

Foreign Policy and Journalism: An Analysis of Argumentative Strategies Used in Diplomatic and Journalist Discourse

Política Externa e Jornalismo: Uma análise das estratégias argumentativas acionadas nos discursos diplomáticos e jornalísticos

Política Exterior y Periodismo: Un análisis de las estrategias argumentativas utilizadas en los discursos diplomáticos y periodistas

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Abstract: This article aims at presenting argumentation from its theoretical-methodological perspective, based on Amossy (2018a; 2018b) and Charaudeau (2012). We have used this perspective to investigate the argumentative strategies of diplomatic and journalistic discourses in the construction of Brazil's public images in the world arena (from 1988 to 2022). We have analyzed Brazil's speeches at the UN General Assembly and Folha de S. Paulo's reports on these meetings. We have observed that peace is considered by diplomacy as an utmost value. The guidelines for conducting Brazilian Foreign Policy (PEB) are also recurring themes. The analysis of journalistic discourses has allowed us to identify that in some periods, the journalistic construction marks opposition to the government and the conduct of the PEB, acting as an important political actor in the diplomatic field and hence contributing to the construction of public opinion and dissemination of values related to PEB.

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Keywords:

Argumentation, Discourse, Argumentative strategies, Public Image, Brazilian Foreign Policy

Resumo: Este artigo objetiva apresentar a argumentação em sua perspectiva teórico-metodológica, a partir de Amossy (2018a; 2018b) e Charaudeau (2012). Utilizamos tal perspectiva para investigar as estratégias argumentativas de discursos diplomáticos e jornalísticos na construção das imagens públicas do Brasil (de 1988 até 2022). Analisamos os discursos do Brasil na Assembleia Geral da ONU e os textos da Folha de S. Paulo sobre esses encontros. Observamos que a paz é acionada pela diplomacia como um valor supremo. As diretrizes da condução da Política Externa Brasileira (PEB) também são temas recorrentes. A análise dos discursos jornalísticos nos permitiu identificar que em alguns períodos a construção jornalística marca oposição ao governo e à condução da PEB, atuando como um importante ator político no campo diplomático e contribuindo com a construção de opiniões públicas e com a disseminação de valores sobre a PEB.

Palavras-chave:

Argumentação, Discurso, Estratégias argumentativas, Imagem Pública, Política Externa Brasileira

Resumen: Este artículo tiene como objetivo presentar el argumento desde su perspectiva teórico-metodológica, basado en Amossy (2018a; 2018b) y Charaudeau (2012). Utilizamos esta perspectiva para investigar las estrategias argumentativas de los discursos diplomáticos y periodísticos en la construcción de las imágenes públicas de Brasil (de 1988 a 2022). Analizamos los discursos de Brasil en la Asamblea General de la ONU y los textos de Folha de S. Paulo sobre estas reuniones. Observamos que la paz está impulsada por la diplomacia como valor supremo. Las directrices para la conducción de la Política Exterior Brasileña (PEB) también son temas recurrentes. El análisis de los discursos periodísticos permitió identificar que en algunos períodos la construcción periodística marca oposición al gobierno y a la conducta del PEB, actuando como un importante actor político en el campo diplomático y contribuyendo a la construcción de opiniones públicas y la difusión de valores sobre el PEB.

Palabras clave:

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1. Initial considerations

When we began to map research on communication and foreign policy, we could see how necessary it was that the field expanded its relationship with foreign policy and international relations. We also found that there were few studies that focus on diplomatic discourses as an object of research in Political Communication, as well as a discursive genre of relevance for the projection of a country's image. Also, we concluded that there are insufficient studies that bring together the two genres: diplomatic and journalistic discourses, in order to investigate the affectations of one on the other. Likewise, there are few studies dedicated to issues related to the intersection of communication with diplomacy, especially in Communication.

One of the perspectives to analyze the role of the media in diplomatic activity was systematized by Eytan Gilboa (2001) in three conceptual models: public diplomacy, media diplomacy and intermediary media diplomacy. The concepts aim at helping understand the relations between international politics and communication and, above all, the effects on the relation between nations or even the impacts that domestic events impose on the image of countries and rulers abroad.

From these preliminary perceptions, we propose to investigate the relation between journalism and Brazilian foreign policy (PEB), through Brazil's diplomatic discourses and the repercussion of certain events in this field in the construction of news, from the perspective of discursive argumentation.

Starting from the understanding of our democratic system and its relationship with communication, we understand that it depends on the visibility provided by the media, and more specifically on political journalism, for its maintenance. The quality of democracy is also related to the ability of journalism not only to provide visibility to political issues, but also to give public opinion the ability to reflect and interpret the issues broadcast by media. The more limited and standardized the frames of meaning produced by political journalism, and the lower its capacity to problematize the facts, the lower the critical perception of reception.

External issues are complex and require citizens to take interest in such issues; And in order to arouse this interest, the population needs to have access to knowledge of how these

issues affect their daily lives. We have noticed that in recent years issues related to national foreign policy have gained more prominence and, thus, greater importance in the scenario of political discussions, mainly during the electoral period. Based on these observations, we propose to investigate the argumentative strategies triggered by diplomatic and journalistic discourses in the construction of public images about Brazil.

To do so, we will begin the article by addressing theoretical aspects that place the study of argumentation as a branch of discourse analysis (Amossy, 2007; 2008; 2016; 2018a; 2018b). We also bring the understanding of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (2005), and Charaudeau (2012) to understand the theorization of discursive analysis. We present the argumentative strategies that helped us identify the argumentative axes of the discourses (Amossy 2018a; 2018b; Pozobon, 2019; Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, 2005) and in the identification of the public images of Brazil projected in the discourses and we present the final considerations.

2. Argumentation as a constitutive dimension of discourses

If "all speech tends to share a point of view, a way of reacting to a situation or feeling a state of fact" (Amossy, 2016, p. 174), then argumentation is immersed in practically all discourses. As long as there is a thesis, an opinion, a feeling, or a divergent observation, there is argumentation.

For Amossy (2018a) it is important to highlight the linguistic materiality of argumentation; understanding that argumentation happens in the exchange, in the interaction between two or more partners. The axis of communication and interaction gives the analysis of argumentation in discourse an institutional and social character that must be appreciated. And these are the two aspects (linguistic materiality and intersection of the linguistic and the social) that characterize argumentation in discourse as a branch of Discourse Analysis.

From the perspective that "every discourse has as its purpose the attempt to modify, or to share, an idea, a belief or a position" (Prates e Pozobon, 2020), it is necessary to outline when a discourse seeks only to guide and when it aims to persuade. In this sense, the discourse can have a vision or an argumentative dimension. Discourses with an argumentative dimension seek to guide, problematize and share. Argumentative discourses, on the other hand, have the mission of persuading and convincing.

In fact, it is important to understand, simultaneously, how discourse makes one see, believe and feel, and how it makes one question, reflect, and debate. In language practice, these two tendencies are closely linked and are sometimes inseparable. That

is why the theory of argumentation in discourse – exploring not only the target, but also the argumentative dimension of speech – wishes to cover a vast inventory of discourses that sometimes conquer opinion, sometimes simply guide the gaze. From this perspective, it is considered that, in the intersubjective relationship, effective speech is not only that which manipulates the other, as it is also that which shares reasoning and questioning. (Amossy, 2018a, p. 11)

When addressing the discursive construction of the media, Charaudeau (2012) also talks about the tension between two targets. In the case addressed by the author, he deals with the media communication contract, in which there are two views: that of *know-how*, or information, and that of *making feel*, which is the aim of capture. According to the author, because they are always in the tension between credibility and capture, the media discourse tends to navigate between the two poles, depending on the nature of the events that are depicted. In justifying the use of emotion in media discourse, he shares Amossy's view of the social and institutional dimension of discourse of which emotions are also a part. Emotion is a phenomenon of human rationality.

To satisfy this principle of emotion, the media instance must proceed to a subtle staging of the information discourse, based at the same time on the emotional appeals that prevail in each socio-cultural community and on the knowledge of the universes of beliefs that circulate there – because emotions are not an ineffable random. They are socialized, they result from the collective regulation of exchanges. (Charaudeau, 2012, p. 92)

For Charaudeau, argumentative discourse is expressed through a quadruple cognitive activity, and it is necessary to: problematize, take a position, elucidate and prove. In this way, the argumentation is directed to interlocutors with the objective of presenting them with some sense of reality, questioning and presenting a position, based on evidence (or evidence arguments), with the purpose of leading them to adhere to the same thesis. Amossy (2016) considers that argumentation, in the sense presented, would be condemned to dominate the other, even if there is room for the interlocutors to manifest themselves. This highlights an important aspect of Charaudeau's theory, which is the relationship between discourse and power, in view of the power play in the argumentative discourse presented by the author.

Amossy points out that his theorization brings rhetoric (especially Perelman's) as a legacy. A perspective that values the negotiation of difference in the interaction of subjects (Amossy, 2016). From Aristotle, Amossy's perspective adopts the three classical components of rhetoric: *logos*, *pathos*, and *ethos*; "and it is the way in which this operation connects them in a concrete exchange that takes place in a particular discourse situation that gives speech its power of persuasion" (Amossy, 2008, p. 134).

An important aspect of the theory of argumentation in discourse concerns the "staging of the speaker", considering that every speaker builds an image of himself when uttering the word (Amossy, 2018b). Thinking about the analysis of diplomatic discourse, we understand that it is invested with the professional *ethos* and the legitimacy that is conferred on it to construct its narratives. "The ancients designated by *the term ethos* the construction of an image of oneself intended to guarantee the success of the oratorical enterprise" (Amossy, 2018b, p. 10).

Regarding the *pathemic* effect, we have noticed that emotions can be perceived in discourse through value judgments, as an example. Therefore, Amossy argues that emotions can be part of the argument. "It is in this perspective that argumentation in discourse is applied in seeking in the very fabric of the texts the constitutive imbrication of *pathos* and *logos*" (Amossy 2018a, p. 206).

Returning to the question of oneself's own image, in classical rhetoric, *ethos* is confused with the question of morality. Although Aristotle understood *ethos* as the character and self-image projected by the speaker in his speech, he also considered that the authority conferred on the speaker derives from the following aspects: prudence, virtue, and benevolence. Isocrates and Cicero, on the other hand, bring morality as a central aspect to the *ethos* of the orator (apud Amossy, 2018a). In other words, issues related to name, family, reputation and ways of behaving made up the *speaker's ethos* and were aspects considered important for the effectiveness of persuasion.

In the sciences of language, the notion of *ethos* is linked to enunciation. In this sense, according to Amossy (2018a): "The image of oneself is thus apprehended through the verbal marks that construct it and propose it to the partner of the interlocution. The linguistics of enunciation provides a first anchorage to the analysis of the Aristotelian *ethos*" (p. 84).

For Amossy (2018a), *ethos* in argumentative analysis must be understood based on the discourse that builds an image of oneself and, at the same time, is based on preexisting data. This is what the author classifies as prior or pre-discursive *ethos*. "It precedes the taking of the floor and partially conditions it. At the same time, it leaves tangible traces in the discourse that can be identified, sometimes in the linguistic marks, sometimes in the situation of enunciation that is at the basis of the exchange" (p. 90). Thus, in order to understand the discursive *ethos*, it is necessary to know the context in which the discourse is uttered, in its social and institutional aspects, the previous representation that one has about the speaker and the image that the speaker projects in the enunciation.

When we approach the discursive construction in its rational and emotional dimension and the construction of the speaker, it is essential that we talk about the adaptation that the speaker makes in his speech based on the audience. According to Amossy (2018a), "the audience has a capital role to play insofar as it defines the set of opinions, beliefs, and thought schemes on which speech, which aims to lead to adherence, can be based" (p. 54). Therefore, we share with the author the understanding that the construction of the auditorium is a discursive strategy.

In discourse, the auditorium is a construction because it is based on the image/representation that the speaker has of his audience. And the closer the image is to reality, the greater the effectiveness of the argument. "The speaker then works to elaborate an image of the audience in which he expects to recognize himself. He tries to influence opinions and behaviors by showing this audience a mirror in which he will feel pleasure in contemplating himself" (Amossy, 2018a, p. 77). In diplomatic discourse, the construction of the auditorium is also based on the representation that the announcer believes the audience has about his country and the image he wants to build about the nation that he represents.

In this case, the speaker does not speak for himself or herself, but on behalf of their country, serving at the time of the speech as a spokesperson for the nation, in a process of depersonalization of the speaker (Pimentel e Pankel, 2020). In general, this is the role of the diplomat. As an example, we cite an excerpt from Brazil's speech at the United Nations General Assembly, given by Foreign Minister Luiz Felipe Lampreia, in 1995: "By opening this debate today, Brazil wants to renew its unwavering commitment to the principles of the United Nations Charter."

Let us take as another example of Brazil's diplomatic discourse at the United Nations: the speech of President Dilma Rousseff at the General Assembly in 2011, in which there is the use of the *ethos* of women as an argumentative strategy. As in all other speeches given at the UN General Assembly, the speaker speaks to an audience made up of representatives of nations from almost all over the planet. The words chosen by a head of state, on this occasion, can have positive or negative repercussions for citizens spread across all countries. "For the first time in the history of the United Nations, a female voice inaugurates the General Debate. It is the voice of democracy and equality expanding in this tribune, which is committed to being the most representative in the world" (Rousseff, 2011, p. 1).

As the first woman elected to the Presidency of the Brazilian Republic, Dilma uses the *ethos* of a female representative in the search for equality and representativeness, which are also values defended by the UN. The president also seeks to speak directly to the women

she wants to reach with her speech: "I share this emotion with more than half of the human beings on this planet, who, like me, were born a woman." We noticed that even speaking to a homogeneous audience, the speaker's purpose is to reach mainly the female audience from whom she imagines achieving greater recognition and, thus, directly affecting, awakening, in her words, the "justified pride of woman".

Returning her speech to the auditorium in all its homogeneity, Dilma continues: "More than ever, the fate of the world is in the hands of all its rulers, without exception. Either we all unite and come out winners together or we will all be defeated". By using the expressions "we all unite" and "together", the speaker seeks to lead the audience to reflect upon the world economic crisis, as well as persuade them so that all countries participate in the solution of such problems.

In this brief observation about the use of *ethos* and the construction of discourse based on the audience, we propose to exemplify the construction of *ethos* and the audience as strategies in argumentation.

In some situations, we have identified that diplomatic speeches – which fulfill the function of State communication – are confused with government communication. We highlight two examples in which presidents' speeches were close to campaign speeches, a situation in which government actions aimed at the domestic sphere had more prominence than the other themes. The first of them was uttered by President Dilma Rousseff, in 2014, and the second by Jair Bolsonaro, in 2019. We must not forget that the United Nations General Assembly takes place annually in September and presidential elections in Brazil take place every four years, in October.

In 2014, Dilma Rousseff, who was running for reelection, was criticized by the media for having used the space at the UN for electoral campaigning. She addressed several government actions in domestic policy, including job creation rates, health, education and the economy.

I open this General Debate on the eve of elections, which will choose, in Brazil, the President of the Republic, the state governments and a large part of our Legislative Branch. [...] In the last twelve years, in particular, we have added to these changes the construction of an inclusive society based on equality. [...] Thirty-six million Brazilians have left poverty since 2003; 22 million in my government alone. (Rousseff, 2014, ONU)

In 2019, despite not being an election year, Jair Bolsonaro (2019) used a similar strategy, but within the idea of what we understand as a permanent campaign. Ribeiro points out as an indication of the use of the permanent campaign strategy when "the discourse refers

to actions of past mandates to demonstrate what worked, and when he refers to the next elections as a way of solving all current problems" (p. 21).

I present to you a new Brazil, which is resurfacing after being on the verge of socialism. A Brazil that is being rebuilt based on the yearnings and ideals of its people. In my government, Brazil has been working to regain the trust of the world, reducing unemployment, violence and risk to business, through debureaucratization, deregulation and, especially, by example. [...] First of all, my government has a solemn commitment to the preservation of the environment and sustainable development for the benefit of Brazil and the world. (Bolsonaro, 2019, ONU)

Moreover, Bolsonaro used the same biblical verse that he had used in his electoral campaign: "And you know the truth, and the truth will set you free." In 2022, he ended his speech at the United Nations with a phrase based on his campaign motto: "a people who believe in God, Homeland, family and freedom".

We realize, therefore, from the examples brought above, that in many moments diplomatic discourses are configured as State communication or government communication. In order to try to understand how these choices are converted into argumentative strategies of discourse, we will expand the discussion about the method in the following section.

3. Discursive argumentation as a perspective of analysis

This research aims at identifying the "projected public image" of Brazil in diplomatic discourses. To do so, we seek to identify and analyze the argumentative strategies used in Brazil's diplomatic speeches at the meetings of the UN General Assembly, in the period that extends between the years 1988 and 2022; and the journalistic speeches that deal with the annual meetings.

The analysis protocol which was adopted for the development of this research makes use of six argumentative strategies, which are proposed by Amossy (2018a; 2018b), also finding reference in Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (2005) and Pozobon (2019). They are: Analogy, Enthymeme, Rule of Justice, Consequence and Ethos. From the identification of the argumentative strategies, we evaluate their purposes and highlight the main argumentative axes of each period and the public images projected in the speeches. Finally, we evaluate whether the public image projected by Brazil in diplomatic discourses is equivalent to the image that is constructed by journalism.

The corpus of analysis of the research is the full body of texts used as Brazil's diplomatic speeches at the UN General Assembly and the reports, opinion articles and

editorials of the printed editions of the newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo*, which deal with Brazil's participation in the annual meeting of the UN, in the period from 1988 to 2022. In order to systematize the research, due to the broad period of analysis, we opted for a focus prioritizing the first and last year of each presidential term. In this way, 18 diplomatic speeches and 36 printed editions of the newspaper were analyzed.

One of the most highlighted themes by Brazil's speeches over the years is peace. Although this is one of the themes suggested by the Organization to be discussed at the meeting and, above all, peace is one of the UN missions, we consider that it is used in Brazilian discourses as a supreme value, used as a tool in creating a public image of a peaceful and solidary country. Brazil has not been involved in armed conflicts in its recent history. And, traditionally, it takes a stand against conflicts between nations, standing in favor of peaceful resolutions through dialogue. Such diplomatic positioning is, therefore, emphasized through diplomatic speeches that seek to consolidate the country's peaceful image on the international stage.

We observed that the public image projected by Brazil, in the first analyzed discourses, was that of a country that was moving towards democratic consolidation whereas, in the last discourses, the public image of a welcoming country that can be trusted predominates. The sense of confidence arises in an attempt to show an attractive country to international investors, but also a reliable and welcoming country in humanitarian causes, due to the recent migratory waves experienced worldwide. We summarize the main argumentative axes used in the diplomatic speeches analyzed and the respective public images projected, as seen below.

PERIOD	MAIN ARGUMENTATIVE AXES	PROJECTED PUBLIC IMAGE
1988 and 1989	The defense that conflict resolution occurs through dialogue. Democracy appears as a purpose.	Brazil defender of peace
1990	Cooperation is necessary to achieve peace and strengthen democracy.	Cooperative and democratic country
1994	At a time of democratic affirmation, Brazil defends economic and social development – essential factors for peace.	Brazil, developing country
1995	Arguments based on defending development, through economic freedom and cooperation. And appreciation of democracy.	Peaceful country committed to democracy

1998	Defense of cooperation to combat the global financial crisis.	Peaceful and democratic country
1999	Defense of cooperation to resolve humanitarian crises.	Developing country
2002	Defense of joint actions to end conflicts.	Solidarity and cooperative country
2003	Cooperation to end hunger and reduce social inequalities	Peaceful and harmonious country
2006	Multilateralism to achieve peace, sustainable development and human rights.	Brazil is working and developing and is cooperative
2007	It argues that peace will be achieved through global social justice. And advocacy for climate protection.	Brazil is working and developing and is cooperative.
2010	Arguments based on the idea that the country cooperates with everyone, is in full development and will continue working for peace, human rights and equality. It also reinforces cooperation on the South-South axis.	Cooperative and fully developing country.
2011	Defense of cooperation between nations to combat the global financial crisis. And military interventions are linked to the expansion of terrorism.	Cooperative and supportive country
2014	Defends cooperation to combat the financial crisis. Regional integration to strengthen democracy and sustainable development. And again, military interventions are linked to the expansion of terrorism and an increase in conflicts.	Cooperative and supportive country
2015	Democracy is defended based on arguments about the strength of institutions and justice. On the climate issue, the launch of the greenhouse gas emission reduction plan, defended under the argument that the country (one of the few developing countries) would contribute to the Climate Change Panel.	Democratic, peaceful and welcoming country
2018	Arguments based on the defense of diplomacy and multilateralism. Which are seen as crucial for peace and sustainable development.	Welcoming and supportive country
2019	Defense of the fight against the ideology that socialism transformed Brazil, which is necessary for peace, development, democracy and conservative values	A new country

2022	Alleviates the situation of fires in the Amazon on the grounds that the information published in the press is false. In health, it argues that the country protected family income to make it easier to face the pandemic.	Welcoming country
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Table 1. Main argumentative axes of diplomatic speeches. Source: Prepared by the authors.

Observing the table with the main argumentative axes used by Brazil in the diplomatic speeches of the General Assembly of the United Nations, we can identify that in the years 1988 and 1989, democracy emerged as the main purpose defended by Brazil, the country was in the process of re-democratization, after more than 20 years of military dictatorship. Therefore, democracy as an important value for Brazil appears in speeches according to the historical period in which Brazilian society lives. In 1990, there was the idea of strengthening democracy; in 1994 there was the topic of democratic affirmation; in 1995 its appreciation, including being related to the public image of the country that is projected by diplomatic discourse; again in 1998 the country's image is related to it; until 2015, democracy continued to be an obligatory topic in speeches, but it was in 2015, when calls for President Dilma's impeachment began, that democracy was once again defended as one of the main arguments in Brazil's speech at the UN; and in 2019, the defense of democracy gains another perspective, in President Bolsonaro's speech the “new country” (projected public image of Brazil) brings the idea that, after fighting left-wing parties and a possible socialist revolution, democracy was once again guaranteed.

In relation to the projected public image of Brazil, we have noticed that over the years there have been only a few changes. Brazil's image is often repeated or is very similar. This is not surprising since the conduct of national foreign policy respects many values of the Brazilian diplomatic tradition. Still, some aspects are interesting to observe, such as, for example, the public image of Brazil projected in the speeches of the Lula government, which presents a growing trend in relation to the issue of development. The representation made about Brazil in 2006 and 2007 is that of a country that is working and developing, while in 2010 it reached the fullness of its development. This idea is part of PEB's conduct during the period. President Lula intensified the presidential diplomacy initiated by President Fernando Henrique Cardoso and sought to insert Brazil into the international agenda, placing it as a country willing to cooperate with other nations and reinforcing the country's economic and social potential on the international stage. This made Brazil's global agenda also evident to the Brazilian population (Miranda, 2019).

Below, we present a table with the main news constructions of Folha de S. Paulo in each analyzed period and the respective public images projected by the journalistic discourse.

PERIOD	NEWS CONSTRUCTION	PROJECTED PUBLIC IMAGE
1988/1989	Support for the president's position. And it highlights the attempts to solve the external debt in negotiations with the IMF.	We do not identify the construction of a public image
1990/1994	For the newspaper, Collor represented a perspective for change. The country's image is mixed with the idea of hope and transformation related to the president	Transformation/change
1995/2002	The newspaper criticized the conduct of PEB, but also favored the construction of the image of a country and a government concerned with regional integration.	Brazil regional leader
2003/2010	Opposition to the conduct of PEB and Brazil's speeches at the UN. It uses conflict strategy when addressing the Brazilian position of criticism of US military actions. The newspaper shows discredit towards the Brazilian government and foreign policy.	Distrust and distrust
2011/2015	At the beginning of Dilma's term, the newspaper was sympathetic towards changes in the management of PEB. It also criticized Brazil's position when criticizing US military actions. And in 2014, when the president's speech came close to a campaign speech.	We do not identify the construction of a public image
2018	The newspaper exposes a position contrary to PEB's leadership and insecurity with the country's direction after the elections.	We do not identify the construction of a public image
2019/2022	The newspaper opposes Brazil's discourse and the conduct of domestic and foreign policy. It considers that the country was internationally isolated	Inefficiency and isolation

Table 2. News constructions and public image projected in journalistic discourse. Source: Prepared by the authors.

Based on the public images which were constructed by journalism regarding Brazil's speeches at the UN and the conduct of foreign policy, comparing the table above with table 1, we found that the public image projected of Brazil by diplomatic speeches does not always find similarity in the news construction and the image constructed by journalism.

Analyzing the table above, we see that Fernando Collor's arrival to power was perceived with hope by the newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo*, which projected a public image of transformation or change about Brazil and the conduct of the PEB. During Fernando Henrique Cardoso's government period, the main representation was linked to the issue of regional integration, which led us to understand that the public image projected is that of the country as a regional leader. Although we have identified that the main public images transmitted by diplomatic speeches in this period are linked to the values of pacifism, democracy, solidarity and cooperation, we understand that there is a proximity between the message that the government wishes to transmit and the image constructed by journalism.

During the period in which Lula was president (2003/2010), *Folha de S. Paulo* expressed opposition to the government and the management of PEB, projecting a public image of disbelief and distrust. During Dilma Rousseff's terms, the analysis of the research corpus was not sufficient for us to be able to identify the public image the newspaper built on diplomatic speeches. We found that at the beginning of the former president's term, *Folha* noticed changes in PEB's management and assessed them as positive. However, we know that the newspaper, like most mainstream media outlets, opposed the government and supported the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff (Prates e Pozobon, 2017; Weber, et al., 2017). From the period in which Michel Temer was in the Presidency of the Republic, we only analyzed Brazil's diplomatic speech at the United Nations General Assembly in 2018. We identified that *Folha de S. Paulo* expressed opposition to the conduct of the PEB, but we were unable to define which public image was constructed.

Finally, the analysis of *Folha*'s news construction about former president Jair Bolsonaro's speeches at the United Nations allowed us to identify that the projected public image is one of inefficiency regarding the conduct of PEB and the country's international isolation – different from the public image that the diplomatic speech wants to convey, which is of a new country and a welcoming Brazil.

We confirm that there are periods in which news construction marks opposition to the federal government and the conduct of foreign policy, as in the governments of Lula da Silva, Michel Temer and Jair Bolsonaro. In relation to the Lula period, there is evidence that the idea that the public image projected in diplomatic speeches is antagonistic to the image constructed by journalism is confirmed. The same can be said about the public images projected during Bolsonaro's period, but it was not in all the periods that the newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo* took a position against the policies adopted. During Cardoso's period, we found

that at times the newspaper criticized PEB's management, but favored the construction of the image of a country and a government concerned with regional integration.

Even though in some moments we have evidenced simplifications and generalizations in the news construction, in most of the texts, there is evidence of positioning and critical notes both on Brazil's discourses and on the conduct of foreign policy and also domestic policy. The idea of mediation in negotiations does not necessarily mean direct participation in the resolution of a conflict, but it can enable a diplomatic movement towards changing discourses or even in the elaboration of a political proposal. In this sense, we also consider that the speeches project the journalistic ethos of a supervisory institution attentive to events in the political sphere.

4. Final Considerations

This investigation allows us to observe that the role of journalism as a political actor enables the construction of public opinions and the dissemination of values about national foreign policy. The concepts related to public diplomacy and the media, in this sense, reinforce the importance of journalism as an influential social and political institution in the diplomatic field and, in the same way, indispensable in the global democratic scenario.

The argumentative analysis has helped us identify some aspects beyond the public image that diplomacy wishes to convey about Brazil at the annual meetings of the United Nations General Assembly. We identified that peace appears as one of the most present values in the speeches, alongside the appreciation of democracy, sustainable development, the defense of human rights and solidarity. Aspects linked to the guidelines for conducting foreign policy, such as cooperation, multilateralism and regional integration, are also recurring themes in speeches in different governments. We can say that themes linked to the Brazilian diplomatic tradition permeate all governments, being common themes that help in the public image that is projected on the country at the United Nations.

The defense of international cooperation is carried out by almost all Brazilian representatives, being a paramount value of Brazilian diplomacy. It arises on topics such as solutions to economic crises, conflicts or the development of nations. Multilateralism is another theme that is very present in Brazil's discourse, being defended in speeches at the UN, at least since 1990. Regional integration is another process that has been widely discussed in Brazil's diplomatic speeches for several decades. Among the texts we analyzed, this integration was defended at the UN during the mandates of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, Dilma Rousseff and Michel Temer. According to Miranda (2019),

regional integration suffered a sharp decline under Michel Temer's government, despite having defended the issue in his speech. Regional integration during the period of Temer and Bolsonaro suffered from an “emptying of Unasur and the new guidelines for Mercosur ended up taking these spaces towards the path of open regionalism, based exclusively on economic issues” (Maringoni et al., 2021).

The reform of the UN and the Security Council have also been defended in all speeches since 1989. The reason for it is the fact that Brazil wants to occupy a permanent position in the body. The permanent members of the Council are five: USA, Russia, China, France and the United Kingdom. And only they have veto power, which means they can authorize interventions against other nations in cases of threats to peace. They may also impose trade embargoes or sanctions.

In the analysis of journalistic discourses, we could identify that there has been a significant change in the way news is constructed over the years. The first analyzed texts contained descriptive reports on events involving national foreign policy, and even the sources of information were restricted to leaders who had spoken at the UN Assembly. We verified in these reports the use of quoting speeches in direct order, reiterating and reinforcing the arguments used in the diplomatic speech.

However, the current texts demonstrate a critical position of journalism, with reports that compare the leaders' previous speeches in the Assembly and discuss possible points that can be debated. We noticed a critical stance and, in some cases, frames of opposition to the pronouncements and conduct of national foreign policy, as in the governments of Lula da Silva, Michel Temer and Jair Bolsonaro. In relation to Lula's period, we demonstrated that the idea that the public image projected in diplomatic speeches is antagonistic to the image constructed by journalism is confirmed. The same can be said about the public images projected during the Bolsonaro's period. During Cardoso's period, we concluded that at times the newspaper criticized the conduct of the PEB, but favored the construction of the image of a country and a government concerned with regional integration.

Understanding that journalism acts as a mediator of international negotiations, we consider that in some sense the idea of “intermediary media diplomacy” is identified in the discursive construction. Even though in some moments we have highlighted simplifications and generalizations in the news construction, in most of the analyzed texts there is a critical positioning and there are notes in the news construction, both about Brazil's speeches and about the conduct of foreign policy, as well as domestic policy. We understand that the idea of mediation in negotiations does not necessarily mean direct participation in the resolution of a

conflict, but it can enable a diplomatic movement towards changing discourses or even the elaboration of a political proposal. In this sense, we also consider that the speeches project the journalistic ethos of a supervisory institution attentive to events in the political sphere. In this relationship there is a movement of tension between diplomacy and communication.

We point out that the relationship between public opinion, media and international relations highlights another relevant aspect, which is the interference of social networks in the dissemination of international events. The capacity for “viralization” of news on networks, information bubbles and political polarization are factors that require attention from journalism. Through the dissemination of videos and information, public opinion has also the ability to promote a type of agenda regarding journalism and decision-makers when the debate about events involving international politics is disseminated on social media (Oliveira e Farias, 2022). Although in some situations journalism may lose its primacy in the dissemination of international events, it is still the official institution to give facts the seal of veracity and, above all, it is committed to investigating information. Another aspect that reinforces the necessary rapprochement between diplomacy and communication for a smooth running of countries' foreign relations.

Media also plays an important role in the construction and dissemination of public images, especially in crisis situations or on topics that have the potential to generate crises. And the government's actions in relation to the media are essential to provide the answers that will be demanded by public opinion and to obtain support from the international and national communities (Cirino et al., 2019). In this sense, the role of the media is relevant to the process of intermediating Brazilian foreign policy issues abroad.

To conclude these notes, we consider that the newspaper could deepen and problematize the issues covered if it used more expert sources to talk about topics that are debated in the United Nations General Assembly. An example would be to deepen the debate on Brazil's proposals regarding the climate issue. On two occasions the newspaper criticized the country's proposals, once on the use of biofuels (Lula's government) and on another occasion on the plan to reduce greenhouse gas emissions (Dilma's government), but provided little technical explanation about the effectiveness of the presented proposals. Another topic that could be explored more deeply, through expert sources, is the reform of the Security Council. Since 1989, the issue has been debated by Brazil, which wishes to occupy a seat as a permanent member of the Council. More complex topics such as Brazil's bilateral relations, the terms of cooperation with other countries or Mercosur are also not covered in depth and

would deserve a stronger debate so that readers could understand how issues relating to foreign policy affect everyday life.

And, finally, we conclude that the analysis of the argumentative strategies present in the speeches presents itself as a methodological perspective that contributes to research in communication and communication and politics, offering a systematization that contributes to the understanding of issues that are not always explicit in the speeches.

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