

strategic concept also mentions Portugal's commitment to EU crisis management operations as a priority for Portuguese Armed Forces. The view of ESDP as a necessary element for the credibility of Europe's foreign policy ambitions is also shared by the President of the Republic. The President also considers ESDP as an instrument to counter the feelings of insecurity shared by a majority of European citizens.

Public opinion is also largely in favour of the EU's CFSP. According to the Eurobarometer surveys, 65% of Portuguese support a common EU foreign policy, while only 14% oppose it. The same applies to the development of a common defence policy (68% for, 18% against), despite the fact that public opinion in Portugal is slightly less favourable to a common defence than the EU15 average.

The current coalition government PSD-CDS follows the main orientations from the previous governments in what CFSP/ESDP is concerned. The government's programme mentions CFSP as a "powerful factor for the strengthening of Portugal's position in the world". ESDP is described as an integral part of CFSP and "a crucial contribution to the reinforcement of Europe's security and defence architecture". This applies not only to the "traditional" areas of Portuguese foreign policy – such as Latin America, East-Timor and the Mediterranean – but also to all other regions which, after the next wave of EU enlargement, will become part of the Union's neighbourhood.

In general terms, Portugal's main concern is the preservation of a coherent and consensual CFSP, while ensuring the importance of NATO as the main guarantor of European security. Key interests correspond roughly to the priorities of national foreign policy. Apart from the relations with the United States, which should be seen in the context of preserving the role of NATO, the other areas to which Portugal attaches particular importance are Africa, Latin America, East Timor and the Mediterranean. Mainly because of EU and OSCE membership, the Balkans and Eastern Europe constitute also areas of interest.

II. National Perceptions and Positions with regard to CFSP/ESDP issues

1. Perceived success or failure of CFSP/ESDP:

§ Iraqi conflict:

The government sided with the US since the beginning of the Iraqi crisis and this stance was made clearer when Portugal, together with other seven European countries, signed the famous "Letter of the Eight" showing full solidarity with the American

In the aftermath to the armed conflict, Portugal joined the coalition forces by sending (in December 2002) a battalion of armed police officers to help in the patrolling of the Basra region.

§ September 11th:

The response to the September 11th terrorist attacks was hardly discussed in the context of CFSP/ESDP, mainly because the EU was not perceived, neither by political actors nor by observers as a particularly relevant actor in the process. The military campaign in Afghanistan against the Taleban regime and the subsequent stabilisation operations had little or none EU intervention and therefore cannot be seen as a success or failure of CFSP. The European dimension of the fight against terrorism is seen in Portugal mainly in the context of measures approved to reinforce co-operation in the field of Justice and Home Affairs, where the general national understanding is that EU member states should do more together.

§ Position towards NATO (in relationship with the ESDP)

As state above, Portugal has always been against any moves to reinforce ESDP which could in any way undermine the role of NATO as the main pillar of European security. The maintenance of NATO's primary responsibility in this area is seen as the best way to ensure a continued US commitment to Europe's security, as well as a privileged instrument for transatlantic relations in general. Portuguese positions in relation to this issue have evolved significantly since the early 1990s, when the government refused to consider giving the EU a role in defence matters, to a more pro-European position, which favours a development of ESDP in articulation with NATO, in a spirit of complementary and non-duplication. In this sense, the conclusion of the Berlin Plus agreement for the use of NATO assets in EU-led crisis management operations was received by the government as a fundamental step towards the operationality of ESDP. Berlin Plus should thus be the rule for EU operations, not the exception.

The proposals for the establishment of an EU operational planning staff that resulted from the April 2003 summit between the leaders of Belgium, France, Germany and Luxembourg also met with considerable scepticism by Portuguese authorities. The so-called "Tervuren proposal" was seen in Portugal as an initiative which could undermine NATO and establish a de facto "core Europe" (idea which in general is not supported by political and diplomatic circles).

§ Missions in Bosnia and Macedonia:

Portugal has repeatedly supported the development of the EU's civilian and military crisis management capacities as an important element for the operationality of ESDP and the overall strengthening of the Union's role in international affairs. Thus Portugal participated in the two ESDP missions in the Western Balkans – the European Union Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUPM) and the military operation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (fYROM), Operation Concordia. The fact that

the Force Commander of Concordia is a Portuguese general shows the country's commitment to EU crisis management.

2. The role of the EU in crisis management:

§ Kosovo:

Portugal participated in NATO's bombing against the Yugoslav armed forces in 1999 and has been involved in KFOR from the beginning of the operation. The participation in the NATO-led mission is very much in line with Portugal's positions on ensuring NATO's predominant role in Europe's security affairs. For the time being, no position has been taken about a potential take-over by the EU of the current NATO mission, as was the case in FYROM and almost certainly also in Bosnia.

§ Middle East:

The EU has for a long time been criticised in the media by opinion makers and academics for its lack of policy towards the Middle East and for not using its instruments for having a greater say over the course of events. Officially, the government has no strong position on the issue and limits itself to supporting the various initiatives aimed at ending the conflict, either in the context of the Quartet or the démarches by the EU High Representative Javier Solana.

3. The perceived impact of the EU enlargement on CFSD/ESDP (old versus new Europe)

Portugal has never been the greatest supporter of EU enlargement, mainly for fear of a future imbalance between East and South in an enlarged Europe. The same fears also apply, even if indirectly, to the CFSP/ESDP field. Since its accession, Portugal has always pledged for the strengthening of EU links with Latin America and Africa. In the 1990's Portugal also became a strong advocate of the various EU initiatives for co-operation with the Mediterranean, especially the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. Enlargement to eight new Member States from Central and Eastern Europe may re-direct Europe's interests too much to the East (including Belarus, Ukraine, Russia as well as the Caucasus). Portugal will certainly join the group of EU Member States which will pledge for a balance in Europe's external relations. To some extent, there is also some fear that enlargement carries the danger of further diluting EU's foreign policy, creating new fault lines between Member States and thus weakening the EU's voice in world affairs.

III. European Convention:

1. Contributions:

Contribution by Antonio Nazaré Pereira, alternate member of the Convention:- "Guidelines for parliamentary scrutiny of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)", CONV 606/03, 11 March 2003

Contribution by Alberto Costa, member of the Convention and Guilherme d'Oliveira Martins, alternate member of the Convention:- "Draft Proposal of addition of a new article on "The open method of coordination", CONV 701/03, 28 April 2003

Contribution by Ernâni R. Lopes, member of the Convention: "Draft contribution for the proceedings of the Convention on the inclusion of tourism in the future Constitutional Treaty", CONV 755/03, 22 May 2003

2. External Representation:

Although cautiously at first, the Portuguese government supports the creation of a Foreign

On enhanced co-operation and “structured co-operation”, Portugal supported the proposals of the Convention. Enhanced co-operation should be based on clear rules and open to all Member States willing to participate.

4. Crisis Management:

The Portuguese government supported the extension of the so-called Petersberg tasks to also include disarmament operations, military advice and post-conflict stabilisation. The use of military tasks is seen as necessary to guarantee the effectiveness of certain crisis management operations and should, to the extent possible, be complemented by civilian means.

5. Defence:

Due to its traditional Atlanticist stance, Portugal was one of the countries which fought in the Convention for the removal of any proposals which could undermine the role of NATO as the main guarantor of the collective security of its Member States. The inclusion in the constitutional text of a mutual solidarity clause in the case of terrorist attacks and natural disasters was particularly welcomed by the government. A mutually defence clause was not seen as necessary, but the government would also not oppose it.

Permanent structured co-operation arrangements should be allowed, even if the government would prefer a minimum number of Member States (eight) for the launching of such an arrangement. As previously mentioned, Portugal opposed the plans for the creation of a new European military HQ, as this was seen as a duplication of existing NATO structures.

IV. Mapping of Activities in CFSP-related Research

(Major experts, universities and research institutions working in the CFSP field in Portugal)

υααφορ εξπερτσ, υνιϋερσιτι