

A high-contrast, black and white close-up portrait of Edward Snowden. He is wearing glasses and has a mustache. The image is the background for the entire page.

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GLOBAL CHALLENGES,
LOCAL ANSWERS

GLOBAL REVIEW

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**EXCLUSIVE
INTERVIEW**

**“THE BEAUTY OF A CONNECTED
WORLD IS THAT I LIVE AS THOUGH
I NEVER LEFT.”**

| Edward Snowden

ESTORIL
CONFERENCES

GLOBAL CHALLENGES,
LOCAL ANSWERS

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May 2017

5th Edition



EDWARD SNOWDEN TO
THE GLOBAL REVIEW

In this issue our main attention goes to CIA and NSA contractor Edward Snowden, famously known for whistleblowing the mass surveillance programs used by governments from around the world, with an exclusive interview given to the Estoril Conferences' Global Review. Teresa Violante, Chair of the Estoril Conferences, makes the claim for whistleblowers protection Carlos Carreiras, Mayor of Cascais, explains why Cascais is the best possible place to host these conferences and Miguel Pinto Luz, Deputy Mayor, gives a suggestion on how both academics and intellectuals should inform citizens in the XXI century.

Also in this issue, we present the winners of the Estoril Local Answers Award and the Estoril Global Issues Distinguished Book Prize and, as per the norm in our 'Global Review', we have the contributions from Ambassadors and Professors, a book review and news from the Estoril Conferences.

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- » Teresa Violante
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- » Rui Cordeiro

Editors

- » Cátia Rebocho
- » João Tiago Teixeira

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- » Arie M. Kacowicz
- » Felipe Pathé Duarte
- » João Tiago Teixeira
- » Miguel Pinto Luz
- » Teresa Violante

In this issue:

- » Carlos Carreiras
- » Elias D. Galanis
- » Breuer Klára
- » Cátia Batista
- » Thalia Petrides
- » Teresa Ferreira Rodrigues
- » Edward Snowden
- » Lora Pappa

Graphic Design

- » Kátia Lopes

Advertising

- » Cátia Rebocho

Administration

- » Edifício Cascais Center
- » Rua Manuel Joaquim Avelar,
- » 118 - 2º Piso 2750-421
- » Cascais | Portugal
- » T. +351 21 132 99 33
- » info@estorilconferences.org

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EDITORIAL

» BY Teresa Violante

Chair of the Estoril Conferences

THE IRONY CURTAIN

Almost a year ago, the United Kingdom was hit by a storm that started, silently, in Austria. It felt like a tsunami – the sea receded and we stood there at the beach not understanding or daring to believe it was coming. When it hit, the U.K. was voting to leave the European Union and we kept standing there, in awe.

Immediately after, videos and news started coming out underlining the arguments people made to uphold their 'leave' vote. We understood then that many of those who went to the ballots seemed to claim false arguments or misleading facts to ground their tremendous decision. Most of them relied on migration myths or falsehoods. Many voters were deceived by a populism trend that wanted to replace the so-called establishment and close the borders to foreigners (at least to some of them). At least by then, the alarms rang.

When they did, a list was made: the United States, the Netherlands, Italy, France, and Germany. This was a list of countries that would be facing elections in a near future. A list that included core European countries (including the region's leading economy) and the presumed leader of the free world that were in the path of the "populist explosion", to quote the title of John B. Judis latest book.

We all know what has happened since in the USA. Shortly after the US election, Matteo Renzi stepped down as Italy's Prime Minister due to a constitutional referendum that turned out to be a popular rejection of mainstream politics.

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General elections in the Netherlands gave some room to breathe, putting the wanna be Trump Geert Wilders, in second, behind Mark Rutte. However, two lessons can be drawn: first, Wilders simply does not have the magnetism of The Donald; second, and more worryingly, Rutte also pulled the populist card. It was, as his own words implied, the right kind of populism against a "wrong kind of populism". The point being that the usual third-party element was also targeted in his last days of campaign, the same ones that gave him momentum after Erdogan's attempted trap: the anti-migration speech. Us against the Other. Ordinary people against one common enemy.

In the meantime, a man was campaigning all around France. He did not have a vast political career, he did not belong to any party (not anymore, at least), he was under 40 years old and he was En Marche. Emmanuel Macron won, by a large margin, the French Presidential race against Marine Le Pen.

However, Le Pen was the populist candidate who clearly showed Europe what populism really is. Like the rest of Europe, France too felt the backlash of the economic and refugees' crises that gave rise to this more recent wave of populism across the Old Continent. This was what led the populists to create an easy line of discourse, basically stating that 'all is bad' and that the problem is the establishment, and the migrants, and Europe and its neoliberalism. What they propose in return is usually blurry and uncompromising. This was what Le Pen showed, particularly in the debate with Emmanuel Macron.

Populists tend not to articulate clear ideas of what they want to replace with the establishment they so fiercely fight. They usually substitute the debate on policies with rhetorical statements, something that is heavily easier in the digital era. But nowadays they all seem to be clear in one aspect, one claim: they urge for a global movement against the establishment in order to create a 'New World Order'. An order that "brings back power to the people", that reinstates the people's sovereignty against traditional politicians, and that, so they publicly claim, fights global commerce and big business. In some cases – the most relevant ones of the recent trends of the "populist explosion" – a 'New Order' that rejects the external enemies presumably threatening the citizen's jobs and general well-being.

The true irony here is that most populists claim for a global movement against globalization. Can it get more self-contradictory than that?

John B. Judis *The Populist Explosion - How the Great Recession Transformed American and European Politics*, Columbia Global Reports, 2016.

teresa.violante@estorilglobal.org

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ESTORIL CONFERENCES MORE BRIDGES, LESS WALLS.

» Carlos Carreiras
Mayor of Cascais

Cascais is a meeting point for cultures and peoples, and this actually explains why we host the Estoril Conferences. Throughout our history, we have been a beacon of tolerance, freedom and dreams. And, for that reason, we have never left the route of internal and external migrations.

We have been in the route of refugees' migrations when, during the Second World War, we sheltered thousands of citizens escaping the nazi and soviet oppression.

We have been in the route of internal migrations when, throughout the heaviest days of the dictatorship, thousands of Portuguese citizens arrived from the both the North and the South of the country – especially from the Alentejo – looking for the atmosphere of Cascais to build their projects for happiness.

This is still happening today, when thousands of citizens come from all over Europe and the World to look for quality of life in this Atlantic municipality.

Perhaps this is why Cascais is currently one of the most multicultural municipalities in the country, hosting citizens of 86% of the world's nationalities.

This always serves to explain our stance towards the world – reflected, as a matter of fact, in the conferences' signature.

Because we believe in a common humanity, because we recognise that the interdependence and interconnection among peoples are a positive phenomenon for the promotion of peace, prosperity and mutual understanding, **we do not keep our arms folded and watch as problems go by.**

We believe that, even if only at our scale, we are capable of making a difference, because the sum of all the small local contributions will necessarily make a big global difference.

Adding to this vision, there is recognition that the cities of today are the central political units of the 21st century. Historically, cities are the cultural and scientific compasses of countries. They are, literally, civilisations' cradles.

Today, cities are all that and so much more: cities are the economic heart of nations.

Because they hold more universities, laboratories and research centres, the cities are the major broadcasting centres of knowledge and the impulse for progress.



Cities are the anchor of culture.

And, because they are all this, cities are also the central political space where one should attempt the most modern public politics. They are environments of tolerance and integration and they are also, via their pluralism and cosmopolitanism, the major milieus of combat against global phenomena, such as climate change, migrations or intolerance.

Nowhere like the cities are problems lived with such intensity. And nowhere else is better positioned to offer a response. Like I usually say, if the 19th century has been the century of Empires and the 20th century has been the century of Nation-States, the 21st century will certainly be the century of the cities.

We are living a time when the only certainty is uncertainty.

The three pillars of western civilisation – the concepts of democracy, free market and international order lead by the USA – are rapidly moving backwards.

Remaining aware that we have a problem to solve and that there is a growing anti-migration sense, all pro-European and pro-liberal forces must rapidly take measures.

Here, in Cascais, we always try harder to build bridges than to raise walls.

**The Estoril Conferences are our manifest against intolerance, fanaticism and fear turned into political projects.
I bid thee welcome to the debate.**

RESIDENTS

MCINFO I'M LOVIN IT?

» **By** Miguel Pinto Luz
Deputy Mayor of Cascais

Academics and intellectuals in the fast-food industry

Fast-food restaurants and chains all behave in the same manner: the food is mass produced, neatly packaged and serving a purpose. We know it's not the healthier option there is but it is the most convenient, given that particular moment and **that is why we consume it: convenience.**

Much in the same way, **information in the XXI century is becoming a case of convenience.** When convenient, we inform ourselves and it is becoming more and more comfortable to do that in small time windows: when walking from point A to point B; when waiting for something or someone; when we want to take a little break from work. These are the times we use to consume information.

Fewer and fewer people take hours of their days to read a newspaper from end to end or to compile a series of articles to read 'when possible'. If our brains get used to read in five minutes escapes then an in-depth article or interview becomes a monumental challenge to any of us, for time is a precious thing.

It's ironic that in the Information Age we are now spending more time discussing misinformation than actual and factual information. Today we discuss not what is true but what it is not true. We discuss 'alternative facts' and not facts. We discuss feelings and not content.

This is happening because information has become a fast-food franchise and it needs to be sold quickly and conveniently. Titles (click baits) are key. To say the most in the least number of characters is of paramount importance. That five minute void is what information needs to fill.

This is where academics and intellectuals have failed. For a very simple reason: they are academics and intellectuals and realize or refuse to accept that the subjects discussed cannot be reduced to 140 characters. Or can they?

As with the first fast-food franchises, it took a while before healthier options emerged in the fast-food industry. Today, we are not limited to hamburgers and it is possible to eat healthy and, at the same time, conveniently.

What the world currently needs from the academics and intellectuals is adaptation – to emerge as the healthier option.

Adaptation is needed to the new communication paradigm – 140 characters and the click baits. There is a need to accept that this is how the world chose to communicate and either we do it accordingly or not at all.



Institutional and intellectual communication, currently, thanks supports, announces and shares new plans, new projects and future meetings, issues calls on revolutions, commitments, inspiration and even more support; ours is a communication done in a general and amplified way without specifics, without facts and, especially, without the much needed convenient information.

On the other hand, **populist propaganda shares two things: their facts (regardless of their factuality) and what they said on any given occasion. That is it.** This is a much more effective way of communicating in a convenient manner, with 'some' proven results.

This is, whether we like it or not, a battle. One that we are losing. Populists have understood this and as they were the first to understand it they got to pick the battle ground.

Either we adapt and start communicating the facts in the same way they communicate absurdities or we might lose everything we fought for since World War II devastated us all.



THE LIBYAN CONTEXT FROM THE “OIL CRESCENT” TO RUSSIAN INFLUENCE

» **By** Felipe Pathé Duarte
University Professor / Researcher Post-doc (OBSERVARE of UAL);
Advisor at Visionware; Commentator for International Affairs of RTP

I start by reminding you, reader, that at this moment, Libya currently has three governmental administrations:

- a** There is a pro-al-Qaeda faction, merged with the Government of National Accord. It is an interim government proposed for Libya, under the aegis of the UN Security Council, which is based in Tripoli. This structure should help to reunify the country, end the civil war and stop the waves of refugees and migrants from Libya to Europe. One should note that it did none of these tasks. Its control does not extend beyond Tripoli, and has the support of some tribal militias in the west of Libya.
- b** There is also a government of jihadist matrix, affiliated with DAESH, that administrated Bengasi until recently – the third bastion city of DAESH jihadists, after Mosul (Iraq) and Raqqa (Syria).

c Finally, there is the government of the Chamber of Representatives of Libya, or Chamber of Deputies, internationally recognized and installed in Tobruk (east). It is a legislative body, of which most representatives are liberals. It assumed power on August 4th 2014, following an election on June 25th, 2014. They were associated to the Government of National Accord, but ended the association last year. Its domain over Libya is also quite limited.

The taking of the “Oil Crescent”

The government based in Tobruk named General Khalifa Haftar (also called Hifter), who lived nearly 20 years in the United States, to lead its military forces in the East. This contingent includes remnants of the Libyan Air Force. Since 2014, when Haftar launched Operation Dignity (against armed groups in Benghazi and East of the country), that most actions of this General have been taken in order to defeat the Islamists and jihadists in Benghazi and take the nearby oil fields. By the end of January, Haftar troops finally managed the control of most part of Benghazi for the Tobruk Government. Two months ago, the spokesman of this army, linked to Libya's official parliament said that their troops had taken Ra's Lanuf, Sidra and Bin Jawad – three areas rich in oil. He also confirmed that they would continue to pursue the remaining jihadists in the area beyond Bin Jawad.

These troops, known as the National Army of Libya, launched an offensive in March to capture the oil zones that had been taken by the Benghazi Defence Brigades (BDB), linked to al-Qaeda jihadists. The BDB transferred the control of these ports to the Petroleum Facilities Guard, linked to the Libyan Government of National Accord, the proposed interim government for Libya, under the aegis of the UN's National Council.

On the other side, the leader of the Petroleum Facilities Guard of the Government of National Accord, Idris Bu-Khamadah, urged for an international support, so as to ensure a no-fly zone over the region. In a public declaration, he affirmed that the aerial attacks were intensifying and that the risk of destruction of the oil tanks existed if the international community did not intervene in time.

During the month of March, pro-al-Qaeda forces, affiliated with the regime in Tripoli, executed with success an operation to gain Ra's Lanuf and other camps on the so called “Oil Crescent” – region that stretches across the Libyan Northeast bay and includes the important terminals of Ra's Lanuf and Sidra, as well as the port of Zuwetina (closed) and Mersa Brega. In a reaction, Haftar mounted a well-succeeded operation for the liberation of these same oil camps.

Haftar seems to have both the capacity and motivation to influence the tactical situation of the civil war in Libya.

Now, of the two, one: either he's having a good-luck streak or he's being supported militarily. We incline to the latter, since Egypt, Jordan and the United Arab Emirates have always been close to Haftar. To these countries we might now add Russia.

Russian presence in Libya:

Recent news demonstrates that there is a growing interest of Russia in Libya. Russia seems to be creating the conditions to use their troops in the region. In all, everything indicates that Moscow is using the same methodology used in Crimea and Syria – to stabilize the conflict in a favourable way aligned with its strategic interests. **Haftar and the government of Tobruk are the beneficiaries of this new interest of Putin.** One should note that, last year, Haftar was three times in Moscow. And it is equally known that at least two encounters with Russians in Algiers happened. In January, Haftar was also

aboard the Russian aircraft-carrier Admiral Kuznetsov; and several soldiers from the National Army of Libya are receiving treatment in Russian hospitals. News sources say Haftar has many weapons, in spite of the UN's embargo. It seems the Egyptian president, al-Sisi, has been his main ally, helping with weapons and ammunition. But Haftar needs military advisors, trainers and technicians. If this is to be the case, then the support of the Russian special forces – with training and operational advisory in Syria – seems to be an adequate model. Because, in fact, **Haftar compares his situation with that of Syrian president Bashar al-Assad.** And with a little impulse, like the one given by the Russians to Assad, Haftar supposedly thinks he can win the almost civil war in Libya.

All indicates that a Russian favouritism towards Haftar may exist. But, as far as we know, there has yet to be a firm commitment. However, it has been reported that Russia has placed 22 members of the Special Forces and drones, at an airbase in western Egypt in Sidi Barrani, not far from the Libyan border. There are also those who refer to the presence of more military personnel at another base in the East, Mersa Matruh. **For now, Egyptian authorities deny the presence of Russian troops on national territory.**

Once more Vladimir Putin seizes the moment, by filling the vacuum of international leadership.

It should be noted that the call and reception of the Aircraft Carrier Kuznetsov in Tobruk demonstrated what the Russians want - access to a port

and airstrips in the midst of the Mediterranean. In this dynamic, Russia is also deepening its relations with Egypt, which, during Nasser's rule, had strong ties with the Soviet Union. Since October last year that the two countries have conducted joint military exercises - something that the U.S. and Egypt have done regularly until 2011.

The continuity of Moscow's strategy seems to give place to a kind of pro-Russian bloc of strong governments that stretch from Tripoli to Damascus. But there's more. To this block we can still add Algiers, whose relations with Moscow have not been much reported. That is, the pro-Russian bloc could actually go from Algiers to Damascus. The formation and management of this block ends up justifying Russia's major investment in the modernization of the naval installation in Tartus, Syria.

In short, the West should have as soon as possible a coherent strategy for Libya and the Maghreb. Otherwise, we will have to consider the Russians not to envisage the possibility that, in the near future, DAESH join forces with al-Qaeda. Regional instability may allow for the construction of bases and military activities through al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb or the Qaeda networks of Sudan and Sub-Saharan Africa. That is, a jihadist strategic and territorial continuity that extends from the region of Sirte to the networks of Boko Haram, in Nigeria. Because of this threat the Russians are growing in presence in the Maghreb and in the Mediterranean.

fduarte@visionware.pt

GLOBAL MIGRATION, GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY: TWO PARALLEL CRISES, NO CLEAR ANSWERS

» **By** Arie M. Kacowicz

Professor Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Two parallel and inter-connected global crises affect the world nowadays. On the one hand, the world faces the largest humanitarian crisis since 1945, with more than 20 million people in four countries – Yemen, South Sudan, Somalia, and northeast Nigeria – facing starvation and famine. On the other hand, we witness a global refugee crisis, **whereas the number of refugees and internally displaced people nowadays stands at more than 65 million people**, the largest figure ever recorded.

According to the United Nations Refugee Agency, more than half of the world's refugees come from three countries ravaged by civil war – Syria, Afghanistan, and Somalia. A significant number of refugees come from countries such as South Sudan, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Central African Republic, Myanmar, Eritrea, Burundi, and Colombia (until the recent resolution of the 52-year civil war between the FARC and the Colombian government).

There is an urgent need for an influx of money and humanitarian assistance to cope with the extreme conditions of starvation and famine in the countries ravaged by virulent civil wars and armed insurrections (Yemen, South Sudan, Somalia, and Nigeria).

Parallel to that, those civil wars have dislodged millions of people within their home countries (internally displaced, like six million Colombians during their civil war) and across their international borders, creating an unprecedented refugee crisis.

Paradoxically, we know more about the European repercussions of the recent refugee crisis (involving Syrian refugees but not only them) than about the larger repercussions of influxes of refugees in their neighboring



countries (not necessarily in Europe!). Thus, 95% of the Syrian refugees remain in countries next door, such as Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey. Burundi's neighbors receive increasing number of refugees fleeing violence; while in Northern Kenya it is located the largest refugee camp in the world, hosting more than 300,000 Somalis. Thus, **the vast majority of the globally displaced people, including refugees, are in the developing world, or Global South.**

Facing those two parallel and inter-connected crises that could be considered as global in terms of scope and repercussions, we should ask the required question: What should be done about that? What are the mechanisms of global governance available to deal with those two parallel crises?

In the first place, we should be aware that the scale of the humanitarian crisis and of the refugee crisis is beyond the capacity of any single state, or regional grouping or region to resolve alone.

There is an urgent need for international cooperation within the framework of the United Nations, in the context of mechanisms of global governance.

In the second place, even though we might find rhetorical commitments and moral concern, there is a need for a prompt and immediate financing of the humanitarian response. Yet, in times where countries are retreating into nationalist and anti-cosmopolitan tendencies (see the obvious case of the Trump Administration in the United States), that financial assistance might be wanting.

In the third place, what is common to both crises is the civil war scenario that fuels them. Armed conflict (essentially civil war) is the major cause for refugee flows; the fear of violence, together with the hope of starting a new and better life elsewhere. Hence, the resolution of civil wars, sponsored by external actors (like in the encouraging recent case of Colombia, in contrast to the looming scenario of Syria) remains probably the best avenue to tackle those two global crises that affect humanity nowadays.

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MIGRATIONS AND REFUGEES MANAGEMENT, ONE OF THE EU’S SUBSTANTIAL PRIORITIES

» **By** Elias D. Galanis
Press counsellor, Embassy of Greece in Portugal

Refugees and migration flows management, anticipated economic growth for the member-states along with the ‘brexit’, are among the European Union’s core issues.

Managing refugees’ flows, albeit sporadic shallow criticism, is observing common EU decisions: the solidarity principle should prevail and the solid implementation of the EU – Turkey accord is to be maintained.

No country is prepared to withstand such migratory flow pressure. Populist stereotypes have to give way to an overall solution and a constructive -European level- approach.

Greece is facing two main challenges: the greatest displacement of populations since WWII and at the same time the need to establish confidence and strength to her economy.

Portugal has to be highly praised for being a pacesetter, expressing full solidarity from the beginning of the crisis in receiving refugees and in participating in missions of maritime vigilance and counter criminality at sea, paving the way of a great paradigm.

Greece has crucially addressed the stability and the rule of law, ensuring security and peace on the eastern flank of the EU in the specific environment of the eastern Mediterranean, with policies initiative such as:

- | The “Ancient Civilizations Forum” in which, along with Greece, Bolivia, China, Egypt, India, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Mexico and Peru are participating – Athens 24/4/2017
- | The multilevel cooperation of Greece with Egypt, Israel, Cyprus and Iran.
- | The Tripartite Partnerships between Greece and Cyprus with Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt include as a permanent item in their agenda, the issue of managing mixed migration flows.
- | The Trilateral meeting between Greece, Albania and Italy-Athens, 14/4/2016.
- | The Quadrilateral meeting between Greece, Albania, Bulgaria and FYROM - Thessaloniki, 21-22/4/2016.
- | The Rhodes Conference on Security and Stability- Rhodes, 8-9/9/2016.
- | The inauguration of specialized Greek governmental structures: Ministry of Migration Policy, Governmental Coordinating Office for the Refugee Crisis Management and Secretary for Migration and Refugee Policy’s Communication Office.
- | A communication strategy developed by Greece’s General Secretariat for Communication and Information:
 - Producing informative material through its News Bulletins, websites & social media in English and Arabic.
 - Broadcasting Arabic Newsflashes on public TV/Radio & Athens News Agency webpage.



- Distributing info-brochures about transportation means and accommodation facilities.
- Dispatching interpreters & translators on-site and installing Public Address systems.
- Establishing wi-fi internet infrastructure in refugees’ accommodation facilities.
- Providing accurate information concerning refugees/migrants’ rights and relocation programs.

- | The addressing of humanitarian needs by spending 2,5 billion euros from the national budget, plus to contribute financially at the EU - Turkey deal.
- | The support towards a political solution to the situation in Syria.

Basic Facts and figures from 2015-2016 period are important to profile the crisis’ big picture:

- 1.200.000 arrivals through sea borders
- 7.000 arrivals through land borders
- 10.000 arrivals per day [2015]
- 62.326 refugees & immigrants are temporarily residing in Greece. 24,5% of the males and 31,9% of the females are under 18 year olds.

Special appraisal has to be given to the Eastern Aegean islanders, who are contributing to the welcoming and hosting the refugees, since the beginning of crisis.

As Secretary General for Media and Communication Dr. Eletherios Kretsos has underlined: “Managing the crisis has been a tremendous challenge for Greece, an ongoing struggle to bring out the humane face of Greece, which is shaped by three key factors:

- a** Ensure that migrants’ and asylum seekers’ human rights are respected and Greece’s international law obligations are observed.
- b** Safeguard safety and security for refugees/migrants and EU citizens.
- c** Display responsibility, genuine and practical solidarity despite our financial difficulties.

We have addressed and we are still managing this crisis with human values and the daily concern for those in need at the center of our efforts.



THE VISEGRÁD COOPERATION: TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN PROJECT

» **By** Breuer Klára
Ambassador of Hungary

The European Region Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students that is the Erasmus Programme was established in 1987, the year I graduated from university in Hungary, still behind the iron curtain. At that time it was unforeseeable let alone unthinkable that Hungary would once become part of the EU and our students would enjoy with other students of Europe the same possibilities to participate in the programme. So I was all the happier when hosting an Erasmus reception for Hungarian and Portuguese students I realised that for them the partition of Europe and the iron curtain are only items of history books. I believe that our obligation is to save and strengthen the European project for the coming generations. For a nation of 1956 and for a nation which did contribute to the fall of the Berlin Wall with caring for and then letting 50 thousand East German refugees to leave Hungary for Austria in 1989, it does matter what happens to Europe.

Eurobarometer polls reveal that the majority of my fellow-countrymen feel strongly and positively about the EU. The same polls show however their equally strong expectation for a better functioning Union.

While we all know the different challenges that the EU faces, in my view, the peaceful development of our continent after the two devastating wars, already proves the success of the EU. I also think that it is very important that the EU family managed to agree on the text of the Rome Declaration and it bears all the signatures of the family members continuing to stay together. However, the Rome Declaration is not the end of the work concerning the debate on the future of Europe. To bring the declaration on “safe and secure, prosperous and sustainable, social and stronger Europe on the global scene” into life, our community needs to elaborate further on topics like competitiveness, demographic issues, migration, security, terrorism, enlargement as well as on the functioning of our institutions and the notion of many: **the EU institutions deal with far too abstract things and are far away from them**

The most topical issue that is undoubtedly vital for our citizens' lives is migration with its humanitarian, security, integration and economic as well as human trafficking aspects just to name the most important ones. I think it is still worth reading the speech delivered by Prime Minister Orbán at the UN on 30 September, 2015 in which he stated that this challenge requires global solution and proposed several steps to take. “It is our moral responsibility to give back these people their homes and their country. It cannot be our objective to provide them with a new European life. We must assist them to regain their own life in their home. To achieve this, we have to create peace and the plan of economic development in their home countries” - he said.

Hungary will hold the presidency of the Visegrád Group – Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary - from July 1st 2017. This group was founded on strong historical ties, common values and a strong endeavour to bring ahead the euro-atlantic integration of our countries. As ambassador of Hungary, I shall do my utmost to make our region better known in Portugal and to present the possibilities for cooperation. Our countries are dynamically developing with continually improving economic indicators and increasing competitiveness. The V4 is willing to actively contribute to the debate on the future of Europe in a pro-European, constructive manner, at the same time, with a realistic narrative. The aim of the V4 countries is to support the success of Europe as a whole by strengthening cooperation. The Visegrád Fund is a good tool to support the cooperation of the civil society of the V4 countries and other partners. The Visegrád Cooperation places emphasis on the integration perspective of our Western Balkans and Eastern Partners as it contributes to the development and stability of our continent. The V4 plus format gives us the possibility to engage with international partners on how to manage migration in a responsible manner with strong emphasis on the support of the countries of origin as well as on the more and more dramatic topic of terrorism. **The Visegrád Group is therefore much more than what sometimes the media presents: a way of coordinating migration policy in the four countries.**

The participants of the Visegrád Congress in 1335 dealt with diplomatic, security as well as economic issues of their times. They also opened new trading routes to the west with positive and long lasting effects on the commerce of Europe.

The V4 is committed to continue to actively shape the future of our region and the whole of Europe. Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus, the Prince of the Humanists, as he was often called, always sought the common ground and teaches us that we need to listen to each other. The V4 presidency will take place in a challenging time: the start of the 'Brexit' negotiations, the debate on the future of the EU, the planning of the budget after 2020, the debate on the social dimension, the challenge of the migration situation, the issue of stability in Europe and its neighbourhood as well as the geopolitical challenges, let alone the huge challenge of terrorism.

I believe we can only find good solutions if we really and patiently listen to each other as equal partners.

<http://un.newyork.gov.hu/proposes-global-solution-for-a-global-challenge-at-the-migration-summit>



MIGRATION AS A WHEEL FOR CHANGE

» **By** Cátia Batista
Associate Professor in Economics, Nova School of Business and Economics

Migration is ultimately an individual decision, with most gains and losses accruing directly to the individual migrant. Ideally the freedom to move to wherever one feels better equipped to provide a living for herself and her family should be taken as an absolute value. But there are of course practical considerations when hosting immigrants, particularly in times of increasing anti-immigration sentiment.

Many of these practicalities have to do with the not so clear-cut benefits and costs of migration for the individual herself.

Individual gains for immigrants depend on proper integration, often closely related to the ability to find and keep a job.

Job market integration requires cognitive skills (related to language proficiency, understanding of job search processes, and other country-specific factors), and non-cognitive factors (such as the belief that all potential workers will be considered for any job regardless of their nationality, and that being an immigrant is not a synonym of being segregated out of the job market). **Job market integration is far from effective in very much all European countries** and designing policies to promote it is crucial for good immigrant integration - and ultimately to improve security and fight populist anti-immigration arguments. In addition to integration and desegregation of individual immigrants, it is also important to consider the individual costs of migration. Refugees leave situations where death is close to certain, and hence their cost of migrating is close to zero. But that is not the case for most migrants who arrive to Europe in hope of better life prospects via illegal

smugglers. These migrants often leave their home countries without knowing the risks they face in their migration journeys. Most West African migrants heading to Europe are nowadays crossing the desert to get to Libya, and go from there to Italy by sea. This is a perilous route, and the most dangerous part is not the media highlighted crossing of the Mediterranean. Many of those leaving their countries en route to Europe lose their lives in the desert or are enslaved after arriving in Libya. And this is not commonly known in their home villages and among other potential migrants. Policies that promote good information about the risks of illegal migration to Europe, together with the actual benefits - which are often exaggerated by misinformed potential migrants - is a policy that should be more strongly promoted by Europe, even if only with these potential migrants welfare in mind.

Moving from individual migrants to Europe as a whole, the impact that recent waves of immigration may bring is increasingly being questioned. Often times, arguments focus thinly on the grounds that immigrants will take jobs away, depress salaries, abuse public services, or increase crime rates. The evidence to support these claims is not strong. Overall a number of studies show that host countries tend to win not only in terms of productivity and diversity, but also in terms of strengthened public services and social security, as immigrants pay for more than what they use in public services. There is no evidence generally supportive of increased crime rates. **If anything, the evidence shows that most negative effects of immigration affect the wages and job positions available to other immigrants of similar qualifications** who arrived before the new immigrants. While this evidence can justify why we often observe long-term immigrants associated with the recent populist anti-immigration movements, there is clearly scope for policies to inform public opinion about the actual impact of immigration in Europe.

Last but definitely not least, there is a growing body of evidence that shows that international migration is in itself a development tool that can raise standards of living in the countries of origin, and in this way self-sustains further migration flows. This happens because of “brain gain” type of effects through which international migration increases welfare at home through more investment in education and health of children left behind, better accountability and political institutions, more entrepreneurship and business investment, improved financial systems, increased foreign direct investment and international trade.

A holistic view of the consequences of immigration flows to Europe over time requires integrating all of these different factors. A narrower view ignoring how international migration acts as a wheel for broad change defeats our ability to properly answer this challenge of our times.



THE ULTIMATE HUMAN MIGRATION

» **By** Thalia Petrides
Ambassador of Cyprus

The theme of the Estoril Conferences this year is dedicated to migration in all its possible forms, and rightly so, because migration emerged as a major issue of concern and preoccupation within the last two years after a huge flow of refugees from Africa and the Middle East entered the EU space seeking safety and protection.

Despite the different levels of economic performance and varying perceptions on security and possible threats to European defense, the EU avoided showing any serious rifts among its member states until the refugee crisis uncovered underlying fundamental divergences.

It is considered by many as a breaking point for the European Union, not forgetting that one of the main themes for UK citizens to opt for leaving the Union was the desire to stem the migrant flows into the country.

Disappointingly, **the declaration signed in Rome** by the 27 EU leaders on March 25, 2017 in celebration of 60 years of the European construction, **ignores the gaping rift within Europe** and avoids making any real commitment to remedy the situation. A paragraph of the declaration asserts “in the ten years to come we want a Union that is safe and secure, prosperous, competitive, sustainable and socially responsible, and with the will and capacity of playing a key role in the world and of shaping globalization. We want a Union where citizens have new opportunities for cultural and social development and economic growth.”

Ten years? It will take ten years to put our European house in order? Ten years to respond to our citizens’ concerns and fears? The ailing Union shows signs of fatigue and aging as if the sixty year threshold is associated with retirement. The millions of Europeans, who still believe in the Union, would rather prefer silence than declaratory arrogance.

I would have personally liked to see a big banner with the words “Thank you Europe” and underneath the pledge: “the 27 promise to let you survive past this year”.

Irrespective of the reasons that force people to migrate (poverty, war, oppression or just seeking better opportunities abroad) and the proven benefits that migrants bring to the receiving societies, migration often triggers in people’s minds negative reactions. Changing perceptions and prejudices is a very long process involving lifelong education and citizen awareness.

However, the case of the Mediterranean European countries, **the group coined as the MED7 (Cyprus, France, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal and Spain) is an example of courage and inspiration for the whole of Europe.** Although the MED7 group is a recent formation within the EU (started in 2014), it boasts three ministerial meetings and two summits so far and a multidisciplinary Seminar which dealt with the “Challenges Ahead in the Euro-Mediterranean Region” that took place in Lisbon last October.

Reading through the proceedings of the Seminar - published in a book that is free to download from the Estoril Conferences website - among the observations one can make is that the reaction to the migration crisis in the seven countries is characterized by compassion and acceptance from the local communities coupled with humanitarian facilities and assistance offered by the authorities. In dire contrast, other European countries closed their borders and let refugees suffer a bitter fate.

Perhaps in Europe we should start thinking how to correct the “solidarity deficit” instead of focusing only on the fiscal one.

The migration phenomenon is as old as Humanity. The science of paleoanthropology has demonstrated that anatomical and genetic evidence points towards Homo sapiens being about a quarter of a million years old and that the first humans migrated from the southeastern African planes to the Middle East and Europe in search for a better future.

WE HUMANS CONTINUED TO DO SO THROUGHOUT HISTORY TO THE PRESENT TIMES. MIGRATION MAKES US WHAT WE ARE: A WANDERING SPECIES.

Migration makes us successful as evolution survivors and will secure the future of Humanity in the ages to come. Migratory spirit led us to Space exploration, to the Moon, to the International Space Station and is now leading us to Mars, which is the ultimate human migration. The great thinker of our time, theoretical physicist Stephen Hawking, affirmed recently that Humans need to emigrate to other planets to survive as a species.

Visiting often the NASA website and reading the monthly issue of the Astronomy magazine always boosts my optimism and recalibrates my faith in the human capacity for using our potential, both mental and spiritual, to expand our frontiers and to improve life on Earth.

According to NASA, Mars is the next tangible frontier for human exploration, and despite the challenges lying ahead, it is deemed an achievable goal. Building on decades of robotic exploration NASA is working to send humans to Mars in the 2030s. Expanding humanity’s presence into the solar system will enable us to answer vital questions:

Was Mars once home to life?

Can it be a safe home for humans?

What can the Red Planet teach us about our own planet’s past, present and future?

For decades Mars orbiters, landers and rovers substantially increased our knowledge about the Red Planet and paved the way for future human explorers. For example, the Curiosity rover has gathered radiation data to help improve the protective gear of future astronauts and the upcoming Mars 2020 rover will study the availability of Martian resources, including oxygen.

NASA is planning the human exploration of Mars to be achieved in three stages, each with additional challenges as humans move farther from Earth: Earth Reliant, the Proving Ground, and Earth Independent.

Earth Reliant exploration is focused on research aboard the International Space Station (ISS). It is noteworthy to remember that the ISS is continuously inhabited by humans since November 2000. The orbiting microgravity laboratory serves as a testing place for the technologies and communications systems needed for human missions to deep space. Astronauts are learning about what it takes to live and work in space for long periods of time, thus deepening the understanding of how the body changes in space and how to protect astronaut health.



The next phase is called the Proving Ground, where conducting a series of missions near the moon will test the capabilities needed to live and work on Mars. Astronauts on the space station are only hours away from Earth, but the proving ground is days away, a natural stepping stone to a Mars mission, which will be months away from home. The first of these missions will launch NASA’s powerful new rocket, the Space Launch System and the mission will carry the Orion spacecraft (without astronauts) thousands of miles beyond the moon during an approximately three week mission. Next, Orion will carry astronauts to a similar mission taking humans farther into space. Also in the 2020s, NASA will send astronauts on a yearlong mission into this deep space proving ground, verifying habitation and testing our readiness for Mars.

Another proving ground milestone is the Asteroid Redirect Mission. NASA will send a robotic spacecraft to capture an asteroid boulder and put it in a safe orbit around the moon. Astronauts on Orion will then explore the asteroid, returning to Earth with samples. This two-part mission will test deep space spacewalking and sampling techniques as well as Solar Electric Propulsion, which will be needed to send cargo to accompany the human missions to Mars.

THE EU AND THE MANAGEMENT OF IRREGULAR MIGRATORY FLOWS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

» By Teresa Ferreira Rodrigues
IPRI/ NOVA e CIDIUM/ IUM

A pessimistic vision prevails where the link between population and safety is concerned and there is a tendency to secure some of its vectors, namely migrations. The requirements for legal migration and the political and ideological use of such a phenomenon explain how, under an irregular situation, an immigrant might be considered a threat. However, this irregularity mainly risks his personal security.

In fact, from migrations' viewpoint, an SH implicates that migrants be included in the design and application of migratory politics, but also that their own safety is taken into account when developing those policies.

In the Mediterranean border, presently the most lethal in the world, thousands of people daily risk their lives and 80% of the crossings are assisted by smuggling and criminal networks,

that ensure transport, fake documents and other procedures, which explains why they are looked upon as a threat against EU's internal security. Since a quick scenario change is not predictable, the pressure will remain and it requests intertwined responses, in a context of lack of political cohesion and some loss. **But the Mediterranean crisis is essentially a humanitarian drama, which questions the EU's basic values,** as far as respect and the safeguard of human rights is concerned, as well as principles of international protection and freedom of circulation within the Schengen space.

The response to deal with the current migratory crisis has focused on the border management dimension. Crossing the Mediterranean is a dangerous and sometimes fatal trip. Adopting a package of urgent measures by the EU has turned into a route alteration, but it has not reduced the flows.

The European Migration Agenda, approved in 2015, combines internal and external policies and aims at developing a shared responsibility among Member-States, countries of origin and host nations.



The most controversial measure has consisted in adopting a quota system which calls for a shared responsibility of Member-States regarding migrants seeking international protection.

INTERNAL DIVERGENCES HAVE BEEN POSING AN OBSTACLE TO THE ADOPTION OF MOST OF THESE MEASURES, UNDERMINING THEIR SUCCESS. IN TERMS OF MEDIUM RANGE ACTION, A GLOBAL STRATEGY IS ATTEMPTED TO MANAGE MIGRATIONS, BASED ON COOPERATION WITH THIRD PARTY COUNTRIES, IN BORDER MANAGEMENT AND PREVENTION OF ABUSE BY THE LEGAL MIGRATION CHANNELS.

But, in what way can the human rights of migrants be safeguarded or their right to request international protection within a context of border control reinforcement and the externalization of the European border? Simultaneously, many of the adopted measures of border control and border management deals with third party countries raise legal questions which require some reflection, namely concerning the safeguard of migrants' human rights.

There is no final solution to stop the irregular flows, but solutions must be found that allow to decrease the impact of their management, which starts with finding a balance on the binomials human rights-safety. The measures adopted to manage the irregular flows confirm an increasing securisation of the border south of the EU. Can this be the way?

Between 2015 and 2016 the number of entrances via the sea has decreased in 62%, but the number of deaths has increased by 76%.

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INTERVIEW

EDWARD SNOWDEN

**EXCLUSIVE
INTERVIEW**

WHAT DO YOU THINK WERE THE MAIN CONSEQUENCES OF YOUR ACTIONS TO THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ARENA?

ES: It's hard to summarize in a few words, because so much has changed. Since you ask in a political context, many would point to changes originating in government, such as the fact that for the first time in the history of my country, courts were able to evaluate the legality of one of the government's secret mass surveillance programs. That program was struck down, forcing the passage of the USA FREEDOM act, which ended the program in question.

Others might say the biggest impact came from the wave of official inquiries launched in response to the mass surveillance revelations, which examined how exactly governments managed to get into the business of indiscriminately violating people's rights without democratic consultation. A blue-ribbon commission of intelligence and legal experts appointed by President Obama recommended concluded that the NSA's collection of information about every Americans' phone calls had "never stopped a single terrorist attack" nor made a "concrete difference" in a terrorism investigation in more than 10 years of operation.

Certainly, these are important things, and any one of the hundreds of official actions taken in response to the exposure of the government's wrongdoing would probably justify my coming forward. But as time goes on, I'm increasingly convinced that the real impact and value of any revelations will not originate within a government. Rather it will arise from the forces that shape governments.

I'm referring primarily to public opinion. Citizens around the world have learned, and will remember, that a dog you cannot control is as likely to bite you as it is your enemy. We've already seen increased support for surveillance reform, as well as increased awareness by ordinary citizens of the need to take privacy more seriously. Most concrete and irreversible is the impact on our science and engineering. A majority of internet communications sent from a modern browser today are encrypted-armored to shelter them from at least the laziest forms of mass surveillance revealed in 2013. But this wasn't the case before, and even the government has been surprised by the pace of change. America's top spy famously complained that I "sped up the spread of encryption by 7 years."

He meant it as a bad thing, but today, in the context of the greatest crisis of computer security in history, I suspect he has changed his mind. Without the rapid proliferation of defensive technologies like encryption, people from Lisbon to Washington will be completely unable to protect themselves against increasingly accessible computer-based attacks.

When we live in a world where the electricity to your hospital depends on code written by a 26-year-old in her first job, computer security is more important than mass surveillance.

WHERE SHOULD THE LINE BE DRAWN BETWEEN PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE AND PUBLIC SECURITY?

ES: The public has a right to know about the broad powers and programs of what the government does, both in their name and against them. No one argues that we need to know the name of every terrorist suspect or person under investigation, but when the most powerful institutions in our society are acting in violation of all rights, laws, morality, and even common sense, there's little doubt that this is a matter of public interest. **If the "state secrets" privilege does not serve the public as well as the state, then we have forgotten the reason for which the privilege was granted.**

YOU ARE CURRENTLY WORKING WITH FREEDOM OF THE PRESS FOUNDATION AND DEVELOPED A 'CELL-PHONE PROTECTION' DESTINED, FOR EXAMPLE, TO JOURNALISTS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES. COULD YOU TALK A LITTLE OF WHAT IT IS YOU ARE DOING TODAY, PROFESSIONALLY?

ES: One need only open the public message stream of the President of the United States to realize that the work of journalism is becoming threatened in new and unexpected ways.

Who would have believed that the Leader of the Free World would declare the press "the enemy of the people"?

In Russia, journalists are beaten or killed. In China, they are arrested or disappear. Even in Germany we find that journalists are being targeted for surveillance by their version of the CIA, the BND. My work, and the drive of the Freedom of the Press Foundation more broadly, is to make the playing field a little more even, if only in a small way.

The most important journalism is often the kind which is most aggressively suppressed by those in power. If those kinds of newspapers are going to continue to not only report, but report effectively, they're going to need capabilities with which the government not only does not interfere, but cannot. My job is developing those capabilities through engineering, advocacy, and organizing.

WHAT IS YOUR REACTION TO WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS SUCH AS 'POST-TRUTH POLITICS', 'FAKE NEWS' AND 'ALTERNATIVE FACTS'?

ES: There will always be those who want to wish away the facts, but there are things in reality that are objective. The fundamental rule here is "that which is asserted without evidence must be dismissed without evidence." The most committed adversaries of reason won't be defeated through persuasion, but by example: the weight of facts is not made clear through words, but by observing the results of their application. The problem of fake news isn't solved by hoping for a referee but rather because we as citizens help each other. The answer to bad speech is not censorship. The answer to bad speech is more speech. **We have to exercise and spread the idea that critical thinking matters now more than ever, given the fact that lies seem to be getting very popular.**

ONCE YOU SAID: "ARGUING THAT YOU DON'T CARE ABOUT PRIVACY BECAUSE YOU HAVE NOTHING TO HIDE IS LIKE ARGUING THAT YOU DON'T CARE ABOUT FREE SPEECH BECAUSE YOU HAVE NOTHING TO SAY." NOW THAT MOST OF OUR CONVERSATIONS TAKE PLACE ON-LINE, ISN'T A THREAT TO OUR PRIVACY ALSO A THREAT TO OUR FREEDOM OF SPEECH?

ES: The most obvious risk of pervasive surveillance is creating a belief that there are things which can and cannot be said, for this is the end of progress. **Even the most repulsive and offensive speech has a place in conversation, as it helps us establish the virtue of good arguments and publicly discredit the bad.**

There is no greater threat to liberty than the silent majority. Many of the great evils in history from slavery and genocides to the disenfranchisement of minorities and genders were often both popular and legal, under the laws of the day. How then were those laws changed? Through outrageous heresy against those orthodoxies, speaking the unspeakable: the majority is wrong. But this is a fragile thing, almost always begun by writers under pen names, or tiny organizations whose survival depends on maintaining anonymity until they can develop enough support to resist the inevitable retaliation.

DO YOU EXPECT TO RETURN HOME SOME DAY?

ES: Certainly, but the beauty of a connected world is that I live as though I never left.

<https://www.eff.org/deeplinks/2014/01/privacy-oversight-board-agrees-eff-mass-surveillance-illegal-and-must-end>

<https://theintercept.com/2016/04/25/spy-chief-complains-that-edward-snowden-spied-up-spread-of-encryption-by-7-years/>

ON THE “DEMOCRATIC INFORMATION STATE”: A DEFENSE OF WHISTLEBLOWERS’ PROTECTION

» **By Teresa Violante**
Chair of the Estoril Conferences

In 2009, Jack Balkin, a famous American constitutionalist, wrote an article under the title “The Constitution in the National Surveillance State”. That article joined several other pieces on a book called The Constitution in 2020, that gathered some constitutionalists touching on a broad range of subjects. The idea was to collect contributions aimed at pushing the American constitutional law in a more progressive direction.

Balkin developed the concept of the national surveillance state where “the government uses surveillance, data collection, collation, and analysis to identify problems, to head off potential threats, to govern populations, and to deliver valuable social services” (p. 198). He highlighted that the concept he was dealing with was not a hypothetical or future category: *the national surveillance state was, already, an emerging reality*. He also claimed that the war on terror could hardly be the most important cause for the rise of national surveillance and data mining. Rather this evolution was inevitable with the developments in information technology. And that would be, according to Balkin, a permanent feature of governance, such as the welfare and the regulator traits.

But technology development was not the only explanation behind the emergence of the national surveillance state. Balkin claimed that this category grew out “naturally of the welfare state and the national security state”, as realities that “created a huge demand for data-processing technologies to identify individuals (...) and deliver social services”. At the same time, the security state funded research and development on information technologies directed at “surveillance, data collection and data mining” (p. 199).

From this framework, Balkin went on to guess what the national surveillance state would be like in the future: it would be a state where there would hardly be a dividing line between public and private mechanisms of surveillance; where the NSA action would be unfeasible without the help of private parties, essentially telecommunications companies; where the repression, through criminal action, would increasingly be replaced with mechanisms to prevent future wrongdoings; where the protection of the right to privacy would demand more than a simple right not to be watched, since there are other ways to collect data that can be used against individuals; where amnesia, “the greatest single protector of privacy” (p. 202) would, in fact, disappear.



Some years later, at the second edition of the Estoril Conferences (2011), Mia Couto diagnosed a global community living in constant fear: “we live, as individuals and as species, in a permanent situation of emergency. As in any other state under siege, individual freedoms must be constrained, privacy can be violated and rationality must be suspended. All these restrictions exist so that no questions can be made” (“Walling Fear”, Estoril Conferences, 2011).

Now let’s take look at June 2013: international media began publishing the classified documents leaked by former CIA and NSA contractor, Edward Snowden. Snowden’s papers brought to light the existence of NSA’s and its British counterpart GCQG’s programs of mass surveillance. These leaks ousted a paradigm shift: espionage, up until recently, had specific targets (states, companies or specific groups of individuals). However, espionage was now focusing on individuals, ordinary citizens that can have their private lives scrutinized by the states.

As Balkin had predicted, a simple right not to be watched was no longer sufficient: **government programs such as PRISM could collect several data on an individual that, put together, would tell more on himself that an actual surveillance operation** (online habits, phone calls, emails, the list is never-ending).

Snowden’s revelations caused an intense global outcry: in several countries, such as Germany, Italy, Belgium or the Netherlands, inquiries were carried out as to how intelligence services were operating; civil society reacted with large rallies, claiming the right not to be surveilled; the European Union’s reaction was particularly forceful, with the Commission, the Council and the Parliament urging for clarifications by the Obama’s administration. On 12 March 2014, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on the impact of mass surveillance, as Snowden had disclosed a few months earlier. This resolution marked the beginning of an ample program of European Digital Habeas Corpus aimed at protecting fundamental rights in a digital age. The Snowden legacy reached also domestic and supranational high courts. In 2014, the European Court of Justice invalidated the data retention directive that had been enacted after the Madrid terrorist attacks. The Court rejected mass surveillance of EU citizens without suspicion as incompatible with the fundamental rights and showed how privacy and data protection issues would be treated in the European Union in the post-Snowden era (Digital Rights Ireland case). By the end of 2015, the Snowden effect came even harsher: the European Court ruled invalidated the Safe Harbor, a major data-sharing pact between the US and Europe (Schrems case). A big case is pending at the European Court of Human Rights on the UK’s surveillance mechanism (Big Brother Watch & other v United Kingdom).

The Council of Europe also acted. On 30 April 2014, the Committee of Ministers adopted a recommendation on the protection of whistleblowers. In that same year, Snowden testified twice before the Parliamentary Assembly. On 21 April 2015, the Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution stressing concerns with bulk data collection and urging the need to safeguard fundamental rights, drawing extensively on Snowden’s revelations. On 23 June 2015, the Assembly adopted another resolution aimed at improving the protection of whistleblowers.

This time, the Assembly specifically urged the US to allow Edward Snowden to return to his country and have a fair trial, i.e., a defense where he could claim to have acted in the public interest

without any or with reduced harm to national or individual interests. The problem is that Snowden is indicted under the Espionage Act of 1917. A document drafted for a different paradigm, where mass surveillance was beyond Jules Verne’s wildest dreams.

Neither the former President Obama nor President Trump have been available to review the US government’s position on Snowden: he is a fugitive and he should be tried under the Espionage Act without the possibility of resorting to any whistleblower status (unfamiliar to the US legal framework). However, Obama pardoned Chelsea Manning in the final days of his presidency. Despite the other differences at stake, the word is out that Snowden’s refugee status in Russia only worsened his condition.

And the recent suspicions of Russia’s involvement in the US presidential campaign surely do not add anything good to this scenario.

Balkin was ominous and I am not quite sure he – and many others – were caught by surprise by Snowden’s revelations. For in his article that I began quoting he sets a dividing line: since the national surveillance state will be a reality, how can we make sure that individual rights and freedoms must be respected? He distinguished between authoritarian information states and democratic information states: the former, “try to keep the information they collect – and their own operations – secret from the public” (p. 204) as well as averting any accountability for breaching fundamental rights; the latter, “collect and collate only the information they need to ensure efficient government and national security” (p. 204), and “protect individual privacy because surveillance encourages abuses of power and inhibits freedom and democratic participation” (p. 205). A democratic information state encourages oversight, a clear-cut separation of powers and a strong and (legally) well-equipped judiciary. And does not allow that citizens live their lives walled by constant fear as a justification to curb their fundamental rights and freedoms, as Mia Couto warned us in 2011.

We know now that efficient oversight of surveillance mechanisms demands the existence of proper defense mechanisms available to those who decide to come public and expose illegal surveillance mechanisms that would, otherwise, continue to run against the rule of law for God knows how long. This is different from asking for a pardon. And it is a simple but powerful call to action: do not look at the national surveillance state with the lenses of 1917. The paradigm has changed. Disruptively.

Jack M. Balkin and Reva B. Siegel (eds.). *The Constitution in 2020*, OUP, 2009

teresa.violante@estorilglobal.org



MEET

LORA PAPPA



YOU ARE THE FOUNDER OF ONE THE MOST RESPECTED NGOS REGARDING THE PROTECTION OF, MAINLY, THE UNACCOMPANIED CHILDREN AND VULNERABLE GROUPS. TELL US A BIT OF YOUR WORK AND THAT OF METADRASI, WHICH WAS RECENTLY AWARDED WITH THE NORTH-SOUTH PRIZE BY THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE.

Metadrasí's aim is always to intervene where there are significant gaps in refugee/immigration management by the State or other NGOs. We aim not to duplicate the work of others but instead to take pioneering initiatives to continually broaden and improve the quality of support, care and protection given to refugees and migrants in Greece. METAdrasi started in 2010 by providing for the first time a proper framework for the training, certification and supervision of interpreters, and this remains a core activity for us, with over 350 interpreters currently deployed around Greece. Our involvement in the protection of unaccompanied children started in 2011 with the escorting of these children from the entry points to safe accommodation on the mainland – a sensitive activity that no other organization or body was undertaking. Through this involvement, we became aware of other related needs of these children, and started the pioneering activities of training and providing guardians for them, as well as developing the framework for placing the most vulnerable ones in foster families, for the first time in Greece.

At the end of 2015, because of the very large number of unaccompanied children arriving in Greece, we established a transit accommodation facility for them in each of the three main entry islands of Lesbos, Chios and Samos, and in Athens. Shortly, we will also be opening one in Thessaloniki, where there is a large concentration of unaccompanied children living in camps in totally unsuitable conditions. During the summer of 2016, our activities were further strengthened with a team of 38 human rights lawyers in all the hot spots for the provision of free legal support to refugees.

Another main area of activity for us is training and education, including Greek language teaching, which are closely linked to the integration of refugees and immigrants into local society.

Until today, METAdrasi has escorted over 4,500 unaccompanied children, provided protection to over 1,140 of these through its guardianship network, hosted 170 children in its accommodation facilities, and already placed 22 of them with foster families.

YOU AND YOUR TEAM ARE EVER PRESENT ON GREECE'S KEY ENTRY POINTS FOR REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS. WHAT ARE, IN YOUR OPINION, THE BIGGEST FRAGILITIES AND GAPS BOTH MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES FACE WHEN ENTERING GREECE ?

The conditions on the islands remain somewhere between sub-standard and completely unacceptable. Due to a lack of planning, the needs for long-term sustainable reception facilities were never properly foreseen, nor was there an appropriate estimation and planning for all the processing staff needed to proceed with asylum applications that were submitted after the coming into force of the EU-Turkey Agreement in March 2016. Refugees were overnight separated into two groups, the “before” and the “after” the Agreement, with different rights. Their long-term stay (or detention) in very difficult conditions, the feeling of insecurity and the extremely long delays in processing, together with their being trapped in a no-man's-land of inactivity, have led many of them to a desperate state. **We see a sharp rise in people facing serious psychological problems.** I would say therefore that the main problem that needs to be fixed is the huge uncertainty and substantial delays that continue to be experienced in the processing of applications.



WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ABOUT THE WAY EUROPE, AS A WHOLE, IS RESPONDING TO THE MIGRANT CRISIS ?

We can all see that Europe as a whole has no clear or coherent response to the migrant crisis, and indeed that the migrant crisis itself has had a catalytic effect on underlying tensions and unresolved conflicts within the European Union.

The fear caused by the inward flows of people has brought out sharp divisions both amongst EU countries, but also within them. This has meant that there hasn't been any consistent response, which creates and adds to the delays and uncertainty I mentioned above. Overall, clearly, following Germany's initial open arms policy in the summer of 2015 there has been a sharp retrenchment and the policy, for what it's worth, has been to throw money at the problem and keep it at the margins of Europe, particularly with the rushed and unworkable EU-Turkey Agreement of March 2016.

Moreover, we see that whatever decisions are taken, are done so with short-term political horizons in mind, and bureaucratic delays are used as excuses to defer taking difficult decisions or to postpone implementing, for example, the relocation targets countries had earlier committed to from Greece to other EU countries. It should also be noted that in the peak of the migration wave towards Europe, there was little if any visible or substantial help offered either by other wealthy nations either of the West or of the Middle East.

GREECE AND ITALY ARE THE MAIN ROUTES MIGRANTS ARE TAKING, IN INCREASED NUMBERS EVERY WEEK. DIFFICULTIES IN ENTERING AND MOVING ON AND TO ANOTHER COUNTRY ARE ALSO PROPORTIONALLY INCREASING. IS THERE A CHANCE OF ALTERNATE ROUTES EMERGING AND, IF SO, WILL EUROPE BE READY TO REACT EFFECTIVELY ?

It's true that temporarily at least over the past few months the flows from Turkey into Greece have been at manageable levels. Whether this is because of the EU-Turkey Agreement or simply the deterrent effect of the awful and uncertain conditions in which arrivals on the Greek islands would be faced, I am not sure. Or indeed it could also be the increase in trafficking rates. But as long as there is violent armed conflict, oppression, totalitarian regimes or poverty, people will always try to move to a safe country to build their futures. I think alternate routes always emerge in response to changes in circumstances, and indeed the numbers of refugees in mainland Greece have been declining as people find alternate routes into northern Europe.

As for Europe reacting effectively, as I said above, the splintering of Europe we are witnessing I am afraid means we will again be faced with spasmodic responses if numbers do again increase dramatically, through whatever route. But it's also a question of what "reacting effectively" means. If it means preventing the arrival of refugees on European ground, then we shouldn't be surprised by the rhetoric of hate which is constantly on the rise, or indeed if a Europe emerges that officially allow the use of violence to prevent refugee flows, or a Europe that following the suspension of the Schengen Agreement soon also suspends the implementation of the 1951 Geneva Convention. If on the other hand "effectively" means according to the founding values and principles of Europe, then we are already behind schedule in providing legal pathways to dangerous journeys, and reinforcing resettlement and family reunification.

This is anyway the best way to drastically reduce the involvement of human trafficking networks. **However, we do not observe any preparation of public opinion for the eventuality of having to host more refugees;** on the contrary, the prevailing message seems to be that the crisis is over and forgotten. So we must all continue to press for a more coherent and humane response mechanism, combined with greater transparency, more openness and better information about the refugee crisis on the part of leaders towards their citizens.



I'VE READ ON AN INTERVIEW YOU GAVE WHEN YOU WERE IN PORTUGAL TO RECEIVE THE NORTH-SOUTH PRIZE (DELAS DIGITAL MAGAZINE*), WHERE YOU SAID THAT WE "TALK ABOUT EUROPEAN VALUES, BUT FORGET THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ALSO BELONG TO OTHERS, NOT JUST US". DO YOU THINK THIS CRISIS IS ALSO A CRISIS OF FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN VALUES?

To a degree yes. As I said, I believe the refugee crisis brought out tensions within the EU, and I believe these tensions do ultimately have to do with a crisis of fundamental human values, including the founding principles of the European Union such as solidarity. For the 50-60 "golden" years following World War Two, there was a steady and more predictable environment in the West, with more certainties and a generally rising standard of living. **However, in the past 10-15 years the crisis of capitalism with all its concomitant changes** (financial crisis, greater inequality, changes in the job market due to technology, climate change etc) **has brought about significant fear and uncertainty, and a loss of moral compass.** This is also reflected in the shocking and until recently unthinkable electoral results we keep witnessing in Western democracies.



MIGRATION IS NOW GLOBAL AND THE MAIN THEME OF THE ESTORIL CONFERENCES. BE IT FOR WHATEVER REASON, PEOPLE ARE ON THE MOVE AND THERE IS A FEELING OF GLOBAL UNCERTAINTY. WHERE DO YOU THINK HUMANITY IS HEADING?

Fundamentally I think this is a turning point for humanity as a whole, brought about by the gradual realization that we are beginning to overstretch the resources of our planet – there are ever more of us, needing more and better food, wanting more cars, more heating, more cooling, more travel, more goods etc. We have been marching forward on automatic pilot and it is time we all wake up and agree amongst ourselves as a race how we can peacefully and sustainably co-exist on our planet. Because closing ourselves down in our respective fortresses and continuing as we did before is definitely not the answer. And fundamentalism (or absolutism, in whatever form) is also not the answer. Globalization is characterized by a continual increase migration flow. However, **western societies do not yet seem to have reached the realization that living side-by-side with people of different backgrounds is unavoidable.** We pride ourselves on being tolerant but perhaps this means that we just tolerate the Other, but do not welcome him.

WHAT ARE YOUR BIGGEST CONCERNS REGARDING MIGRATION? WHAT ARE, IN YOUR OPINION, THE REASONS FOR THIS MASS MOVEMENT OF HUMAN BEINGS WE ARE WITNESSING TODAY?

My biggest concern is that migration will continue to happen on a massive scale, be it because of brutal conflicts and violence, persecution and poverty or climate change and its effects.

And as long as we do not actively awaken and try to address the bigger issue of over-stretching our resources that I mentioned above, but instead keep our heads in the sand, then migration will continue to be a lose-lose situation, with resentment, violence and victims; and the rhetoric of isolationism and mistrust will continue to gain ground. In our Western societies we can no longer take democracy for granted.



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BOOK REVIEW

THE ACCUSATION

» BY BANDI

Reviewed » By João Tiago Teixeira

Copywriter Estoril Conferences

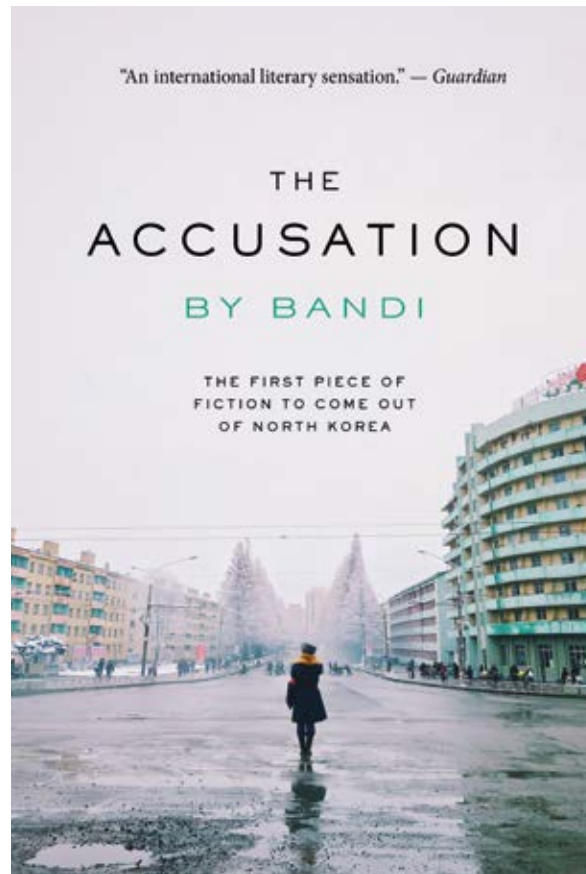
Fireflies are a little dot of light in a dark environment. Bandi is the North-Korean word for firefly and 'The Accusation' is the light in the dark. The book is thought to be smuggled out of North-Korea by a relative of the author under the pseudonym Bandi, a writer of the Koreans' Writers Alliance or the official Chosun Writers League Central Committee – dedicated to the writings of propaganda in name of the 'Great Leader'.

The 'Great Leader' is Kim Il-sung, grandfather of the current 'Great Leader' Kim Jong-un. In seven short-stories, Bandi tells the grim story of the day-to-day living in North-Korea. The story of a nephew worried about his uncle and a tree that represented his long life dedication to the country and that one day, he believed, would give him back in treasures. Treasure that never came and he realized late in his life.

The story of how a mother needs to keep her baby way from the 'Great Leader's' picture because the baby is afraid and if someone caught they would be deported to villages very far away from their home. How this same mother stood in awe watching as one million people gathered in line after line, in under forty-five minutes in the central square, solemnly and without hesitation – 'like the sea after a storm'. As their family behaved in different fashion, and because of the baby's fear, one week after they were on a truck, accompanied by soldiers to take them away.

There are sons who can't go visit their dying mothers. There are entire fields of flowers plucked away from every corner of every place, making citizens venture themselves in the wild, risking their lives, in order for the memorial of the 'Great Leader' to always, be surrounded by flowers. There is a grandmother crying on the inside for leaving his husband and great-daughter behind in a tumultuous crowd.

The brutality of these lives is told and written with passion and anger. Pity and hope. Particularly in one gruesome story that may make us lose all faith. It is called 'The escape.'



In the escape a husband starts suspecting of his wife infidelity. This husband's father was marked as an enemy of the party and so, so was he. And so would be his son. Because of this, his wife was working hard for him to be accepted to the party in order for them to be able to have a child that could live in safety and not as a pariah from society, as sometimes they were considered. It's when the husband confronts his wife that she shows him her diary where all is explained to him, and us (including the fact she ate dog food so that his husband could eat better). Feeling like he betrayed her, they all plan to escape North-Korea so that they could escape a country "where lies and tyranny reign and where it is impossible for a person to build any roots, even if he works hard and honest."

But the real question here: how trustworthy are these fictional stories? In protection of the writers' life, still living in Korean, all we know is that he was born in the 1950's, and was able to smuggle out his manuscript. We have to rely on the story of the smuggling itself. A relative of the writer escaped North-Korea and then contacted Mr Do, a well-known advocate for human rights in North Korea and a member of the South Korean government's National Unification Advisory Council. It was Mr. Do that then proceeded with its publication.

The New York Times was able to see the original manuscript that only a handful has seen. The Guardian describes it as a novel that comes from "the very secret dictatorship" and L'Express that this "is a country that does exist, people live there, people that maybe don't even dream that another life is possible."

EXHIBITIONS

The Estoril Conferences are more than just the conferences. This year we will have art exhibitions which will present several artists from around the world. **The Safe Exhibition** is a partnership between D. Luis Foundation and the Estoril Conferences: it features dozens of art pieces that aim to give a more personal touch to the true meaning of Migration.

Cercica will also be present with collaboration with Portuguese artist Filipe Romão that promises to offer a new perspective on the subject.

Doctors Without Borders will have two different exhibitions: 'The Beach' and 'Interior Routes' – the first will show you how it feels to watch refugees arriving at a beach and the latter how they live in Europeans refugees' camps.

Last, but definitely not least, an exhibition from Photojournalist **Yannis Behrakis**, of Reuters Newspictures, will be showing some of the best work of one of the top photographers in the world today, part of the team that won the Pulitzer for Photography of the Migrant crisis.



YOUTH PROJECTS

THE GLOBAL BOOMERANG

The Global Boomerang provides the future global leaders with the necessary tools for success. During the weekend of 26 to 28 May, youngsters from all over the world will be joining together and be challenged to play the role of political leaders, feeling the pressure and burdens of the decision making process.

They will be presented with situations that will make them prioritize the global problems of a country they will be representing and join forces to find solutions to a local problem.

During the weekend they will also have the chance to meet many other youngsters, socializing and connecting with different cultures and backgrounds.

YOUTH SUMMIT

The Youth Summit is an entire day of conferences especially designed for the youth. The program is developed by an Organizing Team composed of national and international youngsters from the Estoril Conferences' Academic Partners and exceptional youngsters from other youth organizations.

On May 29, they will be discussing the most pressing challenges to their generations in the globalized world of today while having the chance to meet the speakers and talk with them in an informal way.

This year, the Youth Summit will count with names such as the Nobel Peace Prize winner of 2007, Mr. Rajendra Pachauri, who won the award on behalf of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change or the CEO of Techfugees, Joséphine Goube.

The Youth Summit is our way of empowering the youth towards a more sustainable future and giving them the knowledge to develop a concrete social impact. The motto of the Youth Summit is Believing in Student Ideas – an event made by youngsters, for youngsters.

ESTORIL CONFERENCES JUNIOR

The 5th edition of the Estoril Conferences will also have an entire morning dedicated to the youngest of youngsters: on June 1st 2017, Children's Day, the 1st edition of the Estoril Conferences Junior (EC Junior) will be held – a project co-developed with several schools from Cascais with the purpose of discussing serious subjects and understanding the point of view of children of the basic education level. On this day, they will be the speakers, the opinion-makers and the public.

“Vou ali e já venho: sobre migrações e comichões” is the book from where it all starts. For professors and students, educators and pupils, for parents and children. This is a book that, in an accessible way, answers one question that seems simple at first sight – “where do we come from?” – an answer, however, still surrounded in controversy.

The challenge that was made to these kids, which finds support in the book's story, is to present the human race to the aliens. This story, composed by six characters of different nationalities, races and creeds, has the purpose of illustrating the fact that we are all stronger together .



YOUTH EC



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ESTORIL CONFERENCES DISTINGUISHED BOOK PRIZE OF 2017

Every two years, the Estoril Conferences distinguishes a major piece of written work that has contributed with new analysis and original thought about the issues inherent to globalization, helping the world to better understand its global relevant risks and collective action problems.

On the 2017 edition the jury, composed by representatives from the Academic Partners of the Estoril Conferences, has chosen **The Euro and its threat to the future of Europe, by Joseph E. Stiglitz, Nobel prize in economics, as the winner.**

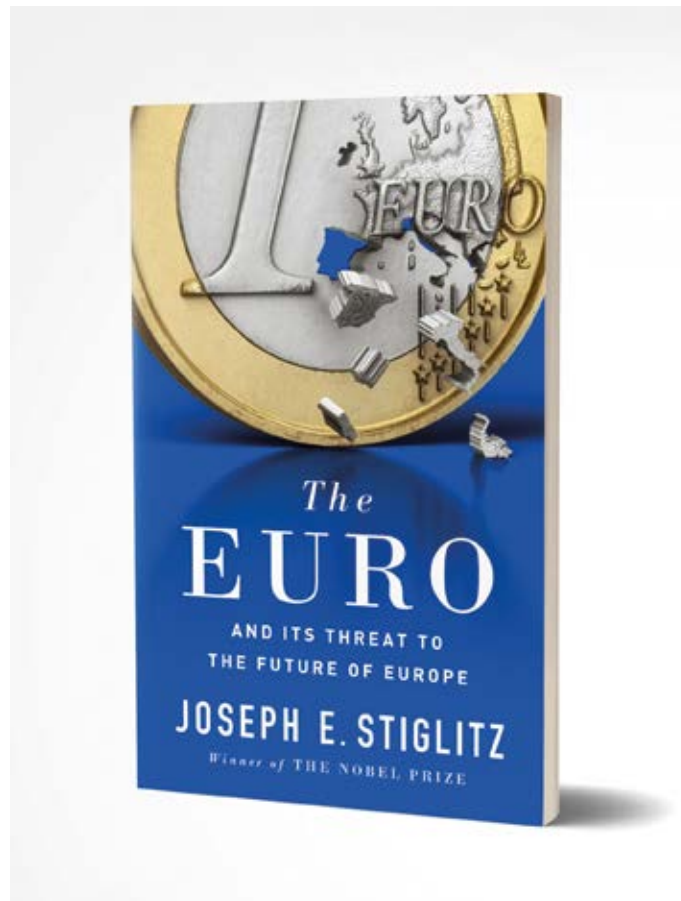


The author will be present during the next Estoril Conferences, Estoril Conferences Distinguished Book Prize Ceremony, for an intervention on his book and the main theme of the Estoril Conferences.

In this book, Joseph E. Stiglitz dismantles the prevailing consensus around what ails Europe, demolishing the champions of austerity while offering a series of plans that can rescue the continent from further devastation.

As Stiglitz persuasively argues, Europe's stagnation and bleak outlook are a direct result of the euro's flawed birth, and since then economic integration has outpaced political integration, making its problems worse. Stiglitz shows how the current structure actively promotes divergence rather than convergence. He lays bare the European Central Bank's misguided inflation-only mandate, and explains how Eurozone policies, especially towards the crisis countries, have further exposed the zone's flawed design.

The question then is: can the euro be saved? Stiglitz outlines three possible ways forward: fundamental reforms in the structure of the Eurozone and the policies imposed on the member countries; a well-managed end to the single currency 'euro' experiment; or a bold, new system dubbed the 'flexible euro'. Any of them would require far greater political will and cooperation than the leaders of the Eurozone have so far managed to find; but the alternative is disorderly breakup and an even worse political crisis than the continent has suffered so far."



ESTORIL LOCAL ANSWERS AWARD OF 2017

The ELAA awards a project, initiative, practice or solution that helps to raise awareness and solve global challenges at the local level.

After much consideration, **the Jury of the Estoril Local Answers Award has chosen a Re-food 4 Good Institution - with the project: The Re-food Movement / Cascais Center.**



Re-food is a Not-for-profit Social Solidarity Association whose objective is to contribute to the solution to the problem of food insufficiency of families.

The Re-food 4 Good is the third institution to win the Estoril Local Answers Award, in the value of ten thousand euros.

In 2013, MDV - Movement for the Defense of Life was the ELAA winner and in 2015, Aporvela won the award.

The Re-food 4 Good project: the Re-food Movement / Cascais Center will be presented during the gala dinner of the Estoril Conferences, on May 29.





Syria: a local challenge of global influence

The room was full to discuss the humanitarian context of one of the greatest conflicts of the XXI century. On April 20, in Auditorium 3 of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the Estoril Conferences organized a meeting to discuss what is already considered one of the greatest conflicts in the XXI century: the civil war in Syria.

However, the specific theme to be discussed would be the humanitarian context of said war since it is often forgotten in the public debate.

After a general presentation of the theme by the Chair of the Estoril Conferences, Teresa Violante, Felipe Pathé Duarte, a specialist on foreign affairs, offered the audience the political and historical context about the Syrian conflict.

Next, Montse Pubill and Maria Luz Méndez (Malu), both from Doctors Without Borders, spoke about the humanitarian side of the war, sharing their stories and thoughts about the conflict with two particularly touching moments:

To the question “would you accept to treat an ISIS fighter” Malu answered yes “because it does not matter in which side of the conflict they are: they are still a human being in need”. When asked about the secret to face the most difficult days, Montse answered that “each one has its own process but I think we both agree that only in a team could we face those most difficult days”.

Local Impact Lab

We will have a Local Impact Lab, wich is a collaborative workshop with the duration of eight hours (four hours each morning, during two days) where participants are invited to use their knowledge to create solutions for a specific challenge using innovation and creativity tools.

We want ideas to jump out of the paper and become real. We want these meetings to be thought-provoking, create empathy, unleash creativity and generate real impact.

Using a process based on the design thinking methodology, participants will be working in groups to develop solutions to problems in three distinct areas related to the migration topic: Employment, Environment and National Security.



**ESTORIL
CONFERENCES**
29 - 31 May 2017

GLOBAL CHALLENGES,
LOCAL ANSWERS

New speakers announcements:

On this edition of the Estoril Conferences, about one hundred specialists from the most diversified areas will be present at the Estoril Congress Center, between 29 and 31 of May.

Besides the already announced speakers, new announcements have been made, from which we underline

» **Fareeda Khalaf:** Activist and author of the book ‘The Girl Who Beat ISIS

» **Anja Lovén:** Danish Activist working in Nigeria to defent children accused of witchcraft

» **Bernard Kouchner:** Founder of Doctors without Borders and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize

» **Fadumo Dayib:** Finish activist and former candidate to the Somali presidency

» **Jody Williams:** Winner of the Nobel Peace Prize for her work against landmines

» **José Ramos-Horta:** Former president of East Timor and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize

» **Rajendra Pachauri:** Winner of the Nobel Peace Prize on behalf of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

» **Jorge Quiroga:** Former President of Bolivia

» **Joseph Stiglitz:** Winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics

» **Madeleine Albright:** First Female Secretary of State of the US

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