

SPEECH BY AMBASSADOR ERNESTO
ARAÚJO AT THE INAUGURATION
CERIMONY FOR THE MINISTRY OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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My illustrious predecessor, Senator Aloysio Nunes Ferreira; Mrs. Gisele; his excellency Minister José Antonio Dias Toffoli, President of the Supreme Federal Court; his excellency President Fernando Collor de Mello; his Imperial and Royal Highness, Dom Bertrand de Orleans e Bragança, who, together with presidents Toffoli and Collor, bring much honor to this house and much honor to me personally, and whose presence I thank profusely; his excellency Dom Giovanni d'Aniello, Apostolic Nuncio; their excellencies, other heads of diplomatic missions accredited with the Brazilian government; her excellency Mrs Tereza Cristina, Minister of Agriculture, Livestock and Food Supply; his excellency Mr Ricardo de Aquino Salles, Minister of State for the Environment; his excellency General Carlos Alberto dos Santos Cruz, Secretary of Government; her excellency Mrs Raquel Elias Ferreira Dodge, Prosecutor General of the Republic; his excellency Senator Flávio Bolsonaro; their excellencies other senators and representatives; their excellencies executive secretaries; their excellencies other civil, military, ecclesiastic officials, ambassadors; my wife, Maria Eduarda, my daughter,

Clarice, my stepsons, Joaquim and Pedro, my mother, Marilyn, my stepfather Luís Carlos, my sister Lismary, my father in law, Ambassador Luis Felipe de Seixas Correa, great head of this House, my mother in law, Marilu de Seixas Correa, my dear friends, colleagues.

Initially, I would like to very vividly thank the words of Minister and Senator Aloysio Nunes about me. I thank him, very touched, by his deference, and I would like to say that history will forever remember his ever confident, serene, competent leadership of this House at difficult times, and I would like to say that I was very proud to work under him on very important themes for this Ministry. You leave a very important legacy for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

I would like to begin with a sentence that is absolutely fundamental in understanding what is happening in Brazil. I will say it in a manner different than what you are used to hearing:

Gnosesthe ten aletheian kai he aletheia eleutherosei humas.

“You will know the truth, and the truth will set you free.”

This intimate and deep conviction drove President Jair Bolsonaro in the extraordinary

fight he waged and is still waging to reclaim Brazil and return Brazil to the Brazilians.

In this verse by Saint John there are three crucial concepts to human thinking, to human life, and to our historic moment. We have *Gnosis*, which is knowledge, *Aletheia*, truth, and *Eleuthería*, freedom.

Aletheia. The most literal translation of this Greek word would be “unveiling,” or, better yet, “unforgetting.” *Lethe* is forgetfulness. *Lethe* is the river of forgetfulness, which, in Greek tradition, the dead crossed to reach the other side. So *Aletheia* is crossing the river back here. *Aletheia* is overcoming forgetfulness. Something that is hidden and that is suddenly recovered. *Aletheia* involves an authentic, individual, sentimental experience, in such a manner that our current concept of “truth” is very poor in relation to this original concept. Our concept of truth normally refers solely to factual truth, it is a somewhat technical and cold concept, when it should be something organic and vivid.

Aletheia makes us unforget and reconnect with ourselves, and in this rediscovery and reconnection with ourselves, it is then that truth sets us free. For where was the prison of the one who finds oneself freed by truth? They were trapped outside themselves. They sought to be what they are not. Brazil was trapped outside of

itself. And I would risk saying that Brazilian foreign policy was trapped outside Brazil.

Eleuthería, eleutherosei humas.

Eleuthería is another brilliant word created by the Greeks. I don’t know any other ancient languages, I don’t know that many, anyway, I don’t know Hittite, I don’t know Sanskrit, but I know of no other ancient language that has this concept, except for Latin *libertas*, but that is a late tradition of the Greek. So, even so, in ancient Greece, *eleuthería* meant basically civil liberty, it was a legal term. Only with the Christian literature, and especially with this quote by Saint John, *eleutheria* became something more complete, deeper, and more elevated.

It is also a concept that has worn out with the centuries, the word freedom has been worn out over the centuries, but it has conserved incredible strength. The word freedom is still a word that lights up the hearts of people. A person may be there, sad, in their corner, but when they hear the word “freedom,” there is no one who doesn’t raise their head, suddenly alert, and ask: freedom? Where? I want it.

President Bolsonaro is freeing Brazil through the truth. We will also free Brazilian foreign policy, we will free the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as President Bolsonaro promised we would, in his victory speech.

Well, we have talked about truth and freedom, but we've still not talked about knowledge, about *gnosis*. Truth sets you free, but, to reach truth, it is necessary to know it. And this is not about a rational knowledge, for truth cannot be taught, truth in this deep sense cannot be taught through analytical deduction. *Gnosis* is knowledge in the sense of a more intimate experience. Truth is essential, but it cannot be taught or learned. But, if that is the way it is, how do we know the truth, what is the key to all this?

To explain that, I would like to resort to an illustrious Brasiliense, Renato Russo, when he says: "it is just love, it is just love that knows what truth is."

It is not caution or prudence that know what truth is, but love. Caution, prudence, and pragmatism are good instruments, when you know where you want to go, but they do not teach you where to go, they do not show you who you are, they do not explain yourself to you.

It is just love that explains Brazil. Love, love and the courage which stems from love have led our ancestors to form this immense and complex nation. We have spent years in school, almost all of us, I think, learning that it was greed or yearning for wealth, or worse yet, chance, that formed Brazil, but it was not. It was love, courage, and faith that

brought here, across the ocean, through the forests, people who founded us, people who said things such as the one I will read now:

Anuê Jaci, etiniseмба-ê

Indê irú manunhê

Yara rekô embobeuká tupirã

Rekôku ya subí

Embobeuká tupirabê

Nge membyrá Tupã

This is the Hail Mary in Tupi, in the original version by father José de Anchieta, in which he translates Mary as Jaci, the Moon, Anuê Jaci, and Jesus as Tupã, thunder.

And here we need *Aletheia*. Unforgetfulness. We need to free our historic memory of which this modest prayer is a part.

To free the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the truth, we need to reclaim the role of the Ministry as the keeper of the continuity of the Brazilian memory.

I remember the emotion I felt when, for the first time, when I was a third Secretary, I walked up the steps to this third floor, and I saw, as soon as I reached the top, the painting of the Coronation of Dom Pedro I and the painting of the Grito do Ipiranga. Immediately, I, who was 22 at the time, remembered when I was 5 at the movies, watching, in awe, the movie "Independência

ou Morte” [Independence or Death], with Tarcísio Meira and Glória Menezes. And I thought: so this all exists, doesn’t it? This all exists... and this is all here!

I remember this moment very vividly, and I realized: look, this isn’t a mere public office, this is a sort of sanctuary. It is a sort of time warp, where heroes are alive, the famous heroes and the anonymous heroes, where we coexist with the discoverers, with Alexandre de Gusmão, José de Anchieta, with D. João VI, with the emperors and the princesses, with the bandeirantes [pioneers] and the abolitionists, with the rubber tappers and miners and tropeiros that built this nation, and even with the strange case of a monarchist Baron who became the great idol of the Republic.

I don’t know if some of you have probably watched a Spanish series named *Ministerio del Tiempo*. I recommend it. I would say that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in a certain sense, is not simply a Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it is also a Ministry of Time. As maybe no other institution in Brazil, we have the responsibility to protect and nurture this historic multi-century historic tree through which flows the sap of nationality.

President Bolsonaro has said that we are living the moment of a new Independence. That is what we Brazilians

feel deeply. And we should feel it and live it even more here at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where history is so present. We should let the emotion of this new birth of the motherland flow through these halls and hallways.

We need to unforget and remember who we are, who we are becoming again.

The Baron’s motto says: *Ubique Patriae Memor*. It is normally translated as “in all places, remember the motherland.” Here, you will forgive a frustrated Latin teacher, which I’ve never been, before I wanted to be a diplomat, to say that this translation is wrong. *Memor* is a first person. So, in truth, it is: “in all places, I remember the motherland.” It is a personal life commitment that each of us makes, and not simply a note in the schedule. Wherever, I remember the motherland. And “I remember the motherland” here does not simply mean that, when we are abroad, we must think of Brazil. It means that, if we think of the concept of *Aletheia*: I feel this profound truth that is the motherland, I feel what it is to be a motherland and remember the motherland, therefore, as a core truth, this truth that frees and that can only be known through love.

To remember the motherland. It is not remembering the international liberal order, it is not remembering the global order, it is

not remembering what the latest article of *Foreign Affairs* or the latest piece in the *New York Times* says. It is remembering the motherland as an essential reality.

We are not here to work for the global order. This is Brazil. Do not be afraid to be Brazil. Do not be afraid.

Think, for instance, of Dom Sebastião. While he was preparing his expedition to Africa, some noble of the Portuguese court asked Dom Sebastião if he was afraid. Dom Sebastião looked at them and asked: "What color is fear?"

Someone will object that Dom Sebastião died soon after on the sands of Alcácer Quibir, which is true, but we are talking about him here today, aren't we? We know who he is. Dom Sebastião has become a myth, the one to return from the waves of the sea on a very foggy day. We don't remember the people who stayed home, those who did not go to Alcácer Quibir. The *Aletheia* that frees is with those who have gone, with those who have followed the flags of their kings and of their saints, not knowing if they would return, not caring if they would return.

The myth teaches not to be afraid, and it is curious that the myth is the myth, and, at current times, the myth is the caring nickname given to President Bolsonaro by the Brazilian people.

Marcel Proust said that our feelings become atrophied by fear, by fear of suffering. And I think our foreign policy has been atrophied by fear of being criticized. So do not be afraid to suffer, and do not be afraid to be criticized.

In turn, Clarice Lispector said, about Brazil and nationalism: "Our evident nationalist tendency does not stem from any desire for isolation: it is a movement, above all, of self-knowledge." Self-knowledge, the truth. *Aletheia*, the truth that frees.

So, so as not to be afraid, let us read less *Foreign Affairs*, and more Clarice Lispector or Cecília Meireles.

Let us read less *The New York Times*, and more José de Alencar and Gonçalves Dias.

Let us listen less to CNN and more to Raul Seixas.

Why Raul Seixas? "Let us not sit on the throne of an apartment," or of an Embassy, "with a gaping mouth full of teeth waiting for death to arrive."

Let us do something for our lives and for our country. Let us dive in the ocean of feeling and in the hope of our people. Let us not dive in that empty pool that is global order.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs exists for Brazil, it does not exist for the global order.

If the Ministry of Foreign Affairs exists for Brazil, it does not exist for itself. Are we a house of excellence? We are, of course we are. But to be it we must show it, and not simply repeat it to one another. We will take care of our administration, of the career flow, we will solve this and many other problems, God willing, that legitimately plague the institution, so that the Ministry can be better prepared for its higher task. I would like to say that we do not need and will not open the ranks of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to people outside the diplomatic career, apart from the preexisting cases. President Bolsonaro has complete trust in the capacity of this house and of this career for implementing his policy. We are simply adopting the measure of relaxing the standards for the occupation of positions at the Ministry by career staff in given hierarchical levels precisely to air out the flow of the career, including stimulating our colleagues to occupy these positions.

We have traditions, of course, but we need to employ them as an incentive to seeking truth and freedom, as a service to the motherland, as a service to all Brazilians, both the most humble and the wealthiest of our people, this people that will no longer be divided by a perverse ideology.

We have traditions, but, as Ambassador Azeredo da Silveira said, in his famous quote, “the greatest tradition of the Ministry

of Foreign Affairs is knowing how to reinvent itself.”

When I joined the Ministry, this sentence was repeated left and right. You could not cross a hallway without hearing this phrase of the tradition of the Ministry knowing how to renovate itself; but now, for a few years, a long time, I have personally not heard this phrase. I don’t exactly know why. Perhaps it is somewhat due to this inwardness, a certain comfort that was created.

We have become strongly attached to our own self-image, and made it a sort of idol, and we have beheld ourselves in the mirror and told ourselves how great we were, and saying that governments don’t understand us, but that the Ministry is above governments. We have become diplomats who do things that are only important to other diplomats. This must end. Let us quit looking in the mirror and start looking through the window. Or, better yet, let us go out onto the streets to the real Brazil.

Let us not be afraid of the Brazilian people. We are part of the Brazilian people.

Once, still in the Rio Branco Institute, I heard the following from a senior diplomat: that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs cannot be better than Brazil. At the time, I took it as a sign of great pessimism. It was a difficult time in Brazilian history, and I thought he was

saying, look, Brazil is in a bad way, and the Ministry is the same. But I think today I finally understand what he meant. The Ministry cannot think it is better than Brazil. The Ministry cannot think it is not part of Brazil. We are part of it, we are again part of a magnificent adventure.

From today onwards, the Ministry returns to the heart of the beloved motherland.

The Ministry is back, because Brazil is back.

Fernando Pessoa said this: the superior poet says what he thinks. Or better yet, the superior poet says what he feels. What he thinks, too. "The superior poet says what he feels. The average poet says what he decides to feel. The inferior poet says what he thinks he is supposed to feel." The same can perhaps be said of the diplomat. And the same applies to a country regarding its international presence.

For a long time, Brazil said what it thought it was supposed to say. It was a country that spoke to please the administrators of the global order. We wanted to be the good student in the school of globalism, and we thought that was enough. We were an inferior country, to use Fernando Pessoa's classification.

But Brazil is back to saying what it feels, and to feeling what it is.

You can say this is "quixotic," perhaps, and people call us, sometimes, or call me so many worse things, that "quixotic," just to say that it perhaps would have been good, "quixotic" would be a good adjective. But this reminds me of something I heard from professor Olavo de Carvalho, a man who, after President Jair Bolsonaro, is maybe the great responsible for the immense transformation Brazil is living now. I once heard professor Olavo refer to an excerpt from Cervantes's *Dom Quixote*, which is perhaps the core point of this work. It is when Dom Quixote is fallen at the side of the path, somewhere in La Mancha, in a sort of delirium, and he starts talking to the passers-by as if they were the marquis of this, the count of that, or some cavalry hero, while he recounts his own deeds. At some point, he refers to a peasant who is passing by as the "Marquis of Mantua." And the peasant stops, looks at him, and says: "Wait a second. I know who you are. I am not the Marquis of Mantua, I am your neighbor, Pedro Alfonso. And you are not Dom Quixote, you are a good man, whom I have known for many years, you are Alonso Quijano." And Dom Quixote pauses a second, thinks, and answers: "*Yo sé quién soy*".

Some people will say that Brazil is not all that President Bolsonaro believes and that I

believe, they will say Brazil doesn't have the capacity to influence the fate of the world, of defending humanity's greatest values, that we must only export products and attract investments, because, after all, we are a good country, quiet and peaceful, but we don't have the power for anything. They will say Brazil is merely Alonso Quijano. But Brazil will answer. I know who I am.

I know who I am.

We are a universalist country, that is certain, and from that universalism we wish to build something good and productive with each partner. But universalism does not mean not to have opinions. Universalism does not mean a general jam. It does not mean to wish to please everyone. Brazil's vocation is not to be a country that exists solely to please. We want to be heard, but we want to be heard not for repeating some insignificant dogmas and some aseptic phrases, we want to be heard because we have something to say.

We will seek the partnerships and the alliances that allow us to arrive where we want to, we will not ask permission from the global order, whatever it is. We will defend freedom and life. We will defend each people's right to be what they are, with freedom and dignity, with the dignity that can only be given by freedom.

The ones who love fight for what they love. So we admire those who fight, we admire those who fight for their country and those who love themselves as a people, that is why we admire, for instance, Israel, which has never ceased being a nation, even when it had no soil – in contrast with some of today's nations, which, despite having their soil, their churches, and their castles, no longer wish to be nations. That is why we admire the United States of America, those heroes who fly their flag and worship their heroes. We admire the Latin American countries who have freed themselves from the regimes of the São Paulo Forum. We admire our brothers across the Atlantic who are building a strong and free Africa. We admire the ones who fight tyranny in Venezuela and in other places. That is why we admire the new Italy, that is why we admire Hungary and Poland, we admire those who assert themselves, and not those who deny. The problem with the world is not xenophobia, but oikophobia – from *oikos*, *oikía*, home. Oikophobia is hating one's own home, one's own people, refuting one's own past.

It is easier not to love, not to fight, because to love and to fight also mean to suffer, mean many times not to be understood, mean to evoke hate, contempt,

envy – so many nations, as well as the people who opt for the comfort and ease of not loving and not fighting. We here choose neither comfort nor ease.

Aside from oikophobia, hate for one's own home, another thing that should concern us more and more is theophobia, hate for God. There is a horrendous, glaring theophobia in our culture. Not just in Brazil, but throughout the world. A hate against God, stemming from who knows where, channeled through all of the codes of thinking and non-thinking that permeate the global agenda.

To destroy humanity, one must destroy nations and drive man away from God, and that is what they are attempting, and that is what we rebel against.

Globalism flourishes in hate, through its various ideological ramifications and its instruments contrary to the nation, contrary to human nature, and contrary to human birth itself. Nation, nature, and birth, they all come from the same etymological root (in the Portuguese language), and this happens because they possess a deep connection between them. Those who claim that there are no men or women are the same who preach that the countries have no right to guard their borders, they are the same who shout that a human fetus is a disposable

bunch of cells, they are the same who say that the human species is a disease, and that it should disappear to save the planet. That is why the fight for the nation is the same fight for the family, and the same fight for life, the same fight for humanity in its infinite dignity as a creature.

When I was a child, I heard, and, as a teenager, I also heard it, heard many people saying: "The world moves inexorably towards socialism." But it didn't. It didn't move it in that direction because someone stopped it.

Today we hear that the march of globalism is irreversible.

But it is not irreversible.

We will fight to reverse globalism, and shove it back to its starting point.

We want to bring to all the sacred cry of freedom, *eleuthería*. This was the first war cry of the West in its birth, in the battle of Salamina, *Eleutheroûte Patrída*. Free the motherland.

So here we have the Baron saying "I remember the motherland," I bring the motherland from its hiding, I live the motherland in truth. And we have Aeschylus crying for freedom, free the motherland, *Eleuthería*. But *Aletheia* and *Eleuthería* are only possible through knowledge of the motherland, which takes place through love.

One of the instruments of globalism, to smother those who rebel against it, is to spread that, to make trade and business, one cannot have ideas or defend values. We will prove that this is completely false. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will have, from now onwards, the most elevated and engaged profile it has ever had in the promotion of agribusiness, trade, investment, and technology. In fact, by distancing itself from Brazil and the Brazilian people, the Ministry had also distanced itself from the national productive sector. Because now we will be together with the national productive sector, as we have never been. We won't simply "follow the trends" anymore, as it is said in the old jargon, the jargon of that Ministry of Foreign Affairs closed to the people. The Ministry will no longer just stand and watch. We will work tirelessly to promote agrarian trade, industry, tourism, innovation, technological capacity-building, investments in infrastructure and energy, advancing shoulder to shoulder with the other ministries – thanks to this extraordinary ministerial team that President Bolsonaro has created with a spirit of harmony and an unprecedented sense of mission.

When I say extraordinary, I count myself out, because I don't want to talk about myself. I speak of the 21 other ministers.

We will formulate, with each international partner, a specific work program, to develop the potential of each relationship in a creative and dynamic manner. For that we will count, among others, on this extraordinary instrument that is the Brazilian Trade and Investment Promotion Agency (APEX-Brasil), an APEX renewed, re-dynamized, and integrated to the whole of our foreign policy strategy. We will also count on a sector for Trade Promotion inside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which we will multiply fourfold, we will de-bureaucratize the trade promotion sectors within the Embassies abroad, making them true trade offices capable of generating business and occupying new markets for our producers.

We will implement a policy of trade negotiations for the current day. We have been negotiating trade agreements, some more successfully, others less so, but in many cases in the model of the 90s. In some cases, we have also been negotiating these agreements since the 90s, and so far, in some cases, they devolve with the passing of time. We negotiated these instruments abstractly, and not what we should do, which are effective understandings directed to our concrete potentials. We have many times negotiated from a position of weakness, as if we were begging access to markets, when

we should actually be negotiating from a position of strength, as one of the largest, and potentially the largest food producer in the world, for instance.

We will guide all bilateral and multilateral relations toward the generation of concrete results for employment, income, and the safety of Brazilians. Simultaneously with bilateral relations, we will put in renewed efforts in multilateral negotiations, especially in the WTO, which is building a new and promising agenda, of which, today, Brazil is still not a part, but which it will enter with all its weight and all its creativity.

In the multilateral political system, especially in the UN, we will reposition Brazil's actions in favor of what is important for Brazilians – not what is important for the NGOs. We will defend sovereignty. We will defend freedom – freedom of speech, freedom of belief, freedom in the Internet, political freedom. We will defend humanity's basic rights, of which the most important is perhaps, if you will allow me to use the title of a 60s soap opera, the right to be born.

We will open the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to society, we will be the house of all Brazilians. It is frequently said that the average Brazilian is not interested in foreign policy. Actually, the average Brazilian was not interested in foreign policy when he

thought it was merely an exercise in style, infinite variations so as to say nothing in a speech before the UN. Since the election of President Bolsonaro, the average Brazilian is deeply interested and involved in foreign policy, especially because the President gives this area a great deal of attention, because he considers it to be deeply integrated in national life, and not some arcane discipline to which only a few experts have access. The average Brazilian feels that the external front hosts one of the main, if not the main battle for his deepest ideals and values. The average Brazilian understands that the survival and success of the project of rediscovery and liberation depend on the external front, this adventure of *aletheia* and *eleuthería* that we are living with love and with courage.

Talking to the society is not just speaking, it is mostly listening. I will give you an example of what we have to listen to. It is a comment of a person who follows my Twitter account, which says the following... I read this yesterday: "I didn't use to understand the love of the English people for the Queen. Now I do. When we have someone who loves his country and his people, and defends them, he earns love and respect. We didn't know this before Bolsonaro.

To this I pledge myself here. Making the Ministry of Foreign Affairs an instrument of love for our country and for our people.

I am certain we can make Brazil simultaneously more competitive and more authentic, simultaneously more economically and commercially dynamic and more truthful, more respected internationally and more faithful to itself.

Do not allow globalism to kill your soul in the name of competitiveness. Do not believe what globalism says when it says that, to have economic efficiency, it is necessary to suffocate the heart of the motherland and not love the motherland. Do not listen to globalism when it says peace means not fighting.

You will ask me: and how will we do this? Through the word.

We believe in the infinite power of the word, which is the creating logos.

President Jair Bolsonaro is here, has reached this point, and us with him, because

he says what he feels. Because he says the truth. And that is the logos.

And I will end by talking about the beginning, and again quoting Saint John, the opening of the Gospel according to Saint John, when he says “*en archê ên ho logos*”. In the beginning was the logos. The word. The verb. *Archê*, the last Greek word I will say here today, means principle, both as in beginning and as in, mainly, structuring force, structuring principle. Reality, at least human reality, is structured around language, the word, the verb, therefore, the logos.

All we have, all we need, is the word. It is imprisoned, but with love and courage we will set it free.

May God bless all of you, the ones who believe and the ones who do not, the ones with us and the ones still not with us. May God bless President Jair Bolsonaro and may God bless Brazil.

Anuê Jaci! Thank you very much.

