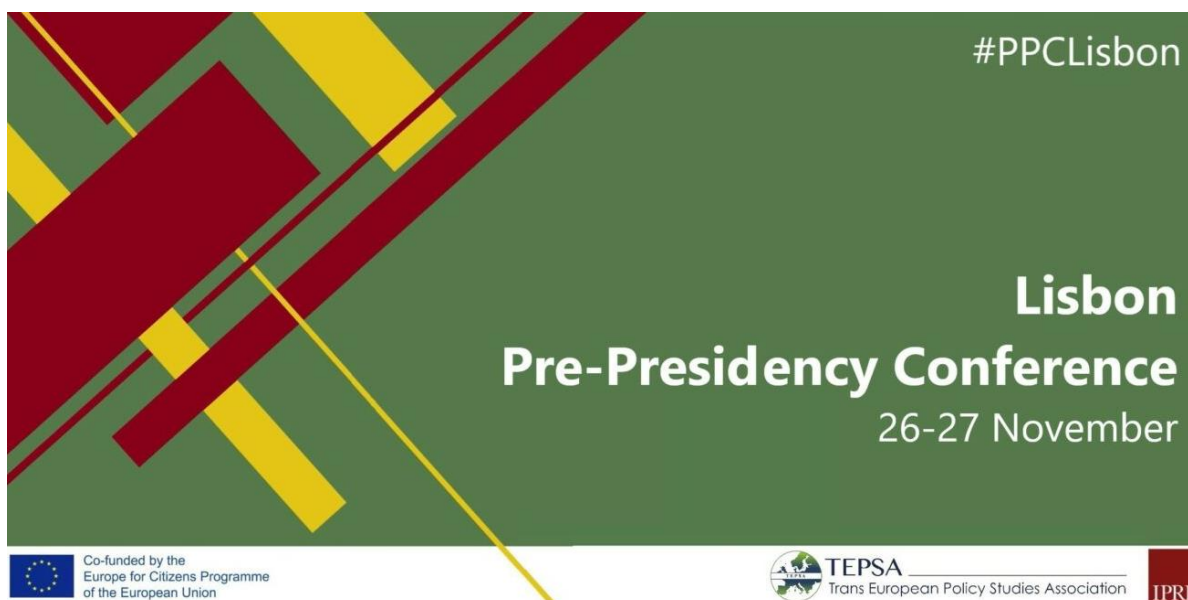


# PORTUGUESE PRE-PRESIDENCY CONFERENCE

## 26 AND 27 NOVEMBER 2020

### Report



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## Report of the 2020 Portuguese Pre-Presidency Conference (Virtual Edition)

On 26 and 27 November, the Portuguese Pre-Presidency Conference took place in a virtual format, and not in Lisbon as expected.

The conference gathered academics, policy experts and national and EU policy makers to discuss the priorities of the Portuguese Presidency of the Council of the EU, and managed to reach a wider audience. Inevitably, the discussion on the COVID-19 pandemic was at the center of the discussions in the eight plenary panels and parallel sessions organised during the conference.

The first day of the conference was opened with some introductory remarks from Prof. Dr. Nuno Severiano Teixeira, Director of IPRI-NOVA, and from Prof. Dr. Jaap de Zwaan, Secretary-general of TEPSA. Prof. Severiano Teixeira highlighted the crucial moment the EU is living and the critical challenges the Portuguese Presidency will have to face at the internal and external level. On the latter, the positive news were the election of Joe Biden and Kamala Harris as the next President and Vice-President of the United States, respectively. At the internal level, however, the EU continues to face challenges such as the instability in the neighbourhood, or the need to reframe relations with China. According to Prof. Severiano, the EU had a strong response to the COVID-19 crisis in order to achieve an economic recovery, and the next Multiannual Financial Framework could be seen as a step forward, despite the challenges regarding its implementation. Prof. de Zwaan recalled the role played by Lisbon in EU landmark events, such as the Treaty of Lisbon.

The first panel of the day opened with a discussion on the priorities of the Portuguese Presidency and the presentation of the TEPSA recommendations to the Portuguese Presidency. Ambassador Ana Paula Zacarias, Secretary of State for European Affairs of Portugal, delivered a keynote speech focusing on the priorities of the incoming Presidency. The first plenary session also included the presentation of TEPSA recommendations by Ilke Toygür and the recommendations of the Young Ideas project by four young professionals. The second plenary session, moderated by Prof. Michael Kaeding, shed light on the EU recovery during the COVID-19 pandemic. The second half of the day included two parallel sessions covering salient issues of the Portuguese Presidency and of the current EU agenda: the European Green Deal and the Digital Agenda; and a Plenary session on the Geopolitics of Europe and European Defence. The latter opened with a stimulating remark from Clément Beaune, French Secretary of State for European Affairs, and was complemented with insights from researchers from Italy, Portugal, Finland and Turkey. On the second day of the conference, the first parallel session hosted a discussion on Euroscepticism and the Future of Europe in the framework of the publication of the TEPSA book on the topic, edited by Michael Kaeding, Johannes Pollak and Paul Schmidt. The second parallel session delved into the new EU pact on Migration. Subsequently, the first and last plenary session of the day kicked off with a discussion on differentiated integration and the views of member states. Finally, the last session of the day included final remarks from Ambassador Rui Vinhas, Director General for European Affairs of Portugal, and concluding remarks from Prof. Dr. Lucia Mokrá and Prof. Dr. Nuno Severiano Teixeira.

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## Plenary Session 1: Portuguese Priorities and TEPSA Recommendations

*Chair:* Prof. Dr. Nuno Severiano Teixeira, Director, IPRI-NOVA

*Keynote:* Ambassador Ana Paula Zacarias, Secretary of State for European Affairs, MFA, Portugal  
TEPSA Recommendations, Ilke Toygür, Analyst, Elcano Royal Institute  
Young Ideas Project recommendations

The main goal of the first panel of the conference was to discuss the priorities of the Portuguese Presidency. To do so, Ambassador Ana Paula Zacarias took note and responded to the TEPSA recommendations to the Portuguese Presidency and the recommendations from young professionals in the framework of the #EngagEurCouncil project.

Ambassador Ana Paula Zacarias opened the session highlighting the priorities of the Portuguese Presidency which are structured around five main themes: a more resilient Europe, a social Europe, a green Europe, a digital Europe and a global Europe. Ambassador Zacarias also emphasised the long-term vision of the strategy, which is focused on the needs to recovery and resilience, climate action, innovation, social cohesion and a coherent external agenda (with a strong focus on multilateralism). In that regard, resilience was presented as the first priority of the Portuguese Presidency because it relates the economic recovery with fundamental values. Ambassador Zacarias admitted the challenges that poses to convince EU citizens that the EU is functioning. Further on, Ana Paula Zacarias also stressed the importance of the economic recovery in light with three pillars: sustainability, innovation and well-being. The first two pillars are the twin transition and encompass the Green Deal and Digital Transition. The last pillar is related to the European social model and is a distinguished element of the EU. Ambassador Zacarias stressed the need to put into action the European social rights mechanism. To conclude, Ana Paula Zacarias reiterated that the Portuguese Presidency has its focused on the people, and the social agenda is expected to be its hallmark. On the external level, Ambassador Zacarias highlighted the importance of supporting multilateralism, the transatlantic partnership, India, Africa as well as the UK relations, which will be key partners in the future.

Ambassador Zacarias' intervention was followed by the presentation of TEPSA recommendations, led by Ilke Toygür. I. Toygür highlighted that the Portuguese Presidency is well advised to aim at accomplishing three things: finishing unfinished business including acting on the decisions taken during the German Presidency, setting a mark of its own focusing on a resilient, social and green Europe, and successfully initiating relations with the new Biden administration restoring faith in the transatlantic relationship. I. Toygür stressed that Lisbon should not forget to remind itself of the pre-COVID-19 agenda and aim for setting its own mark. Furthermore, four policy areas can be identified as privileged playing fields of the Portuguese Presidency: The New Pact on Migration and Asylum, Digitalisation, EU-Africa relations, and EU-Mercosur Association Agreement.

To conclude the session, representatives of the #EngagEurCouncil presented their policy recommendations on four policy areas: social policy (an individual minimum wage for each member state; the 'social resilience package' for more equality; and the close of the gender pay gap), trade policy (to consider environmental protection lines for potential trading relations, a debate on EU-sino trade relations, and a renewed union for the Mediterranean), foreign policy (a broader strategy with Africa, an efficient and coherent common foreign and security policy, and

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enhance mission to deal with migrant crisis) and resilience (to make the future of the EU more transparent; a focus on critical infrastructure for a resilient, coordinated, and long-term Europe; and funding for Digital and Sustainable Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises).

## Plenary Session 2: The EU and the COVID-19 pandemic

*Moderator:* Michael Kaeding, Jean Monnet Professor, University of Duisburg-Essen  
Jim Cloos, Director General, Secretariat of the EU Council of Ministers  
Eleonora Poli, Senior Fellow, Istituto Affari Internazionali  
Carlos Gaspar, Senior Fellow, Portuguese Institute of International Relations

The Plenary session “The EU and the COVID-19 pandemic” aimed to answer the questions: *is the July 2020 Recovery Plan strong enough?* and *what does it say about the EU solidarity?* The discussion started with some insights from Jim Cloos who focused his intervention on the management of the COVID-19 crisis by the European Council, emphasizing that the Council is a club of national leaders with national political resources that has been in a crisis mode for the last twelve years. The COVID-19 pandemic was peculiar since the EU lacks competences in the health domain, and it is reserved to member states. Jim Cloos highlighted the efforts made by the Council to tackle the crisis and put emphasis on three key areas: the supply of personal protective equipment, the developments of vaccines and the mitigation of the socio-economic effects of the coronavirus crisis. The main question at the time was not if there would be a Recovery Fund, but what it would look like, which culminated in the famous 5-night meeting at the EU Council.

Eleanora Poli, researcher from the Istituto Affari Internazionali, shed light on the threat of the rise of populism in the wake of the COVID-19 crisis. E. Poli started by emphasizing that EU member states reacted well to each other in the beginning of the crisis. The EU plan presented, the NextGenerationEU, is, in her opinion, a solid basis for a new European model that must be based in common values, such as democracy, freedom, human rights and rule of law. In this regard, E. Poli pinpointed that the socio-economic problems of the crisis require a universal response, regardless of how each country has been affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. E. Poli concluded her remarks mentioning that despite the majority of EU citizens still believe in the Union's work, it is important to look at the 30 % or so who do not, because the populist parties might court their support.

Finally, the last speaker of the plenary, Prof. Carlos Gaspar, welcomed the Recovery Plan of the EU and the engagement of the institutions, which contrasts very much with previous crisis. The role of Germany also needs to be highlighted since it was able to consolidate its position as a central power in the EU, and alone, can contain the different forces of North and South. In his perspective, Prof. Gaspar considered that the success of the plan will have a crucial link with the restoration of confidence in the EU institutions and will also be an important tool to contain populism and anti-EU forces that will be present in the aftermath of the pandemic. Prof. Gaspar finished his intervention by presenting three trends, that in his view, have been accelerated by the COVID-19 pandemic: the strengthening of European integration, the comeback of the EU, and the comeback of the idea of nation state.

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## Parallel Session 1: European Green Deal

*Moderator:* Gaby Umbach, Professor, European University Institute  
António Costa Silva, Chairman, Partex Oil and Gas  
Joana Castro Pereira, Researcher, Portuguese Institute of International Relations  
Emma Hakala, Senior Fellow, Finnish Institute of International Affairs

This session covered the topic of the European Green Deal (EGD) and aimed to assess whether or not Europe's investment plan is strong enough to match new ambitious green targets. Prof. Umbach kicked off the discussion by raising the potential links between the Green Deal and multilateralism. The first speaker, Prof. António Costa Silva, highlighted the importance of the EGD initiative, which is in line with the plans of the Commission to mitigate climate change. In his view, it is a strong signal but it is not enough. Prof. Costa Silva outlined that the core issue is the need to transform the economic and development models (the societal and customer habits) in order to have a better implementation of the aims of the EGD. The current way of life of societies is not sustainable. The circular economy, for instance, will be crucial for the retreatment of the garbage produced by societies. Biofuels are one of the key answers to change the energy mix. Furthermore, Prof. Costa Silva added that the COVID-19 crisis provided a framework to accelerate the energy transition because the world is witnessing the collapse of the fossil fuels demand. In the coming years it is necessary to reduce the emissions without hampering the economy as we are witnessing during the coronavirus crisis. Prof. Costa Silva was very assertive about the damage that CO<sub>2</sub> emissions have in our lives, if we do not change our habits and consumption patterns. In this regard, Costa Silva considered China as a key player with whom the EU should establish a multilateral agreement to tackle emissions.

The next speaker, Joana Castro Pereira, stressed that the EGD is also about how the EU screens its values and interests to the world, because the EU cannot achieve ecological security only within its borders. The joint actions with China, the EU, Japan, South Korea and the new US Administration will be crucial to attain the Paris agreement goals and a carbon neutral stance by 2050. The EU could push forward the international climate agenda and lead by example with some countries of Latin America and the Caribbean which are import allies in the negotiations of the Paris Agreement. Prof. Castro Pereira highlighted, however, that the EU will fail its 2020 targets, so it needs to be a genuine socioecological Union, for example, to implement measures and policies that protect citizens and the environment. The EU needs to make clear its commitment to internal and global biodiversity, which to date are still vague.

Lastly, Dr. Emma Hakala underscored that the EU investment plan only provides a part of the picture and it needs to be placed in a broader context. Dr. Hakala stressed that numbers added up on paper are not all “new” investment, so additional measures will still need to be passed. However, although just on paper, the strong commitment of the Commission to mobilise investment is also of value. Dr. Hakala considered the implementation as a crucial task and it is up to member states, firms and financing institutions to allocate funds and implement measures. In her perspective, the EGD can strengthen the EU's climate leadership and global commitment to sustainability, but it is necessary to better assess global environmental and climate impacts and, where possible, harmonise sustainability regulations. Dr. Hakala concluded by mentioning that

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sustainability transition would require a more deliberate policy that prioritises sustainability as the main goal.

### Parallel Session 2: Digital Agenda

*Moderator:* Samuel Stolton, Digital Editor, Euractiv

Olaf Osica, Research Fellow, Natolin European Centre-European Institute Lodz

Andrea G. Rodríguez, Researcher, Barcelona Centre for International Affairs

Hildegunn Kyvik Nordås, Research Professor, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs

The second parallel session centred on the Digital Agenda of the EU. The discussion was led by Samuel Stolton, Digital Editor of Euractiv, who launched the question: what can Europe accomplish on its own – and where it depends on other major players? Olaf Osica started by presenting some aspects about what the impact of the digital agenda on the EU policies may be. The diagnosis is known and well established by the President of the Commission who argues that the EU should develop its own path and lead its own way. The guidelines to the external market and to the foreign agencies are also known and are related to digital rights, privacy, free flow of data, and cyber security. However, despite the well-known and recognised issues by the EU there are some dilemmas that are not known how to manage, as the digital sovereignty, such as: How much protectionism and how much multilateralism? Will Europe build a digital fortress? How to reconcile a very much technocrat single market with political and strategic driven attitude of key member states? How to build a consensus among member states? His intervention was followed by Andrea G. Rodríguez's, who emphasized that Europeans are now living a crucial moment and it has been proven the importance of connectivity in the current world. G. Rodríguez also highlighted the need to improve the digital agenda concerning the economy and its recovery, but as well as with the social and green recovery. Hildegunn Kyvik Nordås finally recalled the communications and connectivity path of our society. The challenge for the Portuguese Presidency and the EU as a whole is to reconcile national values and norms with global, open, safe, and secure markets and find substantial solutions.

### Plenary Session 3: Geopolitics of Europe and European Defense

*Moderator:* Isabelle Kumar, Presenter, Euronews

Clément Beaune, Secretary of State for European Affairs, France

Nicoletta Pirozzi, Head of EU Programme, Istituto Affari Internazionali

Ana Santos Pinto, Researcher, Portuguese Institute of International Relations

Juha Jokela, EU Programme Director, Finnish Institute of International Affairs

Senem Aydin Duzgit, Sabanci University

The last session of the first day of the conference dealt with the geopolitics and defense of Europe. It was moderated by Isabelle Kumar, reporter from Euronews. The panel shed light on questions such as: Can Europe do more to resolve new crises in its Neighbourhood? After the US elections, can NATO be reinvigorated, or does Europe need to aim for more autonomous defense?

The session kicked off with some remarks from the French Secretary of State for European Affairs, Mr. Clément Beaune, who focused his intervention on the transatlantic alliance, and European sovereignty, highlighting also that the European security environment goes beyond President Trump. Furthermore, the State Secretary presented three tracks on which the EU may develop its capacity: financing (to make finances effective in terms of security spending and to start with some common budgetary tools, which will contribute to increase EU's autonomy); to have common means of action (in order to be able to address the European challenges and to be more active in this area); analysis and strategic culture (stressing the importance of developing tools to analyse the challenges, which is the objective of an initiative that has been launched by France in the last years. If the EU does not have a common strategic culture it cannot have common budgets, common troops and will never have a common security policy).

Nicoletta Pirozzi focused highlighted the African EU strategy, namely regarding the activities in the Sahel. In the last years, the EU was much more focused on immediate security concerns, such as irregular migration and terrorism. The Sahel region, however, is a key area for the EU to identify common priorities among member states. In her opinion, in the future one of the priorities of France will be to include other member states in building a common strategy for the region. It should not be a Paris-driven strategy but a European strategy towards the region.

By contrast, Ana Santos Pinto raised concerns on the potential loss of priorities in EU foreign and security policies, as happened after the 2008 crisis. Regarding the socio-economic and financial needs of each member states, it is likely that the political impulse needed to reinforce security and defense policies could be lost. The agreements about defense funds and industry reached in the last months are in risk due to the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic. Santos Pinto stressed that the EU could not lose the momentum, because it has a technological gap regarding defense capabilities and in some years member states' armed forces may be unable to answer crisis. EU member states need to find an agreement about what will be the path of the European defense. In the same line, Juha Jokela, underlined that more consensus is needed on defence policy. Public opinion and the expectations of the citizens have to be taken into account. Defense matters are not among the top priorities for Europeans, but yet, it is necessary to find some ways to address the issue in internal terms.

Senem Aydin Duzgit led the discussion towards the EU neighbourhood, focusing on EU-Turkish relations. The current EU stalemate with Turkey shows the ineffective EU foreign policy and the way it has handled the Turkish question for the last decades, she argued. The EU has had very little leverage because it has shifted the Turkish question from a more ruled based relationship to a complete transnational relationship and this reached its peak with the Turkish migration crisis in the last years. Prof. Duzgit concluded that sanctions against Turkey will not deter Turkish political leadership; instead, a focus on diplomacy is needed to work hand-in-hand with Turkey rather than against it.

### Parallel Session 3: Book Launch: Euroscepticism and the Future of Europe

*Moderator:* Johannes Pollak, Webster Vienna Private University

Pedro Silva Pereira, Portuguese MEP (videomessage)

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Alice Cunha, Researcher, Portuguese Institute of International Relations  
Marlene Wind, Director, Centre for European Politics

The presentation of the book “Euroscepticism and the future of Europe” was the driver of the discussion of the parallel session 3. This book, edited by Michael Kaeding, Johannes Pollak and Paul Schmidt, provides national perspectives on Eurosceptic forces and the future of the European project from authors in all EU Member States, as well as neighbouring European countries.

The session started with a video message from the Vice-President of the EP Pedro Silva Pereira who stressed how timely the discussion on Euroscepticism is, since this is a fundamental challenge faced in Europe. The book is useful because it provides with short, concise and crisp analysis of the situation in 40 countries, allowing to understand the diversity of Euroscepticism. The Portuguese author, Alice Cunha, presented the Portuguese perspective, focusing on the evolution of the EU support from the Portuguese political spectrum and concluded that no relevant changes were found in the Portuguese attitude to the EU despite the emergence of some minor Eurosceptic parties in recent years. Prof. Cunha highlighted the dilemmas posed by abstention, which was a critical trend in the last 2019 European elections in Portugal. Marlene Wind underpinned the Danish perspective which is clearly different from the Portuguese one. In the last years Danish support for the EU has increased and, she explained, Brexit as a causal variable to explain this increase.

#### Parallel Session 4: Migration

*Moderator:* Tom Law, Journalist, Global Forum for Media Development  
Jaap de Zwaan, Secretary General TEPSA, Emeritus Professor, Erasmus University Rotterdam  
Nanda Kellij, Project Leader, Dutch Ministry of Justice and Security  
Madalina Moraru, Research Fellow, European University Institute

The second parallel session of the day dealt with EU Migration, discussing the potential and challenges of the new EU Pact on Migration and Asylum. The session was moderated by Tom Law from the Global Forum for Media Development.

Prof. Jaap de Zwaan opened the discussion focusing on some global issues regarding the topic of migration. Prof. de Zwaan stressed the link between migration and security and the need of a common solution to a common problem. Currently, he added, the legislation of the EU is not prepared to be confronted with the actual number of migrants. Prof. de Zwaan also emphasized the need of creating more trust to achieve common solutions. Nanda Kellij provided some insights about the negotiations of the EU Pact on Migration and Asylum, pointing out that it is necessary to go a layer below to understand the whole picture. In her view the Solidarity mechanism is impossible and it is not the best solution. Regarding secondary migrants, N. Kellij underscored that the current situation is not feasible. Some flexibility is necessary to implement the Pact and it is urgent to find some tools to forecast these dynamics. Only with this it will be possible to tackle the problem. The last speaker, Madalina Moraru, reflected on the legislation of the Pact, as well as in the implementation of the measures and the role of the courts. M. Moraru stressed that the

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Pact put some challenges on the member states regarding its implementation because it is a completely paradigm shift in terms of how to organize return assistance. During the discussion, Madalina Moraru also stressed that the Pact could not solve the refugee crisis because it very much depends on the member states agreement. The implementation of the current Asylum procedures seems to remain a big challenge.

#### Plenary Session 4: Differentiated Integration and the Future of Europe

*Moderator:* Frank Schimmelfennig, Professor of European Politics, ETH Zürich  
Stefan Telle, Research Associate, European University Institute  
Katrin Auel, Head of EU Research, Institute for Advanced Studies Vienna  
Ramūnas Vilpišauskas, Professor, Vilnius University  
Gunilla Herolf, Senior Associate Research Fellow, Swedish Institute of Intl. Affairs

The session on Differentiated Integration and the Future of Europe was part of an ongoing EU Horizon 2020 TEPSA project, Integrating Diversity in the European Union (InDivEU), which aims at contributing concretely to the current debate on the 'Future of Europe' by assessing, developing and testing a range of models and scenarios for different levels of integration among EU member states.

Stefan Telle started the discussion with a presentation on what member states governments say they want regarding differentiated integration. The research focuses on the study of discourses in the 27 member states in the period of 2004-2019, looking into different models (multi-speed Europe vs multi-end Europe) and different mechanisms (enhanced cooperation vs opt-outs). The research shows that there is no distinction between differentiated integration through more or through less integration; differentiated integration through 'more integration is perceived positively; governments tend to accept differentiated integration, except for 'opt-outs'; where there is a low salience of differentiated integration outside mass politics arena.

Katrin Auel provided the perspective of differentiated integration in Austria, highlighting that very little salience for differentiated integration is seen; but for policies like Schengen or CSDP it is very much higher. Katrin Auel also argued that the term 'core Europe' is generally used positively, however, terms like 'two-speed Europe' or 'Europe à la carte' tend to be used negatively. The overview on Lithuania was presented by Ramūnas Vilpišauskas. In Vilnius, the opt-outs from Schengen and the Euro were considered important to Lithuania when it joined the EU. Moreover, the Lithuanian government sees itself as one of the main advocates of close relations with countries in the Eastern Partnership. Prof. Vilpišauskas underlined that there is not a trend in the issue of differentiated integration. In a similar view, Prof. Maja Bučar stated that the topic of European politics or the EU in general is not discussed much in the Slovenian Parliament. Throughout the years and until some months ago, the position of the government was to see a strong and united EU as a good thing, because, in her point of view, Slovenia wanted to belong to the core of Europe. The case study of Sweden was presented by Gunilla Herolf, who argued that differentiated integration has very low salience in Sweden, however, when 'multi-speed Europe' is mentioned, it is seen very negatively, and 'multi-end Europe' is favoured. In what refers to the PESCO, Sweden would have preferred to see it within the EU, but the country still perceives this

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policy positively. The financial transaction tax is the most critical issue. Lastly, G. Herolf recalled that the Swedish government is highly pragmatic, the views among political parties are strikingly similar, with the most 'extreme' parties differing on only one or two issues.

### Concluding Remarks

Ambassador Rui Vinhas, Director General for European Affairs, MFA, Portugal  
Prof. Dr. Nuno Severiano Teixeira, Director, Portuguese Institute of International Relations  
Prof. Dr. Lucia Mokrá, Chairperson of the TEPSA Board

The last session of the conference included final remarks from Ambassador Rui Vinhas, Director General for European Affairs of Portugal, followed with closing words from Prof. Dr. Nuno Severiano Teixeira and Prof. Dr. Lucia Mokrá.

Ambassador Rui Vinhas highlighted some of the challenges that the Portuguese Presidency will have to face, such as the management of the COVID-19 pandemic at the EU level, and its consequences, and the exit of the United Kingdom from the EU. Other crisis, such as the migration crisis, that is still present, the green transition, the new elements of populism, nationalism, and protectionism trends, should not be put aside. The approval of the financial package will be the main priority of the Portuguese Presidency, because it will be crucial for the recovery of the member states' economies. It will be the first step to something close to the emission of the common debt, and probably a great step to a common budgetary policy. Another important aspect of the current integration process, that will be among the Portuguese priorities, pointed out by Ambassador Vinhas, is the protection of the internal market, the promotion of the industrialization of the economies and the climate change and social agendas.

## Programme

*Thursday, November 26 (CET Time)*

### 10h00 – 10h15 Words of Welcome

Prof. Dr. Nuno Severiano Teixeira, Director, Portuguese Institute of International Relations – NOVA University of Lisbon  
Prof. Dr. Jaap de Zwaan, Secretary General of TEPSA, Emeritus Professor, Erasmus University Rotterdam

### 10h15 – 11h15 Plenary Session 1: Portuguese Priorities and TEPSA Recommendations

*Chair:* Prof. Dr. Nuno Severiano Teixeira, Director, IPRI-NOVA  
*Keynote:* Ambassador Ana Paula Zacarias, Secretary of State for European Affairs, MFA, Portugal  
TEPSA Recommendations, Ilke Toygür, Analyst, Elcano Royal Institute  
Young Ideas Project recommendations

### 11h45 – 13h00 Plenary Session 2: The EU and the COVID-19 pandemic

*Moderator:* Michael Kaeding, Jean Monnet Professor, University of Duisburg-Essen  
*Speakers:*  
Carlos Gaspar, Senior Fellow, Portuguese Institute of International Relations – NOVA University of Lisbon  
Jim Cloos, Director General, Secretariat of the EU Council of Ministers  
Eleonora Poli, Senior Fellow, Istituto Affari Internazionali

### 15h00 – 16h00 Parallel Sessions

#### Parallel Session 1: European Green Deal

*Moderator:* Gaby Umbach, Professor, European University Institute  
*Speakers:*  
António Costa Silva, Chairman, Partex Oil and Gas  
Joana Castro Pereira, Researcher, Portuguese Institute of International Relations – NOVA University of Lisbon  
Emma Hakala, Senior Fellow, Finnish Institute of International Affairs

#### Parallel Session 2: Digital Agenda

*Moderator:* Samuel Stolton, Digital Editor, Euractiv  
*Speakers:*  
Olaf Osica, Research Fellow, Natolin European Centre-European Institute Lodz  
Hildegunn Kyvik Nordås, Research Professor, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs  
Andrea G. Rodríguez, Researcher, Barcelona Centre for International Affairs

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## 16h30 – 18h00 **Plenary Session 3: Geopolitics of Europe and European Defense**

**Moderator:** Isabelle Kumar, Presenter, Euronews

**Speakers:**

Clément Beaune, Secretary of State for European Affairs, France

Nicoletta Pirozzi, Head of EU Programme, Istituto Affari Internazionali

Ana Santos Pinto, Researcher, Portuguese Institute of International Relations – NOVA University of Lisbon

Juha Jokela, EU Programme Director, Finnish Institute of International Affairs

Senem Aydin Duzgit, Sabanci University

*Friday, November 27 (CET Time)*

## 11h30 – 12h30 **Parallel Sessions**

### **Parallel Session 3: Book Launch: Euroscepticism and the Future of Europe**

**Moderator:** Johannes Pollak, Webster Vienna Private University

**Speakers:**

Alice Cunha, Researcher, Portuguese Institute of International Relations – NOVA University of Lisbon

Marlene Wind, Director, Centre for European Politics

### **Parallel Session 4: Migration**

**Moderator:** Tom Law, Journalist, Global Forum for Media Development

**Speakers:**

Jaap de Zwaan, Secretary General TEPSA, Emeritus Professor, Erasmus University Rotterdam

Nanda Kellij, Project Leader, Dutch Ministry of Justice and Security

Madalina Moraru, Research Fellow, European University Institute

## 14h00 – 15h00 **Plenary Session 4: Differentiated Integration and the Future of Europe**

**Moderator:** Frank Schimmelfennig, Professor of European Politics, ETH Zürich

**Speakers:**

Stefan Telle, Research Associate, European University Institute

Katrin Auel, Head of EU Research, Institute for Advanced Studies Vienna

Ramūnas Vilpišauskas, Professor, Vilnius University

Gunilla Herolf, Senior Associate Research Fellow, Swedish Institute of Intl. Affairs

## 15h15 – 15h45 **Concluding Remarks**

Ambassador Rui Vinhas, Director General for European Affairs, MFA, Portugal

Prof. Dr. Nuno Severiano Teixeira, Director, Portuguese Institute of International Relations – NOVA University of Lisbon

Prof. Dr. Lucia Mokrá, Chairperson of the TEPSA Board