

The Strategic importance of Portugal for the European Union: The Portuguese Geopolitics towards the Atlantic South

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Orientadora: Professora Doutora Andrea Sofia da Cruz Valente

Dissertação para obtenção de grau de Mestre em Estratégia

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*À minha família que sempre me apoiou,
aos meus amigos pelo constante incentivo e ânimo,
aos meus professores pela disponibilidade e atenção prestadas.*

ABSTRACT

Geopolitically, Portugal presents a singular position. It is the westernmost country of Europe, enclosed between Spain and the Atlantic Ocean, a feature which could dictate a peripheral position within the European Union. However, Portugal has durable relations with the countries from the Atlantic South, a feature which can dictate a central role within the European Union. This dissertation has the aim of analyzing the geopolitical link between Portugal and the Atlantic South and to contribute to the existing literature by exploring how this relationship can be strategically valuable for the European Union in the 21st century. Throughout this dissertation, we discuss the relevance Portugal can have for the EU utilizing what is called the Strategic Triangle between Portugal, Angola and Brazil (CPLP countries). It is argued that this can contribute to the reinforcement of a geopolitical bridge between the European Union and the Atlantic South.

The Atlantic South is amassing greater relevance in the international system: its main actors have now reached not only a pivotal status in their respective regions but also an international projection, allowing them to further integrate into influential spaces of the multilateral world system. In this context, it is argued that Portugal can employ its privileged relations with the countries from the Atlantic South to enhance progress towards a more significant European Union – Atlantic South relationship.

This investigation follows a comprehensive and holistic approach to Strategy and Geopolitics, building upon various contributions from authors and academics related to these fields of studies. These two core disciplines are seen throughout the research as multidimensional and are applied to the study to comprehend Portugal's role in the world as a state part of the European Union and close to the Atlantic South.

Keywords: Strategy, Geopolitics, Portugal, European Union, South Atlantic

RESUMO

Geopoliticamente, Portugal apresenta uma posição singular. É o país mais ocidental da Europa, cercado entre a Espanha e o Oceano Atlântico, uma característica que poderia ditar uma posição periférica na União Europeia. No entanto, Portugal mantém relações duradouras com os países do Atlântico Sul, uma característica que pode ditar um papel central na União Europeia. Esta dissertação tem como objetivo analisar o vínculo geopolítico entre Portugal e o Atlântico Sul e contribuir com a literatura existente, explorando como essa relação pode ser estrategicamente valiosa para a União Europeia no século XXI. Ao longo desta dissertação, discutimos a relevância que Portugal pode ter para a UE utilizando o chamado Triângulo Estratégico entre Portugal, Angola e Brasil (países da CPLP). Argumenta-se que isso pode contribuir para o reforço de uma ponte geopolítica entre a União Europeia e o sul do Atlântico.

O Atlântico Sul está a ganhar maior relevância no sistema internacional: os seus principais atores atingiram agora não apenas um estatuto central nas suas respetivas regiões, mas também uma projeção internacional, permitindo que se integrem ainda mais em espaços influentes do sistema multilateral mundial. Neste contexto, argumenta-se que Portugal pode empregar as suas relações privilegiadas com os países do sul do Atlântico, a fim de melhorar os progressos em direção a uma relação mais significativa entre a União Europeia e o Atlântico Sul.

Esta investigação segue uma abordagem abrangente e holística da Estratégia e Geopolítica, baseando-se em várias contribuições de autores e académicos relacionados a estes campos de estudos. Estas duas disciplinas principais são vistas ao longo da pesquisa como multidimensionais e são aplicadas ao estudo para compreender o papel de Portugal no mundo como estado parte da União Europeia e próximo do Atlântico Sul.

Palavras-chave: Estratégia, Geopolítica, Portugal, União Europeia, Atlântico Sul

“Strategy is about shaping the future.”

(McKeown, 2015)

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Acronyms List

BRICS – Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa

CCP – Commercial Common Policy

CEDN – Strategic Concept of National Defense (In Portuguese: *Conceito Estratégico de Defesa Nacional*)

CPLP – *Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa* (In English: Community of Portuguese Language Countries)

EC – European Commission

EEC – European Economic Community

EFTA – European Free Trade Association

EU – European Union

IBSA – India, Brazil, South Africa Dialogue Forum

NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NAFTA – North American Free Trade Agreement

MDGs – Millennium Development Goals

MERCOSUR – Southern Common Market

PALOP – *Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa* (In English: Portuguese-Speaking African Countries)

SDGs – Sustainable Development Goals

TTIP – Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership

UN – United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

1) Introduction

1.1) Subject Framework, Motivation and Relevance

Portugal is the most western point of the European continent, surrounded by Spain on the East and the Atlantic Ocean on the West, an analysis of its history, albeit superficial, recalls its geopolitical and geostrategic importance. After the 25th of April 1974 Revolution and the fall of the Portuguese empire, the country lost part of its strategic views that were focused on the Atlantic. In 1986, when the country joined the European Economic Community (EEC), now the European Union (EU), a new strategic vision was disclosed, a strategy more focused on the European continent. As challenges keep arising in the 21st Century, particularly in the core of the European Union, it is pertinent for the EU and its Member States to become key players in the globalized world. Hence, it is relevant to analyze the present strategic importance of Portugal for the European Union, by exploring and reviewing how the geopolitical connection of the country to the Atlantic South region can be valuable for the European Union.

The Atlantic South is seen in the Portuguese Strategic Concept of National Defense as one of its strategic priorities. The document refers to this region stating that the two shores of the South Atlantic have been the subject of intense demand for energy, minerals and food, which underlines its geo-economic relevance. The reserves of the Gulf of Guinea and Angola, in addition to the offshore oil and gas deposits in Brazil, represent a counterweight to the traditional oil and gas power in the international energy system. The Atlantic, apart from being a capital platform for the flow of raw materials and energy, is further valued for being an open ocean. The importance of the energy and commercial routes emphasizes the need for a convergence between the northern and southern coastal countries to ensure their common security. (CEDN, 2013: 19-20).

Presently, international politics is going through a complex and stimulating phase, particularly with the upcoming 2020s, that will give space to vast change and innovation in the globalized world. Portugal has a valuable geostrategic position, as pointed out by Pedro Pizarat Correia, this geostrategic position of the country is defined as a space categorized by territorial discontinuity, with a large maritime and aerial dimension in face of the continental scarcity, of limited continental depth, with a peripheral position in the

European space but central in the Euro-American, Euro-African spaces and concerning the great lines of maritime and aerial communications. (Correia, 2002: 83).

We are now in a period of relative stability, thus we should look at Strategy with a different perspective, to make progress and to use the most of our resources in a rentable way to reach the best possible outcomes. The global challenges of the present days illustrate how the world is in constant change. To achieve a common and peaceful goal, it is paramount to understand how to better cooperate and strengthen relations between states. The European Union is now living difficult times. In the words of the former High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Vice-President of the European Commission, Federica Mogherini:

"The purpose, even existence, of our Union is being questioned. Yet, our citizens and the world need a strong European Union like never before. Our wider region has become more unstable and more insecure. The crises within and beyond our borders are affecting directly our citizens' lives. In challenging times, a strong Union is one that thinks strategically, shares a vision and acts together. This is even truer after the British referendum. We will indeed have to rethink the way our Union works, but we perfectly know what to work for. We know what our principles, our interests and our priorities are. This is no time for uncertainty: our Union needs a Strategy. We need a shared vision and common action." (European Union, 2016: 3).

Hence, there is the need to have a proper strategy for the European Union, one based in its values, principles and based on the national strategies of their State Members.

Portugal, the westernmost country of Europe and one that still has strong bonds with the countries from the Atlantic South, can make a difference by ensuring a bigger connection between these countries and the European Union, bringing more cooperation and sustainability to it, this investigation is a valuable contribution to the Portuguese, European Union and South Atlantic strategic and geopolitical studies contributing to the academic understanding of the Portuguese geopolitics towards the Atlantic South. Furthermore, it suggests a framework on how Portugal can improve its strategic importance for the European Union in the XXI century resorting to Strategy and Geopolitics fundamental notions.

One of the main purposes of this investigation is to analyze and understand how Portugal can fit into the potential rise of the Atlantic in international politics, enhancing its geographical position, its alliances on the American and African continents, and its European dimension. Basically, how can Portugal resize its foreign policy by defining a natural and sustained identity project. It is relevant in this investigation to understand the Portuguese geopolitics towards the Atlantic South since each country or state has a perception of its geopolitical views and this influences their foreign policies and ultimately their position in the international system. As in Weigert's words: "*There is a Geopolitik, a Géopolitique, there are different geopolitics' for the United States and England. Each nation has the geopolitics it deserves.*" (Weigert, 1942: 22-23).

It is extremely important to understand that in the South Atlantic, the processes of democratization and modernization reveal a new reality of peace and progress, as well as a capacity for structuring regulatory and cooperation frameworks, which open the way for the consolidation of new security communities. (CEDN, 2013: 19). It is now the right moment to encourage these processes of democratization and modernization to create stability, cooperation and development between the Atlantic South and the European Union, the specific contribution of this thesis is the analysis of the strategic importance of Portugal for the EU, innovatively by taking into consideration the country's geopolitical strategy for the Atlantic South through the lenses of critical geopolitics and grand strategy. Also, by measuring this premise through a SWOT analysis, this dissertation unveils the strategic objectives that should be taken into consideration by the Portuguese decision and policy-makers, which can improve its strategic importance for the EU.

The present research topic is motivated by the need to contribute to the literature on the Strategy of Portugal and, with more detail, to Portugal's strategic importance for the EU when considering the multiple challenges faced today. Portugal ought to ensure its position as an asset for the EU considering its geopolitical influence in the Atlantic South. It is thus considered pertinent to study the proposed subject with an insight from the academic/theoretical framework of the Strategy field of studies, in particular, its component of Geopolitics as a far-reaching and valuable subject for this field of studies

and to the *Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas da Universidade de Lisboa* (ISCSP).¹

1.2) Views on the Atlantic South

This investigation uses the term Atlantic South to comprehend the geopolitical region of states located in the South Atlantic Ocean area. To better define this area, it becomes necessary to survey its existing conceptualizations.

A pertinent discussion is the clear definition of the northern and southern limits of the South Atlantic. For Hervé Coutau-Bégarie on the north side, the Tropic of Cancer would be the most appropriate separation line from the North Atlantic. To the south, the Antarctic continent, to the east the Cape Agulhas meridian and the west the Horn meridian. It is current geopolitics that suggests this limit because adds this French expert, this is where the NATO line of action ends (Coutau-Bégarie, 1985: 25.). This point of view aims to dodge the void between the tropics and the equator. Others, such as António Sacchetti, set the northern limit at the equator (Sacchetti, 1987: 17). For this investigation, the geographical limitations considered for the Atlantic South are the following:

- To the North, the classic limit will be the Tropic of Cancer;
- To the South, the Antarctic continent;
- To the East, the meridian of Cape Agulhas;
- To the West, Cape Horn, extending along the coast of the South American continent and from its southernmost point by the meridian 80°W to Antarctic lands.

¹ ISCSP's affirmation strategy as a school of social and political sciences open to the country and the world, valuing with special attention to the Atlantic South due to its collaboration with the CPLP. For instance, ISCSP is currently cooperating with dozens of similar public and private institutions from Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe and Timor-Leste, and in the process of being implemented with Guinea-Bissau and Equatorial Guinea. It is in this context that hundreds of students study in this institute, especially in terms of master's and doctoral education and that ISCSP has developed projects of common interest in terms of specialized training, research and professors mobility. Furthermore, it is considered of relevance to analyze the Portuguese geopolitics towards the Atlantic South due to the durable relations Portugal has with countries from this region, namely those countries from the CPLP. Also, the personal and professional motivation were taken into account, due to the working experience in the field of managing international projects through the European Union programmes for the past 3 years, where there were personal participations in Portugal and several EU countries in processes of discussion and elaboration of new strategies in the field of youth, international cooperation, sustainable development, education, culture and identity.

Accordingly, the geopolitical area of the Atlantic South encompasses all the coastal countries from the Tropic of Cancer to Antarctica.

As can be seen in Figure 1. The considered Atlantic South is the region depicted from the Tropic of Cancer in the north to Antarctica in the south, the South American landmass in the west and the African continent in the east.

Figure 1 – The World Map and the Tropic of Cancer Line



Source: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Tropic-of-Cancer> accessed on 12/01/2020

The Atlantic South is getting increasing importance in the international system; the main actors in the South Atlantic have now reached a decisive status in their respective regions and an international projection capable of integrating them into influential spaces of the multilateral economy and geopolitics such as BRICS, IBSA or strategic partnerships with the European Union. (Lima, 2016: 90). It is important to understand Portugal is a privileged partner to the countries of the Atlantic South due to its history, experience and common interests; and if Portugal does not use this as an advantage, other states can gain leverage on its relations with these countries from the Atlantic South.

The South Atlantic has great potentiality to be the main geopolitical space for the production and supply of the global energy menu for decades to come. The South Atlantic

is also home of resources such as oil and raw materials and the main customer of all these products in Europe. The South Atlantic zone is, above all, a fantastic reservoir of raw materials, without which North Atlantic countries could not live. The geographer and politician Karl Haushofer was the one who best saw the verticality of the international system. It marked well the continuity between Europe and Africa (Euro-Africa) and between the two parts of the American continent, Pan-America. As early as the 1950s, Castex stressed that Africa would be France's strategic rear-guard (Castex, 1976: 62). Thought that turned out to be true. And it was followed by the European Economic Community through its cooperation with the ACP countries (Africa, Caribbean and Pacific), transposing at European level the policy proposed by Castex for France.

1.3) Methodology, Questions and Hypotheses and Objectives

“A methodology is a structured set of guidelines or activities to assist people in undertaking research or intervention.” (Mingers & Brocklesby, 1997:489). For a holistic comprehension of the research, the methodological framework will be one of multimethodology by using quantitative and qualitative methods. By using multimethodology throughout research, it is possible to approach a subject from different perspectives, therefore helping to gain a broader holistic worldview. To provide an accurate research study, it is helpful to critically think and explore the research from multiple perspectives and methods, following the assumption that *“(...) in adopting only one paradigm one is inevitably gaining only a limited view of the problem situation, for example, attending only to that which may be measured or quantified, or only to individual subjective meanings and understandings. This argument is a strong one in support of multimethodology, suggesting that it is always wise to utilize a variety of paradigms.”* (idem: 492-493). It is important to recognize the limitations imposed when utilizing any method of research. According to Mingers and Brocklesby, *“if we turn to the question of cultural feasibility, the issue is the extent to which individuals' values, beliefs and basic assumptions about the world might stand in the way of moving from one paradigm to another (...) this is a cultural issue because peoples' basic assumptions about the world, and their beliefs and values, arise out of lengthy socialization and acculturation processes.”* (idem:498). However, it is assumed that the usage of

multimethodology for this investigation will be a contributing asset for the overall study since it has the “*potential to provide a more complete way of dealing with the richness of the real world and because individual methodologies differ in the degree to which they assist throughout the various stages through which interventions typically proceed.*” (idem:506).

Throughout this research, all subjects were addressed as clearly and faithfully as possible based on data and authors following a scientific approach. The information and data collection sources utilized in this research are: databases, statistic data, reports, official documents, academic search engines such as Google Scholar, Google Books and JSTOR, university repositories, online, national and international repositories, online and physical libraries and scientific journals in the field of studies. This data was retrieved and analyzed through the lenses of critical geopolitics and grand strategy and discussed with the support of authors in the field of strategy and geopolitics.

A SWOT analysis will be used in this investigation as it is a great tool to understand the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats of this study subject. Through this analysis, it will be possible to comprehend strategic objectives derived from the SWOT assessment.

In today's world, surrounded by media, internet and fast-changing systems, the vulgarization of terms such as Strategy and Geopolitics, remind us of some golden rules of Aymeric Chauprade that can be applied to any modern science. These are rules of the scientific method that, at heart, advise on what to do and warn against what not to do, validating the conclusions to some extent.” (Bessa & Dias, 2007:57).

The rules that Chauprade enunciate (Chauprade *apud* Bessa & Dias, 2007:58-59) are not all necessary to safeguard the study, however, they inspired the following approach to this dissertation. It is admitted that not everything is Geopolitics or Strategy, needing to distinguish geopolitical affairs from their nationalist use. This is important because geopolitics can intoxicate and underpin ethnogenesis and territorial claims while justifying the action of empires, during this analysis it is not intended to perform this mistake when referring to the past Portuguese empire. We must take into consideration the hypothesis of multiple explanatory factors, as there is the probability the factors that led to a particular conjuncture were of different order and geopolitics or strategy alone cannot explain the situation properly.

In this research, and keeping in mind Chauprades' arguments, it is necessary to insist on continuous/discontinuous duality. This means that when studying the state or a region, it is important, above all, to look for fractures, the axes of hostility with *geo-historical* force, the periods of great ruptures and large communities. The same applies to regional and world order. We are now living in times of political change and of crisis in the European Union, it is important to understand the duality of the international system.

Individuals such as Professor Heitor Barras Romana, Professor Admiral António Silva Ribeiro, Professor Sandra Maria Balão, Professor Andrea Valente, Professor António de Sousa Lara, Professor Andreia Soares e Castro, Professor Pedro Borges Graça, Professor Nuno Canas Mendes, Professor António Marques Bessa and other professors of ISCSP, have impacted the way of thought and perspectives of the world, and the subjects of Strategy, Geopolitics, Foreign Policy, European Union and therefore the investigation. Hence, their methods, perspectives and lessons are imaged into this dissertation.

As a starting point of the study, there is a question that makes it possible to establish a global vision of what is intended to be analyzed with this investigation, a core question that will lead to the direction of accomplishing the objectives of this study. Unequivocally, it is understood that the formulation of an investigation question is very important for the whole study. Therefore, the core question is: "How can Portugal improve its strategic importance for the European Union, considering the country's geopolitics towards the Atlantic South?". This question was formulated considering the need of understanding Portugal's strategic importance for the European Union, given the Portuguese geopolitics towards the Atlantic South, due to its geographic position, to its past and present relations with the CPLP countries, and the potentialities this relation represents in geopolitical terms, to Portugal and the European Union.

To answer with additional cohesion and clarity to the core question, two hypotheses have been defined:

Hypothesis 1 – *Portugal improves its strategic importance for the European Union with the development of a geopolitical bridge between the Atlantic South and the European Union.* This hypothesis was defined to test whether Portugal can improve its strategic importance for the EU with the development of a geopolitical bridge between the Atlantic

South and the EU. This will be assessed with the resource of the theories of grand strategy, critical geopolitics, SWOT analysis and contemporary views on the Atlantic South.

Hypothesis 2 – *In the XXI Century, Portugal does not have geopolitical influence towards the countries of the Atlantic South, hence its geopolitics towards this region does not have strategic importance for the European Union.* This hypothesis was defined to understand the reality of the contemporary Portuguese geopolitics towards the Atlantic South and its importance to the European Union. With the global challenges of today's world and the rise of great powers such as China and India, we must analyze this issue with the resource of the theories of grand strategy, critical geopolitics, SWOT analysis and contemporary views on the Atlantic South.

To better understand the main objective of this dissertation, two specific objectives were identified. 1) To understand the geopolitical perspective of Portugal towards the Atlantic South in the XXI Century; and 2) To assess the strategic importance of Portugal for the European Union. This study will take into account the research of the Portuguese geopolitical perspective to the region of the Atlantic South (with a greater focus on Brazil and Angola), and whether it can be advantageous to the European Union, therefore demonstrating the possibility of Portugal being a more important asset for the EU. This investigation has the theoretical idea of the strategic importance of Portugal for the European Union considering the country's geopolitics towards the Atlantic South. Hence, to clearly understand this idea and fulfil the objectives of the study, we will connect it to the concepts of Strategy and Geopolitics and resort to the SWOT as an analysis model to accurately analyze this.

2) Theoretical Framework

To understand the fundamental basis of this investigation, various perspectives and authors will be considered in the fields of Strategy and Geopolitics. Also, the literature on the Atlantic South and the role of Portugal and the EU will be revisited.

Given the complex nature of the problem at hand, it is indeed essential to draw on the contributions of the various disciplines to address diverse subjects that require different and complementary approaches. Professor António de Sousa Lara refers to this premise by stating that a first general method consists in the fixing of auxiliary sciences

according to the central science in question, turning from this latter position to an auxiliary, supplementary and derived position of any of the sciences according to the specific focus chosen as the determinant. (Lara, 2013: 36). For a better understanding of the research, it is necessary to have a coherent and clear theoretical framework, thus it was made a breakdown of the theories into Strategy and Geopolitics, more specifically Grand Strategy and Critical Geopolitics.

It must also be understood that globalization is a factor to keep in mind when investigating the strategic importance of Portugal and studying this subject. In this sense, Professor Sandra Balão, mentions that through the settlement of the Earth, the great exodus of human history, the invasions and conquests, the trade routes, industry, transport, or the environmental degradation of the global common spaces, the repercussions of the globalization movement reach, albeit differently, all the corners of the planet. (Balão, 2014: 155). Also, in this matter, the words of Professor Adriano Moreira are highlighted: the world tends towards unity and is characterized by the *planetization* of political phenomena. There are no longer regions, peoples, governments or events indifferent to the rest of humanity. (Moreira, 1996: 17).

Gone are the days when Mahan argued that the priority with maritime safety was achieved through an offensive strategy for the annihilation of opponents. We are today facing a new world system, still in the phase of adaptation and construction, which is difficult to characterize. (Rosa, 2006:264) The classic authors of Geopolitics are crucial to structure this research and study. For instance, the importance of Eurasia is the fundamental pillar in which the thought of the British Halford Mackinder is based, it was also a vital geographic idea for others such as Nicholas Spykman and even Saul Bernard Cohen, despite the difference of approaches of these authors. The ideas and thoughts of the classic authors will always be considered, however, viewed critically and constructively, to reach more accurate and unbiased conclusions in this investigation.

To support this investigation, the Portuguese strategic importance will be analyzed with the perspective of critical geopolitics and grand strategy. To measure this importance paying special attention to the Portuguese geopolitics towards the Atlantic South, we will be using a SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) analysis to then understand the strategic objectives resulting from this analysis.

In regard of Grand Strategy (or Total Strategy), the concept that will be used in this investigation, according to Liddell Hart: “*Grand Strategy should both calculate and develop the economic resources and manpower of nations to sustain the fighting services. Also, the moral resources – for the foster the peoples' willing spirit is often as important as to possess the more concrete forms of power. Grand Strategy, too, should regulate the distribution of power between the several services, and between the services and industry. Moreover, fighting power is but one of the instruments of grand strategy – which should take account of and apply the power of financial pressure, of diplomatic pressure, of commercial pressure, and, not least of ethical pressure, to weaken the opponent's will... It should not only combine the various instruments but so regulate their use as to avoid damage to the future state of peace – for its security and prosperity*”. (Hart, 1974:322).

It is understood throughout the investigation that geopolitics is in constant re-evaluation and as prementioned, critical geopolitics investigates the geographical assumptions and designations that step in the making of world politics (Agnew, 2003:2). Thus, in the line of thought of Ó Tuathail: “*Critical Geopolitics stresses the idea that the reality of international relations reflects the actors' perceptions of a reality that is not «rationally» objective, e.g. separated from each actor's interpretation of the observed reality, gaining evidence of the aspects linked to the concepts of geopolitical imagination and geopolitical discourse.*” (Ó Tuathail, 2006: 47). It will be observed throughout the thesis the geopolitics of the Atlantic South and there will be further exploration about the CPLP since this is inside the Atlantic South and is an organization that has countries from the EU and the Atlantic South. For this, referring to the geopolitical imagination and the CPLP, Professor Heitor Romana mentioned that when applied the process of construction and consolidation of an idea of community of Portuguese-speaking countries and peoples, the concept of geopolitical imagination is central, considering that it is based on an imagined community, defined by a *multispace-symbolic* conception, that a transnational identity matrix is structured. Geopolitical discourse concerns the articulation and narrative codifications, which include a script and a storyline (Romana, 2013: 22-24).

2.1) The Evolution of Strategy

Strategy is present in a wide range of contexts, international, national, political, military and even economic. It is relevant to have in mind the concept of strategy by Portuguese notable scholars; Professor Marques Bessa defines the concept of Strategy as

the long-term broadening of the use of the instruments and resources available for action to achieve previously set objectives (Bessa, 1979: 133). In the same sense, Professor António Silva Ribeiro describes strategy as the science and art of building, disposing and employing means of coercion in a given way and time, to materialize objectives set by politics, overcoming problems and exploring eventualities. in an environment of disagreement (Ribeiro, 2010: 22).

It is vital, for understanding the study, to mention theories from the great classics of Strategy such as Sun Tzu's Art of War so that they can be articulated with the study of the Strategic importance of Portugal for the European Union, bearing in mind that Sun Tzu's Art of War has an analytical approach to mobilizing the army, requiring careful planning and the formulation of a general strategy before starting a campaign. (Saywer, 1993: 54). Thus, Sun Tzu deals with the political, diplomatic and logistic preparation for war, combat, and the management of the outcome of war as integral parts of the art of war. It is as important to understand the definition of strategy by Carl von Clausewitz as *"the use of engagements for the object of the war."* (Clausewitz, 1989:128), however, since this study is not about war or a warfare situation, it will be based in these classics of strategy but further into perspectives of strategy as a holistic subject.

Contrasting with the classics of Strategy above mentioned, while the horizons of strategy are limited by war, grand strategy looks beyond war, to peace (Hart, 1974: 321). In the elaboration of this dissertation, it will be taken into consideration the theory of Strategy in a multidisciplinary approach. Thus, strategy will be perceived as a discussion in a more holistic and comprehensive level that goes explicitly beyond the military dimension. Equally important as the military capacity is for any major strategy, are other aspects as diverse as natural resources, human capital, demography and technology. One grand strategy has this holistic, multi-dimensional view of the priorities of state action for goals that go beyond the short term and go beyond winning an armed conflict (Reis, 2019: 17-18). Hence, the need of looking more into a long-term perspective of strategy, tackling various dimensions to clearly understand the Portuguese strategic importance for the European Union.

In this context, the relevance of strategic culture should be highlighted. For this purpose, we will be following the line of thought of Professor Heitor Barras Romana, while referring that in essence, strategic culture is about understanding the extent to which national interests, and formal and informal actions in the pursuit of critical power

objectives, are influenced by socio-cultural factors, intertwined with geo-historical factors, as well as elements of the political culture of a given state (Romana, 2016: 14). Therefore, this investigation will also be taken into consideration the strategic culture, since it also tackles the cultural side, and the factors mentioned by Professor Heitor Barras Romana.

From World War II, the concept of Strategy went beyond the military area, where it was located almost exclusively, to also consider other plans of action, thus encompassing all sectors of national life in peacetime and focusing on not only in the detection of vulnerabilities and potentialities of existing structures but also in the creation of conditions that allow the creation of means that reinforce that action, that is, the assumption of a genetic strategy, besides the operational one, along the lines of other authors. Within the scope of this study, it was not possible to make a thorough analysis of the various definitions and concepts of Strategy (etymologically the word, of Greek origin, means the direction of an armed expedition; campaign). Generally speaking, we have been mindful of the ‘Grand Strategy (or Total Strategy) plan’, that is, the one that uses all forms of coercion in a coordinated way, because that is the strategy form of the highest decision level, that is where, most clearly, we will be able to observe the relations of the facts that we will mention. (Berbém, 1993: 37). Just how broad that definition had become is worth some further reflection. To begin with, a true grand strategy was now concerned with peace as much as (perhaps even more than) with war. It was about the evolution and integration of policies that should operate for decades, or even for centuries. (Kennedy, 1991: 4).

A good strategy is based mainly on three fundamental aspects: the existence of a good framework for analyzing reality; weighing the decision according to various scenarios; and monitoring the implementation of the action plans to achieve the defined priorities. A good strategy also implies the ability to review these priorities and the means they require, in an evolving national, regional and global context (Reis, 2019:85-86). However, one of the vital elements of a good understanding of the strategy is precisely that no state, however powerful it may be, completely controls its external circumstances. This study will be based on these fundamental aspects to be coherent and valuable for the academic community.

2.2) Geopolitics and Critical Geopolitics

There are various definitions of geopolitics; the first usage of the word came from Rudolf Kjellén (1864-1922), a Swedish jurist, member of parliament and professor of Political Science and History at the Upsala and Göteborg Universities. Considered the founder of geopolitics and using the term as a “Theory from the State as a phenomenon of space” (Correia, 2018: 95). In his 1916 book *Staten som Lifsform* (Stockholm 1916), the inventor of the term Geopolitics and the proposal of this knowledge as an autonomous academic discipline, defines geopolitics as “*the science of the state as a geographical organism as manifested in space.*” (Bessa & Dias, 2007:46). Geopolitics is firmly declared as a discipline in the area of Political Science, centered on the link between the state and the soil. The geographical position of the state entails innumerable potentialities and limitations, of which it has been realized on the path of the German political geographers, but space is the weight factor that directly affects the state in its capabilities and achievements, holding, as it were, a fundamental role for societies. (Ardrey *apud* Bessa & Dias, 2007:46)

Saul Cohen emphasizes the importance of Geopolitics by mentioning: “*The true value of modern geopolitics lies in the academic analysis of the geographical factors underlying international relations and the guiding principles of political interactions.*” (Cohen, 2003:11). These perspectives will always be on the base of the idea of geopolitics. However, the study shall approach geopolitics considering the challenges the globalized world faces.

Klaus Dodds, professor and researcher in the areas of Geopolitics and Security, affirms that Geopolitics was in the past a decidedly state-centric enterprise in the sense that the nation-state was paramount and geopolitical writers were eager to offer policy advice. Moreover, this author refers that: “*(...) the physical environment was frequently conceptualized as a fixed stage on which political events occurred rather than a dynamic and shifting problem which influenced the nature of world politics. The major difference between traditional geopolitics and the more critical approaches is that the latter promote an opening up of political geography to methodological and conceptual re-evaluation.*” (Dodds, 2005: 28). Ó Tuathail emphasizes that Critical Geopolitics are not simply a transition from the modern to the post-modern, but argues that “*contemporary*

geopolitics develop amidst a more complicated and changing milieu as a consequence of these transformations.” (Ó Tuathail, 1998: 4).

Geopolitics require being understood as a vast field, approaching and considering the foreign policy of a state, its traditions and culture for a broader comprehension. Livingstone recognized geographical knowledge as a ‘social and cultural construction, and a political resource’. (Livingstone, 1992: 3). Heitor Barras Romana, professor and researcher in the areas of strategy, geopolitics, geostrategy and intelligence sees Geopolitics as something always depending on the traditions, culture and interests of the State in reference, for Professor Romana, Geopolitical imagination corresponds to images, conceptualizations and discourses that are dominant in society and in the geopolitical context in which a State is inserted. As far as geopolitical traditions are concerned, they are in frame with a set of Schools of Strategic Thinking, which encompass geopolitics. Each tradition is a part of the thinking on which the identity of a State is based, the national interest and foreign policy priorities. (Romana, 2012:22-23). It is important to have in mind this line of thought so that it can be connected to the Portuguese geopolitics towards the Atlantic South due to the traditions, culture and interests of the country.

“In one sense, geopolitics, the spatializing of international politics, is inherent to any representation of political process whether of global, regional, national or local scale. The goal of ‘critical geopolitics’ is to highlight the use of geographical language and to underline the fact that rather than being an apolitical and natural aspect of international politics, geography is a discourse and as such is a form of power/knowledge itself.” (Ó Tuathail & Agnew, 1992: 192). Critical geopolitical approaches seek to examine how it is that international politics are imagined spatially or geographically and in so doing to uncover the politics involved in writing the geography of global space.

This study will also foster critical thinking to understand the authors and theories in analysis: *“The starting point for critical geopolitics is to argue that conventional perspectives on geopolitics and international politics ignore the assumptions that underpin those positions in the first place. Critical thinking poses questions such as how current situations come to exist or how power works to sustain particular contexts.”* (Dodds, 2005:30). Thus, critical geopolitics investigates the geographical assumptions and designations that enter into the making of world politics (Agnew, 2003:2). It seeks to illuminate and explain the practices by which political actors spatialize international

politics and represent it as a “world” characterized by particular types of places (Ó Tuathail & Agnew, 1992:190). This perspective of geopolitics seeks to disrupt mainstream geopolitical discourses: not to study the geography of politics within preexisting, commonsense places, but to foreground “*the politics of the geographical specification of politics*” (Dalby, 1991:274).

To better understand the Portuguese Geopolitics towards the Atlantic South, the use of critical geopolitics is more suitable since, “*whereas traditional geopolitics treats geography as a no discursive terrain that preexists geopolitical claims, critical geopolitics approaches geographical knowledge as an essential part of the modern discourses of power.*” (Kuus, 2017:4). We shall then understand geopolitics as a multidimensional and holistic science throughout the investigation. “*As the development of critical geopolitics has explained, once geopolitics is recognized as operating as a discourse, as scripting of the world and at once a pouvoir (power) and a savoir (a practical knowledge), it is laid open to contextualization, deconstruction and reconstruction*”. (Sidaway, 2000: 118). According to Colin Gray, Geopolitics is the political meaning of geography. A focus on the geography of deterrence brings the influence of geography, physical, psychological, and political, into useful focus. The geopolitical dimension to deterrence is not well-tilled scholarly ground. This is unfortunate because the prospects for successful deterrence can be impacted heavily by the relevant geographical context. There is physical geography and there is also the geography of the imagination. (Gray, 2010: 34).

So, throughout this investigation, the perspective used for analysis will be of critical geopolitics, allied with critical thinking and understanding of the present globalized world.

2.3) Strategy, Geopolitics and Foreign Policy

“*The supreme art of war is to defeat the enemy without combat.*” (Tzu, 1974).

In Edward Mead Earle’s words, “*strategy is the art of controlling and utilizing the resources of a nation – or a coalition of nations – including its armed forces, to the end that its vital interests shall be effectively promoted and secured against enemies, actual,*

potential, or merely presumed. The highest type of strategy – sometimes called grand strategy – is that which so integrates the policies and armaments of the nation that the resort to war is either renders unnecessary or is undertaken with the maximum chance of victory.” (Earle, 1943: viii). By such a definition, Earle massively extended the realm of enquiry about “grand strategy” to encompass national policies in peacetime as well as in wartime. We are currently living in peacetime, thus it is important for us to see strategy as an art of war, but yes as a decision-making tool.

This investigation will be in the field of strategy with the support of geopolitics and will focus on identifying the dimensions it expresses, and about the process, it will try to address in some detail the formulation and implementation phases and assess the Strategic importance of Portugal for the European Union. It was recognized that at the present time strategy is expressed in global terms, so it is becoming necessary for its formulation and interpretation to conceive sufficiently large spaces so that, on a scale express the interconnection of its parts in terms of location, movement, and orientation of trade. Of cultural or ideological ties. Informal spaces called geostrategic regions (stage of antagonisms) that are usually a plurality of elementary regions, geopolitical regions, whose territories, constituting a geographical unit, are contiguous and complementary in their resources (geographical attributes that allow characterizing and / or differentiate from neighbouring areas). (Berbém, 1993: 36).

According to Professor Heitor Romana ‘Geopolitics aims to study the relationship between the power of states and their optimization based on geographical, physical and human factors, within the framework of the external assertion of their strategic interests.’ (Romana, 2016: 46). The goal of our investigation is to use geopolitics to understand a state’s strategic importance inside a regional block, taking into consideration external and internal factors to assess the value of Portugal for the European Union in the today’s world with its geopolitical strategic interests in the Atlantic South.

Geopolitics is generally perceived as a science employing geography in the service of political ends. Basic conditions for a nation’s life and livelihood are fixed by the factors of geography. These factors become related to the attitudes and decisions which, in the aggregate, comprise a state’s foreign policy. Napoleon once said, ‘to know a nation's geography is to know its foreign policy’, the reason for geography’s vital role in foreign policy is that it fixes the material position of a nation, its strength, wealth, economy and sovereignty. Nicholas J. Spykman wrote that geography “is the most

fundamentally conditioning factor in the formulation of a national policy because it is the most permanent”. (Spykman, 1938: 29)

The framing of Foreign Policy is a necessary activity of the modern state. Every state follows a particular Foreign Policy. Each society, when it is organized into a state, has a social code that contributes to its own identity, and which activates and energizes all political action. “The foreign policy of a state is that part of its national policy which relates to the external environment.” (Padelford & Lincoln, 1963: 223). It is the continuation or extension of domestic policy. So, the main objective of foreign policy is to advance national interest, which is the prime criterion in terms of which a state judges situational factors, determines the relative priorities to be given to different goals, establishes and evaluates courses of actions and makes decisions. Foreign Policy has very special particularities since it is linked to national sovereignty, national security and national interest, for this reason, the employability of Strategy and Geopolitics is very useful for Foreign Policy.

Related to the Foreign Policy is the international strategic position since it is the general strategic role played by a state in world politics that raises matters of competence. The effective capability *vis-à-vis* the state’s actual or potential associates is reduced exactly to the extent to which it feels it needs allies; it must so conduct itself as to establish or maintain the desired cooperative relationship, this is the case of Portugal and the European Union; the state is stronger and its competences improve due to its associates (the other EU State Members). The reality of the world in the 21st century is progressively more complex, and so, as Professor Sandra Balão states; it is no coincidence that the world is increasingly conceptualized on the basis of a set of regional integration blocks. Any actor’s influence and weight in today’s global relations system is significantly different depending on whether he acts in isolation (which is increasingly difficult on the one hand, and rarer on the other) or, on the contrary, integrated into a wider, more diversified whole, presupposing greater rights sharing but also greater weight in global negotiations. (Balão, 2016: 78). For this reason, it is relevant for us to understand not only the Portuguese strategy alone but also of the European Union in the field of foreign policy and decision making, with support of critical geopolitics; since today, the states are losing importance as actors in the international system and the regional blocks are becoming the global actors of the contemporary world order.

At the level of international policy lines of action, foreign policy contributes to the construction of the identity of each community, primarily by territorialising moral spaces and by demarcating lines between the internal and external environment. (Costa et al., 2009: 22). It is through the foreign policy that is often designed to seek and protect a country's national interests, in particular, its national security, economic prosperity and values. This foreign policy usually comes from state public policies, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and, now with the EU, the ones who were elected to serve as a popular representative in the European Parliament, the Members of the European Parliament (MEP).

“The European Union's foreign policies are characterized by a specific distributive function that differentiates them from other public policies, this function is characterized by the consensus on policies that enshrine patterns of inclusion and exclusion and hence build a new EU political identity” (Stetter, 2004: 725). In this sense, the growing Europeanisation of the foreign policies of the Member States and the construction of international lines of action within the EU itself show the articulation between the European historical-political project translated into the vectors that constitute its identity and the normative dimension of international conduct. (Costa et al., 2009: 30-31). *“The originality of the European project requires a reconceptualization of the State Theory itself and, consequently, of the classical assumptions of Foreign Policy Analysis* (White, 2004: 29). The European Project is a *suis generis* actor in the international system, this brings issues to the Foreign Policy and to apply certain concepts to analyse the EU, that is why we are using strategy as a holistic discipline with grand strategy and geopolitics taking into consideration the globalized world through the lenses of critical geopolitics.

3) Historical and Subject Framework

3.1) Historical Framework

It will not be easy to understand today's Portugal if we forget its past as the first oceanic sea power. From now on, it has to do with the necessary and unavoidable presence

of development in Europe, a continent which, in turn, without the dimension of our intellectual and human contribution, would have remained and will always be diminished, at least in the historical aspect of human adventure in the seas where several states speak Portuguese. (Berbém, 1993: 42). Thus, we understand it is relevant to reflect upon Portugal's past to further understand the present and prospects about the future opportunities.

Portugal is an independent state since the 12th century. Around 1250 its continental territory was configured with the conquest of Algarve. In the 15th century, the desert archipelagos of Madeira and Azores were discovered and populated by the Portuguese, already a very consistent state with a very conscious nation, a pioneer version of the modern nation-state. With the Gamic Era, Portugal expanded fully into South Atlantic with the discoveries of its desert islands and archipelagos and the entire African Coast, the maritime passage to the Indian Ocean and Asia and finally Brazil. The expertise of sailing in the Atlantic environment was levelled to scientific excellence, and since that time, until the Portuguese final decolonization process in 1974-75, the Atlantic Ocean was the interface mode of national budget equilibrium. (Graça, 2015:204)

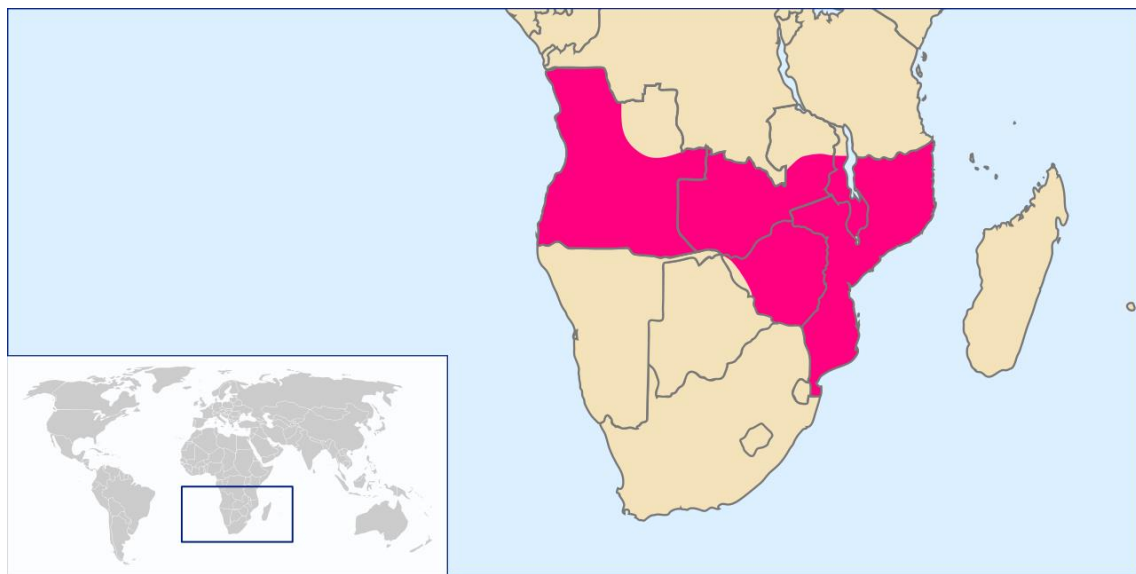
From the 16th century, the South Atlantic had become a significant stimulus to the European reality in all its senses. Portugal lived on the routes to India and China, to Brazil and the Antilles, to Peru, with supply routes, areas of emigration, administrative organization, and politics. It was a reality of western civilization on the other Atlantic bank. (*idem*:123). Only from the Portuguese Maritime Discoveries did the first worldwide web, the first and still fragile but real global network (maritime and commercial), emerge from the early 16th century. (Reis, 2019:19)

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the so-called Scramble for Africa² put new pressure on the colonial front, leading to the design of several African imperial projects of the European powers. The Berlin Conference of 1884/1885 imposed a fundamental change to the international law regulating the colonial issues, replacing the principle of historical rights of Portuguese origin with the principle of effective occupation. Faced with the threat to part of its African empire due to renewed European interest in that continent, Portugal conceived the project known as the “Rose-Colored

² - Corresponds to the dispute between various European powers for the colonial occupation and exploitation of vast parts of the African continent in the last quarter of the 19th century, with its high point at the Berlin Conference in 1884/1885.

Map³” as it can be seen in figure 2, which intended to link the coast of Angola with that of Mozambique, seeking to achieve it with Germany and France’s support given Britain’s opposition as it clashed with Britain’s ambition to connect Cairo to Cape. At the same time, Lisbon effectively sought to occupy the territories it claimed, initiating the third phase of the African expeditions which would become the next cause of the celebrated English Ultimatum. (*idem*:40-41).

Figure 2 – Rose-Colored Map also known as Pink Map

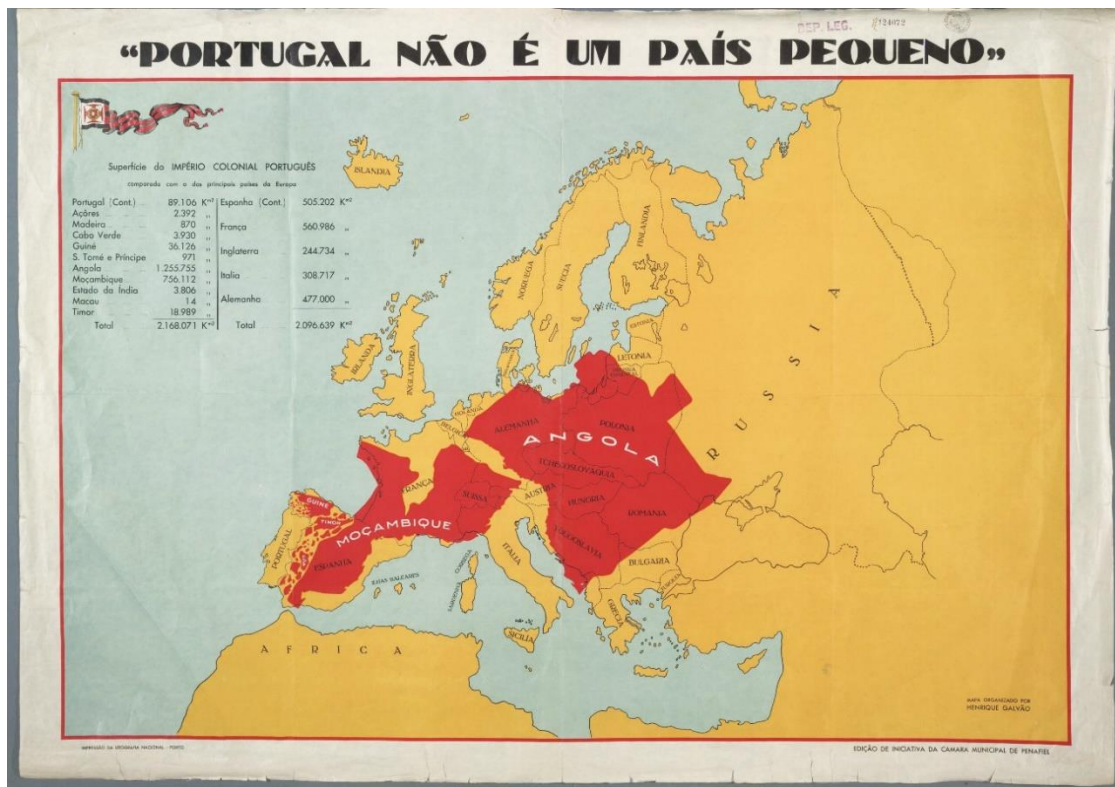


Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pink_Map#/media/File:Mapa_Cor-de-Rosa.svg
accessed on 19/07/2019

Although the post-1945 international context was unfavorable to colonialism, either by affirming the US vision of international relations, bearing in mind the values of decolonization, the self-determination value and other principles from the UN charter or by declining European colonial powers and their consequent decision to relinquish their overseas empires, the *Estado Novo* defined a one-country vision of *from Minho to Timor*, stating the country was not a small country and it was a united country from Minho region (north of Portugal) to Timor-Leste; this was a propaganda from the regime represented by the figure 3.

³ or Pink Map (in Portuguese *Mapa Cor-de-Rosa*) was a document prepared in 1885 to represent Portugal's claim of sovereignty over a land corridor connecting their colonies of Angola and Mozambique during the "Scramble for Africa".

Figure 3 – “Portugal Não é um País Pequeno” / “Portugal is Not a Small Country”



Source: <https://jornaldiabo.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/PortugalGrande.jpg>
accessed on 24/07/2019

It is possible to see in figure 3 a geographical comparison in terms of territory with the size of the colonial countries under the rule of the Portuguese regime with the European continent. Moreover, about this map, Sidaway has made interesting remarks on it: “*Such concentrated geopolitics takes on a particular significance when the maps are both bright and striking in appearance and claims and are exhibited to mass audiences. In Portugal of the 1930s and 1940s, such 'dissemination' took place in an intense series of colonial expositions and also through the display of maps in public buildings, schools and universities, and thereby continually re(informed) the national 'geographical imagination'.*” (Sidaway, 2000, 122). Therefore, we understand this map is trying to demonstrate to the Portuguese and the international community that Portugal was a powerful and large country, being almost the same size as Europe. This colonial period still today has effects in the Portuguese identity, of the identity of the countries from this ex-colonies, having a direct impact in the relations between countries due to this period. Just as referred by Sidaway, “*(...) issues of empire figure prominently in Portuguese*

geopolitics, which like that in Spain, overlaps with and takes many of its parameters from a broader colonial discourse. Portugal was both the first and the last European country with a significant overseas empire, a fact that was celebrated within and shaped its geopolitical discourse." (Sidaway, 2000: 122).

In the 25th of April, 1974, there was the *Revolução dos Cravos* (Carnation Revolution), also known as the *Revolução de Abril* (April Revolution), was a military coup which put an end to the *Estado Novo* regime. The revolution began as a coup planned by the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement composed of military officers who opposed the regime and found a strong popular civil resistance. Therefore, the Carnation Revolution led to the fall of the *Estado Novo*, the end of 48 years of authoritarian rule in Portugal, and Portugal's withdrawal from its African colonies.

3.1.1) Portugal and the European Integration Process

In 1977, Portugal formally applied for membership of the EEC, predecessor of the EU. The negotiation was complex, and the membership was only materialized in 1986. But even before that, Portugal received significant support from Western Europe. (Reis, 2019:72). On 1 January 1986, following the signature of the Accession Treaty the previous year, Portugal became a full member of the EEC. In place of the lost empire, in the democratic period, an important Lusophone axis emerged, but subordinated to the European option, constituting a criterion for the differentiation of Portugal in Europe from the historical, political and cultural affinities with the Community of Portuguese Language Countries. As Peter Hall points out, during the first decades of its existence, European integration offered clear gains to the population. The European Economic Community was essentially a vehicle for economic reconstruction and peace in Western Europe. A war-decimated population accepted these higher goals in a consensual manner. (Hall *apud* Conceição, 2016:29)

Today's Portuguese foreign policy is both the result of its historical course, the traditions developed in it, and the power distribution schemes that follow one another in the contexts of its areas of strategic insertion and the international system. (Sá, 2015: 63). Portugal, due to the current state of the international system, is a country part of various organizations and groups such as the European Union, NATO, UN and even the CPLP;

these international organizations shape not only the Portuguese strategy but also its geopolitical views and perspectives. In the present, the states cannot act as an individual actor since it is not possible to dissociate them from these organizations.

Professor António Silva Ribeiro at the conference “*Da Geografia à Geopolítica e Geoestratégia de Portugal*”⁴ explains that “What our kings thought when they used the sea to develop Portugal, from Dinis I to João II and following, was to look first to geography.” (2012, Ribeiro). This vision allows us to understand that the geographical issue has been viewed as a priority in the past, taking advantage of Portugal’s resources by making the best use of its geography.

Pedro Borges Graça refers that: “*In a historic perspective, the Portuguese are confronted with a dilemma of multiple proportions: Does Portugal need to conjugate the current strategic European option with the historical strategic Atlantic option? Can Portugal do that or is it able to do that? How? Must Portugal choose or is compelled to choose only one of the two?*”. (Graça, 2015:214). In this investigation, we will not be choosing one option over the other, but it is believed, based on the authors and data analysed, that there is the possibility to complement both options, Europe and the Atlantic, additionally, bringing positive aspects for both the European Union and the Atlantic South, at the same time as Portugal becomes a more important asset for these two geopolitical regions.

3.1.2) Creation of the CPLP

The transition from dictatorship to democratic rule meant a rupture in Portugal’s foreign policy. The centrality of the relationship between sea and land remained, but the absolute priority was now on the European continent and integration with the EEC. In large part, this profound change resulted from another key change: the end of the colonial empire with the process of decolonization, and integration into Europe became, in the words of Tiago Moreira de Sá, an attempt to find a new *pink map*, an alternative system of international insertion after the collapse of the last empire. (Sá, 2015:54). However,

⁴ Conference “*Da Geografia à Geopolítica e Geoestratégia de Portugal*” available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B3tFsxSrXX0> accessed: 20/07/2019

the country's integration into the Atlantic security system remained essential, either through the NATO multilateral alliance or the bilateral alliance with the US, there was a persistent effort of complementarity between this axis and the European one. An addition innovation in the Portuguese foreign policy and following the three D's (Decolonization, Democratization and Development), was the attempt to create a new Lusophone axis, replacing the colonial axis after its end, based on a privileged relationship with Portuguese-speaking African countries plus Brazil, either bilaterally or multilaterally through the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP). It is possible to see a map in figure 4 with the CPLP present members and the associate observers countries. Following the line of thought of Sandra Balão, it was possible to see the creation of Organizations whose main *leitmotif* contribute to the preservation and defense of language and culture, which, as far as Lusophone space is concerned, is the case of CPLP that seems to have emerged in a clear context associated with a trend towards a pro-globalization strategy. (Balão, 2011:167)

Figure 4 – Map of the CPLP Members and Associate Observers



Source: https://bar.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portugiesische_Sproch#/media/Datei:CPLPmap.png accessed on 03/08/2019

Only in 1976, with the inauguration of the 1st Constitutional Government, was there a definition of the external position of Portugal, assuming the dual condition of European and Atlantic country. Europe was seen as an essential political project for

democratic consolidation and economic viability in the post-empire. The Atlantic was fundamental to security, to avoid the strategic marginalization of a small country on the European continent and to further strengthen Lisbon's ability to influence European decision-making centers. The Lusophone dimension has been relegated to the background, despite attempts to approximate and improve relations with the PALOP, made difficult in many cases by the inheritance of colonization and the troubling way in which decolonization took place, especially Angola. (*idem*:56). In March 1977, Prime Minister Mário Soares submitted the formal application for membership of the European Communities following a successful diplomatic strategy that removed various resistances and secured the necessary support.

From the analysis of the 1996 Constitutive Declaration and the CPLP Statutes, after the 2007 revision, it highlights the operative evolution regarding the Community's role on the international scene. To the geocultural component is added the component of cooperation geopolitics that aims to give CPLP an autonomous position in the regional and global environment. This purpose is evidenced in Article 3 (a) and (b) of the CPLP Statutes, which sets out the general objectives of the CPLP: in international fora; (b) cooperation in all fields, including education, health, science and technology, defense, agriculture, public administration, communications, justice, public security, culture, sport and the media. (Romana, 2016: 48). Reflection on the place of culture as a projection element of CPLP's soft power, around an idea of lusophony that condenses in the Portuguese language the unity of eight of its member countries.” (Canas Mendes & Ferreira, 2016: 164).

3.2) Subject Framework

This investigation has the main purpose of understanding and assessing the strategic importance of Portugal for the European Union, moreover, comprehending how this strategic importance can be improved due to the Portuguese geopolitical strategy related to the Atlantic South.

Firstly, we identify some limitations to this study, since there is not enough of studies written about this specific area through the lenses of grand strategy and critical geopolitics, moreover, there are very few works done in this field in English or other

foreign languages, being that the grand majority is written in Portuguese, outdated and focused more in the field of military strategy. We depart from the main assumption that there are not enough written, consistent studies about the strategic importance of Portugal for the EU considering the Atlantic South. Moreover, although this can be perceived as a limitation it also offers great potential. The idea that Portugal can be a geopolitical bridge between the Atlantic South and the European Union has been considered by other authors and even in official documents. For instance, it is stated that the Portuguese State has defined the Atlantic Ocean as one of its strategic priorities in the 2013 CEDN and as a significant strategic unit (CEDN, 2013: 26-27), in which Portugal could display a pivotal, bridging role. Portugal's role would be justified both by its location, whereby it has responsibilities for a large central area in the Atlantic and by its tradition of intense dialogue with States in South America, North America, Europe and in Africa. This perspective is relevant for this study, to further investigate if the strategic importance of Portugal for the European Union can be improved by the country playing a bridging role between the North and South of the Atlantic, hence among the Atlantic South and Europe. Portugal has always had a relation with the ocean, especially the Atlantic Ocean.

3.2.1) Portugal and the European Union

Looking with further detail into Portugal and the EU, Eugénia da Conceição, in *O Futuro da União Europeia* tells us about the 'Three Stages of Relationship between Portugal and the European Union'. (2016:65-68): The first phase, corresponds to the enthusiasm and euphoria of the period between 1986 and 1999. After almost five decades of authoritarianism, Portugal's integration into the then EEC symbolized the end of long isolation during the dictatorship period and thus the return to the family of European democracies, the second phase of the relationship with the EU, the period 2000-2010, is one of economic stagnation and disenchantment with the possibility of being part of the European frontline countries of economic growth. In this second phase, it is posed the question 'Why did Portugal stop growing after 2000?'; one explanation can be found in the fact that Portugal has an economy that focused its competitiveness on the base of low wages, a model of economic development considered to be outdated by most economists; the third phase, which Conceição defines as a period characterized by discouragement and humiliation, begins in 2010 and lasts until these days. This is the time when Portugal

must seek international economic and financial assistance and be under the supervision of the *troika* institutions. With the sovereign debt crisis, the dependence on foreigners and creditors becomes visible again. Portugal cannot survive economically and financially without external aid.

Despite the existential crisis in which our country has lived since the beginning of the Euro crisis, Portugal has survived, and the most likely scenario is not the end of the process of European integration, but it's a big leap forward alternative. In this case, Portugal must be part of this *leap*, keeping the Union as an absolute priority of its international insertion.

International relations' issues highlight with particular accuracy the symbolic and normative dimension of political action, as foreign policy options reflect consensus on the organization of the 'political', particularly in the field of international distributive justice. From Maastricht, we witnessed a cumulative process of building autonomous instruments in the EU's external relations field. (Costa et al., 2009: 21). We can parallel this with the conception that *"At the core of critical geopolitics, therefore, is the belief that these geopolitical representations of global politics deserve serious attention, for it is such 'scripting' of the world that helps constitute and legitimate foreign policies."* (Dodds & Attikson, 2000: 11).

Portugal is strategically important to the European Union today due to its geostrategic position, as described before, being a peripheral country and the most western point of the old continent, by the significant contributions of Portuguese politicians to the EU such as Durão Barroso (11th President of the European Commission) and more recently Mário Centeno (president of the Eurogroup and Chairman of the Board of Governors of the European Stability Mechanism), but also due to the country's successful positive interventions within the EU, from the European Parliament to the Council of the European Union. By exploring the recent history and data from the EU⁵, it is exposed that Portugal held Presidency of the Council for 3 times. The previous Portuguese Presidencies were held in the first half of 1992, in the first half of 2000 and from July 1st to December 31st, 2007. During the latter Portuguese Presidency, the

⁵ Data retrieved from https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/countries/member-countries/portugal_en [Consulted on 12/01/2020]

agreement of the new EU Reform Treaty, or Lisbon Treaty, the city in which it was signed by the 27 Member States (13th December 2007).

Another achievement of great relevance and international projection, within the scope of the Portuguese Presidency, has to do with the EU - Africa Summit, with the presence of heads of state and governments of the European Union and Africa. This summit aims to overcome missed opportunities and undertake a common strategy with Africa, through open dialogue and concerted actions for economic and social development. In the various issues to be addressed at this Summit, one of relevance and which will certainly be addressed with due attention, concerns African immigration, to promote legal immigration and combat illegal immigration, with serious consequences in the violation of human rights. and regular integration into European host societies. Portugal will hold Presidency of the Council of the EU from 1st of January to 30th of June 2021, thus, within the next year there is a possibility Portugal having similar achievements, as in the past, related with the EU and Atlantic South relations.

3.2.2) Portugal and the Atlantic South

Since the beginning of the constitutional period, there have been efforts by Portugal to develop a close relationship with the PALOP, in addition to Brazil, translated for example into military, technical-economic and socio-cultural cooperation. However, the long colonial period and the process of decolonization left a conflicting dimension that made it difficult for many years to have a real dimension of Lusophony in Portuguese foreign policy. (Sá, 2015:9). It is through Lusophony that Portugal is most likely to articulate options that offer complementary outputs to the main axis of its foreign policy. Whether through its institutionalized multilateral form - the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP) - or through its bilateral relations, or through strategic combinations of specific groups of states in that community.

Based on the line of argument of the ambassador Manuel Amante da Rosa (2006:262), it is understood that for Portugal, the South Atlantic is still an unavoidable vector of its foreign policy, not least because in this space it is necessary to preserve and develop an important legacy of the Portuguese nation, the language. For the country to achieve its aspirations particularly in the South Atlantic, it is no less important, perhaps

even very strategic, that the country can project, along with investments, leaders capable not only of monetizing investments but also of consolidating the Portuguese presence in these spaces.

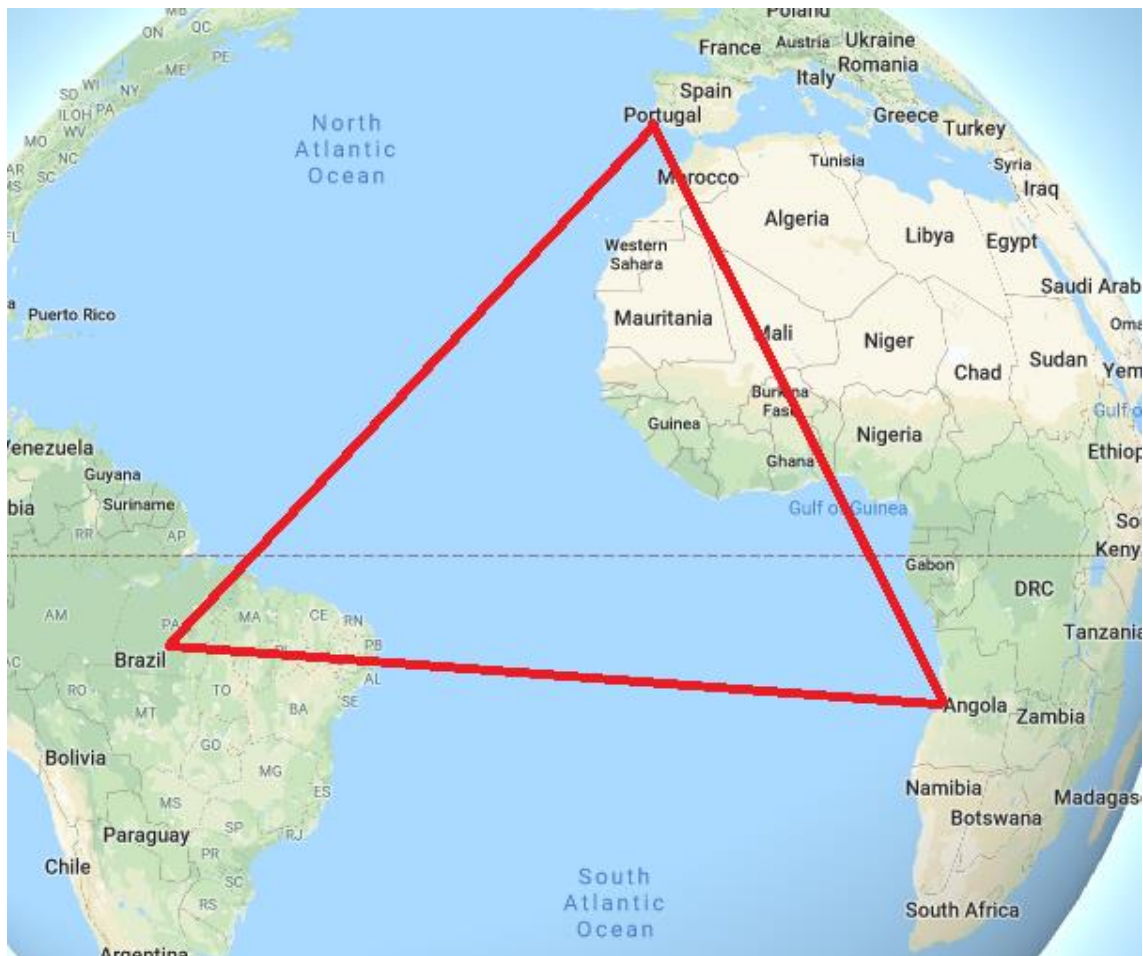
4) Reviewing a Strategic Triangle: Portugal, Angola and Brazil

A country like Portugal needs to maximize its geographical position, its human resources, its external relations and its maritime potential. These axes will make a small country stronger in the European concert, as a determining space in the consolidation and maintenance of Portuguese democracy. They will make a peripheral country in the EU a central player with political and strategic projection in the Atlantic. They will make a country facing Atlantic history and its present and future potential a geopolitical and economic pivot, combining cultural relations with Africa, Latin America and North America with the emerging trade, energy, logistics and security valences in the region. And they will make the dignity of the state a structural and non-casuistic vector, avoiding confusing economic diplomacy with foreign policy, trade relations with political priorities and tactics with strategy. (Lima, 2016: 108).

By examining a Strategic Triangle⁶ between Portugal, Angola and Brazil, it would be possible to link the north of the Atlantic with the south and which would represent, in line with the teachings of Critical Geopolitics, linking three different continents (Europe, Africa and America) as it can be seen in figure 5.

⁶ The Strategic Triangle presented and explored in this investigation is the Portugal, Angola and Brazil and not the classic Portuguese Strategic Triangle: Continental Portugal, Azores Archipelagos and Madeira Archipelagos.

Figure 5 – Strategic Triangle between Portugal, Angola and Brazil.



Source: Elaborated by the author with resource of Google Maps, original image retrieved from <https://www.google.com/maps/@-0.0397115,-22.6932024,3.26z> accessed on 22/08/2019. Presented image made by the author on 22/08/2019

Moreover, as it can be depicted from figure 5 – *Strategic Triangle between Portugal, Angola and Brazil*. Portugal can be understood as an entry door to Europe; Brazil as a window to South America; and Angola as a road to Africa. Tiago Moreira de Sá defines this triangle in what is conceived as the Lusophone axis, highlighting the importance of developing a triangle between Portugal, Angola and Brazil, while at the same time amplifying the Portuguese identity beyond the language, as an Iberian country, promoter of the Ibero-American links that unite both sides of the ocean. (Sá, 2015: 64) In short, two countries stand out very clearly from Portugal's other partners within the CPLP: the two emerging powers of their respective regions on opposite sides of the Atlantic, Brazil and Angola. (Sá, 2015: 87). These two countries are the ones to be analyzed in this chapter, their connection with Portugal and ultimately the hypothesis of a Strategic Triangle between Portugal, Angola and Brazil.

4.1) Portugal and Angola

The relationship between Portugal and Angola was highly impacted by the colonial period. However, with the 1974 Revolution in Portugal, Angola had the opportunity of becoming an independent country from Portugal. *“The 1974 military-led Portuguese Revolution (1974–76) had the potential to destabilize the Cold War international order and the policy of détente between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Angolan struggle for liberation transformed into a proxy for the Cold War in Africa, as the Chinese, the Russians, and the Cubans funneled resources to different rebel groups.”* (Melo, 2018:1). By 1975, the intervention of the Soviet Union in Angola in an attempt to implement a communist regime was taken for granted and at the time, the American effort was to seek a greater balance of forces and to seek that in November that same year (when Angola’s independence was expected) the position of the communists in that country was not yet secure. The relief was given to a geopolitical issue, namely the importance of Angola in accessing the Zaire and Zambia Sea. (Dias, 2006: 64).

António de Sousa Lara mentions that the Penina or Alvor Agreement, established from 10 to 15 January 1975, between Portugal and the FNLA, MPLA and UNITA (Angolan political parties), considered as the only and legitimate representatives of the Angolan people, determines for 11 November 1975 the independence of Angola. Then, on 4 August 1974, the riots began in Luanda and, on 28 February 1975, the civil war between the MPLA and the FNLA, to which UNITA joined, from 16 June that year. (Lara, 2014: 149). *“The success of the Revolution in Portugal and the eventual independence of Angola did not resolve the contradictions of the colonial system. Independence and citizenship were both a strain on these categories and simultaneously constrained by them. (...) The Portuguese colonial regime had distinguished between nationals and indigenous people using categories of race and culture, events that followed the 1974 Revolution and 1975 independence reproduced the classificatory schema without overt and specific reference to either race or culture. In effect, race and culture continued to play an important role in defining belonging in Portugal and Angola, and continue to this date. These processes help explain the massive dislocation of whites from Angola and their experiences as retornados in Portugal.”* (Ovalle-Bahamón, 2003:151-152). Angola has become one of the fastest-growing countries in the world and regional power in sub-

Saharan Africa, thanks to its natural resources, especially oil, which accounts for around 45% of GDP and over 90% exports (AICEP, 2015).

Manservisi observes that “When looking at the diversity of the countries of Southern Africa, we see potentially strong and growing countries like Angola and Mozambique (...) their economic and political potential should not be underestimated; they are among the emerging powers of the region: Angola with its strategic resources and its position at the crossroads of Southern and Central Africa and the Great Lakes Region.” (Manservisi, 2006: 163). The western geostrategic region constitutes Angola’s immediate link to the Gulf of Guinea. This region is largely made up of weak state powers from a security and defense perspective, and a heavy reliance on external powers, notably France and the US. The region is still plagued by the phenomenon of piracy and armed robbery at sea that may represent self-interest and/or instrumentalization. For further clarification, note the Gulf of Guinea in figure 6, presented below.

Figure 6 – the Gulf of Guinea and surrounding countries



Source: <http://3kbo302xo3lg2i1rj8450xje-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/Gulf-of-Guinea-map.gif> accessed on 26/08/2019

About the Gulf of Guinea, Pavia (2006) mentions: “This is an area very rich in natural resources like oil, natural gas, iron ore, gold, diamonds, (...) three of the top oil

and natural gas producers, in sub-Saharan Africa, are in the region, namely, Nigeria, Angola and Equatorial Guinea; this oil-rich region presents several advantages.” (Pavia, 2006: 158).

As a country from the African continent, Angola is part of the geostrategic space of the energetic powers of this continent. Indeed, in the framework of the global military strategy; Africa is particularly worthy of its intermediate position for military action between America and Eurasia and its valuable energy and mineral wealth. For ‘the conquest of the New Continent by a European or Asian power imposes, as a preliminary, the occupation of bases in the Atlantic aspect of Africa.’ (Matos, 2011:45). There is the current conception of the New Scramble for Africa in the 21st Century due to its resources and in this respect, there is nowadays a very present actor in Africa and consequently in Angola: China.

As depicted by Manservesi, *“China has developed an important presence in Angola which is set to become even more significant as it wins future exploration rights in Angola’s huge offshore deposits. China’s growing influence in Angola’s oil sector has been facilitated by a series of soft loans – without political conditions attached – including the recent agreement whereby 10,000 bpd of crude oil was tied to a US\$2 billion loan to be repaid over 17 years at 1.5% interest. There are much better terms than Angola could ever hope to secure from Western sources. This loan, part of a larger aid package, represents a significant departure from the traditional way Angola has engaged external players (...) obviously, the financial profit motive was not the main driving force behind the Chinese deal. Rather, China’s main objective was to establish itself as a major player in Angola’s energy sector.”* (Manservesi, 2006:208-209). Due to this rising Asian actor in Angola, there is the need for Portugal to accelerate their policy-making processes to be a present player not only in economic terms (such as China is) but in other fields of bilateral relations between the Angola and Portugal. If Angolan foreign policy progresses more to establish relations with China, there is the possibility it will grow further away from Portugal, there is the need for this not to happen and Portugal should define new strategies for better cooperation with Angola so it can develop new common and shared action plans.

4.2) Portugal and Brazil

It is a fact the date of 1500 is historical for both Portugal and Brazil as it marked the discovery of Brazil by the Portuguese sailor Pedro Álvares Cabral. A lot has changed since then and Brazil now being one of the countries part of G20 is evidence of its growing importance in the international system.

Kissinger refers to the Brazilian potentialities in the context of a short analysis to its geopolitical factors, namely the physical factor, the human factor and the resource factor. It highlights the facts of being a Portuguese-speaking country as opposed to its Spanish-speaking neighbors and of presenting a more peaceful history. On the other hand, it expresses that the Brazilian national interest has been trying to be recognized as the main country in Latin America. (Kissinger, 2003: 655). For Kissinger, *“Brazil has the resources, population and scale to become one of the dominant powers in the world. Although the advance in this direction has been somewhat discontinuous, the country's idea of itself is that it is indeed a world-wide power - and not without reason.”* (idem: 655).

Brazil's weight in world trade gives us another indication: that Portugal might not be taking advantage of opportunities in terms of its weight in all the trade or even in attracting investment. Brazil is the largest economy in Latin America and the seventh-largest world economy, with services weighing over 70% of GDP. In the last decade, the Brazilian economy has registered growth rates much higher than in the previous three decades, which is due to economic and social policy reforms and public investments (AICEP, 2015b). The economic development of Brazil is linked to several areas such as tourism and even sports, according to Professor Andreia Soares and Castro, emerging economies such as Brazil, South Africa, China, India and Russia seem to give increasing importance to sports diplomacy, as they have been identifying in this type of diplomacy a way to achieve specific objectives related to economic growth (Castro, 2013:31). This can be understood as a way of branding the Brazilian state, being the country, an emerging economy trying to be seen as a global player in the international system.

Brazil is still the largest recipient of foreign investment in South America and fifth in the world, the ninth-largest oil producer in the world and the second-largest biofuel producer, making up, together with the US, 83% of all world production. Brazil's

regional primacy is further proven by being an integral part of the BRICS, member of several multilateral and regional integration organizations, by openly aiming for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council and having a strategic partnership with the European Union since 2007. (Lima, 2016: 69). Brazil is the member state with the most territory and population of the CPLP, it has had a more dubious relationship with the organization, whose scope and limited operation will be the basis of a long-diagnosed and prolonged disinterest.” (Canas Mendes & Ferreira, 2016: 169).

Henry Kissinger, at the time of a trip to Latin America in February 1975, recognizes the great importance of Brazil from the standpoint of long-term US strategic interests, which is the country of choice for the implementation of a relationship model, especially as a reference for interactions with other Western Hemisphere countries (Kissinger, 2003: 655). In any event, and to recognize the close relationship between US and Brazil, as well as some Brazilian dissatisfaction with US support (Brazilian financial crises), it emphasizes the special care that must be taken in to avoid a conflict between NAFTA and MERCOSUR. (Dias, 2006: 62).

Brazil, besides being part of CPLP, is also part of MERCOSUR (possible to be seen in figure 7), the country is seen in the international conjuncture as a fast-developing state, an example of it is its presence in the BRICS group. Hence, the relations with Portugal need to be more active and develop additional endeavors for common strategies, if these efforts are not taken by Brazil, Portugal should do it.

Figure 7 – MERCOSUR and its full members and associate members



Source: <https://brazilian.report/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Picture1.png> accessed on 26/08/2019

4.3) A Strategic Triangle: Portugal, Angola and Brazil

In the 21st Century, it is essential to think about a Strategic Triangle between Portugal, Angola and Brazil as not only economic but rather holistic cooperation between countries in areas as security, defense, economy, energy, cooperation, development, culture and identity.

The maritime coasts of Brazil and Angola total 9,137 km in the South Atlantic (7,737 km for Brazil and 1,400 km for Angola). These two Portuguese-speaking countries total, according to UNDP's Human Development Report 2005, 196.1 million inhabitants (181.1 + 15. '), with a projection for 2015 of 229.5 million. (Gomes, 2006: 261). The object of most interest in the Portuguese foreign policy within the group of Lusophone countries is the development of the strategic triangle between Portugal, Angola and Brazil, which allows the union of three continents and two sides of the Atlantic because it presents itself as a link between the two southern countries and their respective regions of integration with Europe and even with the northern transatlantic space.

Both Angola and Brazil are oil producers, with Angola having exceeded one million barrels since 2003. In addition, Brazil is one of the most advanced countries in terms of oil crude exploration technology at a depth of more than 3,000 meters. Both also have large river basins on the continents where they operate, direct and wide access to the sea. These are countries endowed with strategic and essential natural resources, with low population density and a significant part of the population under 20 years old. (Gomes, 2006: 261).

Portugal should continue to make use of its link to Angola and Brazil by promoting summits such as EU-Africa or EU-Brazil (Sá, 2015: 88) or even EU-Latin America since there are currently living crises in South America and Africa, it would be beneficial for all parts (EU, Africa and Latin America) and also for Portugal to develop these summits since the country would be seen as a state interested in promoting good practices and values for these countries in need and it would be seen as a state with a bigger weight in the European Union. *“Geopolitical structures are shaped by two forces – the centrifugal and the centripetal. At the national level, both are linked to the psychobiological sense of territoriality. The centrifugal force is the drive for political separation that motivates a people to seek territorial separation from those whom they consider outsiders, who might impose different political systems, languages, cultures, or religions upon them. In this context, space with clear boundaries serves as a defining and defensive mechanism. The centripetal force promotes the drive for political unity that is reinforced by a people's sense of being inextricably linked to a particular territory. Such territoriality is expressed through symbolic as well as physical ties of a people to a particular land”* (Cohen, 2003:34)

In the case of the relations between the Atlantic South and Portugal, Thomashausen mentions that *“prospects of a shared and integrated maritime strategy between the countries of the Lusophone South and Portugal continue to be attractive, in particular in the field of human resources and naval personnel development where language continues to be an essential and natural factor of allegiance. Realistically, the countries of the Lusophone South can find modern training opportunities, study and integration of maritime information and intelligence and capacity building only in Portugal.”* (Thomashausen, 2006:184).

Angola has an important geostrategic position. The importance of this consideration, among others, was expressed by the side of Brazil as it was the first country to recognize the independence of Angola proclaimed in its capital. As Matos (2011) pointed out: in the context of continental defense and western strategy, Africa today is of much greater interest to Brazil than to any other area of the universe. (Matos, 2011: 45).

It is identified by Bruno Cardoso Reis as fundamental problems of Portuguese strategic culture, the resistance to planning and coordination, the focus only on reactive improvisation. This results in difficulty in predicting fundamental turning points in the international context. (Reis, 2019:97-98). Due to this, it is vital to highlight that the possibility of an efficient and feasible Strategic Triangle between Portugal, Angola and Brazil, not being yet in development, should be a strategic decision held and defended by the Portuguese state. Bruno Cardoso dos Reis mentions that strategy and grand strategy cannot be confused with a plan, let alone a rigid plan (*idem*:85); hence, in our understanding, Portugal must use grand strategy to comprehend the global scenario and properly evaluate the pros and cons of this Strategic Triangle to then implement it while constantly adjusting this action plan to the reality of the national and international conjuncture.

Keeping this into consideration, in the next chapter we will assess Portugal as a geopolitical bridge between the European Union and the Atlantic South, namely the fields of Security, Defense, Economy, International Cooperation and Development, Culture, Education and Identity.

5) Portugal as a geopolitical bridge between the European Union and the Atlantic South

“States do not occupy a single place within an unchanging geopolitical structure. The geopolitical imagination of the political elites, the residents and citizens, and other groups whose fate is tied up with that of the state, reflect alternative location within the regional and global setting.” (Newman, 2000: 302).

It is easy to conclude that the first area of the Atlantic that became essential to Europe as a strategic and commercially important route, in addition to being political, was the South Atlantic.

Regarding Africa, there is an active EU – Africa Strategic Partnership since the first Africa-EU Summit in history, held in Cairo in 2000, during the Portuguese Presidency in the EU Council, where the EU’s partnership has been strengthened through the institutionalization of dialogue, there has been a considerable change on both continents. Democratization and reform processes have been launched which are being deepened, both in Africa and in Europe, and efforts are continuing on both continents to respond to situations of conflict and crisis. At the same time, integration processes on both continents were accelerated: the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was transformed into an African Union (AU), adopting its socio-economic program, the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NPDA); the European Union (EU), for its part, has almost doubled its surface and is experiencing a process of intensification of the Union.⁷ The world has also changed: new international and global challenges have risen, globalization has accelerated and the world has become increasingly interdependent.

It is argued that the *“European Union is less than the sum of its parts. The European member states are aiming to become a power, but at the same time, there is no commitment to shared strategies and actions.”* (Toje, 2011:152). However, the lack of effective policymaking hinders the EU’s ability to mobilize economic or armed force for political gains. In addition, short-term goals of individual member states tend to overcome the long-term gains of the Union. The framework for the capabilities already exists, but

⁷ More information regarding this can be found in the "Strategic Partnership Africa-EU" document <https://infoeuropa.euroid.pt/files/database/000039001-000040000/000039706.pdf> (accessed on 16/01/2020)

the execution is lacking since it relies on a consensus of member states. Therefore, the European Union's ability to respond to a crisis effectively will remain limited also in the future. (*idem*:144–145). There is a present need to have more cooperation between the European Union and the Atlantic South, for this, the EU can use Portugal's solid relations with the countries to organize meetings, conferences and multilateral discussions between countries from the EU with the ones from the Atlantic South.

To assess the EU action, Asle Toje points out that the “*European Union is indeed ambitious in its global action, and the problem of the Union as a global power is in its weak federation. Unlike the United States, the European Union does not have centralized decision-making when it comes to foreign policy. The European Union's weak decision-making processes make the Union appear ineffective in its global action. In addition, the European Union's ability to mobilize its resources to achieve its global goals is limited.*” (Toje, 2011:151). The events related to the accession to the EEC, normalization of relations with Angola and the creation of the European Union gave a new meaning to this relationship, making Portugal more relevant to the Lusophone countries, which it had not been able to achieve until then, while this also contributed to reinforcing the country's weight in Europe itself. (Sá, 2015:59). Realizing this, the Portuguese governments have endeavored to cement a closeness between these two realities, for example by taking advantage of their presidencies of the European Union to organize the EU-Africa and EU-Brazil summit as mentioned previously. “*As Europeans, we must take a greater responsibility for our security [...] Europeans must be better equipped, trained and organized to contribute decisively to such collective efforts, as well as to act autonomously when necessary [...] Alongside external crisis management and capacity-building, the EU should also be able to assist in protecting its Members upon their request, and its institutions.*” (European Union, 2016:19-20).

In September 2015, in a State of the Union address, the European Commission (EC) President Jean Claude Juncker stated that the EU is not in a good state because “*there is not enough Europe in the EU*” and “*there is not enough union in the Union*”. The European Union is living moments of crisis in this 21st Century, with the example of economic problems, the migrant crisis and the ascension of populist movements. (Conceição, 2016: 13). There is a noticeable improvement need for the European Union, and these developments might come from its Member States, so there is a possibility of

Portugal creating a geopolitical bridge between the EU and the Atlantic South could improve the EU's current state and transform it in a more active global actor.

To think that Portugal could today, as before, return to a position of almost isolation concerning European affairs is to think of a world that does not exist and only eventually made sense in a past in which existed a Portuguese empire and in which Western, and especially European, integration was still far from current levels. Lusophony is nowhere near the size of the European market, not even as regards the size of trade with our country. (Sá, 2015:67-68). Today, it is not possible to dissociate Portugal from the European Union, which makes sense, the country is part of the EU and likewise, the EU is part of the country.

Pedro Borges Graça mentions that *"the challenge that Portugal faces in the context of CPLP strategy for the oceans, particularly in what concerns South Atlantic, demands a complex response that is equally strategic and not only of diplomatic nature, and whose timing is now. It is a national option of historic proportions, a clash between strategic visions of the future: the strategic European option and the strategic Atlantic option."* (Graça, 2015:212). Having in mind the concept of grand strategy, we must think about the Portuguese strategic decision recognizing we are part of these two realities – EU and CPLP/Atlantic South – thus, our best strategy is to develop a grand strategy to involve both organizations in the national priorities of the country.

Considering the Atlantic South today as a *zone of influence*, as it is described by Professor António Marques Bessa as an area dominated or controlled by a superpower. It is understandable to fit in the Atlantic South in this category since today superpowers no longer compete for countries but continents and strategic sets. They fight for zones rich in strategic minerals such as oil, chromium, uranium, gold, iron and for dominant positions in certain parts of the world. (Bessa, 1979: 333).

Portugal is a peripheral country in Europe but central in the Atlantic. It is not possible to change the continent or ocean, but there is a need to maximize the geopolitical spaces in which the country is integrated. (Lima, 2016:77). Portugal intends to be a bridge over the Atlantic defined as a significant strategic unit according to the 2013 CEDN. If so, it is important to invest means in this priority, while being mindful about the strategic importance the country has to the European Union by strengthening this Atlantic geopolitical bridge between the Atlantic South and the European Union. It is understood

throughout the investigation that geopolitics is in constant re-evaluation and as prementioned, critical geopolitics investigates the geographical assumptions and designations that enter into the making of world politics (Agnew, 2003:2). Thus, we consider the importance of all geopolitical factors of the European Union, the Atlantic South and Portugal, as well as other elements will be explored in the following sections of the study.

5.1) Security and Defense

It is not possible to dissociate security and defense from NATO. Portugal is a full member of this organization and even though the European Union has the objective of developing a similar security and defense system as NATO for the countries of the EU, NATO still today has relevance and shall be included by us in this investigation as we should analyze the North of the Atlantic to also understand the South region of this ocean.

The role of Portugal in defense and securitization could be of great importance for the Atlantic South, especially as Paiva (2006) refers, in the *“securitization of the main sources of supply, in a region where it has had a presence for centuries, the Gulf of Guinea, and taking advantage of its maritime coast and its deepwater ports – namely the Atlantic port of Sines – to become a hub of energy storage and distribution – LNG – to the consumers of Europe, thus contributing to the diversification of energy supplies of the EU.”* (Pavia, 2006: 163)

“What is now coming into close focus is the Southern Atlantic, with its diversity of competing nations, among the African and the Latin America nations, all sensing the attractions of the broader ocean, and eager to exploit its riches. But enterprising pirates, and human and drug traffickers are already stepping ahead and are at work in the Gulf of Guinea. Portugal, among others, in the E.U. and with the U.S., is participating in actions to control these illegal activities as well as joining in dialogues with Southern African states to plan for, and wrestle with the security challenges facing these countries.” (Graça, 2015: 69). If we look at the security situation of the South Atlantic, we can enunciate the existence of a certain strategic disorder, in which there are coexistences of interests of leading world players with those of various regional powers, perfectly identified, but without hegemony achievements. striking. There is no effective

regional security architecture, nor is it envisaged that this could happen in the short term. (Gomes, 2006: 236).

The possibility for the CPLP to design threat assessment processes for its direct and indirect interests in the Gulf of Guinea and the North-South Atlantic axis, as well as to contribute to the monitoring and analysis of the phenomenon of transnational terrorism (risk study and degree of threat) is the main asset of a cooperative geopolitics within its strategic security subsystem. (Romana, 2016: 49). Due to the lack of strategy in the South Atlantic disclosed from the authors above, we suggest there is a great need to foster more investment in the Security and Defense in this region. In 1986, was created the South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone, however, from our research it has not produced valuable results. Hence, for more effective outcomes and revitalization of this organization so that it can become even similar to NATO (a possible *SATO*), there could be a cooperation between the EU or NATO and this organization or even NATO to develop improvements in this area.

Following the line of thought of Tiago Moreira de Sá, Portugal must reinforce the efforts to introduce the idea that an approach to the South Atlantic by the *security community of the northern democracies* is a natural process, part of a broader West concept that gains momentum when looking at the number of democracies that populate the region and the western legacy throughout it. (Sá, 2015:83). In an evolution that Portugal must progressively plan may lie the key to the country's future geostrategic importance and one of the most promising elements of its foreign policy.

5.2) Economy and Energy

“The EU is an active and decisive part in the often conflicting relations that exist between the largest blocs in the world economy, notably in relations with the US and the most important countries in East Asia, the Middle East and Latin America.”(Smith, 2003: 74). In this field, we must understand that economically, Portugal as a country in the EU is part of grand economic cooperation that exists directly between the EU and the countries of the Atlantic South. In this case, we should analyse the importance of the CPLP in the economic sphere of cooperation; the CPLP was found to be worth 4% of the world's gross domestic product (GDP), but could more than double in value if politicians

were serious about the economy and there was more communication between states to add demand from one country to another. (Pontes, 2016: 90). According to the CPLP Business Confederation President Salimo Abdula, wealth in the Lusophone space can rise from four to 10% of world GDP in a decade and a half if countries come together and invest in a true economic community, create value from abundant natural resources and use blessed geostrategic separation which spans them across four continents (Baptista, 22 February 2014). In short, the statements of key stakeholders, both CPLP officials and political leaders, foresee a new impetus in the CPLP economic pillar.

In more specific terms, by analysing Brazil, this country is the largest economy in Latin America and the seventh-largest world economy (Portugal Global), with services weighing over 70% of GDP. In the last decade, the Brazilian economy has registered growth rates much higher than in the previous three decades, which is due to economic and social policy reforms and public investments (AICEP, April 2015). As for Angola, the African state has become one of the fastest-growing countries in the world and regional power in sub-Saharan Africa, thanks to its natural resources, especially oil, which accounts for around 45% of GDP and over 90% exports (AICEP, June 2015)

It is also noted that, despite their growth, countries except for Portugal, Angola and Brazil still occupy low positions in the hierarchy of world economies and exporting countries, so there is some way to go until they become more relevant. (Ribeiro, 2016: 102). Within the framework of the CPLP, Portugal enjoys at least three advantages; CPLP countries contribute to the expansion of their export and investment markets, strengthening the internationalization strategy pursued by many national companies in recent years; Portugal is, through its historical and commercial experience, a business facilitator for third countries wishing to enter CPLP markets. (Reto *et al.*, 2012: 112). At the same time, Portugal offers good partnership conditions for CPLP countries wishing to expand to other world economies, given the Portuguese integration into the EU. CPLP countries benefit in this respect from synergies due to Portugal's presence in the EU. This presence can favour both Portugal, which assumes itself as an important intermediary and partner in big business, as well as the CPLP countries, which are thus able to enter markets with great regulatory and reputational requirements, as well as third countries that want to invest in the space of which may have in Portugal a strategic ally in the knowledge of the history, culture, terrain and business already underway.

The economy relates to the energy, so now we will analyze the energy and how it connects Portugal with the European Union and the Atlantic South. Following the line of thought of António Silva Ribeiro at the conference From Geography to Geopolitics and Geostrategy of Portugal: “It is important to be aware of the environment and the geographical space that we have at our disposal to elaborate decision making” (Ribeiro, 2012). Portugal’s peripheral position relative to Europe but central to the rest of the world reflects its importance on the one hand as a gateway to Europe and on the other due to the country’s proximity to important points of interest to it. Another focal point of Portugal’s foreign relations is related to Lusophone countries (taking advantage of our historical and cultural ties). In particular, the giant that is already Brazil, and with whom Portugal needs to deepen its links, it would be extremely advantageous to Portugal. The same applies to Angola and all Lusophone states with which, from the cultural strategic platforms that unite us, it is necessary to establish relations, in accordance with their respective concrete interests, to reinforce the strategic potential of each one. A CPLP active in the business domain can become a strategic union, and attraction pole of other actors. With Europe betting on other alternatives such as the example of our national context, Portugal can offer Europe credible supply alternatives and leverage the role of the Atlantic network to avoid excessive dependence on Russian gas. (Silva, 2016: 194).

Hereafter, to talk about Portugal, it is required to consequently talk about the old continent. Europe depends today on 60% of energy from abroad and within 20 years this dependency will rise to 70% (Silva, 2016: 193). Most of the countries of the European Union are dependent on Russia’s supply of natural gas, European energy dependency is a reality today, and if the construction of *Nord Stream 2 Pipeline*⁸ is approved, this dependency tends to get worse in the future against Russia. The European Union today has high levels of energy dependence, concerning Natural Gas, the largest exporter in Russia. One of the most discussed factors in today’s energy security is Russia’s use of the *Energy Weapon* as used by Moscow in 2009. Where a gas dispute between Russia and Ukraine has led to a reduction in exports to 16 Member States of the European Union and Moldova in the middle of winter, leading to economic and humanitarian problems in these countries.⁹ Despite a significant decline of Russia between 2005 and 2010 as a gas

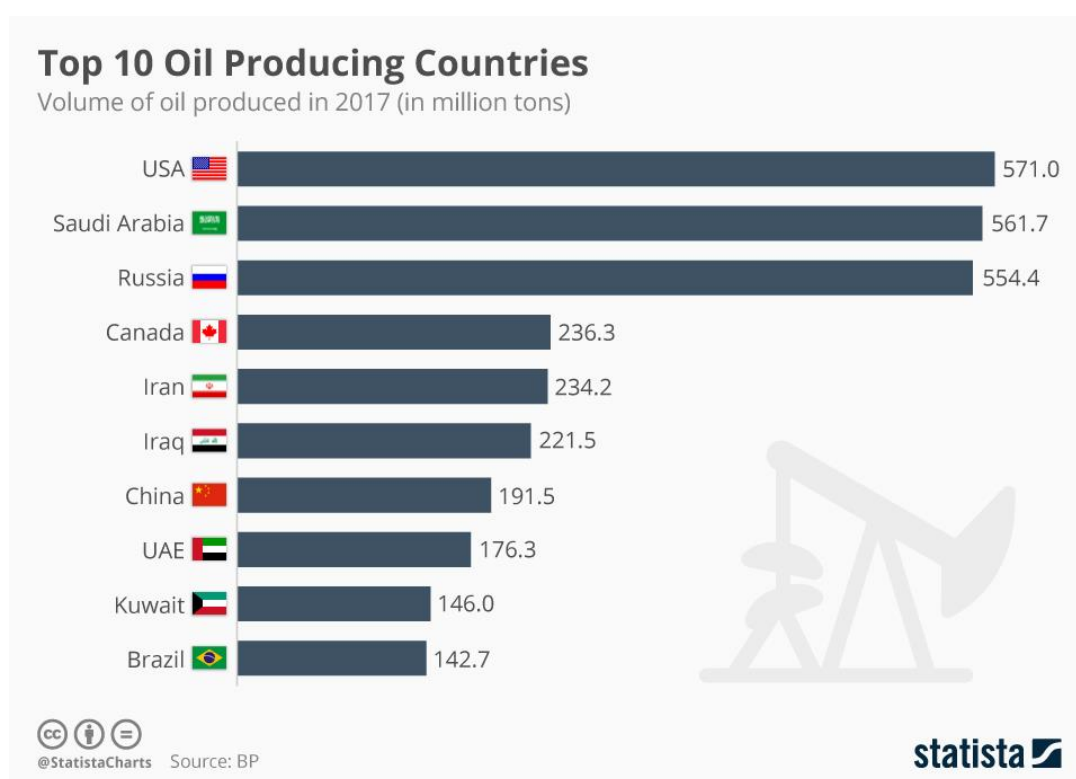
⁸ More information about Nord Stream 2 at: <https://www.nord-stream2.com/> accessed on 02/08/2019

⁹ More information at: <https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/NG27-TheRussoUkrainianGasDisputeofJanuary2009AComprehensiveAssessment-JonathanSternSimonPiraniKatjaYafimava-2009.pdf> accessed on 02/08/2019

importer, according to EUROSTAT, there has been a significant increase in Russian exports to the countries of the European Union.¹⁰

Looking into recent quantitative data, it is possible to see in figure 8 that Brazil is in the top 10 of oil producer countries in 2017. The country is located in the 10th position with 142.7 million tons of volume of oil produced in 2017. This data proves that Brazil is turning into a major *player* in the energetic world system and it would be important to build new partnerships between the EU and the country, possibly using Portugal's good relations with the country to stimulate these partnerships.

Figure 8 – Top 10 Producing Countries



Source: <https://www.statista.com/chart/16274/oil-productin-countries/> accessed on 11/08/2019

It is known that half of the new energy-related discoveries in the last decade have been in Portuguese-speaking countries (Brazil, Angola and Mozambique). Indeed, the CPLP countries make this Lusophone space the fourth-largest producer of hydrocarbons in the world and the prospects are for growth. The Angolan pre-salt continues to have as

¹⁰ Data retrieved from: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Energy_production_and_imports#More_than_half_of_EU-28_energy_needs_are_covered_by_imports accessed on 03/08/2019

interesting an exploration horizon as has the Brazilian in recent years, which projected Brazil to the world's sixth-largest oil producer in 2035. (Lima, 2016: 63-67). As regards to gas, the main holders of gas reserves are Russia (18 %), Iran (18%) and Qatar (14%), with the EU about 0.9% of the world total, which proves the existence of another great structural weakness of Europe. (*idem*: 100).

It is impossible today to talk about the Atlantic South without addressing the issue of oil. The South Atlantic oil is a decisive strategic resource. Brazil, Angola and the Gulf of Guinea are at the core of the inevitable competition that will be fuelled by the instability of other production zones with an emphasis on the Middle East. (Gomes, 2006: 240). *“Evidence of Africa’s importance within the global energy markets come from several sources including recent large deep-water oil discoveries in Angola, Nigeria and Equatorial Guinea.”* (Malaquias, 2006: 203-204).

Having these into consideration, it is relevant to cite José Pavia, when referring to energy security. *“Energy security became again a more important topic due to the recent events in Eastern Europe and the potential use (misuse!) of energy supplies as an “economic weapon” by the Russian federation. The EU imports 34% of its oil and 32% of its natural gas from the Russian Federation.”* (Pavia, 2006: 161). According to José Pavia, one of the solutions could be the diversification of the supplies and the Iberian Peninsula, and particularly Portugal could contribute to this objective. *“The importation of natural gas in its liquid form (the LNG – Liquefied Natural Gas) by maritime routes using cryogenic sea vessels is very cost-efficient to transport over long distances. That LNG could be transported to Portuguese and Spanish ports that have the infrastructure to “regasify” it and distribute it as pipeline natural gas. The pipeline system of the Iberian Peninsula thus will connect to France across the Pyrenees and the gas could be distributed across Europe. (...) Portugal could contribute to this strategy in two ways: upstream, by contributing with the NATO and EU operations to tackle the piracy and/or terrorists threats in the Gulf of Guinea thus securing the sea lanes and the constant and viable supply of gas and oil, and downstream, by being a hub for the imports of LNG, with the capacity to regasify it, store it and distributes it as pipeline natural gas to the pipeline system of the EU.”* On the other hand, there are geopolitical risks *“namely piracy and/or terrorism – could jeopardise this entire strategy”* (*idem*:162).

Beyond the economic aspect of the growing relationship, China’s growing presence in Africa has important political consequences as well, especially as far as

democratization and transparency are concerned. *“Simply put, unlike the USA, China is not inclined to use its growing economic presence as leverage to push for democratic reform and transparency in the African oil states. Instead, the opposite is more likely. The increase in revenues resulting from China's thirst for African oil can make these states all but immune to American pressures in the areas of democratic development, including transparency in the management of their oil revenues. In other words, China is likely to ensure the longevity of the rentier state in Africa.”* (Malaquias, 2006: 206) The relationship with the ascendant power of China, which due to the regional importance, but especially the extra-regional one, that has been developing and the weight of the economic relations that already has with Portugal justifies special attention. In this context, it is equally relevant to address the growing importance of the economy in the foreign policy strategies of states and the so-called ‘economic diplomacy’. (Sá, 2015: 65)

However, the facts remain stable: the transatlantic market is the most integrated in the world, the richest and the most politically cohesive. (Lima, 2016:57). The challenge is to extend the dynamics of the North Atlantic to the South Atlantic, favoring a commercial, financial and political unit that generates wealth, employment, good governance, political stability and regional security.

5.3) International Cooperation and Development

The world is in constant change and the problems of climate change, poverty, lack of education and global disasters are a reality. The publication of the Millennium Development Goals marked the reorientation of development policies towards the reduction of absolute poverty, which has become one of the main objectives of Community policy. (Costa, 2009: 294). In September 2015, with the failure of the Millennium Development Goals, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, comprising 17 Goals and 169 targets, covering worldwide social, economic and environmental concerns. The MDGs and the now SDGs are shaping the global policies and Europe does not want to be left behind, the EU has committed to be a global actor in change and promoting cooperation and development to achieve the SDGs, being also present in the EU's document *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign And Security Policy*. (European Union, 2016: 40-51)

It is noteworthy that it is assumed that cooperation policy has to be seen as an instrument of strategic action essential for the affirmation of our interests in an increasingly interdependent and globalized world. (Balão, 2016: 65). In the longer term, the Portuguese relationship with the Atlantic South should be through concertation with European partners, both at the political level and at the specific level of development cooperation. Portugal intends to play an important role in this articulation, since it is assumed as a privileged interlocutor of a set of countries from the Atlantic South, supporting and projecting the CPLP and strongly encouraging the advance of regional integration in both Africa and South America due to its geostrategic position and common history, with growing international weight and relevance on the continents. The progressive importance of regional organizations from the Atlantic South must be reflected in the European view by adopting a constructive, cohesive and coherent voice.

The EU is the largest trading bloc in the world, as well as, together with its Member States, the largest donor of official development assistance. (Costa, 2009: 246). According to the former Secretary of State for the European Affairs, Fernando Neves; political dialogue with the African continent is an indispensable feature of Europe's role in the world. It cannot be replaced by a technical dialogue about this or that aspect of business or security relations. In international relations, partnerships are based on the establishment of this political dialogue between sovereign countries. (Neves, 2006:19). However, it must not be forgotten that the South part of the American continent, where Brazil is inserted, and work for sustainable development and cooperation in both in these regions. *"The EU is not a "Donor" among so many others. It is a political organization with precise responsibilities. Political dialogue as defined in the Cotonou Agreement and the TDCA (Trade Development and Cooperation Agreement) has become in recent years a striking feature of our partnership. It has become a real institution, not just incidental talks when the occasion arises. We discuss matters of common interests, but also potential threats to our relationship and stability and progress in the region. We do not shy away from the subjects we disagree on: sometimes we do use harsh words to express our criticism. And when I say «we», I mean both sides."* (Manservisi, 2006: 167). The EU and its Member States are important actors in international development cooperation policy. Empirical evidence confirms the statement: EU Member States provide over 40% of all development aid, while the EU provides over 10%. In related areas such as humanitarian aid, Member States provide about 25% of the total and the EU 30%. (Costa, 2009: 292). More specifically, the CCP seeks to contribute to sustainable development by integrating

more and more countries into world trade. (Costa, 2009: 268). It aims to promote the European interests (open markets, stable and transparent regulatory frameworks), uphold the values of democracy, the rule of law, social and environmental rights, cultural diversity and food security.

“The Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), which Brazil co-founded in 1996 with Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal and São Tome and Príncipe (East Timor joined in 2002), became an important channel for Brazil-Africa relations. Although founded as a platform for cultural cooperation, the CPLP has assumed a more diversified role, encompassing development and security issues.” (Graça, 2015: 72-73). In present days, there is a need to reinforce the status and relevance of CPLP in a geopolitical and strategic way inside the international system. Tiago Moreira de Sá, when exploring the topic of the CPLP said that if even in an organization such as the European Union there are discussions about inequality between large and small states, in the case of the CPLP the asymmetries are even more evident. (Sá, 2015: 84). There has been some cooperation between the countries of CPLP in the matter of security and defense. According to Professor Sandra Maria Balão, from a realist trend-setting perspective and a structural point of view, the CPLP’s mission is still far from defined. Although there was a widespread focus on the field of military-technical cooperation, for example, this was just one of the areas where closer relations between the various Member States were foreseen. (Balão, 2011: 185).

As much as everyone’s language is or was the same, a common language many times is not spoken. The stages of development are very different from state to state, although culture is a common element, it is also a separate factor, to which the different political regimes of each member can be added. Consequently, the European Union could be seen as an example of its good practices and these could be better developed and implemented for a more sustainable CPLP.

“Globally, the European Union gains attractiveness from creating environmental policies, endorsing international law, and making efforts for human rights. Europe's position as the biggest single donor of development aid to fight poverty attracts positive attention. In addition, the European multilateral approach to nation-building and civilian crisis management makes European policies attractive to many countries and makes the EU a desired partner in global politics.” (Nye 2004:80-81).

One of the biggest assets the European Union has is when it is seen as a constructive and positive global actor, promoter of sustainable development and human rights for example. The best way for the EU to improve the situation of European crisis in the 21st century is to highlight this position of Europe as a global actor, for this, the EU can use Portugal's geopolitical relations with the countries from the Atlantic South (due to history, experience, common communities and even language) to create new advances with a North-South relation: European Union – Atlantic South.

5.4) Culture, Identity and Education

The view of the Portuguese foreign policy deconstructed in its projection into large spaces of strategic insertion is suitable since it reflects very clearly the various dimensions that have always marked international positioning: firstly, geography, reflected in the spaces that surround it successively; secondly, culture, associating to space the various identities that integrate Portuguese identity, namely, the Lusophone, Iberian, European and Western democratic; thirdly, the historical, and thus the national interest has always been projected since its reach has reached the boundaries of the various spaces to the present. (Sá, 2015:65). It is also in this context that emerges a *world of multiple voices* (UNESCO), that includes doctrine on human rights and gender equality, the enhancement of the practice of miscegenation and the sharing of cultural elements. The preservation and valorisation of the Portuguese legacy, manifested in the linguistic and cultural expressions present throughout the world, are therefore affirmed as being of exceptional strategic importance (Moreira, 1999: 19-29).

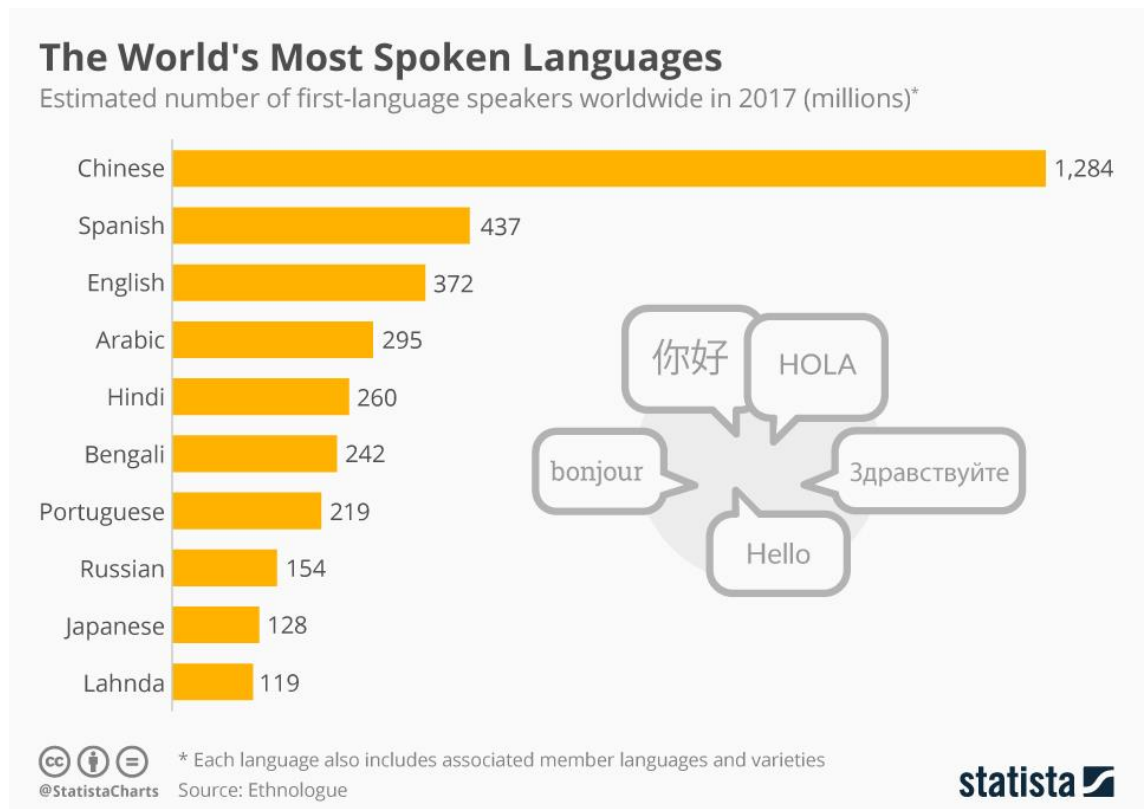
Critical geopolitics is concerned with the discursive nature of geopolitical manoeuvring and how global positioning is represented and contested. Agnew & Corbridge (1995: 303) note that the identity and interests of states are formed in interaction with one another. One of the main arguments discussed here is that “*to understand the geopolitical positioning of any country, it is essential to understand the internal discourse of identity of that country's citizens. It is an approach which looks at geopolitics from below, from within the state, rather than the from the perspective of the global system.*” (Newman, 2000: 303). Culture largely guides action and profoundly

interferes with strategy formation and even with the goals to be achieved. (Correia, 2015: 39).

Portugal shares leadership within the CPLP countries and can exercise a stronger influence towards shared ocean governance. But, as an EU member, it also shares an Atlantic governance strategy towards the US. Experts think neither the EU and US, are very welcome in any emerging governance structure of the South Atlantic, however designing such a structure is expected to take many years. Nevertheless, conforming to Sá (2015), Portugal may press forward independently, more boldly than heretofore, and force a shared leadership with Brazil and, thus, gain political leverage within a future Southern Atlantic governance structure. To recuperate its historical maritime leadership, Portugal may surely be forced to follow policies more independent of the EU. (Sá, 2015:74). In the view of Professor Sandra Balão, the solution may lie in the application of *smart power*. That is, no longer *hard power* as classically considered, in warlike terms, nor *soft power*, especially considered in cultural terms. But a mix of what we might consider being the most important factors to consider in a scenario where CPLP Globalization, Language and Geopolitics / Geostrategy could jointly contribute to a successful Lusophony strategy in the contemporary world in which we live (Balão, 2011: 226).

Portuguese is one of the most spoken languages in the world. By reflecting upon figure 9, it is possible to understand Portuguese is the 7th most spoken language in the world, with 219 million speakers according to data of 2017.

Figure 9 – The World's Most Spoken Languages



Source: <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/02/chart-of-the-day-these-are-the-world-s-most-spoken-languages/> accessed on 14/08/2019

Language has an impact on Portuguese politics through the significant Portuguese communities scattered around the world, but especially in countries around the Atlantic. These communities, often exemplary cases of integration in the countries in which they operate, can prove to be a real asset in favor of Portugal in establishing deeper ties with its recipient states, as long as the Portuguese foreign policy is capable of, through a coherent policy, maintain a spirit of networking between the various diaspora communities. If as mentioned by Professor Heitor Barras Romana, strategic culture is about understanding the extent to which national interests, and formal and informal actions in the pursuit of critical power objectives, are influenced by socio-cultural factors, intertwined with *geo-historical* factors, as well as elements of the political culture of a given state. (Romana, 2016: 14). The CPLP should be understood as an undeniable portion of Portugal's strategic culture that is translated by a community sharing a common cultural aspect, the language.

The construction of a narrative of multilateral cooperation based on a common functionality of the Portuguese language is the basis for ‘prestige’ (constructivist) diplomacy versus ‘interests’ (realist) diplomacy. (Romana, 2016: 46). And, as it can be seen in the CPLP website: *“The Peoples represented in the CPLP share a historical, cultural and linguistic heritage that unites them, made up of a common path of several centuries, which gave rise to a material and immaterial heritage that needs to be preserved, valued and disseminated.”* (CPLP, 2019).

Culture and identity are important to create and improve the relations between states and organizations, to have something in common or common beliefs has been seen in history to facilitate the process. It is possible to recognize the importance of culture and identity from the following quote from Saul Cohen: *“However, economics is not the only, or even the major, reason for the national state – the sense of belonging to something socially and territoriality is even more important.”* (Cohen, 2003:45).

In the European Union, identity is a big problem that has tried to be solved with cultural initiatives, campaigns and mobility projects such as the Erasmus+ Programme or even the Europe for Citizens Programme from the European Commission, however, still today there is the same lack of feeling of identity in the EU, as mentioned by Zbigniew Brzezinski: *“As of now, and for the foreseeable future, it is simply the case that no «European» is willing to die for «Europe». It follows that Europe, as it integrates, will be something altogether novel in the history of political entities, both in form and in substance. It will doubtless be a polity, in addition to being globally a most significant single economy.* (Brzezinski, 2001:32) It is therefore important to focus on establishing a cultural and identity link between the EU and the Atlantic South if there is the ambition to establish a geopolitical bridge between these two. Because the organization of politics in the Union’s space is not yet sufficiently anchored in a model in which European citizens recognize each other, the identity of the European project remains volatile. (Costa et al., 2009: 22). In this sense, the shortcomings in the EU's international identity reproduce the shortcomings in the identity of the European project itself.

The characterization of CPLP’s economic potential has been focused on language as a business enabler. However, if the dimension of cooperation is essential to the spirit of the community, there are many opportunities in the field of education (specialized training, environmental sustainability, financial and media literacy, among others) that can underpin this great economy of the future. In this respect, Portugal has competitive

advantages and pedagogical responsibilities. (Ribeiro, 2016: 128). The action of this organization in this area of intervention aims to promote intercultural education, encourage greater openness of intercultural education systems and foster greater mobility of researchers, teachers and students in the area of education. To diversify and enrich the processes of formation, as well as to promote the values and founding principles of the CPLP. (Sebastião, 2016: 38).

Education is one of the most important spheres Portugal can make the difference as a bridge between the European Union and the Atlantic South, by using the mobility of teachers, university professors, trainers and students in between these north-south arenas, it would create more space for cooperation and investment, bringing also a *win-win* situation to both sides. The European Union in the 21st century is trying to invest greatly in the mobility of people through various Programmes¹¹ of the European Commission, these could be used with more focus in this field, and Portugal can, in fact, promote and take advantage of these EU's opportunities to create a stronger bridge between Portugal, the EU and the Atlantic South. Just as stated by the Professor Heitor Barras Romana in this matter applied to the CPLP, it is believed that student and teacher mobility within the CPLP will foster a value-sharing culture, reinforcing the principles that guided the creation of the Community. (Romana, 2016: 52). With this into consideration, we could invest in a reinforcing of the principles of education and training with not only in the CPLP but between the EU and the Atlantic South, having Portugal has the state pioneer in this epistemic mobility exchange.

Following the line of thought of Professor Heitor Romana, in conclusion, the participation of the epistemic communities of the CPLP countries in a strategy that aims at their gradual insertion in the system of international organizations, where matters related to strategic security gain priority in the agenda of the international community, will constitute an input to the increase of robustness its political-diplomatic and security instruments and may contribute to the maximization of a geopolitical model of cooperation based on a proactive multilateralism with a linguistic and cultural basis. (Romana, 2016: 53).

¹¹ The Erasmus+ Programme had in 2018 about 853 000 people who studied, trained or volunteered abroad, involved 95 000 organizations and funded 23 500 projects. More information about this at https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about/statistics_en [Consulted on 10/01/2020] and about the Erasmus+ Programme in https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/node_en [Consulted on 10/01/2020].

6) SWOT Analysis

Taking into consideration the previous chapters, the study aimed at assessing Portugal's strategic importance for the EU, having in consideration its geopolitical position towards the Atlantic South; thus, a SWOT Analysis will be used to understand the Strategic Importance of Portugal for the European Union, taking into consideration its geopolitical strategy towards the Atlantic South. The tool used in this chapter is the well-known SWOT analysis, which allows us to assess the strategic situation, that is, to analyze the external and internal environment. This analysis allows the identification of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats. The following section depicts the SWOT analysis.

SWOT analysis table of the Strategic Importance of Portugal for the European Union, taking into consideration its geopolitical strategy towards the Atlantic South:

<div>Internal Analysis</div> <div>External Analysis</div>	<p align="center"><u>Strenghts</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical bonds with the Atlantic South Countries; • Co-founder and Strong member of the CPLP • Portuguese Language • Member State of NATO • Common Culture and shared Beliefs with the Atlantic South Countries • Geoestrategic Position • Atlantic Country and European Country • Strong militar Strategy • Pro-European Country 	<p align="center"><u>Weaknesses</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small State in the EU and in the World • Lack of National Structured plan for the Atlantic South • Unsatisfactory decision / policy makers • No energetic resources and no raw materials • Not a rich country • Lack of voice in the EU and international sphere • Lack of economic investment • Lack of long-range political measures
<p align="center"><u>Opportunities</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presidency of Portugal in the Council of the European Union • European Programmes of Mobility (Education, Training, etc.) • Developments in the CPLP • Cooperation North-South • EU – Africa Strategic Partnership • Promotion of the SDGs • Relations with countries with energetic resources, entry of Energy in the EU through Portugal • Globalized world with more importance to regional blocks • Portugal supply the EU with energy 	<p align="center">GROWTH</p> <p>Strengthen the strategic partnerships with Atlantic South states and investments in the CPLP in the cultural and education spheres based on the common beliefs and Portuguese language;</p> <p>Build a safe environment in the Atlantic South with cooperation between the EU and/or NATO;</p> <p>Create a suitable setting to supply the EU with gas due to its geostrategic position and</p>	<p align="center">FOCUS</p> <p>Promote its image in the EU and Atlantic South as a strong and capable country of facilitating the approximation between the North and South;</p> <p>Enhance the political interest of the population in the matters of cooperation with the North-South to generate new ideas and reach to viable stakeholders;</p> <p>Augment the national policies for investment through strategic plans in the fields of economy,</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic growth of Atlantic South countries, specially Brazil and Angola • Rise of wealth in the CPLP • Shared maritime strategy between the Atlantic South and Portugal • EU – Brazil Summit / South America • EU – Africa Summit • Extension of the Portuguese Continental Platform 	<p>relations with the Atlantic South states with energetic resources;</p> <p>Produce a common maritime strategy with the Atlantic South countries with the view of the Extension of the Portuguese Continental Platform;</p> <p>Consolidate its image, using its geostrategic position, good reputation in the EU and the future Presidency in the Council of the EU to create North-South summits and strategic partnerships.</p>	<p>energy, security, defense and cooperation in the Atlantic South.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Threats</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brazil not caring enough for the CPLP • China in Africa • Different goals of the states in the CPLP • Race to the energetic resources • Bringing back the colonial past • Terrorism and Instability in the Atlantic South (Gulf of Guinea) • Eurocepticism • Collapse of the EU • Rise of Nationalism / Far Right in the EU • Brazil contacting directly the EU, not needing Portugal • Corruption and Political Instability in the Atlantic South 	<p style="text-align: center;">DIVERSIFICATION</p> <p>Promote a spirit of cooperation, of sustainable development and of common goals in the CPLP, creating an environment of common relevance between the member states;</p> <p>Betting on strengthening the EU's image in the Atlantic South as a global actor;</p> <p>Increase its presence in the Atlantic South through conferences, summits and trainings, in political, economic and security terms.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">DEFENSE</p> <p>Improve the decision making processes and lines of action from the state to the EU through the Portuguese Politicians and MEP's in regards of North-South relations;</p> <p>Promote the country as a capable geopolitical bridge between the North and the South, as a result of being part of the EU and the CPLP;</p> <p>Offer aid and training to the Atlantic South countries and the CPLP in the fields of defense, education and economy.</p>

7) Conclusion

Having arrived at the conclusion phase of this dissertation, the main research question which gave a starting point to this investigation, will be recalled: “How can Portugal improve its strategic importance for the European Union, considering the country’s geopolitics towards the Atlantic South?”. Before answering to the starting question of this investigation, we will enumerate the conclusions resulting from the SWOT analysis of this investigation, from which it was possible to reach to 4 different areas of strategic objectives: **Growth, Focus, Diversification** and **Defense**.

Growth: To enable growth, after the analysis it is suggested for Portugal to strengthen the strategic partnerships with Atlantic South states and investments in the CPLP in the cultural and education spheres based on the common beliefs and Portuguese language; build a safe environment in the Atlantic South with cooperation between the EU and/or NATO; create a suitable setting to supply the EU with gas due to its geostrategic position and relations with the Atlantic South states with energetic resources; produce a common maritime strategy with the Atlantic South countries with the view of the Extension of the Portuguese Continental Platform; consolidate its image, using its geostrategic position, good reputation in the EU and the future Presidency in the Council of the EU to create North-South summits and strategic partnerships despite the country being sometimes relegated to second plan due to stronger powers in the EU¹².

Diversification: To allow diversification it is suggested for the country to promote a spirit of cooperation, of sustainable development and common goals in the CPLP, creating an environment of common relevance between the member states; Betting on strengthening the EU's image in the Atlantic South as a global actor; Increase its presence in the Atlantic South through conferences, summits and trainings, in political, economic and security terms;

Focus: For Portugal to gain more focus it is proposed for the country to promote its image in the EU and Atlantic South as a strong and capable country of facilitating the

¹² The next EU-Africa summit was going to happen under the 2021’s Presidency of Portugal in the Council of the EU, just as the portuguese President said in July 2019: <https://www.tsf.pt/portugal/politica/marcelo-anuncia-cimeira-ue-africa-em-2021-11077146.html> (accessed on 10/01/2020) but recently it changed to be held during the German Presidency in the Council: <https://eco.sapo.pt/2019/12/02/portugal-perde-cimeira-ue-africa-para-a-alemanha/> (accessed on 10/01/2020).

approximation between the North and South, enhance the political interest of the population in the matters of cooperation with the North-South to generate new ideas and reach to viable stakeholders, augment the national policies for investment through strategic plans in the fields of economy, energy, security, defense and cooperation in the Atlantic South.

Defense: To be more self-protective and not lose strategic leverage, Portugal should improve the decision-making processes and lines of action from the state to the EU through the Portuguese Politicians and MEP's in regards of North-South relations, promote the country as a capable geopolitical bridge between the North and the South, as a result of being part of the EU and the CPLP, offer aid and training to the Atlantic South countries and the CPLP in the fields of defense, education and economy.

Throughout the dissertation, the strategic importance of Portugal for the European Union was studied by utilizing the disciplines of Strategy and Geopolitics. As discussed during the investigation and understood through the SWOT analysis conclusions, Portugal can improve its relevance for the EU, whilst creating a geopolitical bridge between the European Union and the Atlantic South. Portugal can utilize its geopolitical relations with the countries from the Atlantic South (with special focus on Brazil and Angola, the two most preeminent countries of this geopolitical region); given its common history, past and present experience, economic and energetic arrangements, cooperation and development initiatives, common communities and even language to produce developments with a European Union – Atlantic South relationship.

In the investigation, Strategy and Geopolitics were recognized as multidimensional and were applied regionally and globally. Both of these disciplines were applied to the study to comprehend Portugal's role in the world as a state part of the European Union and very close to the Atlantic South, being also part of the CPLP. Angola and Brazil were the countries deeply investigated in the research to comprehend the strategic importance of Portugal for the European Union, acknowledging the Portuguese geopolitics towards the Atlantic South and reaching to outcomes about the approach Portugal should have in this matter.

The main objective of the dissertation of exploring how the Portuguese geopolitics towards the Atlantic South can be strategically valuable for the European Union was met by the results of the SWOT Analysis. Additionally, it was also possible to understand the

geopolitical perspective of Portugal towards the Atlantic South in the XXI Century with the Strategic Triangle between Portugal, Angola and Brazil, with the relevance of the CPLP and the need to complement the EU and the Atlantic South in the same field. We could also evaluate the strategic importance of Portugal for the EU, as a country part of CPLP, in the above-mentioned Strategic Triangle and as an EU member state with solid relations with the countries from the Atlantic South.

At the beginning of the dissertation, two hypotheses were proposed. The first hypothesis: "Portugal improves its strategic importance for the European Union with the development of a geopolitical bridge between the Atlantic South and the European Union."; and the second hypothesis: "In the XXI Century, Portugal does not have geopolitical influence towards the countries of the Atlantic South, hence its geopolitics towards this region do not have strategic importance for the European Union.".

Throughout the investigation, the usage of Critical Geopolitics, Grand Strategy and the results of the SWOT Analysis, it was understood that in the 21st century, Portugal does have geopolitical influence towards the countries of the Atlantic South, being a country member of CPLP and sharing common interests with countries from this region, representing relevance and potentiality of being an important player in the relations of the Atlantic South. Thus, hypothesis 2 is not verified as accurate. Differently, the study concluded that Portugal does improve its strategic importance for the European Union with the development of a geopolitical bridge between the European Union and the Atlantic South, this one supported on various areas such as Security and Defense; Economy and Energy; Cooperation and Development; and Culture and Identity. So, hypothesis 1 is confirmed.

The conclusion reached with this dissertation that Portugal may improve its strategic importance for the European Union through the development of a geopolitical bridge between the Atlantic South and the European Union. This should be taken into consideration together with the recommended strategic objectives of growth, diversification, focus and defense (as highlighted by the SWOT Analysis), for the country to gain more importance in the EU, regaining its influence in European and international spheres, regardless of being considered a small state. This can only happen if policy and decision-makers outline specific strategic plans for this field to seize the opportunities and strengths while protecting its weaknesses and avoiding threats.

The conclusions of the investigation result from the study of strategic and geopolitical reasons in a globalized world in perpetuum transformation. Moreover, resulting from this study, there are suggestions for further research on this matter such as: To study the relevance for Portugal to develop a defined strategy for the South Atlantic, not discarding the European option but investing in the relation of the European option with the South Atlantic; also the investigation proposal of the impact the 2021's Presidency of Portugal in the Council of the EU will have for the relations between the European Union and the Atlantic South, the upcoming Presidency of Portugal in Council will be a good opportunity to test the outcomes of this investigation. As a result of the study, we highlight that Portugal could develop a strategic plan with a focus on creating a geopolitical bridge between the North and South of the Atlantic and invest in strengthening its relationship with the CPLP countries. Therefore, Portugal would become more valuable to the European Union since the EU could use the Portuguese-CPLP relationship as a link to the Atlantic South (South America and Africa) to emerge as a more effective global actor.

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