THE DISCURSIVE STRUCTURE OF BRAZILIAN FOREIGN MINISTERS' SPEECHES TO THE BRAZILIAN WAR SCHOOL (1952-2012)

Felipe Ferreira de Oliveira Rocha*
Ana Carolina de Oliveira Assis**

ABSTRACT

How were the speeches of Brazilian Foreign Ministers to the Brazilian War School (ESG) structured between 1952 and 2012? To answer this question, the article uses techniques of Text Mining and Content Analysis to explore a database that has received little attention in the literature. We show similarities and differences in the rhetorical priorities of Brazilian Foreign Secretaries in their interactions with one of the main spheres for the construction of Brazilian military-strategic thinking. Our findings compare the discursive priorities during and after the Cold War and they indicate that Foreign Ministers changed their discourse by adding centrality to new concepts, themes, and countries. Moreover, speeches made after the Cold War are less geopolitically oriented and more universal, inclusive, and autonomous.
Keywords: Brazilian Foreign Policy. Foreign Policy Analysis. Security and Defence. Brazilian War School. Text Mining.

1 INTRODUCTION

Between 1950 and 1990, it was practically a ceremonial obligation for Brazilian Foreign Ministers to make pronouncements on four key occasions: a) In their inaugural speeches; b) At the opening session of the United Nations' (UN) General Assembly; c) At the graduation ceremony of classes at the Instituto Rio Branco (Rio Branco Institute, IRBr)[1] ; and d) At the Brazilian Escola Superior de Guerra

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* Doctor and Master in Political Science from the Federal University of Pernambuco and Bachelor in Relations International by the Federal University of Sergipe. It works with the following topics: Data Analysis, Brazilian Foreign Policy and Foreign Policy Analysis. Email: Rrocha.felipeferreira@gmail.com.
** Doctoral student and Master in Political Science from the Federal University of Pernambuco and a bachelor's degree in International Relations from the Federal University of Paraíba. She is a researcher funded by the Foundation for the Support of Science and Technology of the State of Pernambuco and Research Intern at National Maritime Foundation (India). It works with the following themes: Defense Policy, Navy, Naval Power, Research Methods. Email: anaa.caroliina@hotmail.com.

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1 More information can be found at: <http://www.institutoriobranco.itamaraty.gov.br/

(Brazilian War School, ESG). For the first three events, there is already research that has explored and described the content of speeches made by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, including their emphases and omissions (FONSECA, 2018; FONTES; OLIVEIRA, 2015; LIMA; FARIAS, 2018).

However, and despite its clear significance, as far as we know, there are still no works that describe such thematic-discursive tendencies (called here as discursive structure) in the pronouncements of Foreign Ministers at the ESG. This article takes advantage of an unprecedented database organized by Sérgio Eduardo Moreira Lima and Rogério de Souza Farias, which was made available by the Alexandre de Gusmão Foundation (FUNAG)[2] , in Portuguese), to answer the following research question: how were the speeches of Brazilian Foreign Ministers to the ESG structured between 1952 and 2012 in terms of their thematic emphases?

We map the discursive structure of diplomatic speeches to the ESG by piecing together the following puzzle: a) In general, what words were most mentioned by Brazilian Foreign Ministers between 1952 and 2012, and how are they associated with each other (co-occurrence)? b) If we separate the speeches between those made during the Cold War and those made after it, what are the most important and specific words that appear? c) What are the expressions (bigrams) most likely to be uttered during and after the Cold War? d) Which countries were most mentioned during and after the Cold War?

This study is significant considering the scarcity of International Relations (IR) research on the content of speeches of Brazilian Foreign Ministers to the actors responsible for Brazilian defence. As suggested by Aloysio Nunes Ferreira in the introduction of the book used as our database, these conferences are "Itamaraty's contribution to the strategic reflection and dialogue and cooperation that are the hallmark of the relationship between diplomats and the military" (LIMA; FARIAS, 2018, p. 11, our translation[3]). They are, therefore, relevant to the study of national security doctrines and policies developed under the ESG.

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2   More information can be found at: <https://www.funag.gov.br/index.php/pt-br/funag>
3   Original version: "contribuição do Itamaraty à reflexão estratégica e ao diálogo e à cooperação que são a marca da relação entre diplomatas e militares"(LIMA; FARIAS, 2018, p. 11).

Text Mining, Content Analysis, and Discourse Analysis are the methods adopted in this research. Whereas the quantitative tools were used to obtain a more general overview of the terms prioritised by the speakers, the qualitative ones allowed us to recognise more specific layers and tones of the topics discussed by the actors to be analysed.

The article is organized as follows. First, there is a section to explain the main debates surrounding the ESG and Brazil's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Itamaraty). Here, we deep dive into the relevance of analysing ideas, concepts, and discourses to a better comprehension of Brazilian Foreign Policy (BFP). Then, the methodological aspects of the research are presented. The objective here is to explain how the data was obtained, analysed, and interpreted. Afterwards, the original empirical findings of the article are introduced and discussed in the light of the theoretical knowledge discussed previously. In conclusion, we end the article with our final remarks, where we consider the significance and limitations of the paper's findings and future avenues for research.

2 Brazilian Foreign Policy: IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS

This paper endeavours to provide a comprehensive analysis of how Brazilian Foreign Ministers transmitted their conceptual priorities to the ESG from 1952 to 2012. To do that, we chose to focus on the rhetorical and the discursive dimension of BFP. Thus, as recommended by Nolte and Comini (2016, p. 550), we "take seriously the statements, declarations, and proposals of the actors" involved in political projects. This analytical effort is of the utmost importance to the understanding of Brazil's diplomatic projection both internationally and domestically, especially when we consider a fundamental aspect of BFP: its power limitations.

It is commonly known that Brazil has neither enough hard power to emerge internationally nor enough economic resources to act as paymaster in coalitions and multilateral organizations. Therefore, Brazil's international projection tend to be deeply connected with the construction of consensus and with the establishment of conceptual and ideational patterns (BURGES, 2006; 2008; MARES; TRINKUNAS, 2016). In other words:

> In foreign policy, discourse, and action complement and overlap each other. Often discourse is action and often action is discourse. In the case of a country like Brazil, whose capacity of expression in the international sphere by means of power is limited, the diplomatic discourse becomes the main and most important means for defining policies, mobilizing coalitions of interests, transactions, and seeking equilibrium. (SEIXAS CORRÊA, 2007, p. 23, our translation[4]).

In this sense, Itamaraty has been the main institution responsible for producing, transmitting, erasing, and/or establishing Brazil's ideational view, in international terms, externally and domestically. That is precisely why it is imperative to explore and describe its discursive interaction with other institutions, in our case, ESG.

About the content of the speeches of Ministers of Foreign Affairs made at the ESG, Itamaraty may have succeeded in maintaining a degree of conceptual coherence so that there is not radical variation between different periods. After all, the conceptual architecture of Brazilian diplomacy is famous for being able to retain a level of predictability, stability, and unparalleled continuity; debates on the frameworks of BFP are common. In fact, the role played by Itamaraty in the decision making and implementation is so central that "for some time, foreign policy as an expression was perfectly interchangeable with diplomacy, given the degree of leverage enjoyed by the diplomatic corps in Brazil's political system" (BELÉM LOPES, 2020, p. 167).

In addition to its routine institutional functions, the diplomatic organization has played a role in promoting Brazil's official image in domestic and, mainly, external contexts using soft power instruments (CHATIN, 2016; LAFER, 2001). Soft power is the ability to convince, persuade and/or dissuade others, shaping their preferences based on attraction rather than coercion or economic promises (NYE JR, 2004). In a power structure with a uni-multipolar basis, it is a key tool for states like Brazil, which has little military or economic leverage but a significant capacity for building consensual forms of hegemony (BURGES, 2006; 2008).

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4 Original version: "Em política externa, discurso e ação na verdade se complementam e se sobrepõem. Frequentemente o discurso é a ação e a ação é o discurso. No caso de um país como o Brasil, cuja capacidade de se expressar na esfera internacional por meios de poder é limitada, o discurso diplomático passa a ser o meio por excelência de definição de políticas, de mobilização de coalizões de interesses, de transação, de busca de equilíbrios" (SEIXAS CORRÊA, 2007, p. 23).

For example, in debates during the administrations of Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva regarding the rise of Brazil as an emerging power (an outcome that today seems unrealisable), some authors argued that the country was the only example of a state that tried to achieve such status based exclusively on its power of attraction (MARES; TRINKUNAS, 2016).

Although it is mainly focused on the implementation of BFP and, therefore, on the promotion of the country's image abroad, Itamaraty exercises extensive influence over various other Brazilian institutions. However, the opposite is not necessarily true. Indeed, "from 1988 to 2007, 750 Itamaraty employees served in other federal bureaucracies, while only 77 employees came from outside the organization (from other ministerial portfolios)" (FIGUEIRA, 2009, p. 155).

To better understand why these inter-institutional flows are so important, we can look to debates on discursive neoinstitutionalism. Broadly speaking, specialists in this subfield maintain that, when organizational interaction occurs, there is a constant and dynamic process of construction between the visions and discursive structures of different institutions as they pursue hegemony and/or conceptual and rhetorical proximity (BÉLAND; COX, 2010). In short,

> [...] discursive institutionalism covers all works that focus on the discursive processes by which such ideas are constructed in a "coordinative" policy sphere by policy actors and deliberated in a 'communicative' political sphere by political actors and the public. The institutionalism in the term, moreover, suggests that this is not only about the communication of ideas or 'text' but also about the institutional context in which and through which ideas are communicated. (BÉLAND; COX, 2010, p. 48).

In this way, the database we explored and described in this article is a direct product of this inter-institutional interaction between Itamaraty (the guiding force of BFP) and the ESG (the centre for the intellectual construction of Brazilian defence and national security policy).

Created in August 1949 and signed by then-president Eurico Gaspar Dutra, a Marshal of the Brazilian Army, in its conception the ESG was inspired by the US National War College, though in a "distinct mould". While the latter focused more exclusively on the study of military issues, the ESG was also designed to encompass dialogue with civilians on national and international politics, in order to make the

security and development of the nation viable (BRAZIL, 1949; ARRUDA, 1983). According to Article 4 of the 1949 ESG legislation, the Institution aims to:

> [...] achieve convergence of efforts in the study and resolution of national security problems, through a) a method of analysis and interpretation of the political, economic, diplomatic and military factors that condition the strategic concept; b) an environment of broad understanding between the groups represented in it, in order to develop the habit of working together and of interdepartmental production; c) a broad and objective concept of national security that serves as a basis for the coordination of the actions of all agencies, civil and military, responsible for the development of the country's potential and for the country's security. (BRAZIL, 1949, p. 1, bold added, our translation[5]).

The bold text highlights the institution's interest in defining its own credible method for solving problems. In several speeches by the military, ESG's primary interest is to be established not only as a "home" for studies but as a research centre, in which trainees must discuss and develop strategies for solving national problems. These obstacles should be resolved in conjunction with other (non-military) sectors since the institution values multidisciplinarity in dealing with issues across different areas. Even with the diversity of themes and sectors involved in resolving these challenges, it is essential to use coherent and singular formulations based on concepts defined by ESG itself – such as national security, national policy, national objectives, national strategy, and national power (ARRUDA, 1983; SARDENBERG, 2017; FARIAS, 2017).

Furthermore, the fundamental principles of the ESG were related to national development, the obstacles to achieving it and the opportunities it presents. These were put forward by Idálio Sardenberg – a key figure in the creation of the ESG – more as statements about contemporary circumstances and the difficulties facing

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5   Original version: "procurará obter uma convergência de esforços no estudo e solução dos problemas da segurança nacional, mediante: a - Um método de análise e interpretação dos fatores políticos, econômicos, diplomáticos e militares que condicionam o conceito estratégico. b - Um ambiente de ampla compreensão entre os grupos nela representados, de forma a desenvolver o hábito de trabalho em conjunto e de colaboração interdepartamental. c - Um conceito amplo e objetivo de segurança nacional que sirva de base à coordenação das ações de todos os órgãos, civis e militares, responsáveis pelo desenvolvimento do potencial e pela segurança do País" (BRAZIL, 1949, p. 1).

by the country than as a raison d'etre. For the institution, it is essential that national security is related to the potential for the nation development as a whole and to taking advantage of the country's social-demographic and natural endowments, not only by the military sector. To achieve this goal, was necessary for the ESG to overcome the obstacles holding back the development process and the possibility of working together to establish a proportional method (to replace the consultative method) for solutions to problems facing by the country. Therefore, it was essential to establish a National Institute for Higher Studies (Instituto Nacional de Altos Estudos, INAE) as a research centre to create, mobilize and disseminate this new method (SARDENBERG, 2017).

The School began its activities with the Higher Course in War and Higher Course for Studies in Politics and Strategy, but expanded the themes over the years to cover: Course for General-Staff and Command of the Armed Forces, Information Course and National Mobilization Course, among others. According to Mansan (2017), since the ESG was created there has been a gradual and continuous increase in the number of participants in its courses, a large proportion of whom were civilians, including academics, diplomats, judges, businessmen and Congressmen (with the exception of the Course for General-Staff and Command of the Armed Forces).

Regarding the diplomats, the data available shows that between 1950 and 1988, 118 members of the Foreign Ministry attended the ESG to take the Higher Course in War or the Higher Course for Studies in Politics and Strategy. Interns were "recruited" from the middle tier of the diplomatic hierarchy, but also individuals who were on an upward trajectory in their careers, such as future Secretaries-General and Ministers Mário Gibson Barboza, Manoel Pio Corrêa Júnior, Sérgio Corrêa da Costa, Vasco Leitão da Cunha, and Fernando Ramos de Alencar, whom all graduated from the institution (MANSAN, 2017; LIMA; FARIAS, 2018).

Since the creation of ESG, the objective of producing and consolidating knowledge for the planning and resolution of issues related to national security has been identified as one of the essential pillars of the institution. An important step to this end was the analysis of international affairs, about both Brazil's position in the world and the articulation between foreign policy and national defence. To develop this kind of knowledge, in addition to conferences with high-ranking military personnel and national and foreign civilians, ESG brought into the institution diplomats, and in particular Ministers of Foreign Affairs to give lectures (FARIAS, 2017).

Thus, diplomats, ambassadors and Ministers of Foreign Affairs were invited by the ESG to collaborate in the teaching and research developed at the institution. This approach was not unique to this institution, and it has occurred since the 1940s, through speeches by Brazilian foreign policy representatives at the School of the Army's General Staff, the School of Naval War and the School of the Air Force Command and Staff (LIMA; FARIAS, 2018). This article aims specifically to explore the interconnections between the ESG and Itamaraty, which embody the conceptual and practical repertoires of Brazilian diplomatic strategic thinking and, often, of BFP itself. More details on this will be provided in the next section, which outlines the methodological approach used in this research.

3 METHODOLOGY

In obtaining the results presented below, it was necessary to follow the series of steps that we discuss in this section. We will therefore outline the main characteristics of the database used and the research techniques adopted in analysing it.

The database used was derived from a FUNAG publication entitled " A palavra dos Chanceleres na Escola Superior de Guerra", edited by Sérgio Eduardo Moreira Lima and Rogério de Souza Farias (2018). The book contains 25 speeches between 1952 and 2012[6] , held in the Library of the ESG and in Itamaraty through recordings or shorthand notes. Graph 1 shows the individuals included in that publication, the number of speeches made by each and the period in which the discourses were made (whether during or after the Cold War)[7] .

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6   Years absent from the database: 1953 to 1957, 1959 to 1961, 1964, 1969, 1971 to 1973, 1975 to 1977, 1980 to 1983, 1985, 1986, 1989, 1994, 1995, 1997 to 2011.
7   Years absent from the database: 1953 to 1957, 1959 to 1961, 1964, 1969, 1971 to 1973, 1975 to 1977, 1980 to 1983, 1985, 1986, 1989, 1994, 1995, 1997 to 2011.

Graph 1 – Number of speeches per individual
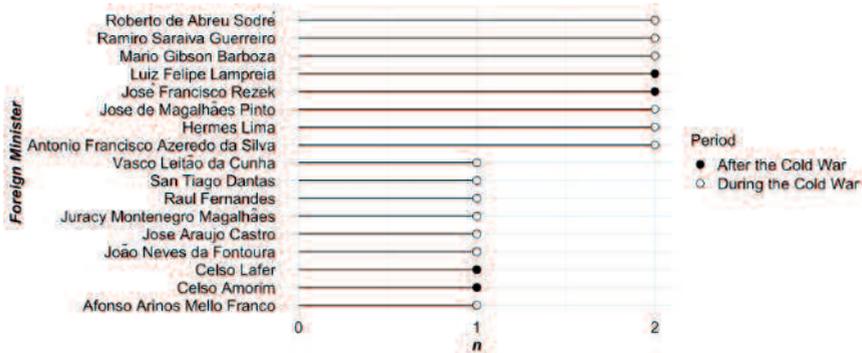
The Graph 1 shows that Roberto Sodré and Saraiva Guerreiro were the Ministers of Foreign Affairs who most visited the ESG between 1952 and 1989, while Felipe Lampreia and José Rezek were the most frequent visitors between 1989 and 2012. It also shows there is a natural asymmetry between the number of speeches collected during the Cold War and post-Cold War periods. While 13 Foreign Ministers spoke at the ESG between 1952 and 1989, only 4 participated after 1989. Unfortunately, these numbers do not allow us to infer much about possible differences in the interests of Foreign Ministers at the ESG during and after the Cold War. In fact, when constructing the database, Lima and Farias (2018) categorically state that more than 100 lectures were given by Ministers of Foreign Affairs (including interim ministers) at the ESG. However, they decided to apply selection criteria for the data they collected, which in turn influences the results of our research.

For example, because they may only occupy office for a matter of days, the speeches of interim foreign ministers were excluded from the database. Furthermore, priority was given to speeches in which the speakers indicated that they address deeper questions about administration. Priority was also given to speeches that went beyond questions of management to address topics and debates that help us to understand and interpret the history of IR in Brazil. Finally, the dataset authors favoured the inclusion of speeches given by who occupied the position of Minister

at the time, rather than before or after. The exception is Celso Amorim, who was already in the Defence Ministry when he gave his speech (LIMA; FARIAS, 2018).

Although these choices were made based on sampling criteria adopted by the editors of the dataset and not by the authors of this article, it is important to clarify these decisions and implications for interpreting the findings and identifying the limits of the current research. In both cases, they are primarily consequences of the database itself.

Other decisions made by the editors of the database have facilitated the research presented here. For example, they report that "it was decided to reduce interventions in the original texts as much as possible. Some vocatives were excluded, and the spelling of some words was updated, in order to maintain informality and even neologisms" (LIMA; FARIAS 2018, p. 29, our translation[8]). Cautiousness with interventions assists the process of analysis, since updating spelling allows the results of text mining to be standardized (as there is no need to search for the same terms with different spellings).

Another advantage of the editing decisions concerns the editors' choices of speeches to include. Since more expressive speeches were prioritized, and at least one from each administration was included, we are provided with a linear view of the evolution of the speeches given at the ESG over time. These, in turn, increase our confidence that the data analysed here are representative and symbolic of the construction of BFP at each moment. In addition, the most expressive speeches, that is, those that go beyond questions of management, provide information for analysing the context addressed, as well as the evolution of each Minister's perspectives on the country's foreign policy.

On the other hand, some of the choices made by Lima and Farias (2018) also have disadvantages. Potentially relevant information is lost because of the decision to exclude speeches made by permanent foreign ministers. We might even question on what basis it was decided whether speeches could be considered expressive, and therefore deserving of inclusion.

The techniques of Text Mining and Content Analysis were used to examine the data. The former was essential to explore the speeches and their descriptions.

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8   Original version: "Decidiu-se diminuir ao máximo as intervenções nos textos originais. Excluíram-se alguns vocativos e foi atualizada a ortografia de algumas palavras, buscando manter a informalidade e até os neologismos" (LIMA; FARIAS, 2018, p. 29).

Ultimately, this approach seeks to apply quantitative, inferential tools to arrive at textual insights (SILGE; ROBINSON, 2017; KWARTLER, 2017). This technique is fundamental for identifying the terms most mentioned by the speakers, as well as their specificities and quantitative differences.

Despite not having a big dataset, we decided to use Text Mining due to the numerical asymmetry between the periods related to after and during the Cold War. Merely looking at the frequency of speeches for each phase may give the impression of distortion or even a selection bias in the research. However, Text Mining offers different and creative indicators to overcome this problem (SILGE; ROBINSON, 2017; KWARTLER, 2017).

For example, most of the results is presented in a TFIDF scale. This means that when we highlight a word or concept as important, we are not only considering its absolute Term Frequency (TF) but also controlling it by its Inverse Document Frequency (IDF). This results in a scale where the most common words in the entire database are punished and the most specific terms in individual documents are rewarded, but without distorting the overall tendencies of the Corpus. This helps us to avoid the trap where we draw conclusions based only on the most repetitive words when they are only frequent because there are a lot of texts in the Corpus from the same period, repeating the same textual patterns (KWARTLER, 2017).

Another means of overcoming this asymmetry issue is via the Keyness statistics. Basically, this indicator starts with the expectation that all words in the documents would be used in an equal frequency by the speakers. Then, the Corpus is segmented into two different groups (in our case, during and after the Cold War). Regardless of how equal the proportions of each group are, via chi-square, we test the expected frequency of the terms with the observed mean. Those terms with a p-value equal to or less than 0.05 are therefore keywords, i.e., words that tend to be much more present in X than in Y, for example (KWARTLER, 2017).

To generate good indicators, as a rule of thumb, Text Mining requires changes to be made to the texts. First, we perform a textual scan to remove words that do not add any information, such as prepositions, conjunctions, some adverbs, etc. (stopwords). We also remove punctuation, numbers, and symbols. Word order is also sacrificed in favour of a matrix format in which each term or expression (n-gram) is counted individually (known as a "Bag of Words" assumption). Although the researcher interferes extensively in the text, these steps are heavily regulated

following the specialized literature and are seen as the "gold standard" for applying this technique (SILGE; ROBINSON, 2017; KWARTLER, 2017).

Even so, the degree of replicability of the work needs to be very high and transparent. We ensure that all texts, computer commands and other files will be available on public and free access platforms. This was facilitated by using open-source software such as the R language and its packages (in particular, Tidyverse and Quanteda), for which we are extremely grateful.

Finally, we used Content Analysis, more specifically, to generate maps that measure the number of times countries were mentioned during and after the Cold War. The main dictionary for this analysis came from public repositories [9]. However, it is worth mentioning that we have significantly modified the original file to improve it for the purposes of this article[10] .

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The first finding helps us to visualize which terms were most mentioned in the database and how they co-occur[11]. Although it does not directly help us to answer the primary question of this article (namely, the differences and similarities between speeches made during and after the Cold War), it is noteworthy in that it offers a broad notion of the most common terms used in speeches to the ESG between 1952 and 2012. This, in turn, helps us to identify terms and themes that occupy a fixed space in diplomatic statements, regardless of the speaker or period in question.

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9   Specifically, the dictionary was developed and distributed by Julio Filho at: https://github.com/juliolvfilho/lista-paises.

10 In general, the changes made to the dictionary were intended to reflect all possible names of states. For example, the original dictionary had no mention of the Soviet Union, so we added it. To summarize, we maintained the content of the original dictionary and added further expressions that could be used to identify the respective countries. Our version is probably not perfect, but it is certainly more robust and reliable version to measure these values.

11 Co-occurrence is measured as the sum of times that a term X is accompanied by a word Y. That is, how many times they appear/occur together.

Figure 1 – Main Terms and their Co-occurrences

The network can be divided into two parts: a core and a periphery. Although this structure does not tell us much about the most important words (since they are all important), it does inform us about the degree of interconnectedness between terms. At the core, we see that terms like "Brazil", "interest" (related to the interests of diverse groups, whether domestic or foreign, and whether political, social or international, etc.); "international", "development" (associated with economic, national, political, democratic, cultural, social, etc.); "poles" (referring to poles of economic or geopolitical power); "country", "economic", "cooperation" (in a

rhetorical context of economic, national, regional, international, military, reciprocal, technological, financial, etc. cooperation); "Crisis" (in reference to political, financial, Suez, the Middle East, Cuba Missile, Czechoslovakia, energy, racial, oil, multilateralism, regional, Central American); "area" (in a context of economic-commercial, Soviet/socialist, political, energy); "external"; and "commercial" are very prominent. This indicates an emphasis on dimensions of economics, trade, and political and governmental themes.

At the periphery of the network, we see very interesting terms. Mention is made of the USA, Europe, the Middle East and Africa and we also find references to the United Nations and to Brazilian Foreign Policy. Also present are terms related to international cooperation and partnership, as well as multilateralism, dialogue, and promotion (economic-commercial). In this regard, we see that there is consistent rhetoric related to the international structure, the role of Brazil and its foreign policy, and the need for adequate levels of development and commercial expansion.

According to the literature, BFP tends to be firmly established in the concepts of universalism, autonomy, and development (VIGEVANI et al., 2008). As Figure 1 indicates, these concepts exert some influence in the speeches made by the Foreign Ministers in the ESG. To become convinced that this is indeed the case, it suffices to look at the centrality of words like development, participation, or to how repeated terms associated with economic issues are.

However, the main objective of this article is to compare speeches made during and after the Cold War using a substantial set of quantitative indicators. First, we present Graph 2, identifying the most mentioned terms in each period.

Graph 2 – Most frequently used terms in speeches during and after the Cold War
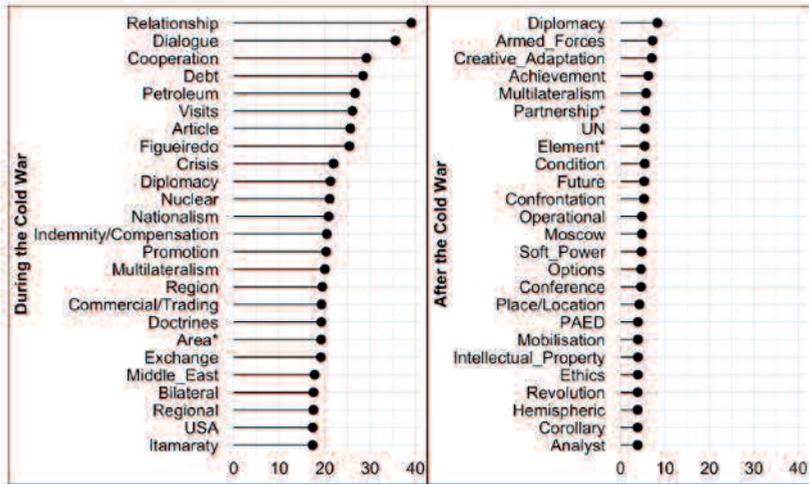
During the Cold War, terms such as "relationship" (international, inter-state, special with the USA, equitable, with Argentina, North-South, with Canada, political, bilateral and economic) stand out; "Dialogue" (with the Soviet Union, with Argentina and Paraguay, North-South, with Africa, between superpowers, frank, political, bilateral, cordial, with the Western world, between the ESG and Itamaraty); "Debt" (public and external); "Cooperation", "oil", "crisis", "diplomacy", "nuclear", "doctrines" (always associated with political doctrines), "USA", "Itamaraty", "indemnity" (only in Raul Fernandes' speeches in 1952 on monetary damages with other countries); "Nationalism" (in the speeches of Afonso Arinos de Mello Franco in 1958 and João Neves da Fontoura in 1952 about not confusing patriotic democratic nationalism with communist nationalism); "Multilateralism", "disarmament" and "Cartagena" (associated with the agreement that originated the Andean Pact), among others.

As we can see, the presence of these terms is associated with the historical context, both national and international politics. Nationally, this period coincides with Brazil's military regime, in which themes such as nationalism, national

security doctrines, economic crisis and underdevelopment are central to debates on the formulation of domestic policies (ARRUDA, 1983). On the other hand, at the international level, the dispute between the USA and the USSR and dialogue regarding nuclear weapons, such as the Brazilian nuclear agreement with Germany, were relevant to the formulation of foreign policy at the time (MIYAMOTO, 2013).

By contrast, the results of the speeches delivered in the post-Cold War period show greater repetition of terms like "diplomacy", "armed forces", "creative adaptation" (though only from Celso Lafer, speaking of the need for Brazil to adapt critically to the post-Cold War context), "conquest" (especially in José Francisco Rezek when speaking of democracy as a conquest), "UN", "soft power", "conference" (particularly with reference to UNCTAD and Rio92), "Moscow", "Intellectual property", "Plano de Articulação e de Equipamento da Defesa (Defense Articulation and Equipment Plan, PAED)", "revolution" (referring to liberal, industrial, democratic, technological and economic revolutions) "corollary", "ethics" (associated with the need to build a new ethical framework to govern the relations between States), etc. Just like during the Cold War, in the post-conflict period, the recurrent vocabulary clearly relates to the context of the period, with diplomacy seeking new horizons and agendas.

Furthermore, with the end of the military regime and the removal of the military from the business of government administration, the new role and organization of the armed forces, especially with the creation of the Ministry of Defence (in 1999), leads to debates about the need to implement a defence policy and the new PAED (LIMA; FARIAS, 2018).

Also noteworthy are words that appear in both graphs, but with a change of position. This happens, for example, with "multilateralism" and "diplomacy". Although present in both, we clearly observe that this term had a much greater prominence during the Cold War than after. Furthermore, we perceived that before 1989 the connotations given to multilateralism tended pessimistic, associated with crisis, abandonment, and a weakening of multilateral arrangements. After the Cold War, by contrast, multilateralism appears in a more positive/optimistic or at least

more neutral context, with the emphasis on the importance of multilateralism and the need to strengthen it. This rhetorical shift does not appear to be as visible with respect to the term "diplomacy".

Although informative, one of the great limitations of this type of approach is that it is too dependent on a single term (unigram). Therefore, we expand the analysis to expressions that contain more than one word. In this respect, the next graph shows which are the most common bigrams (made up of two terms) for each period. For this, it uses chi-square measures (p-value of 0.05) and Keyness statistics.

**Graph 3 – Most frequently used bigrams in speeches during and after the Cold War**
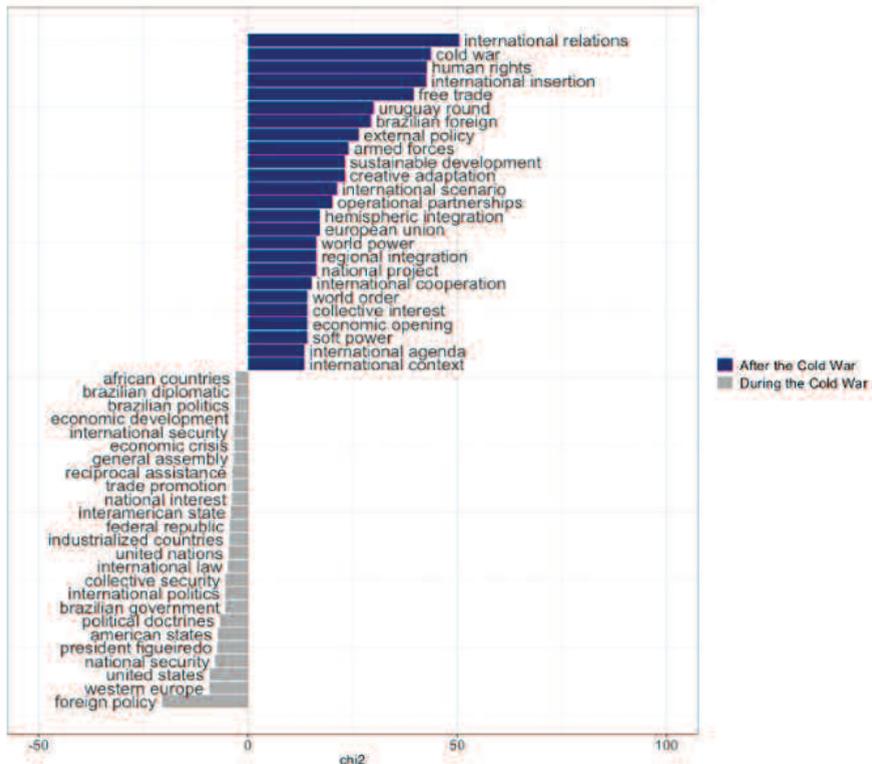
Source: THE AUTHORS, 2021.

For speeches made during the Cold War, we are most likely to find expressions referring to foreign policy, Western Europe, National Security, political doctrines, industrialized countries, the inter-American system, mutual assistance, etc. Meanwhile, the following expressions are more common in speeches following the end of the Cold War: "cold war", "human rights", "international insertion", "free trade", "Uruguay round", "armed forces", "Sustainable development", "creative adaptation", "operational partnerships", "hemispheric (and regional) integration", "European Union", "national project", "international cooperation", "soft power", etc.

Therefore, we can posit a hypothesis based on these quantitative results, that can later be better evaluated using qualitative analysis. Namely, considering these exploratory findings, we retain our impression that the pronouncements made by Ministers of Foreign Affairs to the ESG during the Cold War encompassed a constellation of statements much more limited to the geopolitics and more dependent on binary constructions (developed and undeveloped countries) than the post-Cold War speeches, which include broader concepts and relate to the economy, the environment, regionalization, and so on.

However, before commenting on these discursive nuances and particularities, another way we sought to verify differences in emphases between the two periods studied was by means of cartographic mapping of how many times different countries were mentioned during and after the Cold War. In this regard, we first show the results for the interval between 1952 and 1989.

**Figure 2 – Map of references to countries during the Cold War (1952-1989)**
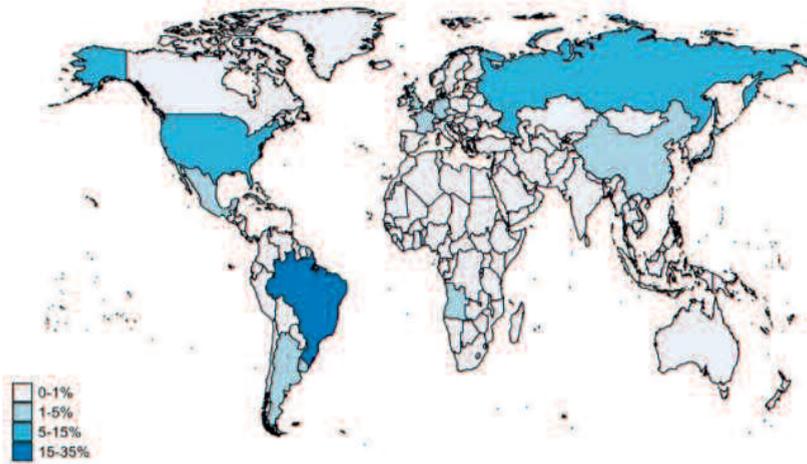
Source: THE AUTHORS, 2021.

During the Cold War, in the speeches of Ministers of Foreign Affairs to the ESG, the three most mentioned countries were: a) Brazil (accounting for 34.32% of all mentions of countries in the speeches); b) the USA (with 13.1% of all mentions); and c) the then Soviet Union (with 6.58% of mentions). This seems expected and justified when we think of the importance of the bipolar dispute to the formation of BFP during the period.

Next, we see considerable importance attributed to China (3.43%), France (2.56%), Germany (2.33%) and Japan (1.92%). It is curious to note that these countries were mentioned more than Argentina (1.86%), Uruguay (1.51%), Mexico (1.34%) or Cuba (1.28%), important States for Brazil's foreign policy and defence. Finally, most countries located in the African, Asian, and European continents received little or no mention. To better understand this result, it is essential to view it comparatively. As such, we now present the findings for the post-1989 period.

Figure 3 – Map of Mentions to Countries in the Post-Cold War (1989-2012)
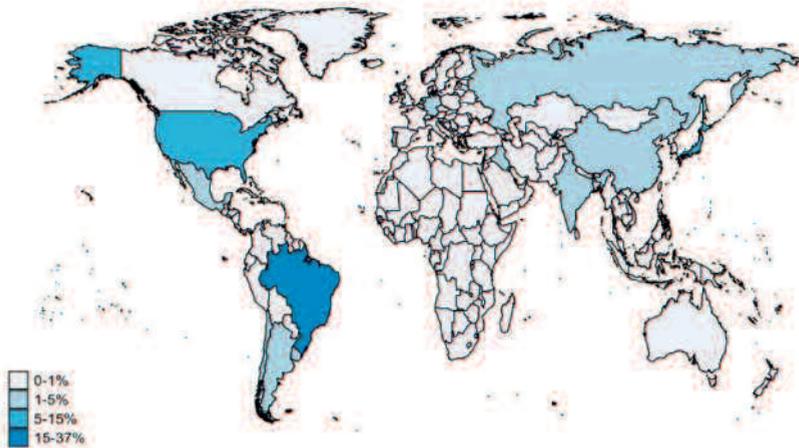
Source: THE AUTHORS, 2021.

It is immediately clear that there are notable differences. First, the countries most mentioned were Brazil (36.26%) and the USA (10.56%). Russia (3.34%) has fallen behind both Japan (6.69%) and Argentina (4.04%). It is interesting to note the degree to which the prominence of Argentina increased in the speeches of Ministers of Foreign Affairs. Meanwhile, China (2.99%) has fewer mentions than previously and Uruguay more so (3.34%).

Overall, this map is less diverse than its predecessor, since except for the two most mentioned countries, none of the others account more than 7% of mentions and mostly fall between the range of 0 and 3%. This is visible in the colour palette itself, which has a larger number of countries of the same shade as compared to the previous graph. This finding allows us to propose the hypothesis that, apart from the USA, Brazilian discourse in the post-Cold War period has sought to include more countries in its symbolic horizon, without prioritizing some over others. We could, perhaps, call this rhetorical-discursive universalism. This needs to be further explored in future research.

To conclude, we wish to offer some qualitative and interpretative observations about the speeches considering the results already presented. First, the association between the vocabulary used and the context in which the speeches are inserted is controversial. In each period, the Ministers invoked key concepts to interpret international politics at a given moment. An example is the emphasis placed on words like cooperation, oil, crisis, and diplomacy in Azeredo da Silveira's 1974 speech (LIMA; FARIAS, 2018). This Minister proposed to approach foreign policy with "responsible pragmatism", in order to strengthen Brazil's relations with oil-exporting Middle Eastern countries in the context of the oil crisis.

In the post-Cold War period, terms such as "soft power" and "armed forces" assumed greater prominence, as in the speech made by Celso Amorim in 2012. However, it is worth emphasizing that, in this context, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs had already moved to the position of Minister of Defence. For this reason, the emphasis on issues such as defence cooperation through projects such as UNASUR and the construction of a strategic environment for Brazil may also be related to the speaker's position, rather than to a shift in diplomatic discourse towards defence.

As such, the findings of this article seem to suggest a natural expansion in the discursive structure of Brazilian diplomacy to the ESG. New themes, orientations and concepts were included in an agenda that had previously been characterized by a more traditional view of national security and defence. Furthermore, more countries gained discursive attention in the bipolar order that, at one time, seemed to reward the space of the USA and the then Soviet Union started to be dissolved in favour of the inclusion of other countries such as Argentina, Japan, and Uruguay.

Therefore, in the light of the results presented here, we conclude that the Foreign Ministers attempted to update their speeches to the ESG after the Cold War. This was achieved via the inclusion of new concepts, themes, and discursive priorities. For example, Graph 2 indicates that expressions like soft power, intellectual property, and creative adaptation are more particularly found in utterances made after the bipolar period.

Likewise, Graph 3 shows that the probability of mentions to the human rights, sustainable development, international cooperation, and operation partnership is significantly higher in statements expressed after the Cold War than those made

during it. Finally, by comparing the maps drawn in Figure 1 and Figure 2, we see that after Cold War the Foreign Ministers decided to focus more and more in equalising the references to different countries, not only highlighting the great powers of the bipolar world order. These results are in accordance with the literature that argues that Brazil's foreign policy after the Cold War and the redemocratisation period has paid even more attention to the concepts of autonomy, development, and universalism (VIGEVANI, et al., 2008). This, in turn, seems to have affected the rhetorical structure of Brazilian diplomacy, that has become more inclusive, universal, and maximalist.

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The relationship between Brazilian Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the ESG has long been neglected both in studies focused on explaining and understanding BFP, and in the specialized literature on security and defence issues in Brazil. However, with the recent publication (in 2018) of a book that recovers some of the speeches of Foreign Ministers at the ESG, we were able to design the research presented here.

In this regard, our main conclusion was that Brazilian Foreign Ministers managed to adjust their discourse to the new structure that has been in shape after the Cold War. Doing that required them to populate their speeches with new concepts, themes, and countries, which, in turn, made their utterances less geopolitically oriented and more autonomous, universal, and inclusive. As beforementioned, these finding has been already detected by some authors who argue that Brazil's foreign policy after the Cold War and the redemocratisation period has paid even more attention to the concepts of autonomy, development, and universalism (VIGEVANI, et al., 2008).

The article has a limitation that results both from the database used and from the inferential logic behind the techniques we have adopted. In the first case, future research must strive to expand the source material analysed. Ideally, the number of observations for each year would be increased and the record updated beyond 2012. In addition, it would help to retrieve all the conferences of Ministers of Foreign Affairs to the ESG and fill in the missing data between 1952 and 2012.

Another promising avenue for research would be to try to do the opposite of what was done in this article: seek to understand the activities of managers and decision-makers at the ESG in relation to Itamaraty. The biggest challenge, however, is finding and gaining access to data in Brazil. After all, diplomatic and military records still tend to be closed and inaccessible. It is therefore essential to take advantage of rare opportunities, such as the publication of the database used here.

In terms of the limitations imposed by the inferential logic itself, we need to highlight the qualitative silences. As much as we have offered critical interpretations in presenting the quantitative results, we have not carried out a more robust study based on a qualitative/discursive framework that would operationalize variables such as ideology, power, elites, political regimes, and so on. Future work is needed to fill in the "blind spots" of this article, since we still know little about outliers, anomalies, and specific cases. Even within the quantitative logic, there is still a lot to do, such as: further clean the data, check and correct the country dictionary, and compare various indicators and analytical techniques (especially those derived from Machine Learning).

This article has made an important start, bringing a significant number of findings that need to be discussed and compared by other researchers. We hope, therefore, that the database addressing this important and under-researched topic in Brazil will be well used by researchers, and that they continue the project initiated in this article, by further exploring and explaining the discursive dynamics between institutions like Itamaraty and the ESG.

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