2 Portuguese Language Globalism

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> We move from envelopes to envelopes, from folds to folds, never from a private sphere to the Great outside.
>
> (Latour, 2009: 7)

INTRODUCTION

The main objective of this chapter is to present and discuss some relevant aspects of the ongoing debate in the field of language studies regarding the relationship between politics, linguistic policy and globalization. The first aspect of these debates relates to the language policy models that guide contemporary discourses on the diffusion of Portuguese as an international language, lingua franca or common language, in spaces/times produced in recent decades by economic and financial globalization. As I intend to show, those models are inherited from colonialism (the Portuguese imperial model), neo-colonialism (the hegemonic national model) and also postcolonialism and decolonization (the transnational, transcultural and transidiomatic model).

The second aspect, not separable from the first, relates to the modes of articulation and disarticulation of these models within the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP hereafter). As stated on its official website,[1] the CPLP is a transnational organization designed for "political and diplomatic coordination" and "cooperation in all domains", in addition to the "promotion and dissemination of the Portuguese language".[2] Brazil and Portugal are members of the CPLP along with the PALOP group (African Countries with Portuguese as an Official Language: Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and São Tomé e Príncipe), East-Timor, Equatorial Guinea and the Special Autonomous Region of Macau (China).

But beyond the common experience of colonialism and the Portuguese language as a colonial legacy, the salient characteristic of this 'community' is the striking heterogeneity of the 10 countries that comprise it, from an ethnocultural, sociolinguistic, socio-historical and socio-economic point of

view. And in the context of globalized relational space/time, their global 'placements' are also significantly heterogeneous, in terms of the levels and scales that stratify them within space and time and that stratify the relationships between them (Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck, 2005; Blommaert, 2010).

As pointed out by Sheppard (2002), placements in social and geographical spaces, restructured by contemporary globalization, are a result of transactions over networks (with types and degrees of connectivity between multiscalar units). The trajectories of these transactions constitute a decisive factor in influencing the conditions of possibility for each agent, place or country in globalizing processes. Consequently, they are also a determinant of the different modes of appropriation of themes and issues related to Portuguese and the CPLP, as described later. The political dimension of these different types of ownership is yet another factor to be considered, as shown in my previous work concerning language policy (Signorini, 2001, 2002, 2006a, 2006b).

In the following section, I present the most general traits that characterize linguistic globalization in relation to economic and financial globalization. These traits are also to be considered for the specific case of the Portuguese language, as shown in the following sections.

LANGUAGE POLICY AND GLOBALIZATION

Since the late 1990s, talking about language policy and globalization is often the same as talking about policy frameworks and strategies, usually institutional, for fostering and managing transnational linguistic markets. Thus, a language policy at the national level which targets transnational issues aims at producing and circulating linguistic or semiotic products (e.g. 'the information society', 'the knowledge society') alongside non-linguistic products. Such transnational markets are therefore linked to economic activity and to cultural communities (not only national communities) and to circuits and/or spaces produced by processes, networks and transnational flows of capital, goods and people.

And since, in the context of globalized capitalism, linguistic markets are in 'synergy' with other markets, including labour markets and capital markets, other actors beyond the state and more traditional literacy agencies (like the family, school, press or church, for example) are involved in determining these policies.

As pointed out by Thomas (2007: 84), it is not difficult to identify these actors—"nation-states, firms, international governmental organizations (IGOs), international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), a host of other associations and individuals". But Thomas (2007: 84) has also noted that "it is more difficult to delineate their identities, interests, actions and interrelations, and just how they relate to globalization and its processes."

Another aspect to be noted, which has already clearly been foregrounded by scholars undertaking critical studies, is the political-ideological basis of contemporary economic and financial globalization. As shown by Steger (2005), empirically observable globalizing processes, such as the expansion and densification of networks and flows of capital, goods and services, are no longer seen as effects and start to be seen as causes of the status quo through the ideology of globalism: a well-articulated set of ideas, beliefs and values borrowed mainly from Anglo-Saxon liberal and conservative traditions.

Therefore, as Steger (2005) observes, the ideology of globalism justifies the economic, political and social order produced by the internationalization of trade and finance under the aegis of the complex network of international partners, ratifying it: capitalism (mis)governed by the laws of the market is the only—or the best—alternative for the world. Simultaneously, the ideology of globalism forecasts that socio-political order as 'natural' and 'irreversible': there is nothing outside the market. Thus, the political role of globalism "consists chiefly in preserving and enhancing asymmetrical power structures that benefit particular social groups" (Steger, 2005: 11). This political role is enacted by different actors and partners, including the nation-state and international corporations, as mentioned above.

In the specific case of linguistic globalization, i.e. of commodification of language and globalization of linguistic markets in a 'knowledge society' or 'information society', language policy will be primarily related to capital gain, i.e. to the economic value assigned to a given language as a resource that can bring advantages in the competition for global markets. In fact, as pointed out by Albuquerque and Esperança (2010), the value of a language depends more on its ability to create different types of relations, especially economic relations, but also scientific, cultural and social ones, than on other factors, such as the number of speakers and their interests, or on specific policies (2010: 1, 3). From this perspective, the language of the customer is the language of business, not necessarily global English, as illustrated by the linguistic issues that arise within the CPLP, as will be seen below.

INTERESTS AND SOLIDARITIES IN PORTUGUESE

By the early 2000s, the Portuguese linguist Maria Helena Mira Mateus succinctly posed the challenge of a joint redefinition of a transnational language policy for Portuguese as a 'mother tongue' or as a foreign language in terms of "international networks of interests and institutional solidarity" (Mateus, 2009: 1). Claiming the need for a change in policy direction, she argued that discussions about what "variety" of the Portuguese language should be disseminated globally and how could not be dissociated from the why and

where of doing so. And by proposing that all countries where Portuguese is spoken should participate in this endeavour, the author used parentheses to criticize Brazil and Portugal and their disagreement about the variety of Portuguese that should be taught globally because both countries consider themselves to be holders of the standard to be disseminated.

The main interest arising from this author's claims for the discussion proposed in this chapter lies in the reference to some of the most relevant ongoing issues relating to language policies for transnational Portuguese, or globalization of Portuguese, as described below.

LUSOPHONE GLOBALISM IN A POSTCOLONIAL ERA

> This helm is manned by more than my hand:
> I am a Nation that covets your sea.
>
> (Pessoa, n.d.)

The first issue mentioned in the previous section is the turning of political orientation in order to contemplate matters of interest that, according to Mateus, best suit the contemporary international scene. One can understand this turning as a reorientation of strategic lines supporting the diffusion of the Portuguese language through institutional programmes, which had previously been shaped by the colonial and neo-colonial rhetoric about brotherhood and solidarity. Following this traditional rhetoric, solidarity between brothers should be a spontaneous, fundamental and indisputable fact concerning lusophone speakers, since they are speakers of the same language and heirs of a common past—in this case, the past of Portuguese colonization/domination. Therefore, there has certainly been a reorientation towards meeting the needs of networks with economic interests but also towards the geopolitical and geostrategic interests of the different countries within the CPLP.

And this more 'pragmatic' or globalist reorientation of programmes for the diffusion of the Portuguese language—and the articulation of a need to know "exactly where, how and why" to disseminate Portuguese, in Mateus' terms—has been thematized since then at different times and by different institutional spokespersons. Take, for example, a political statement made in 2009, when the then general director of the National Defense Policy of the Ministry of Defence of Portugal stated that within the CPLP there is "love" but also "interests". On that occasion, his goal was to argue for greater interaction between members of the CPLP in the fields of arms and related technological industries, with a view to joining forces in the fight against terrorism, trafficking and piracy (BOL Notícias, 18 March 2009: 1).[3] This statement reflected and echoed broader international movements that have been orchestrated by the US government since the attacks of 11 September. And according to a former chief of the General Staff of the Portuguese Army,

the cooperation between countries where Portuguese is an official language would have a strategic role, as it would give greater relevance to the bloc in the twenty-first century, with an emphasis on the "Brazil-Luanda-Lisbon triangle" (ibid.).

The reference to the old Portuguese empire of the South Atlantic is recurrent in the official discourse of representatives of the CPLP. In these discourses, geopolitical, geostrategic and economic interests of contemporary globalism (economic exploitation of the 200 miles of Atlantic coast and military control of the South Atlantic, for example) are confused with messianic ideals tantamount to old spaces of Portuguese domination. Accordingly, in 2000, Feldman-Bianco even states that the CPLP "as a 'new' supranational territory in Portuguese, significantly known as the *Community of Feelings*, is the new face of the Portuguese empire in times of economic globalization" (2000: 40, italics in the original).

Actually, in the 2010s, the resonances of colonial discourse are still present, although the interests and solidarities that move Portuguese globalism, particularly in terms of expansion in the economic and political fields, are better specified. In an interview given in 2010 and published in 2011 about the CPLP, the then president of ELO (Portuguese Association for Economic Development and Cooperation) said that he was convinced that membership in transnational blocs adds value to individual countries' international cooperation initiatives and policies. And the interest of ELO in Portugal's participation in the CPLP was, according to him, justified by the fact that Portugal stands out within "the lusophone space", in contrast to this standing of Portugal within "the European space" (Sousa Galito, 2011: 4). The ELO president then went on to say that as the "lusophone space" in question is the space of the former empire, Portugal has to win it back by turning towards the sea and towards the countries where Portuguese is the official language (5). He said he was promoting this strategy mainly because, from an economic point of view, the CPLP had been nourished more by abstractions than by "realities" (4).

The themes of Portuguese difficulties in coping with the demanding requirements of the European Union and the urgent need to find alternatives outside Europe occur very frequently in the Portuguese press and are far rarer in official statements within the CPLP. The uncertainties and dangers of these two scenarios are metaphorically depicted on the cover of the volume *Portugal—Essay against Self-Flagellation*, written by the Portuguese sociologist Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2011). The cover displays a photographic reproduction of part of the work of the Portuguese artist Carlos No, entitled "Desfiladeiro (Canyon)".[4] In this work of art, some people with suitcases are on a kind of plateau surrounded by cliffs on all sides. Apparently, they are walking towards a thin cord that connects one side of the plateau to somewhere across the unseen chasm.

When recontextualized by the radical critique of contemporary Portuguese/European globalism put forward by Souza Santos in the volume,

this image captures both the circumscribed space of Portugal in the current European system and the unique and improbable escape route to the west referred to by the president of ELO, cited above. In addition, this image inevitably brings to mind for the reader the cultural memory of the caravels, the fragile ships which took the Portuguese around the world, as well as the memory of the sea-monster that frightened them as they sailed across the oceans of the globe, as described in the epic poetry of Camões and Pessoa and illustrated by the well-known poem quoted at the beginning of this section.

More recently, this Atlantic alternative has been reconfigured in order to go a little beyond the strictly commercial and geostrategic reference to the empire. This is what can be seen, for example, in a discussion topic list that was tabled at an international meeting held in early 2012 in Lisbon and supported by the CPLP and the Portuguese government. That was the first Meeting "Strategic Triangle: Latin America—Europe—Africa", organized by IPDAL (Institute for the Promotion and Development of Latin America), the Luso-Spanish Foundation and LIDE-Portugal (a group of business leaders). There was also participation by non-European representatives.

Interestingly, in this case, the triangle of the Atlantic empire was extended to include both Spain and transnational networks of Hispanic 'interests and solidarities' outside Europe through the generic designation of Africa and Latin America. In his speech to the participants of the event, the Deputy Prime Minister and Deputy Minister of Parliamentary Affairs of Portugal justified the "openness to the world" that would be achieved through the expansion of the Portuguese networks of "interests and solidarities" beyond Europe and the lusophone world. Although reaffirming the Atlantic identity of Portugal, he also emphasized its European identity: "We are a European and Atlantic people" (Relvas, 2012: 3).

Four topics were proposed for discussion during the event (CPLP Website Notícias, 12 March 2012[5]). Although commercial and business interests were first on the list, interests tied to the Portuguese language appeared as early as the second topic, tied to cultural and academic interests. A good example of how academic interests (topic 2) will be aligned to commercial and business interests (topic 1) within the "Strategic Triangle" (referred to in the title of the event) is as follows: a so-called Atlantic MBA has been created by the Catholic universities of Porto, Angola and São Paulo (the Catholic University of São Paulo has now been replaced by the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro). The coordinator responsible for this MBA programme explained in a recently published interview that the Atlantic MBA was born out of a globalizing dream about strengthening links within a solid lusophone economic bloc (Queirós, 2012). When asked to further explain the role of language in this "dream", he pointed out that the linguistic markets of Angola and Brazil are of paramount importance to lusophone managers, particularly for Portuguese managers, since he believes that any foreign company that wants to succeed in such markets must recruit Portuguese-speaking managers. This

argument leads us back to the pragmatic and globalist 'turn' suggested by Mateus (2009) above. Associating "interests and solidarities" in terms of contemporary globalism means knowing "exactly where, how and why" to disseminate a transnational language, even when the "global" target market is actually restricted to the "Strategic Triangle" of the former Portuguese empire (Porto, instead of Lisbon, Luanda, and São Paulo instead of Rio de Janeiro).

On the institutional website of the Atlantic MBA,[6] dominant commodifying discourses of traditional and contemporary lusophone identities served as a relevant and persuasive resource. There are similar discourses in the presentation of the course's mission statement. By quoting a well-known verse from the Portuguese poet Fernando Pessoa—"My homeland is my language"—the notions of homeland, language, globalization and the lusophone world are clearly associated with a business and academic enterprise.

The same argument, about the opportunities opened up by language markets in "developing countries" that are "growing rapidly", appears in publicity and advertising for more popular linguistic products, such as language courses. And what draws most attention is the same attempt to articulate arguments borrowed from the old and new discourses on lusophone culture and, in the case of European Portuguese, arguments borrowed from the lusophone project designed for the CPLP.

This is what one can see, for example, in an advertisement for Portuguese courses for foreigners, published in an electronic magazine aimed at a transnational audience. In this magazine, in which "5 Reasons to Learn Portuguese" are listed (Silva 2011: 1). The first reason given is a "competitive advantage" in the labour market, since Brazil is a BRICS country. The PALOP group and East-Timor are mentioned next as places that offer "volunteer opportunities", and then São Tomé e Príncipe is mentioned as a destination for "exotic vacations". Portugal is mentioned only at the end of the list with reference to "Portuguese smiles". Here, specific cultural traits traditionally attributed to Portuguese people, such as friendliness, are associated with contemporary multilingualism. These identification processes evoke both an idealized "Portuguese way of being in the world" and the modernization and Europeanization that have been sought by Portugal since its entry into the European Union in 1986.

BRAZILIAN GLOBALISM AND NATIONAL HEGEMONY

> When the Portuguese arrived [. . .]
> He dressed the native Indian in clothes.
>
> (Andrade and Vidal, 1996: 93)

As mentioned above, Mateus (2009) asserted the existence of a single Portuguese language, which is locally realized through hierarchically

arranged 'varieties'. The ensuing political dispute over both the legitimacy of the criteria for the hierarchization of national varieties, and the legitimacy of the roles attributed to their speakers in the definition of a transnational standard, always had the potential to create a new source of tension between Portugal and its former colonies, particularly Brazil, as most recently illustrated by the debates about the spelling agreement at the end of the 2000s.

For the Brazilian linguist Castilho (2010: 23), this debate is a sterile one: whereas the aim is to define a language policy for disseminating Portuguese, there has been little systematic description of these 'varieties' of Portuguese in the world, and the question about unity around the language should be removed from the agenda since up to now the debate has only fanned "anachronistic nationalisms" and caused old grudges to resurface. From Castilho's point of view, all this is contributing to postponing the creation of a positive agenda for the lusophone world, which he sees as an "urgent and necessary" agenda.

In fact, disagreements between Portugal and Brazil relating to the relative value and prestige of 'European' (i.e. that of Portugal) and Brazilian varieties are not new. They are also mentioned by Mateus (2009), but they have now acquired greater visibility with the Brazilian globalism, since Brazil is more focused on bilateral and multilateral relations with other countries, particularly with the so-called Global South. However, as shown by Miyamoto (2009: 33), no special attention is devoted to the members of other CPLP states, despite the rhetoric of "brothers joined in history". According to Miyamoto, in the case of relations with Africa, recent data clearly point out that Brazilian interests are concentrated in three countries: South Africa, Angola and Nigeria. Of these three, only Angola is a member of the CPLP.

But according to a former Brazilian foreign minister, currently a defence minister and the main articulator of foreign policy in the 2000s, the Brazilian multi-ethnic and multicultural experience has shaped a more cosmopolitan and less provincial globalism:

> I feel very Latin American, a descendant of a Spanish grandmother and a Portuguese grandfather; but I am also very South American and I have no difficulty telling the world that South America has its own personality. So when the idea came up [. . .] to hold a meeting with the Arab countries, which was a great success, we decided to do it with South America because we saw the need to develop awareness of South America and this does not make us less Ibero-American, less Latin American, or in the case of Brazil, *minor members of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries*, this does not make us less eligible citizens of the world.
>
> (Amorim, 2011: 136–137; emphasis added)

From this perspective, the role of Brazil in the CPLP is changing in sectors that were traditionally linked to Portuguese leadership. Also according to Celso Amorim,

> the Portuguese-speaking countries look to Brazil as a source of technical cooperation and provision of services in the field of education and vocational training. There is also great interest in the progress of Brazilian agriculture and a desire to intensify contacts aimed at rural development.
>
> (2011: 218)

As a result, the Brazilian government initiatives for language diffusion almost always come in the wake of programmes designed to improve economic development and expand the zones of geopolitical and geostrategic influence for the country. This also occurs in connection with the CPLP countries, even when the European variety has been chosen as a particular country's national standard. According to Miyamoto (2009: 40), the hypothesis is that as CPLP state members participate in various international organizations, by operating with them, "Brazil could [. . .] enlarge its sphere of action, thus obtaining an indirect result".

Actually, from a Brazilian perspective, a common language within the lusophone community should be thought of as an outcome, a point of arrival, rather than a cultural and spiritual *origo*, or point of departure, as envisioned from a Portuguese postcolonial perspective. The following comment, made by Amorim during his term as foreign minister in a meeting with the foreign ministers of the Central American Community of Nations (CASA) in 2006 in Santiago de Chile, is instructive in this respect:

> There was a text here that some of you may not have been able to read since it is in Portuguese, but part of the Community's work is to develop a common language, similar to 'Portunhol'.[7]
>
> (Amorim, 2011: 135)

There has been considerable controversy about the status of Portunhol within the various trade 'communities' and bilateral and multilateral cooperation programmes established in recent years by the Brazilian government. Nevertheless, the debate in Brazil related to having a transnational common language as a working language (i.e. a language at the service of "networks of interests and solidarities", which are not necessarily linguistic in nature) definitively does not echo the current postcolonial rhetoric about a lusophone space of affectivity and convergent identities due to a common linguistic heritage. As pointed out by Barros (2009) in his study of the mythology that underpins such rhetoric, instead of insisting on the idea of affective sharing between Portugal and its former colonies, it would be more productive to focus on the postcolonial recontextualizations of colonial memories and narratives in order to better understand the contemporary "national and nationalist" identity representations produced by each lusophone country. The poem quoted at the beginning of this section is a well-known example of Brazilian postcolonial recontextualization of narratives about Portuguese colonization.

The identity representations outlined by Brazilian globalism are related to the idea of leadership in building strategic partnerships and opportunities. They actually rely on the rewriting of colonial narratives of the distant past, and also the recasting of neo-colonial narratives about the recent past, in order to highlight a successful multi-ethnic and multicultural 'experience', albeit much idealized.

Therefore, contemporary Brazil definitely does not meet the requirements that should be fulfilled by legitimate CPLP members, according to the former president of the Portuguese Language Observatory (Observatório da Língua Portuguesa). In a lecture delivered in 2011 in Macau, at the opening session of the seminar "The Portuguese Language in the Context of Dialogue between China and the Lusophone World", he asserted that only the former colonies which have genuine nostalgia for the ancient metropolis and a "true appetite" for the Portuguese language should benefit from CPLP actions (Correia, 2011b).

In short, the Brazilian experience is an experience of difference from—not convergence towards—the official Portuguese and lusophone rhetoric. It is usually more clearly highlighted in official and unofficial discourses within the CPLP, despite being formulated in ambiguous and generic terms on a frequent basis. This is mainly because it is an experience that lacks any reference to a monolingual and monocultural origin, unlike that designed by the lusophone tradition of a single 'mother country', which merges with the imagined notion of a one-language country and with the imagined notion of a unique experience, even in diaspora and despite decolonization.

Thus, at the same time that the multilingual and multicultural background of the national language of Brazil is asserted, the alleged uniqueness of transnational Portuguese becomes very controversial. This point is mentioned by Castilho (2010). To recognize the existence of an original language-country link is to recognize a hierarchical relationship between the 'language' and other varieties: not merely a rigid division between centre and periphery but also an asymmetry of power. In the specific case of Brazil, which has long been considered autonomous regarding its language, the controversy acquires nationalistic tones, and the 'diffusion' of the language is intertwined with the question of national hegemony. In a similar manner, the opposition movement in Portugal to the Orthographic Agreement of 1990 became a movement against the 'Brazilianization' of a Portuguese national heritage. Besides nationalism and linguistic ideologies (Hobsbawm, 1990; Balibar, 1991; Signorini, 2002), that episode gave great impetus and visibility to the dispute relating to the issue of a common lusophone identity, both linguistic and cultural.

But as indicated by the sociolinguistic studies of globalization (Blommaert, 2003, 2009, 2010; Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck, 2005; Coupland, 2010; Heller, 2011), the stratified polycentric relationships between contemporary spaces/times, both territorially based, as in the case of nation-states, and non-territorially based, as in the case of blocs and

transnational networks, involve an important reordering of roles and positions at different scale levels. I understand stratified polycentricity in the sense that no centre or reference point is positioned in the same way as the scales change, and therefore no centre or reference point has the same relational value (Shepard, 2002). This explains the instability and fluidity of blocs or transnational networks, particularly those as diverse as the CPLP.

Just think of the example of Portugal and Brazil within the CPLP: even though they were the only two countries in the group that showed, respectively, 'very high' and 'high' human development indexes (Correia, 2011a) in 2010, and therefore see themselves as legitimate candidates for taking up leadership positions at the Community CPLP level, they will take different positions as the scale levels change. This is what occurs in their relationship with the Global North, i.e. the European Community and the Group of Eight (G8; the forum for the governments of eight of the world's largest national economies, and those with a higher human development index). This has also occurred in their relationship with transnational bodies like the World Bank and the World Trade Organization, for example.

In a similar way, the strategy of the African countries has been aimed at involving the largest number of blocs and transnational networks that can bring them benefits. This too is a response to the stratified polycentrism produced by economic and financial globalization.

AFRICAN DIFFERENCE AND CRITIQUES OF GLOBALISM

> PALOP—black Afrikans[8] speaking mandatory Portuguese
> the Portuguese gave us hell as heritage [. . .]
>
> (Bob Da Rage Sense, 2007)

A third component to be considered in discussions of contemporary globalization of Portuguese is the critique of globalism. This is not contemplated by Mateus in her remarks on the subject cited above. Among the different critiques of globalism within the CPLP, the highlights are those that have an aesthetic dimension, i.e. forms of expression that work creatively in the reconfiguration of perception, space, time and meanings and that simulate possible disruption in the 'natural' (or naturalized) order of reality.

Rancière (1995, 1999, 2000, 2007) argues that the aesthetic dimension is of the order of creation in the sensitive field of perceptible forms of life, and, as such, it is common to art and politics. However, it is not about conventional, managerial and bureaucratic politics, as the order established by conventional politics is, according to this author, a "policing"[9] order: a partition of sensible/perceptible forms disrupted by political means. Thus, according to the policing order, roles, opportunities and competences are already given, favouring the reproduction of the status quo, not the game

and experimentation, let alone disagreement, which is the core of politics, according to Rancière. But disagreement is not confrontation or rational debate about interests and opinions, as predicted by managerial politics. It is the reconfiguration of a policing order so as to make seen what was not visible, for example the forms of domination; to hear what was regarded as noise; or to enforce the principle of equality where one has inequality. And the reconfiguration of the policing order is performed through the transgression of boundaries and the circulation patterns provided for therein.

Within the CPLP, the African condition, which is a kind of exotic condition of otherness to be monetized within the parameters of contemporary globalism, has been an important catalyst for ways of manifesting a critique of globalism in the symbolic field. The symbolic field has thus become a field of experimentation with powers of freedom and equality, the most fundamental issues of political struggle in the sense proposed by Rancière. And the person who best explains that particular African condition, which had not really changed since colonial times, is the Angolan national poet, playwright, filmmaker and novelist Ruy Duarte de Carvalho. In a lecture delivered in 2008 and published in 2011, he describes how he felt distressed by the fact that the same agents that had "harassed" the population in order to engage them in processes of Westernization and technologization are now intending to impose on them the preservation of their non-Western archaic cultural models because such models have become more profitable to integrate tourism programmes, alongside herds of wildlife, as living representations of an "ecological and redeemer" exoticism (Carvalho, 2011).

Effectively, African artistic creation in general and the literary mode in particular have been a privileged space for the reconfiguration of the globalist policing order. This is demonstrated by contemporary lusophone African literature, which is often focused on the reconfiguration of the space, time, shape and meaning of nation and nationality since the independence struggles in the 1970s. And embedded in the same process, there are the reconfigurations of a literary order inherited mainly from Portuguese and European traditions, with their divisions and boundaries well established. In this regard, the subversions of gender, for example, are seen as "an anti-colonial, anti-imperial attitude" by the Angolan novelist Pepetela (Wieser, 2005).

And, from the perspective of African multilingualism, reconfigurations of the linguistic order are of great importance. As a second language or 'language of national unity', Portuguese is reinvented in poetry and prose through clashes/amalgamation with local languages and traditional oral genres. This occurs, for example, in the works of the well-known Mozambican novelists Mia Couto and Cassano, among many others. The same could be said about the African music and cinema that have been circulating in lusophone culture festivals (Bamba, 2010; Siegert, 2010).

In the field of literature and art in general, inherited forms of language are re-appropriated in new combinations, in more or less transgressive ways in relation to the globalist logic of stratified relational spaces/times within the CPLP. In addition to these developments in art and literatures, one needs to take account of small disruptions of routine processes supporting the status quo, even when they are fleeting or occur with almost no fanfare.

A good example of this is the description and evaluation of a proposed reconfiguration of the CPLP logo, as posted in 2005 in a discussion forum.[10] It was a forum available online and devoted to issues related to defence, politics and international relations. Participants were mainly lusophone military from different countries. An apparently harmless change in the graphic representation of the CPLP, such as displaying the flags of CPLP countries in alphabetical order, introduced a disturbance in the policing order and in the traditional symbolic representation of the CPLP. The discussion that was initiated, particularly by a Portuguese participant, pertained not only to the globalist logic that animates the community as a bloc, or to the 'network of interests and solidarities', but also to the ideological components of contemporary globalism borrowed from colonialism and neo-liberal systems of domination. The comments of the Portuguese participants referred to a piece of news published by an Angolan newspaper on topics discussed at a symposium held at the Assembly of the Republic of Angola in 2005, by the Circle of Lusophone Reflection. The symposium was organized to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the PALOP group. In the assessment of the Portuguese participant, the most contentious issue consisted of a proposal to change the CPLP's graphic logo by replacing the present armillary sphere with eight interlocking circles with a non-circular framework formed by flags of the CPLP countries. He questioned the arrangement of the flags in the framework since the flag of Angola was the first one that appeared on the upper part of the framework, while those of Portugal and Brazil were just below, put on a "second level". In particular, the status of the Portuguese flag seemed to him to be "quite diminished".

Actually, in CPLP's official representations, the flags of Portugal and Brazil normally appear together, in that order, before others. In graphic representations, such as the one that appears on the official website of the CPLP,[11] a stylized armillary sphere, without the identification of national colours or flags, avoids discussions about the order of presentation of national symbols. However, when national flags compose the image, Portuguese and Brazilian flags are usually positioned diametrically facing each other: the first placed in the centre at the top of the sphere and the second placed in the centre at the bottom.

Thus, in the episode above, it is interesting to note that the proposed reconfiguration of the logo through the rearrangement of positions on a symbolic level was evaluated by the forum participant as a misleading

calculation of the economic value of Angolan oil, as a determining factor in the economic performance of this country within the CPLP and, therefore, within the division and arrangement of the parts that constitute it as a bloc or network of 'interests and solidarities', according to the logic of globalism. And when he realized that the criterion of alphabetical ordering could explain the positioning of the flag of Angola before others, he did not change his initial hypothesis about the possibility of a purposeful action by Angola to stay "on top" because of the oil. He also mentioned the difference in size of the Portuguese flag on the logo reproduced by the Angolan newspaper as another sign of that. His explanation for such actions was anchored by the following racist stereotype: a "clear" inferiority complex on the part of Angolan people in relation to the Portuguese, as demonstrated by disputes on football fields.

The political dimension of this episode is found in the fact that reconfiguring the logo violates the established symbolic order and, in Rancière's terms, allows us to see what was not visible. It allows us to see a mode of expression and demonstration that is determined, on the one hand, by the current state of inequality and, on the other hand, by a potential state of equality: whereas the relational positions are not actually equivalent to each other within the CPLP, all countries where Portuguese is an official language are legitimate members of the CPLP, regardless of the economic value of each of them.

Thus, updating the "egalitarian axiom", in Rancière's terms (1995), produces a reorganization of perception, disrupting the socio-political order considered by the forum of participants above as the most logical and the most natural and desirable. And, as Rancière reminds us, disagreement is at the heart of politics precisely because it will always be examining the limits and exploring undisclosed potential with a view to reconfiguring ways of perceiving and thinking about the world.

One could argue that the whole idea of 'globalism' needs to be unpacked. It actually requires a process of political re-subjectivation, as emphasized by Gibson-Graham (2002: 35). The notion of globalism seems to have 'colonized' the political imagination of the majority, including those who say they are against it.

CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS

At the World Social Forum in 2009, held in the Amazonian city of Belém, the then general director of the CPLP pointed to the need for the Community to be "closer to its citizens" (ANGOP Angola Press Notícias, 2009),[12] in order to also become a community of citizens, not just of nation-states. This, he argued, would be a particular way to engage in globalization: the CPLP way.

Despite the fact that there are ambiguities in this proposal and despite the fact that it can be interpreted in different ways, it raises a significant challenge. The proposal is also relevant to the point I made earlier about the need for political 're-subjectivation'. The proposal heralds a project that encourages different forms of dissent, rather than imposing universal consensus, via a globalist logic constituting language as a semiotic product, on the one hand, and as the mythic-symbolic core of nationalisms, on the other hand. In this sense, the question of "a linguistic policy for Portuguese", in Mateus' terms (2009), needs to be rethought in the light of transnational, transcultural and transidiomatic realities, rather than the national, monocultural and monoglot vision that has guided much of the contemporary discussions on the topic.

The sociocultural and linguistic practices that cut across the territorial and sociolinguistic boundaries of nation-states have growing importance and are associated with the emergence of new, deterritorialized social identities. As pointed out by Jacquemet (2005: 263), these cultural and linguistic practices are "light-years away" from the conventional one nation–one language logic, since

> this new identity coagulates around a sentiment of belonging that can no longer be identified with a purely territorial dimension, and finds its expression in the creolized, mixed idioms of polyglottism.

Jacquemet also notes that it is through those transidiomatic practices that both diasporic groups and local groups "recombine their identities by maintaining simultaneous presence in a multiplicity of sites and by participating in elective transnational networks spread over transnational territories" (266).

In this regard, the concept of lusophony presented by the Angolan singer Aline Frazão, in an interview published in 2011 (Lança, 2011: 1), is particularly interesting. According to her, lusophony is first and foremost a "project", a "chimera", ultimately a hope that the language could, one day, embrace all the links and differences among different places and accents, but "without preferences"—a condition, she claims, for enabling lusophone people to interact, sing and think together.

The Angolan writer Pepetela proposes that we should use a new term—'galeguia' (from Galiza)—instead of 'lusophonia' (lusophony), so as to delete the reference to Portuguese colonization and to Portuguese language and culture indexed by the morpheme 'lusa'. The term 'galeguia' makes reference to the origin of the Portuguese language, that is, to Galiza, instead of Portugal. The singer Aline Frazão points out that this Galician-Portuguese linguistic and cultural reference is, in fact, "a key piece of the puzzle" since it can neutralize the "vicious polarization" between Brazil and Portugal. Since the Angolan writer's and singer's proposals are so relevant to the critique that I put forward here in this chapter, I leave them last word.

NOTES

1. http://www.cplp.org/id-43.aspx (accessed 20 January 2014).
2. http://www.cplp.org/id-46.aspx; http://www.cplp.org/id-254.aspx (accessed 20 January 2014).
3. CPLP debate resposta conjunta para combate ao crime [CPLP discusses joint response to crime fighting] BOL Notícias [BOL News], 18 March 2009. noticias.bol.uol.com.br/internacional/2009/03/18/ult611u80906.jhtm (accessed 20 January 2014).
4. http://geometricasnet.wordpress.com/2009/10/08/%E2%80%9Cdesfiladeiro%E2%80%9D-de-carlos-no/ (accessed 20 January 2014).
5. CPLP apoia I Encontro, "Triângulo Estratégico: América Latina–Europa–África" [CPLP supports First Meeting "Strategic Triangle: Latin America – Europe – Africa"] CPLP Website Notícias, 12 March 2012. http://www.cplp.org/Default.aspx?ID=316&Action=1&NewsId=1886&M=NewsV2&PID=304 (accessed 20 January 2014).
6. http://www.mbaatlantico.com/noticias/21 (accessed 20 January 2014).
7. A mixture of Portuguese and Spanish.
8. In the lyrics of this song, the orthographically regular forms "c" and "q" are deliberately replaced by the irregular form "k", just as the words that make up the acronym "PALOP" are also replaced in the first verse: "Black Africans speaking mandatory Portuguese" instead of "African countries with Portuguese as an official language". Thus, this orthographic choice indexes the non-compliance of African black youth with the colonial heritage and neocolonial policies.
9. "I do not [. . .] identify the police with what is termed the 'state apparatus'. [. . .] The police is, essentially, the law, generally implicit, that defines a party's share or lack of it. But to define this, you first must define the configuration of the perceptible in which one or the other is inscribed. The police is thus first an order of bodies that defines the allocation of ways of doing, ways of being, and ways of saying, and sees that those bodies are assigned by name to a particular place and task; it is an order of the visible and the sayable that sees that a particular activity is visible and another is not, that this speech is understood as discourse and another as noise" (Rancière, 2004: 29).
10. http://www.forumdefesa.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=2658 (accessed 20 January 2014).
11. http://www.cplp.org (accessed 20 January 2014).
12. http://www.portalangop.co.ao/motix/pt_pt/noticias/africa/CPLP-deve-estar-mais-proxima-dos-cidadaos,58a2cfd8-1442-48d4-bece-5f8278e07c05.html (accessed 30 January 2012).

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