

# Imaginaries of the Brazilian Diplomatic Discourse: the Celso Amorim's Official Utterances

## *Imaginários do discurso diplomático brasileiro: os proferimentos oficiais de Celso Amorim*

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**Abstract:** This study examines the frequency and manner in which Celso Amorim mobilizes left-wing sociocultural imaginaries in his official discourses, considering Charaudeau's (2016) semiolinguistic perspective. As part of a broader research project analyzing 20 years of official discourses by Brazilian chancellors – from the first Lula government to the Bolsonaro administration – this article specifically focuses on Celso Amorim and on the theme of political ideology. The research is based on theoretical categories of discourse analysis, particularly Charaudeau's (2016) model, and incorporates the notion of Culture Wars, as conceived by Hunter (1991), to explore ideological tensions in diplomatic discourse. Initially, the study sought to catalog the constants of the so-called “Rhetoric of Cultural War,” a category of analysis we developed for examining discursive clashes in polarized contexts such as culture wars. Subsequently, after describing the quantitative findings, representative excerpts of the results were qualitatively analyzed through the lens of the aforementioned theoretical frameworks. The conclusions indicate that Amorim consistently employed a left-wing political discourse, albeit without adopting a confrontational approach, aligning with the traditional pragmatism and universalism of Brazilian diplomacy. This study thus aims to contribute to the understanding of Brazilian diplomatic discourse – a field still little explored in linguistic studies – while also offering reflections on the ideological dimensions of foreign policy rhetoric conveyed in these discourses.

**Keywords:** rhetoric; political ideology; Brazilian diplomacy; diplomatic discourse; Celso Amorim.



**Resumo:** Este estudo examina a frequência e a forma como Celso Amorim mobiliza imaginários sociodiscursivos de esquerda em seus discursos oficiais, tendo em vista a perspectiva da semiolinguística de Charaudeau (2016). Como parte de uma pesquisa mais ampla que analisa 20 anos de discursos oficiais de chanceleres brasileiros, do primeiro governo Lula à administração Bolsonaro, o artigo enfoca especificamente Celso Amorim e o tema da ideologia política. A pesquisa baseia-se em categorias teóricas da análise do discurso, especialmente o modelo de Charaudeau (2016), e incorpora a noção de Guerras Culturais, tal como concebida por Hunter (1991), para explorar tensões ideológicas no discurso diplomático. Procurou-se catalogar, em um primeiro momento, as constantes da chamada “Retórica da Guerra Cultural”, uma categoria de análise por nós elaborada para análise de embates discursivos em contextos de polarização, como os das guerras culturais. Em seguida, após a descrição dos achados quantitativos, foram analisados qualitativamente trechos representativos dos resultados, sob a ótica dos referenciais teóricos mencionados. As conclusões indicam que Amorim empregou de forma consistente um discurso político de esquerda, embora sem adotar uma abordagem confrontativa, alinhando-se ao tradicional pragmatismo e universalismo da diplomacia brasileira. Buscou-se, assim, contribuir para a compreensão do discurso diplomático brasileiro, um campo ainda pouco explorado nos estudos linguísticos, além de oferecer reflexões sobre as dimensões ideológicas da retórica da política externa veiculadas nos discursos.

**Palavras-chave:** retórica; ideologias políticas; diplomacia brasileira; discurso diplomático; Celso Amorim.

## 1 Introduction

The inception of the “culture wars” notion, while controversial, is commonly attributed to Davison Hunter’s publication “Culture Wars” (1991). In this work, the American sociologist delineates the conflict between two contrasting worldviews: one conservative (also termed orthodox or traditionalist), aligned with right-wing political ideology, and the other progressive, predominantly associated with left-wing parties. The culture wars encompass the

mobilization of social and moral issues, including those related to sexuality, behaviour, race, religiosity, as well as other political and economic concerns.

The concept of culture wars gained further traction in the 1990s through the advocacy of the conservative Patrick Buchanan, an American Republican politician. During his 1992 presidential election campaign, Buchanan rallied his conservative supporters to engage in the “culture wars for the American soul,” portraying it as a moral crusade pitting “good citizens” (conservative/religious individuals) against the enemies of the nation (liberals/secularists) (Buchanan, 2004).

From a linguistic standpoint, the culture clashes, as elucidated in our prior studies (Santos, 2020a; 2020b; 2021a; 2021b), manifest through specific rhetorical patterns characterized by features such as conspiracy theories, dichotomization within sociodiscursive imaginaries, verbal aggression, among others. We named this kind of rhetoric with those traits as “Rhetoric of Culture Wars” (RCW), as developed with more details in the Section 3. While the intensity and form of these characteristics may vary in each speech, depending on the context, there would be overarching tendencies inherent to the language of culture battles.

This article is part of a larger post-doctoral research project funded by CNPq and Capes PIPD, focusing on a corpus of 20 years of official speeches by Brazilian chancellors, spanning from the first term of President Lula to the administration of President Bolsonaro. The objective is to examine the extent to which and how what we called RCW is evident in these interventions, as well as to ascertain the extent to which the chancellors’ speeches conform to traditional Brazilian diplomatic discourse.

However, as explained in the Section 2, this publication specifically concentrates on the speeches of Celso Amorim, who served as chancellor during Lula’s presidency from 2003 to 2010, following the analytical procedures which consists of a prior quantitative analyse, and then a qualitative one, with a focus on the political ideology aspects of the RCW. Amorim’s rhetoric is examined through the lens of sociodiscursive imaginaries, a concept developed by Charaudeau (2016), which provides a structured approach to identifying ideological markers in discourse, delineating if it is progressive or conservative, from a left or right-wing point of view.

The analysis this article investigates the extent to which Amorim’s diplomatic interventions reflect a left or right-wing orientation, as well as the degree to which they align with or diverge from the traditional principles of Brazilian foreign policy, including pragmatism, universalism, and autonomy. The procedure of analysis consists of first cataloguing the constants of the RCW found in Amorim’s speeches for a quantitative description and then selecting representative examples of the quantitative findings to qualitatively analyse them, according to the theoretical categories mentioned. The conclusions suggest that Amorim’s speeches exhibit a consistent left-wing orientation, albeit in a non-confrontational manner, reinforcing the diplomatic tradition of balancing ideological commitments with strategic pragmatism. By situating Amorim’s discourse within these theoretical frameworks, this study aims to contribute to the broader understanding of how political ideologies manifest in the diplomatic rhetoric. It also seeks to highlight the evolving nature of Brazilian diplomatic discourse – an activity pivotal for national development and, consequently, the enhancement of people’s quality of life – in the face of ideological shifts over the past two decades.

## 2 The Research Design

As indicated in the Introduction, this article forms part of a broader post-doctoral investigation funded by CNPq and Capes PIPD, aimed at comprehending the Rhetoric of Culture Wars (RCW) within Brazilian diplomatic discourse. The study sought to address the following research inquiries: a) To what extent and with what frequency do RCW elements manifest in the speeches of each Brazilian chancellor? In which ideological sphere (right or left) is the RCW predominantly portrayed, and in what manner? Based on the responses to the aforementioned questions, which political faction demonstrates greater adherence to the Brazilian diplomatic tradition of pragmatism, universalism, autonomy, and the inclination toward internationalization?

The analytical focus encompassed all official speeches delivered by chancellors from the initial term of President Lula to the administration of President Bolsonaro, spanning various ideological regimes, a crucial factor in the analysis of cultural disputes. This comprehensive study comprised 322 speeches.

Over the 20-year period, eight chancellors were included in the analysis: Celso Amorim (2003-2010), Antônio Patriota (2011-2013), Luiz Alberto Figueiredo (2013-2015), Mauro Vieira (2015-2016), José Serra (2016-2017), Aloysio Nunes (2017-2018), Ernesto Araújo (2019-2021), and Carlos França (2021-2022), excluding those with short-term appointments, such as Eduardo dos Santos and Marcos Galvão. The Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' official website served as the primary source of data, with the chancellors' speeches arranged chronologically.

Due to the extensive nature of the research corpus, the findings are being disseminated in multiple parts. This article specifically presents the outcomes related to Celso Amorim's case, focusing solely on his political ideology. Thus, the paper aims to elucidate:

- (1) The predominant political ideology embraced by Celso Amorim and his manner of articulating it.
- (2) The frequency of occurrences of left or right-wing ideology.

## 3 Categories of analysis and theoretical-methodological assumptions<sup>1</sup>

To address the preceding questions, we must characterize the *doxical*<sup>2</sup> aspects and values related to the conflict between the right and left political discourse ideological frameworks<sup>3</sup>, thereby establishing theoretical criteria to classify Amorim's speeches.

<sup>1</sup> Since we are publishing the results of the research in parts, this theoretical part is common to other papers.

<sup>2</sup> The concept of "doxa" is subject to debate. According to Plantin's (2018) Dictionary of Argumentation, the term has its origins in Greek, denoting reputation, opinion, or widely held beliefs about people or things. It refers to the predominant representations disseminated in the public sphere. However, this notion can also carry a negative connotation, suggesting ideas like "cliché," "stereotype," or "commonplace" (Gracio, 2010). In a non-dogmatic approach to discourse analysis, however, there is no inherently pejorative meaning attached to these terms. This is because there is an acknowledgment of the importance of recognizing doxical elements in understanding the values that are deeply ingrained in society (Amossy, 2018).

<sup>3</sup> For a more detailed definition of these ideological matrix, see some of our articles (Santos, 2020a; 2020b; 2021a; 2021b).

Charaudeau (1995) introduces the term “sociodiscursive imaginaries,” aiming to eliminate the negative connotations of the concept of doxa, emphasizing a descriptive rather than normative approach to discourse analysis. Indeed, stereotypes convey both truths and falsehoods, as every assertion about the other is also a reflection of oneself. While clichés may present a simplistic view of reality, they also propagate values and prejudices that hold significance in public discourse or within a specific society.

Building on Charaudeau’s (2016) theoretical framework<sup>4</sup>, the right ideological matrix fundamentally posits that human nature determines individuals. Consequently, with humans seen as subject to nature, inequalities are naturalized and perceived as beyond human control. This perspective entails certain values, including: a) the value of family, imposed by patriarchal tradition as it reflects a natural hierarchy in society (where the stronger dominate the weaker); b) the value of work conceptualized as a hierarchical activity between entrepreneurs and laborers; c) the value of the nation, seen as an inherited identity that justifies resistance against perceived invading forces.

Charaudeau (2016) suggests that while these values may vary among nations or societies, they represent a general tendency of the right ideological matrix, leading to behaviors such as: a) conservatism, advocating for the preservation of family and labor traditions; b) segregationism, promoting divisions based on race, ethnicity, and religion in defense of national identity; c) patriarchalism, facilitating the education of future generations in alignment with the “natural merits” of individuals.

Conversely, the left ideological matrix, according to Charaudeau (2016), embraces the progressive view that humans are not determined by nature but can instead master it. This perspective fosters the belief that inequalities can be dismantled, which involves challenging: a) the hierarchical structure of society by abolishing privileges; b) discrimination by advocating for social solidarity (across races, ethnicities, genders, and sexual orientations); c) religious traditions in favor of secularism; d) the principle of order in favor of the principle of contestation, questioning established political power through various means (such as through unions and other associations) in the pursuit of the common good. While these general trends of political discourse ideological matrices may manifest differently in individual speeches—varying in intensity, purity, or inclusion of other concepts—they tend to be radicalized in the Rhetoric of Culture Wars, obstructing communication between opposing sides of a cultural dispute (Santos, 2020a). This aspect is the focus of our investigation within the specific corpus of Brazilian diplomatic discourse.

## 4 Procedures of analysis

As outlined in Section 2, where we established the corpus and research questions, we analyzed 322 official speeches by chancellors available on the website of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This dataset spans 20 years of government speeches across different ideo-

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<sup>4</sup> See a similar theoretical framework in Bobbio (2011).

logical spectrums, ranging from the first term of President Lula (January 2003) to the end of President Bolsonaro's tenure (December 2022).

Given the specific theoretical categories guiding our analysis, as detailed in Section 3, we employed an Excel spreadsheet software to describe quantitative part of the analysis. Nonetheless, we conducted a manual reading of each text to catalogue them in the spreadsheet, due to the limitations of computational tools in discourse analysis, particularly in politically charged texts, which implies referring the enunciation context, the interlocutors' ethos, and the particularities of the communication contract. This does not mean software analyses face only with simple research questions, but, related to our specific research purpose, reading every single diplomatic intervention was necessary. To facilitate this process, we developed the following legend<sup>5</sup>.

Table 1 – Legend

Legend				
<b>Catalogue</b>	Registration number of the speech in the catalogue saved in PDF			
<b>Date</b>	Date of the publication of the discourse			
<b>Chancellor</b>	The chancellor author of the speech			
<b>RD</b>	Rhetoric of Conspiracy	1 = yes	0 = no	
<b>Dichot.</b>	Dichotomization	1 = yes	0 = no	
<b>VV</b>	Verbal violence	1 = yes	0 = no	
<b>Imag.</b>	Imaginaries	1 = right	0 = esquerda	Null = without marks
<b>Univ.</b>	Universalism	1 = universalism	0 = occidentalism	Null = without marks
<b>Prag.</b>	Pragmatism	1 = pragmatism	0 = idealism	Null = without marks
<b>Al.</b>	Alignment	1 = alignment	0 = autonomy	Null = without marks
<b>Int. inser.</b>	Internation insertion	1 = yes	0 = isolation	Null = without marks
<b>Access</b>	Date of the last access to the speech			
<b>Link</b>	Electronic link to the official transcription of the speech			
<b>Note: null (in red) = ambivalent text, presenting different aspects of a variable</b>				

Source: author's elaboration.

We will not describe all the categories of analysis of the research here, since this paper only focus on the “imaginaries”. Taking it into consideration, we should explain the following elements of the spreadsheet:

- Catalogue:** Each speech was assigned a unique number in chronological order, enabling easy identification in a dossier with PDF copies in case the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs discontinues providing information on its website.
- Date:** The date of the publication of the transcription was recorded, facilitating reference when citing the speeches in academic papers.
- Chancellor:** The Minister of Foreign Affairs who delivered the speech was noted, allowing for comparison of speeches among different public figures.
- Imag. (Imaginaries):** A coding system was used to indicate the presence of left-wing (0), right-wing (1), or no identifiable (null) sociodiscursive imaginaries, based on Charaudeau's (2005) criteria outlined in Section 3.
- Access:** The date of access to the transcription of the speech was recorded to safeguard against future amendments to the text.

<sup>5</sup> The reproduction of the entire spreadsheet is in the Annex.

- f) Link: An electronic link to the transcription of the speech was provided for verification by academic peers.
- g) Null (in red): Speeches that were ambivalent or presented contradictory traits, making objective classification impossible, were marked in red. However, this was not the case for Amorim's speeches, as shown in the Annex.

## 5 Results

Before delving into Amorim's speeches, it is pertinent to provide context regarding his appointment to his position. Celso Luiz Nunes Amorim, born in Santos in 1942, is a professor, researcher, and career diplomat affiliated with the Workers' Party (PT) (Domingos, 2009). In 1965, he graduated from the Instituto Rio Branco (IRBr), the institution responsible for training Brazilian career diplomats, and in 1967, he obtained a degree in International Relations from the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna. He served as a Portuguese language professor at the IRBr in 1976 and as a professor of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Brasília (UnB) from 1977 to 1979 (Brazil, n.d.).

From 1995 to 2003, Amorim represented Brazil in various international organizations, engaging in a wide array of topics, ranging from multilateral trade to humanitarian cooperation. In 1995, then-President Fernando Henrique Cardoso appointed Amorim to lead the Brazilian Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York, a role he fulfilled until 1999. During this period, he presided over the UN Security Council and played a pivotal role in discussions related to nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation (Brazil, n.d.). Amorim actively participated in the Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons (Sampaio, 2012). Additionally, it was during his tenure at the UN that Brazil signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1997). In 1998, Amorim was one of the negotiators of the New Agenda Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament (NAC) (Souza, 2013).

From 2003 to 2010, Amorim served as Chancellor under President Lula (the period of focus in this paper), overseeing a humanistic direction in Brazilian foreign policy that included efforts to combat hunger, poverty, and unilateralism (Brazil, n.d.). He forged coalitions with countries in the southern hemisphere, such as the G-20 (aimed at reducing agricultural trade distortions at the WTO), G-4 (seeking to make the UN Security Council more legitimate and representative), G-3 (IBAS Forum - India, Brazil, and South Africa - for coordinating positions on the international stage), institutionalization of BRIC (originally Brazil, Russia, India, China) for cooperation in various fields, the South America-Africa Summit (ASA), and the South America-Arab Countries Summit (ASPA) (Entrevista, 2010).

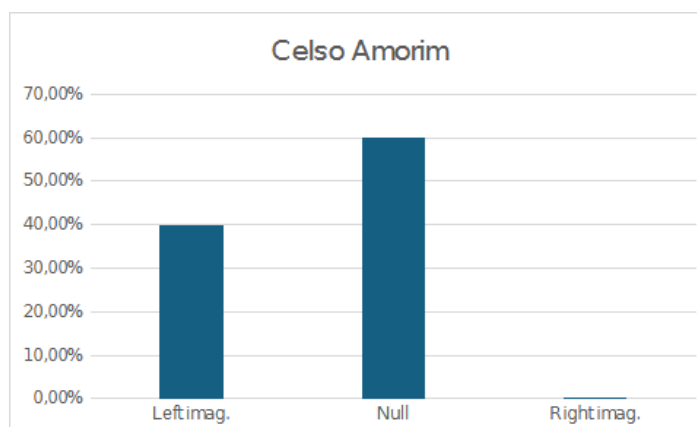
On October 7th, 2009, David Rothkopf, a columnist for the American magazine *Foreign Policy*, named Amorim the best Chancellor in the world (Rothkopf, 2009). On October 29th, 2010, the Brazilian diplomat received the "Bravo Business" award in Miami from *Latin Trade* magazine in the category of "Innovative Leader of the Year" (Amorim, 2010).

On August 4th, 2011, Amorim was invited to succeed Nelson Jobim as Minister of Defense during Dilma Rousseff's presidency, holding this position until 2015 (Jobim, 2011).

After Lula's return to power in 2023, Amorim became the head of the Special Advisory of the Presidency, becoming one of Lula's key advisors (Mazui, 2023).

Regarding the period from 2003 to 2010, when Amorim served as Lula's Chancellor, the analysis of the corpus revealed that he clearly adopted a left-wing discourse, according to Charaudeau's (2016) criteria. Graphic 1 shows that only 40% of the speeches were deemed explicitly leftist. However, upon analyzing the remaining 60% of the speeches, all were identified as lacking explicit ideological discourse, with 0% being considered right-wing, as depicted in Graphic 1.

Graphic 1 – Celso Amorim's political imaginaries



Source: author's elaboration.

The following extract is a sample of a left-wing discourse. It refers to the Amorim's intervention in a G-90 meeting on July 13<sup>th</sup>, 2004, in Republic of Mauritius:

[...] We understand the hopes and concerns of each of us. We see trade as a vehicle for economic and social development. We had no past colonialism. We never exercised colonial rule. Paternalism and condescension are not part of our world-view. In view of our common starting points, we dispense with third party mediation to communicate.

Traditionally, the benefits of free trade have been enjoyed in areas where developed countries have maintained comparative advantages, such as the manufacturing industry and sophisticated services. But when it comes to areas of special interest to developing countries - such as agriculture - the argument of comparative advantage no longer holds - the logic of free trade being reversed. Instead of being compensated for their competitiveness, efficient agricultural exporters from the South are punished with a system of exceptions and Waivers that deprives them of trade opportunities crucial to their development. Those familiar with GATT and the WTO are unfortunately aware that the areas in which developing countries have a strong production and export capacity - such as textiles, steel, and agriculture - are the same that have been subject to derogations and special schemes for decades [...]. (Catalogue 4, Annex<sup>6</sup>).

<sup>6</sup> Original: [...] Compreendemos as esperanças e preocupações de cada um de nós. Vemos o comércio como um veículo de desenvolvimento econômico e social. Não tivemos passado de colonizadores. Nunca exercemos domínio colonial. O paternalismo e a condescendência não fazem parte da nossa visão de mundo. À vista dos nossos pontos de partida comuns, dispensamos a mediação de terceiros para nos comunicarmos. Tradicionalmente,



This extract exemplifies a left-wing discourse, where Amorim delineates a division between rich and poor countries, highlighting the inequalities in global markets. He subtly critiques the hypocrisy of rich nations that advocate for open markets in poor countries for manufactured goods, while practicing protectionism when it comes to opening their markets to primary goods. This perspective aligns with left-wing ideology, which typically advocates for the oppressed or weaker parties in social relations.

The context of the speech, delivered at a G-90 meeting, an alliance of the poorest and smallest developing countries, may have influenced the emphasis on global inequalities. While Brazil is not a member of this group, Amorim's speech at the meeting could reflect a broader solidarity with the themes and concerns of these nations.

Another example of a left-wing discourse is evident in Amorim's speech during the solemnity of the transmission of the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs on January 2nd, 2003, in Brasília:

With the election of President Lula, the Brazilian people expressed unequivocally the desire to see a profound political and social reform carried out, within a peaceful and democratic framework, with broad popular participation in the conduct of state affairs. Consistent with the aspirations expressed at the polls, Brazil will have a foreign policy focused on development and peace, which will seek to reduce the gap between rich and poor nations, promote respect for equality among peoples and the effective democratization of the international system. A foreign policy that is an essential element of everyone's effort to improve the living conditions of our people, and that is based on the same ethical, humanistic and social justice principles that will be present in all the actions of the Lula Government. [...]

Foreign policy is not only the responsibility of the Foreign Ministry, or even the Government. It involves society as a whole. To define the national interest in each concrete situation, I will force coordination with other governmental bodies and with the various social sectors - workers, entrepreneurs, intellectuals - and civil society entities. [...]

The Brazilian people gave a great demonstration of self-esteem by expressing their belief in the ability to creatively change reality. We must take this posture of responsible and confident activism to the plane of external relations. [...]

Despite the uncomfortably tight timeframes of some of these negotiations, we intend to discuss broadly with entrepreneurs, workers, and other social sectors and with the National Congress the positions we must take, in view of the wide range of interests involved and the complex articulations that are necessary, starting with the MERCOSUR. [...]

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os benefícios do livre comércio têm sido desfrutados em áreas em que os países desenvolvidos têm mantido vantagens comparativas, tais como a indústria de manufaturados e os serviços sofisticados. Mas quando se trata de áreas de interesse especial para os países em desenvolvimento – como a agricultura – o argumento da vantagem comparativa não mais se sustenta – ficando invertida a lógica do livre comércio. Em vez de serem compensados por sua competitividade, os exportadores agrícolas eficientes do Sul são punidos com um sistema de exceções e waivers que os priva de oportunidades comerciais cruciais para o seu desenvolvimento. Os que são familiarizados com o GATT e a OMC estão, infelizmente, conscientes de que as áreas em que os países em desenvolvimento têm uma forte capacidade produtiva e de exportação - como os têxteis, aço e agricultura - são as mesmas que têm ficado sujeitas a derrogações e a regimes especiais durante décadas. [...]

Fundamental to the recovery of MERCOSUR is the revitalization of the Economic-Social Forum. We must also promote the Joint Parliamentary Committee to strengthen the participation of society in the integration process [...] (Catalogue 1, Annex, our underlines?).

This excerpt demonstrates the invocation of core values associated with left-wing ideology, as outlined in Section 3, including:

- a) The value of democracy and popular participation.
- b) Egalitarianism, as evidenced by advocating for the reduction of disparities among nations and promoting social justice.
- c) Humanistic values.
- d) The horizontalization of social relationships.
- e) A progressive stance towards changing the status quo.
- f) A willingness to engage in discussion and change one's own opinion.

Another example of Amorim's left-wing discourse is evident in his speech during the opening of the International Conference for the promotion of political consensus to implement the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in Latin America and the Caribbean on November 17th, 2003:

[...] The 21st century begins with a huge challenge: to transform the material achievements achieved throughout the 20th century into benefits for all humanity. It is necessary to note that technological and economic progress has not translated into an equitable distribution of its product. On the contrary: the gap between the rich and the poor is growing. This is true for the world, for Latin America and for Brazil. (...) This worrying picture shows very clearly that economic growth does not by itself guarantee improvements in the basic indicators of social well-being, even if it is, of course, a fundamental element to facilitate it. Market logic is not sufficient for an effective distribution of material benefits on an equitable basis.

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<sup>7</sup> Original: Com a eleição do Presidente Lula, o povo brasileiro expressou de forma inequívoca o desejo de ver realizada uma profunda reforma política e social, dentro de um marco pacífico e democrático, com ampla participação popular na condução dos assuntos do Estado. Coerentemente com os anseios manifestados nas urnas, o Brasil terá uma política externa voltada para o desenvolvimento e para a paz, que buscará reduzir o hiato entre nações ricas e pobres, promover o respeito da igualdade entre os povos e a democratização efetiva do sistema internacional. Uma política externa que seja um elemento essencial do esforço de todos para melhorar as condições de vida do nosso povo, e que esteja embasada nos mesmos princípios éticos, humanistas e de justiça social que estarão presentes em todas as ações do Governo Lula. [...] A política externa não é só responsabilidade do Itamaraty, ou mesmo do Governo. Ela envolve a sociedade como um todo. Para definir o interesse nacional em cada situação concreta, reforçarei a coordenação com outros órgãos governamentais e com os diversos setores sociais - trabalhadores, empresários, intelectuais - e entidades da sociedade civil. [...] O povo brasileiro deu uma grande demonstração de auto-estima [sic] ao manifestar sua crença na capacidade de mudar criativamente a realidade. Temos que levar esta postura de ativismo responsável e confiante ao plano das relações externas. [...] A despeito dos prazos desconfortavelmente estreitos de algumas dessas negociações, pretendemos discutir amplamente com empresários, trabalhadores e outros setores sociais e com o Congresso Nacional as posições que devemos tomar, tendo em vista a vasta gama de interesses envolvidos e as complexas articulações que se fazem necessárias, a começar no âmbito do MERCOSUL. [...]

It is up to states to make choices that result in the narrowing of the gap between wealth and misery. Social welfare as a whole is the responsibility of governments. Human development presupposes the addition of ethical value to material production. It is the logic of responsible politics, not the market, that is better equipped to promote the overcoming of inequalities, nationally and internationally. [...] In certain countries, such as Brazil, important minorities, which in some cases are, in fact, the majority, such as Afro-descendants and indigenous people have more negative indicators than the national average. These social conditions, aggravated by inequality, are at the root of several of the political crises that have occurred in Latin America.

Serious gender disparities in access to education, employment and elective positions are also worrying. In some regions of the world, the number of female representatives in national parliaments is not as high as 10%. One in 48 mothers still die during childbirth, victim of lack of assistance. AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis continue to decimate entire nations. [...] (Catalogue 2, Annex, our underline8).

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were established by the UN in 2000, following the Millennium Summit and outlined in the UN Millennium Declaration. These goals engaged all 191 UN member states and at least 22 international organizations, aiming to<sup>9</sup>:

- a) Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.
- b) Achieve universal primary education.
- c) Promote gender equality and empower women.
- d) Reduce child mortality.
- e) Improve maternal health.
- f) Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases.
- g) Ensure environmental sustainability.
- h) Develop a global partnership for development.

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<sup>8</sup> Original: [...] O século XXI começa com um enorme desafio: transformar as conquistas materiais logradas ao longo do século XX em benefícios para a toda a humanidade. É forçoso constatar que o progresso tecnológico e econômico não se traduziu em uma distribuição equitativa de seu produto. Pelo contrário: é cada vez maior o abismo que separa os ricos dos pobres. Isso é verdade para o mundo, para a América Latina e para o Brasil. (...) Esse quadro preocupante demonstra, de forma muito clara, que o crescimento econômico não garante, por si só, melhorias nos indicadores básicos do bem-estar social, ainda que seja, evidentemente, um elemento fundamental para facilitá-lo. A lógica do mercado não é suficiente para uma efetiva distribuição dos benefícios materiais em bases equitativas. Cabe aos Estados fazer escolhas que resultem na diminuição do fosso entre a riqueza e a miséria. É responsabilidade dos governos o bem-estar social como um todo. O desenvolvimento humano pressupõe a agregação de valor ético à produção material. É a lógica da política responsável, e não a do mercado, que está melhor [sic] aparelhada para promover a superação das desigualdades, nacional e internacionalmente. [...] Em certos países, como o Brasil, minorias importantes, que em alguns casos são, na verdade, a maioria, como a dos afro-descendentes e dos indígenas apresentam indicadores mais negativos do que a média nacional. Estas condições sociais, agravadas pela desigualdade, estão na raiz de várias das crises políticas que têm ocorrido na América Latina. Também é preocupante a permanência de graves disparidades de gênero no acesso a educação, a emprego e a cargos eletivos. Em certas regiões do mundo, não chega a 10% o número de representantes femininas nos Paramentos nacionais. Uma em cada 48 mães ainda morre durante o parto, vítima da falta de assistência. A AIDS, a malária, e a tuberculose continuam dizimando nações inteiras. [...]

<sup>9</sup> Information provided by the UN MDG official site.

In the cited extract, several expressions suggest the left-wing value of egalitarianism, such as “benefit for all humanity,” “equitable distribution,” “the gap between the rich and the poor,” “social well-being,” “gap between wealth and misery,” “social welfare,” “human development,” “ethical value to material production,” “overcoming of inequalities,” “social conditions,” and “inequality.” Additionally, there are expressions indicating a focus on protecting minorities, another key theme of progressive political ideology, such as “minorities [...] such as Afro-descendants and indigenous people,” and “gender disparities.”

Another example of Amorim’s left-wing discourse can be found in his speech during the Meeting of the National Food Security Council (CONSEA) on October 26th, 2004:

[...] I think it is very clear, this Government was the first that, in addition to listening to other politicians, other ministers, or the business class, dedicated itself to listening also to trade unions, civil society, in an intense way, ministries that have a more direct relationship - My friend Minister Rosseto knows this and does not hesitate to make himself heard every time he thinks that we are all a little further away from the demands of this area. For the first time, we have included an NGO as a member of our delegation, Rebrip, in the delegation to Cancún and others.

[...] What I want to say to you, for me, one of the reasons that give me joy and satisfaction to join the team of President Lula is this possibility of having dialogue with the whole society. The dialogue with entrepreneurs has always existed, was good, is good and should be maintained. But the dialogue with other sectors of society, honestly, was not so common. It is a special chance that we have, in our external relations, that we are not reflecting the interests of this or that sector, this or that category, but that we are effectively seeking to reflect the interests of the Brazilian people as a whole. And I think it’s in that spirit that President Lula’s diplomacy works; and if we can sometimes go wrong, I think that’s human. We will always receive very well the words of criticism, the words of warning and especially the dialogue. [...] (Catalogue 5, Annex, our underline<sup>10</sup>).

This excerpt exemplifies another characteristic of left-wing political discourse, as outlined by Charaudeau (2016) – the value of horizontalization of social relations. In contrast to the right-wing political discourse matrix, which tends to promote and naturalize social verticalization, discriminating between specific roles such as entrepreneurs and labourers, men and women, rich and poor, and insiders and outsiders of the nation, the progressive values of

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<sup>10</sup> Original: [...] Acho que é muito claro, este Governo foi o primeiro que, além de ouvir outros políticos, outros ministros, ou a classe empresarial, dedicou-se a ouvir também os sindicatos, a sociedade civil, de maneira intensa, ministérios que têm uma relação mais direta - meu amigo Ministro Rosseto sabe disto e não hesita em se fazer ouvir cada vez que acha que nós todos ficamos um pouquinho mais longe dos reclamos desta área. Nós incluímos, pela primeira vez, uma ONG como membro da nossa delegação, a Rebrip, na delegação a Cancún e em outras. [...] O que quero dizer aos Senhores, para mim, uma das razões que me dão alegria e satisfação de integrar a equipe do Presidente Lula é esta possibilidade de ter interlocução com toda a sociedade. A interlocução com os empresários sempre existiu, foi boa, é boa e deve ser mantida. Mas a interlocução com outros setores da sociedade, honestamente, não era tão comum. É uma chance especial que temos de, nas nossas relações externas, não estarmos refletindo interesses deste ou daquele setor, desta ou daquela categoria, mas de estarmos procurando, efetivamente, refletir os interesses do Povo brasileiro como um todo. E eu acho que é dentro desse espírito que a diplomacia do Presidente Lula trabalha; e se nós algumas vezes podemos errar, acho que isso é humano. Sempre receberemos muito bem as palavras de críticas, as palavras de alerta e sobretudo o diálogo. [...]

the left-wing political discourse matrix idealize the deconstruction of such discriminations. One target of this deconstruction is the verticalization in society.

In the cited segment, we observe a horizontal conception of the relationship between government authorities and civil society. The most frequent expressions are those that refer to “listening,” “dialogue,” and a willingness to “receive criticism.”

The final example we can provide is more explicit in its left-wing rhetorical strategy. It is Amorim’s message during the ceremony in memory of Ambassador José Aparecido de Oliveira on November 15th, 2007, in Lisbon:

[...] José Aparecido de Oliveira was an exemplary politician. He has held important roles throughout his career as a public man committed to progressive causes, ethics, and humanistic values. For him, public interest came first. He was a private secretary and collaborator of President Jânio Quadros, who conducted in his Government the Independent Foreign Policy, a milestone in the history of Brazilian diplomacy. [...] (Catalogue 37, Annex, our underlines<sup>11</sup>).

This tribute to Ambassador Oliveira contains an explicit mark of left-wing discourse, as Amorim describes him, in a positive light, as a “public man committed to progressive causes.” Additionally, when Amorim portrays the Independent Foreign Policy (PEI, in the Portuguese acronym) as a “milestone in the history of Brazilian diplomacy,” he employs a progressive rhetoric. The PEI was considered one of the most progressive periods in Brazilian diplomatic history. Conceived during the government of Jânio Quadros in 1961 but mostly developed during João Goulart’s tenure with Chancellor San Tiago Dantas and others, the PEI was characterized by (Cervo & Bueno, 2002):

- a) A universalist perspective, while also addressing regional issues.
- b) Pragmatism, establishing relationships even with countries in the socialist world during the Cold War.
- c) An autonomous stance towards great powers.
- d) A focus on North-South issues rather than East-West.
- e) Opening to Africa and Asia, condemning colonialism.
- f) Expanding trade relations with Eastern Europe and the East.
- g) Willingness to participate in international forums and support the UN.
- h) Advocacy for development, peace, and disarmament.
- i) Opposition to nuclear experiments.
- j) Strengthening ties with Argentina and Latin America in general.
- k) Commitment to the Inter-American system.

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<sup>11</sup> Original: [...] José Aparecido de Oliveira foi um político exemplar. Ocupou importantes funções ao longo de sua trajetória de homem público comprometido com as causas progressistas, com a ética e os valores humanistas. Para ele, o interesse público vinha em primeiro lugar. Foi secretário particular e colaborador do Presidente Jânio Quadros, que conduziu em seu Governo a Política Externa Independente, um marco na história da diplomacia brasileira. [...]

## 6 Conclusion

In this paper, we presented a portion of our research focusing on the analysis of the Rhetoric of Culture Wars in Brazilian diplomatic discourse. The complete investigation encompassed 20 years of official speeches by all chancellors, spanning from the first term of President Lula to the administration of President Bolsonaro. However, this article specifically examines the speeches of Celso Amorim during his tenure as chancellor from 2003 to 2010, with a particular emphasis on the theme of political ideology. Our objective is to ascertain which ideology Amorim predominantly espoused, the frequency of its manifestation, and the way it was articulated, all in accordance with Charaudeau's (2016) parameters.

Due to the nature of our analytical variables, which are based on a specific theoretical framework, it was challenging to employ software to automate the process, such as counting the frequency of certain words or expressions. Instead, we manually reviewed and catalogued each transcription, a methodology detailed in Section 4 of our paper.

Our analysis revealed that Amorim's speeches consistently leaned towards a left-wing political ideology, albeit in a nuanced manner that avoided confrontational stances. We did not observe instances of right-wing political ideology in his speeches, and many interventions could not be definitively classified as either right or left-wing based on clear and objective criteria.

Through our research, we aim to contribute, albeit in a niche area, to the advancement of knowledge pertaining to Brazilian diplomatic discourse, which remains relatively underexplored in the field of language sciences, based on the existing literature we were able to document until here. Furthermore, we seek to shed light on contemporary Brazilian diplomatic history, which has a crucial role in promoting national development and enhancing the quality of life for Brazilians.

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## Annex – DATABASE<sup>12</sup>

Catalogue	Date	Chancellor	RC	Dichot.	VV	Imag.	Univ.	Prag.	Al.	Int. Inscr.	Access	Link
1	02/01/2003	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	19/01/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3QIvcTo">https://bit.ly/3QIvcTo</a>
2	17/11/2003	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	Nulo	1	20/01/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3WxPQal">https://bit.ly/3WxPQal</a>
3	04/05/2004	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	21/01/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3QTBEXR">https://bit.ly/3QTBEXR</a>
4	13/07/2004	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	0	1	22/01/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3XLO6uT">https://bit.ly/3XLO6uT</a>
5	26/10/2004	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	23/01/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3QWjCEc">https://bit.ly/3QWjCEc</a>
6	20/02/2005	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	24/01/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3J8XsNj">https://bit.ly/3J8XsNj</a>
7	29/06/2005	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	0	1	30/01/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3klbgznz">https://bit.ly/3klbgznz</a>
8	03/08/2005	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	04/02/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3Y3ufrc">https://bit.ly/3Y3ufrc</a>
9	05/08/2005	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	0	1	04/02/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3lacMPR">https://bit.ly/3lacMPR</a>
10	11/08/2005	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	0	1	04/02/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3JGcf2d">https://bit.ly/3JGcf2d</a>
11	01/09/2005	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	27/02/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/40F7OLg">https://bit.ly/40F7OLg</a>
12	18/11/2005	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	27/02/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3Z7aSOP">https://bit.ly/3Z7aSOP</a>
13	01/12/2005	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	04/03/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3mkCPnP">https://bit.ly/3mkCPnP</a>
14	31/01/2006	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	05/03/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3JdLvW4">https://bit.ly/3JdLvW4</a>
15	09/05/2006	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	1	0	1	05/03/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3kQgsX8">https://bit.ly/3kQgsX8</a>
16	02/08/2006	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	Nulo	Nulo	1	09/03/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3IYSks">https://bit.ly/3IYSks</a>
17	24/10/2006	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	11/03/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3E8U8v">https://bit.ly/3E8U8v</a>
18	04/11/2006	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	11/03/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/402ujs7">https://bit.ly/402ujs7</a>
19	22/11/2006	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	12/03/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3JyrNVp">https://bit.ly/3JyrNVp</a>
20	23/11/2006	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	0	1	12/03/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3mLEu6i">https://bit.ly/3mLEu6i</a>
21	24/11/2006	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	Nulo	0	1	14/03/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3FqpaIT">https://bit.ly/3FqpaIT</a>
22	27/11/2006	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	16/03/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3IH3ox0">https://bit.ly/3IH3ox0</a>
23	05/12/2006	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	17/03/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3Jnq0Kd">https://bit.ly/3Jnq0Kd</a>
24	13/12/2006	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	18/03/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3Y8yAuA">https://bit.ly/3Y8yAuA</a>
25	15/12/2006	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	Nulo	0	1	18/03/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3Is8v2G">https://bit.ly/3Is8v2G</a>
26	15/12/2006	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	Nulo	0	1	18/03/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3Jzohvm">https://bit.ly/3Jzohvm</a>
27	21/03/2007	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	12/06/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/462vxre">https://bit.ly/462vxre</a>
28	02/05/2007	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	Nulo	1	0	1	02/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/43duYbw">https://bit.ly/43duYbw</a>
29	20/08/2007	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	04/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/44efci6">https://bit.ly/44efci6</a>
30	28/08/2007	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	05/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/44dufbx">https://bit.ly/44dufbx</a>
31	03/09/2007	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	06/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/46FBUkA">https://bit.ly/46FBUkA</a>
32	23/09/2007	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	1	07/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3JPz9Ua">https://bit.ly/3JPz9Ua</a>
33	27/09/2007	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	07/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3rdpuA9">https://bit.ly/3rdpuA9</a>
34	03/10/2007	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	Nulo	0	1	07/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3O20Awy">https://bit.ly/3O20Awy</a>
35	05/11/2007	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	07/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3D3IKrj">https://bit.ly/3D3IKrj</a>
36	08/11/2007	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	1	08/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/44ghXzk">https://bit.ly/44ghXzk</a>
37	15/11/2007	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	Nulo	1	08/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3IQGF0Z">https://bit.ly/3IQGF0Z</a>
38	20/11/2007	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	1	Nulo	1	08/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3XLTthwi">https://bit.ly/3XLTthwi</a>
39	28/11/2007	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	09/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3rcKR9y">https://bit.ly/3rcKR9y</a>
40	12/12/2007	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	10/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3O86s7x">https://bit.ly/3O86s7x</a>
41	14/12/2007	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	10/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/44hyinv">https://bit.ly/44hyinv</a>
42	17/01/2008	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	1	12/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3NMolY5">https://bit.ly/3NMolY5</a>
43	20/02/2008	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	12/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/44liutD">https://bit.ly/44liutD</a>
44	21/02/2008	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	Nulo	Nulo	1	16/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3K2vjNM">https://bit.ly/3K2vjNM</a>
45	01/04/2008	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	16/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3K0ID3O">https://bit.ly/3K0ID3O</a>
46	25/04/2008	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	1	18/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3K3mDAn">https://bit.ly/3K3mDAn</a>
47	29/04/2008	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	20/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3DnDRER">https://bit.ly/3DnDRER</a>
48	17/06/2008	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	0	1	24/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3QcWEuh">https://bit.ly/3QcWEuh</a>
49	17/07/2008	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	1	26/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3q5sgHl">https://bit.ly/3q5sgHl</a>
50	21/07/2008	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	1	0	1	27/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3O9oBk6">https://bit.ly/3O9oBk6</a>
51	29/07/2008	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	1	27/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3OvcPSi">https://bit.ly/3OvcPSi</a>
52	06/08/2008	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	1	0	1	29/07/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3Y8WGW4">https://bit.ly/3Y8WGW4</a>
53	18/08/2008	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	1	0	1	05/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3OjGYmC">https://bit.ly/3OjGYmC</a>
54	02/09/2008	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	Nulo	1	0	1	15/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/45n3d1V">https://bit.ly/45n3d1V</a>
55	03/09/2008	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	16/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3QfYSsK">https://bit.ly/3QfYSsK</a>
56	20/11/2008	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	17/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3KICaFo">https://bit.ly/3KICaFo</a>
57	24/11/2008	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	17/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/457fwPu">https://bit.ly/457fwPu</a>
58	30/11/2008	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	Nulo	0	1	17/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3OfKKNW">https://bit.ly/3OfKKNW</a>
59	12/12/2008	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	20/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3ObMXJR">https://bit.ly/3ObMXJR</a>
60	05/01/2009	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	20/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3q7IKim">https://bit.ly/3q7IKim</a>

<sup>12</sup> Partial data from the research, referring only to Amorim's speeches.

61	02/03/2009	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	Nulo	0	1	20/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/47btNwE">https://bit.ly/47btNwE</a>
62	16/03/2009	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	Nulo	0	1	20/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3Ob9tTb">https://bit.ly/3Ob9tTb</a>
63	06/04/2009	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	20/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3KGz31J">https://bit.ly/3KGz31J</a>
64	13/04/2009	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	21/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/44helH5">https://bit.ly/44helH5</a>
65	07/05/2009	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	Nulo	0	1	24/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/44kF1FD">https://bit.ly/44kF1FD</a>
66	12/06/2009	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	Nulo	0	1	27/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/45jwURG">https://bit.ly/45jwURG</a>
67	24/06/2009	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	27/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/44iEjJE">https://bit.ly/44iEjJE</a>
68	25/06/2009	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	27/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/44kjROq">https://bit.ly/44kjROq</a>
69	26/06/2009	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	27/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/47G7f7b">https://bit.ly/47G7f7b</a>
70	12/07/2009	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	27/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3shd5Mm">https://bit.ly/3shd5Mm</a>
71	27/07/2009	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	Nulo	0	1	30/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3QMXvSz">https://bit.ly/3QMXvSz</a>
72	16/11/2009	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	30/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3YFec4t">https://bit.ly/3YFec4t</a>
73	30/11/2009	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	30/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3QU8slk">https://bit.ly/3QU8slk</a>
74	18/01/2010	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	1	30/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3qClwkl">https://bit.ly/3qClwkl</a>
75	27/01/2010	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	Nulo	1	30/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/45B2sIH">https://bit.ly/45B2sIH</a>
76	02/02/2010	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	30/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3P3EM3T">https://bit.ly/3P3EM3T</a>
77	25/02/2010	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	0	1	31/08/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/45B2tWN">https://bit.ly/45B2tWN</a>
78	04/03/2010	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	03/09/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3OLYOP0">https://bit.ly/3OLYOP0</a>	
79	25/03/2010	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	03/09/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3OMlrTA">https://bit.ly/3OMlrTA</a>	
80	20/04/2010	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	03/09/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3OHxm5c">https://bit.ly/3OHxm5c</a>
81	31/05/2010	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	Nulo	0	1	03/09/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3E7u8TH">https://bit.ly/3E7u8TH</a>
82	21/06/2010	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	Nulo	0	1	05/09/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3Peij4B">https://bit.ly/3Peij4B</a>
83	13/07/2010	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	Nulo	1	11/09/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3R4dZpV">https://bit.ly/3R4dZpV</a>
84	11/09/2010	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	1	0	1	11/09/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3OQbXXl">https://bit.ly/3OQbXXl</a>
85	20/09/2010	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	Nulo	0	1	12/09/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3KLUpKM">https://bit.ly/3KLUpKM</a>
86	23/09/2010	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	12/09/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3E58q2D">https://bit.ly/3E58q2D</a>
87	27/09/2010	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	13/09/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3seNAel">https://bit.ly/3seNAel</a>
88	18/10/2010	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	1	Nulo	0	1	28/09/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3E6k8Ms">https://bit.ly/3E6k8Ms</a>
89	22/11/2010	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	0	1	Nulo	0	1	28/09/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/3sgvuZv">https://bit.ly/3sgvuZv</a>
90	02/01/2011	Celso Amorim	0	0	0	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	Nulo	29/09/2023	<a href="https://bit.ly/45zhWGN">https://bit.ly/45zhWGN</a>	

Source: author's elaboration.