

• People move • Migration as a complex phenomenon • Migration in times of crises • Refugees • Human rights & equality • Trafficking of immigrants • Globalization • Economics of migrations • Competitiveness & innovation • Responsibility to protect • National security • In 2015, 244 million of people - 3.3 per cent of the world population - lived outside their country of origin (UNPF) • 65.3 million forcibly displaced people worldwide • 21.3 million refugees • 10 million stateless people • Only 6 per cent of [refugees] are in Europe • 51 per cent of the world's refugees are children

FROM THE SS ST. LOUIS TO THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS

» By Arie M. Kacowicz

» P. 9

TURKS AND KURDS IN SYRIA'S CHESS

» By Felipe Pathé Duarte

» P. 8

MEET

MARIA DA CONCEIÇÃO

» P. 16



SAVE THE DATE



A GLOBAL REVIEW

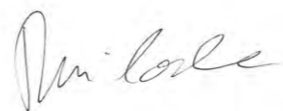
In this first issue of the Estoril Conferences Global Review we will be meeting Maria da Conceição, founder of the Maria Cristina Foundation - an NGO that helps the children and their families of the slums of Bangladesh to live a more respectable life, because as herself puts it "to be poor in Bangladesh has nothing to do with being poor in the Western World".

Arie M. Kacowicz establishes a parallel between an episode that happened in 1939 and the millions of people displaced by war; Felipe Pathé Duarte looks at the Syrian war as a Chess Board, where the players are the Turks and the Kurds; and Jean-Michel Veranneman starts his text with a question of logic: why have so many people failed to realize that the benefits of belonging to the largest free trade area in the world exceeded the disadvantages?

These are just some of the issues covered by this Estoril Conferences Global Review which will focus on some of the most urgent world challenges.

We believe that this will be a different source of genuine information and the perfect complement to the stage of the Estoril Conferences.

The Director,



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EDITORIAL

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

Cutting out the middleman

During his first press conference as President-elect of the United States of America, Donald Trump had an outburst (the first of many, I assume) where, when pushed by the CNN reporter Jim Acosta, he told him to be quiet and called the renowned news network 'fake news'.

Allegations have been made about how the north-American mainstream media treated the most recent presidential elections, seemingly more sympathetic to one of the candidates. This led many people to search for more independent information: Breitbart News was one such example (gaining relevance by going against the mainstream) and, curiously or not, the then Executive-Chair Steve Bannon, once called the most dangerous political operative in America, has been appointed Chief Strategist and Senior Counselor of the new President. Is the discredit of the mainstream media a long-term strategy of propaganda and manipulation?

In Sweden, a recent comprehensive study claims that Russia ran a two-year campaign of disinformation and spread of false news, mainly targeting the role of NATO in the Baltic region. Although it remains unclear how effective

such campaign was, it clearly signals a State-sponsored maneuver to influence geopolitics.

The way any news medium handles information and shares it with the world is for the public to judge and trust. If CNN, Breitbart News or any other sharer of information is on a campaign for any other values than those that underlie the freedom of the press there is only one loser: society at large.

The fact is that this discussion is now on the table. And while a suspicious sentiment surrounds those claiming to inform us with no strings attached, the Estoril Conferences decided to make a difference.

At the Estoril Conferences Global Review we will be cutting out the middleman. The following texts (of this and every edition to come) are produced freely by the authors and solely express their own views of the world. When reading our magazine, you will not access our opinions but will rather be in direct contact with intellectuals, activists, politicians, professors, journalists, doctors, economists, artists and students from every corner of the world and different political and ideological backgrounds.

Different opinions will coexist alongside our publication. We support pluralism and freedom of speech not only as assets but as fundamental features of our way of life, the same one that is perhaps facing its biggest threats since 1989.

This is edition number 0, the introduction of a quarterly magazine that will share the same spirit of the Estoril Conferences, tackling the challenges of globalization through dialogue: Global Challenges, Local Answers.

RESIDENTS

Where to Head Now | Miguel Pinto Luz » P. 5

A World of Glass Borders | Mónica Ferro » P. 6

Turks and Kurds in Syria's Chess | Felipe Pathé Duarte » P. 8

From the SS St. Louis to the Syrian Refugee Crisis

| Arie M. Kacowicz » P. 9



MEET

Maria da Conceição » P. 16



GOVERNANCE BUSINESS SOCIETY

The European Choice of Georgia | Revaz Beshidze » P. 11

'Brexit' Seen From the Continent | Jean-Michel Veranneman » P. 12

Migration movements are not "Black or White" | Ana Rita Gil » P. 15



BOOK REVIEW

Masters of Mankind | Noam Chomsky » P. 19

PROJECTS & NEWS

Estoril Conferences | » P. 20

RESIDENTS

WHERE TO HEAD NOW?

» By Miguel Pinto Luz

Vice-Mayor of the Municipality of Cascais

A town, a local answer and a global crisis

As we head towards and prepare for the 5th edition of the Estoril Conferences, in May 2017, we realize that these conferences no longer need an introduction. In Cascais, since 2009, more than two hundred speakers have shared their thoughts with us - including Nobel Prize winners, heads and former heads of state, politicians, diplomats, academics, journalists and opinion makers from all over the world. The numbers speak for themselves.

The natural course of action is to continue developing the Estoril Conferences as a meeting point for civilization and the only stage in the world where a politician, an academic, a journalist and a youngster can share the same stage and engage in a truly global dialogue about our global challenges.

the only stage in the world where a politician, an academic, a journalist and a youngster can share the same stage and engage in a truly global dialogue about our global challenges.

For that reason, this 5th Edition of the Estoril Conferences will host new projects and contents in order to continue its growth. We will be transforming the conferences into an actual experience. We will have the 'Local Impact Labs', where real problems will be addressed through the creation of our own local answers. We will display an art exhibition, introducing something that we have always lacked in our conferences: an artistic view of our society's problem.

And, also for the first time, the Estoril Conferences will be addressing one single topic - the greatest mass movement of humans since World War II and one of the greatest global challenges of the XXI century: Migration.

The refugee crisis the world, and particularly Europe, are facing today is not a crisis that will come to an end by solving the several conflicts of a particularly tense region. I believe this is a natural consequence of globalization and it is a crisis only because we have not foreseen it and were poorly prepared. Human beings will never stop looking for better life opportunities and conditions. We will never stop moving.

Only now is the world finally getting ready for what is to come, it seems. The rising of populism and isolationism is not a mere coincidence. It is a response, an easy response, to the problems we are all facing together,



whether we choose to believe it or not. An 'open door policy' is its exact opposite. Different views can and should coexist and, in order for us to stop talking about 'post-truth politics' and start discussing actual factual policies, we need to listen to every side.

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That is why we will be handing the stage to high profile personalities such as Nigel Farage, Edward Snowden, Lora Pappa, Baltasar Garzón, Sérgio Moro or Oliver Stone, during the next Edition of the Estoril Conferences.

Cascais is, in fact, the perfect place to hold such a discussion. We have a strong and proud history of cultural diversity and nearly 20% of our total population come from foreign countries.

20% of our total population come from foreign countries.

We are also currently implementing a plan for the inclusion of immigrants in our everyday lives that include the creation of new projects for the identified needs of our foreign citizens, allowing them easy access to other existing and improved projects, as well as advocacy, so that the legislative process can also keep in mind that we are becoming a truly globalized country.

For all these reasons and more, I invite you not only to come to Cascais and the Estoril Conferences, but also to engage in the reading of the contents herein that will be sharing different opinions, views and experiences so that, when the time comes, we can all make informed decisions.

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A WORLD OF GLASS BORDERS

» By Mónica Ferro

Professor Institute for Social and Political Sciences (ISCSP)

“Welcome to the most impossible job in the world.” These were the words with which Trygve Lie (the United Nations’ First Secretary-General) met his successor on 9 April 1953.

This same sentence may as well be printed on António Guterres’ welcome card. In January 2017 he began his first term as the world’s top official, the face of the world and the voice of ‘we, the people of the United Nations.’ Guterres knows, better than most, the grounds and consequences of scarce development, conflicts and wars, climate change and environmental degradation and the systematic violations of human rights.

Guterres knows, better than most, the grounds and consequences of scarce development, conflicts and wars, climate change and environmental degradation and the systematic violations of human rights.

The next Secretary-General has witnessed first-hand, from refugee camps, the struggle for dignity of millions of people fleeing their countries seeking a better life.

And it is about migrants and refugees that I want to talk about. Humanity is an entity on the move. It is estimated that about 33% of the world’s population lives and works outside its place of birth, making them migrants. The connection between migration and development is well established and the UN has been able to explore and explain this mutually beneficial link. As a paradox, the developed countries, the builders of international law and guardians of cosmopolitan duties, those who have profited most from this movement, are the ones who fail to recognize the benefits these people can bring. As a result, they often foster populist and xenophobic voices that conceal these gains by highlighting costs, and have their borders sealed.

Research unequivocally reveals that migration restores demographic balances, compensating for low fertility rates in host countries. This can be a mustering argument for an aging Europe that will suffer irreparable demographic damages in the coming decades, in case it is to rely solely on local effort. It also promotes development as migrants tend to display high levels of entrepreneurship, innovation, risk-taking and resilience.

“Migrants tend to display high levels of entrepreneurship, innovation, risk-taking and resilience.”

I have repeatedly said that migration is an enterprise that presupposes will and / or necessity, ingenuity and a special spirit. Those who seek to establish themselves in other countries (ideally by choice and not by force) are usually dynamic, high-skilled individuals that bring more ethnic and cultural diversity to societies, creating prosperity and more change-prone social and political environments. They help to uphold the welfare state - and are usually net-funders for the development strategies in their countries of origin. As a result migrants’ remittances have, in some countries, more bulk than the Official Development Aid.



“As a result migrants’ remittances have, in some countries, more bulk than the Official Development Aid.”

But these migrants flow in a world of glass borders. These borders, that our shared humanity should have torn apart, are now made of glass. You can see through but still they are dividing walls, they are barbed wire fences and xenophobic speeches. The illusion of an open world, in which people in motion was accepted as a creative force, clashes head-on with these glass borders that can only be shattered by the power of growth.

We need sustainable global development that leaves no one behind and recognizes that «global» is someone’s «local»; that makes the UN more than a just stage for the adoption of beautifully written declarations - such as the ‘New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants’ - and then truly implements and monitors them; that recognizes the role, power and contributions of population movements. This is the world that António Guterres may bring to the UN. However, we all acknowledge the fact that our borders are made of glass, we look at each other’s faces and we are faithful to Sophia: we see, hear and read. We cannot ignore.

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IT IS ESTIMATED THAT ABOUT 33% OF THE WORLD’S POPULATION LIVES AND WORKS OUTSIDE ITS PLACE OF BIRTH, MAKING THEM MIGRANTS.



TOYOTA

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FLOW

SEARCH TOYOTA C-HR



CAETANO AUTO
GRUPO SALVADOR CAETANO

f /caetanoauto

Combined Consumption (l/100 km): Min 3,8/ Max 6,0
CO₂ Emissions (g/km): Min 86/ Max 136

TOYOTA
HYBRID



TURKS AND KURDS IN SYRIA'S CHESS

» By Felipe Pathé Duarte

Assistant Professor Institute of Police Sciences and Internal Security

TURKS AND KURDS IN SYRIA'S CHESS BOARD

The Turks seem to have arrived in Syria to stay for as long as necessary, under the pretext of fighting *DAESH* and preventing the rise of a Kurdish nation on their border. Clearly, this action is not accepted by the Kurdish armed organization in Syria known as the People's Protection Units (YPG), nor by the Syrian Democratic Forces - opponents of the government in Damascus and backed by the USA led coalition.

Ankara considers the Syrian Democratic Forces to be a Syrian extension of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), a terrorist group fighting for the establishment of a Kurdish state. The PKK has, for some time, represented an internal threat to Turkey.

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Because of this, Erdogan does not recognize the Syrian Kurds' legitimacy in the fight against the *DAESH*. He also considers that their main objective is the creation of a State which will undermine Turkish national sovereignty.

The area of Turkey that could eventually fit into Kurdistan is abundant in raw materials. It is in the Kurdish territory of Anatolia that the main Turkish oil wells are located. The Kurdish area of Syria has almost all the petroleum resources of that region. In Iraqi Kurdistan they have half of the oil reserves of Iraq and in the Iranian Kurdish region - although in lower number - oil reserves are also quite significant. The Kurdish territory has other raw materials, such as phosphate, iron, coal and chromium. They are not benefiting from these resources as their industrial and extraction ability is rather minor.

Another important factor has to do with the source of both the rivers Tigris and Euphrates being in Kurdish territory. This hydrographic zone has dams of great dimension that contain the flow of these rivers. Control of the territory is therefore crucial for Turkey (which has more than 20% of its fertile soil in the Kurdish region), as well as Syria and Iraq since these two rivers are responsible for the irrigation of the fertile Mesopotamian valley. In addition, many of these dams provide Turkey with electricity.

The Turkish incursion into Syria bears similarities to some of the operations that Ankara has carried out in Iraq over the past few years. Their presence has been made permanent in parts of Saddam Hussein's former country. As for Syria, it is very likely that the Turks will stay until the Kurds back off from their ambition of creating a nation - making this a situation that will be very difficult to change. For this reason, the use of conventional forces in the region shows that the Turks declared war against the Kurdish militias. As such, operations against the *DAESH* have become secondary. The bottom line is that the Syrian civil war has become a war for Turks to limit Kurdish ambitions.

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Ankara declares that this intervention's purpose is to prevent the disintegration of the Syrian state. But, to justify their intention to preserve the integrity of Syria, Turkish forces intruded on Syrian territory and created a buffer zone that could eventually serve as a platform for their deployment. The Turks had to fragment Syria to guarantee the prospect of keeping it as one. But Damascus has already answered.

Since Operation "Euphrates Shield" began, in August 2016 (a cross-border operation by Turkey against *DAESH* and the Syrian Democratic Forces), there have been 17 deaths among Turkish military. In November Syria's Deputy Foreign Minister, Faisal Mekdad, advised Ankara to immediately withdraw its military forces from Syria. Mekdad also said that there had been an air strike on Al-Bab, in northern Syria, in which three Turkish soldiers lost their lives. This happened inside the sovereign territory of Damascus. Supposedly, the Al Bab area is a prime target for the rebels of the Free Syrian Army who are backed by the Turks. In turn, it has become one of the fading strongholds of *DAESH* jihadists since pressure from Syrian Kurdish forces began, with the help of Turkish incursions. But, the Syrian Kurds want to free Al-Bab before other groups backed by the Turks do. This led to a conflict between the two rebel groups at the end of last year.

The complexity of the Syrian civil war is such that both Turkey and Syria consider *DAESH* a secondary issue. For the Turks, the Kurds are the main threat; for Syrians, the Turkish and Sunni Arab states are. This difference in threat perception will make a conflict between Syria and Turkey highly likely. This creates the conditions for a significant change in the nature of the struggle. It all depends on how the Turks respond to Damascus reaction. The Syrian civil war runs the risk of escalating into a major regional conflict.

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THIS DIFFERENCE IN THREAT PERCEPTION WILL MAKE A CONFLICT BETWEEN SYRIA AND TURKEY HIGHLY LIKELY.

FROM THE *SS ST. LOUIS* TO THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND LOCAL ANSWERS

» By Arie M. Kacowicz

Professor Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Last November, I participated in an international conference at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, sponsored by the Harry S Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace and the *SS St. Louis* Legacy Project on refugees. Throughout those two days, we dealt with the question of Jewish refugees during the Holocaust, as compared to the Syrian refugees asking for asylum in neighbouring countries and in Europe.

The *SS St. Louis* was a German ocean liner that left Hamburg on May 13th, 1939, with 937 passengers who had received US visa numbers and were seeking to escape Nazi Germany. Planning to await the call of their visa number in Cuba, the vast majority of the passengers was denied entry into Cuba, as well as into the USA and Canada. Captain Gustav Schröder, the non-Jewish German captain, ensured dignified treatment for his passengers though he had to return his ship to Europe. Finally, after arduous negotiations, Holland, Belgium, France, and England agreed to accept the Jewish refugees, so the passengers did not return to Germany. About 250 of them eventually perished in the Holocaust, after the German occupation in World War II. During the conference, I managed to meet several of the survivors, including two lovely old ladies from Manchester, England, Sonja Stenberg and Gisela Feldman (aged 90 and 93) in one of the most moving scenes that I experienced in my life.

Since the outbreak of the Syrian civil war, six years ago (2011-), Syrian refugees had been building up in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan, not to mention the millions displaced inside the country itself. Of the estimated total of 13 million people displaced by the war (7 within the country and 6 million refugees), around 1 million have gone to Europe, reaching particularly Germany.

Of the estimated total of 13 million people displaced by the war around 1 million have gone to Europe, reaching particularly Germany.

The vast majority of Syrian refugees remain in dire conditions in their neighbouring countries, with an increasing number of European countries closing their borders, and even sending back refugees from Greece to Turkey.

What type of comparisons can we draw between these two cases? Which lessons can we learn? How is all this related to global challenges and local answers? Refugees represent a global challenge, then and now.

The international regime sponsored by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was a direct response to the Holocaust. The number of globally displaced people continues to rise in number (about 60 million people, including 15.1 million registered refugees). As I learned in the conference from Dr. Rebecca Kobrin, from Columbia University, the parallels between the *SS St. Louis* Jewish refugees and today's Syrian refugees are striking. There has always been a sense of urgency and acrimony, a nativist sentiment, a de-humanization and fear of the "other." In 1939, the "refugees" were the Jews who wanted to leave Nazi Germany, denied access in most countries of the world, considered dispensable. There was a fear that they were Nazi spies or Communist activists in disguise. In 2016, the "refugees"



are Syrian citizens, leaving behind the horrors of a virulent civil war, also denied access in most countries of the world (Merkel's Germany being the exception). They are also considered dispensable. This time the fear is that they are Islamic terrorists in disguise.

President Roosevelt's decision in June 1939, to deny the passengers of the *SS St. Louis* access to the USA, sealed their fate and sent a clear message to Nazi Germany that Jews could be spared. That was a terrible unintended consequence and a premonition of the "final solution" that was put in practice after 1942. Nowadays, the reluctance of European countries to accept the rules of the refugee regime that they signed is fatally eroding their solidarity and the liberal credo of the European Union.

The reluctance of European countries to accept the rules of the refugee regime that they signed is fatally eroding their solidarity and the liberal credo of the European Union.

The challenges are global but the responses remain local, as the brave, heroic and humane attitude of Captain Schröder teaches us, echoed in the equally brave attitude adopted by Chancellor Merkel vis-à-vis the Syrian refugees, paying a heavy political price.

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REFUGEES REPRESENT A GLOBAL CHALLENGE, THEN AND NOW.



GOVERNANCE



BUSINESS



SOCIETY

THE EUROPEAN CHOICE OF GEORGIA

» **By** Revaz Beshidze

Ambassador of Georgia to Portugal

European integration represents a historical choice of the Georgian nation. The thoughts and culture of the people of Georgia, one of the first Christian countries, have benefited from the traditions of many of its neighbours, but we have been a part of Europe, in the broadest sense, from prehistory until the present, not only geographically, but in terms of culture and civilization.

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During the course of history, Georgia has always been trying to return to its natural habitat - Europe and its European way wasn't particularly easy since the restoration of independence. Georgia has undergone a number of daunting challenges - armed confrontations and a fully-fledged war with the northern neighbour, fighting criminals, corruption and many hangers from the Soviet era. And today, despite the ongoing occupation of 20% of its territory, Georgia can boast its utmost commitment

despite the ongoing occupation of 20% of its territory, Georgia can boast its utmost commitment to [...] the reforms carried out

to the political, economic, or human rights reforms carried out, and those efforts of the Georgian Government and people deserve to be welcomed with open hands and open borders.

As a free, democratic and open country, Georgia has a strong role to play as a regional actor, contributing to the European order and development. Georgia has become a vital transit and energy corridor. Pipelines linking Caspian oil and gas fields to Turkey and Europe pass through Georgia, as well as new road and railroads. The further development of the Black Sea ports, including the new Anaklia Deep Sea Port, makes Georgia an important logistical hub linking Europe with Asia.

The entry into force of the Association Agreement (AA) in July, 2016 opened a qualitatively new page on Georgia's road towards European integration. The DCFTA is already showing substantial results, as Georgian exports to the EU rose by 15% since the Provisional Application of the AA from September 2014, while exports of some Georgian products doubled or even tripled. Georgia has also started exporting some products to the EU that it was not exporting before.

At the same time, Georgia is becoming an increasingly attractive destination for tourists from European countries, whose number increased by 7% between 2014 and 2015. The same trend was maintained in 2016. The first seven months of 2016 witnessed a further 8% increase in the flow of tourists from European countries.

The Visa Liberalisation served as an important tool, a catalyst for advancing reforms to successfully meet all the requirements of the **Visa Liberalisation Action Plan (VLAP)** and it brought about significant improvements in strengthening: rule of law, good governance, independent judiciary, human rights and fundamental freedoms, migration and border management systems, etc.



Granting Georgia a visa-free regime will be an important message of support. It is significant to neutralize the negative attitudes that were generated by the postponement of the Visa Liberalisation process.

The Visa Liberalisation will promote the European values in Georgia, because "mobility of people means mobility of values". Enhanced mobility through Visa Liberalization and various European educational, scientific and cultural programs will further improve people-to-people contacts between the citizens of the EU and Georgia and will serve as a proof of the EU's commitment to the further democratic reforms of Georgia.

The EU has conducted 'Visa Liberalisation Dialogues' with three Eastern Partnership countries, namely Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia. The EU has taken gradual steps towards the long-term goal of visa-free travelling on a case-by-case basis.

The European Commission proposed on March 9th 2016 to allow visa-free travelling to the Schengen area for Georgian citizens holding a biometric passport. This proposal builds upon the successful implementation by the Republic of Georgia of all the benchmarks set in its VLAP.

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AS A FREE, DEMOCRATIC AND OPEN COUNTRY, GEORGIA HAS A STRONG ROLE TO PLAY AS A REGIONAL ACTOR

'BREXIT'

SEEN FROM THE CONTINENT

Feelings like nostalgia, mistrust, xenophobia, frustration seem to have played a larger role than reason.

» By Jean-Michel Veranneman
Ambassador

Brexit, if confirmed, will weaken the UK as well as the EU. One wonders by what logic so many people failed to realize that the benefits of belonging to the largest free trade area in the world largely exceeded the disadvantages. Feelings like nostalgia, mistrust, xenophobia, frustration seem to have played a larger role than reason. Level of education and age also seem to have.

I think the British case is specific for the reasons following and that one should not transpose: "since (a majority of) the British voted Brexit, the EU is completely wrong and we need to reform it completely, if not end it."

Some doubt that Brexit will take place. Part of the opinion realized first that they were lied to (350 million £ to the NHS, imminent accession of Turkey) and also that keeping access to the single market whilst limiting migration will be very difficult to obtain. And that to negotiate an agreement with the EU, in which the UK has been integrated for 40 years will be technically, extremely difficult. In fact few realize the enormous amount of work to do, and all its aspects. Example: will the wings of an Airbus, made in Britain, pay customs duties to go to France and Germany? Japanese businesses expressed their concerns and Australia has refused to enter into trade negotiations with the UK until it leaves the EU. As for President Trump, he is famously no friend of trade deals.

And we know trade agreements are very slow to conclude and sometimes difficult to see ratified by all...

Not to mention the problems that will be faced at the England borders with the Republic of Ireland and Scotland if the latter manages to stay in the customs union, Gibraltar's delicate status etc.

The rest of the EU has no interest in ruining the UK, but has no interest either to make it too easy to leave so as not to encourage Europhobes in France, the Netherlands and in Eastern Europe.

It is too early to talk about a new referendum. The Westminster Parliament should and will have a say. Eurosceptics are far fewer proportionately there than in the general population. There is an astonishing contradiction in campaigning "to get back control" and then not involve Parliament. And to deny the Scots to get back control. What a pity Labour is in such disarray.

WHAT A PITY LABOUR IS IN SUCH DISARRAY.

One can also question the fact that the three million Britons living on the Continent were mostly prevented from voting, as were the millions of EU



citizens living in the UK while all are paying taxes and were clearly far more directly concerned by the decision than many who voted.

The chances of reaching a negotiated EU/UK settlement before March 2019 do not seem very great, firstly because the statements made by the May government were anything but conciliatory. And also because if a member of a club tells the 27 other members that he finds himself too good and too smart to continue to belong to this club while the others seem to be relatively happy in it, that member should rather expect to be called arrogant than to garner sympathy! Nor have the scornful jokes Farage and Johnson seem fond of making about the "Continental" earned the English much comprehension, as several experienced British diplomats have pointed out.

Some think the probability of Brexit eventually not happening stands between 10 and 25 %.

The immigration issue was decisive and tipped the balance. And if there had been no *DAESH* in Syria and Iraq, there would have been no BREXIT.

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Thus Europe pays at least in part for the stupid decision of Bush and Blair to invade and destabilize Iraq. That point (concern about immigration) is valid for the rest of the EU but cannot be blamed on its institutions. It is also ironic that it was the UK that pushed most for enlargement of the EU towards Eastern Europe and Turkey during the 90s to dilute the EU and then see the immigration from Poland, Romania and Bulgaria to its territory (that it should have anticipated) become the problem we now know.

Then there is the specific issue of English press ownership. The English seem to be nationalistic for everything except about who owns and clearly orients their press. The British public actually knows next to nothing about how the EU actually works.

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The arguments of the "Brexiters" are often childish, rarely enlightened or reasoned. Why? There probably lies the real problem and it deserves reflection on informing public opinion in other countries on the positive aspects of the EU: the Four Freedoms, Erasmus, the Euro, Schengen, cheaper roaming, regional aid etc. Boris Johnson and Nigel Farage were but opportunists who surfed the nationalist wave

Boris Johnson and Nigel Farage were but opportunists who surfed the nationalist wave

that tabloid press tycoons like Rupert Murdoch (Fox, The Sun, News of the World) have encouraged. By playing on the superiority feeling of many English, nostalgia of the imperial / colonial past and xenophobia they made a lot of money. And during thirty years they misinformed the English on the EU, presenting it only as an invasive, expensive and authoritarian bureaucracy, feeding the opinion pure or half lies of which examples abound: Brussels will ban two decked buses and bull dogs, etc ... Some even went as far as comparing it to Nazism! Never were the positive aspects mentioned in the tabloids, rarely in the quality press. The press tycoons may also have been wary of some French socialists who wanted to curb the concentration of newspaper titles from Brussels.

Successive British governments have also frequently blamed Brussels for unpopular measures in fact taken in London: "Blame it on Brussels". On the whole British public opinion has been manipulated for about forty years in a negative way on the EU via the tabloids, whose circulation is phenomenal, far greater than their equivalents on the continent.

As for all the benefits and exemptions obtained by Thatcher and her successors (rebate, opt outs, etc.) the Continentals are getting fed up with, they are always conveniently forgotten or regarded as self-evident.

Add to this the fact that general education (except for the elites) is not very good. English society is very stratified and the results for England and Wales of the EU wide "Pisa" education tests are not impressive. Most people in England speak only English which makes them closer to the Americans and the Commonwealth culturally. Many Continentals read English papers but the reverse is not true.

Practically nobody in England realizes that the Rome Treaty which instituted what was to become the EU was in fact the peace treaty between Germany and her western neighbours after WW2. There was never a formal peace

treaty but by pooling resources and sovereignty it made war impossible, especially between France and Germany who had been at each other throats for more than two centuries. That the EU was presented by some British politicians to its internal opinion as a mere free trade area to which it was essential for Britain to adhere when it was in the economic doldrums of the seventies is no fault of Brussels. In spite of de Gaulle's veto, Britain was welcomed in after he lost power.

Referenda are dangerous, falsely democratic and not necessarily the best way to make important political and economic decisions, especially if they are misinformed.

Referenda are dangerous, falsely democratic and not necessarily the best way to make important political and economic decisions, with technical aspects that not everyone can master, especially if they are misinformed.

They are the negation of parliamentary democracy and open the way to demagoguery or mendacious promises. Examples that they are double-edged swords abound: de Gaulle lost power in 1969 after losing one. All depends on the question asked, and many do not even answer but take revenge on a government they dislike by voting against what it favours.

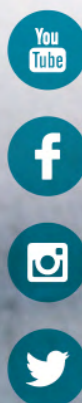
A *"sui generis"* solution, legally enshrining the situation "half in, half out" that already exists *de facto*, seems most likely. London is trying to have its cake and keep it, or rather to have the single market "butter" without the immigration "cholesterol". And also police cooperation without jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice, a "foreign court". Not to mention leaving the European Court of Human Rights which, unbeknown to most in Britain, is not an EU institution.

Some on the mainland think the Brexit has a good side to it: the EU will finally be able to progress in fields where the UK was always stalling. At least some progress in a Common Foreign and Defense Policy could be achieved. Practically nobody in Europe wants to scrap NATO. France recently rejoined it. Or even weaken it, though Trump might. But the disastrous intervention in Iraq in 2003, to which most Europeans and Britons were opposed, showed Washington is not always right.

One could see a situation develop (although any comparison has its limits and the EU will never be the "United States of Europe") where the UK (possibly minus Scotland) not having wanted to be California or Texas would become a kind of Canada at the edge of Europe. But it will be up to the Europeans not to squander the opportunity to unify more deeply and firmly, as they should have done before expanding to the Eastern European countries. Brexit is a serious setback for Europe, but perhaps an opportunity. It may well be a disaster for the United Kingdom, which risks becoming disunited.

jcveranneman@gmail.com

WILL THE WINGS OF AN AIRBUS, MADE IN BRITAIN PAY CUSTOMS DUTIES TO GO TO FRANCE AND GERMANY?



BE PART OF OUR YOUNG AMBASSADORS TEAM!

YOU WILL HAVE THE CHANCE TO PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN OUR CONFERENCES BY RAISING THE AWARENESS TO THE MOST PRESSING QUESTIONS OF THE GLOBALIZATION!

AS YOUNG AMBASSADOR YOU WILL HAVE A PRIVILEGED ACCESS TO OUR BACKSTAGE AND MEET OUR RENOWNED SPEAKERS!

MIGRATION MOVEMENTS ARE NOT

“BLACK OR WHITE”

» **By Ana Rita Gil**
Researcher in Human Rights Law School of Nova University Lisbon

Since the World War II, migration has been developed and studied as encompassing two different situations: on one hand, forced migration, which would include the treatment of Refugees, and, on the other hand, voluntary migration, which would include all migrants who freely decide to abandon their countries of origin. However, Human History, and namely the so-called current “migratory crisis”, have proved how legal concepts cannot imprison the complex reality of Human movements.

Legal concepts cannot imprison the complex reality of Human movements.

Each year I confront my students with this example: imagine someone migrating because he or she does not have access to food. Inevitably, they answer that this person should be considered as forced migrant. And each year I have to convince - both them and me - that this person is, legally speaking, a voluntary migrant. I try to argue that their decision was freely taken, and I always sound artificial. That is because the reasons that lead to immigration do not always correspond to the dialectical legal categories. That is to say, migratory movements are not always black or white.

However, this artificial distinction has been dictating for decades who has the right to enter into the territories. It is up to the State authorities to distinguish between the forced and the voluntary (or, as more currently called, “economic”) migrants. The first ones shall enter and be protected. As for the latter, they are seen - and treated - as those who, not having the right to enter, try to immigrate illegitimately. They are the “opportunists”. Isn't it worrisome to think that, at the end of the day, both of them can be searching for the same goal: to survive?

ISN'T IT WORRISOME TO THINK THAT, AT THE END OF THE DAY, BOTH OF THEM CAN BE SEARCHING FOR THE SAME GOAL: TO SURVIVE?

Many scholars have been elaborating on how to overcome this traditional distinction. Any path we choose must be realistic, and take into account that States are not willing to abandon their sovereign powers. Thus, we cannot argue that all migrants can claim a human right to enter in the territories they choose.



we cannot argue that all migrants can claim a human right to enter in the territories they choose.

I consider that a human right to migration shall be agreed to those - to those only, but to all of those - who have left their countries of origin for the purposes of enforcing a fundamental human right. Such right can be the right to life (which can be threatened both by war and by food insecurity) or to not be subjected to torture or inhuman treatments (which can happen by arbitrary imprisonment or by insufficient health conditions), the right to freedom of thought or religion or even the right to family life. On the contrary, if the right at stake is simply the aim to find a better job, then the protection claim will be weaker, and the States may consider it under their mere immigration policies and strategies. In this way, migration movements would cease to be divided into two types and would receive gradually more protection according to the level of human rights at stake.

In this way, migration movements would cease to be divided into two types and would receive gradually more protection according to the level of human rights at stake.

This solution is not perfect: for example, the selection of which rights can be deemed as “fundamental” is far from being obvious. In some cases, we can only decide on a case by case approach. However, such construction has the merits to show us that the right to migrate due to war can be as urgent as the right to migrate due to hunger. In sum, migration movements are not “black” or “white”, they may take many colors, shapes and patterns. And the International community must be ready to accept them as a normal piece of the Human society and be ready to govern them accordingly.

MEET

MARIA DA CONCEIÇÃO



In May 2013, Maria da Conceição became the first Portuguese woman to climb the Mount Everest. At the time, she was unknown to the world of mountain climbing. She did it for her kids, the more than six hundred that live in the slums of Bangladesh. From very modest origins, Maria has led a life of great humanitarian and sports achievements, conquering several awards and broken a number of world records.

But none of this was planned; she considers herself to be just another girl that tries to help the others. It is now time raise awareness and support for the Maria Cristina Foundation.

YOU ARE THE FOUNDER OF MARIA CRISTINA FOUNDATION – A NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION THAT FOCUSES ON OFFERING EDUCATION TO THE POOR CHILDREN OF DHAKA, BANGLADESH. TELL US A BIT OF YOUR WORK AND THAT OF THE FOUNDATION.

MdC: Initially, it wasn't something planned at all. When I met the people of the Gawair slum community I just wanted to help them. I never imagined that it would turn into something so big or that it would change my life so much. On one of my Bangladesh stopovers with Emirates airlines, I visited a hospital in such poor conditions that I couldn't eat for the rest of the day after what I had seen. I cancelled my holidays planned for the following month and collected donations to go back and help however I could. When I returned, the hospital would not accept my help, but since I had 100kg of donated items, I started to visit orphanages. The hotel concierge then took me to a small slum community called Gawair. From then on, I went back whenever I could, and collected donations in Dubai in between stopovers. The more time I spent there, the more potential I could see in the people, especially the children, if only they had the opportunity. Various projects developed, as I got more and more support from Dubai and Emirates Airlines. Eventually, we had opened a school, clinics, dentist, shops and small businesses for the community.

Eventually, we had opened a school, clinics, dentist, shops and small businesses for the community.

HOW MANY CHILDREN AND FAMILIES HAS THE FOUNDATION HELPED DURING THESE 11 YEARS ?

We had up to 600 children in our programs, and the cycle of development kept reaching farther every year. Now, we sponsor the education of hundreds of children and their families.



COULD YOU EXPLAIN WHAT IT MEANS TO BE 'POOR' IN BANGLADESH ? WHAT WOULD THESE CHILDREN BE DOING TODAY IF THE MARIA CRISTINA FOUNDATION DID NOT EXIST

Being poor in Bangladesh has nothing to do with being poor in the Western World.

Being poor there means having nothing but a tin roof over your head, if that. Houses are unfit for people to live with, with makeshift latrines and kitchens and very, very poor living conditions all around. There is no access to education or healthcare in this reality. Children have it even worse. **The boys usually start working when they're 6 or 7**, usually as rickshaw drivers, while **the girls are forced into marriage** with much older men as soon as they get their menses, **sometimes as young as 11 or 12**. Then, they also need to find jobs, usually in garment factories. It's a very bleak life.

EVERY CHILD THE FOUNDATION HAS HELPED IS A SUCCESS STORY BUT MIGHT THERE BE ONE STORY THAT STANDS OUT ?

Many of them stand out, now more than ever, since our children are growing up to becoming loving and responsible adults. Some of our students have received scholarships from Universities in the UK, US and Canada. Others are starting their own businesses, like Musharaf, who started his own transcript firm in Gawair and now even hired his first employee. One of the parents, Mr. Alal, got a job at Emirates Airlines through the help of Maria Cristina Foundation, and then went on to start another school in a separate community.



YOU WERE THE FIRST AND ONLY FEMALE PORTUGUESE TO CLIMB THE MOUNT EVEREST. YOU HOLD SIX GUINNESS WORLD RECORDS. YOU TRULY ARE AN ACHIEVER. WHAT CAN WE EXPECT FROM YOU IN THE FUTURE ?

I have other challenges planned, as I need to keep doing them to help our children. At the moment, there are many possibilities, and I keep receiving a lot of suggestions to climb more mountains, do more extreme running challenges, etc.

For the next challenge, I need to be very careful, as it must be something that has the potential to bring a lot of funds for the foundation. These challenges can take many months to prepare for, and come with costs which ideally will be sponsored by a corporate or individual. So the outcome (how much funds we raise) has to be worthwhile.

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

We should be doing a lot more to help. This situation is only the beginning, and there is no point in closing down borders and denying access to people who don't have any way to go back home. There should be a global response that involves the public and private spheres, we should be all putting our heads together to deal with this challenge, cresting unity instead of this constant separation.

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 ?

I always try to keep hope as my main inspiration. I believe the world changes and people have the ability to change with it, so if enough people change their minds about the way to deal with the lack of values and humanity that we currently facing, maybe there is still a way to get back on course.

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 ?

As usually, I always have my children in mind, more than anything else. **Bangladesh may be the first country in the wave of massive climate migration coming our way.**

Like with Bangladesh, people everywhere just want a better life, and these movements prove that they will do anything to reach that goal.

The divide is definitely huge, but if we could open our hearts and minds to the simple idea of sharing, things could be very, very different.

The **Maria Cristina Foundation (MCF)** is a non-profit organisation that is based in Dubai. Founded by Maria da Conceição in 2005, the foundation has been effectively breaking the chains of inter-generation cycles of poverty through education in Dhaka, Bangladesh.

enquiries@mariacristinafoundation.org



» MARIA DA CONCEIÇÃO
30 May 2017
ESTORIL CONFERENCES
'WHY DO PEOPLE MOVE?'

BOOK REVIEW

MASTERS OF MANKIND

» NOAM CHOMSKY

Reviewed » By João Tiago Teixeira
Copywriter Estoril Conferences

Noam Chomsky speaks in a calm, quiet and thoughtful manner. Without the need for theatrical movements of the body or a more intense pronunciation of a specific expression, Noam Chomsky has always been capable of inspiring millions across the world. Respected in Academia as a linguistics professor who revolutionized the field, outside of it he is most respected as an activist and political philosopher whom some call an "intellectual superstar". He was considered, in 2005, the most influential public intellectual.

Masters of Mankind is a collection of essays, many in book form for the first time, written between 1969 and 2013, that aims to show and explain the readers who these *masters* are, underlining the idea that, although we are talking about States, humans run them and that fact is dangerous to ever forget. How, then, do these *masters* establish their own rule?

Noam Chomsky examines the nature of state power, from the ideologies driving the Cold War to the War on Terror, and reintroduces the moral and legal questions that all too often go unheeded. With unrelenting logic, he holds the arguments of empire up to critical examination and shatters the myths of those who protect the power and privilege of the few against the interests and needs of the many.

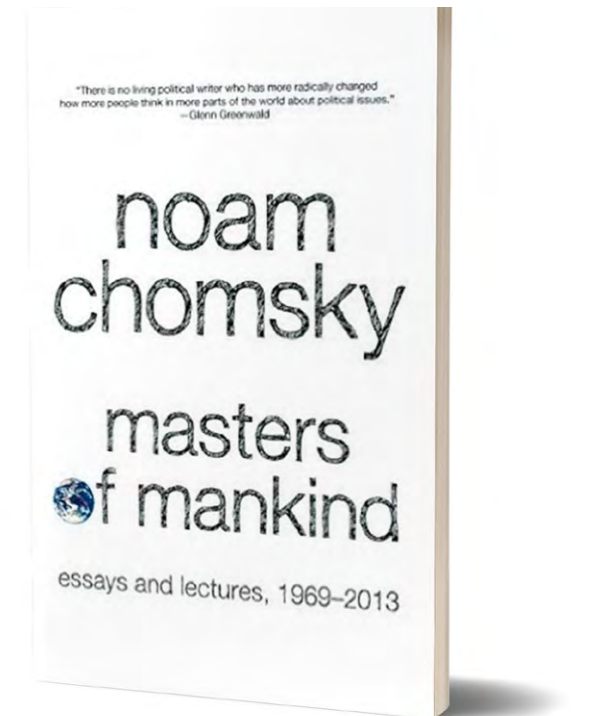


The book begins with an article that brings us back to Vietnam and the need of warfare by the welfare state and ends with a lecture given at the University of Dublin, viewed as Chomsky's response to the global economic crisis of the time (2013).

This first essay, entitled "Knowledge and Power: Intellectuals and the Welfare-Warfare State", starts with the words of Randolph Bourne: "War is the health of the State".

Chomsky begins his analysis of the "warfare-welfare" state, concluding that this is how the modern world is being shaped.

To win a war is also to reap ideological, political and economic benefits in the long run that will help the masters maintain their rule.



The chapter «Consent without consent: Reflections on the Theory and Practice of Democracy» (chapter 4 - 1996) was a personal favourite, where Noam Chomsky reflects upon the difference between business rhetoric and economic reality, referring corporate propaganda and lobbying efforts including those framing important issues (environment or tobacco comes to mind) in order to misinform the population and control it from an early age, despite the difference between the ideological speech that infers protection and caring and the final human act.

Covering subjects like 'Human Intelligence and the Environment', 'Terror, Justice and Self-Defense' and 'The Welfare-Warfare state', this is an indispensable compilation of insights into the state of our modern world and Noam Chomsky's way of thinking.

In the words of Randolph Bourne: "War is the health of the State" [...] - to win a war is also to reap ideological, political and economic benefits in the long run. This is how the modern world is being shaped, concluded Chomsky in 1969.

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PROJECTS

ESTORIL LOCAL ANSWERS AWARD

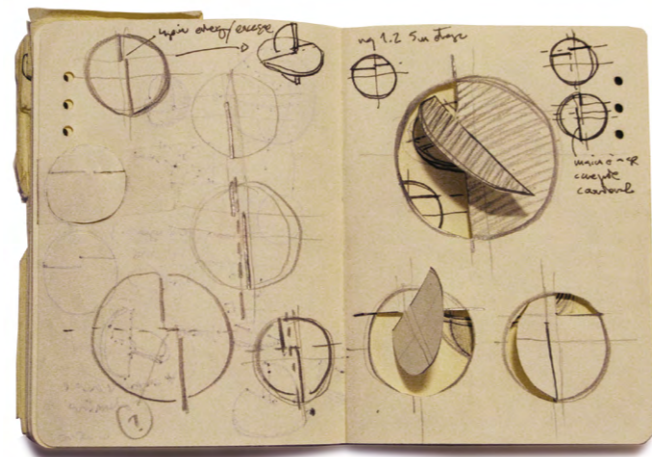
Created by the Organization of the Estoril Conferences in 2013, the Estoril Local Answers Award (ELAA) is an award of **10.000€** granted to a project, initiative or practice that helps to raise awareness and solve global challenges at a local level, with proven results.

The opportunity is there for Youth, Institutions, Entrepreneurs and Communities at large to show that they have the power to make significant changes! In 2017, we received a record number of 31 applications.

IF YOU BELIEVE THAT THE WORLD CHANGES THROUGH ACTION, THIS IS AN OPPORTUNITY NOT TO BE MISSED!

The winner will receive a prize of 10.000€ and will be invited to attend and present the winning project during the 5th edition of the Estoril Conferences, in May 2017.






In the previous ELAA editions the winners were the MDV – Movement for the Defense of Life (2013) and Mar de Oportunidades of Aporvela (2015).

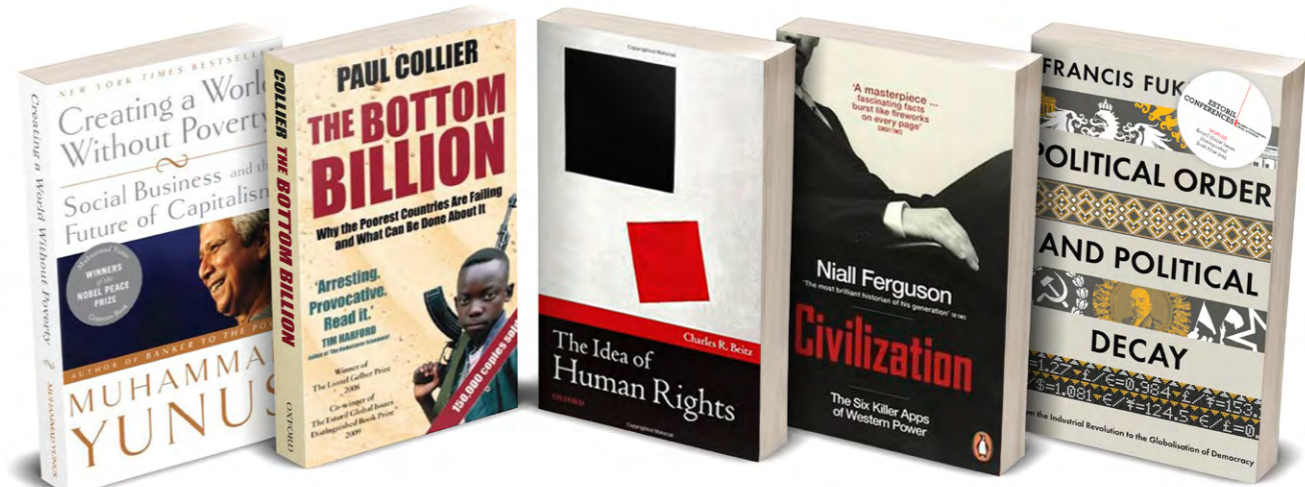


ESTORIL GLOBAL ISSUES DISTINGUISHED BOOK PRIZE

Every two years the Estoril Conferences distinguish a major piece of written work that has contributed with new analysis and original thought regarding the issues inherent to globalization, helping the world to better understand its global relevant risks and collective action problems. The winner will become part of the respected group of people that have already been distinguished by our organization and will be present at the next edition of the Estoril Conferences.

In 2017, Leya will be the main sponsor of the Estoril Global Issues Distinguished Book Prize.

2009	2009	2011	2013	2015
				
» Creating a World without Poverty by Muhammad Yunus (ex-aequo)	» The Bottom Billion by Paul Collier (ex-aequo)	» The Idea of Human Rights by Charles Beitz	» Civilization - The West and the Rest by Niall Ferguson	» Political Order and Political Decay: From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy by Francis Fukuyama



For the **Estoril Conferences Distinguished Book Prize of 2017**, we received a record number of 26 applications that included authors such as Yanis Varoufakis, Nick Clegg, Joseph Stiglitz, Ruchir Sharma or Slavoj Zizek.



GLOBAL BOOMERANG

Date: 26th- 28th May
Deadline: 28th April 2017
Target: 18 to 23 years old

EC JUNIOR

Date: 1st June 2017
Deadline: 28th April 2017
Target: Elementary Education

YOUTH SUMMIT

Date: 29th May 2017
Deadline: 20th May 2017
Target: 16 to 35 years old

YOUTH AMBASSADOR

Deadline: 15th March 2017
Target: 17 to 25 years old

ENGAGE IN OUR YOUTH PROJECTS!

juventude@conferenciasdoestoril.org



The first **ten speakers** for the next edition of the **Estoril Conferences** have been announced.

Edward Snowden, Nigel Farage or **Sérgio Moro** are some of the names confirmed for the 'Global Migration: Leaving Home in a Globalized World' discussion to happen between **29 - 31 May 2017**.

- » Carlos Alexandre
- » Edward Snowden
- » Lora Pappa
- » Oliver Stone
- » Baltasar Gárzon



- » António Di Pietro
- » Sérgio Moro
- » Maria da Conceição
- » Sofana Dahlan
- » Nigel Farage

We are going on a **Youth Roadshow**

We want to include everyone in the Estoril Conferences and on the Global Dialogues regarding Migration and Globalization. We believe the Youth will become the leaders of tomorrow and they will be the ones we will be inviting in editions to come.

We will also be providing an application form for the youngsters to apply to our several youth projects, including our Young Ambassadors team, the Global Boomerang or the Youth Summit. Visit our website to know more!

The first stop on our Youth Roadshow will be on February 14th at the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences from Nova University and on February 15th at the Faculty of Economics from the University of Coimbra. Keep following our social networks to know when and where you can contact us!

[See you there!](#)



ESTORIL CONFERENCES GLOBAL CHALLENGES, LOCAL ANSWERS
May 29th - May 31st 2017

Speakers Confirmed:

- » **António Di Pietro:** Politician and Italian Prosecutor in the 'Mani Pulite' case.
- » **Baltasar Gárzon:** Jurist known for his intense activity in human rights matters. He is the current leader of the legal defense team of Julian Assange.
- » **Carlos Alexandre:** Judge
- » **Edward Snowden:** Former C.I.A. and N.S.A. agent, internationally renowned for his leaks about massive-surveillance systems in the U.S.A. and Europe.
- » **Lora Pappa:** Activist and founder of METAdrasi NGO. Winner of the North-South prize by the Council of Europe in 2015.
- » **Nigel Farage:** British politician and former leader of the UKIP party, he is extremely critic of the current European policies in the field of migration. He was an active defender of the 'Brexit' and one of its main voices.
- » **Oliver Stone:** World renowned film director and producer. He is the author of several films regarding political themes such as *Platoon*, *JFK*, *Born on the 4th of July* e *Snowden*.
- » **Sérgio Moro:** Federal judge, writer and university professor.
- » **Sofana Dahlan:** Lawyer and activist; named Young Global Leader by the *World Economic Forum*.
- » **Maria da Conceição:** Maria da Conceição Founder of 'Maria Cristina Foundation' - Runner / Hiker (Marathon; Ultra-marathon; Triathlon); Philanthropy (Dhaka, Bangladesh).



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THE REFUGEE CRISIS

Geopolitics expert and reporter Nuno Rogeiro explain the causes and consequences of the humanitarian catastrophe happening in Europe, as well as its impact for the Portuguese people.

Drawing on classified documents, first-hand accounts of events and meetings in Algarve, Sinai, Malaga and Syria, *Menos Que Humanos* captures the drama the way it is currently happening.

WORKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR:

A CORDA DO ENFORCADO: an alternative account of the international financial crisis (2007-2013).

NA RUA ÁRABE: the Arab Spring in Egypt, Libya and Syria.



ESTORIL CONFERENCES

May 29th - May 31st 2017

GLOBAL CHALLENGES,
LOCAL ANSWERS

For information about how to participate in the **5th edition of the Estoril Conferences** contact:

 info@conferenciasdoestoril.org and visit www.estorilconferences.org



#Globalization #EstorilConferences #Migration #GlobalMigration #BlendedWorld
#ECSpeakers #globalchallengeslocalanswers #believeinstudentsideas

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