



CATÓLICA  
INSTITUTO DE  
ESTUDOS POLÍTICOS

LISBOA

2023  
ESTORIL  
POLITICAL  
FORUM

31<sup>ST</sup> INTERNATIONAL MEETING  
IN POLITICAL STUDIES  
[EST. 1993]

**31<sup>ST</sup> EDITION**

[EST. 1993]

**REBUILDING DEMOCRATIC  
CONSENSUS AT HOME  
AND ABROAD**  
& CELEBRATING THE 650TH  
ANNIVERSARY OF THE  
ANGLO-PORTUGUESE ALLIANCE



**26-28 JUNE**  
HOTEL PALÁCIO ESTORIL



COM O ALTO PATROCÍNIO  
DE SUA EXCELÊNCIA

*O Presidente da República*

**IN ASSOCIATION WITH:**

American Enterprise Institute (Washington D.C.); AWA- Association of Women Ambassadors (Lisbon); Brookings Institute (Washington D.C.); Corvinus University (Budapest); EUROPAEUM (Oxford); Forum 2000 Foundation (Prague); IDC, Interdisciplinary Center (Herzliya); International Forum for Democratic Studies (Washington D.C.); International School of Caucasus Studies (Tbilisi); Jagiellonian University (Krakow); Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (Berlin); LABÔ, PUC São Paulo (São Paulo); National Endowment for Democracy (Washington D.C.); Portugal-UK 650; The Heritage Foundation (Washington D.C.); University of Alaska (Anchorage); University of Toronto (Toronto); University of Virginia (Charlottesville); University of California at Berkeley (CA).

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## JUNE 26

14:00 · **Welcome Registration**

15:00-15:45 · **Opening Session [AR]**

**Host:** **Fernando Ferreira Pinto** (Vice-Rector, UCP, Lisbon).

**Chair:** **Rita Seabra Brito** (EPF Director, IEP-UCP, Lisbon).

**Guest Speaker:** **Miguel Pinto Luz** (Deputy Mayor, Cascais).

**Welcome Address:** **João Carlos Espada** (Director, IEP-UCP and Editor, *Nova Cidadania*, Lisbon).

15:45-16:00 · **Break**

16:00-17:15 · **“Rebuilding Democratic Consensus— At Home and Abroad” [AR]**

**Host:** **Mónica Dias** (Vice-Director, IEP-UCP, Lisbon).

**Chair:** **Amichai Magen** (Reichman University, Herzliya; Stanford University).

**Speakers:** **José Manuel Barroso** (Former Prime Minister of Portugal; Former President of the European Commission; Director, IEP-UCP Centre for European Studies, Lisbon); **Zdzisław Mach** (Dean of the Faculty of International and Political Studies, Jagiellonian University, Krakow); **Marc Plattner** (Founding Co-Editor, *Journal of Democracy*, Washington, D.C.; Chairman, IEP International Advisory Board).

17:15-17:30 · **Tea Break [G]**

17:30-18:45 · **Conservatism: The Challenges Ahead [AR]**

**Host:** **Margarida Mano** (Former Minister of Education of Portugal; Vice-Rector, UCP, Lisbon).

**Chairs:** **José Miguel Júdice** (SIC, Lisbon); **Gonçalo Saraiva Matias** (Chairman, Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos (FFMS); FD and IEP-UCP, Lisbon).

**Speakers:** **Matthew Continetti** (American Enterprise Institute (AEI), Washington D.C.); **Kevin Hickson** (University of Liverpool); **Charles Moore** (House of Lords, Columnist and former Editor, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Spectator*; Biographer of Margaret Thatcher, London); **Clifford Orwin** (University of Toronto, Toronto).

18:50-20:00 · **Liberalisms: The Challenges Ahead [AR]**

**Host** **Teresa Clímaco Leitão** (IEP-UCP, Lisbon).

**Chairs:** **José Pena do Amaral** (BPI, Lisbon); **Carlos Guimarães Pinto** (MP; Non-executive Director, Instituto Mais Liberdade).

**Speakers:** **Matt Beech** (Director of the Centre for British Politics, University of Hull and IES Senior Fellow, UC Berkeley); **William Galston** (Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.); **Alan Kahan** (Université de Versailles); **Ghia Nodia** (Director, International School of Caucasus Studies, Tbilisi).

20:15-22:00 · **George Washington Memorial Dinner: Does**

**Washington Still Matter? Or, Is The 18th Century Still Relevant Today? [ER]**

*in association with Associação Amizade Portugal-EUA, FLAD – Luso-American Development Foundation and Instituto Benjamin Franklin*

**Host:** **HE Randi Charno Levine** (Ambassador of USA in Portugal).

**Chairs:** **António Neto da Silva** (President, Associação Amizade Portugal-EUA, Lisbon); **António Rebelo de Sousa** (President, Instituto Benjamin Franklin, Lisbon).

**Speaker:** **William Kristol** (Director, *Defending Democracy Together*; Editor at large, *The Bulwark*, Washington D.C.).



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## JUNE 27

### 10:00-11:15 · China and the West [AR]

**Host:** António Fontes Ramos (General, IEP-UCP, Lisbon).

**Chairs:** Vítor Bento (Chairman of Portuguese Banking Association; Member of Board of Trustees of Universidade Católica Portuguesa); Madalena Meyer Resende (President, Portuguese Political Science Association; FCSH-UNL, Lisbon).

**Speakers:** Martin Hála (Charles University, Prague); William Hasselberger (Director, Digital Ethics Laboratory; IEP-UCP, Lisbon; University of Virginia); Xiao Qiang (University of California at Berkeley, CA); Christopher Walker (National Endowment for Democracy, Washington, D.C.).

### 11:15-11:45 · Coffee Break [G] Thucydides Society Garden Session

**Host:** Orlando Samões (IEP-UCP, Lisbon).

**Chairs:** Anthony O'Hear (Former Editor, *Philosophy*, London); Miguel Monjardino (*Expresso*; IEP-UCP, Lisbon).

**Speakers:** Margarida Hugobaldo (IEP-UCP, Lisbon); Gabriel Micha (IEP-UCP, Lisbon); Madalena Oliveira (IEP-UCP, Lisbon).

### 11:45-13:00 · Ukraine, Russia and the West [AR]

*in association with the International Coalition for Democratic  
Renewal and Forum 2000, Prague*

**Hosts:** HE Joanna Pilecka (Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to Lisbon); HE Luís de Almeida Sampaio (Ambassador of Portugal in Prague).

**Chair:** Myroslava Gongadze (Journalist, Washington, Kyiv and Warsaw).

**Guest of Honour:** HE Maryna Mykhailenko (Ambassador of Ukraine in Portugal).

**Speakers:** Dóra Gyórfy (Corvinus University, Budapest); Jakub Klepal (President, Forum 2000, Prague); Nuno Severiano Teixeira (Former Minister of the Interior and Minister of National Defense of Portugal; UNL, Lisbon).

### 13:15-15:15 · Charles de Gaulle Memorial Luncheon:

*What role should the European Union, a great democratic power,  
play in a challenged world? [ER]*

**Host:** Céline Abecassis-Moedas (CLSBE-UCP, Lisbon).

**Chair:** HE António Monteiro (Ambassador; Chairman, Fundação Millennium BCP, Lisbon).

**Speaker:** HE Sylvie Bermann (Ambassador of France).

15:50-16:50 · Meeting of the Transatlantic Working Group  
of the International Coalition for Democratic Renewal [TR]  
*[by invitation only]*

### 15:50-16:50 · After Lunch Conversation with IEP Alumni Club [AR]

**Hosts:** Henrique Burnay (President, IEP Alumni Club); Michael Sanfey (EUI's Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Florence).

**Chairs:** Eugénia Gambôa (IEP-UCP, Lisbon); Jaime Quesado (IEP Alumni; Columnist, Lisbon).

**Speakers:** Bernardo Blanco (MP, Lisbon); Filipa Brigola (Vice-President, IEP Alumni Club); Laura Lisboa (NATO, Brussels); Catarina Leão (Oxford DPhil.).

### 17:00-18:30 · 13th Dahrendorf Memorial Lecture: Europe Whole and Free [AR]

**Host:** Luísa Leal de Faria (FCH-UCP, Lisbon).

**Chairs:** João Carlos Espada (Director, IEP-UCP and Editor, *Nova Cidadania*, Lisbon), Guilhermina Gomes (Publisher, Temas e Debates, Lisbon).

**Speaker:** Timothy Garton Ash (Professor of European Studies and Isaiah Berlin Professorial Fellow, St. Antony's College, Oxford; Senior Fellow, The Hoover Institution, Stanford University).

**Discussants:** Wilhelm Hofmeister (Former Director for Spain and Portugal, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Madrid); José Miguel Sardica (FCH and IEP-UCP, Lisbon).

### 18:30-18:45 · Coffee Break

### 18:45-20:00 Women in Multilateralism: Contributions to Consensus Building [AR]

*in association with the Association of Women Ambassadors*

**Host:** HE Ana Martinho (Ambassador of Portugal).

**Chair:** HE Satu Suikkari-Kleven (Ambassador of Finland to Portugal; Association of Women Ambassadors).

**Speakers:** Mónica Dias (Vice-Director, IEP-UCP, Lisbon); Lívia Franco (IEP-UCP, Lisbon); Laura Londén (Former UNFPA Deputy Executive Director; Former Assistant United Nations Secretary General); Marta Santos Pais (Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General on Violence against Children).

**Discussant:** HE Arif Lalani (Distinguished Fellow, Centre for International Governance Innovation, Waterloo; Distinguished Fellow, Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy, Toronto).

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**20:15-22:15 · Winston Churchill Memorial Dinner: *Celebrating the 650th Anniversary of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance*** [ER]  
*in association with Portugal-UK 650, British Historical Society of Portugal, International Churchill Society of Portugal, International Churchill Society of Brasil, Oxford Society of Portugal, Royal British Club, Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal and The Cambridge Club of Portugal*

**With the Presence of HRH Dom Duarte, Duke of Braganza**

**Host: HE Miguel Albuquerque** (President of the Regional Government of Madeira).

**Chairs: Maria João Araújo** (University of Oxford; President of the Coordination Committee, Portugal-UK 650); **José Ribeiro e Castro** (President, Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal); **James W. Muller** (Chairman, International Churchill Society Academic Advisers; University of Alaska, Anchorage).

**Speaker: HE Christopher Sainty** (Ambassador of the UK in Lisbon).

**Closing Remarks: Edward Godfrey** (Chairman, British Historical Society of Portugal).

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## JUNE 28

**10:00-11:15** · **Europaeum Special Debate: *This house believes that democracy is the good management of conflict not the pursuit of consensus*** [AR]

*in association with Jagiellonian University, Krakow*

**Host:** Nuno Sampaio (Advisor to the President of the Portuguese Republic and IEP-UCP, Lisbon).

**Chairs:** Hartmut Mayer (Europaeum, Oxford); Sophie Scott-Brown (Europaeum, Oxford).

**Speakers:** Students from Europaeum (Oxford), Jagiellonian University (Krakow), IEP-UCP (Lisbon).

**Discussants:** Ana Martins (IEP Alumna; Oxford MPhil.); Miguel Morgado (IEP-UCP, Lisbon); Sónia Ribeiro (IEP-UCP, Lisbon).

**10:00-11:15** · **CIEP Breakout Session: *“Rebuilding Democratic Consensus— At Home and Abroad”*** [PS]

**Host:** André Azevedo Alves (Dean for Research, IEP-UCP, Lisbon; St. Mary’s University, London).

**Chair:** João Vacas (IEP-UCP, Lisbon).

**Speakers:** Cristina Sá Carvalho (LIPS-CIEP, IEP-UCP and FT-UCP, Lisbon); Rita dos Santos Costa (CIEP, IEP-UCP, Lisbon); Manuel Gaspar (IEP-UCP, Lisbon).

**Discussants:** Raquel Duque (Advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Portugal; IEP-UCP, Lisbon); Paul Flather (Mansfield College, Oxford).

**11.15-11.30** · **Coffee Break** [G]

**11:30-13:00** · **The Future of NATO** [AR]

**Host:** Francisco Proença Garcia (IEP-UCP, Lisbon).

**Chair:** Bridgett Wagner (The Heritage Foundation, Washington D.C.).

**Speakers:** James Jay Carafano (Heritage Foundation); Jeff Gedmin (Editor-in-Chief and CEO, *The American Purpose*, Washington D.C.); Miguel Monjardino (*Expresso*; IEP-UCP, Lisbon); Gary J. Schmitt (Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute).

**11:30-13:00** · **Brazil: The Challenges Ahead** [PS]

*in association with LABÔ, Fundação São Paulo, PUC, São Paulo*

**Host:** João Pereira Coutinho (*Folha de S. Paulo*, S. Paulo; IEP-UCP, Lisbon); Bruno Garschagen (IEP-UCP, Lisbon).

**Chair:** Aline Hall de Beuvink (UAL, Lisbon).

**Speakers:** António Roberto Batista (*Távola*, Campinas); Carlos Henrique Cardim (Universidade de Brasília, Brazil); Ricardo Sondermann (Honorary Consul of the United Kingdom in Rio Grande do Sul; Chairman, International Churchill Society of Brazil); Leonidas Zelmanovitz (Liberty Fund, Indianapolis).

**13.15-15.15** · **Luigi Einaudi Memorial Luncheon: *The Liberalism of Luigi Einaudi*** [ER]

**Host:** Raquel da Costa Gatta (IEP-UCP, Lisbon).

**Chair:** Giandomenica Becchio (Università degli studi di Torino).

**Speaker:** Angelo Maria Petroni (Aspen Institute, Rome).

**15.45-17.00** · **Celebrating the 650th anniversary of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance: on the specificity of Maritime Political Cultures** [TR]

**Host:** João Carlos Espada (Director, IEP-UCP and Editor, *Nova Cidania*, Lisbon).

**Chair:** Filipe Lowndes Marques (Chairman of the AGM, British-Portuguese Chamber of Commerce).

**Speakers:** Carlos Marques de Almeida (IEP-UCP, Lisbon); José Tomaz Castello Branco (IEP-UCP, Lisbon); João Pereira Coutinho (*Folha de S. Paulo*, S. Paulo; IEP-UCP, Lisbon); Ivone Moreira (IEP-UCP, Lisbon); Orlando Samões (IEP-UCP, Lisbon).

**16:45-18:00** · **Portugal: The Challenges Ahead** [PS]

**Host:** Eduardo Marçal Grilo (Former Minister of Education; Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos, Lisbon).

**Chair:** Nuno Crato (Former Minister of Education of Portugal; ISEG, Lisbon).

**Speakers:** Manuel Carvalho (*Público*, Lisbon); José Manuel Fernandes (*Observador*, Lisbon, Joana Reis\* (*CNN Portugal*, Lisbon); Teresa de Sousa (*Público*, Lisbon).

**18:00-18:15** · **Break** [G]

**18:15-19:30** · **Faith and Liberty Lifetime Tribute** [ER]

**Hosts:** Isabel Capeloa Gil (Rector, UCP, Lisbon); Mário Pinto (IEP-UCP, Lisbon).

**Chairs:** Manuel Braga da Cruz (IEP-UCP, Former Rector, UCP, Lisbon); Jorge Quintas (Fundação Amélia de Mello, Lisbon).

**Award Recipient:** Pedro Roseta (Former Culture Minister, MP and Ambassador of Portugal to OECD).

**Speaker:** Guilherme d’Oliveira Martins (Former Minister of Finance and Education of Portugal; Member of the Board, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian; SC, IEP-UCP, Lisbon).

**19:30-20:00** · **Garden Cocktail and Group Photo Session** [G]

*Sponsored by: PHTO Travel Consulting / 111 Wines*

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## 20:15-22:30 · Konrad Adenauer Memorial Dinner [AR]

Presentation **ASBAL Scholarship** for IEP-UCP Students: **Constantin Ostermann von Roth** (President of Associação São Bartolomeu dos Alemães, Lisbon).

**Hosts:** **Isabel Capelo Gil** (Rector, UCP, Lisbon) and **HE Julia Monar** (Ambassador of Germany in Lisbon).

**Chair** **Ludger Gruber** (Director for Spain and Portugal, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Madrid).

**Speaker:** **Norbert Lammert** (Former President of the German Bundestag; Chairman, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Berlin).

## 22:30 · Dancing with the Lisbon Swingers and AAIEP Awards

\*TBC – To be confirmed

TBA – To be announced





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**SINGLE FARES** Price per person

**Tuition** The fee includes tuition,  
documentation and coffee breaks

**STANDARD**

3 days 80€ / 2 days 60€ / 1 day 40€

**STUDENTS**

3 days 60€ / 2 days 45€ / 1 day 30€

**IEP-UCP STUDENTS AND ALUMNI**

3 days 50€ / 2 days 40€ / 1 day 25€

Meals at Palácio Estoril Hotel

Lunch 45€ / Dinner: 50€ for general  
public or 20€ per meal for IEP students

**THE CONFERENCE WILL BE HELD AT**

Hotel Palácio do Estoril

[www.palacioestorilhotel.com](http://www.palacioestorilhotel.com)

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**Portugal** Payment of fares in Portugal  
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