

Moisés de Lemos Martins: “Portuguese is not only a language of communication, but also of cultures, thought and knowledge”

- *Moisés de Lemos Martins:
“o português é uma língua não só de
comunicação, mas também de culturas,
pensamento e conhecimento”*

Entrevista com MOISÉS DE LEMOS MARTINS^a

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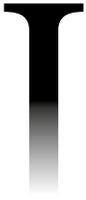
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PROFESSOR AT UNIVERSIDADE do Minho, Moisés Adão de Lemos Martins, Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Strasbourg, France, is the director and founder of the only center of excellence in research in the fields of communication and cultural studies in Portugal, according to the evaluation of the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), institution responsible for research funding and scientific assessments. The Center for Communication and Society Studies (CECS) of Universidade do Minho, located in Braga, has been hosting a wide range of research projects, involving researchers and universities from Portuguese-speaking countries, with the training of masters and PhDs from Portugal and other nations, mainly from Brazil, as well as post-doctoral and sandwich doctorate courses and joint publications. With a specialization in sociology of communication and culture, social semiotics, theory and textual and discursive analysis, cyberculture, socio-anthropology of the image and the imagery, Moisés de Lemos Martins has over one hundred and fifty articles published in magazines, books and annals of congresses, as well as half a hundred books, of which he is author, coauthor or organizer, edited mainly in Portugal, Brazil and France. He is also the founder and director of two scientific journals, *Comunicação e Sociedade*, and *Revista Lusófona de Estudos Culturais*. He presided over the Portuguese Association of Communication Sciences (Sopcom), the Portuguese-Speaking Federation of Communication Sciences (Lusocom) and the Ibero-American

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Confederation of Scientific and Academic Associations of Communication Sciences (Confibercom). Throughout his life, the Professor has been struck by a concerted strategy of scientific cooperation among the Portuguese-speaking countries, inspired by a critical and post-colonial view of Lusophony, which respects the differences and autonomy of all countries and promotes the intercomprehension between the peoples and the nations of the space that have the Portuguese language as common symbolic patrimony, thus competing to make Portuguese a language of science.

MATRIZES: Professor, you were directly involved in the creation of undergraduate courses in communication at the universities of Beira Interior (UBI) and the Universidade do Minho (UMinho), at a time when few Portuguese universities offered them.

Moisés de Lemos Martins: Exactly, that's right. It was also at the beginning of the Universidade da Beira Interior (UBI) in the late 1980s. At the time, UBI had only one course in Social and Human Sciences – the Sociology course. I was responsible for this department, and as it was to endow it with new teaching and research projects, I proposed the creation of a degree in Communication Sciences, at the time designated as Social Communication. It was the third course of the country in this scientific area, which joined the two courses created in Lisbon at the end of the 1970s in Universidade Nova de Lisboa and in the Higher Institute of Social and Political Sciences, from Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, now Universidade de Lisboa. The UBI communication course had the first class of students in 1989/1990. I stayed at this university until the end of September 1990, and then went to the Universidade do Minho (UMinho). I am a sociologist, PhD in sociology, in the specialties of political sociology and sociology of discourse. I had already worked as a sociologist at Universidade Católica Portuguesa teaching sociology of discourse and sociology of culture, before going to UBI to do the same thing. In my doctoral thesis I investigated the political discourses of the rise of Salazarism in Portugal. At UMinho, the Communication course began to work in the school year of 1991/1992 and in its first moments it was Aníbal Alves and myself. I had started teaching at UMinho the discipline of communication theories, sociology of communication and international communication. But from the beginning of the course of communication sciences I was a professor of semiotics and discourse analysis. So, to synthesize, I made an academic career all about communication. I am a sociologist of culture, who was interested in the social dimension of language and who, for this reason, taught semiotics and discourse analysis from a sociological perspective. Having been in the

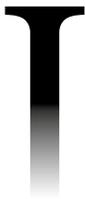
foundation of the course of Communication Sciences of UMinho, I taught, therefore, social semiotics, looking at semiotics as a theory of meaning, a theory of the social production of meaning. But as the undergraduate degree in communication at UMinho stabilized and the master's degrees were created, and then doctorate courses, then my pedagogical and scientific interests were directed much more towards the sociology of culture and communication, and also for scientific politics.

MATRIZES: How do you describe the current scenario of communication research centers in Portugal?

MLM: Well, I can take my study center as an example, of course there are others, like UBI, Universidade de Aveiro, Universidade Nova de Lisboa and Universidade Lusófona, also in Lisbon, where the colleagues of the Universidade Lusófona do Porto are integrated. Universidade do Porto already had a research center in communication, but not anymore. Universidade de Coimbra has never had a communication research center. Universidade Católica Portuguesa in Lisbon does not have a communication center either. It has a communication section within a Humanities Center. At Universidade do Algarve there is a communication section at an Arts Center. Thinking about my center, the Center for Communication and Society Studies (CECS), I believe it is the most structured and consolidated research unit in Portugal. In fact, this is how the evaluators of the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) have understood and declared it in successive evaluations of international character. We do indeed have important inquiries in communication in their various specialties, in intercultural communication (memory studies, narratives and identities); literacy and media education; strategic communication; communication and culture policies; communication of science; radio and sound studies; digital and interactive media; journalism; visual culture, specifically arts and urban culture; studies on diversity, gender and ethnicity; and studies on what we might call major societal challenges, such as studies on youth, on aging and on inclusive societies; as well as studies on bioscience, justice and citizenship.

MATRIZES: The Center for Communication and Society Studies at UMinho is the only one in Portugal that is classified by FCT as excellent, under evaluation process conducted by specialists from all over Europe. To what credit?

MLM: Today, CECS develops about 30 financed projects by national and international funds, and also has several projects of intervention in the public space. Our research projects are not only concerned with matters internal to Portugal, which is why we maintain cooperation agreements



with universities from all continents. In addition, we have a very important research commitment, which is certainly one of UMinho's biggest marks, studies linked to postcolonial concerns. We classify them as Lusophone studies, because they aim at the Portuguese official language space, and because they have to do specifically with the question of the other, which shares a historical memory with Portugal, which is a memory not only of encounter but also of assimilation and colonial domination, but today there are conditions for an openness to inter-knowledge and scientific cooperation, through teaching and research projects that fulfill this desideratum. In a way, these studies are related to the phenomenon of globalization. Lusophony points to a transcultural and transnational identity, which marks the space of speakers of the Portuguese official language space, including its diasporas, and regions such as Macao, Goa and Galicia. The studies we have developed are, above all, studies in the field of intercultural communication. For all the countries of this geocultural space, this is a strategic question because it allows us not only to get together and to know the historical memory that constitutes us, but to affirm, at the same time, through cooperation projects, the Portuguese language as a language of science. In this sense, CECS has a digital repository of texts of its own researchers, counting on more than 2,800 scientific productions in open access, with about one million downloads of all the countries of the world.

MATRIZes: Are the current research partnerships between researchers from Brazil and Portugal based especially on the perspective of lusophony and memory?

MLM: It is true that studies done in partnership with Brazilian universities have privileged the themes of memory, narratives and Lusophone identities. This has been the case with the Universidade da Bahia; with USP, PUC and Mackenzie at São Paulo; with PUC at Minas Gerais and UFMG, both in Belo Horizonte; and also with PUC at Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS). But there have been other academic interests shared between UMinho research teams and Brazilian universities. For example, with Universidade de Brasilia there have been projects on the culture of radio and sound. With UFMG there have been common projects on visual culture, and also on the representation of suffering and death in culture and in the media, and also on gender. With USP, there has been cooperation at the level of strategic communication. With PUC of Rio Grande do Sul, the projects have been about diverse themes, dealing with journalism, some with visual culture, others with political communication. And it is also a fact that in all these universities the cooperation has extended

to reciprocal participation in juries of academic tests, doctoral coorientations, mobility of students and teachers, and joint publications.

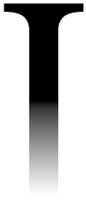
I would like to remind and highlight, in this context of cooperation between Portugal and Brazil, the mobilizing contributions of the scientific communities of Communication Sciences of both countries, under the responsibility of Professor José Marques de Melo. The role of this communications sciences giant, who is undoubtedly the main workforce for the dynamization of associative life and cooperation between Portugal and Brazil, and in addition to these two countries, has been a pioneer in the promotion of associative life and cooperation throughout the lusophone space.

Given the fact that they speak the same language, it may be thought that the scientific communities of Portuguese-speaking countries constitute a transcultural and transnational identity in which they are recognized. And yet, that is not the case. Speaking the same language, by itself, means little if it is not accompanied by a common imagery, by shared dreams. In the case, by dreams of projects and work to be developed in common.

In a world mobilized, today, in its practices, by all kinds of technologies, especially by mobile platforms of communication, information and leisure (*iPads, tablets, smartphones*, etc.), also mobilized by new forms of social interaction (through sociotechnical networks) and emerging models of interaction (such as applications and video games), I think it is possible to develop a common scientific cooperation work throughout the Lusophone world. And this is the starting point for the development of what I call a common imagery, to be developed in the space of Portuguese-speaking countries. This is the starting point for establishing what I call Lusophone cartography, to be developed in a shared way. It is a joint navigation by hypermediated places, by points where technological mediation favors immersive states, geographic displacements, social exchanges, sensorial crossings and imaginary evasions. And in addition to cyberspace, this cartography should include the hybridity of spaces such as cinemas, theaters, train stations, post offices, airports, museums, libraries.

The common imagery to be developed by all the Portuguese-speaking countries, as well as by their diasporas, constitutes a struggle to fight for diversity, with regard to the symbolic ordering of the world, a struggle made possible by the transcultural and transnational networks of knowledge, where, at the same time, the diversity of languages and cultures is opened up to the world and the problems of hegemonic language and political, scientific, cultural and artistic subordination are posed.

MATRIZes: The Museum of Lusophony is a project that is in full development, with the proposal of being a virtual repository that reflects the



culture, communication, and memory of Portuguese-speaking countries. What stage is your implementation in?

MLM: We have just received the approval of our proposal for a Virtual Museum of Lusophony by Google Arts & Culture, which means that we will have effective conditions to be able to boost the activities of this Museum.

The Virtual Museum of Lusophony is a platform for academic cooperation in social and human sciences, mainly linked to cultural studies, communication of science, post-graduate education, and arts in the space of Portuguese-speaking countries and their diasporas, underway at the Center for Studies in Communication and Society at the UMinho. It also extends to Galicia, Goa and the Autonomous Region of Macao.

The Museum has a cooperative, transcultural and transnational objective, which is spread by the scientific, pedagogical, cultural, and artistic fields, and tries to develop literacies, which promote the culture of diversity and intercultural dialogue in Portuguese-speaking countries and regions. It is also the objective of the Virtual Museum of Lusophony to build knowledge bases in Social and Human Sciences, on a Portuguese-speaking scale, which may represent not only an important scientific statement in Portuguese language, but which also include an important cultural and artistic heritage that allows to understand the logic of interdependencies from the point of view of intercultural communication. That is, we will try to clarify, with this cultural and artistic heritage, the value judgments we have about the other, as well as the stereotypes in which we fit them. Let us also look at the concrete practices of assimilation, submission or indifference, in relation to the other, just as we are going to combat *the metaphysics of unity*, which may be present in the idea of intercultural dialogue, when it is not aware of the social processes of segregation, domination, and power takeover.

The Virtual Museum of Lusophony brings together, in a common effort, research centers and universities, with research and post-graduate teaching projects in the area of Social and Human Sciences. It opens up the cooperation with public entities, cultural and artistic associations, and companies related to social communication, publishing activities, and production of digital content and software. As a whole, all organizations covered by this platform, research centers, universities, public entities, associations and companies, express the interest in building and deepening the sense of a Portuguese-speaking community.

This virtual museum is part of the tradition of postcolonial studies, including the lusophone narratives, as construction, to various voices of a geocultural, transnational, and transcultural community. It conceives, on the other hand,

the politics of language and communication as a symbolic combat for the affirmation of a plural community, in the diversity of users who have Portuguese as a reference language. We will note the complexity of the interpenetrating movement of cultures. As it is known, since it is proper to the dynamics of relations between peoples, interactions can both translate relations of encounter, erasure, assimilation and domination, as they can include, in varying degrees, colonialist, neo-colonialist and post-colonialist relations.

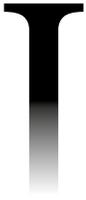
The purpose of the Virtual Museum of Lusophony is to establish itself as a web museum, with presence in the current national repositories of the Portuguese-speaking countries, as well as in Google Arts & Culture.

The organization of the Museum expands through many dimensions. Among them, I would like to highlight the following:

- a documentary archive, or database, organized by categories, genre, theme and country or region, and which includes narratives (chronicles and interviews), sound and small videos, final reports of research projects, master's degree and PhD programs, as well as scientific journals;
- an information section, which marks the launching of books, inauguration of exhibitions, films in debut, defense of master's and doctoral theses, as well as research projects in execution;
- a library with doctoral theses and master's degrees, as well as selected scientific publications: books, chapters of books and articles;
- a “Filmoteca”, with curated relevant films of the entire Portuguese-speaking space;
- a “Fonoteca”, with curated selected music festivals and identification of promoters, bands, albums and singers;
- exhibition rooms, particularly of photography, picture postcards, plastic arts, films and other audiovisual materials.

The Museum also has a Calendar, highlighting the most relevant annual scientific events, namely the congresses of Sopcom, Intercom, Agacom, Mediacom, Mozambican Association of Communication and Information Sciences, and of the Lusophone Federation of Communication Sciences.

The Museum also has an interactive Map with the identification of countries and regions of the Lusophone space, referring to the teams that in various countries produce materials for the Museum, making reference to the transnational cooperation projects, to the mobility of teachers and postgraduate students – doctoral degrees, sandwich doctorates and postdoctoral studies.



Finally, the Virtual Museum of Lusophony articulates itself with a network of schools, at the level of primary and secondary education, in each country of the Portuguese-speaking network, developing literacies that promote a culture of diversity and intercultural communication.

MATRIZes: How can we think about the relationship between culture, communication and media, which are recurrent themes in your investigations and interventions in congresses held in different countries?

MLM: Firstly, we must remember that we live in a “generalized communication society”. But I am not referring to the circumstances of the human being understanding themselves in communicative terms, as there is no other way of realizing ourselves but in a relation of communication with another. It’s not that. By “general communication society”, to speak as Giani Vattimo (1992), I understand the situation that is now ours, of communication on a global scale, made possible today by the technologies of communication and information.

When today we say “generalized communication society” we are thinking about the current situation of globalization. Communication happens today in globalized circumstances, which are given to us by information technologies. Globalization is preponderantly an economic and financial reality. It is the constitution of a global market through communication and information technologies, a market that brings together in real time all world stock exchanges. And once the global market was built, it soon happened that it was adopted as a model for all things, goods, bodies and souls, thus converted into merchandise. The technologies of communication and information are not only the condition of possibility and existence of a global market, they have become the condition of possibility and existence of a market that thunders over our heads, capturing all the dimensions of human existence. It is a fact, the technologies of communication and information extended the human control to the infinite, to speak as Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze. Cybernetics, which was born as “the science of control and communication in animal and machine”, as presented by Norbert Wiener (1950/1984), now makes a total and infinite control of the conditions of human existence.

This being the condition of the time, we can no longer think of culture outside of our technological condition. The media itself is digital today and the culture also extends through the sociotechnical networks, usually known as social networks. But it is all culture, as well as the arts, that are converted to digital – a world of new territories, new landscapes and new environments: *websites*, portals, *blogs*, electronic games, digital repositories, virtual museums...

Well, it is necessary to navigate this new territory. And this is not an attractive challenge because the future of humans depends on this answer. “But where

the danger is, also grows the saving power”, said the German poet Hölderlin (quoted by Heidegger, 1954/2002, p. 31). And that is our challenge, a challenge that extends to culture and arts, a challenge that summons the practices of professionals in the new digital context, particularly *web designers*, *online curators*, *virtual museum managers*, *web activists*, *youtubers*... And it is also a challenge that the technological atmospheres put us in the crossing to undertake, and that includes the protection and security of the digital cultural contents, as well as the communication of these contents.

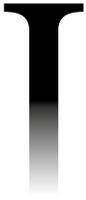
Any human activity produces culture. And as the everyday practice of today’s individuals include a technological affiliation, culture itself becomes digital. These new environments have to do with a kind of sensitivity of the time, with what is breathed, they have to do with emotions, with sensations. Because what Mario Perniola (1994/2004) named “*sex appeal* of the inorganic” happened. The inorganic is the technological here. And the technical objects establish a sensory connection with us, a connection with our skin, that is, a connection with our emotions. And also the media go through this process and express this sensitivity.

MATRIZes: How to define the media and their broader relationships with the present societies and the people that compose them?

MLM: The media was born as a promise of citizenship, at the service of democratic society, exercising vigilance over public powers and institutions, and educating citizens about the decisions to be made in the public space. However, since contemporary experience is a technological experience, the media is subject to this same movement. That is to say that the media reflect the conditions of the time, which are technological, and the contradictions that the time itself has, due to technological causes as well. For this reason, the media become an instrument of the order of spectacle, with an *ethics of aesthetics*, having a commitment only to emotion, which corresponds, in reality, to a retraction of thought. This reminds me of the character Ulrich, from Robert Musil’s *The Man Without Qualities* (1952/2008). Mobilized by technique, the media contribute for our epoch to accumulate knowledge as it never happened before, at any other time. But they feel absolutely incapable of altering the course of things.

MATRIZes: Would this allow us to think of a malaise of culture or in culture?

MLM: It’s just as it says, culture is crossed by a malaise. In this regard, I wrote a book, that had in 2017 its second edition, called *Crise no castelo*



da cultura: das estrelas para os ecrãs [Free translation: *Crisis in the castle of culture: from the stars to the screens*] (Martins, 2011). I published it in Brazil, with the subtitle “das estrelas para as telas”). Here I metaphorically interact with the book by Georges Steiner (1971/1992), *In Bluebeard’s Castle*. The Bluebeard character imprisoned all his wives in a dark room of the castle and quartered them, successively. But opening the door to the castle’s night was the price to pay to understand what was going on. And like what happened in *Bluebeard’s Castle* by Georges Steiner, to open, today, the door to technology is the price to pay to understand the culture’s night. The hope of human salvation is undoubtedly in technology. And yet we have managed to put the planet at risk of survival. So we have to make choices that lead us to the dark room of technology. These decisions are urgent, just as we are aware of what is happening with climate change, which is a stark example of the recent forest fires in Portugal and California or Cyclone Idai in Mozambique.

Basically, our relationship with technologies says a lot about our identity, as well as about our relationship with the planet, whose capabilities are being depleted. Another cultural malaise, which is also a political malaise, is nationalism, as well as calls for patriotism. Nationalism and patriotism today signify mere tribalism, which is to say selfishness, which develops xenophobic feelings, propagates intolerance to the other, and distills hatred of who is alien.

Given the technological conditions of the time, there is also a massive migration of people today, on such a scale as it never happened in the past. Societies are now all cross-cultural, and the other is a problem for me if we take a nationalistic point of view. Nationalism is now the way used for more intolerant and xenophobic societies. I think that on this subject the only point of view that makes sense – as well as the only pedagogy to have – are those that put us on the side of the human community as a whole, maintaining and nurturing a sense of humanity.

Undoubtedly, diversity is a wealth. But it is a wealth that gives us many problems. It is from the logic of human relationships that at first I can be fascinated by the other. But the other always makes me uncomfortable. Because it’s different from me and I do not understand it. He has habits that are not mine, beliefs that are not mine, he sees the world in a different way from mine and he also acts in a different way from me. In the limit, what began as an encounter with the other, can end in drowning, annulment, erasure, domination and violence. This is the logic of human relations, whether they are lived in individual or collective terms.

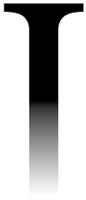
MATRIZes: Can we then understand that the understanding of the malaise of culture can not be dissociated from the technological advances and

ways in which this condition intertwines with nationalisms and intolerances different from the different from us?

MLM: Certainly our understanding of culture has a lot to do with technological mobilization. The Western culture was built on the principle of analogy, with all things being referred to an earlier cause, God being the first of causes, the one that brings together all things in unity. The West was made by three major religions, and each of them has a sacred book, which is based on the same principle, that of analogy. Judaism has the Torah. Christianity, the Bible. And Islam, the Koran. In all these religious traditions God is the cause of things, to which all creation refers. Let's call it Jehovah, Yahweh or Allah. With the laicization of culture, this world vision ended in the West. The Enlightenment and Romanticism were a fatal blow to the principle of analogy and paved the way for modernity. From then on, when God died, men began to rely on themselves to make their way. The vision of a separate and autotelic world is deepened by imaging technologies, which began in the mid-nineteenth century, with the invention of the camera, proceeded with the cinema, television and video, and arrived at the internet and digital. Technology today does not only aspire to arm us; it wants to produce us in full. And it is a fact, the technology expands, today, the experience of the human, for example, through the camera, the computer programming and the graphic design. Our simulation and simulacra practices have thus grown exponentially. With technology, our ability to produce both artificial and virtual beings has also grown. And the expansion of our experience and knowledge also corresponds to an expansion of the narrative, an expansion of our way of narrating ourselves, of speaking about ourselves. But in spite of the new territories, the new landscapes and the new electronic environments, the human being feels danger and is restless. Because it has no secure foundation, known territory and stable identity.

MATRIZes: Returning to religion and the laicization of culture, in Brazil we have experienced what scholars from different areas have come to call a type of fundamentalism, particularly identified here with the so-called neopentecostal churches, decisive in the last electoral process in the formulation of current government policies. These churches effectively use the expressive resources of the media, including social networks, to diffuse conservative thoughts, often with sexist, racist and anti-religious hate speech. How to think situations like these?

MLM: Well, I see the behaviors and attitudes as a quest for a way out of the human crisis. Although the proposed solution is a poor response to



the crisis, because it translates into the attempt of a mere return to the past. And such a solution rests neither on the understanding of modernity nor on the understanding of the human. It's a completely wrong solution. Given the condition of the time, of permanent technological mobilization for any market, having to be competitive and entrepreneur in any market, for everything having to work for statistics and for ranking, the human being happened to be subject to a permanent crisis. But in the technological conditions, which are ours, there is no magic wand's solution, we have to understand the existential instability as the very condition of the human being.

Now, reactions such as those of the neo-Pentecostal churches in Brazil are vain attempts to return to the past when the Western world no longer rests on the principle of analogy. The Western world today is a separate and secular world. Of course, each one has their own beliefs. But the solutions for the community are secular. The State has to take care of its citizens in this framework of existence and solutions are necessarily human solutions, not divine solutions – human solutions are the possible solutions. To seek forced solutions, of return to the past, is to return to a regime of Christendom where God was the beginning of all things. We see these solutions in Islamic countries. But Islam did not go through a process of secularization. The solutions proposed by neo-Pentecostal churches in Brazil are obscurantist and sectarian solutions, fundamentalist solutions that promote ignorance and disinformation of citizens, solutions that promote intolerance towards one another, promote racism, xenophobia and homophobia.

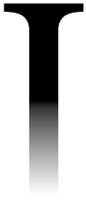
MATRIZES: Based on the current scenario of communication, technologies and media, is it possible to think that democracy is at risk?

MLM: I think so, I think democracy is at stake. Democracy is one of the institutions of the literary regime, which made the West, alongside universities and journalism. Jorge Luis Borges said that only by the word can we promise. And, indeed, democracy has always been a promise of freedom. Just as universities were a promise of historical emancipation. And journalism is a promise of citizenship. In addition, the literary regime was based on the principle of analogy, with all things referring to an earlier cause that explained them, and the last of the causes combined everything in unity, that is, in an idea of community. But the literary regime was replaced by the technological regime. The principle of analogy has broken down. And all things, goods, bodies and souls, have been converted into merchandise, serving the market, the competition, the entrepreneurship, the statistics and the ranking.

In these conditions, there is no longer any sure foundation, known territory and stable identity. And the humans began to live in a startle and in unrest, in crisis, as well as all the institutions that until then guaranteed them, since these also entered into crisis. The media expresses the current kinetics of the world, which is that of technological mobilization for the market, that is, for the business, for which they show increasing difficulties in the exercise of their work, promotion of citizenship and protection of democracy. On the other hand, sovereignty has ceased to reside in national states and has been transferred to supranational political and economic-financial structures such as the World Bank, the European Central Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, the European Union, the Mercosur, the African Union. As a result, the most important decisions have been passed on to true *world governments*, our countries having a narrow margin of maneuver and their decisions having a reduced political and economic effect. The main decisions are placed on another level, somewhere else, in these global, financial, and political macrostructures. And when we speak today of populism, we find that it is another face of what we may call a real retraction of thought, which affects our time. The West was built by Greek and Christian *logos*, a word that is also reason, meaning and direction, and by a horizon of community, of integrating unity, that the principle of analogy made possible. However, the substitution of the regime of analogy by the technological regime has mobilized us for the urgencies of the present, for the urgencies of everyday life, which are always the urgencies of any competition, for any market, and then the retraction of the *logos* and the promotion of *pathos*, the retraction of reason and the promotion of emotion, the replacement of the horizon of community by the most varied interests proper to a tribal society. Decidedly, today, times are not good for the idea of citizenship and democracy. From the mouth of the scene of history, we have seen crowds, populism and nationalism approaching, fomenting all kinds of selfishness, promoting xenophobia and intolerance, and endangering the human community. ■

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