



EGA
ISCTE-IUL
2016

EUROPE AS A GLOBAL ACTOR
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE | MAY 23 + 24 | 2016

about

The EU's role in the last decades – and especially in the last few years – has evolved from mere economic cooperation between its Member States to an overtly outward projection of shared values and ideas. In the context of new changes in the global security environment and of the subsequent development of new tools and approaches in the EU's external action, including the first steps towards a new European Security Strategy, the Centro de Estudos Internacionais at Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE-IUL) is organizing an international conference, to be held in Lisbon, on May 23rd and 24th 2016. This interdisciplinary conference aims to understand the trajectories and potential of the EU as a global actor in areas related, but not limited, to security and defense.

programme

23 May

9h00	Registration	Floor 1, Building II
9h30	Opening Remarks Luís Nuno Rodrigues (CEI-IUL)	Aud. B1.04, Building II
10h00 . 12h00	Opening Roundtable: Europe as a Global Actor <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Carlos Gaspar (IPRI-NOVA)• Tobias Schumacher (College of Europe)• Raquel Freire (Universidade de Coimbra) Moderator: Ana Mónica Fonseca (CEI-IUL)	Aud. B1.04, Building II
12h00 . 14h00	Lunch	

The Refugee Crisis and the EU's Response to Asylum Seekers**Dafine Abazi** . University of Pristina

The year that passed away marked the migratory crisis in EU like no crisis before it, with more than 1 million asylum-seeker embarking on perilous journeys to reach the EU borders. Due to the geopolitical situation in several of the EU's neighbouring countries, there has been an ongoing asylum seekers since 2008 but in 2015 was reached a record number of asylum seekers risking their lives on perilous journeys to Europe which often do not stop at the EU's external border but continues into the EU. Due to mixed flows of asylum-seekers and irregular immigrants, it is often difficult for national authorities to establish at the arrival or interception of immigrants at sea whether they are irregular immigrants or rather persons entitled to seek international protection. As a result, the EU faces an unprecedented migratory crisis and are struggling to find durable solutions. This paper aims to examine the refugee crisis and the EU's response to asylum seekers and to reach the purpose of this paper will be a combination of empirical and analytical approaches.

Securitizing the Refugee Crisis: implications for Human Rights Protection**Daniela Nascimento** . Centre for Social Studies, University of Coimbra

The refugee crisis affecting European countries and also neighbouring ones in the past few years, in articulation with the threats and terrorist attacks led by ISIL, have contributed to a securitization moove which is directly affecting both fundamental rights and freedoms of European citizens and the protection and safeguard of refugee rights established in international law, particularly the Geneva Convention. Starting from the analysis of the deeper roots of this refugee crisis and by adopting a securitization theory framework, this paper aims at analysing the broader impacts of approaching the current refugee wave as a threat to European countries' internal security namely the erosion of human rights concerns and guarantees in relation to refugees, a category which has for long been protected by international human rights law.

The Normative power Europe and the European refugee crisis**Soraia Ribeiro** . ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

My dissertation is entitled "Promised land: The Normative power Europe and the European refugee crisis". The dissertation approaches the legitimacy of normative power Europe of Ian Manners regarding the refugee's influx from the year 2015. The thesis studies the challenges of EU asylum and migration policies and suggests that there is a problem of legitimacy regarding the application of EU foreign policies and norms concerning the influx of refugees from the past year. Particularly, it seeks to answer the following questions: How has the migration crisis in Europe contributed to the normative power projection from the EU?, Do the foreign policies actions taken by European leaders match the rhetoric employed in the declarations and official documents of the EU?." The recent emergence of illegal immigrants in European countries have brought challenges to the European Union (EU) when confronted with its international norms and conventions and it's important to study the challenges of EU asylum and migration policies and how they can be dealt with.

Panel 2**Moderator:** Marcos Farias Ferreira (CEI-IUL)**The Security Logic of the European Neighbourhood Policy: The Eastern Dimension****Sofia Martins Gerales** . University of Coimbra

This presentation analyses the evolution of the ENP as a framework that intends to support and foster stability and security in the countries closest to the EU borders, focusing in its eastern dimension. The ENP is an initiative that was launched in 2004 to avoid new dividing lines between an enlarged EU and its new neighbours, and to contribute to the accomplishment of the European Security Strategy (2003) objectives in building security in the neighbourhood. However, the recent events in Ukraine and the remaining frozen conflicts have been contributing to a more unstable and unsecure neighbourhood, with direct and indirect challenges for the stability of the European space. The central argument is that whilst the discourse underlying the reviews of the ENP have been prioritising the stabilisation of the region, this policy has not yielded the stability and security sought after by the EU. The conclusion suggests that the role of a regional actor such as Russia has not been taken into account, and the EU must find a balance between its security interests and the contestation of Russia in the shared neighbourhood.

The ENP Goes Back to the Game of Old Geopolitics**Tiago Branco Coelho** . Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros

The ENP was conceived as the EU's alternative to traditional geopolitics, following the successful 2004 enlargement, and borrowed its core tenets from it. The EU was supposed to promote structural reforms in its partner countries, helping them to become democracies and market economies. However, more than a decade later, the initial idyllic dream seems to be shattered. During the last years, the relative stability of the periphery gave way to social and political turmoil in the south and the resurgence of Russia in the east. After years of pursuing a policy with little practical results, Brussels started asking: what went wrong? Are the ENP-reviewed guidelines bound to be more successful? What has changed? While the answer to these questions will only become clearer with time, I believe the new ENP is better suited to address these challenges due to its shift from an idealistic approach towards a more realistic and tailor-made one, built upon the interests, conditions and willingness to cooperate with each "partner. This communication will look at the new ENP as a return to old geopolitics, in which the need for stability becomes the key element of its architecture.

Conflict, Mobility and Migration Challenges at the Core of the Reviewed European Neighbourhood Policy: Tackling New Realities Through Old Means?**Vasco Baptista**

Conceived to foster peace, stability and prosperity at the EU's vicinity, the ENP was reviewed for the last time at a moment in which the EU finds itself surrounded by a ring of crises and conflicts both at its eastern and southern neighbourhoods. On one hand, conflict realities in the EU's southern neighbourhood have, since the Arab Spring, undergone a substantial change that has not been witnessed since colonialism. On the other hand, the current conflicts in the Eastern neighbourhood, in particular with the recent escalation of the conflict in Nagorno Karabkh, and the fragile democracy of Moldova, for example, show the deep challenges that the EU faces also in its Eastern border. Among these challenges, the review of the ENP was certainly undertaken in the context of what is widely perceived as a European migration crisis whose effects are still today at the core of the relations of the EU with its neighbours. The dramatic increase of refugees fleeing armed conflicts in the immediate neighbourhood of the EU put migration concerns at the core of the ENP. Migration issues, in particular "safe and legal mobility" and "tackling irregular migration, human trafficking and smuggling" are among the priorities of the new ENP.

Security for whom? Analysing SSR from a Southern Neighbourhood Perspective**Federica Pesce** . College of Europe Alumnus

In the aftermath of the Arab Spring, Security Sector Reforms (SSR) were considered to be one of the best tools to support Arab transitions. Today, this policy priority has been reiterated in light of the clear link between major terrorist attacks in Europe and the instability in its Southern neighbourhood. The European Neighbourhood Policy reviews of 2011 and 2015 both underline the necessity of SSR measures in order to ensure the “democratic control over armed and security forces”. Yet, no major steps in this direction have been undertaken so far and the security sector has remained a matter of bilateral rather than European cooperation. Hence, the question arises as to what extent are EU-promoted SSR initiatives possible in the Southern neighbourhood. Tacking the viewpoint of Maghreb countries, this paper argues that 1) SSR highly depends on the partner country's willingness to engage with the EU; 2) willingness may not be enough as a state's scarce capabilities could obstacle implementation on the ground; and 3) the EU should strike the balance between promoting security at its doorstep and supporting autocratic regimes. The paper concludes that endorsing SSR in the region could reinforce the connection between CFSP and ENP, therefore contributing to a holistic approach in EU external action.

The Geopolitical Impacts of the Political Transformations/Transition in the Mena Region on the Regional and Global Balance of Powers and it's Implications on the EU-Arab Relations**Hamid Belhamra** . College of Europe

“The Arab Spring” has changed deeply the political structure of several countries of the Arab world such as Libya, Yemen and Syria, with a turmoil from a peaceful popular uprising to a bloody civil wars and a huge humanitarian crisis in a global scale. However, the terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels and the huge migration crisis has shown that the impacts of current situation in the MENA region, go far beyond the domestic politics of these countries, and are affecting the power balances of the region and international security mainly in the European Union countries. This paper will assess the European responses to the Arab uprisings and, in particular, mainly after the current mass migration movement from Libya, Irak and Syria to the southern European countries of the Mediterranean due to the civil war in these country and the introduced strategy in the EU policy towards its Southern Neighborhood. In specific terms, to what extent do security and strategic considerations still constitute the basis in the EU's “fundamental revision” of its policy in the Southern Neighborhood in a first step, and to what extent is the need to safeguard security and strategic interests undermining an authentic EU role in building deep democracy in the region, as a second step.

The EU and the Arab Spring: Comparing the EU's role in Algeria and Egypt**Rodrigo Gomes Quintas da Silva** . ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

The phenomenon known as the Arab Spring, initiated in 2011 in Tunisia, had strong economic, political and social consequences for North Africa and Middle East. However, political outcomes were distinct in every country, and some of those processes are not yet finished. While in Egypt and Libya the regimes changed and altered the political environment, others like Morocco and Algeria kept the same regime. However, the internal dynamics of the Arab Spring have already been studied by the academia; the next step is to understand the external factors of these political processes. The European Union, as a close neighbor of the region, is also feeling the consequences of the revolutions. This article seeks to examine the EU's influence in the political processes of Algeria and Egypt during the Arab Spring, two countries in which the revolutions have had different political results. The final goal of this article is to understand if, among all external factors, the EU's role was a key factor in Egypt's regime change after the fall of President Hosni Mubarak, and in maintaining Abdelaziz Bouteflika as President of Algeria.

15h45 . 16h15

Break

16h15 . 17h45

The European Union, Latin American and the South Atlantic

Room C1.03, Building II

Panel 4

Moderator: Luis Fretes Carreras (CEI-IUL)

Conditionality in EU trade policy: the impact of Peru and Colombia Trade Agreement

André Matos . Universidade Portucalense Infante D. Henrique & Instituto Jurídico Portucalense

Daniel Gomes . Universidade Portucalense Infante D. Henrique & Instituto Jurídico Portucalense

The European Union constitutes a sui generis international organisation and presents itself as a normative actor. One of the principles the EU has been more keen on exporting is Human Rights not only among candidates and neighbours, but also among third States through bilateral agreements. The EU uses, therefore, a mechanism of political conditionality, in which the rightful implementation of the criteria written in the legal documents means an increased support in an identified domain. Human Rights, Labour, and Environmental provisions are usually included in those agreements and there is actual pressure on the countries to comply with the demands of the EU at this level as well. Yet, the imperativeness behind these provisions is lower than the enforcement implied in the requirements present in the System of Generalized Preferences (SGP). Paradoxically, SGP promotes less integration and cooperation than bilateral agreements. The present study will use a comparative method to evaluate the evolution of two countries based on their performance in these fields. The countries chosen were Peru and Colombia for having signed a bilateral agreement with the EU in 2012 under which they moved from an SGP framework towards a bilateral cooperation system. It is our objective to find out the impact these provisions had on the countries' performances in certain fields.

The European Union and its Strategic Partnership with Latin America and the Caribbean

Ioana Antoaneta Dodi . National University of Political Studies and Public Administration

The European Union has developed strategic partnerships in many regions of the world. Nonetheless, with the creation and empowerment of the European External Action Service, its old connections with the latinamerican region have been highlighted again in order to regain the strong cooperation between the two regions, although having to face internal (like the integration processes of each region) and external challenges (as the economic crisis for example). The difference is that this time, the perspective upon the power relations has changed, heading towards a postcolonial approach. This paper's aim is to analyse the development of EU-LAC relations and test this hypothesis.

South Atlantic fault-lines: competing and converging dynamics between Brazil and the EU

Pedro Seabra . Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon (ICS-ULisboa)

In recent years, the South Atlantic has attracted an increased focus for such renewed perils as piracy spikes and transnational drug trafficking flows, coupled with stately instability in African shores. In this context, Brazil has attempted to discursively assert its regional leadership and pre-emptively exclude unwanted interferences from countries and/or multilateral organizations that are deemed not sufficiently in tune with the needs of the Global South. Although considered less threatening, the European Union (EU) is often included in such a category. The underlined dissociation over a potential North-South fault-line concerning the South Atlantic raises important questions over the European capacity to juggle an emerging power like Brazil while maintaining a modicum of formal relations through the established Special Partnership. This paper is structured around two main goals. It first aims to trace

Brazilian security interests in the area in juxtaposition to the EU's own involvement and awareness to developments in the region. It then seeks to unpack the latter's toolbox to both engage and entice the former towards a more cooperative joint outcome.

16h15 . 17h45

EU & Global Actorness (1)

Room B2.01, Building II

Panel 5

Moderator: Sofia Fernandes (CEHUL)

The consistency level of the promotion of rule of law in the EU policy towards Israel

Maria Fraskou . Leiden University

The EU is among the first global actors that linked their relations with third countries with the values of democracy, human rights and rule of law, establishing the so called "political conditionality". The political conditionality is highly advocated in the bilateral agreements, aiming at institutionalizing the EU relations with the European Neighborhood Policy countries. In its efforts of promoting these fundamental values to the neighborhood, the EU is bound by the prominent principle of consistency, meaning the absence of contradictions between its policies. Through the assessment of different policy areas, including scientific cooperation, trade and development cooperation, this paper aims at evaluating the level of consistency in the EU promotion of rule of law towards Israel. More specifically, the focus is on the issue of entities and products originating from occupied territories and whether they can be eligible for EU benefits. Other issues to be discussed are the dormant EU conditionality during the Gaza Strip armed conflict, as well as the fact that the economic dialogue with Israel is always ongoing, even in the absence of political dialogue. This analysis will allow identifying the level of consistency (high, medium, low, inconsistency) in the EU policies related to the promotion of the main objective, namely the promotion of the rule of law.

Armenia and Georgia challenge 'Normative Power Europe'

Anna-Sophie Maass . College of Europe

Russia's determination to maintain its influence over the former Soviet space intensified after several coloured revolutions demonstrated the elite's and citizens' allure to the EU's value promotion. Consequently the Kremlin increased pressure on the countries' respective governments to convince them to pursue integration with Russia instead of closer EU association. At first glance, these efforts seem to have paid off when Armenia's President Sargsyan announced Yerevan's accession to the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) in September 2013 whilst terminating further EU integration efforts. In contrast, Georgia's conclusion of an Association Agreement with the EU displayed Tbilisi's determination to follow a reform-oriented, pro-European trajectory. Georgia's and Armenia's divergent approaches to European integration between September 2013 and December 2015 demonstrate that the effect of Normative Power Europe (NPE) can be facilitated and constrained by several facets. This paper argues that Georgia's and Armenia's foreign policy orientation was shaped by three factors: First, domestic political developments in Armenia (presidential elections) and in Georgia (presidential and parliamentary elections) occasionally challenged the contextual dynamics of the EU's ability to ensure the countries' further integration into the *acquis communautaire*. Second, the divergent 'normative appeal' of the EU in Georgia and Armenia determined their foreign policy choices. Third, NPE in Georgia and Armenia is constrained by the Kremlin's determination to keep these countries within its orbit.

Political Developments in EU-Belarus Relations – From isolation to limited cooperation and critical engagement

Madalina Dobrescu . College of Europe

Relations between the EU and Belarus have traversed various stages since 1991 when the European Community recognized Belarus' independence. The early stag-

es of cooperation appeared promising, however, between 1994 and 1997 the positive trend in EU–Belarus relations came to an end following President Lukashenka's attempt to extend his presidential mandate in the 1996 referendum by changing the constitution, as well as increasing repression of the opposition, independent media and judiciary. In the early 2000's cooperation seemed to be entering a new phase as the EU experimented with abandoning the policy of isolation towards Belarus and embracing a democracy-promotion approach that relied on negative conditionality and passive leverage. A further stage in the EU's relations with Belarus was the initiation of the Eastern Partnership in 2009, which marked a clear departure from the democracy-promotion paradigm espoused in the ENP and institutionalized a new paradigm for EU relations with Belarus: engagement through functional co-operation. After several years of gradual rapprochement and pragmatic engagement, EU-Belarus relations hit rock-bottom after rigged presidential elections in December 2010 and the subsequent violent crackdown of opposition protests by the Belarusian regime. More recently, in October 2015 the EU suspended the visa-bans and assets freeze against most Belarussian individuals and companies in a tentative attempt at a rapprochement with Belarus. The paper aims to explain these distinct strategies of engagement both on the EU's and Belarus's side by deploying the conceptual and theoretical lenses of mainstream EU Foreign Policy approaches, ranging from the enlargement-based mechanism of conditionality to external governance and normative power Europe. Having highlighted the inability of these approaches to comprehensively explain the complexity of EU-Belarus relations over the past decades, the paper proceeds to tentatively exploring the potential contribution of rational-choice, agency-based approaches to furthering our understanding of the EU's foreign policy toward Belarus, but also of the EUFP more generally.

16h15 . 17h45

Panel 6

EU & Eastern Partnership

Aud. B1.04, Building II

Moderator: **Timea Pal** (CEI-IUL)

Beyond European Union Membership: Rule of law in EU-Ukraine Association Agreement

Iryna Dyvoniak . University of Murcia

A pioneer European-Union-Ukraine Association Agreement (hereinafter, "the EU-Ukraine AA" or "the Agreement") signed after the dramatic events of 2014 Ukrainian Dignity Revolution, has brought extensive scientific debates on its legal nature, legal effect and constitutional challenges of implementation since there were no antecedents in EU external policy to compare. Aiming to establish deep and comprehensive free trade area, it goes far beyond the mere 'economic issues' also 'influencing the quality of democracy, governance and the rule of law', as the essential elements of EU-Ukraine bilateral relations. Though, the Union does not give any interpretation of the rule of law. It is argued the correct understanding of the rule of law is of vital importance to safeguard a proper consistent implementation of the Agreement and, consequently, complete the 90% regulatory approximation to the EU legal and economic standards. The violation of rule of law principle as the core element of the AA inevitably leads to its suspension, nevertheless an accurate meaning of rule of law remains missing thus far. The main question to this extent is how the rule of law is understood by the EU-Ukraine AA. The two possible scenarios will be scrutinized onwards.

Coherence between the ENP and CSDP: exercising comprehensive security

Licinia Simão . Faculdade de Economia e Centro de Estudos Sociais da Universidade de Coimbra

The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) was designed with a clear conflict prevention potential, addressing political and economic dimensions of instability alongside conflict resolution measures. The interplay of ENP structural measures with CSDP tools is the focus of this reflection, in the particular case of the Eastern Partnership

(EaP). The paper addresses the ways in which EaP policies and instruments interact with CSDP tools and their impact on the Georgian conflicts. The EU's policy mix in this case illustrates the need for closer articulation between EU trade and visa policies and the international mediation efforts led by the EU. Other areas such as democracy promotion and human rights could also reinforce EU conflict transformation efforts. By looking at this interaction between structural and short and medium-term instruments, the article seeks to understand the obstacles hampering the EU's goal of increased coherence and effectiveness in promoting security in the neighbourhood. Path-dependency and institutional bias as well as diverging national preferences and weak institutionalization of CSDP are among the most significant obstacles to more effective EU security policies. Although, in the case of the Georgian conflicts external factors are also relevant, the paper focuses on the EU dimension as a means to understand how positive synergies can be established.

Towards an effective division of labour or conflict 'in and around Ukraine' as a game changer for the EU's engagement with Eastern Europe?

Michaela Anna Šimáková . College of Europe

The aim of this case study is to shed light on the interplay of EU actorness and effectiveness in its engagement with Ukraine since the outburst of the crisis in East Ukraine. As it escalated, the EU has found itself marginalized and perceived as one of the parties to the conflict. The EU has been unable to make a decisive use of its crisis management toolbox, whilst its Member States and other regional actors, such as the OSCE took the lead in peace mediation and crisis response. Yet, a complete EU-Ukraine disentanglement is impossible and the EU will have its mission to play when considering the future of Ukraine. What are the implications for current external representation of the EU (actorness) and for the EU's ability to pursue its objectives in a comprehensive manner (effectiveness) in this context? What are the implications for 'effective multilateralism'? The EU's external representation vis-à-vis Ukraine should be first understood through different levels, on which it takes place. Secondly, the question of effectiveness could be illustrated when analysing the EU's ability to horizontally pursue its external human rights objectives. The research aims to highlight the implications of the conflict for the EU as a unitary actor and its effectiveness on its eastern border, while taking into account possible future scenarios and policy implications.

EU Structural foreign policy: EU in the South Caucasus and Eastern Partnership

Yalchin Mammadov . Université Libre de Bruxelles

A Structural Foreign Policy is defined as « a foreign policy which, conducted over the long-term, seeks to influence or shape sustainable political, legal, economic, social, security and other structures which can be situated at various relevant levels (individual, society, state, regional, global...) in a given space". The promotion of the rule of law is an important dimension of the European Union's relations towards its neighbourhood. The rule of law is, however, a complex and multifaceted notion and the EU tries to apply this criterion within the framework of the Eastern Partnership, including relations with the South Caucasus states. The paper will try to describe the EU's efforts to promote justice abroad and the structural foreign policy in the context of the Eastern Partnership in the South Caucasus, including Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia.

17h45 . 18h00

Break

18h00 . 20h00

Round Table II: The Future of CSDP

Aud. B1.04, Building II

- Helena Carreiras (ISCTE-IUL)
- Laura Ferreira-Pereira (Universidade do Minho)
- Sven Biscop (Egmont Royal Institute for International Relations)

Moderator: Luís Nuno Rodrigues (CEI-IUL)

10h00 . 12h00

The European Union and the refugee crisis (2)

Room B2.01, Building II

Panel 7

Moderator: Ana Lúcia Sá (CEI-IUL)

Syrian Refugees and Transnational Challenges for EU and Turkey

Giray Sadik . Yildirim Beyazıt University

Until the spiraling war in Syria have grown to be a source of international crises (e.g. mass refugee inflows to Turkey and EU, anti-IS coalition, Russian deployments in Syria), many in Europe thought that this was another conflict in a crisis-prone region that can be contained locally. Recent refugee tragedies demonstrated painfully that this will no longer be the case! Ongoing mass influx of Syrian refugees to Turkey and the European Union (EU), and the resulting transnational challenges ranging from trafficking (e.g. Human, arms, drugs, oil) to terrorist infiltration and radicalization put forward the need to timely discuss the available policy options for Turkey and the EU. How should Turkey and EU approach to the deteriorating situation in Syria and its spill-over to their territories via refugees and terrorist infiltration? What are the potential avenues for international cooperation for Turkey and the EU in response to the transnational challenges emanating from the ongoing regional conflicts such as ongoing tragedies in Syria and Iraq? These are among the key questions this study explores in light of the comprehensive analysis of Turkish and EU policies. Accordingly, this research concentrates on the growing importance of multilateral cooperation in critical areas such as humanitarian aid/intervention, crisis management, border security, and counter-terrorism.

The European Dilemma: New migrant flows and the consequences for the European political project

José Miguel de Carvalho Cerqueira . ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

Europe is experiencing its greatest dilemma since setting out on the European project. With human rights, democracy and freedom as its political and constitutional identity, Europe has been forced to reconsider its strategies in order to defend itself and protect its citizens. Politicians continue to alter the local, regional and communitarian system, placing legal barriers – and much more – in front of non-EU immigrants. This puts the community's ethos at jeopardy and the fear of the other is changing irreversibly the *acquis communautaire*, the legal corpus, that has taken years to create. The panic and weakness of our political leaders has not reassured the people and nor has there been any evidence of reason or dignity in the search for solutions. The extreme reaction has weakened us all and has undermined Europe's political aspirations to be a major global player. The difficulty of assimilating a large number of migrants with strong cultural identities of their own and who share a different religion from the majority of the native population, also presents a challenge to unity. The migrants are accustomed to an anthropological political dialectic of dominated/dominant that is different from the European reality. Marginalisation and social exclusion will only increase as a result of the lack of assimilation policies, as will xenophobia.

The comprehensive approach in EU external action: prospects and trends in the EU global Strategy on foreign and security policy

Ana Isabel Xavier . IPRI – Portuguese International Relations Institute

In the conclusions of the 2015 European Council (June 25 and 26) member states agreed that “the High Representative will continue the process of strategic reflection with a view to preparing an EU global strategy on foreign and security policy in close cooperation with Member States, to be submitted to the European Council by June 2016”. Previously, in 2013, the European Commission agreed in a joint communication – “The EU’s comprehensive approach to external conflict and crisis” – highlighting how the Lisbon Treaty calls for consistency between the different areas of EU external action. The dramatic and massive flows of economic migrants and refugees towards Europe clearly illustrate how the so called comprehensive approach is so important to EU’s external action: first, through the intensification of narratives and practices on the external dimension of internal security; second, through the internationalization of external policies; and third, through the externalization of the internal security. This presentation then aims to contribute to a wider discussion on the academic literature on the nexus security/development and internal/external, focusing on the prospects of the upcoming Global strategy for EU’s normative role addressing the root causes of conflict in the name of the effective multilateralism.

European Union security actorness: the Comprehensive Approach hampered by policy differentiation

Ana Paula Brandão . CICS, Universidade do Minho

The post-Cold War security environment favoured the security actorness of the European Union. Following the 9/11 attacks, the EU adopted an ambitious security approach that confirmed four interconnected dynamics: expansion of the security agenda, externalisation of internal security, internalisation of CSDP, and crosspillarisation. It was an up-grade for the assertion of the European Union as a comprehensive and multifunctional security actor, endowed with autonomy, capability and presence. A major challenge to EU’s security actorness is policy differentiation in the security domain. With the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, the EU acquired legal personality. This means that, for the first time, external and internal security policies evolve in the framework of an IO. The Treaty also overcame pillarisation, introduced changes in the continued search for the Union’s external coherence and demonstrated the dynamism of the policies of the former second and third pillars. However, the changes that were introduced denote a constructive ambiguity patent in the existence of provisions enabling a comprehensive approach, on the one hand, and of a hidden pillarisation, on the other hand, aggravated by the absence of an explicit concern with the coherence between the external and internal dimensions of security (the missing link).

Perceptions of the legitimacy of the Common Security and Defence Policy of the European Union

Inês Marques Ribeiro . Centro de Estudos Internacionais do Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE-IUL)

The CSDP progressed rapidly from a reactive defence, typical of States, to a proactive design aiming at preventive defence. Efforts to make it more efficient and coherent resulted in competence delegation to non-elected bodies and in a tendency for pooling of resources and capabilities. National representatives in Brussels hold an indirect legitimacy; however, this policy's strict intergovernmentalism has gradually been dissolving. Parliamentary scrutiny is uneven and National Parliaments can only oversee actions taken by their own governments, and thus cannot oversee the CSDP as a whole. Also, the European Parliament's (EP) scrutiny powers are quite residual. As legitimacy is not an absolute concept and depends on perceptions, we interviewed stakeholders from the CSDP policy process. The latter produced a variety of definitions of legitimacy tout court and in the CSDP context. We found that the complexity of the legitimacy of the CSDP, marked by the interconnectedness of various layers of legitimacy, is often taken for granted by the decision-makers. Also, the low level of the popular awareness contradicts the challenge to the alleged 'permissive consensus'. Finally, the legitimacy ideas shaped and endorsed by the CSDP stakeholders can be seen as valid and meaningful empirical knowledge that reveals the importance of context and often refutes ideas defended by scholars.

EU Visa Policy and Conditionality: A two way road

Annalisa Meloni . School of Business and Law, University of East London

This paper considers conditionality in EU visa policy. The criteria that the EU uses to impose visa requirements on nationals of third countries are set out in EU legislation. These criteria have recently undergone development, with a new reference to human rights and economic benefit. They however remain vague and have been criticized for this reason. They are given substance in 'visa liberalization roadmaps' that the EU agrees with third countries. This paper considers how these visa liberalization roadmaps vary depending on the country in question revealing EU foreign policy and security approaches and goals. Thus, the paper considers visa liberalization roadmaps with accession countries (Western Balkans and Turkey), Eastern Partnership countries, Mediterranean states and other third countries such as Peru, Colombia and Caribbean states. The paper also consider specifically the criterion of reciprocity. It assesses the extent to which the EU has been able to use this criterion vis-à-vis third countries such as the US and Canada. With regard to these countries, the EU and its Member States have been subject to conditionality themselves, and the relevant roadmaps imposed on them may have influenced the EU roadmaps imposed on third countries. Insistence on the reciprocity criterion by the EU may however have also resulted in changes to the national laws of these countries.

The Schengen area at risk?

Dora Resende Alves . Universidade Portucalense Infante D. Henrique

Márcia Costa Bento . Universidade Portucalense Infante D. Henrique

The Schengen agreement represents a territory that corresponds to the geographical area of European countries that signed the agreement, in which the free circulation of European citizens is guaranteed, without internal borders. Presently, the European Union faces important challenges, as the massive influx of asylum applications and the terrorist threat, these events have led some Member States as a measure of protection and security, reintroducing controls at your internal borders. However, the implementation of this security measure, including the reintroduction of internal borders is not the solution to the problem plaguing the European Union. Furthermore, it isn't a direct consequence of refugees, request asylum to the European Union, fleeing war for lack of living conditions in their home countries, are terrorists, most likely, and as has been reported, the terrorists have free access and move easily within the Union, because they were European citizens. The solution to overcome these challenges, meets with the meaning of the word "Union", the Member States must be united, cooperating with each other, either the police level, legal or in the exchange of information.

Immigration x Security: the FRONTEX's role on EU external border control

Emellin Layana Santos de Oliveira . Universidade Nova de Lisboa

European Union in the last years has developed its role as global actor, especially on the security field. Facing the migration crisis and the necessity of controlling the foreigners' entry into the EU space, immigration has been treated by the EU policy makers as a new threat, not only for the social impact, but also because it could be related to terrorism. In order to fight against this insecurity, the EU has created several measures to manage and to control the immigration, which work in parallel with the Member-states actions. The European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union (FRONTEX) was created to support the Member-states in their responsibility on controlling and surveillance the external borders. Applying its mission and tasks, FRONTEX is an important European tool for controlling the migration flows and providing risk assessment regarding the Counter Terrorism strategy. However, using the Member-states territory and interfering in their sovereignty field, the relation between them and the agency is often a conflictual issue. The current articles will

analyse the FRONTEX' role on EU external border control and if its replacement for another agency, with more powers, could adjust the Member-states and EU action regarding the border security.

12h00 . 14h00

Lunch

14h00 . 15h45

Round Table III: EU as normative power

Aud. B1.04, Building II

- Clara Portela (Singapore Management University)
- Raquel Vaz Pinto (IPRI-NOVA)
- Bruno Cardoso Reis (ICS-ULisboa e ISCTE-IUL)

Moderator: Ana Belchior (ISCTE-IUL)

15h45 . 16h15

Break

16h15 . 17h45

EU & Global Actorness (2)

Aud. B1.04, Building II

Panel 10

Moderator: Ana Mónica Fonseca (CEI-IUL)

EU foreign direct investment policy and Human Rights. A Normative Power Europe?

Sérgio Pedro . Universidade Nova de Lisboa

The acquisition, through the Treaty of Lisbon, of the exclusive competence to negotiate international trade and investment treaties compromising all European Union member states, represents for the European Union relevant change in its powers as a global actor. Being considered as a flagship figure for the defence and promotion of Human Rights worldwide, the EU has above its shoulders the aim to be a key reference in a field where the critiques emerge. The cases of Rana Plaza and Bhopal are evidences of the existence of an international economic and legal model that actively contributes to the perpetration of violations of Human Rights and contravention of the national sovereignty of the states involved. Since the Doha round, the EU made the commitment to change the path from the WTO multilateralism to regional negotiations, relying on intra enforcement mechanisms. We will confront the EU's Human Rights in its external policy and the "Normative Power" thesis, analysing the Human Rights pattern promoted by the EU, in a search for an answer to the questions, "Does the EU presents double standards in its FDI policy inside borders and abroad, or not?" , "Does the EU has been successful in presenting a new international trade model?" and "What are the legal alternatives to the current international trade model?".

The unfulfilled potential of the EU as a global actor in the realm of international competition cooperation

Valerie Demedts . Ghent University

Since long the exchange of confidential information among competition authorities has been approached with reluctance and suspicion. The EU has recently concluded its first 'second generation' agreement, allowing such information exchanges, with Switzerland. The agreement entered into force in December 2014. The EU thereby had the opportunity to annihilate many of the concerns revolving around this controversial issue by developing a clear and transparent model-agreement, containing appropriate safeguards. This paper claims that it has not done so. It identifies the concerns present, and assesses which ones are valid and which ones are not, by analysing how the EU-Switzerland agreement has or has not accommodated such concerns. It concludes that while some fears are misplaced, the agreement nevertheless fails to address some crucial issues. The EU has missed an opportunity to take the lead across the Atlantic in taking international competition cooperation to the next level and to confirm its role as major player in the international competition scene.

The Work of Germany's Food Bank "Deutsche Tafel": going global by doing it local

Vinícius Silva Santana . Alexander von Humboldt Foundation & Universidade Federal da Bahia

Based on Germany's and European Union's ever-growing struggles to give a functional response to the crisis that has brought asylum seekers to the European continent in the last years, this article aims to expand the understanding on how the work of Germany's largest food banking organization – the Deutsche Tafel – extrapolates its duties and goes beyond the discourse of charity, food security and its local reach. By studying Michel de Certeau's definitions of strategy and tactics, Professor Saskia Sassen's notions of local, national and global scales, and the different instances in which the national activities are terrains for global reach action, it examines the role of the Deutsche Tafel in this crisis panorama. Thus, this article pursues to explain that, although local, the work of the Deutsche Tafel is one more that calls into question the idea of global actors as solely the ones directly involved in cross-border negotiations and international tensions. It gives potential to international movements within the German territory, such as the integration of refugees and asylees, as well as supports the idea of a double facet of their role in the German society between being a source of relief to and a ruler of those in need.

16h15 . 17h45

Panel 11

Portugal and Southern Europe

Room C1.03, Building II

Moderator: António Raimundo (CEI-IUL)

Europeanization of foreign policy in the field of nuclear non-proliferation: the Portuguese case

David Ferreira . ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

Europeanization is an increasingly fashionable research area within the field of European integration, particularly for studying the impact of European processes and institutions on EU Member and non-Member States. In the last decade, the concept of Europeanization has been commonly used in the study of national foreign policies, despite their distinctive intergovernmental nature, but there is still limited knowledge regarding the dynamics of the process. In this work, we use the aforementioned concept as an analytical approach to determine the nature of the Europeanization process in the field of nuclear non-proliferation, with Portugal as a study case. Much of the literature concerning the EU and its role as a non-proliferation actor engages only minimally with theory, consisting mostly of empirical research, and the concept of Europeanization has not yet been applied to the study of national non-proliferation policies. Additionally, Portugal is still one of the least researched countries in Europeanization literature, a reason believed to be anchored on its small size and semi-peripheral location. As such, this work intends to close a gap, not only in terms of research on Europeanization of Portuguese foreign policy, but also regarding theoretically-based studies in the field of nuclear non-proliferation.

Security and defence in the world-system semi-periphery: the cases of Italy and Portugal

Franco Tomassoni . Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa

The security and defence policies of EU states results from the combination of a national agenda, and EU strategy. The latter is an outcome of the negotiation within the intergovernmental framework, so that Security and Defence Policy of the EU as an actor is relevant, as well of its member States individually. As the security and defence' agenda is not apart from the integration process, the problems stemming from this process have to be considered under a framework that, taking into account the different countries' economic and geopolitical influences, such asymmetry must be considered also as an important element influencing the states' security policy. According to Wallerstein's idea on the relation between core and semi-peripheral States, we look at EU's integration process as one deeply marked by this asymmetry.

Drawing on the combination of both abovementioned perspectives, we propose a comparative analysis between the strategic concept of Italy and Portugal, looking for common features linked with their semi-peripheral position within the EU. Undertaking an analysis that takes mainly into account primary sources, conclusions seem to indicate that this asymmetry defines the strategic concepts of the member States of EU, which are compressed in between their agenda and the negotiation of their foreign policy within the EU framework from an unfavourable position.

European asylum policies: Iberia, the peripheral borders of a common wall

Lúcio Sousa . Universidade Aberta

Paulo Manuel Costa . Universidade Aberta

The current refugee crisis is placing into question the Fortress Europe built since the 1990s. The common European asylum policy was established as a measure to harmonize policies and practices of the various Member States, a common denominator intended to conciliate the various historical and particular geopolitical interests of particular States. The current crisis challenges the common interests by exposing the particular interests of each State and its position towards the European Wall, under redefinition, with the construction of new internal barriers in order to oppose the apparent collapse of the common external wall. In this context, Portugal and Spain emerge as countries where the number of asylum seekers is, in the European context, relatively peripheral. However, they are at the forefront of one of the fronts of the European fence to potential migrant flows. The purpose of this communication is to analyze how evolved migrant flows (economic and refugees) to the Iberian Peninsula, and how Portugal and Spain entered in the European process by adhering to its common policies by introducing them in their national practices, but also their resilience and discretion face the remaining flows of colonial heritage and humanitarian public demands, and what is their role in the management of the current crisis.

Portugal and global security threats in the post-Cold War era: Strategic Concepts of National Defense (CEDN)

Pedro Ponte e Sousa . FCSH-UNL

One of the most important tools to understand trends and directions of Portugal in security and defense is the study of the various CEDN. Being more stable and durable than the strategies defined by each government, these documents seek to define the state's priorities for security in the near future and are strongly related to the foreign policy and national defense of Portugal. They also represent, through the moderation and coordination of the government, what the main actors in the field consider to be the national interest. We are particularly interested in how, given a global environment and since the end of the Cold War, (new?) threats and risks are recognized, incorporated and dissected by these actors in this security strategy. We will seek to answer these questions: How are the risks and global threats Portugal is facing both understood and treated in the various CEDN? What are the threats and risks to the security of Portugal identified by decision-makers? Are there changes over time regarding this identification? The results seem that to indicate that, if there is a securitization process, it is limited in scope and nature or 'partial', with a limited existence of extraordinary measures or even failing to recognize an urgent and existential threat to the country.

Is a Federal European Foreign Policy possible?**Bogdan Birnbaum** . Union of European Federalists – Belgian section

The European Union was conceived to bring about peace in Europe. However peace and prosperity in Europe are at high risk because of crises at the Eastern border, terrorist threat and migration pressure. An EU global strategy on Foreign and Security Policy represents a unique opportunity for the EU to consolidate its role as a soft and strong global power operating along federalist principles. The Global Strategy should become the umbrella for all EU external actions reflecting a holistic long-term view on peace, prosperity and stability, far beyond short term crisis management. The global strategy should have the ambition to rest on a truly shared Common Foreign, Security and Defence Policy. All external policies of the EU should become Union's exclusive competences under the responsibility of communitarian institutions. The EU should speak with one voice, have one Foreign policy, operate under a single army command and have a single seat at the United Nations Security Council, etc. The objective is to move gradually from the current hypothetical national sovereignty towards the implementation of an effective European sovereignty steered by federal decision-making, even if this implies the start of a two speed Europe. Only in such a way, Europe will be able to protect its people's sacred values and to promote its genuine interests.

Building a non-eurocentric Global Strategy?**Domhnall O'Sullivan** . Geneva Centre for Security Policy

The new EU Global Strategy should not only define the parameters of how Europe approaches the world; it must also reflect how the world views Europe. In an era of interdependence where information and narratives are often as important in shaping policy as concrete objectives, understanding the perceptions of others is a strategic imperative. The objectives of the EUGS will be clearly based upon European interests and values, but their "success" will largely depend on whether other powers and partners view them as benign, mutually beneficial, or even neo-imperialist. Based on a series of interviews conducted with visiting diplomats and defence officials at the Geneva Centre for Security Studies in February and March 2016, this paper will attempt to paint a picture of how various external actors perceive the development of Europe as a global player. It will focus on four trends which emerged from the interviews: Europe's place in "the West" and its relationship with the US; the historic European practice of political conditionality and the confusion between interests and values in foreign policy; how the EU complements or confuses the work of the (often more visible) member states abroad; and the recurring question of the development of the EU as a military or "hard" actor.

Words that Corrupt: the European Union's Clash with Disinformation

Gergana Tzvetkova . Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies

Today, people's lives, security and freedom are threatened in unexpected ways. Consequently, hybrid threats require innovative strategies and unwavering solutions. The formulation and achievement of the latter are part of the difficult task the European Union (EU) is facing, when preparing the EU Global Strategy for foreign and security policy, expected in June 2016. This paper studies a powerful new threat to the EU, which comes in many forms and names – propaganda, disinformation, information warfare. First, we look at how this phenomenon has been identified and defined by European institutions. We then examine the main tenets of the Russian strategy to influence the public opinion within the EU through disinformation, ever since the Russian annexation of Crimea. As an illustration, we focus on similar channels and strategies used in Bulgaria. Despite Bulgaria being one of the smallest and poorest members of the EU, its case is one from which useful inferences could be drawn – related to the importance of free press, adequate political culture and good knowledge and understanding about the interests, values and policies of the EU. The last section of the paper offers several policy recommendations in that direction. All of them stem from the importance of soft power development and coherent public diplomacy, needed for the EU to establish itself as a global actor.

The European Union Global Strategy: what role for Germany?

Patricia Daehnhardt . Portuguese Institute of International Relations – IPRI-UNL

The crisis in Ukraine, international terrorism, the war in Syria and the migration crisis are all challenging the EU's Foreign and Security Policy and shaping the definition of the new European Security Strategy which will shortly set the new parameters for the EU to act as a global actor. Each of these international crises has also forced Germany as the EU's politically most relevant Member State to respond in a fashion atypical of its foreign policy identity since unification, showing leadership in place of previous reluctance, and a more active role in the international politics of the Euro-Atlantic order. What implications can this changed German role play vis-à-vis the new European Union Global Strategy? Will Berlin's new role empower the EUGS or will Germany play a more decisive role in parallel to a reinforced European Security Strategy? How will this affect transatlantic relations and other partnerships the EU needs to forge to respond effectively to the growing foreign and security problems it encounters? The paper addresses this EU-Germany nexus and how Germany is adapting to a changed role when it comes to its contribution to European Foreign and Security Policy.

18h00 . 20h00

Panel 13

Terrorism & Security

Room C1.03, Building II

Moderator: Luís Manuel Brás Bernardino (CEI-IUL)

The role of women in organized crime in Europe: a literature review

Ana Guerreiro . Unidade de Investigação em Criminologia e Ciências do Comportamento, Instituto Superior da Maia

Sílvia Gomes . Centro de Investigação em Ciências Sociais, Universidade do Minho & Instituto Superior da Maia

During the last decades the world have faced an important revolution in society. Globalization has reconfigured society, creating a new society model with new forms of human relations (Viano, 2010), which challenge social and judicial sciences as criminology, law, and sociology. One of these new human relations is the organized crime and specially its increase and its internationalization. This type of crime involves all areas and actors in society (Pankratz and Matiassek, 2012) and can be defined as a group, with more than two people, which uses violence to reach an advantage (Newburn 2007; UNODC, 2004). This violent characteristic leads usually to the understanding that organized crime is a men's crime (Siegel, 2014). However,

the role of women in society has been changing, and it is more visible now the presence of women in the criminal involvement as well as in the criminal justice system (Leal, 2007; Adler, 1975). Inside organized crime, the role of women have not been completely discussed and unveiled. Siegel (2014) makes an important contribution showing women took a relevant role in criminal organization in some periods of history. From this point on, and reviewing literature on organized crime and gender and crime, we aim to examine the role women have in organized crime in Europe and discuss the mandatory lens for a research intersecting organized crime and gender.

Terrorism and other threats to European Heritage

João Almeida Filipe . ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa & Assembleia da República

In 2015 European Union leaders asked Federica Mogherini, European Union's High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, to prepare an EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy to guide the European Union's global actions in the future. The Global Strategy will be presented by June 2016. Meanwhile, the devastating war in Syria, the Daesh barbarian acts and the increasing terrorism attacks, the worldwide organized crime and the dramatic illegal trafficking of people, are threats to human life and human dignity, to the European lifestyle and culture. In these times of crisis, heritage became an important reference for community's sense of belonging and identity. But they also can fast become military targets: the Buddhas of Bamiyan blown up by the Taliban in Afghanistan, the destruction by Daesh of the ancient temple of the Baalshamin, an iconic part of the Syrian site of Palmyra or the plundering of the Iraq's national museum are just a few examples. In this paper we discuss the importance of the European Heritage on Foreign Policy and why it should be considered in the process of preparing EU Global Strategy.

A Critical Assessment of the European Cultural Approach to Counter Terrorism

Marco Marsili . Centro de Estudos Internacionais, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa & CINAMIL (Portuguese Army Research Center)

The wave of jihadism which affects western countries since 11 September 2001, has pushed governments to pass repressive legislation, which restricts the fundamental rights and freedoms. Complementing this, have been taken true warfare actions to counter this phenomenon in the countries of origin. However, little or nothing has been done to try to understand why many European actors – namely grown and often born in western countries – turned themselves into 'lone wolves' or 'foreign fighters'. What drove them to embrace the religious fanaticism that leads to terrorism, and leaving their European homes to fight in the militia of the Islamic State? This essay aims to give a 'cultural' approach to the phenomenon of terrorism in Europe, and suggests a new holistic and comprehensive strategy to counter it.