

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

Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Democracy

Estoril Palace Hotel, 25-27 June 2018

Opening Address João Carlos Espada

Senhora Reitora da Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Professora Isabel Capeloa 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 Popperean 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.