vieira Matias**, Admiral and IEP-UCP, Lisbon; **Benedict Rogers**, Deputy Chair, UK Conservative Party Human Rights Commission; **Miriam Lexmann**, Director, EU Office, International Republican Institute/Beacon Project, Brussels



June 26, *Europe and the US*

(left to right): **Barbara Haig**, National Endowment for Democracy, Washington D.C.; **Petr Mucha**, Member, Forum 2000 Program Council; Member, ICDR, Prague; **HE Manuela Franco**, Ambassador of Portugal in Prague; **Richard Youngs**, Carnegie Europe, Brussels; **Thomas Melia**, Visiting Professor, Princeton University, New Jersey; Columnist, *The American Interest*, Washington D.C.



*June 26, Luigi Einaudi Memorial Lunch  
HE Uberto d'Archirafi, Italian Ambassador in Lisbon*



*June 26, Luigi Einaudi Memorial Lunch  
HE Rino Passigato, Apostolic Nuncio to Portugal*



*June 26, Adolfo Suarez Memorial Debate: Europe: Populist and Secessionist Challenges in Europe*

(left to right): **Ana Mar Fernández Pasarín**, Instituto Atlántico de Gobierno, Madrid  
**Charles Powell**, Director, Real Instituto Elcano, Madrid; **José Miguel Sardica**, FCH and IEP-UCP, Lisbon  
**João Cardoso Rosas**, President, ILCH-UM, Braga; IEP-UCP, Lisbon; **Angel Rivero**, Instituto Atlántico de Gobierno, Madrid  
**Ignacio Molina**, Real Instituto Elcano, Madrid



*June 26, Break-Out Session IEP Research Centre*

(left to right): **Jorge Miguel Teixeira**, IEP MA Student; **Philip Booth**, Director of Research and Public Engagement, St Mary's University, Twickenham; **André Azevedo Alves**, Dean for Research, IEP-UCP, Lisbon; St Mary's University, Twickenham  
**Ivone Moreira**, IEP-UCP, Lisbon; **Hugo Chelo**, IEP-UCP, Lisbon; **João Pinheiro**, FLUL Student



**June 26, Tea Break Garden Session Conversation: Limited Government and Its Enemies**

(left to right): **James Muller**, Chairman, International Churchill Society Academic Advisers; University of Alaska, Anchorage  
**Gonçalo Matias**, Adviser to the President of the Portuguese Republic; Dean, CGSL-UCP and IEP-UCP, Lisbon  
**Dóra Gyorffy**, Pázmány Peter Catholic University, Budapest; **João Carlos Espada**, IEP-UCP, Lisbon



**June 26, Portugal, Europe and The West**

(left to right): **Miguel Morgado**, MP; IEP-UCP; **Carlos Gaspar**, IPRI-UNL and IEP-UCP, Lisbon  
**Guilherme d'Oliveira Martins**, Former Minister of Finance and Education; member of the Board, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, SC, IEP-UCP, Lisbon; **António Costa Pinto**, ICS-UL, Lisbon  
**José Manuel Fernandes**, Observador and IEP-UCP, Lisbon



*June 26, Winston Churchill Memorial Dinner  
Ross Mathews, Deputy Head of Mission, British Embassy in Lisbon*



*June 26, Winston Churchill Memorial Dinner  
Piers Brendon, International Churchill Society Academic Adviser, Churchill College, Cambridge*



*June 26, After Dinner Conversation on Isaiah Berlin and the Estoril Palace Hotel*



*June 27, Europe and the West*

*(left to right): **Wilhelm Hofmeister**, Director for Spain and Portugal, Konrad Adenauer, Madrid; **José Manuel Durão Barroso**, Former President of the European Commission; Director, Centre for European Studies, IEP-UCP, Lisbon; **HE António Monteiro**, Ambassador; Chairman, Millennium BCP, Lisbon; **Hartmut Mayer**, Director, Europaeum, Oxford; **William Hasseberger**, IEP-UCP, Lisbon*



*June 27, Africa: The Rising Continent*

*(left to right): **Alfandega Manjoro**, UCM, Beira; **Manuel Araújo**, Mayor, Quelimane; **António Fontes Ramos**, General, IEP-UCP; **Francisco Proença Garcia**, IEP-UCP, Lisbon; **Raul Tati MP**, Angola; **Milton Paiva**, MP; Co-Founder, Instituto Democracia e Desenvolvimento, Cape Verde; **Domingos Simões Pereira**, Former Prime Minister, Guinea-Bissau*



*June 28, What is a Nation*

*(left to right): **Fernando Simon Yarza**, Universidad de Navarra; **William Hasselberger**, IEP-UCP, Lisbon; **Danilo Petranovich**; Director, The Abigail Adams Institute, Cambridge, MA; **Eugénia Gambôa**, Advisor to the Portuguese Parliament and IEP-UCP, Lisbon;*



*June 27, George Washington Memorial Luncheon  
Clifford Orwin, University of Toronto, Toronto; IAB, IEP-UCP, Lisbon*



*June 27, EUROPAEUM SPECIAL DEBATE  
"SHOULD WE SUPPORT OUR NATIONS AND/OR SHOULD WE SUPPORT INTERNATIONALISM?"  
(left to right): **Zdzislaw Mach**, Dean, Faculty of International and Political Studies, Jagiellonian University, Krakow; IAB-UCP; **Mónica Dias**, IEP-UCP; **Diogo Belford**, IDL-Instituto Amaro da Costa, EUROPAEUM, Oxford; **Hartmut Mayer**, EUROPAEUM, Oxford; **Paul Flather**, EUROPAEUM, Oxford; **Paulo Sande**, Consultant to the President of the Portuguese Republic; Observador and IEP-UCP; **Sónia Ribeiro**, IEP-UCP; **Nuno Sampaio**, Adviser to the President of the Portuguese Republic; IEP-UCP.*



*June 27, The International Security Landscape: NATO'S Response*

*(left to right): Javier Fernandez-Lasquetty, Vice-president, UFM, Guatemala; Bridgett Wagner, Vice-President, The Heritage Foundation; Washington, D.C.; Júlio Miranda Calha, MP, Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Committee, Lisbon; HE Luís de Almeida Sampaio, Ambassador of Portugal, NATO, Brussels; Livia Franco, IEP-UCP, Lisbon*



*June 27, The International Security Landscape: NATO'S Response  
HE Luís de Almeida Sampaio, Ambassador of Portugal, NATO, Brussels*



*June 27, Faith and Liberty Lifetime Tribute*

(left to right): **Alejandro Chafuen**, Managing Director, The Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty, Michigan; **Fernando Magalhães Crespo**, Former Chairman, Radio Renascença; **Isabel Capelo Gil**, Rector, Universidade Católica Portuguesa; **Manuel Braga da Cruz**, FCH-UCP and IEP-UCP, Lisbon



*June 27, Konrad Adenauer Memorial Dinner*

*HE Christof Weil, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of the Germany in Lisbon*



*June 28, Konrad Adenauer Memorial Dinner  
Wilhelm Hofmeister – Director for Spain and Portugal, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Madrid*



*June 28, Konrad Adenauer Memorial Dinner  
Isabel Capelo Gil – Rector, Universidade Católica Portuguesa*



*June 27, Konrad Adenauer Memorial Dinner*



## Welcome Address Professor João Carlos Espada

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Estoril Political Forum 2018

26th International Annual Meeting in Political Studies

*Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Democracy*

Senhora Reitora da Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Professora Isabel Capelo Gil,

Senhor Presidente da Câmara Municipal de Cascais, Dr. Carlos Carreiras,

Senhor Presidente do Conselho Estratégico do IEP, Dr. Pedro Norton,

Senhora Directora do Estoril Political Forum, Dra. Rita Seabra Brito,

Senhores Embaixadores, Distintos Convidados, Senhoras e Senhores, Caros Amigos,

Gostaria de começar por agradecer a presença de todos nesta 26ª edição do Estoril Political Forum, que se inscreve também nas comemorações dos 50 anos da Universidade Católica Portuguesa.

Pedia a vossa compreensão para usar agora a língua inglesa, de forma a comunicar directamente com os nossos convidados estrangeiros.

**Now to our English-speaking participants and friends:**

**Ladies and Gentlemen,**

Welcome to the 26th International Annual Meeting in Political Studies, now also called the “Estoril Political Forum.” We are delighted to let you know that you are participating at Portugal’s largest annual meeting in political studies – and, yes, indeed, almost twenty-six years have now passed since we had our first meeting, in the Arrábida Convent, in September 1993. We were then no more than 20 participants...

The title of our meeting this year — ‘Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Democracy’ — will surely not surprise friends of the Estoril Political Forum. In a time of tribal rivalries between aggressive nationalists *versus* post, or supra, or trans-nationalists, we are proposing a civilised conversation between Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism, understood as common ingredients of our modern democracies.

The Chairman of our International Advisory Board — our good friend Marc Plattner — has several times reminded us, here in the Estoril Political Forum, that this creative tension between patriotism and cosmopolitanism was clearly announced to the world in 1776, in the American Declaration of Independence:

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”

Marc Plattner has gently reminded us that these universal principles were not the foundation of an appeal to a world revolution or to a world of post, or supra, or trans-national government. On the contrary, they in fact were universal principles presented as a foundation for a particular act of separation — of national separation and of national sovereignty, or national self-government. In fact, at least since 1776, the universal or cosmopolitan principle of self-government — government accountable to the people and to Parliament — has always been associated with national government and therefore to the patriotic attachment to one's nation, to one's Parliament.

Let me immediately add that you are not required, or even supposed, to agree with the title of our conference, even less to what I have just said. You are most welcome to disagree and to present your case for disagreeing — provided you can do it gently and, as I have previously said, in a civilised way.

We have never asked for conformity of views in our previous 25 International Meetings in Political Studies. On the contrary, we have always encouraged critical controversy between rival views. We do believe in the old-fashioned Popperian principle that only through free controversy and free speech can we identify our mistakes and get nearer to the truth, through learning from our mistakes.

But we have always requested a gentle respect for general rules of good conduct. We like to call these general rules, rules of gentlemanship. These are very old-fashioned rules that are far apart from the unfortunate tribal habits that now tend to dominate many universities and many television channels, as well as the so-called social media (of the latter, incidentally, I am glad I know nothing, only having been told about them).

Some people may well ask the post-modern question of 'how do you define gentlemanship?'. And I am glad to respond with Karl Popper's definition, which he repeatedly taught me, more than 30 years ago: 'A gentleman is someone who does not take himself too seriously, but is prepared to take his duties very seriously, especially when most around him talk only about their rights'. In the good old days, people used to call this 'stiff upper lip'. It was of course a universal principle that applied to women as well as men — who were then called, if and only if they behaved properly, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Gertrude Himmelfarb, the distinguished American historian, called this 'Victorian Virtues', as contrasted with 'Modern Values'. I wonder what she now calls our present-day post-modern tribal politics of identity and its denial of any objective universal standard of truth and propriety, as well of its pre-condition— free-speech.

### **Ladies and Gentlemen,**

The topic of 'Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Democracy' brings me to a Tribute we would like to pay in this opening session to a great friend of our Portuguese democracy, who made a decisive contribution to make it possible: Ambassador Frank Carlucci, who passed away on June 3rd.

Frank Carlucci was the American Ambassador to Portugal just after the democratic revolution of April 1974 — which put an end to a right-wing dictatorship of 48 years (1926-

1974), that in its turn had succeeded a Jacobin dictatorship of 16 years (1910-1926). Carlucci's appointment was strongly recommended by the then American Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger. Kissinger thought that democracy was not viable in Portugal and that the country was on the brink of a communist revolution — which in fact it was. Carlucci was then appointed with the mission of providing support to some sort of counter-coup against the real threat of Communist revolution.

What happened was that Carlucci — who was a fluent speaker in Portuguese and had been in Brazil in the 1960s — soon found out that the unfortunate dichotomy between 'Fascism *vs* Communism' was in fact a tribal misunderstanding. He understood that Portugal had a strong civil society and three strong anti-communist parliamentary democratic political parties — the Socialists, the Social-Democrats and the Christian-Democrats — and that the American Democracy should support them and encourage them to form an anti-communist alliance to defend Parliamentary Democracy. This was in fact what happened and allowed the successful transition to democracy in Portugal, with the defeat of Communism.

Our late friend Samuel P. Huntington argued that Portugal's successful transition to democracy launched the 'Third Wave' of World Democratisation, which eventually led to its second phase, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of Soviet communism. Samuel Huntington also argued that Ambassador Carlucci in Portugal had somehow pioneered a later major change in American foreign policy: a robust endorsement of the cause of democracy worldwide. This was certainly epitomised by President Ronald Reagan, who famously announced to the British Parliament, in June 1982, his commitment to "the global campaign for democracy now gathering force". That speech led to the creation of the American National Endowment for Democracy, in late 1983.

In paying tribute to Ambassador Carlucci, we are therefore also paying tribute to the American leadership in the defence of democracy worldwide. And we are delighted that we have been working together with the National Endowment for Democracy since at least October 1996 — when our good friends Carl Gershman, Marc Plattner and Larry Diamond came to Lisbon to join Samuel P. Huntington, when he gave a lecture on "The Future of the Third Wave" at the public launch of the Mário Soares Foundation.

After all these years, it is certainly sad to acknowledge that, in this 26th edition of the Estoril Political Forum, we are concerned with the present condition of liberty and democracy around the world, including to a certain extent among older democracies of the West. This concern was beautifully expressed by the **Prague Appeal for an International Coalition for Democratic Renewal**, signed by more than 60 signatories and publicly presented in Prague last October. We are delighted that several of the promoters of the **Prague Appeal** are with us in Estoril and that we are hosting a joint-panel as well as a meeting of the Trans-Atlantic Working Group within that International Coalition for Democratic Renewal.

As it happened in previous years, we are delighted to have with us speakers and participants with different political dispositions: we have Conservatives, Christian-democrats, Liberals, Libertarians, Social-democrats and Democratic socialists; and even on the very crucial topic of the European Union, we have federalists and anti-federalists, europhiles and eurosceptics, "Remainers" and "Brexiters".

This, I believe, is as it ought to be. Because, underneath our different views, we all share a fundamental common ground: the common ground of liberal democracy, the rule of law, free-trade and a market economy — the common ground of the Atlantic Alliance. This common ground, incidentally, is also one of the distinctive features of the hotel where we are. The Estoril Palácio Hotel was the hotel of the Anglo-American allies during the second world war — as it will be recalled tomorrow after dinner, in a session devoted to Isaiah Berlin and the Estoril Palace Hotel.

This common ground is of course epitomised by the patron of our Estoril Political Forum: Winston Churchill.

Please allow me to conclude with a brief quote from one of Churchill's pre-war speeches, in 1938, about the Western Tradition of Liberty Under Law:

“Have we not an ideology — if we must use this ugly word — have we not an ideology of our own in freedom, in a liberal constitution, in democratic and Parliamentary government, in Magna Carta and the Petition of Right?”

### **Ladies and Gentlemen,**

Over the last 25 years at these International Annual Meetings in Political Studies, we have been mainly committed to the spirit of conversation, of compromise and moderation, associated with an uncompromising defence of liberty and personal responsibility.

It is also to liberty and personal responsibility that we are devoting this year's celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Catholic University of Portugal: liberty and responsibility of students and their families to choose their university; liberty and responsibility of the old Greek and Christian 'Idea of a University' — to recall the inspiring words of Cardinal Newman.

Thank you very much.

Enjoy our meeting.

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## Welcome Address Rita Seabra Brito, MA

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### Estoril Political Forum 2018 26th International Annual Meeting in Political Studies

#### *Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Democracy*

Senhora Reitora da Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Professora Isabel Capelo Gil,  
Senhor Presidente da Câmara Municipal de Cascais, Dr. Carlos Carreiras,  
Senhor Presidente do Conselho Estratégico do IEP, Dr. Pedro Norton,  
Senhor Director do Instituto de Estudos Políticos, Prof. João Carlos Espada

Distintos Convidados, Senhoras e Senhores, Caros Amigos,

Queria também eu começar por me associar às palavras de homenagem ao Embaixador Frank Carlucci — que deu um contributo decisivo para o sucesso da transição à democracia em Portugal. Frank Carlucci teve o grande mérito de ajudar a promover o diálogo entre as forças democráticas portuguesas com vista à defesa da democracia constitucional-pluralista. Exprimiu de forma eloquente a liderança americana na defesa da democracia à escala mundial. Esta liderança contribuiu decisivamente para o sucesso da Terceira Vaga de democratização — que terá tido início em Portugal, em 1974, e depois conheceu a segunda fase com a queda do Muro de Berlim, em 1989.

Tem sido sempre neste espírito de diálogo entre diferentes vozes da vasta família democrática que promovemos o Estoril Political Forum. E foi com muito gosto que preparámos para este ano mais um programa especial. Trata-se de um programa muito vasto, que não me é possível passar aqui em revista integralmente, mas que todos podem encontrar na documentação fornecida aos participantes, na recepção.

O tema central deste ano, *Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Democracy*, estará em discussão em inúmeros painéis ao longo de todo o programa. O debate sobre este tema será directamente inaugurado já na próxima sessão e prosseguirá na Palestra Memorial Ralf Dahrendorf que precederá no nosso Jantar Raymond Aron desta noite.

Como é tradição, teremos também ao longo do programa os clássicos almoços Luigi Einaudi e George Washington, bem como os jantares Winston Churchill e Konrad Adenauer — após o qual, na Quarta-feira, se seguirá a Noite de Gala da nossa Associação Académica, com os famosos Lisbon Swingers.

É ainda um enorme prazer podermos contar com os membros do nosso International Advisory Board, os professores Paul Flather, Zdzislaw Mach, James Muller, Anthony O'Hear e Clifford Orwin. O presidente do nosso International Advisory Board, Marc Plattner, dá-nos o privilégio de presidir à Palestra Ralf Dahrendorf deste ano, que será proferida por outro grande amigo de longa data do Estoril Political Forum, o Professor William Galston.

Como é também tradição, teremos na quarta-feira à tarde a entrega do Prémio Fé e Liberdade, que este ano temos a honra de atribuir ao Engenheiro Fernando Magalhães

Crespo — que foi durante muitos anos Presidente da Rádio Renascença, Emissora Católica Portuguesa. O homenageado será apresentado pelo Professor Manuel Braga da Cruz, antigo Reitor da Universidade Católica e membro fundador do nosso Instituto de Estudos Políticos e da nossa Direcção. A sessão será presidida pela Senhora Reitora, Professora Isabel Capelo Gil, a quem agradecemos a honra da sua presença.

### **Minhas Senhoras e Meus Senhores,**

O nosso programa não seria possível sem o apoio de vários amigos e patrocinadores, alguns dos quais estarão connosco ao longo destes dias. Gostaria de lhes exprimir aqui o nosso reconhecido agradecimento:

Em primeiro lugar, o Banco BPI, o nosso mais antigo patrocinador, que estará representado pelo Dr. José Pena do Amaral.

A Jerónimo Martins/Biedronka, presidida até há pouco pelo Senhor Alexandre Soares dos Santos -- a quem tivemos o privilégio de atribuir há quatro anos o Prémio Fé e Liberdade.

William Hasselberger, presidente da Washington Global Energy Investors, que volta a estar connosco este ano.

Wilhelm Hofmeister, director para Portugal e Espanha da Fundação Konrad Adenauer, que também estará connosco este ano.

Charles Powell, director do Real Instituto Elcano de Madrid, que na terça-feira presidirá ao Adolfo Suarez Memorial Debate, em associação com o Instituto Atlântico de Gobierno,

Danilo Petranovich, director do Abigail Adams Institute, de Cambridge, Massachusetts, que na quarta-feira promove o painel sobre *What is a Nation?*

Lamentamos que José Maria Lopez-Navarro, representante da NATO, não poderá estar connosco este ano na sessão de amanhã dedicada ao reforço da NATO — em que o principal orador será o Embaixador de Portugal na Nato, Embaixador Luís de Almeida Sampaio. Temos muito gosto em poder contar mais uma vez nesta sessão sobre a NATO com a presença da nossa amiga da Heritage Foundation, Bridgett Wagner, e pelo Senhor Deputado Júlio Miranda Calha, Presidente do Conselho Português do Atlântico.

*Last but certainly not least*, estamos gratos pelo apoio da Câmara Municipal de Cascais e pela presença do seu Presidente, Dr. Carlos Carreiras, bem como do seu Vice-Presidente, Dr. Miguel Pinto Luz, que nos têm amavelmente apoiado desde 2011.

### **Minhas Senhoras e Meus Senhores,**

Gostaria agora de terminar com algumas palavras em inglês, especialmente dirigidas aos nossos convidados estrangeiros.

**Ladies and Gentlemen,**

On behalf of the Institute for Political Studies of the Catholic University of Portugal, I would like to thank you all for coming to this 26th edition of the Estoril Political Forum.

This is a kind of club of friends of liberty that has grown over the years. It was not made by a central decision, or a central command. It has grown. It has evolved gradually through the free interaction and cooperation of free and decentralised individuals and institutions that have felt at home and have enjoyed these annual meetings.

Some of our Portuguese colleagues, from other Universities, are sometimes surprised by the success of this unplanned evolution of what has become a great institution of friends of liberty. However, whenever they join us and visit us at the Estoril Political Forum, they, too, are touched by the atmosphere of orderly liberty which we celebrate in these meetings.

We may well be facing today new threats to liberty. But we remain confident on the charm and strength of liberty. One of our intellectual heroes, Raymond Aron, whom we will honour in our first dinner this evening, concluded his *Mémoires*, in 1983, thirty-five years ago, with the following words, which I would like to recall in his own language:

“Si je m’abandonnais à mes humeurs noires, je dirais que toutes les idées, toutes les causes pour lesquelles j’ai luté apparaissent mises en péril au moment même où l’on m’accorde, rétrospectivement, que je n’avais pas tort dans la plupart de mes combats. Mais je ne veux pas céder au découragement. Les régimes pour lesquels j’ai plaidé et dans lesquels certains ne voient plus qu’un camouflage de pouvoir, sont fragiles et turbulents; mais, tant qu’ils resteront libres, ils garderont des ressources insoupçonnées.”

Muito obrigada.

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## About Estoril Political Forum

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*Group Photo – Estoril Political Forum 2018*

Since 1993, scholars, policy experts, businessmen, opinion leaders, journalists and students meet annually for an open debate on political science and international relations. These meetings have been promoted by the Institute for Political Studies of the Catholic University of Portugal. They have aimed at establishing a Euro-American network of institutions devoted to the study of the tradition of liberty and personal responsibility.

Our International Meeting is acknowledged as a program of excellence, gathering every year some of the most distinguished experts in the field and giving our students the opportunity to learn and interact with senior scholars they otherwise may never meet. It is unique by national standards, and already a reference in international, mainly Anglo-American circles.

In the 26<sup>th</sup> edition we had the association of EUROPAEUM which is a consortium of twelve of the oldest European universities, based in Oxford (Oxford); EPD – European Partnership for Democracy (Brussels); Forum 2000 Foundation (Prague); Instituto Atlántico de Gobierno (Madrid); International Coalition for Democratic Renewal – The Prague Appeal (Prague); IRI – International Republican Institute (Brussels), Real Instituto Elcano (Madrid), The Abigail Adams Institute (Boston); We had also the participation of our partners from the International Forum for Democratic Studies (Washington D.C.), King's College London (London), Royal Institute of Philosophy (London), Jagiellonian University (Kraków), Pázmány Péter Catholic University (Budapest) and Catholic University of Mozambique.

It is closely related to our Undergraduate and Graduate (MA and PhD) Degree Programs in Political Science and International Relations: our students attend the Meeting and write their evaluation papers about it. Our best PhD Students are actually involved in the Program as discussants of our guest lecturers.

### **Estoril Political Forum Convenors:**

**João Carlos Espada** (Director, IEP-UCP and Editor, *Nova Cidadania*, Lisbon), **Paul Flather** (Secretary General, EUROPAEUM, London), **Horst Mewes** (University of Colorado at Boulder, Colorado), **James W. Muller** (Chairman, Churchill Centre Academic Advisors and University of Alaska, Anchorage), **Anthony O'Hear** (Director, Royal Institute of Philosophy and Editor, *Philosophy*, London), **Clifford Orwin** (University of Toronto, Toronto), **Raymond Plant** (King's College and House of Lords, London), **Marc F. Plattner** (Co-Editor, *Journal of Democracy*, Washington, D.C.) and **Susan Shell** (Boston College, Boston).