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Portugal, a country in transformation
Dir. Bernard Kayser
Dir. Bernard Kayser

Portugal between Lusophony, the European Union and the rest of the world

Geographical proximity, or not

Jean-Bernard Marie

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removed cooperation policies from its predecessors, as well as Brazil and Angola (albeit over-reliant on oil); there was political instability in Guinea-Bissau and elsewhere. Added to the dispersed geography, all this contributed to the CPLP's difficulties in finding broader platforms of cooperation and diplomacy.

However, a certain ostpolitik has prevailed in each of the member states, which was due to the inclusion of each state in very specific and regionalised geopolitical rationales. These operated, for example, between the European Union (in the case of Portugal), Mercosur (Brazil), the SADC (Southern Africa Development Community), to which Angola and Mozambique belong), ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States, to which Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau), and ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations (in which East Timor is an observer country). In this context, membership of the CPLP is always a supplementary strategy to other relationships that are governed by proximity.

15 Looking at the issue through the eyes of Portugal, the bridges in this Lusophone community had been translated into bilateral agreements that very specifically underline the importance of Brazil and Angola. The strategic importance of trade relations between Portugal and the other CPLP countries, they do not neglect other channels of contact. For example, Angola was important as a place for some Portuguese companies that spread and established themselves internationally, especially after the end of the Angolan civil war, the Portuguese-speaking Lusophone and the sovereign debt crisis the financial shock of 2010-2012.

16 One of the assets of the Portuguese-speaking world is the potential for interlinking between territories. Because they are associated with different geo-economic spheres and because the degree of integration is not very strong, moments of crisis do not always affect all the countries that compose CPLP (Community of Portuguese Language Countries) at the same time. On the other hand, the fact that some of the Portuguese-speaking countries are in a crisis in one Portuguese-speaking territory might coincide with a period of expansion in another. The relationship between Portugal and Angola should be seen in this light.

18 The end of the civil war and the establishment of peace in Angola was a factor that attracted Portuguese emigrants (GALITO, 2015). Angola then began an exponential cycle in public works. At this stage, it turned out to be an attractive destination for Portuguese companies, because it was in need of skilled and skilled human resources, in the area of civil construction, in particular, but in tourism too (MAUREROS, 2011).

19 The demand for Angolan territory by Portuguese emigrants was especially evident during the depression that affected Portugal in 2010-2014 as a result of the sub-prime crisis in the USA and the turmoil in the Eurozone. According to data from the General Directorate of Consular Affairs and Portuguese Communities (DGACCP, 2014), 106,082 Portuguese citizens registered in Portuguese Consulates in Angola in 2006. The number rose to 94,767 in 2010 and 126,356 in 2014. However, this demand has changed in recent years. According to PORDATA at (2017), in 2016 the figure fell to 70,666. Competition with Chinese companies and more specifically, the Chinese credit line, which was made available to Angola in the early 2000s and after 2011, made this destination less attractive. Angola's lack of economic diversification and the predominance of the petroleum sector slowed down the cycle of public works there.

20 Even so, this crisis in Angola did not have any immediate effect on the mobility of the Portuguese. According to PORDATA at (2017), 2009 saw 23,747 people emigrate to the country, according to official figures reported by the Portuguese Foreign Ministry. This contrasted with 2014, when the figure was again at 2014 (5,090) and 2015 (5,231). It was only in 2016 that the figure became a reality: the entry of Portuguese in Angola fell by approximately 42% (1,807 fewer entries then in the previous year).

21 Nonetheless, in 2016, Angola was still one of the main countries from which Portuguese left their country of residence (PORDATA, 2017). In the same year, 14 countries that, with 2,5 billion euros transferred to Portugal, contributed to 87.5% of remittances received in Portugal, in 2016. In this group, Angola was ranked 6th, representing 6.2% of the total transfers made by Portuguese emigrants (in a ranking led by France and Switzerland, traditional destinations of Portuguese emigration since the second half of the twentieth century).

Table 1 - Main countries of origin of remittances received in Portugal, in accordance with the transfers made in 2016

State	Let.500 euros	% Total
France	1.122,579	33.6
Switzerland	697,290	20.9
United Kingdom	284,970	8.5
Germany	253,710	7.6
USA	243,170	7.3
Angola	205,690	6.2
Spain	141,140	4.2
Luxembourg	124,260	3.7
Belgium	78,900	2.4
Netherlands	48,080	1.4
Canada	31,400	0.9
Brasil	21,200	0.6
Sweden	11,360	0.3
South Africa	9,980	0.3

Unit ☐ Transf.500 euro; 000 ☐

Source: Pires et al., 2017.

24 In addition to this relationship in terms of migration, capital investment by Angola in important sectors of the Portuguese economy like the media and banking was also significant. Along with the entry of Sonangol and Chinese capital, this cycle has led to a debate, still ongoing, on the loss control of strategic sectors and centers of decision making that matter to the strategic future of Portugal.

25 Even so, the relationship between Portugal and Angola experiences constant ups and downs, because it involves a very dense agenda, with very close contacts and entailing spells of mutual incomprehension. Since 2009-2013, in the State of the Nation address, the President of Angola, José Eduardo dos Santos, mentioned the ill-will between the two countries and the lack of conditions for entering into any kind of strategic partnership (NANGI, 2014).

26 Other authors (FERREIRA, 2011), however, thought that the prospects for Portugal to assert itself on the African continent must also involve non-Lusophone countries, particularly those in the Southern Cone (Angola, South Africa, Cuba) and South Africa. Contacts were established with them through the creation of chambers of commerce and the installation of delegations of the AICEP (Business Development Agency, a state body intended to promote Portugal abroad).

27 Even so, it is impossible to contemplate the presence of Portugal in Africa without possible and potential partnerships with the Lusophone countries. Angola, Mozambique and Cape Verde are the three Lusophone countries that been expanding and will continue to do so in the immediate future. However, if the focal point of Portuguese should shift from Europe to Brazil, the forecasts are not promising. By a new paradox, by an increase of importance of the African continent, the territory would become the main counterpart (MENDES, Speaking demographic, economic and strategic terms, Portugal is TRIANGULAR & ESPANHOLA, 2016). This lot of centrality on the part of the Portuguese language reaffirms the insignificant and exogenous nature of Portugal, because the Portuguese Lusophone community would take this account the Portuguese diaspora which contributes a disproportionate material network of about 4 million Portuguese and of people of Portuguese descent.

28 Still hoping to assess whether the Portuguese language can be said, in the words of J. WTE (2005), to be a strategically-relevant skill power, the variable geometry of the position of Portugal in the world can also be based in hubs and in areas of cooperation which, on the basis of cultural ties, open channels of contact in other strategic areas.

29 The transfer of the administration of Macau to China in 1999 opened one of these points of contact. The Macau Special Administrative Region (MSR) is a

> small enclave in southern China with Lusophone specificities [...] the only Chinese-speaking territory where Portuguese is the official language, the legal system has a Portuguese basis, a significant percentage of the mass media function in English and there is a supply of Lusophone culture, from the arts and shows to gastronomy (MENDES, 2013).

30 For the Chinese government, Macau can be a channel of contact with the various Portuguese-speaking countries. For the Chinese authorities, via the former administration of Macau, Portugal is valuable as a connection to the Lusophone world. In 2003, the Chinese government and Macau SAR jointly promoted a comprehensive strategic partnership (MENDES, 2013 and 2014).

31 According to AICEP (2016), in 2016 Portugal was only the 71st importer of Chinese products (with a share of 0.13%), and 68th in terms of Exports (0.09% of the total). As regards the importation of Chinese products, these are sent by sea to the ports of Sines and Lisbon. Also in 2016, China accounted for just 1.3% of exports to and 2.4% of imports from Portugal. These figures show that there is room for improvement in relations between the two countries. On a broad perspective, in a strategic focused on Macau but not oriented solely to the economy. In fact, as in the case of China, the inclusion of Portugal in the world could also involve its role as a link between different parts of the globe. This potential is largely due to the geographical position of the country, but it also relies on the fact that Portugal is a kind of "cultural" intermediary between different territories of the world, an experience that can be put into many countries, on a global scale.

32 Under a transitional period that will last until 2049, Portuguese culture and heritage have been protected in Macau, whose historic center, sponsored by China, has been classified by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site. The Forum for Economic and Trade Cooperation (known by the Macau Forum) was set up in October 2003 and, since then, it has been a key tool for Portuguese-speaking countries (Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal and East Timor), apart from São Tomé and Príncipe, which maintains diplomatic relations with Taiwan. The Macau Forum has turned out to be an institution that uses cultural ties with Portugal to foster contact between the Chinese and the Portuguese-speaking countries. Moreover, the Macau forum could have a broader diplomatic relevance in maintaining ties between China and the Lusophone territories (MENDES, 2013 and 2014).

Conclusion

33 In a context permeated by the multiple dimensions of Portugal's presence in international affairs, the conclusion must not lose sight of the fact that national political territories are now highly vulnerable entities, rotted and influenced by the international context (INNERARITY, 2016). The weaknesses of the Portuguese state, which are the result of its peripheral status in Europe, of the collateral effects of pathways and political tensions in countries such as Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States, could all affect the future of Portugal in multiple ways. Nationalist tensions could influence the future of Portugal's Iberian neighbor. Brexit and the recent populist drift of the USA could also have a negative impact on Portugal. In the case of the latter, the country cannot be indifferent. For example, the United States' strategic options will have a bearing on the centrality of the Lajes base (Azores), within an organization, NATO, in which Portugal has been losing in terms of its strategic position.

34 We are already a long way from the ideologies, the context and the map which at the beginning of the 20th century saw colonial Portugal as a major country. Still, as Fernando Nobre (2010) points out, Portugal is not a small country with a surface area of about 92,000 km^2 and a population of approximately 10 million inhabitants, at 85 level it can be considered a medium-sized country.

35 However, the importance derived from its economic and political powers is a variable that is harder to measure. A MORENA (1997) believes the path of Portugal will be in the sovereignty of service, in the role of a country that ensures the mobility of people, goods and services, in the capacity to build bridges, to promote contact, dialogue and diplomatic rapprochement between different parts of the world. Portugal is seen as a country that moves in multiple geographical contexts, a country with a historically rooted soft power that might be put at the service of Europe and the international community. Portugal is a country that, because of its history, has a particular sensitivity to positions of international importance, and it is also visible in the potential mediation rule between East and West, via the territory of Macau.

36 Finally, it is important to note that ownership should be considered in a context of multiple identities, in which the relationship between politics, economics and culture is a diffuse and capricious one. Far from being a single, monochrome brand, Lusophony is part of a complex dynamic, in the words of J. WTE (2005), of a "multicultural" and "multilingual" space. It is a space of linguistic ties could, from the perspective of Portugal, be an added value, but only within the framework of a variable geometry of relations and identities in a transnational geographic area of diversity. It is in this perspective that Portugal should be viewed in the context of multi-territorial relations (MENDES, 2016). In this sense, the Portuguese-speaking world is a multi-territory (a sovereignty greatly constitutional today), encompassed by its political borders, in the western part of the Iberian Peninsula.

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About the author

João Leal J. Fernandes
Department of Geography and Tourism/University of Coimbra/CEGOT,
fernandes@fl.uc.pt

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